Peter Pericles Trifonas
Themistoklis Aravossitas *Editors*

Handbook of Research and Practice in Heritage Language Education

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Editors

Handbook of Research and Practice in Heritage Language Education

With 42 Figures and 39 Tables

Springer

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Part I

Introduction

Heritage and Language: Cultural Diversity and Education

Peter Pericles Trifonas and Themistoklis Aravossitas

Abstract

This introductory chapter summarizes all chapters featured in the Handbook of Research and Practice in Heritage Language Education, which is part of the Springer International Handbooks of Education series.

Keywords

Ethnolinguistic vitality • Heritage language • Heritage language education • Language teaching practice • Language research

In recent years, the term heritage languages (HLs) has prevailed in the bibliography of bilingual education and other relevant academic fields, over many terms that are used worldwide "to identify the non-dominant languages in a given social context" (Kelleher 2010, p. 1). Jim Cummins (2014) notes that in Canada the term HLs was introduced and broadly used in the 1970s and 1980s, in particular reference to the languages of the immigrants. In other parts of the world, over the years many other synonyms have been found in the literature, such as languages of origin (Makarova 2014), ethnic languages (Saint-Jacques 1979), community languages (Wiley 2005),

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languages other than English (LOTE), (Clyne 1991), immigrant languages (Statistics Canada 2012), mother languages or mother tongues (IAMTE 2014), ancestral languages (Eisenlohr 2004), home languages (Yeung et al. 2000), colonial languages (Fishman 2001), immigrant minority languages (Extra and Yagmur 2002), foreign languages, second languages (where there is one dominant/official language in the society), third languages (i.e., in Canada where the dominant/official languages are two), and so on. While most of the terms above refer to immigrant minority languages, the choice that each state/country/authority makes in using one instead of the other is primarily political. In Canada, for instance, the term "nonofficial language" that is associated with any languages other than the two official ones (i.e., French and English) is directly linked to the federal official languages policy (Jedwab 2000). Moreover the replacement of the term "heritage language" with "international language" in the early 1990s was also politically driven as it conveyed a message to the ethnocultural communities. Jim Cummins explains that "the term was changed to reflect misgivings that the notion of 'heritage' entailed connotations of learning about past traditions rather than acquiring language skills that have significance for the overall educational and personal development of children. The term 'international languages' was intended to communicate that, in an era of globalization, these languages were highly relevant to business and cultural exchanges and had economic as well as 'heritage' value" (Cummins 2014, p. 2, see also ▶ Chap. 36, "Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach").

In educational environments, a HL is understood as "a language spoken in the home that is different from the main language spoken in society" (Bilash 2011, n. pag.). Polinsky and Kagan (2007) define HL as the incompletely learned home language arising from the phenomenon of language shift and the switch to the dominant language that is characteristic in the case of immigrants and their descendants.

For Cho et al. (2004), HL is a "language spoken by the children of immigrants or by those who immigrated to a country when young" (Cho et al. 2004, p. 23). Fishman (2001) and Wiley (2005) expanded this definition by adding the refugee, indigenous, and former colonial languages and noted that a HL encompasses particular family relevance even though it may or may not be a language regularly used in the home and in the community. This diversity in the HL terminology reflects an ongoing negotiation of societal, political, and legal issues rather than a dispute among indecisive sociolinguists and educators who have, nevertheless, expressed a variety of opinions concerning who the HL learners (HLLs) are and what type of characteristics distinguish them from other categories of language learners (Kagan and Dillon 2009).

Extra (2007), underlines some of the similarities and differences between immigrant minority (IM) languages and regional minority (RM) languages in the European context. From a sociolinguistic, educational, and political point of view, IM and RM languages have in common "their actual spread; their domestic and public vitality; their processes and determinants of language maintenance versus language shift towards majority languages; the relationship between language,

ethnicity and identity and the status of minority languages in schools" (Extra 2007, p. 176).

RM languages are rooted in specific areas, such as the Welsh or Basque in Europe, and have been threatened by the "one language, one state" ideology that emerged in the nineteenth century. However, their ultimate threat is the discontinuation of intergenerational transmission that occurs when parents stop speaking the home language to their children (Campbell and Christian 2003). This language shift phenomenon (Fishman 1991; Veltman 1983, 1988) can be prevented or reversed by the parents or through schooling in the minority language (Extra 2007). In the last quarter of the twentieth century, a movement to protect some RM languages has been materialized both legally – based on globally recognized minority linguistic rights (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages 1992; UNESCO 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas 2006) – and educationally, through programs adopted by certain countries and authorities such as the EU (Extra and Yagmur 2002). In Europe, responsibility for policies and measures in support of the RM languages is shared by different organizations. The European Parliament established the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages in 1982 to support linguistic diversity in Europe through the provision of information and advice and the European MERCATOR Network in 1987 to conduct research into the status and use of regional/ minority languages. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 which sets out a range of measures to facilitate and encourage the use of specific regional or minority languages in public life, including education. "In contrast, policy for migrant languages was determined by groups concerned with the mobility of labor forces across Europe, those concerned with the social integration of immigrants and refugees, or those involved in the development of multicultural/anti-racist policy" (McPake and Tinsley 2007, p. 8). IM languages have no minority status and as they travel along with their speakers are harder to locate and sustain since countries have not adapted measures for the maintenance of such languages. Extra points out that the IM languages are often regarded and transmitted as core values of culture by IM groups; nevertheless, they are much less protected than RM languages. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of IM languages are often seen by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers as obstacles to integration (Extra 2007).

The discussion around HL terminology includes an ongoing debate regarding who the HLLs are, what their profiles are, and why it is very important to distinguish them from native, second, or foreign language learners (Valdes 2001). Maria Carreira categorizes the definitions of HLLs, according to three criteria: (1) Their place in the community linked to the HL, (2) their personal connection to a HL through their family background, and (3) their proficiency in the HL. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) formulated a broad and a narrow definition of HLLs which refers to a distinction between those who have a family or cultural connection with the HL without an actual ability to use the language (broad definition) and the ones who actually acquired the language to some extent but not completely learned it before switching to the dominant language (narrow definition). As Carreira and Kagan (2011) suggest, the "broad" HLL type is the typical case of a third or fourth

descendant of immigrants who came to America by the early twentieth century and is described in the definitions provided by Fishman (2001) and Hornberger and Wang (2008). The latter make a very interesting clarification in their definition, as they call HLLs those individuals "who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English and who exert their agency in determining whether they are HLLs" (Hornberger and Wang 2008, p. 27). This definition stresses the element of identity negotiation on the part of learners whose decision to be part of the HL community and its culture is not necessarily linked to their language proficiency. For Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), HLLs are those who "have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction"; thus, they have developed a "heritage motivation" (p. 222).

In contrast, the "narrow" type of HLLs puts emphasis on linguistic proficiency in the HL which is the characteristic of the first- and second-generation immigrants. For most of them, the HL "was first in the order of acquisition but was not completely acquired because of the individual's switch to another dominant language" (Polinsky and Kagan 2007, p. 369). Several studies have identified distinct language acquisition and development characteristics of HL learners who have the potential of developing their HL skills almost at the level of native speakers given that certain cultural, social, political, and educational conditions are met (Montrul 2010; Polinsky 2007, 2008; Valdes 2005; Fishman 2006; Oh et al. 2003). In the Canadian context of Greek language education, for example, the broad definition of HLLs refers currently mainly to the grandchildren of immigrants who arrived in Canada between the 1950s and 1970s, while the narrow definition, which assumes higher levels of Greek language attainment, agrees more with the second generation or the children of the new migration wave (Damanakis et al. 2014). Identifying HL learners as a diverse group of language learners is essential to teachers but also to parents, school administrators, policy makers, and those responsible for curriculum and teacher development. Carreira and Kagan (2011) underline Wiley's (2001) argument that the HLL label "raises a number of issues related to identity and inclusion and exclusion" since it cannot be assumed that all learners who wish to connect with an ancestral language are also speakers of that language (Wiley 2001, p. 35 in Carreira and Kagan 2011, p. 41). Reviewing the most essential research questions on HL acquisition that emerged through the articles published between 2003 and 2014 in the Heritage Language Journal, Andrew Lynch (2014) considers as foundational those inquiries that touch upon issues of identity and identification for the HL speakers/learners. He notes that an ongoing point of negotiation for researchers and institutions who try to define heritage speakers or heritage learners is their level of proficiency in the HL. What seems quite difficult to determine is the exact level of proficiency that an individual has to demonstrate in the HL to be considered as a HLL for the teachers or as a HL speaker in the eyes of a linguist researcher. "Even more important is how much 'say' does the actual student or study participant have in the matter," Lynch wonders (2014, p. 226). Understanding the diversity of HLLs is important for the stakeholders to tackle the difficulty of finding learning materials and address their students' diverse individual needs. Given the present state of the global diaspora of languages that has been the result of international

migration, there has been a resurgence of interest in heritage language education and research to better understand and adapt teaching to diverse multilingual student populations. To this end, the chapters in this book address the issues that are central.

In ▶ Chap. 31, "So Many Languages to Choose from: Heritage Languages and the African Diaspora" James Kigamwa highlights the difficulties inherent in defining heritage languages for immigrant Africans in the various African diasporas and provides key arguments in favor of coalescing efforts for immigrant heritage language development in the diaspora around a few African national languages, rather than the many indigenous African languages. He also provides key considerations, including the influence of language use in the immigrants' home countries, on diaspora language use, language competence, home language practice by families, assimilative narratives that oppose linguistic diversity, and the availability of linguistic resources, such as books, that would support heritage language development. Recommendations and possible solutions for surmounting some of these challenges are also provided.

Angela Scarino asserts that the provisioning of community languages in Australian education has had a long and successful history when judged in the context of the number of specific languages being offered and assessed at senior secondary level in the formal examinations that provide the basis for entrance to tertiary education. However, although this provisioning is a direct result of languages policies that supported linguistic and cultural diversity in a nation with a history of migration, policies for teaching the languages of migrants have not been sustained. At the same time, the current context of complex diversity and globalized multilingualism prompts a reconsideration of the very nature and orientation of language learning. In ▶ Chap. 24, "A Reconsideration of the Distinctive Role of Heritage Languages in Languages Education in Australia," Scarino considers briefly some dimensions of the provision for community languages in Australian education, highlighting the provisioning and the efforts on the part of communities to gain legitimacy for their languages and cultures, the complexity of national collaboration that has made it possible and issues related to the nature and quality of programs. She then proposes a reconceptualization of the learning goal and pedagogies for the learning of community languages. Both are necessary to ensure that they remain a distinctive form of provision in language education in Australia and that this provision is responsive to the diverse and dynamic affiliations, desires, and expectations of learners of these languages in contemporary times. She concludes with a reflection on necessary research that would sustain the provision of community languages.

In ▶ Chap. 22, "High Stakes Assessment of Heritage Languages: The Case of the Victorian Certificate of Education," Louisa Willoughby examines how the opportunity to receive credit toward a high school diploma for heritage language study has been shown to act as a major factor in motivating students to enroll in heritage language (HL) classes. Such courses can allow students to develop higher-order literacy skills in the heritage language and help prepare them to use the HL in work contexts. But the heterogeneity of the HL student body creates a number of challenges for equitable assessment. In this chapter, she explores these issues through the

lens of the Victorian Certificate of Education, where students may choose from 41 different languages on offer. Most languages in Victoria are only offered at one level only and show how this system has encouraged highly proficient recent migrants to enroll in these subjects, sometimes to the detriment of second-generation migrants. She also details what is taught and assessed in these courses and the degree to which it matches the interests and needs of HL learners. The chapter concludes with recommendations for educators looking to develop their own high-stake courses for heritage language learners.

Despite the linguistic research that has already been initiated in India, sign language and deaf education in the northeastern part of India has largely remain unknown. ▸ Chapter 41, "Barriers in d/Deaf Pedagogy in the North Eastern States in India" allows Melissa G. Wallang to provide a glimpse into the situation of deaf education and sign language in this area. Despite the innumerable number of studies on sign language and the deaf community, sign language is still perceived as a universal language invented by the hearing, a tool to overcome the communication barriers of the deaf. Several studies have discussed the challenges faced by deaf communities around the world, and they are no different from the deaf communities in the northeast region. This article examines the language barriers in education within the context of Northeast India and how they impact the lives of the d/deaf individuals in the larger society. One of the major concerns of educational policy today is to include children of any disability into general schools. However, the required pedagogical modifications or adaptations are far from being implemented within them. The idea of "inclusive education for all" is actually a paradox because despite the noble motives of the policy makers, the gap between academic research and education persists; the majority of the deaf (especially the deaf) are still being discriminated against, and the negative attitude toward sign language continues. Within the context of one of the most diverse regions of India, a multilingual education model that can accommodate sign language as an equal with other spoken languages can truly minimize the barriers of education for the deaf. Language is a phenomenon that needs to be understood beyond what we know in terms of sound and such a view of language acquisition process can curtail the hegemony of speech over sign language. Hence, this article emphasizes that it is only within the arena of education itself that change can have a widespread impact, perhaps in the form of an improved version of "inclusive education."

In ▸ Chap. 28, "Bilingualism in Younger Generation of Greek Orthodox Community in Istanbul: The Language Use of Greek and Turkish Languages in Greek Minority Educational Institutions," Rika Rompopoulou engages the Greek Orthodox community, which is an indigenous minority with long-standing historical existence in Istanbul. However, heavy emigration to Greece, combined with pressures and restrictions applied historically to the community, raises concerns as to the survival of the Greek language of the bilingual community, which remains, nowadays, approximately, only 2500 people, in over 18 million population of such a huge city like Istanbul. In the beginning of the 2000s, the Greek language had such a symbolic value in the eyes of the Greek Orthodox community that even gained space in the practical needs covered by the Turkish language. However, during this decade,

things have changed to the detriment of the Greek language. It is observed that young men and women feel the need to use Turkish. This proves that the attitude of the minority, against the Turkish language, has been changing from generation to generation. It is supposed that the extending use of Turkish will limit the use of Greek. This chapter focuses on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul, in order to predict to the maximum possible extent the linguistic behavior of the new generation of the members of the Greek-speaking minority of Istanbul, based on the observation of the use of the two languages (Greek and Turkish) by informants aged 10–18. The paper reports findings related to a questionnaire study conducted in Istanbul, in the academic period 2013–2014.

Linguistic and cultural diversity of preschools and compulsory school children and their families in Iceland has been steadily growing over the past few years, and currently around 11% of all preschool children and 7.6% of all compulsory school students have heritage languages other than Icelandic. Although educational policies and curriculum guides in Iceland emphasize equity and inclusion, multilingual and heritage language issues have generally not been addressed thoroughly in these policies. In ▶ Chap. 30, "Building Empowering Multilingual Learning Communities in Icelandic Schools," Hanna Ragnarsdóttir explores the innovative and empowering educational practices and processes of building multilingual learning communities with parents and children in Icelandic preschools and compulsory schools. The theoretical framework of the study includes critical approaches to education and multilingual education for social. Methods included interviews and narratives with principals, teachers, and parents who have taken part in developing educational partnerships in three preschools and three compulsory schools as interviews with students in the compulsory schools and observations. Findings from the study indicate that the development of empowering multilingual learning communities in the schools in the study have generally been successful and highly evaluated by parents. However, there are a number of challenges, such as educating and including all staff, ensuring succession, reaching out to parents and communities, and funding.

In ▶ Chap. 17, "Encouraging the Use and Activation of Heritage Languages in the Broader Educational System," Lesya Alexandra Granger reviews the literature in which heritage languages and heritage language learners are defined and positioned and identifies terminology used by scholars and policy makers to describe heritage language education (HLE). Challenges and opportunities, such as plurilingualism and plurilinguistic approaches in HLE and second language education are discussed. The ideas and solutions that emerge from HLE as it is organized for school-aged children and youth in Ontario, Canada, are described and presented to provoke further inquiry into HLE in Ontario and in other world-renowned school systems, in other jurisdictions with different HLE practices, and in new contexts where HLE is an emerging practice. While each HL context will determine a vision and specific objectives, the overall goals that will contribute to closing the loop might include the maintenance and revitalization of minority and minoritized languages in homes, communities, and classrooms, as well as developing students' minority language literacy within the context of official language literacy, particularly by activating learners' full range of linguistic competencies, engaging them in intercultural

understanding, and developing literacy with an entrepreneurial spirit and authentic, action-oriented forms of deeper learning, where students learn to apply their learning to new contexts and situations.

Critical pedagogy is an approach to education (introduced by Paulo Freire in the early 1970s and developed by Giroux and others more recently) that is mainly preoccupied with social injustice and oppression both in and out of the classroom. ► Chapter 39, "Critical Approaches to Heritage Language Learning: From Linguistic Survival to Resistance and Action" provides a general overview of the current state of critical pedagogy applied to HL learning and an in-depth analysis of critical language awareness in the HL classroom. This is followed by an analysis of how this approach can assist teachers develop and implement a culture-sensitive pedagogy that is not only relevant but also appropriate for the ethnic identity stage in which HL learners find themselves at different points in their academic journey. Maite Correa concludes with suggestions and guidelines for implementing a critical pedagogical component in HL courses, including sample materials and activities that can be tailored to the specific needs of each classroom.

► Chapter 6, "Cultural, Linguistic Knowledge and Experiences Among Learners of Chinese Origin in Spain" is an attempt to contribute to the knowledge and deeper understanding of the learners of Chinese origin in Spain and how their language and cultural experiences are related to identity processes and education. Specifically, based on critical multicultural literature, Iulia Mancila wants to understand how their personal, educational, and social histories, as well as migration/residential status, intersect both heritage language and Spanish language and culture. The results presented in this paper are part of a major biographical narrative and life history study and reflect a more comprehensive view on the linguistic experiences and challenges of learners of Chinese origin in Spain at personal and social levels. Implications for educators and researchers committed with an equitable, socially, and culturally just education for all learners are further discussed. In ► Chap. 12, "Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Modeling Teachers' Professional Learning to Advance Plurilingualism," Eugenia Arvanitis analyzes how heritage languages bring forward an intriguing challenge in the cosmopolitanization era as diversity is defined on the basis of interconnectivity. Heritage languages are not an ethnospecific issue alone confined in traditional binaries (mainstream vs minority status). They are intangible aspects of cultural heritage and an important component of plurilingualism. Modern citizens communicate in plurilingual settings and develop a wide range of language repertoires over their lifespan in their effort to sustain personal/professional growth and inclusive participation in local/global democratic processes. Only plurilingual and intercultural competent citizens have the ability to fully participate in public discourse and interact with "others" in all aspects of their interconnected lives. In this context, a culturally responsive pedagogy recognizes the active role teachers and students must undertake to construct their learning and acquire intercultural competence acting as "agents of change." Remodeling teachers' intercultural training emerges as an urgency due to widespread nationalization, ethnocentricity, and radicalization of modern world. Culturally responsive teachers

avoid "methodological nationalism" as well as reflect on and adapt their teaching philosophy using learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds as a valuable resource. Culturally responsive pedagogy paves the way to a more reflective professional practice presupposing teachers' strong intercultural awareness, competence, and responsiveness. Finally, culturally responsive instructional design reaffirms equitable pedagogy through collaborative teaching praxis, responsive feedback, epistemological framing, and scaffolded learning. Heritage language teaching can be contextualized in a mainstream and culturally responsive pedagogy framework.

Heritage language research across contexts and areas of focus has intensified in the last two decades. Despite such an increase, families of mixed linguistic background are minimally represented in the literature. This is incompatible with the current global increase and social reality of this family type. The ethnolinguistic diversification of family composition worldwide calls for more targeted research with a growing demographic that grapples with an amplified complexity of issues. Therefore, ▸ Chap. 26, "Heritage Language Development in Interlingual Families" by Martin Guardado provides a succinct overview of a selection of topics of fundamental importance, such as family language policy, an emerging area traditionally discussed only tangentially in related scholarship. It then describes the deployment of various family language policies and the relative effectiveness of implementing these communication arrangements. Guardado highlights some of the ways in which the social, linguistic, and political circumstances of interlingual families may pose challenges related to policies and practices where various power relations – particularly gender – are implicated. It is shown that heritage language research with the children of parents who do not share a mother tongue has begun to establish key foundational knowledge regarding the factors that impact their linguistic lives but also reaffirms the recent call made by scholars about the need for further research around interlingual family language policy, socialization, and related issues. Finally, the chapter puts forward possible directions for future research and knowledge dissemination among key stakeholders.

In ▸ Chap. 32, "Twice a Foreigner in a Foreign Land: Dispute and Identity Assertion Among Expatriate Students in Germany, Based on Language and Origin," Thomas Babalis and Panagiota Kalakou explore some issues of intragroup dynamics related to the cultural identity negotiation among Greek and Greek-Pontian students, attending an exclusively Greek school in Germany. Moreover, the study investigates various aspects of their individual and collective social representations to any ethnic stereotypes including Germans and foreign peers in the host country. The main reason for undertaking this study was due to the peculiarity of that particular student population attending an ethnically segregated minority school, as well as to its cultural diversity comparing to that of the Greek students who had been normally integrated in the official German educational system. A qualitative research method was chosen for the collection and analysis of the research data, which were drawn from the actual interpersonal interactions and discourse that took place within a particular focus group in the context of their members' living social reality at school. The results of this study highlight some important aspects of the student's social and

cultural integration process both in school and in their social environment at large. In conclusion, students formulated specific cultural identity categorization criteria that were based on some linguistic judgments concerning dialect differentiations and stereotypes about peer's ethnic and geographical origin which contributed, not only to the formation of particular psychosocial groups but also to the emergence of intragroup conflicts. Their educational and social adjustment was not associated with any particular ethno-cultural values or identity differences with native students, but with other significant barriers, such as the educational systems' rigidity and luck of support, as well as lack of parental knowledge and wise decision making concerning their attainment of a satisfactory multiple or bicultural identity development.

In ▶ Chap. 2, "Developing Metacognition and Interculturality in Heritage Language Learners," Hui Ling Xu and Robyn Maloney report on a case study project which examined tertiary heritage language learners' perceptions of a pedagogical intervention, which embedded autonomous and intercultural learning in their Chinese language program. The goal of the study was to enhance heritage learners' engagement motivation and performance in their Chinese language studies, through offering them autonomous learning tasks and reflection opportunities. Twenty student participants engaged in a variety of linguistic, intercultural, and reflection tasks, across one semester. Analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data shows that students responded positively to the intervention and evidenced a number of important outcomes. The study demonstrates the role of reflection in developing metacognition. For heritage learners, the reflection was an opportunity for identity development and motivation. The intervention developed students' capacity for independent learning and supported motivation and continuation to further study. The intervention was a catalyst for students to actively seek opportunities for interaction with the Chinese language community, using their family and community knowledge. The study shows the particular relevance and affordance of autonomous learning strategies for Chinese heritage language learners and has implications for all HL teaching and learning. The study provides new understandings of the potential and ability of Chinese heritage learners to manipulate, exploit, and extend their knowledge of two or more languages.

▶ Chapter 20, "Heritage Language Education in Germany: A Focus on Turkish and Russian from Primary to Higher Education" by Helena Olfert and Anke Schmitz examines the implementation of two major heritage languages, Turkish and Russian, throughout the German educational system. Due to historical reasons, these languages differ according to their institutional implementation, their instruction from primary to higher education, and their acceptance by society. In this context, after a brief outline of the migration processes of Russian and Turkish speakers to Germany, the article discusses characteristics of heritage language instruction in contrast to foreign language teaching in primary and secondary schools. While in primary education heritage language instruction is established in almost every public school throughout Germany for more than 30 years, Russian and Turkish language learning in secondary schools is considerably heterogeneous depending on the assigned status of the language. By providing course attendance rates for Russian and Turkish speakers, this chapter also traces differences in the language maintenance motives of

these two migrant groups. At university level, only recently specific courses for heritage language students have been established at some university language centers thus recognizing heritage languages as a resource and empowerment tool. The discussion of the implementation of Turkish and Russian in the German educational system considers factors such as official legislation, the status and prestige of the respective language at different educational levels, issues of teacher education, the development of adequate curricula and learning material, as well as diagnostic test instruments.

Heritage Languages are often taught in mixed classrooms attended by both heritage language learners (HLLs) and foreign language learners (FLLs). This coexistence can be problematic for one of the two groups of students, or both, if their distinct learning needs are not identified and reflected in the course curriculum. In chapter "Heritage language learners in mixed university classes: language skills, attitudes and implications for curriculum development," Marianthi Oikonomakou, Themistoklis Aravossitas, and Eleni Skourtou follow a modular approach focusing on (a) the effects of individual social and cultural characteristics in the development and assessment of language skills in the teaching of Greek as a heritage language and (b) the necessity of elaborating a teaching framework that meets specific and individual needs of learners. Using questionnaires for their data collection, they investigated the structure and organization of two Modern Greek university programs in Toronto (University of Toronto and York University) comprised of both HLLs and FLLs. The study explores several social, cultural, and teaching aspects to illustrate a comprehensive mapping of this educational challenge. The findings of this study could be used toward restructuring the curricula that involve both HLLs and FLLs by adopting more realistic and effective teaching approaches that take into consideration the negotiation of identities in the teaching of heritage languages.

Heritage language education has received increased attention in recent years by scholars of various disciplines: science, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy, and linguistics. This renewed interest in the subject includes also studies on the subject of heritage language learning in relation to identity. In the last few years, there have been many quantitative studies and a great deal of qualitative research on the subject. In ► Chap. 38, "Heritage Language, Identity, and Education in Europe: Evidence from the UK" Margherita Di Salvo is on the line of qualitative research, taking the constructivist approach to identity still strong even in the most recent sociolinguistic research. The aim of this work is to test whether it is possible to apply the hermeneutic models generated and applied to the study of heritage language in North America to a European context, like that of some Italian communities in England. The intent is to verify to what extent some of the theoretical models developed for very different areas of research are applicable to the European context. This in order to provide food for thought at the theoretical level and to rethink the way in which support is provided for the teaching of the Italian language to the descendants of Italian migrants in England and Europe, which is often left to the initiative of the individual and is rarely part of broad-spectrum and long-term planning. The research deals with the Italian communities in Bedford, Cambridge, and Peterborough, which on a sociological level are very different and therefore

provide the opportunity to investigate, also from a sociolinguistic perspective, the relationship between the heritage language and identity and the related effects on the level of the transmission of the Italian language and its dialects.

Over the last two decades, New Zealand has become one of a small number of culturally and linguistically superdiverse nations in the world, and yet the teaching of migrant heritage languages in New Zealand receives little governmental support, leaving the maintenance of these languages largely in the hands of self-funded ethnic community groups, which seldom possess the resources to implement effective language teaching initiatives. Based on a study of the self-reported experiences of heritage language learners of Italian in New Zealand, Arianna Berardi-Wiltshire provides a micro-perspective on the learning journeys of five New Zealanders of migrant background who set out to learn their heritage language through courses of Italian as a foreign language. Designed as a longitudinal exploration of language learning motivation through a series of in-depth narrative interviews and detailed classroom observations, the study's main inquiry focuses on the significance of the learners' own constructions of their Italian identity (or *Italianità*) for the development of their motivational trajectories throughout 18 months of learning. By explaining the learners' motivation as the result of their own processing and reactions to key factors, relationships and events both inside and outside the language classroom, ▶ Chap. 8, "Identity and Motivation Among Heritage Language Learners of Italian in New Zealand: A Social Constructivist Perspective," illustrates the deeply personal and identity-dependent nature of the motivational processes observed, supporting a conceptualization of HL learning motivation that is in line with modern second language acquisition theorizations of second language learning motivation as a dynamic, identity-related, and socially constructed process.

In ▶ Chap. 7, "Russian Heritage Learners' Goals and Motivation," Julia Titus focuses on the specifics of heritage language learners' motivation and learning goals and compares it with the motivation of traditional L2 learners. The aspects of heritage learners' motivation are analyzed through the data received from the learners' questionnaires and interviews in which Russian heritage learners reflect on the issues of their cultural identity, their own perception of their heritage language strengths and weaknesses, and their personal goals and motivation in learning the heritage language. The results obtained in the survey point to the prevalent integrative motivation of heritage learners. The chapter also contains curriculum design recommendations for heritage language learners in light of their motivational orientation and long-term language goals.

The ▶ Chap. 14, "Language Teachers' Ideologies in a Complementary Greek School in Montreal: Heteroglossia and Teaching" by Argyro Panagiotopoulou, Lisa Rosen, and Ofelia García is centered around the following question: What are the various ideologies about language and multilingualism held by teachers of a complementary Greek school in Canada? It focuses on the tensions between the multilingual nature of Canadian society and that of the Greek Canadian children who attend this nonmainstream school and the ideologies of teachers about teaching a community language in a Greek complementary school. Analytical results from four "theory-generating" expert interviews within the project "Migration-Related

Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism" about teachers' views on multi-lingualism and language practices at school are presented. The multilingual context of Montreal; the context of complementary schools, in this case that of a Greek school, the research design; as well as the methodology are described. The results are discussed with regard to the professionalization of teachers in multilingual and migration contexts. All interviewed teachers are positive that the children they teach are multilingual, and see this as an asset. However, even though all four teachers lead multilingual lives, according to their self-reports, the ways they handle their own and their students' multilingualism vary greatly. For instance, what has emerged as a particularly interesting result is the fact that teachers with the least academic preparation tend to have the most dynamic views on bilingualism.

In the United States, almost all formal federal language education policies are explicitly linked to national security concerns, whether security is defined in geopolitical or economic terms. This holds as well for heritage language education policies. Jeff Bale discusses applied linguistic scholarship and commentary on heritage language education policy and identifies three patterns in how the literature responds to this nexus of language policy and national security on ▸ Chap. 34, "Ideological Framing of Heritage Language Education in the United States."

▸ Chapter 36, "Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach" examines from a historical and comparative perspective issues of identity, language, and language policy in the diaspora. The Greek communities, in regard to selected countries and over time, until the 1950s, and in part until the beginning of the twentieth century, are taken as an example by Michael Damanakis. The first part of the chapter, following conceptual clarifications, introduces the reader to the Greek Diaspora. It also attempts to provide answers to the following fundamental questions: (a) Can the diaspora exist without a reference center? and (b) Can identity exist without language? It also examines ways in which to best *address languages of origin* (languages of ethnic groups) from the dominant group. For this reason, the second part is divided into three subsections each of which provides a different way to address languages of origin that include: language as an "obstacle," language as a "difference," and, finally, language as a "resource." The third part approaches the subject from a pedagogical perspective, discussing the *socialization role* of the ethnic language. The chapter recapitulates with an overall discussion and some conclusions. The analyses are principally driven at a *macrolevel* (comparisons between language policies of countries) and attempt to provide a theoretical perspective and interpret empirical data. The *mid-level* analysis aims to approach the issue from the perspective of ethnic communities, whereas the *individual level* analyses concern the *socialization role* of the language of origin.

Linguistic and cultural diversity is inherent in many societies around the world and, despite its importance, this diversity is typically neglected in many educational settings. In the field of language education, the historical prevalence of the monolingual theoretical framework has corroborated with the notion that learners should attain language proficiency based on the native speaker model, which has been mistakenly used as reference for language development. Due to the limitations of this framework, students' knowledge of languages and cultures have often been

underused and devalued. To address issues of diversity in language education, including heritage language programs, plurilingualism is an alternative framework that can be used to teach languages while respecting and encouraging this diversity. The aim of ▶ Chap. 16, "Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in Language Education Through Plurilingualism: Linking the Theory into Practice," by Angelica Galante is to link the theory of plurilingualism to its practice by exploring empirical studies that have followed a plurilingual framework, with focus on the extent to which the theory is represented in practical terms. This chapter also raises fundamental issues – such as the prevalence of monolingual and neoliberal ideologies – that need further exploration in research so that knowledge about plurilingual education in different geographical locations and educational contexts can be advanced.

In ▶ Chap. 33, "Linguistic Foundations of Heritage Language Development from the Perspective of Romance Languages in Germany," Cristina Flores, Tanja Kupisch, and Esther Rinke discuss the role of different factors determining the linguistic competence of heritage speakers (HSs) based on examples from speakers who speak a romance language (French, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish) as HL and German as the environmental language. Since the relative amount of contact with the HL and the environmental language may vary during the acquisition process, the role of language dominance (in terms of relative language proficiency) is of particular interest for HL development. In addition to dominance (and related to it), cross-linguistic influence (CLI) may have an influence on the outcome of HL acquisition. Finally, quality and quantity of input determine the outcome of HL acquisition and is discussed in connection with heritage language education. In ▶ Chap. 37, "Language and Ethnicity," Michail Vitopoulos is concerned with individual and collective ethnic identities that are ubiquitous. In fact, in the present era of globalization, ethnic identity and ethnic difference appear to be the common denominators of a multitude of vexed problems (social, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic) in some parts of the world, e.g., Europe. Vitopoulos traces and relates the multifaceted phenomena of cultural ethnic identity with those of linguistic shifts as they pertain to "Greeks" in North America in general and in Canada in particular. Emphasis is placed on the issue of the possibility of shift reversal which allows to better understand and evaluate governmental and nongovernmental strategies and efforts to deal with the "shift."

Global migration is radically changing the linguistic landscape of the world, with profound implications for institutions of learning. In the United States, over 61 million people, or one out of five residents, speak a language other than English at home. Of these, 12 million are estimated to be school-age children. Individuals exposed to a language other than English at home but educated primarily in English are known as heritage speakers of the home language. The framework of ▶ Chap. 18, "The National Heritage Language Resource Center: A Locus of Activity in the Field of Heritage Languages in the USA" by Maria M. Carreira, Arturo Díaz, and Olga E. Kagan is structured around the terms "heritage language" and "heritage speaker." The UCLA Research Priorities Conference Report (2000) further distinguished between HL acquisition, which begins in the home, and second language (L2) acquisition, which typically begins in the classroom. Thus, a *heritage language*

speaker (HL speaker) indicates an individual who grows up in a US home where a non-English language is spoken, while a *heritage language learner*, or HL learner, is an HL speaker who pursues formal study of the heritage language.

The study of heritage languages – how they are preserved or lost by immigrant communities and individuals, how they evolve in contact with the dominant societal language, and how they are learned by children in their home and communities of residence, as well and in the school context – is at the heart of the work of the National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC) at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). Founded in 2006 through a US Department of Education Title VI grant, the NHLRC's mission is to develop effective pedagogical approaches to teaching heritage language learners, both by creating a research base and by pursuing curriculum design, materials development, and teacher education. The NHLRC is one of 16 Title VI National Language Resource Centers (LRCs) that are funded by the US Department of Education. This chapter provides an overview of the field of heritage language education in the United States and, against this background, describes the NHLRC's activities, focusing on the impact it has had on the emerging field, both theoretically and in praxis. Looking ahead, this chapter also considers new directions that HL researchers and practitioners need to take if the new field of HL education is to continue its growth and development.

In ▶ Chap. 27, "Parents-Schools' Communication and Albanian as a Heritage Language in Greece," George Androulakis, Anastasia Gkaintartzi, Roula Kitsiou, and Sofia Tsioli provide, in the first part, an overview of research data concerning immigrant parents-school communication in the Greek context. The focus is on Albanians as they constitute the largest immigrant group in Greece. They present data from a study which included focus groups and group interviews with parents in order to investigate the communicative and language needs of Albanian parents with regard to their communication with the schools attended by their children. The issue of parents-school communication was also approached through the teachers' perspectives. In the second part, the chapter presents a review of Greek sociolinguistic studies relevant to the issue of Albanian as a heritage language. It draws on the issues that the field has been dealing with and on recent research trends. Specifically, discusses Greek educational policies regarding heritage languages, attitudes, and practices of parents, students, and teachers concerning the use, teaching, and learning of Albanian. The chapter also presents data and findings of a set of qualitative and quantitative large- or small-scale studies conducted in Greece during the last decade (2009–2016) and concludes with some suggestions for future directions in research and practice.

In response to increased mobility and the consequent multiplication of cultural and linguistic diversity, a new paradigm is emerging in language education and its conceptualization that stresses interconnection, interdependence, and a synergic vision. The notion of plurilingualism is a cornerstone of such a paradigm. In ▶ Chap. 10, "Plurilingualism: Vision, Conceptualization, and Practices" by Enrica Piccardo, plurilingualism is presented and analyzed by highlighting its tenets, implications, and possible applications in education. Piccardo investigates the paradigm shift represented by plurilingualism by explaining the historical roots of the plurilingual

vision and by considering the value and potential of such a vision through different conceptual lenses. She explains how this notion has the potential to provide the foundation for a conceptual framework in language education and beyond. The chapter operates on two levels. The first part, on vision and conceptualization, moves from the roots of the idea of coexistence and the synergic interaction of linguistic and cultural diversity to highlighting the conceptual and theoretical development that prepared the ground for thinking in terms of linguistic plurality. The second section addresses the potential of plurilingualism for language education and discusses some of the emerging practices and their implications in reshaping the nature of classroom realities.

In ▶ Chap. 45, "Preserving Heritage Languages Through Schooling in India," Mani Bhasin Kalra analyzes why language has great relevance and significance in a plurilingual and pluri-ethnic land like India. The 2001 Census of India reports 122 languages within India's 28 states and 7 union territories, 1635 mother tongues, as well as 1957 unclassified "other" mother tongues. There are about 780 languages reported in the country. According to a survey, which was conducted by Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, about 220 Indian languages have disappeared in the last 50 years and that another 150 could vanish in the next half century as speakers die and their children fail to learn their ancestral tongues. In the India, Hindi and English are the dominant languages. These are however not "official" languages but are used daily for communication in schools and colleges as languages for learning and other purposes. The chapter discusses the importance of why we need to look after these languages. Death of a language means the loss of linguistic history, human values, culture, verbal art, and oral literature represented by the language concerned. A child who cannot speak her/his native language may lose the ability to appreciate the culture and embrace the values, norms, and practices which are embedded in the culture. The chapter asserts that it is a collective responsibility to safe guarding and protecting a language from extinction.

The challenges that indigenous communities face around the world in terms of preserving their heritage language seem unsurmountable. Of the 4000 indigenous languages worldwide, 2465 are on the brink of extinction. A legacy of evidence based research on bilingual education has demonstrated the cultural and psychological benefits of having skills in one's heritage language. Thus, in terms of formal education, the curriculum should maximize instruction in as many subjects as possible through the heritage language. However, in most indigenous communities, the language of instruction is that of the dominant culture. Given the overwhelming evidence-based research on bilingual education and that so few indigenous communities receive the needed resources to adopt their own two-way bilingualism program, the educational system that indigenous communities receive can be characterized as nothing short of systemic discrimination. In ▶ Chap. 42, "Revitalizing Indigenous Languages: A Call for Community Action to Address Systemic Discrimination," Laura French Bourgeois, Roxane de la Sablonnière, and Donald M. Taylor argue that formal school-based bilingual programs continue to be colonialist and therefore must be complemented by genuine community involvement. They introduce a novel use

for survey methods designed to enlist the expertise of all community members toward the shared goal of promoting the heritage language.

In ▶ Chap. 44, "Revitalizing Malacca Portuguese Creole" Stefanie Pillai, Adriana Phillip, and Wen Yi Soh discuss a revitalization project of the heritage language of Portuguese-Eurasians in Malaysia, Malacca Portuguese Creole, which is popularly known as *Papiá Cristang*. The chapter begins with a brief introduction of the Creole, and of its history and current status. With the decline in the use of the Creole even in the Portuguese Settlement or village in Malacca, awareness of the need to revitalize this endangered language has increased. However, such awareness does not necessarily lead to concrete actions to keep the Creole alive. The chapter discusses the motivations behind revitalization efforts, including internal ones, such as the desire to restore and reconstruct their heritage in relation to peoplehood as well as relationships, and external ones like socioeconomic reasons. Motivations and underlying identity alignment drive language revitalization, and play a role, both in the reactions toward language revitalization efforts, and the goal of language revitalization. Additionally, the perceptions of the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian community toward these efforts are examined. The focus is on a revitalization project, Beng Prende Portugues Malaká (Papiá Cristang), which is based on a collaboration between a research team and representatives from the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Association. Using this project as an example, the elements involved in producing a teaching and learning resource is explained.

Andrés Napurí discusses the evolution of the Bora language spoken by nearly 2000 people, members of an indigenous group that was persecuted and exploited during the Amazon Rubber Boom in ▶ Chap. 43, "Revitalization of the Bora Language." Napurí discusses how the Bora speakers began learning Spanish early in the twentieth century, while leaving their language behind. During 2015, after the formalization of the Bora alphabet, the Bora communities that live by the Ampiyacu, Yaguasyacu, and Amazon rivers started to teach their language again. This has resulted into a new pride among the Bora speakers leading them to the production of new texts in their native language and the construction of their indigenous identity. At the same time, as they discuss what graphemes should be used in their alphabet, they reveal ideologies about how their language should be written and what is actually a language for them. On the one hand, they respect the Spanish tradition for some consonants, like <c>, but, on the other hand, they prefer new graphemes that reveal their indigenous status, like <ɨ> vowel.

Heritage language education problematizes issues of second language studies and culturally responsive pedagogy, as it provides some answers to the sensitive topic of quality education of students of foreign background in mainstream. HLE and plurilingualism receive increased attention and recognition worldwide, especially in North America and in the European Union. In their qualitative research paper, ▶ Chap. 29, "Strengthening Linguistic Bridges Between Home and School: Experiences of Immigrant Children and Parents in Iceland," Renata Emilsson Peskova and Hanna Ragnarsdóttir provide insights into experiences and views of parents of foreign origin and their children who attend Icelandic compulsory schools and study

their HL in a nonformal system. The chapter presents students' attitudes toward their developing linguistic repertoires and parents' experience of their participation in this process, including communication and cooperation with their children's schools. The information from the participants is situated within the context of national and local policies. The findings reveal discrepancies between official statements and parents' and students' needs on the one hand and the school practices on the other hand. The authors argue that building on the resources of the students, their backgrounds, cultures, and especially languages promotes students' success and that school is missing out on considerable educational opportunities. Furthermore, considering how difficult it is for parents and students of foreign origin to take an extra initiative to build bridges between their original culture and the compulsory education, the lack of schools "active approach to culturally responsive pedagogies and promoting students" linguistic repertoires has significant influence on students' social and academic outcomes in the mainstream schools. Throughout the controversial history of bilingualism and the preservation of heritage languages (HLs) in the United States, French has often enjoyed a privileged status, particularly because French has long been the second most commonly studied foreign language in schools and universities. However, access to these classes is often difficult for speakers of French as HL, especially in a country, which over more than two centuries, has often experienced nativist reactions to speakers of any language other than English. In ▶ Chap. 40, "Sustainability of French Heritage Language Education in the United States," Jane F. Ross, Fabrice Jaumont, Julia Schulz, Joseph Dunn, and Lauren Ducrey discuss the significance of recent initiatives, such as the creation of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, or the French Heritage Language Program in New York, Florida, and Maine, through which speakers of French as HL have had increased opportunities to ensure transmission of French to new generations. However, the sustainability of French HL education in the United States remains a challenging endeavor, strongly linked to larger contexts of globalization, national education, and immigration policies, as well as to the ability of local communities to support and maintain French as HL. Most recently, the needs of new immigrants from Francophone countries have converged with those of long-standing communities of French descent to open new opportunities. The combined efforts of multiple partners within a larger context of increased awareness of the benefits of multilingualism have given new impetus to the sustainability of French HL education in the United States.

In ▶ Chap. 3, "Heritage Language Speakers in the University Classroom, Doing Research," Naomi Nagy describes the design and goals of a first-year undergraduate course that introduces students to research in heritage languages. The course illustrates a means of increasing pedagogical activity related to heritage languages at the university level. The benefits to students, faculty, and the community of engaging students in disciplinary practices in the field of sociolinguistics are noted. The integration of pedagogy and research is articulated around five goals: to train students in aspects of research including fieldwork and analysis, to develop information literacy, to provide opportunities for transactional writing, to connect research and teaching, and to encourage students, especially students who are

speakers of minority languages, to get involved in research. While the course has been offered in the context of a large research-oriented university that encourages undergraduate involvement in research, resources are offered so that aspects of the course may be adapted to situations which share only some features of the context in which it was developed.

The primary aim of ▶ Chap. 19, "Teaching Hungarian as Heritage Language in North America" by Rita Gardosi is to outline the most important centers of Hungarian schools and heritage language teaching in North America, focused mainly into Canada. In this study, the following topics are described: Hungarian churches, scout movement, folk dance groups, and nonprofit organizations. These are the key elements in preserving ethnic identity in the Western Hungarian diaspora. The 2011 census reported 316,765 Canadians of Hungarian descent. More than 90% of all Canadians with Hungarian ancestry live in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces. Hungarians arrived to North America in different waves of immigration. The first wave of immigrants arrived from the second half of the nineteenth century, primarily to escape increasing poverty in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to find greater economic opportunities abroad. This first wave of immigrants founded the first Hungarian churches and schools. The next, larger wave of Magyar immigrants fled Hungary in interwar period and near the end of the Second World War. Finally, there is the post-1950 era in Hungary which precipitated another influx of refugees to the American continent, mostly the young freedom fighters. This study describes 16 Hungarian heritage schools in Canada: two in Alberta, three in British Columbia, nine heritage schools in Ontario, and two in Quebec. It also includes higher education by presenting the Hungarian programs in Toronto and Alberta universities.

Engaging with language education in a heritage language context is a complex endeavor that transcends space and time. A heritage language is necessarily connected to past language use associated with older generations, perhaps even those who are no longer living. Heritage language is also associated with a different space, a place removed from the language context of those who are now seeking to learn or maintain the language. To engage with heritage language learning, previously established purposes and norms need to be reshaped through a younger generation who have different language communication opportunities, means, needs, and desires. In ▶ Chap. 11, "The Multiplicity Framework: Potential Applications for Heritage Language Education and Pedagogy," Donna Starks and Howard Nicholas outline a framework for understanding the communicative repertoire of heritage language learners and also for engaging them with their diverse and hybrid identities, the purposes for which they wish to use their languages and the various modes and modalities that are central to their diverse language learning needs.

In ▶ Chap. 35, "Transnational Hispanic Identity and Heritage Language Learning: A Canadian Perspective," Ivan Fernández places the learner's identity as a key component of language learning. Heritage language learning may be one of the most important domains for the confluence of identity and language learning. This intersection is particularly complex in the case of Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) teaching, since learners in this case not only have to contend with the identities of the different countries of origin and residence but also with a

pan-ethnic layer, that of Hispanic/Latino identity. This study examines the role of this pan-Hispanic identity in SHL learning and how it might be useful to foster a wider sense of investment in students by allowing them to develop a personal sense of identity that combines all these factors in strategic ways. Most studies of SHL learning have been based on US students, but here Canadian cases will be considered more in detail, since they highlight how identities change with specific local social conditions. Fernández argues that the elements that promote this investment in US learners may not work in a Canadian context, where other aspects of Hispanic identity would have to be emphasized.

▶ Chapter 25, "Turkish Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance in Germany" by Fatih Bayram and Clare Wright discusses the case of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany, considering the factors affecting heritage language maintenance and education, including parental and institutional perspectives. They contextualize this within a brief review of the history of Turkish migration to Germany, highlighting the relationship between the challenging integration process experienced by many Turkish immigrants to Germany, and the social, educational, and linguistic journey of the Turkish language within the Turkish community. Data from a recent research study presents empirical data examining associations between parental perspectives, including maintaining literacy, on Turkish heritage language maintenance in Germany and the linguistic outcomes of heritage language competence within the younger generation, presented here within the formalisms of *Processability Theory*. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the lack of a uniform approach from German governments toward accommodating Turkish language within the mainstream education system and how this may affect the future of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany.

▶ Chapter 5, "Unacknowledged Negotiations: Bilingual Students Report on How They Negotiate Their Languages Within the Monolingual Primary School System in Cyprus" by Katherine Fincham-Louis is part of a larger study on language and identity and reports on language use among a select group of Greek/English speaking bilingual children in state elementary schools in the Republic of Cyprus. Using a participatory case study approach, multiple in-depth interviews and artifacts were collected from the children and family members. The chapter describes what these simultaneous bilingual children report about how they negotiate their languages within a school system that does not actively acknowledge their bilingualism. The findings point to what can be termed a "secret space" of linguistic negotiations beyond the purview of the classroom teacher. It is within this space that the children detail their experiences of language use, negotiation, manipulation, and translanguaging. With increased globalization and immigration throughout Europe, the findings are important for what they reveal about bilingual children's language use and needs within monolingual school systems.

Fatih Bayram, Josh Prada, Diego Pascual y Cabo, and Jason Rothman's, ▶ Chap. 9, "Why Should Formal Linguistic Approaches to Heritage Language Acquisition Be Linked to Heritage Language Pedagogies?" provide a link between formal heritage language studies and heritage language pedagogy, two areas of

research that, despite being highly relevant to each other, have traditionally been approached from very different perspectives. To this end, the chapter reviews the major issues and most significant findings in each subfield. It also offers some insights as to how to implement advances in formal linguistic studies into the development of evidence-based pedagogical approaches to heritage speakers in a classroom setting and beyond.

A native language is most often transmitted from parent to child. The language directly connects the child to her parents. Criticizing the language of a child is indirectly criticizing her parents. Moreover, if the language of a heritage learner is different from the language of the community, this can affect the extent to which heritage speakers feel they are granted membership to the heritage community or their ethnic community. Because the heritage language is so closely connected to the roots of the speaker and to their sense of identity, a classroom that focuses on prescriptive norms only, can alienate and demotivate students. Various authors have therefore stressed the importance of discussing language variation in class. Frequently, authors who talk about awareness of language variation look at dialect variation and register variation. ▶ Chapter 15, "A Language Contact Perspective on Heritage Languages in the Classroom" focuses on another source of variation in heritage languages, namely, the effects of contact-induced change on the heritage language. Although the domain is slightly different, this chapter hinges on the same idea that knowing about social and linguistic factors in heritage languages is an important part of heritage education. The chapter is organized by Suzanne Pauline Aalberse as follows. First a general overview of possible outcomes of language contact is presented, followed by examples per situation.

▶ Chapter 13, "Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation" by Themistoklis Aravossitas and Marianthi Oikonomakou explores the profile and the professional development needs of heritage language (HL) teachers, as part of a community-based investigation about the status of Greek language education in Canada. A series of community initiatives aimed at assessing and improving the level of teaching and learning of Modern Greek has included (a) the profile of HL teachers who currently work at the elementary and secondary levels, and (b) the implementation of a pilot professional development course for noncertified instructors. Collecting data through targeted questionnaires at different times, this chapter sheds light on the conditions that HL practitioners are faced with and reveals that both teachers and administrators understand the need to enhance the teaching quality of HL programs through carefully designed professional development courses. In order to address the main challenges of HL education, and to support different categories of instructors, the chapter supports that such courses need to focus not only on language learning principles but also on promoting community knowledge and on improving the pedagogical conditions for HL classes, most of which are held on the edges of mainstream education.

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Part II

Heritage Language Learners

Developing Metacognition and Interculturality in Heritage Language Learners

2

Hui Ling Xu and Robyn Moloney

Abstract

This chapter reports a case study project which examined tertiary heritage language learners' perceptions of a pedagogical intervention, which embedded autonomous and intercultural learning in their Chinese language program. The goal of the study was to enhance heritage learners' engagement motivation and performance in their Chinese language studies, through offering them autonomous learning tasks and reflection opportunities. Twenty student participants engaged in a variety of linguistic, intercultural and reflection tasks, across one semester. Analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data shows that students responded positively to the intervention and evidenced a number of important outcomes. The study demonstrates the role of reflection in developing metacognition. For heritage learners, the reflection was an opportunity for identity development and motivation. The intervention developed students' capacity for independent learning and supported motivation and continuation to further study. The intervention was a catalyst for students to actively seek opportunities for interaction with the Chinese language community, using their family and community knowledge. The study shows the particular relevance and affordance of autonomous learning strategies for Chinese heritage language learners and has implications for all HL teaching and learning. The study provides new understandings of the potential and ability of Chinese heritage learners to manipulate, exploit, and extend their knowledge of two or more languages.

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Contents

Introduction

Diaspora migrant communities in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia commonly seek to maintain their ethnolinguistic traditions. In the case of Chinese, the strong interest in heritage language (HL) acquisition is also due to the perceived increasing capital and sociopolitical significance of Chinese language. The learning of Chinese has been promoted in Australian education as part of the Australian Government's drive to produce "Asia-literate" graduates (Commonwealth of Australia 2012). As such, at tertiary level, there has been a steady increase of students choosing to study Chinese, including heritage language (HL) learners from Chinese speaking family backgrounds.

This situation parallels the North American tertiary context (see He and Xiao 2008; Weger-Guntharp 2008), featuring studies of Spanish, Russian, and Chinese HL learners, among others. As Kondo-Brown and Brown (2008) note, however, we know much less about heritage learners than we do about foreign language learners. In Australia, this situation is even more pronounced at post-secondary level as the HL learner phenomenon is under-researched, even while enrolments of HL learners into university Chinese programs increase rapidly.

Research in HL education has until recently focused on areas such as HL learners' linguistic profiles, identification of subgroups, and HL learner identity development (see Comanaru and Noels 2009; Li and Duff 2008; Carreira 2004; He 2010). A number of studies have established the differences between the needs and

motivation of HL learner groups and traditional foreign language learner groups (see Kondo-Brown and Brown 2008; Xu and Moloney 2014). This has called into question the most effective pedagogy for HL learners. Montrul (2012) has called for greater attention to "pedagogical questions" in heritage language study, which must entail a better understanding of our learners.

Our study attempted to shed light on HL education issues by identifying HL learners' perceptions of an intervention which embedded autonomous and intercultural learning in their language program. The rationale for such an approach was pedagogically driven. As HL learners may have lived from childhood with some degree of bilingual ability, whether passive receptive skills or active use of the language, it follows that we might expect that they may have some level of metalinguistic (moving between two languages) and metacognitive knowledge (self-awareness of how they learn language). However, anecdotal evidence from teachers (such as author one) seems to indicate a general lack of engagement in and outside of the classroom, poor performance, as well as low retention rate from beginner to higher level. HL learners may also be expected or perceived to have sound intercultural knowledge and the competence to move between different cultural settings smoothly given that they interact and live between two cultures on a daily basis. Yet, our study (Moloney and Xu 2015) found that HL learners of Chinese reported favorably on their experience undertaking an intercultural learning task, commenting on how the task had helped them gain a deeper understanding of not only their heritage culture but that of Australia. It is against such a backdrop that we carried out the study with the goal of encouraging autonomous learning and intercultural learning of HL learners. We were mindful of the body of research which has shown that autonomous learning, in languages, may play a significant role in language acquisition such as increasing vocabulary and linguistic knowledge, as well as boost confidence, self-efficacy, and metacognition in learning (e.g., Benson 2013; Nunan and Richards 2015; Macaro 2006). Autonomous learning can also contribute to students' critical reflection on culture, not only seeking to understand the target culture but also to reflect more critically on the home culture. Wang et al. (2009) have examined metacognition in non-background learners of Chinese, that is, students learning from beginner level, as an additional language, without prior knowledge. This study builds on the findings of Wang et al. (2009), but turns its attention specifically to heritage Chinese language learners. It contributes new knowledge to the heritage language research field.

Literature Review

The Nature of Heritage Language Learners of Chinese

To find a definition of the heritage language learner, which is relevant to many different learners and contexts globally, is complex. According to Montrul (2012), heritage languages refer to the languages spoken by immigrants and their children, most commonly "minority languages" in relation to majority language of national

education and public life. Cho et al. (1997) define a heritage language as simply the language associated with one's cultural background. In other countries such as Australia, analogous terms used are "ethnic languages" and "community languages." Definitions of HL learners are thus based on different perspectives involved and on national, educational, and linguistic contexts (see Valdes 2001; Kondo-Brown and Brown 2008). We find Montrul's (2012, p. 4) definition, which makes no assumptions as to linguistic capability, best aligned with the Australian situation: heritage speakers "are the children of immigrants born in the host country or immigrant children who arrived in the host country some time in childhood."

In defining Chinese HL learners, it may be more complex than in other HL groups such as Spanish, Japanese, or Korean, where the HL is associated historically with a more homogeneous population, a more precise geographical area or nation-state, and has only one shared standard language variety. In the case of Chinese, both the national origins and the language varieties are diverse (Li and Duff 2008). Thus, a broader definition, including both Mandarin and dialect speakers, needs to be considered (Wu 2008; Wong Ka and Yang 2010). Thus, we adopt a broader definition of Chinese HL learners, to describe those who have contact with or exposure to some form of Chinese through family or community connection but have been educated primarily through English. They are typically fluent in English but with varying degrees of proficiency in their HL. This may include students born in Australia or immigrated at young age, of Chinese speaking families, from China, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Indonesia.

Understanding Motivation in Chinese HL Learners

As noted, one goal of our study was to support greater motivation in students. Our study is thus informed by understanding of the literature concerning motivation in language learning. The influential notions of L2 Motivational Self System developed by Dörnyei (2009) and Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) inform our understanding and analysis of this study. Central to Dornyei's work has been the description of the components of an ideal L2 self and an ought-to L2 self. The ideal self refers to the representation of the attributes such as hopes, aspirations, or wishes that one would like to possess, while ought-to self refers to representation of attributes such as duties and obligations or responsibilities that one believes one ought to possess (Dörnyei 2009, p. 13). If our ideal self is concerned with the mastery of an L2, then the "ideal L2 self" is a powerful motivator to learn the L2. The ideal language self-image gives rise to positive attitudes toward members of the L2 community. Our ideal self also naturally wants to be professionally successful, and as such, it is linked to the instrumental motives related to career advancement. However, of the instrumental motives with a prevention focus, for example, to study in order not to fail an exam or not to disappoint one's parents, they are part of the ought-to self (Dörnyei 2009). Both of these have been observed in Xu and Moloney's (2014) study.

This study involves relationships between students' effort and persistence in both setting and achieving goals for themselves in their Chinese study. Ely (1986) points

out that it is important to distinguish between "the goal toward which concerted activity is directed and the effort or persistence demonstrated in the process of striving for the goal" (p. 28). Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) argue that the amount of effort the students intend to exert can indicate their motivational magnitude. In Wen's study (2011), expectations of effort were assumed to be direct indicators of motivation, that is, persons who had high expectations of strategies and efforts would be actively engaged in their learning. We hold the same views that learning behaviors such as strategies and effort can be mediated through motivation which in turn supports their language learning. This is enhanced if a degree of independence, or autonomy in learning, can be introduced.

Understanding Autonomous and Intercultural Learning for Chinese HL Learners

Research attention to autonomy in language learning has diversified during recent years. Autonomy could be described as the "capacity to manage one's own learning (dependent on)...certain underlying psychological capacities" (Benson 2007, p. 23). Little (2009) claims autonomy supports student personal development, recognizing the *need* to be autonomous, the need to succeed, and the need for interpersonal connection (p. 223). He asserts the importance of goal setting, self-assessment, and reflection in shaping and supporting the student's learning journey. Furthermore, autonomous learning can also influence the learners' behaviors and attitudes in other settings too (Little 1991). Benson (2007) notes the wide-ranging contexts within which autonomy can be realized. These may include self-access, CALL, distance learning, tandem learning, study abroad, out-of-class learning, and self-instruction.

Pedagogy which focuses on communicative skills alone has been critiqued as failing to stimulate critical cultural understanding (Doyé 1996; Kramsch 2006). Students need to acquire habits of critical thinking about cultures or "intercultural competence." This notion may include knowledge, attitudes, and reflective abilities to decenter from, and question, one's own cultural practice. Sercu (2002) notes the relationship between autonomous and intercultural learning: through autonomy learning, students develop a set of knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to grow in intercultural competence (p. 63). Taking an "intercultural approach" in Chinese pedagogy is recognized as breaking new ground (Orton 2011). Moloney and Xu's (2015) study reported the result of some initial innovative intercultural strategies in a mixed (HL and non-HL) class. Benefits of the project included increased cognitive activity, heightened awareness of culture within language, and increased motivation. This current study builds on the earlier study but turns its attention particularly to the relationship between autonomous learning and intercultural reflection in HL learners.

For students to develop in these two areas, Reinders (ibid) underlines that reflection should be occurring at all stages throughout the learning process, particularly at the end, as it feeds into the student's future work (p. 183). As it will be seen

in section "Findings," reflective ability is shown to be critical in the area of intercultural enquiry and gaining effective study strategies.

However, research also has stressed the need for teachers to support student intercultural awareness and facilitate autonomous learning. Reinders (2011), for example, has offered practical support in choosing, designing, and utilizing resources when seeking to encourage autonomy outside the classroom. She suggests a design consisting of eight iterative stages during the autonomous learning cycle, asserting the salience of teacher support at all stages during the learning process, without which learners can fail to achieve autonomy in learning. Also important is the need to identify student needs, have goals, organize learning, choose materials and learning approaches, and take time to rehearse, check progress, assess, and revise (ibid, pp. 177–183).

Understanding Metacognitive Beliefs and Strategies for Chinese HL Learners

According to Anderson (2008), strong metacognitive skills empower language learners: when learners reflect upon their learning, they become better prepared to make conscious decisions about what they can do to improve their learning. Wang et al. (2009) share the same view, stating that students' beliefs, perception of relevance, and positive outlook are integral to autonomous learning and can empower language learners. However, beliefs alone are not enough. Wang, Spencer, and Xing (ibid) raise the significance of learning processes, such as the need to plan, control, and evaluate their learning, if students are able to manage their own learning in an effective manner, describing these strategies as "sequential processes to control cognitive activities and to ensure that a cognitive goal is achieved" (p. 48). Their study shows that high levels of self-efficacy accompany student success in the language, while strong metacognitive strategies impacted positively on learners' achievement. Wang et al.'s study is one of the first, in the field of Chinese language pedagogy, to highlight the worth of encouraging students to reflect on their learning and equipping them with methods to engage in strategies that facilitate their learning and build their self-confidence. However, the participants in the study of Wang et al. (ibid) were beginner learners of Chinese and did not include any HL learners. As noted, heritage language learners differ from beginner foreign language learners, in needs, motivations, and linguistic knowledge background. It is thus appropriate to build on Wang et al.'s (2009) work, by conducting this study with a cohort of Chinese HL learners.

Methodology

This research study presents the analysis of a student-centered teaching approach which introduced autonomous and intercultural learning in the intermediate Chinese course in an Australian university over one semester of 2015. The study used both quantitative and qualitative data collected over this period. The quantitative data comprise pre- and

post-project questionnaires, while the qualitative data come from three sources: (a) students' learning logs, (b) reflective essays, and (c) focus group interviews. For this particular study, as noted, the data relate only to the HL members of the class.

The Project

The autonomous and intercultural learning project took the form of an E-portfolio and consisted of three components:

1. Understanding the concepts of autonomous learning and intercultural learning. For this, students selected and reviewed two articles related to these topics and viewed a film excerpt featuring intercultural interaction. They then composed a short reflective essay identifying factors facilitating or inhibiting intercultural communication.
2. Learning logs and learning activities. Students composed five learning logs across the entire semester, reflecting on their week-to-week learning experience, such as how they set their goals, how they identified and assessed their own learning strategies, and what represented their extra efforts exerted out of class learning. For the learning activities, there were ten activities related to language acquisition and intercultural experience. Students had the freedom to choose five of these ten activities, depending on their focus. The language acquisition activities included evaluating learning apps, programs, and links that would assist their learning and which they could share with their peers, recording their performance such as reciting a poem or singing a song in the target language, accompanied by an explanation of their choice of poem and song, and designing language games for their peers to complete who then needed to provide a critique of this game. For the intercultural learning activities, students could interview a native speaker, write and reflect on their past intercultural experiences, or outline their personal relationship to one of the cultural factors identified in component 1.
3. Reflective essay writing. Upon completion of the components, at end of semester, students composed a reflective essay, capturing their journey, noting their development in targeted areas and critiquing the project.

Participants

The participants were 20 HL learners, aged 20–25, representing two thirds of the total mixed (HL and non-HL) class group taught by researcher/author 1 in 2015. All of them volunteered to participate in the study. The HL group of this study is diverse in terms of family language (Mandarin and dialects), area of ancestry, amount of linguistic and cultural knowledge, amount of family contact and travel, and in motivation and application. The individuality of development in HL learners has been noted in a number of studies (Valdes 2001; Carreira 2004). We also acknowledge the advantages and disadvantages or researching one's students. The advantage

lies in the research's immediate relationship to the learning and teaching context, yielding valuable insights into improving the teaching practice and learning experience. Disadvantage may lie in the "desirability effect" (Neuman 2000), that is, the desire to please the teacher, causing contamination of the data. We took measures to avoid coercion to participate and asked a research assistant to collect some of the data and to conduct the focus group interviews.

Data Analysis

The quantitative and qualitative data were used as triangulation and corroboration for trustworthy findings. Prior to the commencement of any activities, a pre-project survey, in the form of a questionnaire, was administered, with the questions reflecting issues that the study would target. The self-reported competence ratings could then be considered as a baseline from which to measure any progress. A post-project survey was also conducted to measure self-assessed improvements, above the baseline, as a result of participating in the project. Fourteen HL students responded to pre-project survey, and 20 students responded to post-project survey. The statements of both the pre- and post-project questionnaires use a Likert scale with values from 1 to 5, with the value 1 representing *strongly disagree* and 5 *strongly agree.*

Findings

Quantitative Data

The following results relate to pre- and post-project sentiments of the student, that is, whether they agree or disagree with the statements of the questionnaires. Sentiment levels were constructed by combining together the lowest two scores (1 and 2) and classifying them as disagree, combining together the highest two scores (4 and 5) and classifying them as agree, and treating the middle score 3 as neutral. For every comparison in our study, Chi-Square tests were undertaken to determine whether there was any real difference in student sentiment. In all cases, the number agree responses were significantly greater than expected (invariably yielding P-values < 0.00).

The pre-project questionnaire comprised 23 questions (see Appendix 1), which related to two broad domains: autonomous learning and intercultural communication awareness. Autonomous learning can be further divided into three areas: goal setting, engagement, and strategy. Results shown in Fig. 1 below indicate that these students started from a relatively high baseline. That is, they felt reasonably confident in their abilities before they commenced the activities in the project. Of the autonomous learning subcategories, the percentage of agree on the goal subcategory ranks the highest, followed by engagement and then strategy. However, there is no significant difference ($\chi^2 = 2.959$, P-value $= 0.982$) in students' perceived skills

**Pre-Project Self-Assessment
(Heritage Students)**

Autonomous Learning   **Intercultural
Awareness**

Fig. 1 Pre-project self-assessment

**Post-Project Self-Assessed Improvement
(Heritage Students)**

Autonomous Learning Development   **Intercultural Awareness
Development**   **Effectiveness**
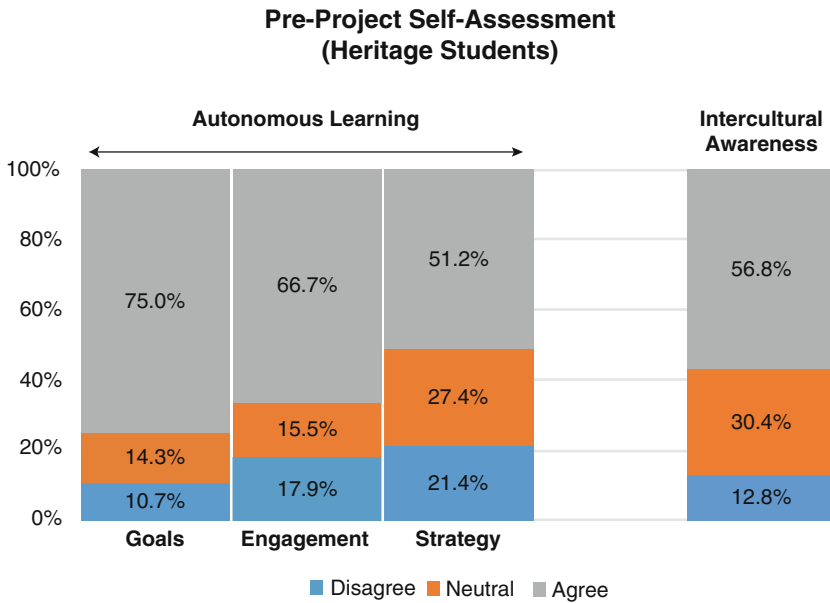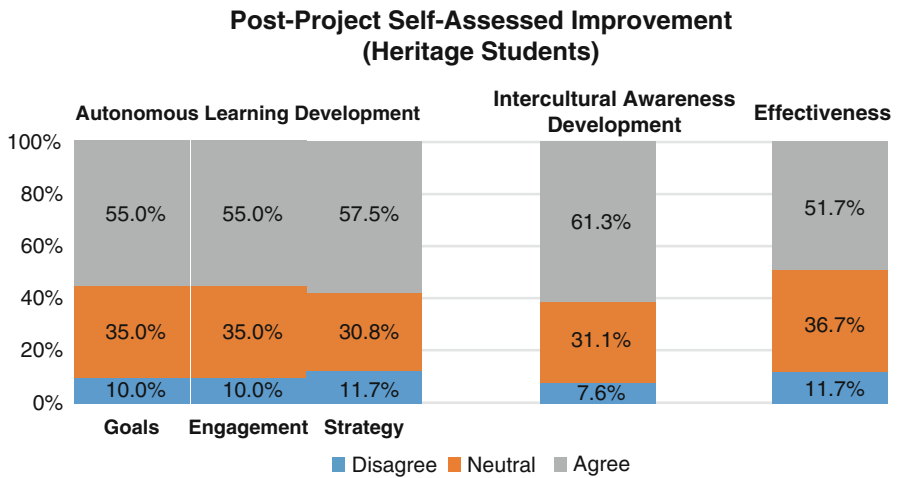
Fig. 2 Post-project self-assessed improvement

between these groups or between autonomous learning (goals, engagement, strategy) and intercultural awareness.

Figure 2 shows results of the post-project survey. The 18 questions of this survey (see Appendix 2) fell broadly in three groups: autonomous learning development,

intercultural communication awareness development, and effectiveness of the project, such as "I have become more able to take responsibility for my study," and "I have become more aware of the importance of learning intercultural skills for more successful communication with the target language community." As such, the results are not a direct comparison with the pre-project survey, that is, they are not an indication of where they were and where they are now. Rather, the post-project survey results are an indication of their sentiments toward statements that measure their belief on their development. Within the autonomous learning, three subcategories could be further divided into goal setting, engagement, and learning strategy, to try to match the pre-project areas as closely as possible. It is evident that students agree significantly to all the questions, and this is consistent across the three main groups ($\chi^2 = 4.125$, P-value $= 0.389$). These results suggest that students believe that they have made substantial improvement in autonomous learning and intercultural awareness learning, as well as highly rating the effectiveness of the project.

Qualitative Data

In order to corroborate the quantitative data, three sets of qualitative data were analyzed to find out if the students' positive sentiments could be further supported. As noted above, the data were drawn from students' learning logs, reflective journals, and focus group interviews.

Qualitative Data Set 1: Students' Learning Logs

During the entire semester, each student composed five learning logs, which recorded their weekly study experience. Of the 20 participants, apart from one student who completed three entries, and two who completed four entries, the rest completed five learning logs. A thorough reading of the log entries by the two researchers revealed several important and recurring themes in student entries.

In terms of week-to-week study, many students wrote about how they set goals/objectives on what they wanted to do and achieve for a particular period of time or for achieving a certain outcome to improve on a certain language area. A number of students also were frank about how they had to adjust their goals because they had been overambitious or due to time constraint. Secondly, almost all the students described their out-of-class learning, apart from their effort in consolidating their class work. The most common activities they chose were using multimedia such as watching Chinese programs on TV, Chinese language dramas, or YouTube. A number of students wrote about seeking opportunities to practice speaking with native speakers of Chinese, such as work clients/customers, international students on the campus, and their Chinese speaking parents. Related to their efforts are their learning strategies. For this, students reported on what methods they adopted and for what areas of the language. Many of them commented on their dialect accents and their feeling of weakness in writing. As such, they adopted their own methods such as seeking extra speaking practice, preparing flash cards, and traditional methods

such as copying characters over and over again. The learning activities (see methodology above) included one task that enabled students to locate and evaluate some learning aids such as apps, links, software, and programs. Almost all of the students chose this activity and utilized the ICT affordances for their own learning. Finally, in the log entries, students' self-awareness was clear. They commented on their weaknesses, the effectiveness of learning methods, and their own improvement, and they remarked on their increased confidence and enhanced motivation.

In terms of intercultural learning, many students wrote about how they enjoyed doing learning activities that aimed to develop their cultural awareness. Most notably, many students wrote about the importance of critical thinking about culture and language. They reflected on their personal experiences interacting with native speakers and whether they were successful or not. They also mentioned activities that would help them improve intercultural communication skills. Findings of this section are summarized in Table 1 below, with some illustrative quotes from the participants provided.

Qualitative Data Set 2: Reflective Essays

The following two data sets, reflective essays and focus group interviews, were both completed at the conclusion of the project. While they were both designed to elicit reflection on the project as a whole, and they share some thematic similarities, their contexts are different, and thus they will be reported separately. The reflective essays, written in isolation, were submitted at the end of the teaching period, as an assessable task in the unit. This positions them as subject to "desirability effect" (Neuman 2000) in that they were written for Author 1 in her role of teacher. The focus group interviews were held in groups of 4–5, audio-recorded, at the end of the semester, and the interviews were conducted by a research assistant. Thus, the data is produced within peer social interaction, with possible peer group influence.

While the learning log data reported above was constructed weekly, with immediacy, and often hurriedly "on the run," the reflective essay was composed, as stated, at the conclusion of the unit. Students thus were able to take the personal retrospective view and evaluate holistically rather than in fragments. Students communicate their understanding of the significance of the learning for them as HL learners and express their metacognitive appreciation of the enhancement of their learning effort.

Three themes emerged from a coding and critical analysis of the reflective essay data. These echo and triangulate themes are identified from the quantitative data and the reflective log entries (section "Quantitative Data"). And yet, students appear here to be digging deeper, given the chance for further reflection. Three salient themes were apparent in the reflective essays, the metacognitive value of reflection in learning, the ability and appetite for autonomous learning, and students' enthusiasm in intercultural enquiry. In the following, we present these in more detail.

The Metacognitive Value of Reflection in Learning

The majority of students were enthusiastic about the value of the learning log, finding it a "tool of discipline and reflexivity" (S3), providing a "deep reflective space" (S3). S6 believed the log writing "forced me to put myself into the zone of

Table 1 Summary of learning logs findings

Themes identified	Quotes from participants
Setting and adjusting goals	It is my own goal to this semester to improve my skill with grammar. (S1)
	To be able to pronounce better, especially paying attention to tones is one goal I would like to achieve (S10)
	My goal is to watch at least one video a day in order to continuously expose to (the language) and get myself into the rhythm of the Chinese language (S7)
	… It is plausible that I will need to reinvigorate it later on in the semester as my workload changes, but so far so good (S1)
	I am planning to make flash cards such that I can revise on the train. I am also planning on finding some Chinese dramas and shows to watch (S4)
Engagement: 1. Work hard on class work 2. Seek extra study outside	I have continued watching a Chinese TV drama series in Mandarin which has been very helpful with improving my vocab… To improve my speaking; I have grown more keen in attempting to speak Mandarin whenever the opportunities arise (S8)
	I will be committing a few hours a week to spending time with a Mandarin coworker (S19)
Learning strategies	... I will be continuing the method I used that was mentioned in the last blog as they seem to be working in terms of translation skills and memorizing new words. (S8)
	I found that through translating the passage, it helped me further engage with learning Chinese and get accustomed to the new words (S17)
	I had also made an audio recording of myself singing a song in M for this week's activity. I don't have talent in singing but nevertheless it was good practice for pronunciation (S8)
	The best way to autonomously learn is to learn from real-life situations (S19)
Self-awareness 1. Aware of weakness 2. Self-discovery of what works	This week also made me realize that doing all my Chinese work consecutively, instead of splitting them up, was more effective for my own learning (S17)
	So far, the pattern of practice I have set out works well (S1)
	To my surprise, I found that it (by preparing for the class properly) really made an enormous difference in terms of my language learning experience. It allowed to more effectively utilize valuable face to face time (S19)
Intercultural learning 1. Aware of importance 2. Personal experiences	Having been brought up in Australia, I can admit that a lot of Chinese culture is foreign to me (S19)
	I think this experience inspired me to immerse myself in the culture and see things from a different perspective (S19)

learning by myself." As a heritage learner, S7 wrote that it was a "great starting point as a means of reflection upon my Chinese identity…particularly facilitated me to deeply identify the reason why I chose to learn Chinese." S9 wrote that, with the advantage of hindsight, and showing metacognition, he

didnt realise until the end how helpful the (log) journal entries were. Reading the log entries, I can reflect and evaluate my learning... I see that my study methods have changed significantly from the beginning of the course till now, as well as my perspective and attitude towards learning and trying new things.

For S18 the regular blog entries gave him "a sense of pride, in that I've come so far in these few months, and learned so much." He believed that "without this regular blog entry, students have no way of really gauging their progress throughout the semester." In fact, S18 wrote that he thought the minimum length of the log entry should be increased from 100 to 200 words, "to really dig deep...the blog will not only develop better students, but better people in general."

Further, students commented that the reflection had afforded them new critical awareness, new self-knowledge about language learning, Chinese language, and culture, with some recurrence of the phrase: "Never thought about it." For example, S4 found the reflection particularly sharpened her awareness of how intercultural factors impact her daily communication:

I am so used to communicating constantly with people in the target language... however, by reflecting on my experiences, it has demonstrated to me the way which cross-cultural communication influences my daily conversations with people from a different culture and also showed me the constant presence of intercultural communication in my daily conversations with people. (S4)

S5 similarly found that the reflection and the activities "did in some form encourage or expand my learning of Chinese in ways I'd never thought to try...it enforces certain honesty."

However, two critical perceptions included comments on exposure and isolation: S5 found the reflection log confronting, as she had "reluctance to divulge and reflect so much concerning my own processes of learning." S1, with a preference for learning in social interaction, found the logs to be too isolated an activity. For him it was "difficult to invest in content that we would not be able to discuss." He put forward the suggestion that this reflection could be done as in-class discussion.

Ability and Appetite for Opportunities in Autonomous Learning

While it might be assumed that HL learners have access to many resources in their community, and possess advanced linguistic ability, this may not be the case. Student data revealed that in order to help them learn better, most students chose activities which asked them to find, and assess, digital resources for learning Chinese, available online. This included a variety of media, including apps, movies, newspapers, and songs. Participant data confirms the findings of other studies (Benson 2013; Nunan and Richards 2015) in autonomous language learning, and how it opens up a range of opportunities for students' learning.

S18 found that this activity "influenced me to look beyond what I knew, and expand my horizons. It allowed me to realize I had so many more resources available." S4 felt empowered that "I know how to better myself in learning via the use of outside materials such as apps, websites."

Similarly, S15 "discovered new learning that helped me increase my knowledge." As part of this discovery and interaction with various resources, S15 became critically aware that "Chinese has a significantly different structure than English. . . I have a heavy north eastern accent when I speak Chinese since I've grown up with people who speak with that accent. I never knew I was speaking with that accent. The learning task helped me to notice it."

Students also liked that the task was not just to find a resource but also to critically assess it, giving them a new mindset to take forward. S5 commented that she enjoyed gaining the "mindset of assessing a tool personally before using it. . .have a new critical mindset, I am a lot more aware and in control when using a new resource." S18 maintained that through these activities, he has moved from a focus on passing the exam to an attitude of asking "what can I learn and how will it contribute to me as an individual?".

In recent years, scholars have considered the complex connection between language, literacy, and identity issues for heritage language learners (e.g., Lo-Philip 2010). We see this reflected in S12 discovering that the task allowed her "to build up an interest on reading Chinese books, as they are not as boring as I thought they were originally." S12 then goes on to read Chinese newspapers and watch TV dramas with her mother. From the online resources, S13 chose the "most useful activity, songs, because my immediate family go back to visit relatives every 3 years or so. We always go out to karaoke." We note the frequent intersection of the role of family with the use of literacy resources, helping HL learners to develop progressively higher levels of knowledge of language and culture. S19 concludes that "autonomous learning is as important as taking lessons in class, as what you are learning in class is never enough to help you. There will always be instances where you need to do extra research at home. . . As a background speaker; I try my best to speak Chinese whenever possible to my parents and relatives." The autonomous tasks were also seen as motivating factors: "I have taken a more active approach in my learning through planning and ongoing-self-reflection" (S7).

Enthusiasm in Intercultural Enquiry

A number of studies has profiled the diversity of experience within heritage learners (Kondo-Brown 2005; Moloney and Oguro 2015), suggesting they will have diverse responses to intercultural enquiry (Xu and Moloney 2014). However, within this cohort, the responses are generally positive, noting the enjoyment, meaningfulness, and usefulness of the intercultural tasks. S1, for example, wrote that the intercultural tasks "were definitely more interesting and engaging than many of the tasks," while S3 enjoyed the relevance of the work, in affording her "opportunities to apply it in real life." S6 wanted all other language units to include intercultural tasks as they "would broaden a student's knowledge."

A number of students noted that as heritage speakers, they previously took the Chinese and Australian cultures for granted, but through the activities, they have developed heightened awareness of not just cultural differences but also similarities. S2's comment is representative:

> ...have definitely enhanced my intercultural communication awareness, although I was previously aware of these factors because I'm a heritage learner. Nevertheless there are many cultural factors when learning Chinese and these tasks allowed me to explore more of these factors, allowing me to enhance my already established knowledge of Chinese cultural factors.

The majority (15/20) of students also mentioned their use of reflecting on past and personal experience in their own lives and again used family or native speakers as a resource for intercultural reflection and as a learning resource. S11 wrote that "I spoke to my mother about Malaysia and it brought back good memories and made me both proud and happy that I have the privilege to experience two completely different cultures." S13 reflected on the dual benefits of talking to native speakers in Chinese, "while gathering further spoken techniques and structures and thus enhancing my awareness of intercultural communication." S8 notes the importance of learning relating to one's personal experience: "intercultural learning is hard to understand and learn from a textbook...to be able to relate it to my own life made it easier to understand." S12 echoes the same view: "my intercultural communication through my past experience allowed me to relate to myself rather than traditional structured activities."

Students also appear to have achieved intercultural learning outcomes, such as gaining self-knowledge and engaging with critical enquiry into one's position and identity (Holliday 2010). "This activity was a great starting point as a means of reflection upon my Chinese identity...particularly facilitated me to deeply identify the reason why I chose to learn Chinese" (S7). Through the intercultural tasks, some students discussed not only cultural differences but also paid more attention to commonalities which has been marked as more complex and critical learning. S11, for example, has started to understand more of "the sameness between Mandarin and English than I ever had, helped to 'demystify' China; there is less of a sense of 'us and them' with regards to the Chinese people and their culture."

Findings from Data Set 3: Focus Group Interviews

The focus group interviews took place at the end of semester. The semi-structured interview questions asked students to discuss their choices in the activities, how they went about the tasks, what they enjoyed best, and whether the tasks caused them to reflect on their learning.

The time structure appears to have placed them at a further remove from the weekly tasks. They move to a progressively long-term critical focus on the enduring personal advantages of the project and what they carry forward into future study. This appears to be focused largely on a new sense of independence and confidence. This triangulates and intersects with the findings from other data sources, but sharpens our focus on heritage learner capacity for longer-term thinking and personal development.

When asked what the best feature of the project was, a number of students replied similarly to FG1S4: "Best thing about the project? Learning independently, definitely – it means to learn more from our class, and finding other resource materials to educate myself at the same time." FG1S5 extends this idea, focusing on what is needed to learn a language: "Best thing? – the autonomous, because doing all the tasks made me more aware of how I could make it better myself. That's definitely vital when you're learning a language. I have taken a lot about the autonomous away from it" (FG1S5). FG2 S2 reflected that the enduring quality she will take away from the project was "setting goals and actually assessing yourself about what works and what does not work, in working towards that goal, and finding ways to achieve it."

There was recognition that the project itself modeled skills required to be independent learners: (FG2 S4) "We've acquired the skills that we need for autonomous learning." FG2 S4 commented that it gave her a sense of critical self-focus: "it made you reflect on the amount of study were putting into Chinese." Students commented on their increased metacognition about diversity and differentiation within language learning in general: "it allowed me to see different ways that different people learn languages, what works for different people." We note the illustration of Little's (2009, p. 223) assertion that students need to be autonomous, to succeed, and to interpersonally connect.

The interviewees offered their new perception of what their heritage Chinese study can be, in the future. They commented on the (motivating) flexibility offered by the project's choices, the open-endedness of tasks, and that it has contributed to their construction of themselves as competent users of Chinese, which they will carry forward into their future, to "improve on our Chinese ourselves" (FG3S1). FG1S3 believed that "we are more aware of what we need to work on, to better our autonomous learning. So, we're more prepared moving forward when we enter the next year in Chinese" (FG1 S3).

Such new perceptions project a forward-looking attitude, where students are trying to establish a "future L2 self," with dynamic motivation that can contribute to a future as a competent language user.

Discussion

The project was conducted to foster students' independent learning and deepen their intercultural awareness, with the ultimate aim to motivate their engagement and study interests. Common themes are triangulated by the different sets of data, suggesting the validity and truthfulness of students' perceptions. The findings illustrate a number of developments in students, confirming the usefulness of the task.

The first salient outcome is the importance of reflection in developing student metacognition. By introducing reflective activities, such as the learning logs,

students report that they develop metacognitive beliefs and strategies, to set and adjust goals and design ways to achieve them. For these Chinese HL learners, reflection, in addition, afforded some particular experiences and had a role in identity development and motivation. The findings thus extend other studies such as Wang et al. (2009) which underlined the essential role of reflection activities in developing metacognition in Chinese language learning.

Secondly, the findings show development of more critical analysis ability in students. In their use of the reflection opportunities, the students appear to go beyond just observation of themselves, to deeper analysis, drawing inferences and conclusions (Dewey 1933/1986). Students appear to understand that they need to both understand their experiences in the social context and also understand how they can use this knowledge to develop their practice in the future.

Thirdly, and the most salient of all, the task has developed students' capacity for independent learning, exerting effort not seen previously. Embedding autonomous and intercultural learning in place of a teacher-centered, "chalk and talk" classroom is thus shown to be successful in students becoming more motivated and in continuation to further study. Such self-reported motivational intensity was reflected in a 90% retention rate to the next level, not seen in previous years.

Fourthly, it is the nourishment of the personal identity factor, supporting the "second language future self" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009) which may particularly motivate the heritage learner. These learners' identity is constructed around the ability to communicate, express oneself, and participate as a language user in their heritage language community. The data showed that the students were actively seeking opportunities to engage in interaction with the Chinese language community, taking opportunities to exploit their family and community "funds of knowledge" (González et al. 2013). This is the knowledge they bring to the classroom but which commonly remains non-activated.

Thus, in sum, this project has tapped students' heritage learner potential and moved them ahead as heritage learners of Chinese, with increased confidence in becoming an adult user of the language.

Conclusion

As Anderson (2008) notes, many language learners struggle to know how to study effectively and make progress in developing their language skills (p. 108). The study demonstrates that by introducing autonomous learning activities, the participants slowly but eventually gained the skills in developing strategies that suited their individual needs, learning styles, and their goals. They have developed metacognitive skills which enable them to manage their own learning, "thereby rendering themselves less dependent on others or on the vicissitudes of the learning situation" (Anderson, ibid). One important teaching implication thus is that it is important to

create meaningful learning experience for all learners to do on their own so as to increase their engagement and study interests, but for heritage language learners, we should also tap into their hidden knowledge fund as a motivating factor, such as their cross cultural insights, prior knowledge, and their easy access to the target language community.

The study highlights the role of meaningful interaction through literacies in the heritage language which generates more identity and engagement capital (Wang 2004). In a circular relationship, stronger support of heritage identity can foster high levels of language and literacy acquisition, as "the root of people's identities and ultimately about the ways in which people situate themselves in the world" (Gee 1988 p. 40). The consumption of various media in the project also appeared to play a role in shaping the heritage learners' emerging and fluid perceptions of Chinese culture, and themselves, as members of a desirable community and culture. These autonomous learning activities contribute to their ongoing identity and adult life-world transitions.

Another teaching implication points to the important role of teachers. Anderson (2008) believes that if we want to develop metacognitively aware language learners, we must have metacognitively aware teachers. So rather than just focusing on language issues, "educators can structure a learning atmosphere where thinking about what happens in the learning process will lead to stronger language skills" (p. 104). The study supports this point: the designing of innovation such as task-based, student-centered approach has created an autonomous learning context, in explicitly nurturing the agency in students to be engaged with language and intercultural learning for personal reasons and for pleasure, to build sustained motivation and involvement.

This study contributes to emerging literature which is stressing the role of new technologies, for language learners, in accessing pop culture, for example, through animation and cartoons, in the development of individualized L2 self, increasing motivation and identity (Besser and Chik 2014). This will be a consideration in the design of future iterations of the task.

While the project has the limitations of a case study, conducted in one particular learning context, we believe the study can be replicated and employed to create potential for change in pedagogy in different contexts of HL teaching and learning. The authors will conduct future iterations of the project, with modifications, to make use of student feedback and refine the project further. In future, we may conduct some tracking of student assessment results, and retention rates, to identify longer-term ongoing benefit.

The study has implications for the future design of pedagogy for all HL learners. Learners have demonstrated potential for autonomous language learning, and for intercultural enquiry, and the learners themselves perceive that these activities have personal relevance and support motivation. For successful learning, such pedagogies should be a feature of all HL teaching and learning.

Appendix 1

Pre-Task Questionnaire:
This questionnaire aims to collect your views on independent language learning and intercultural language learning. **We would greatly appreciate your feedback** so that we are able to improve our course for future students. **We appreciate you taking time to complete this questionnaire**.
·   All the information collected will be kept confidential and **de-identified** for research purposes.
·   Please answer the following questions by clicking the answer chosen, or by filling in the details when required.
·   Please complete **all** sections.
<u>**Section 1: Demographic information**</u>

Name _____
Age   _____
Gender _____
Language Spoken at Home _____
Number of years learning Chinese or Spanish_____
Native Language (what do you consider your mother tongue?)
_____
Country of Origin _____
Current or planned major: _____
Is your study of Chinese or Spanish
a.   an elective?
b.   part of a major?

<u>**Section Two**</u>: **Likert Scale Questions.**
Please indicate your responses to the following opinions, using Likert Scale Statements (1 indicates strongly disagree while 5 indicates strongly agree)
Q.1   I am clear about my purpose / motivation in learning this language.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 2 I am able to set my own learning objectives / goals.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 3 I know what I need to complete study tasks and achieve a goal.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 4 I am actively engaged in each week's study materials.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 5 I am able to reflect and assess my own progress.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 6 I know my own language learning style.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 7 I have my own language learning strategies.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 8 I am willing to work hard on learning this language.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.9   I look for extra resources to assist my learning.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.10   I consider that the textbook and classroom work are all I need in my language study.
1   2   3   4   5

Q.11 I rely mainly on the teacher's instruction to help my study.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.12 I do not seek other resources to assist my learning.
1   2   3   4   5

Q.13 I don't seek opportunities to practice speaking the language outside of class.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 14 If I don't understand something in my learning materials, I rely on the teacher to explain to me.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.15 I understand what 'intercultural skills' means.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.16 To be a more successful communicator with the target language community, I need to know my own culture as well as the target culture.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.17 I take opportunities outside the class to interact with the target language speakers so as to know more about their culture.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.18 When I am interacting with target language speakers, I always know how to make culturally appropriate and acceptable use of language.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.19 To succeed in becoming an effective communicator in this language, all I need is to learn the language skills well.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.20 I believe the teacher's role in class is just to teach us the language skills.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.21 I believe the understanding of culture can be mediated through language.
1   2   3   4   5
Q.22 When I am studying the learning materials, I only focus on the vocab, grammar, structure, pronunciation, as these are the primary elements to enable me to become an effective communicator.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 23 When I am studying the learning materials, I like to make comparison with my own language and culture.
1   2   3   4   5

Appendix 2

Student Post -task Questionnaire: (your name:)
Please indicate your responses to the following Likert Scale Statements
(1 indicates strongly disagree while 5 indicates strongly agree)
Part l: Independent Learning
Q.1 I have become more able to take responsibility of my study.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 2 I have become more able to set my leaning objectives/ goals.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 3 I have become more engaged in each week's study materials.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 4 I have become more able to assess my progress.
1   2   3   4   5

Q. 5 I have become more able to find a better learning method that works for me as a result of my critique of my learning.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 6 I learned things that I might not have learnt, if I were just working in class.
 1   2   3   4   5
Q. 7 I have become more able to look for extra resources to assist my learning.
1   2   3   4   5
Q,8 On the whole, I believe I have developed more independent learning skills.
1   2   3   4   5

Part II Intercultural Awareness
Q. 1 I have become more aware of how language and culture are linked.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 2. I have paid more attention to how some linguistic elements carry cultural values and meanings.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 3. I have become more aware of the importance of learning intercultural skills for more successful communication with the target language community.
1   2   3   4   5
Q 4   I find the intercultural learning activities in this E-portfolio task useful.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 5 I will seek more opportunities outside the class to interact with the target language community to learn more about their culture.
1   2   3   4   5
Q,6. When I am interacting with the target language speakers, I am paying more attention to the appropriate use of language elements.
1   2   3   4   5

Part III   General
Q. 1 All the activities in this E-portfolio were relevant and useful.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 2 The reflective writing activities have developed my critical thinking and analytical skills.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 3 I can apply the reflective skills in my future studies.
1   2   3   4   5
Q. 4 I can apply the E-Portfolio skills in my future studies.
1   2   3   4   5

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Heritage Language Speakers in the University Classroom, Doing Research

3

Naomi Nagy

Abstract

This chapter describes the design and goals of a first-year undergraduate course that introduces students to research in heritage languages. The course illustrates a means of increasing pedagogical activity related to heritage languages at the university level. The benefits to students, faculty, and the community of engaging students in disciplinary practices in the field of sociolinguistics are noted. The integration of pedagogy and research is articulated around five goals: to train students in aspects of research including fieldwork and analysis, to develop information literacy, to provide opportunities for transactional writing, to connect research and teaching, and to encourage students, especially students who are speakers of minority languages, to get involved in research. While the course has been offered in the context of a large research-oriented university that encourages undergraduate involvement in research, resources are offered so that aspects of the course may be adapted to situations which share only some features of the context in which it was developed.

Contents

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Introduction

Teaching, learning, and research are integrated in a setting comprised of (1) an annual first-year sociolinguistics course with a high proportion of heritage language speakers, (2) the surrounding metropolitan communities of heritage language speakers, and (3) the instruments, software, and database resources of an established international heritage language research project. This setting is reflexive: teaching, learning, and research about teaching, learning, and research. The course is responsive to several high-level university priorities for improving the undergraduate experience. The contributions of such an extramural laboratory environment to the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in higher education are summarized after the presentation of the constituents that generated them.

The intended outcomes of the course are to:

1. Train students in authentic aspects of research including fieldwork and analysis (cf. Ragland 2008)
2. Develop digital information literacy (cf. Grafstein 2002) via experience with search, analysis, and presentation software
3. Provide opportunities to write for a real audience outside the academy (cf. Lenski 2004)
4. Make connections between research and teaching in the professor's life
5. Encourage students, especially students who are speakers of minority languages, to get involved in research activities.

The syllabus and detailed assignment guidelines for the course are online at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199.16W_syll.htm. The principal outcome of the 2016 iteration of the course, an article about Toronto's heritage

languages (HLs), appears at https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Heritage_languages_in_Toronto&oldid=735934466.[1] It attests to the productivity of the endeavor. The research instruments and resources developed for the Heritage Language Variation and Change (HLVC) project are available online, along with more detailed description of the project, at http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/HLVC/2_2_linguists.php.

The course *Exploring Heritage Languages* explores how speakers use and think about heritage languages in Toronto. It examines recently collected data from Cantonese, Faetar, Italian, Korean, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian speakers in the Greater Toronto Area, so students are best prepared if they are familiar with one of these languages. Students collect and organize information about heritage languages. They look for speech patterns that differentiate first-, second-, and third-generation speakers in Toronto from corresponding speakers in their countries of origin and look at the effects of cultural and language attitudes and usage (http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199.descrip.htm).

This chapter will first outline the context of the course, a first-year undergraduate course that introduces students to research in HLs. It will then present the structure of the course and the format and goals of several modules which have been developed for this course. These components support students in the act of "construct[ing] knowledge in an authentic context," (Lenski 2004) acknowledging that faculty may benefit from better developed pedagogical knowledge to complement our content knowledge. The final section evaluates the ways that this course contributes to the scholarship of (combined) teaching and learning, in particular the role of student/researcher (Cheng et al. 2003; Elmesky and Tobin 2005). The course described here, *Exploring Heritage Languages*, is part of a constellation of activities that constitute the Heritage Language Variation and Change Project (Nagy 2011).

Context of the Course

This section describes the context of the *Exploring Heritage Languages* course as taught at a large research-oriented university in a multilingual, multicultural city, noting ways that it may differ from other contexts to which the course may be adapted. The research project of which it forms a part is also described.

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[1]The term "heritage language" is used differently in different domains. Here, in contrast to its use in many language acquisition studies, where the term is often used to indicate a language which was incompletely acquired or *attrited* by a speaker (cf. Polinsky and Kagan 2007), the Canadian definition of heritage language is applied: an individual with a cultural connection to a language other than English or French, born abroad or born within Canada and descended from speakers having learned the language in the homeland, and fluent enough to have a conversation in the language (Harrison 2000).

The City

Toronto is a city with a population of over 5.5 million. Half of today's residents of Toronto were born outside of Canada. More than 200 languages were reported as a home language or mother tongue in the 2011 census. Nearly half the residents of Toronto report a language other than (or in addition to) English as (one of) their mother tongue(s) (Statistics Canada 2011a). Particularly salient in current discourse is the increase of nearly 10% for Chinese speakers in the 5 years between the 2006 and 2011 census (Statistics Canada 2011b). Mother tongue speakers of Chinese varieties now outnumber speakers of Italian varieties, long the largest minority mother tongue group in the city. Thus, HLs are common, readily acknowledged, and vibrant. One goal of the course described here is to examine and understand the different status accorded to different HLs.

In Toronto's schools (junior kindergarten through grade 8), the Toronto District School Board offers HL classes to 1,500 students in some 50 languages at 180 sites. However, only ten schools provide programs integrated into the school day, with most offering after school and Saturday courses. For many languages, only a single level is offered. The top ten languages offered are Mandarin (traditional), Tamil, Spanish, Cantonese, Greek (two varieties), Arabic, Mandarin (simplified), Vietnamese, Korean, and Punjabi. Some HL courses are taught by locally certified teachers, some by people holding a teaching degree from their home country, and some by community members with little pedagogical training. Parents often offer a cultural component to accompany the classes. In contrast, 350,000 students are served in "international language" (L2) programs in JK-8 (Yang 2016).

The University

The University of Toronto is a large (nearly 85,000 students), research-oriented university which encourages undergraduate research experience. Research-based learning is encouraged. This has been a critical advantage to the HLVC project which is situated in a department with few graduate students who are HL speakers. In contrast, 34% of undergraduates (in a recent university sample) report that they speak a language other than English at home (http://leadershipstudy.net). Last year, students from 163 countries attended the University, according to the International Recruitment office. Faculty colleagues in the Linguistics Department include native speakers of only two of the eight languages in the project.

Nearly half of the students in *Exploring Heritage Languages* each year (offered since 2010) are HL speakers, and many of these have experience with primary or secondary school HL programs. The balance of the students are primarily recent arrivals from other countries (notably China) who are new to the experience of being speakers of a minority language. Each year, 2 or 3 of the 24–25 students are monolingual English speakers.

Meshing particularly well with the goals of this research project and course, the current president of the university has articulated three priorities that provide a supportive environment for this course:

1. "Taking better advantage of our location in one of the world's most vibrant, culturally diverse and economically dynamic regions [. . .] to promote further success in research, teaching and learning by focusing on urban processes, dynamics..."
2. "Strengthening International Partnerships"
3. "Rethinking Undergraduate Education," with these key elements:

   • Research-based learning
   • Experience-based learning
   • Internationalized learning
   • New learning modes and technologies
   • Facilitating the transition from study to work (http://threepriorities.utoronto.ca).

Each of these defines key aspects of the HLVC project, described next, and this *Exploring Heritage Languages* course that is part of it. In so far as similar goals likely exist at other institutions, it provides an advantageous way to frame sociolinguistic research.

The HLVC Research Project

The Heritage Language Variation and Change (HLVC) project is a large-scale project investigating variation and change in Toronto's HLs. Its goals are:

• To document and describe HLs spoken by immigrants to Toronto and two generations of their descendants (eight languages, to date)
• To create a corpus of recorded and transcribed speech available for research on a variety of topics
• To extend variationist research beyond its monolingually oriented core into multilingual communities of languages less-often studied in sociolinguistics.
• To understand connections between variation in different parts of language

Speakers are selected as participants who vary in degree of language contact and use. The eight languages investigated vary along several demographic vectors. Crucially, the methods of investigating the different languages and the different patterns of variation within them remain consistent. Details of methodology and findings are available at http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/HLVC and in Nagy (2011, 2016).

Due to the dearth of sociolinguists who are fluent in HLs, it has been critical to work with HL-speaking students (well over 50 to date). This has required developing methods to both train and learn from students in order to research languages that none of the faculty members involved in the HLVC project speak. The integration of research and teaching in undergraduate and graduate courses, by paid and volunteer research assistants and by students and professors in nine countries (so far), has contributed to making this feasible.

Overview of the Course: Exploring Heritage Languages

This course is part of a first-year seminar series with a focus on discussion of issues, questions, and controversies surrounding a particular discipline (in this case, the sociolinguistics of HLs) in a small class setting. These courses have been developed to cultivate critical thinking, writing skills, oral presentation, and research methods, skills expected of successful undergraduate students. Classes have a maximum enrollment of 25 students. The focus is particularly on developing good research questions and methods for answering them. This is motivated by the fact that:

> research suggests that first-year students enter college searching for the "right answer." Many feel that they have the ability to learn these right answers and that higher education is really just the process of giving back the "right answers" at the right time. Inquiry-based first-year courses fundamentally challenge this orientation by emphasizing the centrality of questions in the process of learning. (Discovery Program Advisory Committee and Center for Teaching Excellence 2006)

At the end of an Inquiry Course, students should be able to:

- Compose open-ended questions that lead to further investigation into increasingly focused problems and issues.
- Explain a central issue or question of the course, using at least two unique perspectives.
- Identify, compare, and contrast different hypotheses about a given phenomenon, and determine what would discriminate between them.
- Present in clearly organized form, the results of their investigation into questions or problems they have posed. (https://www.unh.edu/discovery/inquiry-course)

The syllabus for the fifth and most recent iteration of the course is available at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199.15W_syll.htm. The course consists of 12 2-h our class meetings which combine discussion, small-group activities, and lecture, plus group research projects that are carried out outside of class hours but scaffolded by skill-development sessions during class, as well as individual reflective activities. Because some students are HL speakers and others are not, it is critical to develop activities and assignments that are accessible and beneficial to all students. In most cases, HL speakers and non-HL speakers work together. In some cases, alternative assignments are offered. The instructor benefits from listening to students reflect about their experiences as and with HL speakers as well as from their original research about linguistic structures, language attitudes, and language usage patterns in HL communities.

Pedagogical Outcomes of the Course

In the first class, the students are tasked with two outcomes for the course, both of which require them to engage in disciplinary practices in the field of sociolinguistics. The first focuses on transactional writing: they are to prepare, as a class, a Wikipedia article about the history and ethnolinguistic vitality of several HLs spoken in the

Greater Toronto Area. The second focuses on primary research methods: the goal is to learn about analyzing the structure of HLs.

Through guided discussion, students learn that, for the first goal, it will be necessary to learn about:

- Field methods for sociolinguistic research
- The definition(s) of "heritage language"
- The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality or the prognosis for survival of a language as determined by demographic factors, institutional support, and status (Giles et al. 1977)
- The status of (their) heritage languages
- How to read, conduct, and write about academic research
- The structure, rules, and format of Wikipedia articles

For the second goal, the class discusses the types of research methods to which they will be exposed in the course:

- Searching for existing information published online and in print
- Reviewing publications and learning to distinguish between academic writing versus the popular press
- Administering and interpreting surveys
- Observing usage of HLs as participant/observers, including describing their own knowledge and experience
- Interviewing heritage language speakers
- Analyzing variable sociolinguistic patterns

In this first meeting, they are introduced to the field of sociolinguistics, defined as the examination of connections between what groups one is part of and how one speaks. The distinction is made between microsociolinguistic (variation within the language) and macrosociolinguistic (variation in the choice of languages) approaches. It is noted that the first goal (the Wikipedia ethnolinguistic vitality assignment) is in the macrosociolinguistic domain, while the assignments in which particular patterns of variation within selected HLs are investigated are in the microsociolinguistic domain. The framework of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977) is noted for being, like many theoretical constructs, a model that is meant to encompass all intergroup situations, but that it is necessarily based only on situations that have been studied already. This motivates their investigation of HL communities that have not been previously investigated in this framework. As comments below will show, this opportunity to develop new knowledge about Toronto's HL communities has been enthusiastically received.

Course Concepts

Relevant concepts introduced through lecture include:

- Canada's and Toronto's immigration history and policies
- Language and nationhood

- Ethnicity and acculturation strategies
- Sociolinguistic variables and the variationist approach
- HLs and/in school, education policy (comparing several countries)
- Challenges/advantages for HL learners versus L2 learners
- Standard language ideology
- Ideology of English monolingualism

Some of these concepts are elaborated through assigned readings. References are at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199.16W_biblio.htm. Readings provide important background knowledge but are also important to model formats for presenting research (to different types of audiences) and to introduce terminology and conventions such as displaying data in graphs and tables.

Skill Development

While learning basic facts and approaches in the above content areas and learning to develop well-formed, productive research questions, students also acquire skills by explicit instruction in the course. These include generalizable skills necessary for university-level learning, such as online searching in the library's catalog, how to distinguish peer-reviewed, academic articles from popular literature, protocols for citations and bibliography, plagiarism avoidance and formats for the presentation, and discussion of research findings.

They also include sociolinguistic-specific skill development, such as how to conduct reliable, replicable fieldwork, including research design, data collection, data management, and basic analysis and quantitative description. Even more field-specific skills include orthographic and phonetic transcription, translation, glossing, and coding of variable linguistic patterns. Through tasks requiring these skills, students discover the structure and distinctive features of HLs, developing linguistic descriptions empirically and inductively.

Description of Pedagogical Activities

Several assignments have been selected to illustrate the ways that the goals and outcomes described above are promoted. Several assignments conducted by small groups of students are described before the two individual assignments.

Group Assignments

Most of the work in this course is collaborative, providing opportunities for students who are not HL speakers to work with those who are. This section describes activities which explore the macro- and microsociolinguistic aspects of Toronto's HLs, apply the concepts, and develop the skills listed above.

Wikipedia Assignment: Macrosociolinguistic Description of HLs

The research goal for this assignment is to develop a shared body of knowledge about the ethnolinguistic vitality of a range of HLs spoken in Toronto, that is, to construct a macrosociolinguistic description of several communities. The pedagogical goals include developing research skills and writing for a nonacademic audience. Students particularly appreciate the opportunity to write in a context where there are "real" readers who do not already know the content that the students are conveying. For this assignment, students spent some hours searching the catalog of library resources about an HL and then formed groups to investigate several languages. Each group had to work out the best way to find and organize information into the three tenets of ethnolinguistic vitality, compose a section on the history of settlement of speakers, and determine the best ways to work as a group. In-class discussion led to a shared format so that descriptions of the different languages could appear as a unified article.

The assignment was supported by excellent resources provided by the WikiEdu Foundation (https://wikiedu.org/). These teach skills for constructing a publishable Wikipedia entry. Professional editors provide feedback as students draft articles. There is support for peer editing. Instructors receive quantitative feedback on students' authoring, editing, and illustrating activities. The assignment-design website (https://dashboard.wikiedu.org/courses/University_of_Toronto/Exploring_Heritage_Languages_%282016_Winter%29/overview) is fairly easy to use. The resulting article appears at https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Heritage_languages_in_Toronto&oldid=735934466.

There is nothing more convincing that students have understood the goals of a course than when they can articulate them better than the instructor. An excerpt from one first-year undergraduate student's reflection on the assignment is shared in this vein:

> The Wikipedia project was a good introduction to the subject of heritage languages because it combined in-class instruction about topics with individual and group research. Listening to the material in class introduced me to new ideas about language and its use in Toronto. I used this new knowledge immediately by practicing it and writing about it in the [group-authored Wikipedia] article. For example, I learned about the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality [and] its three central components in class. This knowledge was incorporated in the Wikipedia article when I divided up the information on my heritage language into sections that corresponded to the three components and then elaborated on how my language functions within each of the three categories. I felt like this was a really effective way of learning and that the time put towards writing the Wikipedia article was productive. Overall, I feel like the Wikipedia project as a learning tool was really effective at introducing me to the study of linguistics and heritage languages in Toronto. (Andrew Salmon)

An earlier but less popular version of this assignment asked students to create web pages providing information about resources for HL speakers and learners. This developed an important section of the HLVC website providing resources to community members: http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/HLVC/2_1_speakers.php. However, students were often overwhelmed by formatting requirements and choices, to the detriment of composing usable web pages.

Primary Research Project #1: Analyzing Linguistic Structure

The next assignments focus on the development of analytic skills through micro-sociolinguistic investigation of structural patterns. The first is designed for teams of HL- and non-HL-speaking students to work together, while the latter offer different options depending on whether a student wishes to continue to work with the HL data introduced in the first assignment or not.

Samples of HL speech that have been recorded and transcribed as part of the HLVC project provide the raw data for this assignment. Recordings and transcriptions are available to University of Toronto students through a purpose-built server called Corpora in the Classroom, http://corpora.chass.utoronto.ca, and have been shared with several instructors at other universities. Students are asked to look for patterned ways in which specific pronunciation or structural aspects of a HL differ from English. The assignment has several purposes, as explained to the students:

- To share knowledge about a language that one of the students knows to learn to transcribe, translate, and annotate a sociolinguistic interview
- To learn to use the software program ELAN for transcription and annotation (http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan; Wittenburg et al. 2006)
- To learn to describe linguistic variation based on empirical evidence
- To learn about the ethics of conducting research with human participants, particularly regarding privacy and confidentiality concerns of shared data

Guidelines for the assignment are at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199_HW3.htm.

Primary Research Project #2 (HL): Changing Complexity of a HL

In this assignment, students design and conduct research describing variability across generations of speakers of one HL and report their findings in a group-authored paper draft. At least some members of each group must be speakers of the HL being investigated. The following assignment provides an alternative that does not require HL expertise.

Their instructions are:

- Generate several hypotheses about potential changes from one generation to the next, in terms of phonology or grammar (class brainstorm).
- Design a study to test your hypotheses.
- Conduct that study.
- Look over some published research papers in sociolinguistics (listed in the syllabus, especially Week 6) to provide some structure for organizing your paper.
- Write a paper draft in which you:
  - Explain your hypotheses
  - Carefully describe your methods
  - Report your results
  - Explain how your results support or contradict your hypotheses
  - Cite all published references at the end of the report

Having developed the technical proficiency required to work with transcribed recordings of conversational speech in the previous assignment, students are prepared to engage in an investigation of variation within the language: conducting their first empirical sociolinguistic analysis.

Less specific guidance is provided than for the previous assignments, allowing students to build confidence in developing and testing their own research questions. However, some suggestions of variable patterns that can be investigated, at this level, with little or no linguistic training or explanation are provided:

- Discourse markers
- Variation in the pronunciation of selected consonants or vowels
- Case marking affixes
- Gender markers (either of the speaker or the nouns referred to)
- (Null) subject pronouns
- Word order
- Code switches

Students' intuitions as native speakers of a HL and their pilot work here contribute to larger-scale investigations in the HLVC project. Additional information about the assignment is provided at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199_HW5.htm.

Primary Research Project #3 (Non-HL): Ethnic Orientation Survey

Students are asked to interview a speaker of any HL, either in the HL or in another language such as English, using the Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire developed for the HLVC project (http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/pdf/HLVC/short_questionnaire_English.pdf), and then to compare their speaker's responses to (some of) the responses that have previously been collected and coded. They are asked to think about how to do this in an interesting way, considering comparisons of different generations, languages, and subsets of questions in the survey. Guidelines for this assignment are at http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199_HW5.htm. In this assignment, they learn more about fieldwork and interpretation of survey responses, as well as the ethics of conducting research with human participants.

Primary Research Project #2 (Non-HL): Neighborhood Profile

Another option for non-HL speakers has been used in previous iterations of the course (http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199_HW4.htm).   This neighborhood profile assignment investigates the use and maintenance of languages other than English in a specific neighborhood, developing skills in data collection, organization, reporting, and interpreting. Students are asked to focus on the languages used for everyday activities and to gather information on language use from as many of the following sources as possible:

- Their own knowledge and observations based on a field trip to the neighborhood
- Community organizations

- Local media
- Social services agencies
- Municipal, provincial, or federal government offices
- Statistics Canada census data and publications
- The local school district

Their write-up task is the same as for the HL assignment described above. This assignment was adapted from an assignment created and graciously shared by Michol Hoffman, York University.

As a follow-up in-class activity, students form pairs consisting of one student who did each assignment (the HL- and non-HL versions). One student tells the other what their group's most interesting hypothesis was. The other student has to guess how that hypothesis was tested and whether it was supported or contradicted. The first student lets the second know whether they guessed correctly. They then switch roles. This develops the ability to discuss their projects concisely and to compare multiple methods to address one research question. All of these group assignments provide training in teamwork and task organization, essential skills in a field where much work is done collaboratively.

Individual Assignments

Because students are exposed to many new concepts, skills, and methods, it is important to have frequent and immediate opportunities to reflect on their progress. An ongoing blog assignment allows an opportunity to reflect on tangentially related topics, rehearse discussion topics, summarize readings and/or discussions, respond to assignments, etc. The blog assignment is one assignment that is not restricted to HLs specifically, but rather is open for reflection and drawing of connections between academic and other aspects of students' lives, constrained only by the requirement that observations relate to language. It is one of the most informative assignments for the instructor in learning about HL-speaker experiences. The guidelines for this informal assignment, which is graded only for completion and not for format or content, are at http://individual. utoronto.ca/ngn/LIN/courses/TBB199/TBB199_HW1.htm.

The other individual assignment is an in-class activity in the final class meeting. Favorable responses in this assignment provided the impetus for this chapter and the content of the next section. In this assignment, students are asked to write a reflective essay of one to two pages about the Wikipedia assignment, but, in fact, they commented on other aspects of the course as well. Here is their writing prompt:

- What was the most useful thing you learned through the Wikipedia assignment (writing skills, research skills, facts about heritage languages, etc.)?
- Who do you think might most benefit from our Wiki contribution? How?
- What were some of *your* learning objective(s) for this course? How did this assignment meet them?
- Other things I should know about your experience with the Wiki project?

Evaluating Course Outcomes

The chapter began with the *instructor's* goals for the course, followed by description of the class's activities (lectures, reading, assignments). This section reflects the value of those course components by reporting on themes that emerged from *students'* reflections on the course's outcomes, highlighting the course's value and utility. Responses are grouped by theme corresponding to the five goals laid out in the introduction. Quotations in this section come from the final in-class assignment when students were asked to reflect on the Wikipedia assignment and are used with permission.

Outcome 1: Train Students in Aspects of Research

One goal of first-year seminars is to train students in authentic aspects of research in a domain-specific manner. In sociolinguistics, this includes fieldwork and linguistic analysis. Fieldwork requires developing familiarity with the field context and that, in turn, requires learning research skills to investigate the context. This is the goal of the Wikipedia assignment, and the comments below suggest that students understood and appreciated that:

> The Wikipedia project that we worked on this semester was definitely my favourite part of this course. I really felt that the research and writing that I did for the article was both engaging and fun. The two main things that I took away from the Wikipedia project were a greater understanding and knowledge about heritage languages and a better grasp of research skills. (Andrew Salmon)
>
> When it comes to knowledge, I regard the wiki project as an excellent tool for us to put the knowledge we have learned in class, our language practice in real life, and our external research into an integrated piece. (Sharon Gao)
>
> I think the audience that would most benefit from our Wikipedia contribution would be individuals within the heritage language community. These individuals may feel subordinated to the dominant culture in Canada and may seek other resources to experience their community further. With this Wikipedia page, they can read about the institutions and programs at Universities available to support their community. This will help them feel assured about their language viability. Our contributions can also help other audiences get to know more about the heritage languages within Toronto for their own interest. This is the main purpose for our Wikipedia page; to be able to educate others on the importance of these several heritage languages within our own society. (Riya Pandya)

Outcome 2: Develop Digital Information Literacy

As our society becomes increasingly dependent on the Internet for information in all domains, students must develop skills in finding, assessing, and reporting information found online. Because different evaluative criteria are relevant in different domains, "the responsibility for teaching information literacy should be shared throughout an academic institution, rather than limited to the library" (Grafstein 2002).

Techniques were illustrated in a hands-on workshop led by a research librarian in the university library, but much domain- and assignment-specific follow-up discussions took place in subsequent classes. These student reflections illustrate the utility of the assignment:

> The assignment provided ample opportunity for improving my computer skills through research on the web, investigation skills, analyzing the validity of the sources of information, avoiding bias in the writing of the article, selecting precise and reliable information, selecting images, formatting the presentation of the article, as well as linking [. . .] to other Wikipedia articles. [. . .] I enjoyed the fact that this class integrated technology into learning as shown by the Wiki project, representing its ability to allow students to adapt and meet the soft skills needed for today's workforce. (Kate Gallardo)
>
> There have been countless times where I have been reading an article and really had something to contribute, but I never knew how or ever bothered to make an account, but this project was a great stepping stone to help me do this in the future, and it taught me all the basics of Wikipedia so that I can not only contribute in the future, but contribute correctly. (Nickolas Shyshkin)
>
> It was interesting to learn just how valid the sources for a Wikipedia article have to be to be able to stay on the page and that the facts are usually correct. (Mariam Chaudhry)
>
> Perhaps the most useful skill I learned is how to utilize the library resources in U of T; in fact, this is one of the learning goals in this course. Before coming to university, I had some research assignments in high school; however, back then I did not have the access to databases as in University of Toronto ergo these assignments tend to be difficult and boring to do due to the lack of materials. The Wikipedia assignment provided an opportunity for me to learn how to use the materials we have in University of Toronto; surprisingly, I did enjoy doing research assignment this time because all the information on Cantonese speakers in Toronto are very interesting to read. (Yu Xuan Chen)
>
> I think that it is really unfortunate that Wikipedia sometimes gets a bad reputation for being user-based and for not having credible information. The structure of Wikipedia and its editors is designed so that only well-written, credible information can stay on the website. I learned a lot about how Wikipedia works through this project. (Andrew Salmon)

Outcome 3: Provide Opportunities to Write for a Real Audience

Students really notice the difference between transactional writing (for a real audience, with a real purpose) and "just an assignment" writing. Not only were they proud that their work would be read, but it motivated them to put much more time and care into it:

> I managed to use Wikipedia as a platform to share information with others, rather than taking information from it . . . I felt a sense of accomplishment when picturing that my writing will be viewed by thousands of students, researchers, professors or even linguists. (Dennis Jiang)
>
> Most of the courses that I've been enrolled in have been unlike this one. When I go back home this summer, most people will be talking about how their assignments were mostly essays and labs and other tedious writing assignments, but I get to say that I got to write a Wikipedia article, which is a writing style unlike the typical essay format/research project format that I had to do with the rest of my courses. (Nickolas Shyshkin)

Outcome 4: Connect Research, Teaching, and the Community

Although the fourth pedagogical goal relates to improving connections between research and teaching in the professor's life, the following comments show that more than this has happened: students are finding connections themselves, and this contributes to improving the research project in which the course is embedded. These comments highlight the continuous links being developed between the students, the research, and the HL communities:

> With the completion of the Wikipedia article, I feel really happy and proud of what I had to offer for the wiki article. It feels really good to be able to make useful contributions to such a large project that is public and can be read by people all over the world! It's nice to just give back to the world, and its truly an amazing feeling, and an experience that I will not forget! (Christina Wang)
>
> The Wikipedia project we did allowed not only students but people around the world to have access to it. People can learn about the culture dynamic in Toronto and at the same time improve their knowledge on heritage language. The [benefitting] group of this class is way larger than what we think. Student benefit from learning new research skills, teacher benefit by creating a platform of knowledge gathering, and the people around us benefit from the study we do. The more one look into an area that hasn't been looked over yet, the closer we are to have a society that is welcoming and open to all people around the world. (Shiyi Zhang)
>
> Of the various people who browse the internet every day, I think of three [groups of] people when thinking of who this [Wikipedia authoring assignment] may be beneficial to: Cultural event coordinators / Community leaders, Curious residents of Toronto and Students taking up linguistics. Cultural event planners and/or Community leaders can look at the assignment and their culture in relation to it and either add to a lacking article or use the article to help solidify pride within the community by summarizing information that would be quite hard to find individually. (Anonymous)

Outcome 5: Develop General Academic Skills

The final goal was to involve students in research. This is accomplished by empowering them with the necessary skills. There is the additional benefit of these skills being applicable in many other areas of students' lives, both in school and beyond. The following comments illustrate students' appreciation of this aspect of the course:

> The Wiki project taught me many skills that are useful [in] today's workforce, such as research skills, technical skills, language expression, analytic skills, webpage formatting and presentation skills, collaboration in team projects, cyber writing skills, organization skills, experimentation, statistical analysis, idea development, as well as the implementation and integration of these ideas. (Kate Gallardo)
>
> Our class was taken to Robarts Library to receive […] training for the UofT Library resources. I thought that this was extremely helpful, as it helped to inform me on all of the resources […] available to me. The skills […] helped me significantly in my research Library Assignment in my BIO130 class! (Christina Wang)

The most useful thing that this assignment helped me learn was multitasking and time managing. The Wikipedia assignment helped me with being able to manage my time and my attention **better** (although admittedly **not** perfectly) because it was not the only thing that we were doing [...] This assignment helped me with bettering this skill [multitasking and managing time] through the use of multiple steps being due consistently throughout the course of this class. (Mariam Chaudhry)

I have developed my collaborative and group-working skills [...]. From dissecting the project to smaller segments, to doing individual research, and to eventually putting everything together as a whole piece, all of our group members were able to acquire some useful information from others, and contribute our own findings. (Sharon Gao)

The project shows me how to break a hard task into small pieces and make it possible. (Sitong Mu)

Learning techniques such as how to cite sources and avoid plagiarism has helped me to be more precise at writing. (Dennis Jiang)

The creating of a Wikipedia page in seminar classes should be more prevalent, as it is a skill, and you learn a lot on doing your own research, especially when its on a topic you've been meaning to learn more about but never really had the opportunity to do so. (Nickolas Shyshkin)

I feel thankful for the skills and knowledge about heritage languages in Toronto that I learned from this interesting project. First, I have greatly improved my research skills and group working skills through this assignment. (Sharon Gao)

Outcome 6: Increased Ethnolinguistic Pride Leading to Increased Language Use

The final pedagogical goal of *Exploring Heritage Languages* was to encourage students, especially students who are speakers of minority languages, to get involved in research. The attainment of this goal is illustrated by the "Outcome 5" quotes. However, in addition, HL-speaking students' enthusiasm for the course is evident in the following comments.

I have also embraced my ethnicity and my heritage language more thanks to the information that was taught and how I was exposed more to my heritage language... I used to be shy about speaking in Cantonese in public, especially with my group of Cantonese friends and this was because none of us really thought about how important it is to maintain our heritage language and help to keep it alive. After taking this course, I realized how later generations had more difficulty in speaking heritage languages and how a heritage language can possibly be lost for some members of the ethnic group if people resorted into only using English. Thus, I have been speaking a lot more in Cantonese and I have started to use Cantonese with my Cantonese friends. Most importantly, I am now more proud of the fact that I am a Cantonese heritage language speaker in Toronto. (Wan Shan (Serena) Li)

Wiki assignment has created a bridge for us to connect heritage languages with our daily life ... Moreover, this project taught me to be thankful for my personal linguistic skills and to be respectful for other heritage language speakers in Toronto. (Sharon Gao)

From these comments, it is evident that students developed pride, confidence, academic, communicative, and life skills. Although only a few students from this course have gone on to be further involved with the HLVC project, there are other unexpected benefits in terms of students' self-identification and pride that may well

pave the path to further research engagement. There is no tracking mechanism in place to follow up on this.

Pedagogical Contributions to Globalizing Variationist Sociolinguistics

An accidental yet mutually beneficial "by-product" of efforts to capitalize on the presence of many HL speakers in the city of Toronto and, particularly, among undergraduate students has been the enrichment of educational opportunities. The astute reader will note an ambiguity in this chapter's title. Both meanings (research by and research with students) are intended. Each contributes to the integration of the sociolinguistic research project (Nagy 2011) and pedagogical activity.

The field of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1972; Walker 2010) has developed as a domain in which native-speaker status of the researcher is assumed. As it developed in the North American context, this led to research focused primarily on English and, to a lesser extent, French and Spanish. Considerably less research on other languages exists in this framework (Nagy and Meyerhoff 2008), meaning that the ensuing generalizations are based on a narrow slice of the world's 6,000 languages. Having established its methods and frameworks, the field is now turning toward other languages and on comparative work that allows us to better understand similarities and differences in how linguistic variation, both synchronic and diachronic, operates across communities. This requires a change in the way sociolinguists are trained, as comparative work must necessarily be conducted under the direction of researchers who lack native-language status in at least some of the languages and communities under investigation. Thus, either speakers of other languages must be trained to conduct research in their languages or trained sociolinguists must learn additional languages. This project focuses on the former approach. It requires establishing mutually beneficial partnerships among students and professors (in several countries) as the contemporary professoriate includes few native speakers of languages beyond the English, French, and Spanish mentioned above. To aid this development, the HLVC project incorporates research into student learning experiences, and vice versa, both in the classroom and in independent study, experientially oriented contexts (Nagy 2016). A principal means of accomplishing this goal is by introducing students to research goals and methods, through experiential-learning activities, in the undergraduate course described here.

Equally, this course increases the presence of HLs as an academic focus at the post-secondary level, creating a bridge from classes that teach the HL to teaching *about* the heritage language. As the course attracts many HL speakers, this serves as an entry point to increase the number of HL speakers who may become sociolinguistic researchers in the future.

Typical HL classroom practice focuses on transmitting a formal homeland standard variety of the HL without taking into account the variability and diversity that exist in all languages and thus ignoring the power of language-internal variation to express identity, both individuality and in-group solidarity. Highlighting the

variability of HLs, and the fact that they are of interest to many scholars, can increase students' interest both in using their language and in examining it critically. This was illustrated in the Summary section by comments from students. It has also been noted in research projects that include education about minority dialects (cf. Labov 2001; Labov and Baker 2010; Wolfram et al. 2008).

Work with students who are HL speakers, both in this course and in the research project more broadly, builds connections between HL-speaking communities, schools, students, and researchers of linguistic variation by increasing the overlap among these groups. It develops an additional context in which the HL may be used, examined, analyzed, and appreciated. As an object of reflective and analytic study, rather than the rote memorization approach that is frequently described as common in HL classrooms in Toronto, courses like *Exploring Heritage Languages* can improve students' knowledge, attitudes, and frequency of use, as well as developing sociolinguistic research on the varieties. As noted by Genesee (1994) and Cummins et al. (2005), in a society that embraces "teaching the whole child," it is important to acknowledge all the languages that students speak. Acknowledged as critical for successful primary education, it remains important at upper levels. This course provides a post-secondary context in which students may engage with HLs.

The social and cognitive benefits of multilingualism have been recognized (cf. Bialystok et al. 2004; Xiao 2006) and can be extended to variation within a language. Thus, one focus of *Exploring Heritage Languages* is diversity or variability within the HLs, noting that variation strengthens a language by allowing it to be used in more contexts, formal and informal, multilingual and monolingual, written and spoken, academic and social, etc. These differences have been recognized for some 50 years in more commonly studied languages, but to a much lesser extent in HLs.

A complementary goal, not yet realized, of the HLVC project is thus to impact the way HLs are taught as target languages. A successful approach has been to "incidentally" inform teachers of the benefits of linguistic variation via lessons to primary and secondary school students about language variation (Wolfram et al. 2008). This critically requires acknowledging that language varies and changes. As long as a language is spoken, it is in the process of constant renewal. Old features vanish; new ones emerge (Oberst 2011). Some argue that linguistic evolution is much like animal evolution or the Darwinian idea of "survival of the fittest." Only the fittest language, the most capable of evolving to meet the changing needs of its audience, will ultimately survive (Goodrich 2012). This is a good metaphor for HLs in particular – they must be allowed to be flexible and adapt to different contexts, including the multilingual context in which many HL speakers function on a daily basis. It is equally important to conduct and share research showing that variation does not necessarily mean change, nor does it mean that a HL is being overtaken by the dominant language (English, in the case of Toronto). Surprisingly, comparing heritage to homeland patterns in the HLVC project seldom shows that the HL variety is diverging from the homeland (input) variety (Nagy 2015, 2016).

Conclusion and Future Directions

This chapter has detailed an approach which proved effective in developing links between a research agenda, an undergraduate class that is intellectually stimulating, and training of new scholars. It articulated several goals of the course, related to training students and to developing aspects of the ongoing research project. It described the context of the course and presented components of the course and their contribution to achieving the course's two-pronged goals. Finally comments from students were presented that reflect successful attainment of these goals. This is anticipated to benefit the field by increasing both the linguistic and the ethnic diversity of its researchers at all levels.

This chapter contributes to the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) in Higher Education domain, which operates on the premise that "SoTL studies should be theoretically sophisticated works of scholarship probing the relationship between teaching and learning" (Huber and Morreale 2002: 51). In this perspective, pedagogy should occupy a more central position in post-secondary education, "particularly since simple transmission of knowledge is no longer the goal." Those wishing to adapt any of the activities outlined here are welcome to do so and are invited to contact the author to explore options for sharing data and materials.

Cross-References

▶ A Language Contact Perspective on Heritage Languages in the Classroom
▶ Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Modeling Teachers' Professional Learning to Advance Plurilingualism
▶ Heritage Language Learners in Mixed University Classes: Language Skills, Attitudes, and Implications for Curriculum Development
▶ Russian Heritage Learners' Goals and Motivation
▶ Ideological Framing of Heritage Language Education in the United States
▶ Linguistic Foundations of Heritage Language Development from the Perspective of Romance Languages in Germany
▶ Preserving Heritage Languages through Schooling in India
▶ Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation
▶ Why Should Formal Linguistic Approaches to Heritage Language Acquisition Be Linked to Heritage Language Pedagogies?

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Heritage Language Learners in Mixed University Classes: Language Skills, Attitudes, and Implications for Curriculum Development

4

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Abstract

Heritage languages are often taught in mixed classrooms attended by both heritage language learners (HLLs) and foreign language learners (FLLs). This coexistence can be problematic for one of the two groups of students, or both, if their various learning needs are not identified and reflected in the course curriculum. Our research follows a modular approach focusing on (a) the effects of individual social and cultural characteristics in the development and assessment of language skills in the teaching of Greek as a heritage language, and (b) the necessity of elaborating a teaching framework that meets specific and individual needs of learners. Using questionnaires for our data collection, we investigated the structure and organization of two Modern Greek university programs in Toronto (University of Toronto and York University) comprised of both HL and FL learners. Our study explores several social, cultural, and teaching aspects to illustrate a comprehensive mapping of this educational challenge. We intend to use the findings toward restructuring the curricula by adopting more realistic and effective teaching approaches that take into consideration the negotiation of identities in the teaching of heritage languages.

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Contents

Introduction

It can be challenging to teach a heritage language in a society where individuals do not need that language in order to function. On the one hand, it takes students who feel they share a heritage and have a desire to learn the specific language. On the other hand, it requires teachers who know how and why to teach the language. As researchers, we position ourselves on the side of the teachers who have to make a series of decisions to reach optimal solutions. To be able to do so, the teachers have to familiarize themselves with the sociocultural background of their students, their actual experience with the target language, their needs regarding learning Greek, and their plans for the future. Our approach takes into account that we are dealing with (heritage/foreign) language education, adult education, and language planning at the same time. Our general context of research is teaching Greek as a heritage and foreign language in Canada. Our specific context is teaching Greek as a heritage and foreign language to university students at the University of Toronto and York University.

The chapter begins with an outline of our research objectives in relation to identifying distinct groups of language learners and exploring their prior experiences, motivation and learning needs. We continue with presenting the key points of our research methodology along with background information on Modern Greek teaching in Canada. The section of our data analysis looks first into the social and cultural characteristics of the students, their familiarity with the target language and their academic orientation. The self-assessment of language skills follows, divided into three parts: (a) listening and speaking, (b) reading and writing, and(c) comparing

the developed skills' findings. The next section presents (a) the students learning incentives (b) their educational needs, aspirations and learning particularities and (c) their preferences on the content and the planning of the offered courses. The final section includes our general conclusion along with our recommendations on future directions of designing and implementing Greek language courses for heritage and foreign learners.

Research Objectives

This study is divided into distinct parts focusing simultaneously on (a) learners as acting social entities, (b) language as a teaching subject, and (c) planning of the learning process based on the actual needs, attitudes, and preferences of the participants. Primarily, we attempt to link the social, cultural, and ethnic profile of the students enrolled in three Greek language courses at two universities with the respective levels of study (e.g., beginners, intermediate, and advanced), the educational environment, and the estimated degree of language proficiency (Brown 1994a).

In the outline of the students' profiles (Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 34), we consider their personal experiences not only to suggest their categorization into distinct groups with common characteristics, but also to identify individual deviations that demonstrate a multipotent synthesis of the classes. Similarly, through distinct self-assessment criteria of their receptive and productive skills, we investigate the influence of different parameters in the configuration of the students' level of knowledge of the Greek language.

In particular, using a five-point scale, we study – per institution and course – the level of development of language skills of those students who (a) have parent/s born in Greece (second-generation heritage language learners/HLL2s), (b) have parents of Greek descent (third-generation heritage language learners/HLL3s), and also (c) those who study Greek as a foreign language (foreign language learners/FLLs). Our investigation interconnects the students' prior experiences, social background, and cultural capital with the choice and process of learning the target language. The opportunity to discuss their educational needs at the beginning of the course, through self-assessing their prior knowledge, creates a zone of interaction and dialogue (Boud 2003).

The different variables are then linked to more specific curricular parameters in order to deepen our understanding of the expectations of the enrolled students and their reasons for choosing to learn the target language. As the role of identity is crucial in shaping the individual students' choices, through open and closed type questions, we focus on how identity negotiation takes place within the learning process (Cummins 2001). The mapping of individual attitudes and preferences for both the content and learning materials facilitates targeted short-term and long-term educational planning based on the principles of differentiated instruction (Hume 2008).

Since Modern Greek is taught in the selected university courses simultaneously as a foreign and as a heritage language, another aim of this research is to identify additional differences between the two approaches and propose ways of teaching

that integrate the learning needs of both groups (Beaudrie and Ducar 2005; Kagan and Dillon 2004). The need to update the teaching approach is inseparable from the need to update the existing educational materials in order to reflect the sociocultural and education particularities and enhance literacy practices beyond the narrow educational contexts or needs (Bakhtin 1986).

The Sample

Our sample was comprised of 84 students enrolled in the Greek language and culture courses at the University of Toronto and at York University. The level of the courses varies. We organized the sample into three distinct groups:

(a) HLL2s, i.e., second-generation heritage language learners with parent(s) born in Greece
(b) HLL3s, i.e., third second-generation heritage language learners with parent(s) of Greek descent
(c) FLLs, i.e., students who study Greek as a foreign language

The dominant age group consisted of students 18–25 years old. There was a somewhat balanced gender distribution with 54% female and 46% male students.

Research Methodology

The research was conducted through questionnaires at two universities in Canada: The University of Toronto (UT) and York University (YU). The target group were students enrolled in Modern Greek language and culture courses at different levels. The first part of the study focuses on identifying the target group in order to categorize the students not only by their distinct level (beginner, intermediate, advanced) but also on the basis of social, cultural, and educational characteristics.

In addition to determining the age, gender, and academic orientation of the students, we look at their origin and examine their relationship with the target language, both in terms of their educational path and their daily habits, needs, or experiences (Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, pp. 34–46; Woodward 2001, pp. 19–21).

The second part of the study features a quantitative assessment of the degree of development of various language skills through a five-point scale. Based on the principles of *the communicative approach* (Brown 1994b; Mitsis 2004; Richards 2006; Richards and Rodgers 1986), we separate language skills into productive and receptive: reading, writing, listening, speaking, and communicating with an emphasis on oral communication and the ability of the students to interact with Greek language speakers in different situational contexts (Charalampopoulos and Chatzisavidis 1997, pp. 39, 59). Under each main category of the five selected, we propose the self-assessment of five skills of escalating difficulty in order to cover an extensive range of data and reflect all students' competencies regardless of their

language level and background. This classification allows for comparisons regarding the heterogeneity/dispersion of the sample, which can be detected first within the class and also across the three course levels. It also verifies the reliability of the initial classification of students in different levels (Sohn and Shin 2007) and clarifies a framework for desired learning outcomes.

The quantitative indicators outline the level of achievement of basic communication skills (Cummins 1981, 2008; Humes 1972) and also the ability to perform individual speech acts (Austin 1975, pp. 52, 148; Bella 2015, p. 79). In combination with the findings of the first part, these indicators demonstrate the influence of the cultural, linguistic, and experiential background of the students at different stages of language learning and assess the degree of their familiarity with the surrounding cultural and intercultural environment. Moreover, the use of the first person in the formulation of the assessment statements seeks not only to strengthen the personal reflection process but also to place each of the participants in a given intercultural context. The quantitative assessment approach is maintained in the third part of the research, which focuses on the emergence of more subjective positions or attitudes. Thus, it also includes open-ended questions with a view to free expression.

Around the key questions regarding the ranking of the reasons for selecting the particular course/s and therefore the students' learning motivation, emphasis is placed on various educational aspects, including the students' expectations of the course. Hence, the targeted formulation of desired learning outcomes and appropriate learning strategies (Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 45) are interwoven with an overall renegotiation of the content of language teaching which is expressed by the participants through comments, suggestions, or restrictions. In this light, it is appropriate to take into account (a) the role of a cross-thematic/interdisciplinary approach to knowledge (Jones 2009; Matsagouras 2002), (b) the students' prior knowledge and their connection to the (heritage language) community, (c) the potential benefits of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in the organization and teaching of the courses, (d) the identification of learning difficulties or peculiarities, and (e) the cultivation of a climate of pedagogic dialogue that can inform the language teaching approach.

The Background for Teaching Modern Greek in Canada

The Modern Greek language has been taught for more than a century in Canada, primarily in community schools already established since the early twentieth century by Greek immigrants, in Montreal and Toronto initially, and then in every Canadian city with a significant Greek presence (Constantinides 2001). Since the late 1970s, Greek language classes have also been held in the context of continuing education for primary and secondary students of the Public School Boards and operate under the state-funded heritage/international language programs. In higher education, Modern Greek is taught as part of Hellenic Studies Programs which are offered by six Canadian universities: two in Ontario and two in Quebec where the majority of the Greek speaking population lives and also in Vancouver and in New Brunswick (Aravossitas 2016).

The Modern Greek language university programs operate mainly under the financial support of Hellenic foundations through endowments such as the Frixos Papachristidis Chair at McGill University, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Chair at Simon Fraser University, and the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (HHF) Chair and Program at York University (YU) and the University of Toronto (UT) respectively (Aravossitas 2016). At the last two academic institutions in Ontario, Modern Greek is taught at three levels. At YU, three language courses are offered by the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics (DLLL), either as electives or as part of the undergraduate Greek Studies Program (BA/Honours BA/Honours Double Major Interdisciplinary BA program/Honours Major or Minor). Students who complete at least two of the three levels can acquire a proficiency certificate in Modern Greek (York University 2014). At UT, the newly established Hellenic Studies Program is situated within the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the Munk School of Global Affairs. The Program at this stage includes a course of Modern Greek history and politics each year as well as two courses in Modern Greek language: the beginners' level course is offered every year while the courses at the intermediate and advanced levels are offered alternatively every second year. Students who complete all three levels of Modern Greek can fulfill the foreign language prerequisite for an undergraduate Major in European Studies (CERES 2014).

It should be noted that at both YU and UT the only distinction between students who wish to learn Modern Greek as a foreign language and those who wish to learn it as a heritage language takes place at the initial classification stage. Individuals who have been taught Modern Greek systematically (students who completed high school courses in Greece or in Canada) are excluded from enrollment in the first level course and start the course at the intermediate level. At UT, students' enrollment is based on a placement test that involves diagnostic tools such as the "I Can Do" statements that were developed by the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) (Council of Europe 2001). These self-assessment statements were used in this investigation in the second part of the questionnaire to determine the degree of development of various language skills by the students at the beginning of the course. Since the statements provide very clear descriptors of language proficiency skills associated with specific levels, they were regarded as a reliable tool for the diagnostic assessment of the students' competencies (Council of Europe 2001; Goodier 2014; North 2014).

Data Analysis

Social and Cultural Characteristics of the Students

The research was conducted in September 2015 at the beginning of the Fall Semester at UT and YU. It involved a total of 84 students enrolled in Modern Greek courses: two beginners,' one intermediate, and one advanced course, all focusing on language learning, and one course focusing on Modern Greek culture. In particular, 50 students were Modern Greek language beginners (28 and 22 at UT and YU, respectively), while

14 were enrolled in YU's intermediate course and 18 in the UT's advanced course. On the day of the completion of the questionnaire, only two students were enrolled in YU's course *Modern Greek Literature and Culture after Independence*, and participated in the study as a distinct group. In their general characteristics, the courses were dominated by students in the age group between 18 and 25, with the exception of four cases (two students at YU, one beginner and one intermediate, were in the group 26–35 and two YU beginners were 35 or older). On the other hand, the gender variable indicates an overall rate of balanced distribution with a relative predominance of females: 54% of the total versus 46% of males. Increased male participation is observed in the intermediate and advanced courses with 8 females and 6 males in the intermediate class and 12 females to 6 males respectively in the advanced class.

The question of the students' relationship with the target language was explored at different levels. However, the principal parameters were the ones related to their identity and cultural capital. The first line of investigation involved the family environment (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991); students were asked to identify whether their parents, father and/or mother, were born in Greece or were of Greek origin, in order to determine each student's identity as heritage language learners of second, third, or other generation. The overall picture reveals a clear trisection of the sample: 42% identify themselves as of Greek origin on the father and/or mother's side (at least one parent born in Greece), 36% as having parents of Greek origin (parent/s born in Canada), while a smaller yet significant proportion, about 22%, are of non-Greek descent, that is, they learn Greek as a foreign language.

As indicated in Fig. 1, those students enrolled in the intermediate or advanced levels maintain stronger ties with Greece, directly or indirectly, while the distribution of beginner learners per institution supports the hypothesis that the ethnic origin is an important language learning incentive: 21% of the UT students declare having a parent born in Greece; 50% declare having a parent of Greek descent; and 29% are foreign language learners without any Greek ethnic ties. The corresponding rates at YU for each category are 23%, 27%, and 50% respectively.

The parents' gender proves to be a significant factor in shaping the identity of the Greek language learners. In our attempt to draw conclusions on all possible motives for learning the language in accordance with variables that examine the students' family environment and thus their socialization (Harrison 1997, 2000), we found that in the case of those students with a direct relationship with Greece as the birthplace of one or both of their parents, the father's origin seems to be more influential in terms of the incentive of direct descendants to enroll in a Greek language course regardless of the level. The father's origin variable garners the highest values in the whole of the spectrum (Fig. 2), while identification of both parents as buffering agents follows above the third option, that is, the mother's origin.

In the case of students who originate from Greece, the role of dual origin but also the mother's origin appears to be correlated more closely to the students' educational choices or desires (Fig. 3). In particular, the origin of both parents acts as a major incentive to the students of the beginner and intermediate levels (with 29% for the intermediate group), while the mother's origin rate is quite stable across the spectrum with a maximum and minimum value of 18% and 11%, respectively. The father's
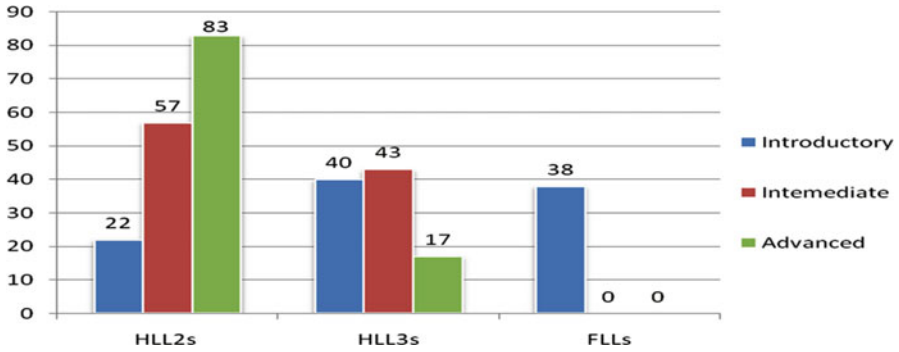
Fig. 1 Students' categorization by origin
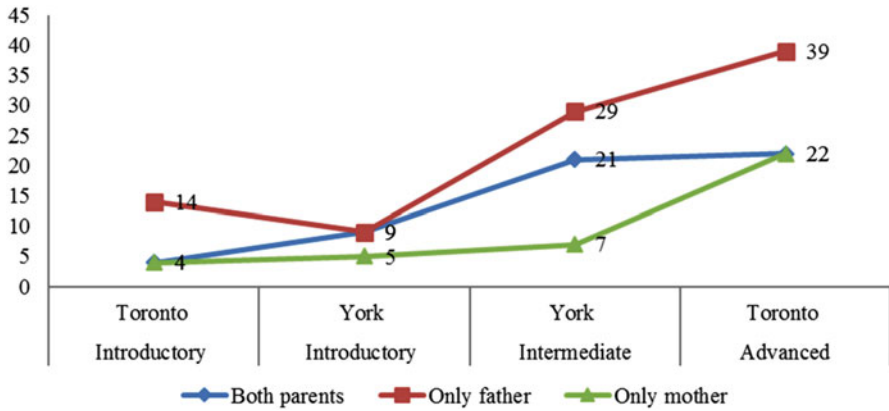
Fig. 2 HLL2s-Parents born in Greece
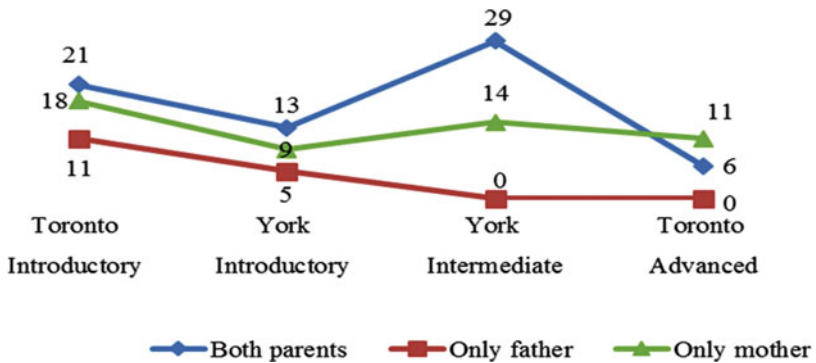
Fig. 3 HLL3s-Greek descent parents

origin, on the other hand, seems to influence more the choice of the beginners and less the choice of the other two groups.

In order to study the students' social and cultural behavior, we examined the degree of experiential familiarity with the Greek language by looking at opportunities to use it in the broad family or social context. Specifically, students were asked to respond positively or negatively to two questions concerning the daily use of Modern Greek at home and their exposure to the language in their immediate social or professional environment. The general analysis per different levels of study suggests that initially students at the intermediate and advanced levels maintain reasonably closer experiential relations with the Greek language than do those enrolled in the beginners' classes (Carreira 2004). What seems to be decisive for students' enrollment in the two upper levels is the daily use of the language. Interestingly, this factor does not seem to be consistent with the students' origin. Thus, in the intermediate and advanced classes, HLL3s (third-generation students/whose parents are of Greek descent) have more daily exposure to Greek than do the HLL2s (second-generation students/whose parent/s were born in Greece): 83% and 100% for HLL3s in the intermediate and advanced classes in comparison to 75% and 73% respectively for HLL2s. A similar picture emerges in general and at the beginners' level where the corresponding values are 36% and 50% of HLL3s at UT and YU, respectively, report daily exposure to Greek against 17% and 60% of HLL2s.

Exposure to Modern Greek in the immediate social or professional environment seems to be consistent with different characteristics depending on ethnic origin. To some degree, this finding is expected according to the structure of the courses that involve or require the development of language skills at different levels. The second-generation students have more opportunities to use the language in their broader social or professional relationships with a distribution of 17% and 20% of the total for the beginners of UT and YU respectively. The rate increases in the intermediate and advanced classes, reaching 50% and 64% of the total respectively. In contrast, for the third-generation students, rates are irregular with the reasonable exception of 67% in the range of the advanced. In the other classes, exposure to Greek in the immediate social environment has various distributions: 36% for beginners at UT, 33% for the intermediates at YU, and a noteworthy 0% for the YU beginners.

Educational Parameters: Previous Greek Language Experience

The inquiry into the educational path that the students have followed is processed on two axes. The first one seeks to clarify the nature of the experiential relationship they have developed with the Greek language and the country of Greece in previous education stages (Kanno et al. 2008). The second axis focuses on the current direction of the students' studies to further determine whether the language choice is in line with the rest of their educational choices. The first parameter examines the level/s of education in which the students were taught Greek before their enrollment in the university course. Starting with the two students in the Modern Greek culture
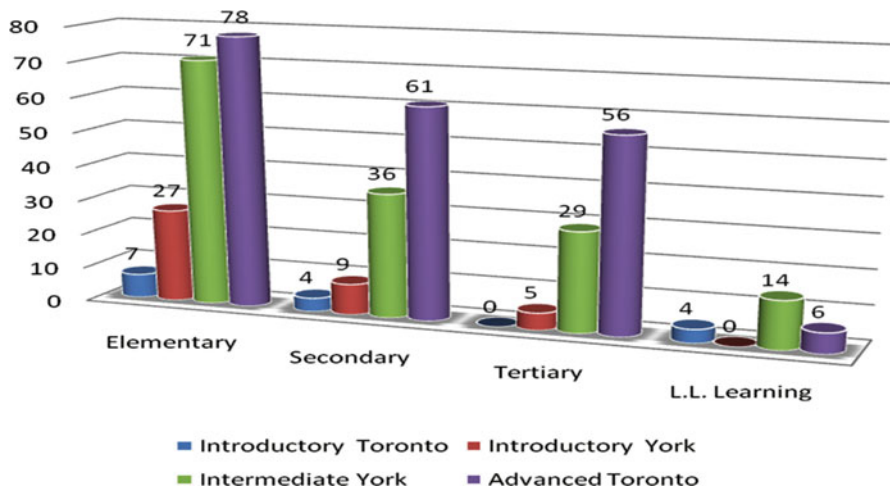
Fig. 4 Previous Greek studies

course, it appears that both participants have a strong Greek-related background. They studied Greek not only in elementary and secondary school but also during their previous university years. The background of the other 82 participants is as follows: 32 have attended Greek elementary courses, 22 took Greek language courses in high school, 15 in university (previous years), and four students studied Greek in some form of continuing education, outside their formal schooling.

Individual per level measurements indicate that a large percentage of students in the intermediate and advanced classes have acquired a substantial knowledge base in the Greek language in compulsory education before the start of the course (Fig. 4). In the intermediate and advanced classes, a Greek language elementary program was completed by 71% and 78% of the students respectively, a secondary/high school program by 36% and 61% respectively, while 29% and 56%, respectively, have attended Greek language courses in their previous university years. Also, 14% of intermediate-level and 6% of the advanced-level students report that they had Greek language learning experiences in continuing education settings (i.e., community based language courses for adults).

For the beginners, the allocations are similar, although in much lower percentages. Comparing the results at the two universities, we note that the YU students have had Greek language schooling at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels by 27%, 9%, and 5% respectively, whereas at UT, the corresponding rates are 7%, 4%, and 0%. The 20% difference at the primary level is quite substantial. Overall, YU students seem to have stronger background learning experiences in some form of Greek language education at the starting point of their course than do their UT counterparts. The only exception is continuing education where 0% of YU students had such learning experiences compared to 4% of UT students.

Overall, 51% of all students (43 out of 84) had previous Greek language schooling experiences: 10 in the beginners' classes (3 at UT and 7 at YU), 14 in the

intermediate, 17 in the advanced and both of the students who were enrolled in the Greek Culture course. For most of them (34/43), Greek studies took place during their elementary school years.

Students' experience in Greek language studies prior to their enrollment contributes to an understanding of their linguistic background. This finding will be further clarified in the next section through a self-assessment of discrete language skills in Modern Greek.

An initial observation shows that 19 students, i.e., 44% of those who have already attended Greek language courses prior to their enrollment, have studied Greek for 11–15 years (the maximum value includes primary/elementary, secondary, and continuing education or university courses). Twelve students report they have studied Greek for 5–10 years and twelve for 1–4 years (28% and 28% respectively). The 19 students who have the maximum years of Greek language schooling (11–15 years) are distributed as follows: ten students in the advanced course, five in the intermediate, three in the beginner courses, and one student in the Modern Greek culture class. From those who indicated 5–10 years of Greek language learning experience, we find three in the beginners, four in the intermediate, and five students in the advanced classes, respectively. Of those who selected 1–4 years, five are YU beginners, five intermediates, one advanced, and one is a student in the Modern Greek culture course.

An interesting outcome regarding the structure of the beginners' courses is that almost one quarter of the enrolled students (i.e., 22%) admit that they have taken Greek lessons in the past. This element is crucial to the program administrators and the course instructors as it indicates that not all students start at the same level (Sohn and Shin 2007). Consequently, they have different learning needs that should be acknowledged in the design of the course curricula. As expected, the corresponding rate in the remaining two levels is reasonably higher, since intermediate and advanced courses require background knowledge in Greek.

Focusing more on the experiential language learning dimension, we investigated whether the students had any previous opportunities to live in Greece, either for studies or personal reasons. We also found it necessary to clarify the amount of time (i.e., years spent in Greece) because it can shed light on students' interactions with native speakers. Interestingly, only 13% (11 in total of 84) of all respondents have spent time in Greece: 21% of the intermediate class, 33% of the advanced, and only 9% of the beginners (all students of YU). A similar picture emerges in the subdivision of years in Greece: out of the 11 students, six spent from one to 5 years there, whereas two students of the advanced group have lived in Greece for at least 6 years and three for at least 16 years.

Academic Orientation

Data collection on the educational path of the students reflects largely a connection between their Greek language level and other educational, in the broadest sense, choices. Moreover, it is useful to explore whether their academic orientation, beyond language courses, is associated with attitudes, preferences, or expectations for the Greek language program. Looking critically at the students' curriculum preferences

vis-à-vis the content of the Greek language lessons and, more specifically, at their subjects of interest, we observe a breadth of disciplines and preferences which sometimes overlap. In our effort to give an overview of the different choices, responses were organized in thematic cycles for methodological reasons: (a) humanities (covering broad orientations around the study of language, philosophy, the arts, and the law); (b) social and political studies (including disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and crimonology); and (c) natural, economic, and health sciences. We found that the vast majority of students have selected humanities and social/political sciences (32% and 30% respectively). The next most popular disciplines among Greek language students are economics and health sciences (19% and 13% respectively), and finally 6% intend to specialize in the natural sciences. Looking at the preferences of disciplines by Greek language levels, we note the predominance of the humanities for beginners of both universities (36% at UT and 36% at YU). At the intermediate level, YU students are more diversified with a 25% tie for all major fields (humanities, social and political sciences, and economics), whereas in the advanced UT class, a significant percentage select health sciences (28%) which constitutes the second most popular choice behind social and political sciences (33%).

Assessment of Language Skills

Listening and Speaking

In order to assess the students' level of development of different language skills (Council of Europe 2001), we asked them to complete a five-point scale statement of escalating difficulty, designed to detect the assumed language proficiency per group/ level. Regarding the language receptive competencies, we first investigated the development of listening skills (Turner 1995). We used the recognition of familiar words and phrases as a starting point and the understanding of complex and extensive lectures and argumentative speech as a terminal point.

In the beginners' classes, the highest percentages of simple agreement or maximum agreement with the content of the statements are concentrated in the first two of the five options. In the ability to understand familiar Modern Greek words and very basic everyday phrases, 21% and 14% of the UT students responded positively or very positively in comparison to 27% and 23% of their YU counterparts. The ability to understand short simple messages and announcements is feasible to very feasible for the 11% and 4% respectively of UT students and for 27% and 18% of YU students. The lowest rates (disagreement or absolute disagreement), in the same questions appear at UT, with 32%,14%, 46%, and 29% respectively in statements 3–4 of the five-point scale that demonstrate lack of ability to recognize simple words or understand the content of simple messages (Efstathiades and Antonopoulou 2004, pp. 3–4).

As we compare the statements of more demanding listening skills, it becomes evident that the UT beginners' rates are lower than that of their YU counterparts.

In understanding the key points of oral texts spoken clearly on familiar subjects or topics of personal and professional interest, greater difficulty is faced by the UT students (75% choose the lower 0–1 scale values over 58% in YU), while in understanding extensive oral texts and lectures on familiar topics the disagreement statement rates reach the levels of 89% and 86% respectively. Reasonably, in both institutions, the beginners (96% for UT and 77% for YU) report difficulty in understanding extensive texts from different sources (TV, cinema, etc.) with less clear structure or with subterranean and implicit relationships.

The processing of the intermediate and advanced students' statements confirms both the effective structure of the levels and the distinct escalation of the complexity of skills. Thus, the rates of simple agreement or strong agreement are concentrated mainly on three of the five statements. Recognition of words or key phrases on familiar issues is possible for almost all students of both levels, as 27% and 71% of students select "agree" or "totally agree" respectively; the corresponding values for the advanced group are 6% and 94%. Similarly, in the upper scale values for understanding phrases with familiar vocabulary in short texts or announcements, the rates for statements 3–4 of the scale are at 36% and 64% for the intermediate level with 17% and 78% for the advanced group, respectively. In comprehending the key points of oral texts, both groups are not reporting particular difficulties as 86% in the intermediate class and 90% in the advanced group select the maximum values of the scale.

Clearer indications for the two higher levels are shown by the rates for the skills of increased difficulty: understanding oral argumentative texts and lectures, as well as those that involve more complex textual environments. The comparative rates of these statements are more widely dispersed and occupy the entire range of options. The values of positive or very positive answers reach 64% and 57% for the intermediates for each of these skills, while the advanced students' rates are 67% and 51%. The lower values clarify the differences between the two levels, as high or very high difficulty in understanding extensive texts and lectures and dealing with oral texts of more complicated structure is faced by 21% and 11% of the intermediate and advanced groups respectively.

We examined speaking skills (Brown and Yule 1983) in the light of the ability of students to develop descriptive, narrative, and argumentative texts (Kress 1994, pp. 7, 11) of escalating difficulty, from expression of simple sentences on familiar topics to more complex abstract thoughts. Most popular are again the first two statements, as the use of sentences to (a) describe familiar persons and environment and (b) educational and/or professional environments, seems feasible not only for students at the intermediate and advanced levels but also for beginners (Efstathiades and Antonopoulou 2004, pp. 232–234). The positive statements which express a high or very high degree of agreement (options 3–4 of the scale) reach 14% and 32% for beginners of UT and YU respectively for the first question, and 7% and 18% for the second which involves a wider range of descriptive texts.

By contrast, most of the intermediate and advanced students (with agreement and full agreement rates of 21% and 79% for the first group and 17% and 83% for the second) are able to provide information about their residence and about familiar

persons. Also the vast majority (21% and 64% of intermediates and 17% and 67% of advanced respectively) use the last two options in the statements scale to indicate their ability to speak with simple descriptive phrases or sentences about broader social conditions, such as lifestyle, education, and professional path. The statements on the other thematic questions indicate negative self-assessment choices for the beginners and positive for the other two groups, which is an expected finding given the knowledge base difference. As for the ability to express personal opinions in relation to prevailing opinions and narrating personal or other stories found in books or movies, strong reservations, or difficulties are expressed by 89%, and 64% of UT and YU beginners respectively, while the development of argumentation and clarity of opinions about positive and negative aspects of various issues, related to the interests of the respondents, also seems very difficult or simply difficult to 96% and 80% respectively for the two groups. Finally, the rates are even higher, as expected, for the last question concerning the articulation of clear and detailed statements on complex issues. Articulating informed opinions, processing subsections, and formulating conclusions are impossible for 100% of UT beginners (82% and 18% for the values 0 and 1 respectively) and 82% (73% and 9% similarly) for the same level of YU beginners.

For the students at the intermediate and advanced levels, primary attention is given to statements 4–5 of the self-assessment scale that represent agreement or strong agreement with the suggested language skill: 71% of the first group and 72% of the second are able to narrate personal experiences or stories. For the other two questions concerning the development of simple or complex arguments, most of the responses are positive. However, the difference between the two levels is evident on the lower end of the scale. The ability to express themselves through simply structured argumentative texts is acquired by the 57% of the students in the intermediate and 56% in advanced class. When we look at the negative responses to this question, the greatest difficulty is recorded in the intermediate level with 36% (responses 0–1) in comparison to 22% in the advanced class. In the category of the most demanding skills (e.g., processing complex issues and drawing conclusions), the two groups tend to respond positively or very positively with 50% and 56%, while the negative or very negative responses are at 36% and 17% respectively.

Focusing even more on speaking, we considered it appropriate to ask students to self-assess their ability to deal with different situational contexts (Canale and Swain 1980) given their diverse cultural characteristics. Primarily, we looked at interactions with Greek-speaking users, starting with the ability to ask questions and provide answers with supporting feedback on very familiar topics (Ur 1996). At the beginners' level, emphasis was placed on the degree of development of basic communication skills (Cummins 1981). Thus, we focused on the positive or very positive statements (e.g., options 3–4 in the five-point scale), as well as on negative answers when they differentiate so drastically that they influence the direction of the final conclusions. On the issue of dealing with questions and answers, 25% and 32% of UT and YU students respectively respond positively or very positively in comparison to a 57% and 62% who admit that they are unable to meet daily needs through

oral communication, even when the dialogue takes place at a slow pace. At the intermediate and advanced levels, the positive responses reach 93% and 95% respectively, but differences are observed in the individual distributions (14% and 79% for options 3 and 4 in the intermediate level and 6% and 89% in the advanced group respectively). A simple exchange of information on familiar subjects pertaining to daily activities is possible or very possible for 14% and 45% of UT and YU beginners respectively (values 0–1 for the two groups are at 75% and 50%) and for 93% and 94% of intermediate and advanced participants.

In situational environments that involve more demanding processes, the values of positive or very positive statements are generally declining, especially when they deal with communicative situations that occur in environments where the Greek language is predominantly spoken. For example, maintaining a discussion on current issues without special preparation is possible or very possible for only 4% and 18% respectively of UT and YU beginners, yet it constitutes a realistic task for 79% and 84% of intermediate and advanced students. At the same time, the spontaneous and fluent interaction with Greek language speakers through active participation in discussions where various opinions are expressed is possible for 4% and 18% of beginners of both classes and for 64% and 72% of students in the intermediate/ advanced levels.

Major difficulties are evident on the final question concerning the efficient and flexible use of language for social and professional purposes and the expression of opinions and ideas in discussions with other speakers. Thus, statements of full disagreement and mere disagreement receive 96% and 86% in both UT and YU beginner classes, with dominance of the lower value in the scale; 0 and 1 in particular are chosen by 82% and 14% UT respondents and 59% and 27% by their YU counterparts. Similar findings concerning the other two levels show that positive or very positive statements also are relatively low compared with other statements of the same category: values 3–4 receive 57% by the intermediate students of YU and 72% by the advanced UT students.

Reading and Writing

Through a range of proposed scalable statements, we also examined the development of reading skills (Brown 1994b, pp. 283–318; Oxford 1990) in order to explore the relationship that students, in all levels, maintain with the written form of the target language and their previous reading experiences. The first question for which the students' self-assessment was requested was the degree of understanding of familiar names, words, and very simple phrases of functional texts (e.g., posters, catalogues, directories, etc.). The focus for this question was on the beginners' classes, since it can be assumed that students in the intermediate and advanced levels would not face problems with this skill. The positive responses of intermediate-level students reach 36% and 64% respectively for the values 3–4, while the advanced level rates were 17% and 83% respectively. According to the positive and very positive statements, some of those in the beginners' courses have already had contact

with written texts of Modern Greek: those who provide agreement statements (options 3–4) represent 21% and 18% of all enrolled (14% and 7% in UT and 9% and 9% in YU). There is no substantial variation between the two beginners' classes, as the majority (57% and 59% of students respectively) selected the lower options (0–1): 39% and 18% at UT compared to 36% and 23% at YU.

The second finding concerns the ability to read simple short texts and to find information in frequently encountered texts, such as short letters/emails, advertisements, brochures, menus, and timetables. Responses of the two higher levels are quite positive with the following distributions per class: 43% and 57% intermediate students and 22% and 78% advanced selected options 3–4 respectively. For the beginners, the percentages are similar to the first question that investigated familiarity with simple words or phrases. Thus, 11% and 18% of UT and YU beginners provide affirmative responses: 7% and 4% selected option 3 and 9% and 9% option 4, while the reasonably negative or very negative options receive 78% and 68%, respectively. The other three thematic statements involve more specific or demanding language use contexts that beginners in general are not comfortable with (Efstathiades and Antonopoulou 2004, pp. 99–102). Therefore, in detecting the degree of difficulty, we found an escalation of negative responses in both classes. Specifically, a large percentage of around 89% and 78% (57% and 32% in UT select values 0 and 1 compared to 55% and 23% for YU) cannot understand texts consisting of high frequency everyday words or words related to their professional field.

Likewise, but with higher rates (90% and 82%), both classes find it difficult or very difficult to understand personal letters containing description of emotions, narratives, or expression of wishes: individual allocations for negative statements at UT and YU are 61% and 29% and 59% and 23%, respectively. Accordingly, the resulting data of the last question on the ability to read articles and reports which contain concerns or opinions on contemporary issues and literary texts, display difficulties for 100% of UT students (75% and 25% chose options 0–1) versus 86% of YU participants (73% and 13% respectively).

Findings on the same questions in the two higher levels indicate a noticeable deviation in the skills developed by students of each class: 86% and 95% of students in the intermediate and advanced classes respectively have developed satisfactorily or very satisfactorily the ability to understand texts with frequently used words (a) associated with everyday/professional activities, and (b) describing emotions, narrations, or greetings. Understanding the content of articles and literary works, which involve views on contemporary problems, is possible or very possible for 64% of intermediate and 67% of advanced students with varied distributions per level on the maximum values of the scale: 50% and 14% of intermediate students selected options 3–4 compared to 28% and 39% of the advanced.

The next set of skills, examined, through statements of escalating difficulty covering a wide range of speech acts (Austin 1975, pp. 52, 148; Bella 2015, p. 79), the ability to produce written texts (Brown 1994b, pp. 319–345). The starting point of self-assessment in this category is the ability to draft brief and simple

greeting cards and to fill out forms requiring personal information such as name, nationality, and permanent residence or home address. Overall, at the beginners' level, we noted that a small percentage of UT and YU students can produce written texts to meet these kinds of communication needs. Only 11% and 14% selected options 3–4 respectively. As expected, the rates are much higher (78% and 89%) for intermediate and advanced students. The first group selected the two highest values by 14% and 64% and the second by 22% and 67% respectively.

In the case of writing simple brief notes or messages to meet vital needs or very simple personal letters expressing gratitude, the rates decline, but remain relatively higher than rates of other topics in the same category. Thus, we observe lower percentages in beginners' selection of options 3–4 (only 4% at UT and 9% at YU have acquired this skill), whereas options 0 and 1 garner 86% and 73%, respectfully. Conversely, the affirmative responses are more popular for the intermediate and advanced classes with 60% and 72% selecting options 3 and 4, respectively. The other three topics entail the production of more demanding texts; their difficulties are mirrored in the corresponding rates (Efstathiades and Antonopoulou 2004, p. 188). Drafting a text that highlights an issue of personal interest and description of impressions or experiences in a personal letter received options 0 and 1 by 97% and 91% of beginners (79% and 18% in UT and 73% and 18% in YU respectively).

As expected, even more challenging for the participants is the production of detailed texts with a wider range of topics related to the authors' interests or reports with argumentative or informative content, as the degree of disagreement reaches 100% and 95%. Identical rates of 100% and 95% per class emerge from the last question referring to the ability of free expression through well-structured longer texts (letters or reports). What is assessed here is the expression of opinions on complex issues, the selection of the appropriate style, and the prioritization of the main and secondary ideas. The only difference between the two classes remains the different distribution in negative responses. At UT, 89% and 11% select the options 0 and 1 on the third question as opposed to a 0% 95% at YU.

Looking at the positive or very positive statements of intermediate and advanced students in response to the same three questions, we found that the two groups show a systematic variation in the degree of development of skills with increasing difficulty. Thus, (a) writing a plain text is possible or very possible for 57% of students at the intermediate level and 78% at the advanced, respectively; (b) the more detailed development of views on a broad range of subjects is possible for 36% and 55% respectively; and (c) writing about complex issues receives less than 50% in the advanced class. On the other hand, the lower rates in these three questions, as indicated by selecting values 0 and 1, suggest that for a significant percentage of intermediate students it is basically impossible to draft a well-organized written text. In particular, for the production of a simple and detailed text, major difficulty is faced by 36% and 11% of intermediate and advanced students. For the production of a well-structured text, on the other hand, the percentages are even higher 43% and 22%. Finally, 43% and 33% face difficulties with the most demanding type of texts.

Comparative Findings in Developed Skills

Comparing the distribution of all maximum values (3–4 in the five-point scale) in five key communication skills, per class and level, demonstrates a differentiation in students' abilities. Through the self-assessment process, it is evident that at the beginners' level, a clear distinction exists in the degree of development of oral and written language skills (Archakis 2005, pp. 182–186). There is also a substantial variation in productive and receptive skills. As illustrated in Fig. 5, the students in both classes have already developed to some extent their listening skills, oral interaction, and speech production but not their writing skills.

Differentiation between the two classes is notable, as beginners of YU seem to have a greater familiarity with speaking than do their UT counterparts. Similar indications are also recorded in the lower values of the scale (options 0 and 1) that illustrate comparison in the degree of difficulty for each category. As it appears, written production (with 92% and 84% for both classes), speaking (with 85% and 69%), and reading comprehension (with 83% and 75% respectively) are more challenging than listening (79% in Toronto and 64% in York respectively) and oral interaction (also 79% and 64%).

A comparison of the self-assessment statements of students in the two higher levels indicates that these students consider their reading comprehension skills as satisfactory to very satisfactory (87% and 90% of intermediate and advanced students respectively), followed by listening comprehension (83% and 82%) and oral communication (77% and 86%). On the other hand, they are less confident about their speaking (74% and 73%) and writing skills (56% for the intermediate and 68% for the advanced group respectively).

The shortfall in production skills is detected in the processing of lower values (0 and 1 in the five-point scale). The main characteristic remains difficulty in writing production, with 33% of intermediate and 18% of advanced students admitting it, followed by speaking where the corresponding rates are 20% and 9% respectively.
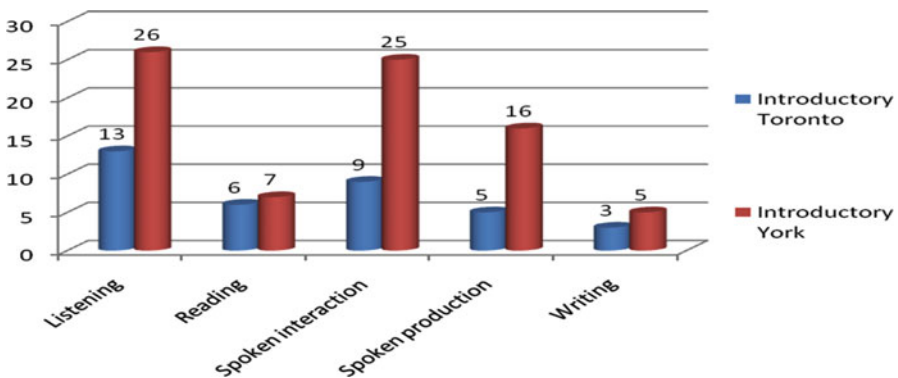
Fig. 5 Developed skills/maximun values (4–5)
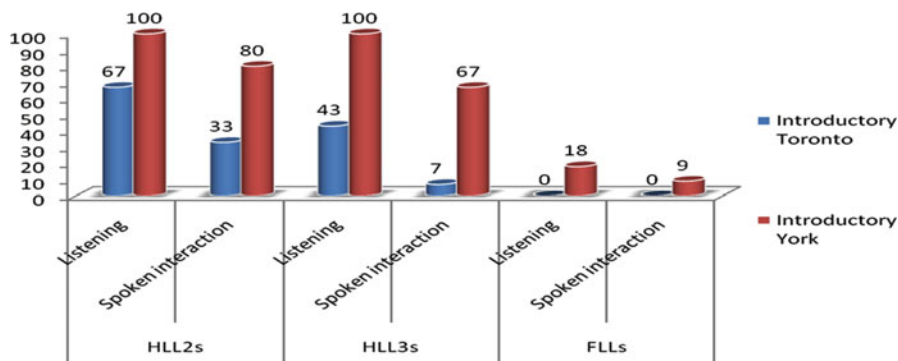
Fig. 6 Groups and oral speech skills

Oral interaction follows with 16% and 7%, listening with 9% and 4%. Finally, reading comprehension has the lowest rates of 4% and 3%.

Besides detecting the attainment of language skills per level and per class, key findings derive from processing the degree of familiarity with the Greek language of individual groups of students with different cultural characteristics. Given the heterogeneity that occurs mainly in the beginner classes, where both heritage and foreign language learners are enrolled, it seemed appropriate to assess the highest values (3-4) in the five-point scale of the students: (a) who have parent/s born in Greece (second-generation heritage learners/HLL2s, (b) whose parents are of Greek origin (third-generation heritage learners/HLL3s) and (c) of foreign language learners. Particularly, we looked at the degree of variation between these three groups (HLL2s, HLL3s, and FLLs) in the performance of the simplest speech acts, focusing at the listening skills in (a) the ability to recognize words and key phrases on familiar topics when they presented slowly and clearly, and (b) coping with everyday life needs through the exchange of information in interactions with Greek speakers.

As evident in Fig. 6, the variations in our findings refer not only to the degree of attainment of language skills but also to the formation of groups of different origin (Brown 1994a) which are characterized by various degrees of familiarity with the language. Apart from the distinction on the basis of receptive and productive skills that affect the respondents' attitudes, it is obvious that the HLL2s display higher overall rates in both sets of skills than do the HLL3s. This trend is mirrored clearly when we compare the statements of oral interaction with Greek speakers, as 33% of UT and 80% of YU HLL2s feel that they can satisfy basic communication needs versus 7% and 67% of HLL3s. At the same time, only a very small percentage of FLLs have collectively developed personal familiarity with the language, mainly limited to understanding simple words or phrases. A wide gap separates the two classes in terms of their rates, as the YU students assess their speaking skills as more developed than do their UT counterparts.

The data obtained by examining the statements of different groups about basic reading and writing skills demonstrate initially that a significantly lower percentage of students – compared to the percentage recorded for oral communication – can use the

language to perform basic functions such as reading words and key phrases or drafting sentences to describe familiar persons and places. HLL2s show stable rates in both classes with respect to their ability to read and write (33% and 40% per class for these two skills), whereas the rates of HLL3s deviate. Positive or very positive statements about reading skills reach 43% and 40% in UT and YU classes respectively, while for writing production the corresponding rates are 29% and 40%. Of the total 19 FLLs in both classes, only one YU student is confident about her/his writing skills.

Teaching Parameters: Attitudes, Preferences, Challenges

Reasons for Choosing the Program and Learning Motivation

In the third part of the investigation, we used eight open- and closed-type questions to further outline the learning profile of the students, to record their expectations from their enrollment in the Greek language program, and to extract more personalized data about their attitudes or preferences (Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 34). The ultimate objectives are the configuration of desired learning outcomes, the selection of appropriate resources and materials for a content-based approach to Greek language teaching (Stryker and Leaver 1997), and the most effective application of learning strategies and teaching approaches to meet the educational needs, aspirations, and specific characteristics of the learners (Carreira 2015).

Initially, we asked the students to identify their reasons for choosing to enroll in the Greek language program, either by demonstrating via a five-point scale the degree of their agreement or disagreement with five proposed reasons or by indicating their own rationale. The proposals aimed at exploring their personal relationship to the target language and their own hierarchy of priorities. Thus, beyond the desire to communicate with Greek-speaking friends and relatives or to travel to Greece, we investigated the degree to which the identity issue (Brown 1994a) influences the given educational choice – both per level of study and per class – as well as the interconnection of learning the Greek language and elements of the Greek culture with the scope of their general interests and practical needs at a professional or academic level (Gardner 1985; Gardner and Lambert 1972). Finally, we considered the role of linguistic ideology and language validity as possible learning motivation factors in order to highlight stereotypes or dominant positions (Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 40).

The beginners in both classes determine as important reasons for their enrollment: (a) their contact with the Greek language and culture and (b) the possibility of visiting Greece. These two reasons topped the maximum values 3–4 of the self-assessment scale, with rates of 89% and 91% at UT and 85% and 83% at YU. Students in both institutions seem to be in agreement regarding the third preferred option, as communication with Greek language speakers garners 78% and 68% respectively. They also agree in classifying as their least important reason for enrollment the practical use of Greek language skills in their field of study or career (32% and 36% respectively). The difference, therefore, lies in the choices
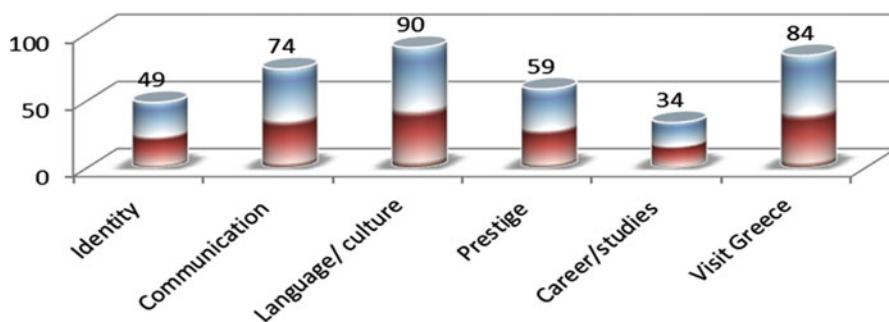
Fig. 7 Beginners-Greek language learning motivation

concerning (a) the identity of the students and (b) the subjective consideration of Greek as a prestige language. The UT students place identity reasons before linguistic prestige (65% and 50% respectively), whereas at YU these statements are reversed with 45% and 68%.

Although the role of identity is interwoven with other parameters, we decided to examine this aspect separately because of its evaluative significance. As evident from the students' statements, UT beginners are the ones who place more importance on the connection between language learning and identity negotiation. For both classes, the maximum value of four collects the highest ratings (36% and 27% compared to the respective 29% and 18% of option 3). However, the lower negative values 0–1 are clearly more prevalent among the YU students, with 41% (27% for option 0 and 14% for option 1) as opposed to a total of 28% (21% and 7% for 0–1 options) of UT students who put greater emphasis on the identity parameter. The overall display of the most popular options marked with 3–4 in the five-point scale (Fig. 7) suggests that identity occupies the fifth position with 49% before the last selection of practical use of the language associated with the students' career which received 34%.

The identity issue has emerged as a significantly crucial incentive for the students at the two higher levels of study and particularly for the advanced group which ranked it as first among all other options (Baker 2011). In this class, 83% of all participants consider the relationship between language and identity as the most influential factor for their enrollment in the program. Interest in the language and Modern Greek culture and the possibility of travelling to Greece follow at a great distance by 67%. Equally influential in the self-assessment scale of motivating factors, with a rate of 61% jointly, are (a) the ability to communicate with Greek speakers and (b) the validity of the language. On the other hand, only 32% consider the benefits of learning the language in a professional or academic context as their driving motivation for enrollment. Students at the intermediate level underscore – to a large or very large extent – the identity incentive that overrides other options and plans to visit Greece, the country where the language is spoken. Overall, these two options receive a total 93%, followed by 86% for the ability to communicate with Greek speakers and the desire for contact with Modern Greek culture, 71% for the prestige of the Greek language, and finally, 36% for the possible professional/

academic advantages of learning the language. Only in a couple of cases do we find reference to enrollment incentives that were not initially suggested. The first is a statement expressed by a UT beginner who adds as a motivating factor her/his general interest in learning languages and cultures of other peoples. The second, recorded from a student in the advanced class, is a personal desire to keep in touch with the language. Other statements are basically rewording or complementing the standard proposed reasons, as they focus on the issue of identity, strengthening students' links with their roots, and on personal goals, such as the desire to participate in educational programs, exchanges, or internships in Greece.

Educational Needs, Aspirations and Learning Particularities

Following the scale of hierarchical valuation of identified proposals, we attempted to record students' expectations and goals regarding their participation in the Greek language program. Our rationale was to elicit the nature of the students' educational needs by level. We used as axes (a) the development or improvement of oral and written communication skills (Canale and Swain 1980; Humes 1972; Mitsis 2004), (b) the conscious knowledge of the language system (Brown 1994b, pp. 347–350), and (c) substantial familiarity or contact with the Modern Greek culture.

Through observation of the maximum scale values 3–4, which are the prevailing hierarchical statements, we found that the beginners' basic aim is the development of speaking ability (82% and 78% for the UT and YU classes respectively). In the following options, however, we observe differences, as UT students are focused on learning or improving their level in grammar and cultural awareness with 68% and 64%. In contrast, the YU students focus more on culture and less on the language system (78% and 68%). Reading and writing skills are placed in both classes toward the end of their ranking, with 64% at UT and 68% at YU.

The priorities of the students in higher levels are different. Having already developed their listening and speaking skills to some extent, they reasonably focus more on improving their reading and writing competencies and connecting more deeply with the culture of the target language. As apparent in Fig. 8, high rates are observed in the intermediate and advanced levels in several other options. In the distribution of responses involving oral communication, the maximum rate of beginner learners is 80%, whereas the lowest rates for the two groups are 86% and 89% respectively. This trend may indicate the highest degree of awareness on the part of more advanced students regarding their educational needs; thus the data dispersion in these classes is clearly lower. Finally, it is worth noting that the students did not have other suggestions except one that refers to the content of teaching and highlights the need to emphasize topics exploring the history of the Greek diaspora.

In a more individualized approach, the students were invited to respond to open-ended questions designed to uncover any learning difficulties experienced in their educational path, as well as any obstacles that they have encountered in previous language courses. Under learning peculiarities, emphasis was placed on attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (Barkley 2014), difficulties in understanding language
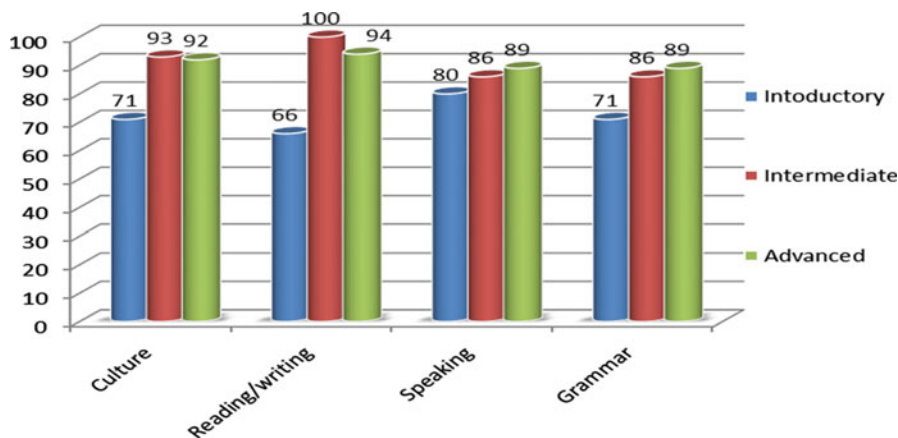
Fig. 8 Students' expectations per level

form concepts or rules without visual aids, and idiosyncratic issues, such as anxiety associated with oral interaction activities in the classroom. Language teaching, in turn, is connected with problems of learning or absorbing grammar and syntax phenomena.

Among the concerns highlighted are spelling, intonation, pronunciation, verb conjugation, and the need to use functional vocabulary. It should be acknowledged that the learning difficulties sometimes are not clarified, as the students tend to recognize some dysfunctional elements in the approach of the new language system without further specification. Finally, this set of questions exposed a desire to extend the scope of language courses outside the narrow confines of a classroom. The responses also point to the importance of using various literacy practices in connection to the community and the wider social environment of the students.

Course Organization and Planning

To develop practices that promote the critical approach to language and recognize the necessity for organizing courses on the basis of the unique social characteristics, needs, and preferences of the learners, we included questions about the course content. In doing so, we requested the hierarchical assessment of nine areas that represent the students' interests and can inform the design of a content-based curriculum (Grabe and Stoller 1997; Stryker and Leaver 1997) as part of an interdisciplinary approach to language teaching and knowledge in general (Stapleton 2014; Matsagouras 2002). As indicated in Fig. 9, which incorporates positive and very positive statements, beginners take a particular interest in topics related to history, mythology, and cuisine. Both beginner classes placed topics pertaining to politics and sports at the bottom of their ranking; at UT, these two choices receive 57% and 39%, and at YU 41% and 32% respectively. In the middle of the classified list of choices, with rates between 50% and 60%, we find the other four topics, with a
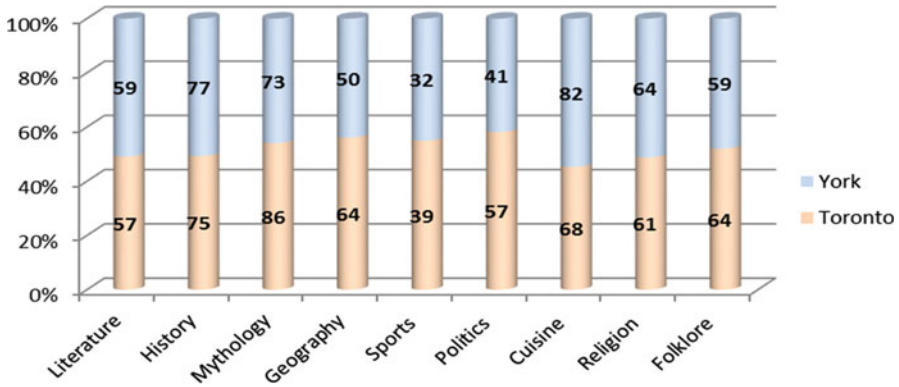
Fig. 9 Subjects of interest-Introductory

noticeable rate in favor of religious topics; religion appears to interest more than 60% of participants in both classes.

The preferences in the two higher levels indicate that beyond the cultural and idiosyncratic background of the students, there are signs of familiarity with the target language. Thus, the three predominant responses of intermediate-level students are similar to those of beginners but more specific. Preference for history topics ranks the highest at 86%, followed by learning material related to religion, literature, and mythology (79%, 79%, and 71% respectively), while political and athletic content is at the bottom of the list with a 57% rate of preference for both fields. The other options that include geography, cuisine, and folklore garner 64% each.

A different ranking of preferences emerges from the responses of students in the advanced group. They identify politics (78%) and mythology (78%) as their more interesting subjects, followed by history and literature with 72% each and sports with 67%. The other options with a significant percentage are cuisine and folklore (56% each) and geography (50%), while only 39% selects religious content. Although the advanced students were given the possibility of further enrichment of the initially identified list of suggestions, the only additional topics of interest that they specify are current Greek news and Greek music, which is already embedded in the established proposed topics of history and folklore. We should note that the advanced students' preferences are in keeping with the overall orientation of the Hellenic Studies Program at UT, which is situated within the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) of the Munk School of Global Affairs. Since most advanced students are either majoring in European Studies or in the relevant field of political science, it is logical that they would have an interest in Greek politics and current events.

The last point of our investigation of the students' preferences examines desirable ways to learn the language (Brown 1994a; Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991). Through a suggestion of five basic options, we stressed educational means with a distinction between electronic and print sources. This distinction was made to explore the role of audio-visual stimuli in the language learning process. From the
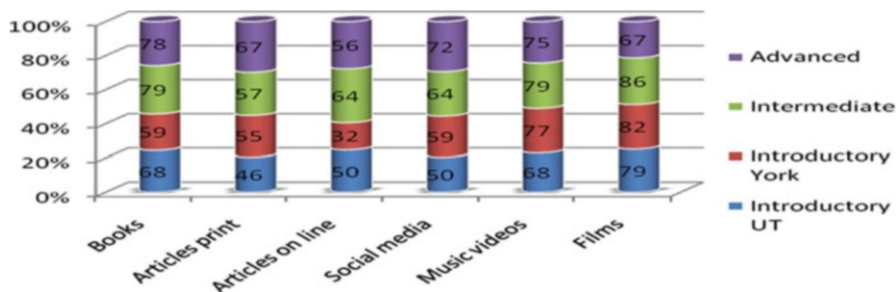
Fig. 10 Language teaching media

print media, we decided to include in our suggestions the use of materials from books and articles to indicate the degree of student preference for conventional educational resources. Also, in an effort to investigate the role of multimodal texts in language teaching (Hondolidou 1999; Kress and for Van Leeuwen 1996), we proposed the use of audiovisual material in the form of films, music videos, and online content, such as social media postings.

The responses provided by all students, regardless of their department or level of study, suggest (see Fig. 10) that overall the use of films and music videos for educational purposes is to a large or very large extent preferred by 79% and 74% respectively. Still quite popular is the preference for books, which occupies the third place on the list with 71%. Interestingly, in spite of the participants' generally young age, the use of social media sources and articles (print or electronic) is less popular with 61% for social media and 56% and 51% respectively for the two types of articles.

The comparison of the maximum values (3–4) in the five-point scale indicates that despite the subjective character of the students' preferences, there are trends across different levels and classes. For instance, the modes of instruction preferred by advanced students indicate a higher degree of familiarity with different situational communication contexts and various text genres. Thus, films, which are the most popular preference in the overall allocation, rank fourth among the choices of the advanced students who favor the medium of books, as evidenced by the rates of the two options (78% and 67% respectively).

In the same way, we can explain the upward trend of preference for social media as educational resources for students in the higher levels with 72% in the advanced group compared to the corresponding 50% in the UT beginners' class. Students in beginner courses seem to rely on more traditional ways of studying, as indicated by the higher degree of their preference for learning through texts instead of audiovisual resources. Finally, once more, the range of indicative options was not enriched by other suggestions that students could have introduced via the open-ended question.

Given the high degree of subjectivity that governs the respective preferences of the learners, we acknowledge that the data interpretation process cannot be exhaustive. Our goal is to highlight certain converging trends in pedagogical methodology and topics which align with proven educational needs. By doing so, we hope to facilitate the teaching and learning of the Greek language and culture in Canada. In

view of the diverse nature of the classes in this study, the use of various oral and written texts/genres may contribute to stimulating the students' cultural and reading experiences and validating, instead of ignoring, the wealth of their individual differences (Martin 2000; Bakhtin 1986).

The concluding part of the whole self-assessment process entails the submission of specific recommendations for potential improvement of the courses. Emerging from the summary of all recommendations is a wide range of considerations that were freely expressed by students. The basic component of most of the answers illustrates the desire for a communicative learning environment with a variety of stimuli, within or outside the confines of the classroom. A shared recommendation is regular communication both between the students and the instructor and the active participation of all students in creative learning opportunities. The cultivation of communication skills – which arises as a necessity due to the existence of the Greek-speaking community – is linked to the use of new media and ICT as educational aids which can connect various cultural and linguistic identities with learning texts (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, pp. 19–30).

While underlining the need to implement innovative teaching practices and methods, students' recommendations include more tangible parameters that could improve the learning process. For example, students mention slowing the tempo of speech (mainly on the instructor/s' part), systematic teaching of the language system (grammar and syntax), and the implementation of experiential activities. As for the course content, the students highlight the benefits of using materials related to current events and sociopolitical developments in Greece, such as the financial crisis, as well as content to be negotiated collectively between students and instructors. Furthermore, the students seem to enjoy engaging in playful and exploratory learning activities, and they emphasize learning in authentic communication contexts through interaction with Greek speakers outside the classroom. This preference calls for the interaction of the classes with the broader Greek community either in face-to-face contact with members of Greek organizations, or in online learning environments, such as sister class networks (see Skourtou et al. 2006; Kourtis-Kazoullis 2011)

Language and the Modern Greek Culture Course

Only a small number of students were enrolled in the YU course of Modern Greek culture on the questionnaire completion day. Thus, our findings in relation to this group are presented as case study data on the role of language teaching in a culture course. We found that the two male students – both of whom happen to have an experiential relationship with Greece due to their ethnic origin – prioritize the issue of identity in their choices. Out of all suggested incentives for their enrollment in the course, the only one that falls in the lower ranks of the scale of priorities (options 0–1) is the possibility of practical career benefits from learning Greek. Both students agree on the issue of identity, the interest in Modern Greek culture and language, and also on the inherent validity of the Greek language. Minor variation is reported on the desire to communicate with Greek speakers and to visit the country.

However, the two students differ in terms of their target language skills due to their different routes and characteristics. One of them is a HLL2 learner with a high level of language proficiency, largely attributable to his background studies in Greek along with his daily use of the language in his family environment. The other student is a HLL3 learner with none of the above characteristics. Therefore, the imprint of their aspirations and expectations is markedly reversed except for the shared objective of further familiarizing themselves with contemporary Greek culture. Whereas the HLL2 connects the course content directly with his desire to upgrade his language level, the HLL3 demonstrates little interest (option 1 on the scale for all linguistic indicators) in the development of productive or receptive language skills through this course.

As for the maximum values in the thematic areas of interest and educational means, the first student stresses the importance (value of 4 on the scale) of literary and historical texts, and texts with political content and geographical references. He also prefers to study via electronic and printed articles, music videos, and materials from social media. In contrast, the HLL3's responses focus on more scientific fields and fewer desirable modes of instruction. Specifically, he expresses avid interest in the study of materials from all the suggested topics except politics, while he prefers learning through films, followed by literature, print articles, and music videos.

Discussion-General Conclusions

Our attempt to investigate aspects of heritage/foreign language teaching in the context of higher education in Canada highlights identity as the dominant issue. It emerges as the common ground of our research questions that were posed directly or indirectly in different parts of the study. Our study focuses on thoughts and reflections on the teaching of heritage languages in a modern multicultural and technologically developed society. The identity of the participants in the program under investigation, as it is defined and revealed by the participants through self-assessment evaluative statements, is interwoven with language learning motivation (Gardner 1985; Ushioda 2008) and the degree of development of distinct skills in the target language.

In addition, the expression of personal expectations and objectives contributes to the identification of educational needs in the field and informs the implementation of appropriate teaching strategies. Beyond the queries that focus on teaching Greek as a heritage or a foreign language, conclusions are drawn regarding the interconnection of identity and integration motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972) with the emergence of educational interests related to the cultural capital of learners, their educational trajectory, and their specific individual characteristics (Brown 1994a; Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 34). In this sense, this investigation enlightens and further clarifies a pedagogic framework for teaching Greek in mixed heritage and foreign learning settings (Carreira 2015) by proposing specific objectives and teaching practices, thus laying the foundations for restructuring the existing curricula.

The original trisection of our participants according to social, ethnic, and cultural characteristics clarified the existence of different incentives, as the experiential relationship of students with Greece and their relationship with the language affects decisively the understanding of their educational needs and their ability to configure aspects of their language proficiency level (Valdes 2001; Carreira 2004). Thus, HLL2s and HLL3s tend to continue their Modern Greek language studies in higher level courses; their dominant enrollment criterion is negotiation for their identity.

However, the first group (the HLL2s) is numerically superior to the second (the HLL3s) as levels rise, which is an indication of stronger incentives relevant to having more opportunities to use the language in their home or in their broader social and/or professional environment (Valdes 2001; Carreira 2015). Certainly, we cannot ignore additional motivating factors for this group associated with academic success. The fact that HLL2s have acquired higher proficiency levels – both from their extensive opportunities to use the target language in their daily life and their elementary/secondary school year studies – increases the likelihood of success in the courses with a major impact on their overall Grade Point Average (GPA).

Conversely, larger data dispersion throughout the range is observed in the beginner classes in both academic institutions, as the enrolled students include a significant proportion of students for whom Greek is a foreign language. The dominant motivating factor of this group is connecting with the Modern Greek language and culture and developing a familiarity with the country where the language is predominantly spoken. This diverse representation, as well as the possibility of comparisons between the two beginner classes, fosters a more comprehensive understanding of the starting point of students who choose to pursue Modern Greek language studies in higher education and to explore their previous educational experiences.

Besides the presence of foreign language learners, the beginners' classes have approximately twice as many HLL3s in comparison to HLL2s. Members of these two groups interact – at a lesser degree than the students of the advanced classes – with Greek speakers in their daily lives. However, the indicators that reflect this experiential relationship vary. A basic difference lies more in the allocations between different classes, as the YU students have more familiarity with the target language by virtue of daily use in their home environment. This higher degree of language use that runs through all findings regarding their skills, results in higher rates than students of the same level at UT. The distinction between students of the two classes (i.e., the class at UY and the class at UT) is confirmed by their educational path, prior to their enrollment in the course. Evidently, the latter (i.e., the UT students) have had minimum previous Greek studies and, in most cases, had never visited Greece.

Possible factors contributing to the students' direct or indirect relationship with Greece can be found in the social organization of their family environment. The gender of the Greek-origin parent/s seems to be affecting the educational orientation of their children as an additional influence. In the case of students with parents from Greece (HLL2s), it appears that the father's role operates more decisively in the students' decision to continue their Greek language studies. Conversely, for HLL3s the role of the father appears less decisive in comparison to the origin of both parents

and to the origin of the mother. It is indicative that in the advanced level, the influence of the Greek born father is subordinate to that of the mother, albeit at smaller rates.

These trends reflect to some extent aspects of the cultural and experiential background of the students and clarify the nature of their familiarity with the target language which is further defined by two parameters: the heretofore possibility of (a) engaging in communication circumstances in the country where the language is spoken and (b) participating in Greek-language education programs. Regarding the first parameter, we found that only 13% of the entire class had a chance to spend some time in Greece. Therefore, most Greek language experiences came from previous studies in primary, secondary, or higher education. Although the proportion of those who have attended various types of Greek language programs is higher than those who studied the language in their formal education years (51% compared to 40%), the relevant allocations are consistent with the existing classification of students at different levels of study and the estimated level of development of their language skills. Those enrolled in higher levels have followed similar educational paths, whereas at the beginners' level, we have encountered several variations. For instance, there is a difference among students of UT and YU, as the latter have higher rates of participation in Greek-language programs, as a consequence of their stronger Greek connections.

The process of identifying the level of Greek language proficiency (North and Schneider 1998; Council of Europe 2001; Varlokosta and Triantafillidou 2003, p. 138) has enabled students to reflect critically on the pragmatic dimension of the language and to self-assess their skills in relation to addressing identified communication needs. It has also contributed to (a) identifying at each level the degree of difficulty for the development of receptive and productive skills; (b) identifying the skills, basically in oral communication, with which beginner students have already familiarized themselves with as a result of their sociocultural characteristics; and (c) clarifying the desired learning outcomes per level of study.

We should note that from a methodological point of view the 25 language skills of escalating difficulty were structured around the effective comprehension and production of oral and written language and effective interaction with Greek speakers. The mathematical organization of our data allowed us to record common trends and differences per level in connection with the five main categories (listening, speaking, reading, writing, and communicating) as well as with more specific skills in each category. For our comparative analysis, we used the highest or the lowest values of the self-assessment scale according to which of the two could help us better elucidate the findings. The first of the five suggestions in each category received the highest rates, since they represent the simplest communicative contexts for our participants.

Overall, the common factor in our findings was a reliable separation of the proficiency levels in all university courses. It revealed that enrollment corresponds in mathematical terms with the knowledge base of the students. The rate differences on all categories are systematic which means that our participants have developed solid self-assessment criteria in relation to their communication skills in Modern

Greek. Another common element that emerges from the comparative data analysis is the low degree of productive skills' development, namely speaking and writing. As for the language productive skills, while the speaking competence is well developed, learners are not quite familiar with the written language conventions (Archakis 2005, p. 182). This finding is reflected in the self-assessment scale, as the highest rates are concentrated in the categories of targeted listening, oral interaction, and reading, especially in the intermediate and advanced level courses.

At the introductory level, differentiation between classes is observed among YU beginners because of their expanded capacity in oral communication. Therefore, for these students, speaking preceded the reading and writing skills, as opposed to the same level students at UT who perceived reading words or phrases as a simpler process than speaking. The intermediate and advanced level students brought forward, with different distributions, their skills in reading, and placed in different order their listening and oral interaction in which the advanced group shows a clear advantage. The parallel examination of the negative values (0–1 in the five-point scale), which reflects students' degree of difficulty to deal with given communication conditions, generally confirms the reliability of previously presented findings.

Beyond the general findings by level of study, under our original trisection (HLL2, HLL3, FLL), we chose to investigate discrete group behaviours on key skills, in order to clarify aspects of the background knowledge and experiences in the target language (Efstathiades and Triantafyllou 2004, p. 106) at the beginners' level. Students of the HLL2 group have an advantage over their HLL3 peers in listening comprehension and oral interaction with Greek speakers. Furthermore, they have better developed writing skills, but fall behind HLl3s in reading comprehension. According to the findings' rates, we observed significant differences for both groups with a few exceptions in the degree of familiarity with the oral and written language, in favor of the first. FLLs exhibit low levels in all relevant ratings, with exceptions on individual cases of students who were given access to some form of interaction in Greek-speaking environments. Also, the overall decoding of negative statements revealed a set of parameters that explain or determine students' difficulty to respond to specific aspects of the described communicative skills (for recorded difficulties per skill, see Efstathiades and Antonopoulou 2004).

Familiarity with communication tasks is important for the students. The closer such tasks are to their areas of interests, the easier it becomes to perform them. Depending on their level, students are sequentially able to perform speech acts related to themselves or their family milieu and also to their professional or academic field (Austin 1975; Smith 1990). However, some students encounter major obstacles in the expression of opinions on current social issues without opportunities for feedback or guidance that can be provided by a supportive language learning environment.

Acquaintance with different speech types and genres (Bakhtin 1986; Kinneavy 1971; Kostouli 2001, p. 231) for the achievement of various social communication objectives (Martin 1984, p. 25) is problematic for the students. Based on the rate distributions, it seems that at the introductory level, the approach to procedural, descriptive, and partly narrative texts is considered as an easier goal than developing

argumentative texts with abstract relations, underlying connections or different levels of style that require advanced skills in order to be decoded. Nevertheless, identifying central ideas and distinguishing them from secondary, detecting key structural characteristics and conventions seem to be achievable, to a certain degree, given that proper scaffolds are provided (Archakis 2005; Cummins 2001; Walqui 2007). The extent and the structural configuration of the texts are characteristics that affect the students' ability (Brown and Yule 1983). Positive values are aggregated for brief and simple utilitarian texts, letters, cards, or notes designed to provide clear personal information, short stories, and other speech acts which are fully defined (Brown and Yule 1983).

Effective oral interaction is formed by a matrix of factors, mainly the need to communicate under the pressure of dealing with daily needs and also the degree of participants' involvement. Thus, facilitating factors, such as a slow restatement, repetition of the message or parts of it (Ur 1996), and the use of nonverbal and paralinguistic parameters, make the effort to interact with Greek-speakers more attractive. Hence, it systematically precedes the production of speech, regardless of communicative situations.

The set of findings, both by educational level and per class, are in line with the expectations of students from their enrollment in the Greek language courses. Identifying personal goals – which focused on three areas, namely the development of oral and written language skills, knowledge of the language system (Brown 1994b, pp. 347–350) and contact with the cultural dimension of the language – reveals that learners at the beginners' level focus more on speaking competencies. On the contrary, the intermediate and advanced classes aim primarily at the cultivation of their reading and writing skills. However, as indicated by the corresponding figures, we see that the participants' identity is interwoven with their individual statements. Thus, the differences identified in the two classes of beginners are mirrored in the need to utilize elements of the Modern Greek culture, which is prioritized, after speaking, by the YU students. Conversely, the UT class, which has lower overall language skills rates, underlines the importance of teaching grammar. By analogy, in the two higher-level classes where the issue of identity is crucial, incorporation of cultural elements in the language course content occupies the second place of preferences, with high rates, following the desire for further improvement in reading and writing.

The application of our findings in the last part of this research is crucial for the organization and planning of lessons because it has raised several relevant aspects, including (a) the learning characteristics of students on the basis of application of individualized learning approaches; (b) recommendations for improvement of the overall level of the program; (c) thematic topics that point to the direction of an interdisciplinary approach (Matsagouras 2002); and (d) variety of learning tools and teaching methods. Apart from the degree of subjectivism which inevitably affects and shapes attitudes or preferences, the critical approach of all statements helped significantly in the outline of a teaching framework that takes into account the individual needs of students (Tomlinson 2003) who choose to learn the Modern Greek language.

The components of this framework, formed largely by the desire for cultural familiarity with the target language, include a detailed investigation of the list of educational resources and materials focusing on multimodal texts (Hondolidou 1999; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996), and the integration of extended units to connect the teaching of Modern Greek with different disciplines. In this sense, the content of language teaching and the way of processing the teaching material should be shaped collectively under realistic conditions to gradually activate and engage all participants. Based on our findings, which indicate a multilevel range of interests, needs, and aspirations, a closed (predefined) set of default methods or strategies do not seem to fit any attempt to restructure the curriculum of the investigated program (Carreira 2007). The systematic recognition, by all the students, of the importance of audiovisual stimuli in their learning process, points to the need to utilize the ICT potential for the enhancement of the linguistic, ideological, and cultural dimension of texts that combine different semiotic modes (Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Kress 2000).

Different considerations emerged during the overall processing, in case study terms, of the statements by students enrolled in the Modern Greek Culture and Literature course. While identity negotiation is the dominant incentive in this class too, an issue for further consideration is how language teaching can be incorporated in the curriculum, since the participants seem to represent two distinct target groups: those seeking cultural experience to be simultaneously connected to learning or improving language skills and those wishing language teaching to remain in the periphery as part of a culture with more academic and theoretical implications. Combining these two trends can be achieved through redesigning a more flexible multilevel curriculum for this course.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Modern Greek language education in the two Canadian universities has several characteristics, does not differ significantly from the context of most modern language courses across North America. The fact that Greek language learners, both at UT and YU, are members of two distinct groups (Greek descent/non Greek descent) means that in order to better serve the diverse students' needs, it is necessary to design different courses for heritage and nonheritage learners. The first group is comprised of HLL2 and HLL3 learners; both HLLs have common characteristics: some degree of background knowledge/proficiency in the target language, family and social relationships with the language and culture as well as connections with the local or the broader Greek community (Carreira 2004). According to our findings, the members of those two groups have normally different starting points when they enroll in the Modern Greek courses both at UT and YU. Nevertheless, they seem to have very similar attitudes, expectations, and learning needs. Thus, a curriculum that incorporates individualized teaching approaches combined with other recommendations of Heritage Language Education specialists (Carreira 2012, 2014; Carreira and Kagan 2011; Kono and McGinnis 2001) seems ideal for the expectations of these learners. However, FLLs not only have minimum, if any at all, background

knowledge in the target language but they also lack the cultural connection, the community exposure and, most of all, the opportunities to use the language outside the classroom in authentic contexts.

Given the overall enrollment challenges in university departments of humanities (Harvard University 2013; Idrobo 2015; Lewin 2013; Levitz and Belkin 2013) that are not directly related to lucrative trends in the job market, and coupled with the relatively low "market value" (Bourdieu 1977a, b) of the Greek language (as it is indicated by the low rates of responses for career related, practical utilization of the language by our participants), it is not expected that the number of students in this program will increase considerably to justify the creation of separate courses for each category of learners. However, reaching out to more students of non-Greek descent is important in order to secure the sustainability of the programs.

Therefore, one recommendation would be the development of more flexible curricula that combine the diverse learners' needs with an interdisciplinary approach to modern language teaching. Enriching the teaching of Modern Greek with a variety of original texts from different disciplines and utilizing the educational possibilities of new technological tools (Cummins et al. 2007; Leloup and Ponterio 2003) would encourage new ways of expression, much needed in contemporary multicultural environments (Cope and Kalantzis 2000; García 1992). Besides, the students, in a systematic way, made it clear throughout their statements in this study, that apart from seeking to develop effective communication skills, they would also appreciate familiarity with the broader cultural, ideological, and social contexts of the target language, within which the production of oral and written texts is realized (Halliday and Hasan 1989).

The fact that both UT and YU Modern Greek language programs are realized through the funding incentives and ongoing support of the community (HHF 2014; Gallant 2006) speaks to the enormous potential of these programs and their role in perpetuating a vibrant and robust Greek community of Ontario. Deepening the connection of the two existing postsecondary programs with the community makes sense both in terms of curriculum restructure and the sustainability of the programs. One benefit from such connection is the opportunity for foreign language learners to gain access to places where the Greek language is used, places that their heritage peers have by default (Montrul 2010). The emergence of the social dimension of language through regular interaction and feedback is a necessary condition for the implementation of principles of critical pedagogy, pedagogy of literacies that aim at the cultivation of critical language awareness (Clark and Ivanic 1998; Fairclough 1992), and the development of citizens who are active critical thinkers (Baynham 1995, 2002, p. 21). Creating learning communities centered on learning the Greek language can contribute both to strengthening the learning motivation and broadening the scope of the program through initiatives anchored in promoting cooperation of different Greek-speaking cultural and social agencies.

These processes can form the basis for (a) cultivating a meaningful dialogue on the possibilities and the potential of Greek language education at the tertiary level; (b) crystallizing the physiognomy and the philosophy of the courses on the basis of socio-cultural developments; and (c) promoting the academic potential of learning

languages and particularly Modern Greek, since this language has provided many academic disciplines with terms that Greek language learners have better access to. The course participation of groups with varying backgrounds, features, and aspirations does not demand the implementation of a rigid grid of predefined, standardized teaching activities. Overcoming the narrow limits, which are usually set in the context of a structured series of academic seminars, requires a combination of flexible, creative, pedagogical approaches.

Designing courses that take into account the individual interests and cultural capital of the students places the creative interaction of all groups in all phases at the core of this active, learning process (Woodward 2001). Also, incentives must be provided systematic and in different directions, reflecting at every level the educational needs of students who continue to have an experiential, close or less close, relationship with the Greek language. At the same time, it is important to consider the educational needs of those students for whom Greek is a foreign language. The ultimate aim is to establish closer ties between members of the (course) community, which can be achieved through a variety of actions to be implemented by both heritage students, who have already gained experience through previously taken Greek-language programs, and foreign language students without similar educational or cultural backgrounds. In addition to the principles of collaborative learning and individualized instruction (Barkely et al. 2005), equal access to the course curriculum can be favoured by further implementing practices that promote the linguistic and cultural diversity of all participants (Allison 2011, p. 193; New London Group 1996, 2000). Focusing on the utilization of linguistic resources and cultural practices that learners already carry with them in the classrooms makes it possible to mitigate different personal goals and starting points. Thus, learning in this context is built on the collective cultural capital of each of the participants, activating prior knowledge and reading or speaking experiences, and using creatively "mistakes" and trials (Bella 2007, p. 225). It can also be proven very useful to strengthen the dialectical processes and cooperation (Oxford 1990, p. 171) between learners and instructors outside the class environment, with emphasis on common academic or other interests (such as visits to museums with exhibits of Greek interest, or Greek music concerts), as well as the use of learning materials based on texts that address current issues and concerns.

Along the same lines, we also propose a parallel and ongoing examination of the degree of efficiency of the selected assessment methods (Carreira 2012) to reflect the wide spectrum of evolving cultural and learning specificities. The systematic recording of quantitative measurements and the development of a reflective approach to different aspects of the educational work can only facilitate to some extent the clarification of all pedagogic principles that need enhancement or revision. However, the reliability of the self-assessment statements that were used in this study can provide considerable evidence as launching points to inform the design of further complementary studies.

As a final recommendation, we would suggest the repetition of such self-assessment statements at different phases of the program, along with the implementation of the recommendations that were already submitted by the students in the

course of this study. Such a synthetic process will lay the foundation for drafting new curricula for teaching Greek as a heritage/foreign language for both academic institutions, and particularly for redesigning the Modern Greek culture course. This course, offered currently at YU, has the potential to serve simultaneously the learning needs of both heritage and nonheritage learners. Any attempt to restructure the existing Greek language curricula should be aimed at enhancing the prospects of sustainability for the programs under the current academic conditions with a focus on two pillars: to promote meaningful interaction and cooperation with the community, and to update the current teaching framework to incorporate new scientific data and respond effectively to the specific cultural and social conditions that university students experience in Canada.

Cross-References

▶ Heritage Language Speakers in the University Classroom, Doing Research
▶ Russian Heritage Learners' Goals and Motivation
▶ Identity and Motivation Among Heritage Language Learners of Italian in New Zealand: A Social Constructivist Perspective
▶ Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach
▶ Language and Ethnicity
▶ Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation
▶ Transnational Hispanic Identity and Heritage Language Learning: A Canadian Perspective

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Unacknowledged Negotiations: Bilingual Students Report on How They Negotiate Their Languages Within the Monolingual Primary School System in Cyprus

5

Katherine Fincham-Louis

Abstract

As part of a larger study on language and identity, the chapter reports on language use among a select group of Greek/English speaking bilingual children in state elementary schools in the Republic of Cyprus. Using a participatory case study approach, multiple in-depth interviews and artifacts were collected from the children and family members. The chapter describes what these simultaneous bilingual children report about how they negotiate their languages within a school system that does not actively acknowledge their bilingualism. The findings point to what can be termed a "secret space" of linguistic negotiations beyond the purview of the classroom teacher. It is within this space that the children detail their experiences of language use, negotiation, manipulation, and translanguaging (Garcia 2009). With increased globalization and immigration throughout Europe, the findings are important for what they reveal about bilingual children's language use and needs within monolingual school systems.

Contents

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Introduction

Over the past 15 years and particularly since its accession into the European Union, Cyprus has seen a dramatic increase in the number of immigrants to the country. Thus, reports for 2014 indicate 13.9% of children entering state elementary school are categorized as "foreigners" (Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) Annual Report 2014, p. 447). This statistic expresses the increase in the number of children with other nationalities entering Cypriot primary schools; however, it does not indicate their linguistic backgrounds, and statistics for the numbers of children entering school speaking Greek and/or an additional language are not available. However, marriage statistics indicate that almost 40% of all marriages in Cyprus are between a Cypriot and Non-Cypriot (Department of Statistics 2013). Indicating that in addition to the number of "foreigners" entering schools, there is likely to be a growing number of dual heritage children. The children in this study are members of this group: children born in Cyprus to families where one parent is Cypriot; and the other non-Cypriot, in this case English, American, or Canadian.

Beyond their dual heritage backgrounds, the children are members of the growing group of local bilingual or multilingual speakers. The application of this label of bilingual/multilingual speakers is made with the full recognition that applying a clear classification to a child's bilingualism is seen as inherently complex. As Baker contends, it is only through a holistic approach that we gain access to "who" a bilingual speaker is – a person who speaks two or more languages with different people, in different contexts, across a variety of domains, and for whom language proficiency varies depending on when, where, and with whom the language is used (Baker 2006, pp. 12–13). Such a definition can be applied to the children in this case as they report being raised bilingually often with a one-parent, one-language approach. Additionally, they possess "multi-competences" (Baker 2006); use their languages in varying domains and with varying frequency therefore demonstrating a "complementary principle" (Grosjean 2004, p. 34); and exhibit language use and acquisition across varying domains, people, and purposes as different areas of their lives require different languages (Grosjean 1997, p. 165).

In applying a label of bilingual to the children, it is important to understanding the type of bilingual language use a child experiences. As such, the label of simultaneous bilinguals was applied to the participants who are all raised in homes where they use both Greek and English most often through a one-parent, one-language approach. The term simultaneous as applied to this group does not, however, assume

a similar dominant language within the group. Therefore, there may have been children within the cohort for whom Greek was more dominant than English and vice versa. Thus, this group of bilingual/multilingual dual heritage children is distinct from the large number of Greek Language Learners (GLL), who have been entering Cypriot schools because of increased migration.

The Cypriot Educational System and Bilingual Education

State schools in Cyprus are monolingual Greek language institutions, which focus on the development of Standard Modern Greek even while the vernacular in Cyprus is the Greek Cypriot Dialect. The schools' approach to bilingual education is one which is focused "*On the rapid and smooth induction of non-native speaking pupils to the school system and the Cypriot society*" (MoEC Annual Report 2014, p. 447) and this is achieved through "mainstreaming." Mainstreaming or submersion bilingual education programs as defined by Baker (2006, p. 215) are usually assimilation or subtractive programs where the language minority child is submerged in the majority language classroom with the eventual outcome being monolingualism in the target language. The Annual Report outlines its approach as one in where "*Non-native speaking pupils participate in classes along with the native Greek-speaking pupils.*" and which "*Involves placing non-native speaking pupils in a separate class for a specific number of teaching periods per week. These separate classes focus on intensive learning of Greek and offer specialized assistance according to the pupils' specific needs. The Adult Education Centers offer afternoon classes in Greek as a second language to the children of repatriated ethnic Greeks, but also to all other non-native speaking pupils interested in this subject*" (MoEC Annual Report 2014, p. 447). As such, bilingual education is primarily focused on the teaching of Greek as an additional language to new immigrant children with the ultimate goal of assimilation within the society. There does not currently appear to be a focus on issues of heritage language maintenance or the specific linguistic profiles of Greek-speaking children who enter the school as bilingual speakers, such as the children in this study.

This view of Greek Language Learners as immigrants, which is evident in the material from the MoEC, may be influenced by the historical definition of bilingual used by the MoEC which in the past applied the use of the word "other language speakers" – δίγλωσσα (diglossia) as a term to define children who held another nationality (MoEC Annual Report 2005). The official translation of this to "other language speakers" (MoEC Annual Report 2005) and the use of current "non-native speaking" (MoEC Annual Report 2014) rather than a more direct translation of two-language or bilingual speaker can be viewed as analogous to one outlined in France by Helot and Young (2002, 2005). Helot and Young claim that the term bilingual was not used to refer to immigrant speakers of other languages as it contains positive connotations reserved for the acquisition of languages in mainstream European programs (2002, p. 97). As such in Cyprus, children entering the school system are not actively evaluated for their linguistic backgrounds and are instead seen to be members of a group of speakers on the primary basis of their

national identity. The children in this study who are born in Cyprus would therefore enter the school system with the identification of Cypriot regardless of their linguistic backgrounds.

This lack of recognition of bilingual children entering monolingual school systems is not unique to Cyprus and is in fact reflected in the general policy and literature on bilingualism where the group is often unseen. Jorgensen and Quist (2009) explain this lack of representation of bilinguals as part of the disjunction between the many supranational initiatives (such as The European Community Commission directive 77/486) advocating minority language support at school and a sense of "national romanticism" which results in a lack of implementation at the local level. They contend that this disjunction leads to minority language students experiencing a sense of marginalization at school (Jorgensen and Quist 2009, p. 168).

Bilingual Students in a Monolingual School System

A consequence of this disjunction is that much of what we understand about the experiences and learning needs of bilingual students who enter monolingual school systems has been extrapolated from literature on bilingual or LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students. Walter, for instance, reminds us that the majority of children will enter school with an identifiable language (2010, p. 135) and that it is therefore reasonable to expect that most bilingual children enter school with some language competence in the Language of Instruction alongside their other language(s). However, these competences may be limited and consequently may affect their learning experience at school (Walter 2010). Baker (2006) refers to differences in experiences in terms of language use and ability, making the case that there is a distinction between the ability to speak two languages and a life where speaking two languages is part of your lived experience. Grosjean (2010) argues for newer understandings of the bilingual which will not simply explore levels of fluency but also domains and frequency of use (2010, p. 24), particularly because the bilingual's language use will be influenced by the "complementary principle" where different language will be used in accordance to need in differing domains (Grosjean 2004, p. 34).

Thomas and Collier (1997) explored these competences when they reviewed the success of LEP students across a series of school districts and within a variety of bilingual education programs. They concluded that a large percentage of these children did not achieve academic success on par with their monolingual peers and scored in the lowest levels for academic achievement. Thomas and Collier refer to the disjuncture between these students' language abilities, and school tasks and assignments which results in underachievement as the "language effect." Though focused on bilingual programs, they also examined the academic achievement of LEP students who were entered into structured immersion or submersion programs – essentially monolingual schooling: the results showed these students' academic achievement levels suffered. Likewise Walter concludes that the failure rates of LEP students enrolled in a variety of bilingual education programs shows a strong

relationship between lower levels of academic achievement in LEP students with fewer years of L1 support (2010, p. 137). Ultimately, Thomas and Collier (1997) determined the only groups to achieve on par with their monolingual peers were in dual language programs. Though different in its settings, it is possible to infer from Thomas and Collier's work that much like LEP students entering structured immersion or submersion programs, a bilingual child entering a monolingual school system may demonstrate a disjunction between knowledge of the language of instruction and academic achievement. This is particularly applicable if we understand bilingual language development from a perspective where bilinguals experience varying abilities in their languages across language domains and are not simply two monolinguals in one body. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that for at least some bilingual children entering monolingual schools without learning support, there may be a "language effect."

The possibility of a "language effect" for this group of bilingual/multilingual students entering monolingual school systems is also consistent with Skutnabb-Kangas and Tourkomma (1976) and Cummins (1979, 2000) who reported associations between school success and language support in the first language. Cummins' (1979) controversial BICS-CALP, "basic interpersonal communication skills" verses "cognitive-academic language proficiency," distinction or "the threshold effect" contended that academic success in the target language would depend on the level of bilingual development. Cummins (1979, 2000) explained there is an important distinction between a student's conversational proficiency in a language and academic proficiency, with the latter being a greater determinant of school success. Cummins hypothesized that English Language Learners could display relative competency in conversational English, yet not have the academic competency to compete with native speakers of English. He based this argument in part on the concept of language fluency existing on a continuum, much in the same way bilingualism does, and as a result, academic language may be less developed for some language learners. He believed that such learners might need up to 5 years to "catch up" with their monolingual target language speaking peers. Cummins (2000) contention was that children who had limited proficiency were more likely to suffer academically than those who held either partial or proficient levels of the language of instruction, particularly if they did not receive additional support during the crucial 5-year period.

Though highly controversial and directed at English Language Learners (ELL), Cummins' theory has relevance for students who enter a monolingual school as bilingual. If these students possess their language on a continuum, which is related to context and use, then although they may speak and understand both languages, it is possible that they have limited literacy skills in one language or experience one language as more dominant than the other. Should this be the case, then for the student whose language of instruction is the less dominant language, there could be an unforeseen effect on their academic success, particularly if they entered school and did not receive additional linguistic support. The controversial "threshold hypothesis" that there are threshold levels of linguistic competencies which must be reached for a child to attain cognitive and academic advantages from being

bilingual (Cummins 1979) is also valuable in helping us to understand individual academic journeys. This is because it accommodates for the idea that bilingual children are not likely to be "balanced" or "equal" language users and as such ensures an acknowledgement of variance in the linguistic profiles of bilingual children and the interplay of this variance with educational success.

A second issue, which may very likely affect the academic achievement of the bilingual child entering a monolingual school system, is connected to what we understand about how children store language. Studies have shown that the manner in which bilingual children store and recall information and the role of language in their memory differs from how monolinguals use and recall language (Baker 2006; Bhatia and Ritchie 2004; Meisel 2004; Haritos 2002, 2003, 2004; Grosjean 1982). If bilinguals differ in their cognitive abilities, learning styles, and needs, then there is no reason to believe they may not need additional support to develop their academic linguistic skills in the language of instruction. This acknowledgement of two linguistic codes working in tandem but not necessarily equally is discussed by Garcia (2009) within the concept of "dynamic bilingualism" and "translanguaging" in bilinguals. She posits the idea that the bilingual child draws on all her cognitive abilities while using a language, never shutting off one language or the other so the two languages are in consistent interaction like the wheels on an all-terrain vehicle. As such, it would seem prudent for educators to consider these differences in the development of academic language profiles when working with bilingual children entering a monolingual school system. However, more often than not, these children and the manner in which their languages interact and influence their learning are overlooked by the school system in favor of viewing them solely as monolingual target language speakers.

The Study

As part of a larger study on language and identity, multiple in-depth interviews were conducted with eight children – five girls and three boys ages of 10 through 12 at the time of the study, − and their parents over a 17-month period. The children were all Greek-/English-speaking bilinguals who attended monolingual Greek state primary schools in Cyprus. All the children have one parent who is a Greek Cypriot national and another who is a national from an English-speaking country – America, Canada, or The United Kingdom. All the children were born in Cyprus. The children of repatriated Cypriots were not included in the study. The families were identified through social network snowballing (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 28), where contact with one participant often led to the recommendation of another. The families of the children were all permanently resident in Cyprus with the non-Cypriot parents having from eight to over 25 years of residency in the country.

Noteworthy in its difference from many other studies of bilinguals in Cyprus was that the participating families would be characterized as "middle class" and enjoyed the varying degrees of social and financial mobility that one would associate with the middle class (Apple 2000); as such none of the children would have been classified as

coming from an economically disadvantaged home. The families could be character-ized as both professional and semiprofessional; parents were teachers, bankers, busi-ness people, accountants, mechanics, and administrative assistants. Importantly, the fact that the participating children were from the middle class was not a selective feature of the study but a by-product of the linguistic parameters of selecting Greek/English speakers. A result of this socioeconomic status was the group could be viewed as having more *habitus* (Bourdieu 1994) and could be presumed to be more agile at navigating, operating, interpreting, and using the educational system to their own benefit. However, within this concept of *habitus*, it is equally vital to recognize the outsider status of the non-Cypriot and non-Greek-speaking parent for whom this navigation was often more challenging due to issues of culture and language.

In order to provide a depth of data and context for the study, a variety of methods for data collection were used. First to map language use patterns of participants and to establish a bilingual language use, Language Use Charts (Baker 2006) were completed by all children and their parents. Once this was completed, the main data gathering method was the use of multiple in-depth interviews (Alderson 2008; Mayall 2000) conducted with all children and on separate occasions with their parents. Multiple in-depth interviews allowed for a "teasing out" of issues so that the participants were able to talk about themselves and their lived experience (Athinas 2002 in Scourfield et al. 2006, p. 28). Additionally, by employing a responsive interviewing model, the interview process became an interpretive one in which the interviewer and interviewee developed a relationship throughout the interview process and where the goal of the process was depth not breadth in providing understanding (Rubin and Rubin 2005, p. 30). Interview data have been characterized as inseparable from location, manner, and person(s) (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) consequently; three interviews were conducted with each child. Interviews followed a good practice approach (O'Kane 2000, p. 150) where the interview was allowed to flow into conversation as much as possible (Kvale 1996, p. 42). Children had the choice over the location and length of the interview; additionally they could choose to be interviewed alone or in the presence of a parent or friend. Initial interview questions stemmed directly from the information collected from the Language Use Charts (Baker 2006) and later questions were developed as loosely structured main questions that could be reworded and explained as needed and which were then funneled into probes (Rubin and Rubin 2005). Children were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. Additionally, accommodations were made to follow good practice and ethical researching methods with children (Christensen and Prout 2002; Alderson 2001). Finally, following the mixed method or mosaic approach, (Clark and Moss 2001) artifacts of the child's choice were collected.

State Primary Schools in Cyprus

Noteworthy to the study was that the children interviewed for the study did not attend the same school. However, all the schools were located within the Nicosia district or the growing suburb areas surrounding Nicosia. The variety of schools

attended meant that with a couple of exceptions school was not a unified physical context. This was important because although there is a growing base of research regarding the experience of non-Cypriot children in state schools in Cyprus, (Theodorou 2010; Zembylas 2010a, b; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou 2009). much of the research has tended to focus on either the perspectives of teachers (Papamichael 2008), Greek and/or Turkish Cypriot students' perspectives, Greek Cypriot and immigrant children's perspectives of each other (Spyrou 2001; Zembylas 2010a, b) or general attitudes towards racism (Trimikliniotis 2004; Theodorou 2010). Thus including children from a variety of schools provided a broader realm of experiences even within a small sample. Additionally it can be claimed that the children in this study represent are an under-researched group in the Cypriot context.

Findings

The study revealed interesting insight about how this group of bilingual children managed and negotiated their languages within a monolingual school setting. The children and parents reported on their use of language at school and on whether or not they were identified as bilingual speakers within the school system or by individual classroom teachers. Additionally they reported on how they coped with their languages at school particularly within their monolingual classrooms, and finally, they addressed the issue of whether or not they received any additional linguistic support or felt they needed such support from the school. Each of these areas is addressed in the following sections.

Lack of Recognition

Throughout the interviews, the children described that to their knowledge there was no formal recognition of their bilingualism by the school or the MoEC. They, however, did report that individual teachers knew they were bilinguals. This is typified in the excerpt below with Panos aged 11 at the time. Panos has a Greek-speaking father and English-speaking mother. His parents reported they had provided him with Greek language support outside of school through a private teacher.

> I: *Um, do your teachers know you speak Greek and English?*
> P: *Yeah.*
> I: *Yeah, all your teachers that you've had?*
> P: *Yeah.*
> I: *Yeah so do you ever use English in class? Ever?*
> P: *No.*

Panos like the other children reported that to his knowledge all his teachers knew he was a bilingual speaker, but that even with this knowledge he had never used English within the classroom setting. Teachers' and school's knowledge of the

children's bilingualism was also confirmed through parental interviews. However, this knowledge was characterized as casual and neither the children nor the parents described any formal process of recognition of the children's bilingualism by the school. Parents for example reported no discussions with teachers or the school about their children's bilingualism or any possible influence it might have on managing classwork, homework, or cultural concerns.

Why the families and the children reported no formal recognition of the children's bilingualism is interesting particularly as previous studies of Cypriot teachers' attitudes towards immigrant children and their families cite teachers' perceptions of a lack of the parents' integration and interest in school as a reason for poor pupil progress and communication (Theodorou 2010). However, these families had reported high levels of integration and contact with the schools. In fact, of the seven families involved in the study, six had previously been actively involved in the Parent Teachers' Associations of their respective schools. Consequently, the families did not present as either uninvolved or disenfranchised from the school community and certainly would have been available for discussions about their children's bilingualism. However, based on the reporting of the children and parents there was no active acknowledgement of the bilingual status of the children or of any learning needs that might be associated with this bilingualism by either individual teachers or the school system through the MoEC, consequently the children were treated within the classroom periods as all other monolingual students.

Keep Languages Separate

The lack of acknowledgement of the children's linguistic background is further reinforced by what the children reported about how their languages functioned within the classroom. In further discussion about language use at school, the children reported a clear separation of languages within the school classroom. This is illustrated later on in the interview with Panos, where he explained what he understood about language at school. Panos had reported that he used Greek and English every day, when questioned about the domains he responded as below:

> I: *Ya, when do you use Greek and when do you use English?*
> P: *When I go to school I use Greek, and when I come home when I talk to my mom I speak English.*

Panos' reporting of a separation in linguistic domains is not an unusual finding as the children were enrolled in a monolingual school system. Of interest is what the children reported about *how* they used and understood this language use at school. Christos characterizes this in the exchange below; Christos has a Greek-speaking father and English-speaking mother and was in the fifth grade at the time. His mother reported that he received considerable academic support from both his father and his Greek-speaking grandparents who helped with homework on a daily basis. I asked him about incidents at school where he might remember information in English not

Greek, so I specifically referenced other classes – not English class, where we had already established he spoke in English.

I: *Ah, what about when you're at school and you're like doing lessons like maybe you're doing επιστήμη (Science) or ιστορία (History) γεωγραφία (Geography) one of these lessons like this? Do you ever have a time where sometimes, you know, you are going to answer, like the teacher asked a question, do you ever have a time where you get the answer in English instead of in Greek?*

C: *NO*. (Emphatic)

I: *No?*

C: *I only speak in Greek and answer. Only in English class, I speak and answer in English.*

I: *Have you ever had a time where you answered the teacher's question and the words came out in English?*

C: No.

I: *No, have you ever had a time where you knew the answer, but you knew it in English, and you put your hand up or you had to wait before you could answer* [Yeah] *so that you could change it from English into Greek?*

C: *Yeah.*

I: *You've had a time, can you tell me about that time?*

C: *Uh, like my teacher asked me something and I, cause my mom speaks to me here in English, I thought about it, and cause my mom had told me that before and I thought about it but then I answered in Greek.*

I: *So what happens to you when you're at school and you know the answer in English let's say you know, but not in Greek, what happens, what do you do?*

C: *I still think of it in English, but I just say it in Greek,* **I don't have no problem** [my emphasis here].

Revealing in this exchange with Christos was not his admission of moving from one language to the other a movement that would be characteristic of a bilingual speaker, but rather, how emphatic he was about not making the mistake of using English in what he presumably understood as an inappropriate domain. When initially questioned about his language use, he was adamant that he never used English outside of English class, he always answered in Greek. His insistence on this was as if an admission of mixing the languages would be equated with not "managing" his bilingualism properly indicating perhaps that he would be perceived as less than an "idealized native speaker" (Leung et al. 1997).

Christos stated that he was in possession of information that he had learnt in English, but he waited until he had figured out how to say it all in Greek before answering – risking perhaps the chance to participate within the lesson. As he was enrolled in a monolingual school, it would be expected that he answered in Greek, and as a bilingual, he would be aware of domain specific use of language (Grosjean 1982). However, his last sentence, "I don't have no problem" is of interest. It is possible that he uses the phrase to indicate that the movement between and through languages is not difficult for him that he manages without any problems. Alternatively, his response may have reflected that he acquainted an inability to manage as a weakness and his firm response was designed to show that he does not "suffer" this weakness. What is curious is that rather than explaining himself by saying, for

example, "I do it all the time" or "It is easy for me," he referred to it as not being a problem, indicating that there may be a negativity connected to not being able to keep languages separate.

The importance of managing languages in this uncomplicated straightforward manner where there are no "problems" was also discussed by Stella. Stella had a Greek-speaking father and an English-speaking mother and was 11 at the time. Stella had been asked about how she "managed" her two languages at school her answer is recounted in the passage, which follows:

> I: *It's the same, yeah and in terms of classes and using English and using Greek how do you find that? I mean have you needed help at school, like with your Greek or anything like that, or do you manage on your own, or... ?*
>
> S: *Um, I never need help like I'm fine, English and Greek, and um that's all like it's easy for me to know Greek and English, cause when I grow up I want to be an actor and it's going to be easy, like I want to start to use to use fame.*
>
> I: *OK and what about like, like you know does it make school for you? Does it play any part?*
>
> [Conversation interrupted as someone enters the home]
>
> I: *In school for you, does it; is it important or not important?*
>
> S: *Um, it's uh, very important for me to know the two languages, but like it's easy. I **don't have any problem** [my emphasis]*

Similar to Christos, Stella recounts this idea of separation of her languages in the classroom. She is clear that there are advantages to knowing two languages; in fact, she has even connected her bilingualism to her future success – to become a world famous actress. However, the insistence that she clearly and without problem manages the two languages is curious. Like Christos, it is as if an acknowledgement of any struggle could be equated with a weakness. These responses were typical of those reported by the children. There was emphasis on the separation of languages particularly within the classroom and an affirmation that the children managed this separation in a straightforward uncomplicated manner.

It is in this emphatic denial of any struggle to remain on code that reveals information on language use at school. It would be expected that as bilinguals the children would move even unconsciously back and forth between their languages – particularly as we understand the complexity involved in translanguaging in bilinguals (Creese and Blackledge 2010; Garcia 2009) and indeed additional accounts of their language use demonstrate this. However, the children are reluctant to acknowledge this movement and are instead focused on the ideas of separation of their languages.

This focus reveals an understanding that those bilinguals who manage their languages without interference are "performing" in an "acceptable manner", while those who demonstrate a struggle to keep the languages separate are perhaps perceived as "problematic". This understanding of language use at school may be influenced by the manner in which the school system responds to other language speakers. The MoEC's decision to focus on the mainstreaming of non-Greek speakers means that there is only one type of bilingual child acknowledged within

the school system of the Greek Language Learner. Unfortunately, this Greek Language Learner is also synonymous in the Cypriot context with the immigrant child, child who within this context is additionally stereotyped and who often faces limited social acceptance and mobility (Trimikliniotis 2004). Consequently, simultaneous Greek-/English-speaking bilingual children within the school system may feel an unspoken pressure to emphasize their ability to "manage" their bilingualism in an uncomplicated manner, as a means of avoiding the negative association with the immigrant children who are more marginalized group.

Relying on Others for Help

In contradiction to what the children reported about managing their languages in an uncomplicated straightforward manner, the children also reported incidents, which indicated they often sought help with their Greek at school in a nonformal manner. An example of this is illustrated in the extract below here. Panos recounted how he used a variety of tactics to manage his language in the classroom.

> I: *Do you ever find yourself like when you're in class do you ever have times where you have trouble thinking in Greek?*
> P: *Ya.*
> I: *Ya, what's that like? What happens when you have...?*
> P: *Sometimes I can't think of a word in Greek and I think of it in English [Uh huh] and sometimes the other way round.*
> I: *OK and when that happens to you at school and you think of the word in English what do you do?*
> P: *I, I think and then if I don't know sometimes if my friends know I ask them.*
> I: *You ask your friends what's this word?*
> P: *Ya.*
> I: *Ya and will they, do they know enough English that they can help you?*
> P: *Sometimes, yes.*
> I: *Do you ever ask the teacher? Do you ever say to the teacher, Kyria (Mrs.) I can't think of the word in....*
> P: *Hardly.*

Here Panos reported on how he used a variety of tactics including relying on friends as he moved into and out of his languages in a translanguaging moment. Of interest was the acknowledgement that he did not rely on his teacher for help. Indeed his negotiations for help took place beyond the purview of the teacher in a "secret space". Maria recorded an additional example of this reliance on others for help in the extract below; she was the only child who employed relying on her teacher for help.

> I: *OK ah let me just think, what happens at school let's say you're doing like ιστορία (history) or επιστήμη (science) you know one of those classes, ah, and have you ever had a time where the teacher asked a question and you knew the answer but it came first in English? Do you ever have times where you're like trying to get the words?*
> M: *Yeah, kind of, yeah.*

I: *What do you do when you have times like that?*
M: *Well, I try to use help from the kids that know English too and sometimes it's kind of I don't really get it right, but my teacher understands it, but mostly I think I know the words but some of them cause they are kind of hard and I can't pronounce them right, I just use my mind.*

Maria described an acknowledgment of struggle and of moving between languages. She reported working to use all of the resources available to her in such situations – relying on friends and on the teacher understanding a response, which may be less than perfect. For Maria things were not straightforward and she did not infer that she had "no problem"; she recognized that sometimes it was "hard" and she had to "use her mind". She also acknowledged that there were parts of her Greek language expression that she struggled with – not knowing the words or how to pronounce something – and that this resulted in a struggle for her. A situation more in line with what the literature on bilingualism where language use takes place in a complicated and varied manner influenced by place and incident.

What emerged from the data was that there appeared to be an issue with expressing a need for help to teachers, which revealed vulnerability. The conversations with the children regarding language at school demonstrated how little they directly relied on their teachers for academic support connected to linguistic matters. In addition to fears of association with marginalized groups, this vulnerability may have been influenced by issues of exposure to teachers' evaluation and power on two levels. The first in the acknowledgment that there is something that is not understood and the need for academic support or help and the second that this lack of understanding stems from the teacher may interpret as a linguistic "deficit." Both possibilities are unsettling in what they reveal about children's confidence in exposure with their teachers in Cyprus.

Parents Report Children Need Help with Greek

Adding to the issues of Greek at school was that during the parental interviews when fluency issues in Greek were discussed, several of the parents interviewed expressed that they currently or had previously felt that their child could have benefited from additional academic support with the Greek language. As one father put it;

"*I think the school they don't care if a child is a bilingual child, they don't care. They keep seeing all the kids as Greek Cypriots, Greek speaking and they don't treat them differently. I mean this is what I see. But what I notice with both my children, both my children have problems with Greek language. Um, dictionary? (ορθογραφία? – spelling?) [Literally dictation, a common teaching method in many primary schools] Spelling yeah, and ways to express themselves freely in Greek, they express themselves easy in English, more easy (um hum) um.*" (Second interview with Panos' father)

However, perhaps due to both the socioeconomic position of the families as middle-class and the frequent inability of the non-Greek-speaking parent to help

significantly with homework, families had often turned to outside help by paying for private teachers rather than address the issue with the school or classroom teacher. This may have been because although they expressed that they thought the children should be doing better, none of the children were failing, or had been identified by the school, as not managing in Greek and again any intervention program would take place within the "stigmatized" range of programs for immigrant children.

Rationale for the Lack of Acknowledgment

The rigidity of language use at school which the children reported contradicts the research on bilingual language use which demonstrates that languages, though certainly domain specific, are held on a continuum and as such some language mixing, code switching, or translanguaging should be expected of the bilingual learner. Indeed what is of importance here is not establishing whether these linguistic experiences are the norm for bilinguals but the manner in which the children reported what the literature tells us is a normal occurrence for bilinguals.

The children did not report any active recognition by teachers or the school for any role of their bilingualism in the classroom with the result that they were left to work things out on their own in a "secret space" beyond the access of the teacher. Certainly this reveals a complex picture of the children's bilingualism within the school context and indicates that there are issues which need addressing in terms of academic achievement, parent and teacher understandings of bilingualism, and the use of both languages within the school setting.

It is important to emphasize that these findings should not be used to indicate that all simultaneous bilingual children would need additional linguistic support. However, in this particular context there is evidence to inspire further investigation. Particularly as Baker advocates for us to view the bilingual as "holistic" (2006, p. 12). Thus, these simultaneous bilingual children would not necessarily be expected to maintain competency levels in Greek exactly on par with English or vice versa (Baker 2006).

As such, if a child reserves the use of Greek primarily for school and spends the rest of her day interacting with her mother in English, the linguistic division would closely mirror the experiences of a GLL and as such, it would not be unreasonable to expect to see similar language development. This separation, added to what the children and families have previously reported about struggles with language, are indications that Cummins' (1979) concept of a divide between BICS-CALP could be an issue, particularly, as the children's communicative skills in Greek do not necessarily reflect their academic achievements in the language. Primarily there is evidence to suggest further research into this area to establish whether such children could benefit from extra linguistic support.

Also of concern to how the children experience Greek at school is the question of why teachers who know a child is bilingual are reported as nonresponsive to this bilingualism. Particularly when parents report that children could have benefited from additional academic support with Greek. It is unlikely that parents would

acknowledge their children struggling with language issues – even to the extent of paying for private tuition outside of school – while teachers remained unaware of any linguistic issues in the same children.

This lack of acknowledgement suggests a series of possibilities. First, teachers may not recognize the role of the children's bilingualism in their language development because this group is not documented as bilingual. Having been born in Cyprus, the children are registered as local students. Additionally, the group of children do not fit the stereotypical mould of a bilingual child portrayed by the MoEC as synonymous with immigrant. Consequently teachers may place this group of children within the larger category of Greek speakers thereby removing the possibility of the children's bilingualism influencing school performance.

This placement of the children within the category of Greek speakers may also be subject to the popular misconception that simultaneous bilinguals should be balanced (Meisel 2004) and simply double monolinguals (Garcia 2009; Genesee 2004), holding each language equally. A concept, which though it is elusive and deceptive within the literature (Baker 2006) is still very much present in how bilinguals are understood. If languages are equal and separate, then there may be an expectation that once a child enters school, she simply and uncomplicatedly "switches over into Greek".

Finally, there is an economic and social issue at work as well. In the case of these children, teachers will recognize the "habitus" the parents occupy having social, economic, and community standing as middle class and well educated. This "status" may influence teachers to displace academic support onto the home by extending an expectation of intervention on the part of the parents. As a result, if the parents do not raise concerns over their child's language learning and the child is viewed by the teacher as "managing," then it is unlikely academic language concerns will be addressed.

Conclusion

The current synonymous use of bilingual for immigrant student has resulted in this group of "home-grown bilinguals" being completely overlooked within current educational policy in Cyprus. Consequently, support for bilingual students provided by the MoEC focuses on identifying students who are essentially Greek Language Learners. As a result, learning needs of simultaneous bilingual children are only acknowledged in an ad hoc manner and children are left to negotiate and manipulate their languages on their own and beyond the purview of the classroom teacher in their own "secret spaces".

It appears that the main reason for this lack of recognition is due to the consistent negative connection of bilingual with immigrant. This group is overlooked because they are middle class, English speakers with educated parents, and in Cyprus, bilingual is associated with negative stereotyping of immigrant groups. Consequently bilingual children are seen to be of low socioeconomic standing, with parents characterized as disinterested, have different religions and manners of dress, and lack a command of Greek language (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou

2007, p. 74). As the children in this study are born in Cyprus, considered to be from "good families" with Greek names and with parents who are actively involved in the school community that they are not ascribed the label of bilingual are seen as Greek-speakers and ignored.

Defining the children as solely Greek speaking means there is a continued implicit denial of their bilingualism. In so doing, the MoEC fails to recognize this group as a deserving community which has and needs considerations of justice. Indeed one interpretation of this lack of recognition by the MoEC is that it constitutes a covert policy (Corson 1999) in which the educational system in an effort to ensure the assimilation of all children as wholly and exclusively Greek-Cypriots ignores their differences, thereby furthering the goal of producing good Greek-speaking Cypriot citizens for society.

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Cultural, Linguistic Knowledge and Experiences Among Learners of Chinese Origin in Spain

6

Iulia Mancila

Abstract

This study is an attempt to contribute to the knowledge and deeper understanding of the learners of Chinese origin in Spain and how their language and cultural experiences are related to identity processes and education. Specifically, based on critical multicultural literature (Cummins, J. (2000). Forward. In S. Nieto (Ed.), *Affirming diversity.* New York: Longman.; Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in diverse society* (2nd. ed.). Los Angeles: California Association for Bilingual Education.; Griffiths, M., & Troyna, B. (Eds.). (1995). *Antiracism, culture and social justice in education.* Stroke-on-Trent: Trentham.; Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.; Nieto, S. (1999). Critical multicultural education and students' perspective. In S. May (Ed.), *Critical multiculturalism.* London: Falmer.; Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming diversity. The socio-political context of multicultural education* (3rd ed.). New York: Longman.; Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. (2003). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race class and gender* (4th ed.). Hoboken: Wiley.), we want to understand how their personal, educational, and social histories, as well as migration/residential status, intersect both heritage language and Spanish language and culture. The results presented in this paper are part of a major biographical narrative and life history study and reflect a more comprehensive view on the linguistic experiences and challenges of learners of Chinese origin in Spain at personal and social levels.

Implications for educators and researchers committed with an equitable, socially and culturally just education for all learners are further discussed.

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Contents

Introduction

Learners of Chinese origin perspective are central to this research as a testimony of
how different social and educational structures affect their learning and identity and
what we – educators – can do to provide a high-quality education for them.

In this chapter, only one part of the life experience of a Chinese origin student,
Mei Ling, will be shared paying particular attention to both positive and negative
aspects of the young people's linguistic and cultural experiences within the comple-
mentary Chinese school setting and her family context more generally. They are
important clues in deepening our understanding concerning complementary schools
and their impact on educational and social identities of these students.

In this study, we draw upon multiple perspectives: critical multicultural
perspective (Cummins 2000, 2001; Nieto 1994, 2000; Sleeter and Grant 2003;
Aguado Odina 2004) which insists in drawing awareness on issues of social justice
(Freire 1972; Griffiths and Troyna 1995) and power relation in our multicultural,
multilingual, and cosmopolitan society. Nieto and Bode (2008) said: "multicultural
education is for everyone regardless of ethnicity, race, language, social class,
religion, gender, sexual orientation, ability and another difference" (p. 51) – making
a clear reference to the inclusive principles of education as a right for all children,
with special attention to the social, political, and economic conditions that frame and
define the context.

Data sources include school observations, biographical interviews with students,
semi-structured interviews with their teachers, students' personal documents, and
various artifacts and legal documents.

The first part aims to provide a contextualization of the Chinese migrant com-
munity in Spain and especially in relation to their children. This part has three
sections: The first section provides a brief history of Chinese immigration and its
chronological changes over time in Europe and in Spain in particular. The second
section presents the relevant statistical data about the Chinese community in Spain,
and the last one unfolds some statistical data related to the presence and evolution of

students of Chinese origin in the Spanish educational system. The next part comprises a review of the literature and research in Spain in relation to this specific population, in terms of main characteristics, problems, and tendencies explaining the different integration patterns as the outcome of interplay of structure, culture, and personal agency (Thomson and Crul 2007). Furthermore, evidences from a broader qualitative study carried out over a period of 4 years (2008–2012) in the Spanish context will be presented in relation to the heritage language learning in a complementary Chinese-based community school, based on teachers' and students' perspectives emphasizing how their personal experiences, challenges, and aspirations shape their identity and sense of belonging.

Short History and Some Data on the Chinese Immigrant Community in Spain

According to Nieto (2007), Europe is a relatively recent destination of the Chinese immigration compared to more traditional areas such as Southeast Asia, North America, or Australia. The arrival of Chinese immigrants to Europe is due to divergent historical, economic, and political conditions that occurred in destination countries, as well as in China (known as push factors, "push," in China and attraction, "pull," in Europe, which determine the migrations flows).

During 1950–1960, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Germany appear as top destinations for Chinese migration flows, while Southern Europe countries like Italy, Spain, or Portugal become preferred destinations after 1975. This new migratory movement, whose destination was Europe, had no fixed destination, but moved from one country to another with relative frequency in their search for new markets and opportunities for economic growth (Beltran Antolín and Sáiz 2004).

The choice of destinations such as Italy and Spain has been due in part to the porosity of borders and the most flexible legislation on immigration in the early years of the 1980s. In addition, Eastern European countries, such as Hungary or Romania, are being consolidated as new destinations or as a gateway to Western Europe and North America, and consequently they are operating the so-called snakeheads "Shetou" (organized illegal human traffic networks) (Nieto 2007). Currently, according to a study conducted in 2011 by Latham and Wu (2013), approximately 2.5 million Chinese are registered as living in Europe legally. Among the countries with the largest communities are the United Kingdom (630,000), France (540,000), Italy (330,000), and Spain (170,000).

The presence of the Chinese immigrant community in Spain has its beginnings in the early 1920s and therefore carries their own process of building roots in the country, with a strong ethnic and associative network and an increasing visibility. In this sense, the Chinese migration has drawn increasingly attention to researchers and different stakeholders (Beltran 1991, 1998, Beltrán 2003; Nieto 2007). According to these authors, the Chinese community in Spain comes from southern Zhejiang

province located in the southeast of the country and specifically in the region of Qingtian and Wenzhou. As stated, the first Chinese came to Spain in the 1920s and 1930s as street vendors, laying the groundwork for subsequent arrivals. Since the mid-1980s, with the entry of Spain into the European Union, the Chinese community strengthened, up to currently become the most important Asian origin (about 70%) immigrant community living in Spain. This gives a peculiarity to the Chinese community, as Chinese immigration in Europe and in Spain comes mainly from this area, unlike communities living in other traditional destinations like the United State or Australia that have a variety of Chinese migrants from different areas of China (Beltran, 1991, 1998, Beltrán 2003; Beltrán and Sáiz 2001, 2002; Beltran Antolín and Sáiz 2004; Nieto 2007). However, in recent times, it has noticed a great diversification among Chinese immigrants in relation to their origin and place of origin (not only rural but urban areas such as Beijing, Tianjin, Guangdong, Hong Kong, Jiangsu, etc.), level studies, or type of occupation.

This phenomenon is explained, partially, by the fact that in the 1980s, the transformations of the PRC produced strong incentives for international migration. In the 1980s, many Chinese people emigrated to tempt fortune abroad and a new social context appeared known as "the fever to leave the country (. . .)." The revitalization of Chinese migration from the Qingtian and Wenzhou regions has its origins in the modernization process of that part of the country and the increases of the expectation of the population (Nieto 2007).

According to the 2014 Spanish Census, the number of Asian immigrants is around 361.554 (16% of the total of the immigrant population), and the Chinese represent 191.078 (3, 88% of the total immigrant population). At present, the Chinese form the sixth largest non-European Union foreign community in Spain and represent the most populous Asian nationality group.

In addition, we witness an increase in what concerns the complexity and variability within a group regarding its demographic, social, cultural, linguistic, economic, religious, and ethnic characteristics, the geographical dispersion and concentration patterns, as well as the socialization, employment, or social inclusion configurations (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2015).

At the same time, it is noteworthy that members of this community are involved in a variety of transnational social practices with the country of origin due to a powerful economic and investment climate. Therefore the economic crisis in the Spanish context has not prevented Spain to be considered among the most attractive European destinations for new Chinese migration flows. In this sense, compared to other nationalities, one of the outstanding trends that characterize this group is its upward trend from the 1980s so far and has not stopped growing, even in the period of economic crisis that hit the country since year 2008. The group of immigrants of Chinese origin is characterized by its commitment to the business economy of ethnic type and great mobility and territorial dispersion and a continuous search for new economic niches and new opportunities for profit and economic growth, despite adverse conditions, leading them to a continuous reinvention and accommodation to the labor market (Beltrán 2009, 2010).

Also, one of the fundamental characteristics of the Chinese community is that they consist of the entire family groups (both primary families: parents, children, and extended family members) through family reunification and its mode of ethnic organization and participation in the labor market. As a result, due to a large number of births of children of immigrant parents from China, there is a large contingent of children of Chinese origin in Spain, especially at the stage of early childhood and primary education.

This growth of Asian population is reflected in the Spanish school and classrooms. We find a total of 64.248 pupils of Asian background (9, 1% of the total of immigrant student body) and 33.182 of Chinese origin (4% of the total of immigrant student body) (Oficina de Estadística del Ministerio de Educación, Estadística de las Enseñanzas no universitarias 2015). We have to be aware of these demographic changes in the actual society and the challenges it involves, as we want school to help all children learn.

Although there are hardly any specific statistical data related to the so-called second generation of Chinese origin, but rather tangential information dispersed in various databases (such as the births of children of foreign mothers or concessions of the Spanish nationality to citizens of Chinese origin), a significant cohort of children of Chinese origin are known as "the second generation." According to Beltran (2009), the Chinese collective commitment to the establishment and inclusion in Spain is made through the education of their children into the Spanish public education system, considering them as future citizens of this country and, at the same time, an important link between the Chinese community and Spanish society in general.

Review of the Literature and Research on Chinese Immigrant Community and Their Descendants in Spain

Despite these demographic changes, the children of immigrant parents from China, in Spain and especially in Andalusia are relatively invisible in socio-educational studies and research. There is a scarce database and research regarding this demographic community and their descendants. Other immigrant communities have formed subject of analysis and have drawn the interest of researchers, either because of their historical dimension of migration and settlement in Spain or because of their high presence or concentration in specific areas. There is a wide academic literature especially on Moroccan, Latin America, or Eastern European immigrant communities (Carrasquilla and Echeverri 2003; Colectivo IOÉ 1995, 1996; Echeverri Buriticá 2005; Franzé and Mijares 1999).

On the other hand, in Spain, there are still few studies that specifically analyze the experience of the children of immigrants born in Spain, as this population is still very young and is, in the vast majority of school age. Checa and Arjona (2009) argue that Spain is a country where the phenomenon of immigration is relatively recent, so that studies regarding children of immigrants still "are scarce and have a transverse

nature" (p. 20), and their results should be read as an approach to a still incipient phenomenon. In addition, there is a scarcity of research examining holistically and in depth their daily life experiences in different contexts and "transnational social spaces" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Eguren 2011). This situation is even more serious if we refer to immigrants of Chinese origin in Spain and their descendants.

Related to descendants of immigrant families, Aparicio and Portes (2014) have studied a significant sample of young people born in Spain from immigrant families or brought into the country before 12 years old, to know as widely as possible all possible features of their situation, their achievements, and attitudes toward socio-educational integration. Their studies are important for the breadth of the used sample and because it has been carried out at different locations (Madrid and Barcelona) and at different moments in time (Portes et al. 2009, 2012a, b; Portes and Aparicio 2013). The first study conducted between 2007 and 2008 was partic-ipated by 6905 children of immigrants of different nationalities from 180 public and private schools, with an average age of 14 years and an equitable division between the sexes. An additional group of young Spaniards were included; the second one was carried out a few years later (2012). Particularly interesting for this research are the results obtained in relation to young people of Chinese origin who participated in the study.

Concerning immigrant parents, the findings revealed that most of them occupy subordinate positions in the Spanish labor market. However, they demonstrate high educational expectations for their children. Almost half (48.5%) of them are confi-dent that their children will get a college degree. In addition, 85% expect their children to stay and make their living in Spain. Regarding Chinese origin parents, their expectations are lower compared to those of other nationalities and one fact is highlighted in particular: 75% of Chinese parents claim to have suffered discrimination.

Regarding the school trajectory, the type of studies, and educational attainment, these authors found that only 15% of respondents left out school. The authors explain that only 10% among those born in Spain abandoned their studies and 32% were children of Chinese origin. Asserting an explanation to this situation, the authors state "the latter group is characterized by a strong business orientation that leads many young Chinese to abandon their studies in order to work in their parents business activities" (p. 194). The results on school trajectory of these pupils can give us important clues about the ability of the school system to give an adequate response to this diversity and provide access to culture and help them in their future social successful inclusion into the society. The authors give us further keys to analyze these results in terms of gender and nationality data. In this sense, girls have a distinct advantage over the boys. A clear difference by national origin is highlighted: over 60% of Argentine, Venezuelan, and Chinese who chose to remain into the school system enrolled in high school, higher vocational, or university levels.

Among other factors that might influence their successful social inclusion, the study shows that the children of Chinese origin are those who try to avoid any

incident that compromises their social and economical capital, either by choosing the ethnic business route or by achieving high academic qualifications (Aparicio and Portes 2014). Young Chinese (1.58 times the average) appeared between those who were already working. However, it does not specify whether youth of Chinese origin had left their studies or were enrolled in parallel.

Young Chinese descendants of immigrant parents represent a subject of analysis of particular interest to these authors, as shown in the following quote:

> Finally, it should follow closely the peculiar process of integrating the children of immigrants of Chinese origin, marked by the premature entry into the labour market by some of them -probably of their parents or other members of the community, and simultaneously, notable academic achievements of others, added to the almost total absence of indicators of downward assimilation. China being the world's largest source of immigrants, the systematic comparison of the evolution of their communities abroad, including Spain, is a project of both scientific and practical value for the future. (Aparicio and Portes 2014, p. 203)

Yiu's (2013) study, based on Aparicio and Portes' (2014) research, is devoted exclusively to analyzing the results of the youth of Chinese origin (as low expectations and academic performance or abandonment school). Comparing these findings with studies in the United States about American Chinese – as an example of successful social mobility and inclusion – she asserts as a possible explanation the fact that young "second generation" of Chinese origin in Spain have found an alternative way of social mobility based on business activities rather than the traditional school trajectory and educational attainment, as a form of strategic adaptation to structural barriers encountered into the Spanish society at large.

In addition, Comas et al. (2008) and the Torrabadella and Tejero (2005) have opted for a qualitative methodology and explore the paths of social inclusion and the construction of identity of youth and adolescents of immigrant parents emphasizing the educational dimension. They establish a typology of trajectories in four types as follows: *resistant* are those young people who have managed to maintain an attitude of restraint against a hostile social context, *interpreters* represent young people who reinterpreted the family legacy and build their paths incorporating these elements, *jugglers* try to resolve and reconcile different cultural models with the goal of building a path-independent life, and, finally, young *mestizos* are those who have managed to negotiate a flexible identity that encompasses symbolic resources, emotional elements, and various cultural elements from different cultures and subcultures in a continuous, dynamic interchange.

Beltran and Saiz (2001; Beltran Antolín and Sáiz 2004) have carried out ethnography of the Chinese community in Catalonia and analyzed, among other aspects, the socialization processes of students of Chinese origin in the school system in terms of school interaction, teacher's views, and relationships with peers, their expectations, or problems. From a more descriptive and complementary perspective, Carbonell's (2007) study presents general data on the schooling of children of Chinese families in Catalonia with the aim to provide guidance to the Spanish educational community and especially to those teachers who may have in their classrooms students of Chinese origin.

In Andalusia (south of Spain), Iglesias Alfárez (2015) carried out a case study of three students of Chinese origin, newcomers from China, who study Spanish in temporary linguistic adaptation classrooms of the province of Cadiz (Spain). In this research, special attention is due to the learning process, their difficulties, and relationships with teachers and peers. Among the most important conclusion, the study shows that learning Spanish, as a second language in this specific classroom, was slow and a difficult process with no clear educational advantages.

Pérez Milans (2011) in an ethnographic study of the process of education of newly arrived Chinese students in Madrid, from a sociolinguistic perspective, focuses on the teaching and learning of Spanish language classrooms as part of plans and educational programs offered by the education authorities of the community of Madrid as a transitional measure to the standard schooling for those students with no knowledge of Spanish. Among the results presented, a strong criticism of these measures is made because of its segregationist and discriminatory nature of the alleged "cultural deficit" of students of Chinese origin.

These studies argue against the "intercultural" compensatory feature of the Spanish educational system, with a strong ideological assimilative model that violates the right to education of all children regardless their differences.

The issues addressed in the analyzed research can be summarized as follows:

– The research on Chinese descendants carried out in Spain is scarce and mainly interested in their social patterns of inclusion.
– Most of the educational studies show that practical and educational interventions in schools have a compensatory nature (Spanish language immersion, classroom coexistence, welcome programs). *Diversity is still perceived* from cultural, linguistic, and behavioral-deficit perspective. A number of policy initiatives have been launched to meet the challenges of integrating immigrant children including the provision of additional teaching resources for specialist language training and support services, as well as the introduction of special integration classrooms in different regions of Spain. These welcome classes have been established to, in theory, help students – particularly those whose home language is not one of the official languages – to effectively transition into regular schooling; however, the downside of these welcome classes is that they keep the immigrant students segregated from the rest of the student body.
– Few research projects provided a close-up perspective on immigrant students as they interact with education systems and society at large. The "students voice," their lived experiences, their needs, and expectations are overlooked (Mena Cabeza 2009).
– In Spain we find scarce research regarding the educational issues concerning the Asian students and their needs (Beltran Antolín and Sáiz 2004; Pérez Milans 2011; Yiu 2013; Aparicio and Portes 2014). Chinese pupils remain relatively invisible within social and educational theory and research in general and the heritage language and culture research in particular.

Heritage Language Learning and Teaching and Complementary Community-Based School

Consequently, our study was thought to make a contribution to the current debates on immigrant pupils' experience in schools and into the host society at large and to modestly fill in the existing gap in education research regarding Chinese origin students and their life experiences in Spain. We were concerned to understand their perspectives to make them "visible" by providing the chance for their stories to be told, in order to learn from them.

The childhood of the protagonist, Mei Ling, was marked by the situation in which she had literally to live in-between two families: the "adoptive" Spanish family and the Chinese one. Thus she learned Spanish as her mother tongue, and later on, she had to learn her Chinese family dialect in order to communicate with them and the Chinese Mandarin, as the official language of China.

Her parents spoke a dialect between them. They communicated with their children and other members of the community using this dialect, although the protagonist and her siblings spoke Spanish with each other. This situation led to communication difficulties with their parents. Moreover, due to language problems and to the long hours required in the catering industry, the parents have been unable to provide their children with any practical help with their schoolwork or provision of other educational resources.

Spanish language skills are totally absent in her father's case, and her mother has some basic/rudimentary notions of Spanish.

Because the family and community environment valued the learning of heritage language and culture, they tried very hard to convince the younger generations to attend the complementary Chinese school on weekends. Parents strongly emphasized the heritage language and culture; therefore, they represented the main influence in perpetuating the learning of the heritage language (Zhou and Gatewood 2000).

The school name was The Chinese Culture School on Costa del Sol, Torremolinos (south of Spain), known by all as the Chinese school. The school was sponsored by the Chinese Association of Southern Andalusia (based in Torremolinos) and was one of the many Chinese community-based schools that Chinese immigrants have opened throughout Spain territory.

As Nieto (2007) argues in her monograph on Chinese migrant community in Spain, there are many Chinese complementary schools, which are practical, informal, and depending on the Chinese ethnic organizations in various parts of Spain. A main feature represents the institutionalized aspect of this type of schools: they teach the official language of RPC – the Chinese Mandarin – as a sign of the Chinese national identity. It is considered as a major strategy for the overseas Chinese younger generation to connect and engage with China. Therefore, the heritage linguistic dialects are not taken into account, even if the Chinese community in Spain was mainly from Zhejiang province (*Qingtian* and *Wenzhou*), and the

communication between all members was performed using a dialect from the Wu dialects family.

The official language and culture is part of the nationalistic project of RPC and Taiwan to define the national Chinese identity. Language is not neutral; it is a power field of political ideological positions. The mission of these community-based schools is beyond acquisition of the heritage language. The symbolic power of learning Chinese Mandarin is that is related to belonging to a nation and the national identity sense making. For example, they use textbooks that make reference to the overseas Chinese communities as part of the Chinese nation, in symbolic terms, as all are descending from a single ancient symbolic figure associated with the Chinese people: the Yellow Emperor. The overseas Chinese should be proud of their heritage, the magnitude and legacy of their country and their ancestry. To be Chinese is a basic value and has to be taught in these Chinese schools. This message is present in all textbooks, didactic methodology, classroom practices, and discipline. To sum up, to be a patriot (to love and to devote yourself to great China) is an intrinsic value-based mission of these Chinese schools (Nieto 2007). Martínez Robles (2007) argues that the Chinese language and writing was throughout history a symbol of Chineseness because the characters are loaded with ideology.

In the observed Chinese school, their curriculum included calligraphy lessons, along with notions of Chinese culture and history, but to a lesser extent. To learn to read and write in Mandarin Chinese was the most important objective. From time to time there were some geography and history lessons and some reading of traditional tales and stories.

A teacher, who worked there almost since the school opened in 1998, commented that they began with only 20 children.

> Every year, more and more pupils enrolled and now, we can hardly attend them properly. We started with only two classrooms. At that time, there were no textbooks. We had to plan and invent our teaching classes and it was quite challenging. We needed to design textbooks and didactic materials. That was a difficult time.

A 57-year-old teacher from Taiwan, who actually was a primary teacher, was the only staff that spoke "little Spanish," so he offered to explain how was the functioning of that Chinese School. He had spent 30 years in Spain and overall, he was very happy to be here. Malaga felt like home, as well as Taiwan, where he returned every year.

As the teacher said, the school had 9 teachers and more than 250 pupils from the nearby areas such as Torremolinos, Malaga, Fuengirola, Marbella, San Pedro, and Estepona. Classes were taught every Saturdays and Sundays and they followed the official academic calendar of Andalusia. The Chinese school made use of the infrastructure of the public school, but no didactic materials or resources. At noon everyone was having a lunch break. Normally, pupils and teachers bring their meals and eat there. The lunch break was 1 h, from 2 to 3 pm, and the classes were of 45 min long. Between classes there was a 15 min break.

There were nine levels, and usually the first level could have more than one class (two to three classes). In general, one teacher used to teach one level. As the interviewed teacher said, "When they started, one teacher had to teach the same group of children through all levels, now is different."

Each class had an average of 20–24 pupils, as the maximum number of students in a class was 26 and the minimum of 18.

Parents learned from other parents of the existence of this school, as they all knew each other. After 2–3 years of living in Spain, when their situation as newcomers was stabilized, usually they enrolled their children to this school. As the teacher recounts, in the beginning they advertised it in the Chinese newspaper, but, nowadays, was not necessary because everyone in the community knows of the existence of that school. As a matter of fact, the school functions as a support center for parents, too, "as there are many relatives, cousins, siblings enrolled here and parents communicate and help each other, everybody knows everybody."

For Chinese parents, learning of the Chinese Mandarin was a very serious matter. The teacher argued about the importance of learning the ancient language as follows:

> All parents want their children to learn Chinese Mandarin and not lose their roots. Thinking of their future, they wish their child to learn their own language and thus to communicate with family in China. Because these children return to China almost every summer holiday, to see grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, so it is very important to know Chinese Mandarin to communicate. Then, considering the future, learning to speak or write it is a huge advantage.

And she goes on to explain that:

> To study is the most precious value in China. Parents lend money and invest effort and huge, huge sacrifice in order their children to study. It is a value of the entire Asian culture, not only Chinese but Japanese, and Koreans, too. Its origin comes from China. Formerly, people who have been valued were educated people. They are first class, then the farmer and laborer and finally the salesman. The most popular are people who have studied then, traditionally, we take education of our children very seriously

There were two categories of children attending this school: those born in Spain, the so-called second-generation Chinese, and Chinese origin pupils that came to Spain at an early age. Also, there were some Spanish families with Chinese-adopted little girls among others.

The teacher commented that children, who were born in Spain, expressed their rejection toward the school at a first moment.

> First it is very hard to learn it, as it requires hard work and they think that "I was born here, I am Spanish, why do I have to learn Chinese?". They think this way, so they say it. There are children that are saying, "I am Spanish, because I was born here and I have Spanish nationality". They are not Spanish, they only are confused. Children at this age, six to seven years, do not know how to think for themselves, and their parent push them and obliged to attend classes.

Teachers said that they also had to deal with newcomers from China who expressed their rejection to the school since while struggling to learn Spanish, they are obliged to learn Chinese Mandarin and, with the little time they had, were split between duties of one school and another.

> Later, all feel welcome and speak good Chinese. "However, despite the efforts it is a very difficult, arduous and lengthy process. As everywhere children are naughty, but they work hard, attend the Spanish school for five days a week and then on Saturdays and Sundays are coming here and they are not missing" continues explaining the teacher. According to her, the little kids play, sing, so, gradually, she teaches them to write the first character, second and so on, even if it is very difficult. And to communicate at a basic level they should learn 5000–6000 characters, which is a lot.

Mei Ling, the protagonist of the study, has been attending the Chinese school for more than 7 years. Normally, children were attending the Chinese school between 5 and10 years. The majority of pupils started when they were 3 years old and they left the school around the age of 18.

When we consider the particular circumstances of Spanish language learning and Chinese Mandarin language learning and use, it was not surprising to find ambivalent opinions and doubts about learning Chinese, the difficulties of this long learning process in the narratives of our protagonist (Li 2004).

There was a kind of detachment from the language, the cultural aspects of it, from various reasons. For example, teachers mentioned that some pupils openly resisted it because they identified themselves as Spanish, as they were born in Spain, or came of an early age to Spain, so there was no need to learn the heritage language. They were obliged by the parents to attend the school.

Also, all recourses and didactical materials were from Mainland China, so our protagonist thought that they were ideologically biased, so she openly expressed a critical vision toward it, a stand-up perspective.

Regarding various Chinese customs and traditions, Mei Ling says she did not have much knowledge. They used to celebrate the Chinese New Year or other traditional Chinese festivals, but she did not feel identified with. She found the folktales very interesting, but the stories they read, extolled Mao and the Communist Party ideology and values too much, therefore, was not objective point of view, she stressed.

On the other hand, learning about geography and history of China, such a big country, was perceived as a waste of time, because she did not see any immediate value in learning it. Moreover, she considered of no use and she did not feel motivated to learn all kind of dates and historical or geographical facts that had no relation with her actual life.

Regarding the teaching and learning methodology, the didactic models were memory based and strongly transmission oriented (based on dictations, repetitions, and homework). Curriculum was based on textbooks for pre-primary and primary school level and, as our protagonist stated, they were "outdates, old fashioned and inappropriate."

Martínez Robles ([2007](#)), in his book *Language: History, Sign and Context: A Sociocultural Approach*, argues that learning the Chinese language and writing involves a much slower pace and a pedagogical practice based on memorization and repetition. This is because "from childhood, traditional Chinese education rested on learning Confucian classics, (...). This learning was based on memorization and repetition of texts, a process that also allowed the assimilation of characters and pronunciation" (pp. 223–229). These teaching mechanisms have evolved little over time being focused on repetition of reading core textbooks, periodical exams, and daily dictations among others.

Nevertheless, the protagonist recognized diverse benefits of learning Chinese Mandarin in terms of values and skills. She said that she could acquire a proficiency level so she was being able to communicate with other Chinese people. On the other hand she gained openness toward other languages/cultures.

The school represented a community for pupils and parents, where they could develop strong peer relationships, a real social networking. Peer relationships were another solid reason to attend the Chinese school. This school represented a chance to meet with more Chinese pupils and make friends. The protagonist, Mei Ling, and other interviewed pupils express that they felt happy there, which implies that they found a sense of belonging to the Chinese community. Even if they were not interested in the language learning per se, they continued to attend the school. They could identify and associate with; they found a sense of belonging and a community power. They could share personal problems and ideas with other Chinese friends that understand them perfectly. Mei Ling expressed her feelings this way:

> It was a great opportunity I did not want to miss it. Also, I do believe it is important because you come into contact with people who are more like you in thinking, of course, in mentality, in behaviour and lived experience. I felt very well there, I had good memories of that period.

In addition, one teacher explained it by making references to different language repertoires, literacy benefits, and communication skills, these children possess. Also, she refers to the negative consequences of the lack of one or the other language to their future trajectory.

> Children are so happy here because they are with their peers. They feel like belonging to a community. I do think so. Many of them speak Spanish well; they do not speak Chinese among them. For them, speaking Spanish is easier than to speak Chinese. Children, who have come to Spain of 10-15 years old, find the learning of Spanish as a second language a big obstacle. If you cannot communicate, you cannot become good friend. These children are living outside their country, away from their family. They are afraid because they cannot speak, they cannot communicate with their Spanish peers. Problems of rejection and discrimination appears... So, they are so happy at this school, because it is the only place where they can communicate each other, they feel identified and they can make friends. It is difficult for them to go to college, then, these people, and will not go to college. They will help their parents in their businesses. Those who go to college are children who have grown up here. These children are always a good example in their own school there. They are very good pupils.

Moreover, the school was perceived as a "safe space" from discrimination (as echoed in international research, also see Archer and Francis 2005; Francis and Archer 2005; Francis et al. 2009). Related to these issues, another positive feature mentioned was the self-confidence development, the sense of belonging, and the fostering of an ethnic identity.

Conclusions

The results reflect some of the challenges and complexities of the learning and maintenance experiences of the heritage language and culture.

The life experiences in two families, two different education settings, and the linguistic and cultural diversity provided multiple cultural frameworks to refer to when speaking about Mei Ling's life. In her narrative she said she saw both social dimensions (the Spanish and the Chinese) as crucial, but she displayed a varying level of engagement with each of them from total commitment to indifference, depending on the situation. The heritage language and culture experiences, as well as the Spanish language education, are intrinsically related to the participant's sense of identity and development.

Mei Ling displayed both positive and negative attitudes toward the heritage language and culture. She acknowledged the benefits but also displayed a counter narrative around Chinese identity and culture as fixed notions. On one hand, she offered an instrumental explanation of the learning and proficiency of the Chinese language and a critical position toward essentialist, nationalist views of Chinese culture (attitudes and values) and identity, on the other.

As a final thought, we argue that the complementary Chinese school reflected in the protagonist narrative and interviewed teacher's testimonies is an example of real living communities playing an important educative and social function for both Chinese community and the Spanish society. In this sense more national and international comparative research is needed to inform policy makers and different stakeholders on the benefits of heritage language and culture learning programs for nurturing all bilingual students, to prevent conflictive identity formation and cultural clashes in their life trajectory and future social inclusion. A deeper understanding of the heritage language, culture as inherent values of diversity will ultimately benefit all students and educators and will transform our classes in real living and learning multicultural and multilingual communities.

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Russian Heritage Learners' Goals and Motivation

7

Julia Titus

Abstract

This chapter focuses on the specifics of heritage language learners' motivation and learning goals and compares it with the motivation of traditional L2 learners. The aspects of heritage learners' motivation are analyzed through the data received from the learners' questionnaires and interviews in which the Russian heritage learners reflect on the issues of their cultural identity, their own perception of their heritage language strengths and weaknesses, and their personal goals and motivation in learning the heritage language. The results obtained in the survey point to the prevalent integrative motivation of heritage learners. The chapter also contains curriculum design recommendations for heritage language learners in light of their motivational orientation and long-term language goals.

Keywords

Heritage language • Bilingualism • Second language acquisition • Motivation • Identity • Curriculum design • Teaching and research

Contents

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Theoretical Background

Research in second language acquisition has consistently shown that learners' motivation is one of the key factors in predicting the success of mastering the foreign language (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner 2001; Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Gardner et al. 1997; Dörnyei 1998, 2003). The current research in L2 pedagogy views motivation as possibly even more influential factor than individual language ability. That is not surprising since the language instructors always noticed that motivated students are ready to spend more time and efforts on learning the language in the classroom and beyond, and they are willing to put more work into a long-term challenging project of acquiring a second language. Therefore understanding and maintaining learners' motivation is central to language learning success and curriculum design in effective foreign language programs.

In the last decades, significant research advances have been made in our understanding of differences between heritage language (HL) learning and standard second-language (L2) learning. One of the salient differences between many factors that play a role in the foreign language acquisition is the difference in the type of motivation between the traditional L2 learners and HL learners. This chapter will look closely at the two different types of learners in the light of their individual motivation and learning goals and will also propose some curriculum recommendations for HL classes.

Individual motivation has many different facets and definitions depending on the specifics of the concrete discipline. Motivation for language learning is generally accessed on three components: the desire to learn the language, the learner's attitude towards the language, and the motivational intensity reflecting the persistency and effort that the learner is willing to apply in order to attain his or her goal. These three factors together predict and greatly influence learning outcomes. The enjoyment of the learning process and a positive attitude towards the teacher and the classroom environment is also viewed as a positive factor contributing to and enhancing motivation.

Focusing on second language learning, R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert made a distinction between instrumental motivation and integrative motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1972). They noted that generally instrumental motivation is based on external pragmatic or "instrumental" factors, such as getting a job using the target language, fulfilling the foreign language requirement at the university, traveling, etc., whereas integrative motivation is internally driven: the learner wants to connect with a foreign culture in some ways, to gain a better understanding of the people and their mentality through language, and thus integrates himself or herself into the target culture. Integrative motivation implies that a foreign language learner is willing to

take on certain features of another culture and assimilate them into his or her behavior. The learner is able to identify at least in part with a different language community, and with time the learner even begins to think like a member of that culture. According to Gardner's socio-educational model of language acquisition, the ability of self-integration into a different language community constitutes a very variable factor in a foreign language learning process, and it promotes successful learning outcomes.

Since it has been noted that integrative type of motivation is positively correlated to the achievement, it appears that because of their unique bicultural background the HL learners should have a considerable motivational advantage over the traditional L2 learners. From their childhood, the HL learners are exposed to their heritage culture at home, and they first develop their heritage language skills and their sense of cultural identity interacting with their parents and family members. At the same time HL learners are immersed in the external English-language environment of their school friends and peers. As they grow up exposed to both cultures, many of HL learners consider themselves bicultural. Thus, when they begin their formal heritage language study at the university level, HL learners already have some experience of being integrated into the target language community, although the extent of each learner's integration is very variable and dependent on their personal circumstances.

R.C. Gardner characterized integrative motivation by the presence of three specific elements that he referred to as "past," "present," and "future":

(a) The past means that the student in a language class brings with him or her a history that cannot be ignored,
(b) The present means that to the student in a foreign language class, the language learning at that time is uppermost in his or her mind. That is, the student has many concurrent interests in the target language above the classroom activity, and
(c) The future means that the student in a language class will continue to use the target language after the course ends.

One of the major characteristics of the HL learners is that from the theoretical viewpoint they possess all three factors necessary for integrative motivation identified by Gardner. Because HL learners acquire the language first orally at home with their parents, they associate it with family and their childhood, and therefore they have a strong emotional connection to the language and they "bring their history" with them, using Gardner term. Since the heritage language is spoken by the parents and other relatives, it is at the same time prominently connected to the student's present life, because usually he or she continues to maintain close contact with the parents even after going to a university. Finally, the HL learners can easily envision the continued use of their HL beyond the classroom format and after completing their language courses, be that in everyday communication with their parents and other family members or in a professional setting, extending the heritage language use into the future.

Description of the Study

In order to better understand the learning goals, needs, and motivation of HL learners and to test the hypothesis about their integrative orientation, the anonymous survey of the HL learners' goals and plans of future use of heritage language beyond the classroom was carried out among eight undergraduate heritage speakers of Russian courses at an ivy-league East Coast university. This study was a part of a larger ongoing multi-language project "Heritage Meets Heritage," initiated by Sybil Alexandrov. The first stage of the project consisted of filling out the anonymous questionnaire online. The questionnaire contained nine questions focusing on heritage learners' cultural identity, their self-reported level of proficiency in their heritage language, and their learning goals in pursuing a HL study at a university.

Participants were between 18 and 20 years old heritage speakers of Russian with varying degree of proficiency in the heritage language, all born in the United States, except one student who lived in Russia until the age of five and then her family emigrated to the United States. All of the respondents were raised in Russian-speaking households of educated families where both parents were Russian or from other Russian-speaking republics of the former Soviet Union (Belorussia and Ukraine). None of the students had any formal heritage language instruction before coming to the university and enrolling in a Heritage Russian course. Several participants had grandparents who helped to raise them at home for the first several years before starting American elementary school, and those students received some informal instruction in reading and writing at home first studying with the grand-parent. Since many of our Russian heritage learners come from the cities with a large and active Russian diaspora (Boston, New York and Philadelphia), and this group was no exception, a few of the respondents had an opportunity to attend for several year the community-based Sunday heritage language schools in their home town. They also were exposed to the heritage language use in many informal settings in their community – shopping with the parents at ethnic grocery stores, attending theater performances and summer camps, and in some cases, taking private lessons in music and dance with native Russian teachers. This factor of already having seen the target language in actual use is very important to take into consideration while designing a curriculum appropriate for HL learners because regardless of their levels of proficiency in the language, typical HL learners already have the deep knowledge of cultural norm and appropriate ways of interaction within the language community.

The survey participants were asked to discuss what is the heritage learner, what are their greatest strength and challenges in their heritage languages, what are their goals in learning the language and the learning strategies that they use. Some examples of the survey questions are below:

> In your own words, what is a heritage language learner?
>> What do you consider your strengths as a heritage language learner?
>> What do you find most difficult when studying your heritage language?
>> What strategies do you find most effective for learning your heritage language?
>> What are your goals in studying your heritage language?
>> How do you hope to use your heritage language in the future?

The second stage of the project consisted of pairs of HL students interviewing each other on their perception of their cultural background and identity, and video-taping those interviews. Other students then watched the interviews and had an opportunity to discuss them and leave comments online. The video interviews continued the general theme of the survey discussing the HL learners' identity, cultural perceptions, language strength and weaknesses, and additionally focused on learner's personal attitude and emotional aspects of using HL. The interviews were between the HL students of different languages, but the project is still ongoing, and the paper focuses only on the Russian learners.

Below are some examples of questions discussed during video interviews:

> Do you consider yourself bicultural? If so, how is this expressed?
>> When/with whom do you use your heritage language?
>> How would you describe your feelings towards your heritage language?
>> Do you feel any connection to speakers of heritage languages other than your own?

The video interviews were supposed to last approximately 20 min. Because of the time limit, the participants were not asked to answer all the questions, but instead to choose only a couple of questions that they found most interesting to discuss and have an informal conversation focusing on those two topics, rather than having a longer, more formal interview. The questions were distributed in advance, so that the students could spend some time thinking about it and deciding what aspects interest them the most by the Russian HL learners.

Participation in the project was completely voluntarily, and all the participating students got very engaged in the topic of discussion, so that in several instances the interviews lasted much longer than the allotted time. The video interviews showed that all of the heritage speakers who participated in the project were culturally aware of their unique situation balancing two languages and two cultures, and they were successful in making an emotional connection with another HL speaker, who also felt the same way.

Discussion of the Results

Self-Perception of HL Learners

The following section analyzes the data obtained during the self-reported question-naire. In the beginning of the survey, the participants were asked to describe what is a heritage language learner. Below are some examples of their answers.

> "Someone who is learning the language spoken at home, or language of family's past."
>> "One who speaks the language because of their family's ethnic background."
>> "Someone who speaks a language from birth, but has certain gaps in literacy."
>> "Someone who is studying a language spoken in his or her household or local commu-
> nity that is different than the predominant language of that person's broader community."

"Someone who speaks the language fluently/at home but never formally learned gram-mar, writing, reading."

"Someone who grew up speaking the language with family but has been exposed to little or no formal study of it."

"Someone who has knowledge of the language from their parents."

These responses are indicative of several factors, important for understanding the unique background and learning needs of HL learners. All respondents consider their heritage language to be an integral part of their identity. The circumstances of acquiring the heritage language frequently mentioned in the responses were learning the heritage language at home, growing up speaking the language with the family, preserving the language of family's past, acquiring the knowledge of the language from the parents, etc. While the HL learners are aware that their knowledge of the heritage language is imperfect, their personal interest of/in improving their language skills is already high, and the language learning for them has an emotional and meaningful component from the beginning of their study. These empirical findings correlate with previous research on heritage learners' strong connection to their home and cultural heritage (Carreira 2004; Van Deusen-Scholl 2003).

Cultural Identity and Integrative Orientation of HL Learners

The bicultural background of the HL learners and their strong ties to the family and heritage language cultural environment greatly influence their attitude to their heritage language and the learning process. Openness to the target language culture in general is an important part of the integrated motivation of the learner. Discussing the cultural aspects of heritage speakers' identity, many respondents spoke about their unique situation of "Inherent internationalism." This sense of belonging to both cultures at once has been reflected in many answers. To maintain the anonymity of the students, all names have been changed.

Peter, Russian heritage learner, made the following observation: "My Russian friends call me American, and my American friends call me Russian." Irina, another Russian heritage learner, agreed and continued: "Do I consider myself bicultural? I have never heard the term, but I think it is a great way to describe how I feel about American culture and Russian culture. I think that Russian culture is something that I will always be a part of, just by merit of how I have grown up, the traditions that my family has, the language, just the things that formed my mindset early on, and my family is Russian and I have been back to Russia almost every summer up until college. So, definitely I have a very sharp presence of that culture, but then of course, most of my life I spent in the States, enjoying the culture here."

As shown from these responses, HL learners see themselves as fully integrated into their heritage language environment and sharing their heritage culture; this is natural for this category of language learners because language is fundamentally tied to the individual's view of the world and his or her sense of cultural identity. In the case of HL learners, they are able to function simultaneously in two cultures and

linguistic communities, even though their language abilities may not be equally developed, and there is a great variability between the individual students' skills as well as between the four types of language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) of each HL learner.

Discussing the use of their heritage language, all participants described that their heritage language was initially used at home as the only language for communication, while their academic experience in the United States, starting with pre-school, was all in English, and in one case in a bilingual French/English school. The respondents uniformly noted that their heritage language skills started to decline, as they entered American schools, even thought their parents continued to use their heritage language at home. Another factor influencing heritage language loss mentioned by several HL learners was the arrival of younger siblings born in the United States. The younger siblings spoke English to each other, so with the arrival of younger brothers and sisters the previously exclusive use of heritage language at heritage learners' homes started to change and after that English was spoken more, because their parents had to make linguistics changes to accommodate the younger children. Maria spoke about the use of her heritage language at home and noted that her siblings speak English between themselves and their Russian is much worse than hers because when she was growing up, she was the only child and Russian was used exclusively at home: "I speak English to my three younger sisters. All of us speak Russian to our parents. Actually, my youngest sisters are now twelve, and their Russian is so bad. . . I grew up in a Russian-only speaking household. Now I am studying in Singapore and my primary environment has no Russian in it. I still speak Russian when I come to visit my parents. I am confident that if I spend 6 months in a Russian-speaking place, my Russian would come back. It is all there, I just need to dig it up."

All the HL learners interviewed for the project felt that their heritage language skills were unstable, and it was necessary for them to actively use their heritage language in their daily environment, otherwise their language skills started to deteriorate, and the relationship between the English language and their heritage language was always changing depending on their personal circumstances. But even though their knowledge of the heritage language may worsen temporarily due to the lack of use, the respondents felt that a lot of it can be reactivated and brought back once they start using their HL daily in the classroom or by being immersed in the target language environment.

Self-Reported Strengths, Challenges, and Learning Strategies of the HL Learners

The next section of the survey focused on contextualizing the HL learning experience for an individual student, and "zooming in" onto his/her personal impression. The participants were asked to comment on what is it like to be a heritage language learner. Below are some of the students' responses:

"It is comforting in that you are absorbed in the language you speak at home and also interesting to actually learn the language academically."

"Exciting and frustrating. Exciting, because it is applying the language I know well and grew up with, and frustrating when I get things wrong, since it is my native tongue."

"It can be very frustrating to not always have a complete idea of what is going on in the heritage language, that is a certain pseudo-bilingualism. But to a learner of a language it actually provides a lot of advantages."

"A lot of the experience is filling in gaps of things that I knew, but did not learn in a systematic fashion."

"It can feel strange (and frustrating) to be exposed to essentials like grammar and spelling after so many years of only speaking a language."

"I think it depends on your fluency in the heritage language. The more you know, the more inherent the grammar is. The worse you are, the less inherent the grammar is."

These responses indicate that HL learners are well aware of the gaps and limitations in their heritage language use, and they realize that it is a weaker language for them compared to English. Peter wrote: "I am fluent in speaking but my reading and writing is much weaker. I feel that my vocabulary is lacking and my level of speaking is that of a child, maybe a six-grader." This self-assessment confirms previous research data (Montrul 2016; Carreira and Kagan 2011) that HL learners are quite sensitive to the drawbacks of their language use and vocabulary, and they feel that their speaking and oral comprehension are much more developed than their reading and writing skills.

Because the HL learners first acquire the language orally and it is stored in the procedural memory (Montrul 2016), the HL learners' knowledge of structure of the language is more intuitive and at the same time more embedded in the cultural context; on the one hand, often they have no explicit knowledge of the grammar rules, but on the other hand, they are able to communicate orally because they have "grammatical intuition" (Kagan and Dillon 2001). The answers to the survey point out that HL learners understand that their HL skill sets are very different from L2 learners, and they feel that it is more beneficial to have a separate course tailored to their individual learning goals and needs.

HL learners are also well aware that they possess unique language strengths compared to the traditional L2 learners. Some examples of their answers are below:

"Heritage learners understand more the culture, and find the language structure more intuitive."

"A heritage language learner may be very advanced in skills such as day-to-day speech, listening, etc. Also, a heritage learner has no problems with idioms or puns."

"Heritage language learners get to simultaneously take a bottom-up and top-down approach in learning languages. That is, they learn the grammar and structure that they never had a firm grasp on, while benefiting from the intuitions and fluent capability of a native speaker."

"Things are generally more familiar and better contextualized."

"You understand the cultural connotations of words, and you are able to learn the language quicker."

Table 1 Self-reported language strengths of HL learners

Self-reported HL strengths	Number of responses
Aural comprehension	8
Understanding of general cultural context, cultural conventions of interpersonal communication, idioms, sayings, and their appropriate connotations	7
Confidence in speaking	6
Ability to "intuit" the meaning of unknown words	3
Ability to engage in "top-bottom" and "bottom- up" processes simultaneously	2

Table 1 summarizes the self-reported language strengths of HL learners listed in descending order.

This part of the survey brings into focus cultural competence that all heritage learners already possess regardless of their language proficiency. Most of the respondents mentioned knowledge of cultural context, idioms, etc. One respondent wrote: "I can think in Russian much faster than my non-Russian classmates." The ability to think in the target language is a highly desirable quality from the linguistic and sociocultural point of view, and it is considered to be a marker for "integrativeness" (term first introduced by R. Gardner) into the target culture, but it takes a very long time to develop for traditional L2 learners, and many of them never attain it.

Although all of the participants differed in their proficiency levels in the HL, and as previously noted, there was great variability between their productive and receptive skills, they all listed similar challenges in the study of their HL:

"Adopting some of the finer points of grammar, considering that language spoken at home is not academic, but conversational."

"Grammar and writing. I know how to say what I would like to say out loud, but I spelling and grammar on paper are tough."

"Teaching yourself out of the mistakes you previously accepted as correct."

"Trying to take shortcuts based on my pre-existing knowledge without focusing on the fundamentals."

"Doing away with the grammatical errors I've been making my whole life and have come to accept as proper Russian."

"Writing down what I want to say. Reading isn't too difficult, but writing is very difficult."

Table 2 illustrates self-reported language challenges of HL learners listed in descending order.

The analysis of self-reported strengths and weaknesses of HL learners is of special interest to all the HL educators planning the curriculum for HL courses. The responses in this section indicated that HL learners know that they have a great discrepancy in the levels of proficiency among the four language skills. Writing is the skill that is least developed, and it was mentioned by all respondents as the area

Table 2 Self-reported learning challenges

HL learning challenges	Number of responses
Learning grammar rules	8
Writing/ orthography and spelling	7
Being able to self-correct the old fossilized errors applying the rules	5
Learning the more academic style of language	2

that needs the most attention. Self-correction and getting rid of fossilized errors were also viewed as a big challenge because many of the HL learners have ingrained patterns of errors that are formed over the years and are very hard to eliminate even after learning the grammar rules in class. All of the respondents commented that they had no difficulties understanding the spoken language, as was indicated in Table 1, and that listening comprehension was their strongest skill, followed by speaking. Most said they were able to speak with some fluency and confidence and "express ideas," even though sometimes they had to search for a particular word. This step generally requires many contact hours of instruction and a lot of efforts for L2 learners. Several HL learners mentioned that they can "take shortcuts" based on their preexisting intuitive knowledge of the language. They also wrote that they have idiomatic knowledge and understand cultural connotations of a given word/concept, and some advocated a faster-paced grammar instruction since they felt that HL learners were able to engage simultaneously in top-down and bottom-up processes in learning the language. This last observation is especially significant for the curriculum design for HL learners because heritage speakers benefit from a macro-presentation of grammatical concepts that is not possible for traditional L2 learners.

Kagan and Dillon have proved in their studies (Kagan and Dillon 2001; Kagan 2005) that HL learners do not benefit from traditional L2 beginner classes. In their research they observed that HL students usually possess skills that a nonnative speaker of the language would require hundreds of hours to acquire, including some that L2 learners may never acquire at a native-like level, such as native-like pronunciation, fluency in colloquial register and dialects, and sociocultural understanding. In these areas, HL learners' skills often exceed even the skills of even the most advanced L2 students.

At the same time, however, HL learners have significant gaps in their knowledge of HL grammar, syntax, and vocabulary since most of them have not studied the language formally. Since HL learners first acquire the language orally in an informal setting at home, their strengths and weaknesses are completely different from traditional L2 learners and their language learning process is closer to the development of the native tongue (Montrul 2016). For that reason, the linguistic challenges typical for Hl learners are usually not addressed in a standard L2 course.

Although many heritage learners are able to carry out the interactive face-to-face communicative functions in the language at least at the Intermediate level of proficiency on the ACTFL scale (*American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages*), they are rarely able to maintain paragraph-length discourse on any abstract topic, which is one of the ACTFL requirements for proficiency at the Advanced level

Table 3 Self-reported HL learners' academic goals in language study, listed in descending order

HL learning goal	Number of responses
Improve writing skills	8
Improve reading skills	6
Expand vocabulary and develop language complexity	4
Master the formal register of speech	3

Table 4 Self-reported learning strategies of HL learners

Learning strategy	Number of responses
Maintaining personal interest	8
Communicating with the family members and friends	8
Relying on intuitive knowledge	3
Watching films and videos, listening to music	3
Reading more complex texts	2

(ACTFL 2012). This inability is the result of several factors: limitations in knowledge of vocabulary, of the cohesive devices that allow an educated native speaker to support and develop an argument and create transitions within discourse, and of syntactic structures. Even the most literate heritage learners who can speak fluently on everyday topics and possess listening comprehension skills approaching those of native speakers have relatively undeveloped reading and writing skills. These classroom observations are supported by research (Kagan and Dillon 2001; Bermel and Kagan 2000; Andrews 2001; Titus 2012).

The HL learners' main learning goals, as seen from the answers on the survey summarized in Table 3, are to improve their reading and writing skills, build up their knowledge of syntax and vocabulary so that their language can move beyond the conversational register into the formal mode, characterized by a paragraph-length discourse and correct use of cohesive devices and subordinate clauses and learn formal grammar rules, while refining and improving their command of the written language.

Since the questions of learners' motivation, goals, and learning strategies are interrelated and they mutually influence one another, the survey participants were also asked to reflect on the learning strategies that they regularly employed in the study of their HL and list the most frequently used. One respondent gave the following answer: "Talk to my family in my native tongue, watch movies, read books – do those things in Russian that I enjoy in English." Despite the fact that the group of HL learners participating in the survey was quite heterogeneous in their language skills, all students gave similar responses, emphasizing their active use of their heritage language by communicating with the family and friends, consulting their family members for grammar, maximizing their exposure to the heritage language through reading book and watching films and listening to music, and drawing on their intuitive knowledge. Table 4 lists the HL learners' learning strategies in descending order.

The close interrelationship between the learning strategies and learners' motivation deserves a special attention because a conscious desire to employ a learning strategy already implies a significant motivation on the part of the language learner. While several of these learning strategies (reading, watching films, videos, listening to music) are also regularly employed by traditional L2 learners, the factor of intrinsic interest is key for the HL learners, and some of the respondents even referred to their heritage language as their "native" language. It is indicative of a deep emotional connection that they feel and their overall positive attitude to the language study. Their responses also show the awareness of the "intuitive knowledge" which is unique for this category of learners and it is not applicable to nonheritage learners.

Personal Long-Term Goals and Motivation of HL Learners

In analyzing the learners' motivation and learning needs, it is very important to identify the learners' long-term goals in studying the foreign language, and their vision of using the target language after the course completion, since learners' goals also are directly related to motivation and they influence learners' overall attitude to the learning process and the language use. It has been noted in the research on foreign language proficiency that there is a positive correlation between the use of the target language beyond the classroom and the attained proficiency levels. The learners who are able to continue using the target language outside the classroom would be the ones that would make more progress in that language and would be able to maintain it after the completion of the formal study. The findings of the survey indicated that for HL learners the goals were both personal and academic, and they all envisioned using it in their lives after the class. Some examples of their answers about their language learning goals are below.

What Are Your Goals in Studying Your HL?

"To keep up my skills in Russian, and to progress them from conversational Russian to a higher, more literary Russian."
"I am majoring in Russian Studies, so my goals are both very personal and academic."
"I'd like to go abroad in the summer, and then take heritage next year to become extremely fluent and comfortable with the language because currently I'm self-conscious about my Russian fluency with other Russians."

In asking to reflect how they envision using their HL beyond the classroom, the survey participants wrote that they plan to continue using their language in everyday life after completing the course – in travels, talking to family, and teaching their children, possibly at work:

Table 5 Integrative versus instrumental motivational factors

Learning goal	Integrative/number of responses	Instrumental/number of responses
Communication with family and friends	8	
Connection to heritage culture	6	
Travel		4
Career		3

"I hope to keep myself culturally aware by reading books, watching movies, and hearing the news in Russian. I also use it with my family and friends that are Russian."

"Speaking to my family? Traveling to Russia? In all the ways!"

"I might want to use it in my future legal profession, and definitely want to teach it to my children."

"To better appreciate the literature and culture."

"For business purposes, and to teach my kids Russian."

These responses highlight the combination of personal and academic interests as the motivational factors for this group of learners. Social context takes on the central role in their study of heritage language. All of the respondents intended to use the language beyond the classroom, communicating with families and friends, traveling, and thus fitting the characteristics of integrative motivation (Gardner 2010). It is especially significant that several respondents mentioned teaching their heritage language to their future children and intending to maintain the connection to their heritage culture and to their parents' language environment. Table 5 below compares the number of responses for Integrative versus instrumental motivational factors.

The data in Table 5 indicate that although there are some goals that point out to instrumental motivation (travel, career), the integrative orientation largely prevails for HL learners. Since integrative motivation has been proven to correlate positively with success in mastering foreign languages, the HL educators need to prioritize finding ways to maintain the high motivation of their HL students and their personal vested interest in the learning process over time. This can be assisted by incorporating the innovative content-based communicative language activities in the HL classroom reflecting the integrative approach to target language and culture, leaving room for experiment and creativity of the students.

Conclusion and Curriculum Implications

The findings obtained from this small-scale descriptive study focusing on Russian HL learners indicate that Russian HL learners have a high awareness of their bicultural identity and they view their HL as an integral part of themselves and their cultural heritage. They demonstrate positive attitude to the study of their

heritage language, the ability to consciously employ the learning strategies, and a long-term goal commitment extending beyond the classroom to improve their HL skills. These results would need to be tested further with a larger group of respondents from other languages, but so far the data seem to indicate that HL learners have a prevalently integrative oriented motivation in their language learning.

Since the results of the survey also highlighted a great discrepancy between the oral and writing skills, the language educators need to take into account the unique language strengths of this group of students – their sociolinguistic competence, their confidence in speaking, their near-native proficiency in listening comprehension, and finally, their ability to emotionally connect to the members of their heritage community, while addressing the learners' weaker skills through extensive writing practice in various genres and reading a wide variety of texts. The HL learners' specific language goals and motivational orientation need to be carefully considered while developing appropriate curriculum and teaching materials.

Even though this motivation study was limited to Russian HL learners, there are grounds to believe that its findings can be extrapolated to other HL learners. Other researchers noted that in general HL learners' motivation evolves and fluctuates over time (Montrul 2016; Polinsky and Kagan 2007). While the use of the heritage language is strongest in childhood before starting school, throughout the school years the use of heritage language declines and English is used more and more because the HL speakers begin to feel that they want to fit in within the majority English-speaking culture. Once the HL speakers become young adults, the desire to get reacquainted with their heritage culture returns and their HL language motivation increases as they reach the adulthood and enroll in a university HL classes. This high point in HL learners' levels of motivation was captured in HL students' responses to the questionnaire for this study.

Since research on motivational factors in foreign language acquisition confirms that individual differences in integrativeness tend to strongly affect the language outcomes and that a greater degree of integrative orientation positively influences the achievement rates, the integrative orientation of HL learners' motivation would allow the language educators to capitalize on this unique strength and anticipate greater and faster progress in their HL students' language skills. The findings obtained in the self-reported survey discussed above would help teachers, educators, and researchers interested in HL classroom methodology to better understand motivational factors of heritage language learners and inspire further research on many facets of the learners' motivation.

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Identity and Motivation Among Heritage Language Learners of Italian in New Zealand: A Social Constructivist Perspective

8

Arianna Berardi-Wiltshire

Abstract

Over the last two decades, New Zealand has become one of a small number of culturally and linguistically superdiverse nations in the world (Spoonley and Bedford, *Welcome to our world: Immigration and the reshaping of New Zealand*. Auckland: Dunmore Publishing, 2012), and yet the teaching of migrant heritage languages in New Zealand receives little governmental support, leaving the maintenance of these languages largely in the hands of self-funded ethnic community groups, which seldom possess the resources to implement effective language teaching initiatives. Based on a study of the self-reported experiences of heritage language learners of Italian in New Zealand, this chapter provides a microperspective on the learning journeys of five New Zealanders of migrant background who set out to learn their heritage language through courses of Italian as a foreign language. Designed as a longitudinal exploration of language learning motivation through a series of in-depth narrative interviews and detailed classroom observations, the study's main inquiry focuses on the significance of the learners' own constructions of their Italian identity (or *Italianità*) for the development of their motivational trajectories throughout 18 months of learning. By explaining the learners' motivation as the result of their own processing and reactions to key factors, relationships, and events both inside and outside the language classroom, the study illustrates the deeply personal and identity-dependent nature of the motivational processes observed, supporting a conceptualization of HL learning motivation that is in line with modern SLA theorizations of second language learning motivation as a dynamic, identity-related and socially constructed process.

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Introduction

> My Italian heritage certainly does not help my language skills, but I think perhaps the feeling... I sort of have an affinity to everything Italian [...]. The other people [in the course] don't have Italian blood, and I just get the feeling that they are not quite as passionate as I am. It's an advantage, because you've got the passion and you really want to do it. (Berardi-Wiltshire 2009, p. 1)

The above excerpt comes from Esther, whose grandfather migrated from Italy to New Zealand in the late 1800s. Esther never met her Italian grandfather or had any contact with any Italians other than her own relatives, until the age of 50, when, as part of a dramatic lifestyle change, she began to learn her heritage language (HL) through weekly evening classes at the local Italian social club, a task that still occupies her more than 20 years later.

While Esther's story is in many ways extraordinary, similar experiences are common among students enrolled in foreign language (FL) courses of Italian in New Zealand, where, unlike other countries with analogous migration histories such as Australia and Canada, the teaching of migrant HLs receives little legislative or institutional support, leaving the teaching and learning of these languages largely in the hands of individual ethnic communities that seldom possess the resources to implement effective language education initiatives. Within this state of affairs, the HL options available to adult learners are especially limited, as even where HL programs do exist, these tend to focus on mother-tongue retention and literacy for children, often leaving older learners little choice but to enroll in FL classes such as those offered by private language schools, universities, and other postsecondary institutions.

Drawing on a longitudinal study which explored the links between identity and language learning motivation in the self-reported experiences of five such learners

(Berardi-Wiltshire 2009), this chapter focuses on the complex relationship between learners' experiences with their HL, their motivation to learn it, and their sense of their own identity. Adopting a social constructivist perspective on language learning motivation (Williams and Burden 1997; Ushioda 2009) and of identity as a dynamic process of construction embedded within interactions and situations in which individuals find themselves (Crawshaw et al. 2001), the research here presented seeks to position itself within a growing body of empirical studies investigating the relationship between identity and HL learning by examining the ways in which learners and speakers of HLs construct, negotiate, and perform their identities in various educational and extracurricular contexts. Specifically, the main objective here is to provide insights into the role that these identity processes play in the arousal, management, and maintenance of the learners' motivation. By examining qualitative changes in the learners' motivation in relation to the ongoing construction, reconstruction, and negotiation of identity inherent to their day-to-day interactions with the learning setting and social context, the chapter explores the nonlinear and emergent nature of the motivational patterns observed, ultimately supporting a view of language learning motivation as situated, dynamic, identity-bound and socially mediated.

The chapter begins with an overview of recent advances in language learning motivation and identity theory and research within the field of HL education, followed by an outline of the study's own theoretical framework as rooted in socio-constructivist perspectives on motivation from the field of second language acquisition (SLA). The next section offers some background information on the country's linguistic situation and on the position of Italian within it. An overview of the featured study comes next, followed by a discussion of its main findings. The chapter closes with a summary of the study's main conclusions and some suggestions on future research directions.

Laying Out a Theoretical Framework

Heritage Languages, Identity, and Motivation

Since the emergence of HL education as an independent disciplinary field, much research concerned with issues related to HL learners' identity has been framed by a "common essentialist understanding of the relationship of language to culture among heritage language researchers and educators" (Leeman 2015, p. 105), and a long-held assumption that HL learners pursue the language in order to claim or retrieve aspects of one's ethnocultural identity (Lacorte and Canabal 2003) motivated by a desire to connect with "the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language" (He 2006, p. 2). Given the pervasiveness of these ideologies, it is not surprising to find that whether explicitly expressed or subtly implied considerations of learner identity permeate a significant part of motivational research in this field. However, unlike in the field of SLA where the last 20 years have seen a number of attempts at theorizing motivation and identity to account for their fluid and socially

constructed dimensions (for overviews see Dörnyei 2005; Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009), it is only recently that HL education research has begun to adopt similar perspectives (for overviews see Leeman 2015; He 2010). Common to studies within this emerging trend is the incorporation of theoretical frameworks and concepts from SLA endorsing postmodern and/or social constructivist views of language learning as related to discursive constructions and negotiations of identity (Davies 1990; Pavlenko 2003; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003) and to issues of affiliation, participation, and belonging (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000).

From a related perspective, researchers have begun to explore the relationship between learners' identity and HL learning agency using Norton's investment and imagined community framework (Norton 2000; Kanno and Norton 2003). This framework, which reconceptualizes L2 motivation by framing it in terms of the learners' identity, the social context, and the personal aspirations at the basis of their engagement with the target language, emphasizes the relationship between language learning and a learner's sense of self and is thus particularly suitable for interpreting the experiences of HL learners, whose motives to learn the HL are frequently implicated in the construction of multiple, blended, and/or blurred identities in multilingual contexts, often within problematic learning settings (He 2010). A study from Wu et al. (2014) illustrates these points in relation to 14 learners at a charter middle school for Asian American students by showing how a mismatch between the students' true HLs (a range of Chinese "dialects") and the institutionalized surrogate HL (Mandarin) negatively influenced their investment in the target language, as when the learners realized that their investment in Mandarin would not help them achieve their own imagined identities, they lost interest in learning the language. On the other hand, a study by Wong and Xiao (2010), which also explored the learning experiences of students of Mandarin from various Chinese dialect backgrounds, found that while the students did not feel an identity-based connection to Mandarin, they nonetheless saw the acquisition of Mandarin as a way to construct desirable international or cosmopolitan identities.

Studies such as these are significant in that they focus on aspects of motivation and identity that within HL contexts had previously remained unexplored. Their conclusions in terms of the complex relationship between the two constructs suggest that while issues related to ethnocultural identity might indeed play a role in personal motivational dynamics, learners might be motivated by more than a desire to inherit or maintain some more or less essentialized version of their cultural identity, and that they might view HL learning as a means to reconstruct aspect of one's own self-concept and complex social identity in accordance to ever-developing understandings of their place in the world and of that of the HL. Within the field of HL education, this idea represents a step towards more refined understandings of who HL learners are and how to develop pedagogies that meet their needs, and as such deserves to be thoroughly explored in relation to different individuals, populations, learning settings, and contexts, ideally through multiple research frameworks that may contribute insights from a range of different perspectives.

Social Constructivist Perspectives on Language Learning Motivation

Over the last 20 years, SLA theory has shifted away from definitions of motivation as a unitary psychological construct affected by individual differences, towards social constructivist models able to capture the motivational role of complex interactions of internal and external factors pertaining to learners' specific learning settings and contexts (Dörnyei 2005; Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009). In turn, this shift has led to a number of reformulations of L2 motivation that emphasize the role of learners' interactions with their sociocultural and learning environments and their agency in "constructing the terms and conditions of their learning" (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001, p. 145).

Particularly relevant among these, Ushioda (2003) offered a view of L2 motivation as a "socially mediated process" (p. 90) by suggesting that if learning is about "mediated participation" (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001, p. 148), the motivation to learn must also socially and culturally mediated, emerging from the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences, and multiple micro- and macrocontexts in which each learner is inherently embedded. In the latest theoretical revision of her work, Ushioda (2009) proposes a relational *person-in-context* approach to L2 motivation that aims to provide insights into learners' motivational dynamics through a holistic focus on the complex, personal and moment-to-moment relationships between the learner and a specific setting. Such approach represents a break from previous linear models of motivation, which "reduce learning behavior to general commonalities cannot do justice to the idiosyncrasies of personal meaning-making in social context" (Ushioda 2009, p. 219), with a view of motivation as an organic socially mediated process which is instead aligned with contemporary research trends in applied linguistics, which since the "social turn in SLA" (Block 2003) have been increasingly upholding relational and emergent perspectives to learning and on learners as agentive beings with unique sociocultural, historical backgrounds and identities.

Also in line with such perspectives is William and Burden's (1997) constructivist model of motivation, which aims to capture the temporal dimension of construct by defining it not as a stable psycho-emotional state observable at one particular point in time, but as a dynamic entity that changes and evolves throughout the participants' learning experiences. This model, which unlike Ushioda's (2009) approach is designed to offer more than just a broad theoretical perspective, provides a comprehensive analytical framework for in-depth explorations of L2 motivation by conceptualizing it as a three-stage process where the first stage is associated with motivational *arousal*, the second with the making of a conscious *decision* to act, and the third with *sustaining the effort* required to achieve a specific goal or goals. Throughout these three stages, L2 motivation is influenced by a number of factors or motivational influences. Differently from other temporal models of motivation, this model does not prescribe the influence of particular factors onto particular stages of the process; instead, L2 motivation is viewed as the result of the complex synergy of

factors that depend on the experiences and personal characteristics that each individual brings to each situation, making the learner a co-constructor of motivation through his or her interactions with the external world.

The model's social constructivist perspective brings it in close alignment with Ushioda's person-in-context approach, as they both hinge on the premise that each individual is motivated differently, and that people make their own sense of the various external influences that surround them in personal ways, acting on their internal dispositions and using their personal attributes in unique ways. One of the advantages of combining the two approaches in a unified theoretical framework is the potential for microlevel explorations of individual learners' motivational trajectories with a focus on how motivation is constructed moment by moment and over time within a complex system of ongoing interactions and relationships with significant others. Above all, because of its focus on "the interaction between the self-reflecting intentional agent and the fluid and complex system of social relations activities and experiences" a leaner is inherently part of (Ushioda 2009, p. 220), this framework can provide the means to investigate the ways in which a learner's ongoing constructions of their own identity might be implicated in the arousal and management of language learning motivation, and so facilitate or constrain their engagement with activities and practices conducive to HL learning.

The Sociolinguistic Context: Languages in New Zealand

As the last habitable land mass in the world to be discovered, New Zealand as a nation was literally built on immigration, which in fact was already in full swing by 1840, when the nation's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was signed. Since then, the New Zealand population has continued to grow and to diversify, with the last 40 years marking its transition from an assimilationist to a multicultural society.

During the assimilationist phase of the 1950s and 1960s, migrants to New Zealand were expected to abandon their own languages in favor of English as a necessary step to becoming fully integrated members of New Zealand society. During this period, New Zealand's national identity centered around the existing population of British origin and most arrivals were from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Eventually, the nationality-based immigration policies of the 1960s yielded a population overwhelmingly European in origin (Beaglehole 2007). By the mid-1960s, the need for cheap unskilled labor led to arrivals from the Pacific region, starting some degree of ethnic diversification, but it was only after the waves of Māori unrest of the 1980s and the establishment of a national bicultural framework in the late 1980s that the national ethos began to shift toward an increased acceptance of other cultures. The process was accelerated in the mid-1990s by changes in immigration policy that opened the way for a large influx of settlers from nontraditional sources.

Today New Zealand is one of a small number of culturally and linguistically superdiverse nations in the world (Spoonley and Bedford 2012), rating third on the

list of most ethnically diverse country in the OECD (OECD). Among the total of 213 ethnic groups encompassed by the population, the largest after New Zealanders of European descent (74%) and the indigenous Māori (14.9%) are Asian (11.8%), Pacific (7.4%), and Middle-Eastern, Latin American, and African (1.2% overall), all of which are rapidly growing, particularly in the region around the city of Auckland (Statistics New Zealand 2013), which is now one of the most ethnically superdiverse cities in the world (The Royal Society of New Zealand 2013).

Naturally, this rapidly increasing ethnic diversity is causing changes in the country's linguistic ecology, and while English and te reo Māori are still the most widely used languages (respectively spoken by 96.1% and 3.7% of the population), the number of speakers of other languages is considerable and rapidly increasing. Samoan, for example, is spoken by 2.2% of the population, Hindi by 1.7%, and Chinese by 1.3%. Between 2001 and 2013, the number of Northern Chinese speakers (including Mandarin) almost doubled, and the number of Hindi speakers tripled. As at 2013, New Zealand residents reported speaking more than 160 different languages, including Middle Eastern, South American, and African languages (Statistics New Zealand 2013).

While overall New Zealand is responding positively to the growing cultural diversity, with signs of the emergence of a multicultural ideology becoming increasingly evident (Ward and Liu 2012), widespread acceptance and legitimation of minority languages seems to be developing at a much slower pace, as reflected in the scarcity and disjointed nature of legislative and institutional support available for nonofficial minority languages, multilingualism, and linguistic diversity in general. Currently, te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language are New Zealand's two de jure official languages, while English is a de facto official language by virtue of its widespread use. As might be expected, the New Zealand government has a range of legislative obligations to further the protection and promotion of these official languages. As for all the other languages spoken across the national territory, language-related policies, where they exist, tend to be dependent on discrete government departments' right to decide whether and how languages might be incorporated into areas such as education, health, housing, and business, leading to an overall approach to managing the country's linguistic diversity which is necessarily partial and disparate (Harvey 2013).

The lack of coherent national-level language education provisions for nonofficial languages has long been a cause for concern for local language and ethnic relations experts, who in recent years have renewed long-standing calls for a unified national languages policy (Harvey 2013; New Zealand Human Rights Commission 2008; The Royal Society of New Zealand 2013), and yet to date, multiple endeavors to create such a document (Peddie 1991; Waite 1992; Kaplan 1994) have failed to produce the desired outcome. Holding particular significance among the many political, ideological, and practical obstacles to the development of such a policy is the low levels of support for community language promotion among representatives of other minority language communities. A recent study by de Bres (2015) presents a case for the existence of a hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand, where arguments in favor of minority language promotion are most

widely accepted for the Māori language, followed by New Zealand Sign Language, then Pacific languages, with all other migrant community/HLs placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. In New Zealand, the study concludes, "recognition of connections between the language communities is scarce, with the group representatives tending to present themselves as operating in isolation from one another, rather than working towards common interests" (p. 677).

Given this state of affairs, it is not surprising to find that in New Zealand the teaching of HLs continues to be largely the responsibility of individual ethnic communities, which therefore play a crucial role in HL maintenance, mainly through community-based language and literacy classes offered during weekends and after school hours. Within some migrant communities, religious institutions such as Samoan and Greek Orthodox churches and mosques have also been found to work in support of ethnic languages (Holmes et al. 1993); however, most community-based initiatives tend to be dependent on limited and/or unreliable resources and to be targeted at supporting intergenerational transmission of mother tongues rather than catering for the needs of adult HLLs (Narayan 2012), leaving the latter with limited opportunities to approach the learning of their HL other than enrolling in foreign language courses.

Italian Language in New Zealand

Among the migrant communities that contribute to New Zealand's growing ethnic diversity, the Italians are a highly visible and popular group, despite the fact that numerically they represents one of the smallest Italian communities in the world, with fewer than 4000 individuals in a population of over four millions (Hill 2011). A steady number of Italian migrants enter New Zealand every year, but only half of the 3,795 New Zealand residents who declared themselves "Italian" in the latest census were born in Italy (Statistics New Zealand 2013). The remaining half is comprised of the descendants of the Italian migrants who reached New Zealand in the last 130 years, mostly through multiple migratory chains as a result of which the Italians in New Zealand today are not a unified or homogeneous group, and instead tend to belong to small communities that originated in different places, reached New Zealand at different times, and settled in different areas, with significant consequences for the linguistic repertoire of individual migrants and communities, as well as for the overall maintenance of the language in New Zealand.

Although the little information available on the linguistic development of the early generations of Italian migrants New Zealand comes from genealogical studies and anecdotal sources rather than sociolinguistic research, it does seem to point to the same processes observed in the early Australian and Canadian Italian communities, whose linguistic repertoires were often limited to a spoken knowledge of a local variety (or "dialect") of Italian (Bettoni 1985; Tosi 1991). Often in these cases, the dialect survived within the family domain, while English spread to all other domains, becoming the dominant language for the second and following generations.

Today, Italian as a community language in New Zealand appears to be undergoing typical patterns of maintenance and shift. Plimmer's (1994) sociolinguistic survey of the Italian community in Wellington found that despite the community's very positive and distinctive self-image and strong social networks, language use data pointed to a very pronounced level of shift to English for both standard Italian and Italian dialects, especially among members of the second and following generations, with English being the dominant language in all domains, standard Italian used within the community in public situations, and dialects only used at home or with close friends and relatives.

Overall, despite the dearth of additional research data, it is reasonable to assume that what is true for the Italians in Wellington is also true for other urban Italian communities in New Zealand, namely, that in the absence of structural support for HLs within the country's English-dominant society, the maintenance of Italian largely depends on intergenerational transmission within the family, although local Italian communities, when present, may also play a role in preserving cultural vitality and enhancing the public profile of the communities by organizing cultural festivals and events that often combine food, wine, and cultural elements (Hill 2011).

Overview of the Study

The participants to the study were five adult learners enrolled in FL courses of Italian offered by either the local university or the local Italian social club in Wellington, New Zealand's capital city and home of the largest and most prominent Italian community in the country. All participants were second- or third-generation descendants of Italian migrants to New Zealand with varying degrees of HL competency prior to beginning their studies.

Qualitative data were collected through a series of in-depth narrative interviews with each of the learners, semistructured interviews with their teachers, and detailed observations of learning sites, lessons, and teaching materials. Data from the participant interviews, which overall spanned over a period of 18 months, were analyzed inductively by putting to practice the principles of a grounded theory approach (Glaser 1998; Strauss and Corbin 1998) as "flexible heuristic strategies" (Charmaz 2003, p. 259) to form a system of longitudinal cyclic analysis, where each interview was coded independently and emerging codes were then used to analyze all other data. Through this system, each interview literally shaped the next, simultaneously extending and deepening the overall pool of data and continually revealing new interpretative keys and fresh paths of enquiry.

From a total pool of thirty interviews with the five main participants, we here focus on data from four of the learners: Marianne, Francesco, Giulia, and Esther (pseudonyms). Given the emphasis on heritage, the analysis focuses on the participants' sense of their own Italian identity, or *Italianità* (lit. "Italian-ness") in relation to their motivation to learn Italian. The following discussion, based on a selection of the study's findings organized according to the three stages of motivation identified

by Williams and Burden (1997), is not meant as an exhaustive portrayal of any of the cases, but rather as an illustration, through specific examples, of how personal constructions of ethnocultural identity can be implicated in HL learners' motivation as a result of their own understanding and appraisal of critical factors inside and outside the classroom, aiming to highlight some aspects of the interplay of cultural and linguistic heritage and identity that were found to be significant in the arousal, decision-making, and maintenance stages of the learners' motivation.

Discussion of Findings

Stage 1: Italianità and Reasons for Studying the HL

In the context of Williams and Burden's (1997) definition of L2 learning motivation as a state of cognitive and emotional arousal, the beginning of the L2 motivation process coincides with the emergence of a learner's thoughts and feelings reflecting curiosity and/or interest towards the L2. The nature of these initial thoughts and feelings is crucial in terms of the evolution of motivation, as it may lead to the formation of desires, wishes, and goals that represent the direct antecedents of the decision to engage in language learning, ultimately influencing the direction and intensity of motivation throughout the learning process.

Examples of the role that the learners' Italianità plays in this first motivational phase were found in all of the participants' stories, where the development of a personal interest in the HL was always rooted in their sense of belonging to Italian families and communities, which always emerged before – sometimes *years* before – any definitive decision to pursue language learning. Marianne, for example, spoke of her curiosity for Italian language as something that had been with her since childhood:

> I always wanted to learn Italian. I always had this thing, this desire. Dad also wanted to learn and we tested each other on words and things like that, and play games or talk Italian, we just had an interest in the language. (Marianne, excerpt 1)

Marianne saw her interest in the HL as rooted in the Italian influences on her upbringings and as developing through her relationship with her father, with whom she shared a passion for their common cultural and linguistic heritage.

Francesco's interest in the language of his Italian ancestors also originated in his early years and in particular in his memories of speaking Italian to his Italian grandparents. As we will see, this sense of connection with his Italian heritage assumed a significant role in motivating Francesco throughout his learning, but it is something that in essence had always existed in his mind:

> It has always been in my mind. I have some connection with it. If I hadn't felt that, I don't think I would have started. I grew up speaking Italian at home, so that switches my button. (Francesco, excerpt 1)

As the data suggest, these learners' sense of their own Italianità was clearly implicated in their motivational arousal, with the source of their interest rooted in their socialization as members of Italian groups and in their early memories of key Italian figures in their lives. In this sense, we can say that the seed of their motivation to learn the HL had existed within these learners for as long as they had been aware of their Italian ancestry, co-developing with their sense of Italianità from its very beginning.

Stage 2: Italianità and Deciding to Study the HL

While each individual's construction of their personal connection with the HL seems crucial to motivational arousal, and so in turn to the decision to learn the language, the participants stories' also show that even high degrees of interest and emotional appeal for the HL are not the only antecedents to the decision to commit to a language course, supporting the idea that "an individual might have strong reasons for doing something, but not actually decide to do it" (Williams and Burden 1997, p. 121). In fact, in all cases, the decision to study Italian came as the result of particular circumstances that originated in the interplay of the learners' personal drives (e.g., attitudes, wishes and desires) and their construction of external factors such as specific events, people, and situations. Among the latter, common to all of the learners' decision to pursue the HL was the incidence of a critical event, which ultimately triggered it by modifying and/or enhancing their previous construction of Italianità, bringing about an increased desire and/or a sense of urgency about learning their HL.

For both Marianne and Francesco, such a trigger was the death of their closest Italian relative:

> I think that with every person in my family who I lose that had a strong connection via the language or the culture, it makes me want to learn it more because it's an important connection to them, to my dad, to my nonna [lit. 'grandma'] and to my own past, and I think if I don't make an effort to embrace it somehow, then it's just going to dwindle out, and there is less of a chance that my children will have an appreciation of it. (Marianne, excerpt 2)

> My grandmother died and mom doesn't have that many people to speak Italian so. . . But I mean I am not doing it just as a personal favor to her. I have a connection that takes me back, something to do with my own childhood and a culture that I guess is diminishing. (Francesco, excerpt 2)

In Marianne's case, while she already had a long-standing interest in learning Italian, her father's passing brought her to face the intergenerational depletion of her family's Italian identity and intensified the sense duty that comes from being one of the last two living descendants of her Italian ancestors. This added some compelling dimensions to Marianne's construction of her Italianità and of the role of the HL in it, which in turn shaped and strengthened her motivation. Similarly, for Francesco, his grandmother's death had the effect of intensifying the emotional connection to his ancestry and HL, ultimately bringing to a head his desire to recover the feeling of

connection to his family and to his Italian roots that had characterized the first years of his life, when he could speak Italian fluently.

For Giulia and Esther, the decision to pursue their HL was triggered by their experiences of traveling to Italy and experiencing Italian life first-hand. For Giulia, the emotional response was a feeling of "finally fitting in somewhere," which she understood as a direct consequence of the latent Italianità she believed to be part of her by virtue of her Italian ancestry:

> That feeling, at nineteen, of being on the streets of Rome and feeling that I had never been there before but that I had always been there. I felt completely accepted and I felt like I was home, really. (Giulia, excerpt 1)

Esther's first trip to Italy was also crucial to her decision to study Italian in that it transformed her awareness of her own Italian ancestry into a powerful sense of belonging, as a result of which she began to think of her Italianità as an important part of herself that demanded to be explored, developed, and embraced:

> My trip to Italy was really my turning point because it awakened everything in me, my family ties and just the love of it. That's when everything was decided for me, what I wanted to do—what I *needed* to do—was to explore that side of my life. That was the first time that I thought "right, when I get back home I am going to do something about this". (Esther, excerpt 1)

Independently from the individual manifestation of the trigger-event and the specific circumstances leading to action, findings related to the process of deciding to pursue the HL show the constructive nature of both Italianità and of motivation, offering a good illustration of the dynamic interplay between a learner's internal world, their social context, their identity, and their motivation.

An even deeper level of interpretation is revealed by the specific ways in which the learners' imagined themselves once in possession of the HL competence they sought. For each of the participants, the attainment of this achievement took a slightly different form:

> Talking to my mother is the primary thing. She's not old, you know she's not seventy and so I hope there will be a few good years of conversation between us there, so that's the primary motive. (Francesco, excerpt 3)

> In my dream I am working and living and I have a great job in Italy and I have perfect comprehension and I can express myself perfectly, not just adequately, in the way that I have control over the English language, I can do that in Italy with Italian. So I see myself doing that and interacting with people, in a restaurant or in the street, going up the apartment stairs and "ciao signora!" [lit. 'hello ma'am!'] (Giulia, excerpt 2)

> I want to speak fluently to the Italian ambassador. Because now when I speak with the ambassador I speak in English and I feel a little bit embarrassed because I really feel that certainly in my position, I should be able to speak Italian. And so that is my ambition, the ambassador is really my focus. (Esther, excerpt 2)

Considering these goal-representations, it is easy to see how they reflect elements of the learners' construction of their own Italian identity, as they often include people, places, and objects from the learners' own histories and backgrounds as symbols or clues to the types and aspects of Italianità to which they aspire through the learning of their HL. Interestingly, in spite of similarities in some of the learners' backgrounds and experiences, HL learning goals ultimately tend to take very diverse and highly personal forms, highlighting how the idiosyncratic nature of personal intention is closely tied to personal constructions of HL identity and how this connection is already present in the early stages of motivation.

In reviewing the role that identity ambitions came to play in the participants' initial decision to learn their HL, two major trends are clearly recognizable. The first is illustrated by the stories of Francesco and Marianne, where the initial drive to learn the HL was accompanied by limited identity ambitions and language learning was not expected to bring about dramatic changes to the participants' identity. In general, these learners approached HL learning with already well-defined personal and social identities and a clear sense of their own Italianità, but without the hope or the expectation that competence in their HL would dramatically change who they were:

> I don't live in that community all of the time so I am not seeing a lot of Italian people all of the time. . . It would be nice to feel like an insider but I don't think so, it would be difficult. (Marianne, excerpt 3)

> It [Becoming more Italian] is not a goal. And it's not likelihood. I mean if something happened and I went there to live for a year. . . But even then I think it would be more likely that I'd feel like somebody that comes from the outside. (Francesco, excerpt 4)

For these learners, HL learning was oriented towards an version of themselves which they imagined would be more in touch with their Italian heritage and which was partly defined by their relationships with Italian speakers around them, but the identity developments they pursued through the learning of their HL were not aimed at the construction of an outwardly recognizable Italian identity to be tested or performed in exchanges with Italian speakers. In other words, they wished to learn the HL mainly because of its symbolic and personal meaning, rather than for the social advantages that it would entail.

The stories of Giulia and Esther exemplify another trend: for Giulia, learning Italian was also inspired by its symbolic value and a desire to deepen her sense of connection to her ancestral culture, but also and above all by a very specific intention to relocate her whole life to Italy. For her, the HL held not only personal and emotional value, but was also associated with a degree of a social capital, which she saw as the key to a brand new life in Italy.

The construction of one's HL as a source of capital is also found at the root of Esther's goal to speak with the Italian ambassador. As in Giulia's case, Esther's effort in learning the language reflected more than just a desire to personally connect with her ancestral culture, as it was principally fuelled by her desire to optimize her social standing within a particular community of Italian speakers.

Independently of whether the participants' goals involved elements of observable identity reconstruction or as a mere deepening of the Italianità that was already part of their self-concept, their origins were always rooted in their emotional attachment to elements of their Italian ancestry associated with speakers of the HL. This social element of the origin of language learning goals was evident in all of the participants' goals, strongly supporting the notion that, like other aspects of motivation, the process of goal-setting is both internally driven and socially constructed.

Stage 3: Italianità and Sustaining Motivation

Individual differences in how Italianità influenced the learners' motivation became even more apparent once the courses began, as at that point their motivational trajectories began to be shaped by the learners' ongoing interactions with elements of the learning setting. Some interesting observations can be made by focusing, for instance, on the portions of the participants' narratives that contain examples of dramatic changes in the intensity and/or quality of their motivation as reflected in changes in their levels of enthusiasm or interest, or by more or less sudden changes in their learning goals, desires, or plans of actions to do with their learning. In reviewing examples of such occurrences, one finds that oftentimes changes in motivation corresponded with critical events, experiences, or realizations that were somehow related to the learners' own sense of their Italianità and/or to the identity ambitions associated with the learning of their HL. Among these, particularly interesting are occurrences of drops in motivation related to elements of the learners' context that came to negatively affect motivational states not only because they represented cognitive and/or affective obstacles to HL learning, but also because they were perceived as threats or hindrances to specific identity ambitions.

By far the greatest challenge some of the participants faced in maintaining their motivation throughout their learning was the realization that the ultimate objectives of the courses to which they had committed were at odds with the specific learning and identity goals they had set for themselves. A good illustration of this is found in the experiences of Marianne, whose motivation was challenged on the very first lesson, when her teacher declared that she would not teach any grammar. This constituted a problem for Marianne because she did not believe that such an approach could lead to the kind of language competence she had envisaged for herself. Having approached the study of Italian to gain a deeper understanding of the language and culture of her ancestors, rather than to "deal with Italian shop assistants," she perceived this as a mismatch between her personal goals and the course objectives. The biggest challenge for Marianne's motivation was that she saw the non-grammar approach as linked to the teacher's assumption that most of the students would be prospective tourists to Italy and that as such they would share the desire to build a simple repertoire of "basic Italian words and expressions" to use while on holiday in Italy. Marianne saw this assumption reflected in the way the teacher conducted her lessons, seemingly focusing on the needs of one specific type of learner that Marianne did not identify with:

> I just think that she [the teacher] speaks as though people are going overseas, and she has all
> these funny little jokes about it and I find that really annoying because not everyone is
> learning Italian to go on holiday and I actually have other reasons. . .. I find that annoying. I
> am not going to spend a year not enjoying it, I am not going to learn if I am not enjoying
> it. (Marianne, excerpt 4)

Ultimately for Marianne it was her perceived positioning as a FL learner as opposed to a HL learner (i.e., someone with historical, emotional, and motivational links to the language to be learned) that influenced the way she felt about the learning setting, negatively impacting her motivation, and leading her to consider abandoning her studies. What emerges from Marianne's comment above is that the cause of her drop in motivation was not limited to issues to do with purely linguistic goals or learning needs, as what she experienced derived from the mismatch between her identity and identity ambitions and what was afforded by the learning setting, making this a good illustration of lack of motivation as the lack of a "happy fusion between internal and external forces, but a negative tension where the latter dominate, at the expense of the former" and where "individual motivation becomes controlled, suppressed, and distorted by external forces" (Ushioda 2003, p. 94).

Motivational challenges linked to identity-related issues were also evident in Francesco's case, where motivational changes were triggered by difficulties associated with specific learning tasks and activities that came to be perceived as incongruent with his personal identity ambitions:

> The kind of society that the teacher describes is quite alien to the one that I was made to be
> aware of. I have Italian, which is my family, but Italian is not this big homogeneous thing to
> me, my family was poor, they emigrated in the thirties. . . So when I look at Italian TV, Italian
> football, Italian politics, Italian society I don't really feel like I belong to that. (Francesco,
> excerpt 5)

> So I think I would probably focus it more on strictly language. Like, we have a lot of
> discussion about the culture, but if I could add more language content and have more
> language discussions at the expense of the cultural side I would. (Francesco, excerpt 6)

This case offers a good example of the personal nature of HL learners' constructions of their sociocultural identity and the influence it has on their engagement with specific language learning tasks. At first sight Francesco's preferences might seem surprising, as HL learners are often assumed to be particularly interested in learning about their heritage culture as a way to reconnect with their roots. Nonetheless, at a close examination, Francesco's preference appears to be completely in line with his own personal goals and his construction of his own Italianità, which was deeply linked to that of his immigrant ancestors, rendering contemporary cultural examples largely irrelevant to his personal identity ambitions. The example suggests that while FL courses tailored to the needs of specific types of FL learners (i.e., prospective tourists) might be not be in line with the needs of some HL learners (as in the case of Marianne), a learner's reaction to specific elements of a course, and whether these

represent a motivational help or a hindrance, largely depends on their personal construction of their goals and of the identity ambitions they represent.

Turning to a consideration of processes through which learners' motivation is intensified, data evidence suggests that these were often triggered by critical events involving interactions with speakers of the HL. In Esther's case, a significant renewal of her commitment to learn Italian came as the result of her acceptance of a prestigious decoration from the Italian government for services to Italian language and culture:

> The most important thing for me was getting the Cavaliere [lit. 'the knighthood'] because it actually meant that officially I have been accepted. So now I feel like I should match that with my own knowledge. The desire to be able to speak it properly will always be there until I master it. (Esther, excerpt 3)

Receiving the award was motivating in that Esther needed to deliver an acceptance speech in Italian in front of many high-ranking Italian officials, which impelled her to spend hours writing and rehearsing it, but also because it strengthened her resolve to master the language, as the award conferred on her the role of official spokesperson of the local Italian community, which in Esther's mind came with the duty of improving her Italian to match such a position.

A final point about motivational maintenance throughout the learning process is revealed by the participants' descriptions of the ongoing motivational support they received from their personal sense of connection with the HL. In essence, this involved the same affective response to one's sense of Italianità that was observed in the predecisional phase of motivation, where it was found to be a source of motivational arousal even before the learners set specific goals. The interesting point here is that the same affective element was also identified by the respondents as the main factor sustaining their motivation throughout their learning. For Francesco, for example, the key to motivational maintenance lays in the HL association with his family ties, which gave it a strong emotional and personal value:

> I think it does sustain me and it has sustained me through difficult times. It's not just a nice thing that you decide to do, it's actually something you grew up with. (Francesco, excerpt 7)

The motivational value of the affective connection to one's heritage culture was also stressed by Esther, for whom the central theme was one of Italianità as "Italian blood":

> The other people [in the course] don't have Italian blood, and I just get the feeling that they are not quite as passionate as I am. It's an advantage, because you've got the passion and you really want to do it. (Esther, excerpt 4)

Essentially for Esther, having Italian blood meant having an underlying connection to the HL, which was responsible for a special "affinity to everything Italian" which translated in a passion that sustains language learning. This type of "bond" is in a way similar to the "special connection" felt by Francesco, as in both cases the

learners' awareness of their own Italianità created an emotional attachment to the HL which sustained motivation throughout the learning process.

Conclusions and Future Directions

Differently from the collective connotations of the term *community language,* which until recently had framed the vast majority of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics research into migrant minority languages in New Zealand, term *heritage language* is commonly perceived as relating to history, ancestry, and cultural and familial ties. Recent trends in HL education research reflect a growing awareness that while the desire to learn one's HL might hinge on any one or all of these elements, their interpretation and thus their motivation role are necessarily tied to one's own personal experiences and complex identities, opening the way for investigations of the part that learner subjectivity plays in the desires, drives, and overall learning trajectories of individual HL learners.

Drawing on a qualitative study of adult HL learners of Italian in New Zealand, the chapter has discussed some of the motivational implications of the learners' personal constructions of their own ethnocultural identity. By adopting a longitudinal approach to the investigation of the participants' experiences and a social constructivist perspective on both identity and motivation, the study has afforded insights into the identity ambitions lying at the basis of motivation seen as reasons or goals for pursuing one's HL, but also and above all into the identity-related processes that support and/or challenge the maintenance of motivational states throughout the language learning process. The study has showed that these processes are complex and strictly personal, emerging from each learner's interactions with the world around them and in accordance with their own understanding of their place in it, ultimately suggesting the existence of a close, if always idiosyncratic, relationship between a learner's fluid and socially constructed understanding of their own identity and all of the motivational stages associated with the process of learning the HL.

Last but not least, despite its focus on ethnocultural identity as a specific facet of the learners complex identity, the study illustrates that the participants themselves seldom understood this as a discrete factor and that in its motivational implications, ethnocultural identity was often found to intersect and interact with many other aspects of the learners' identities. Looking forward to future research avenues, therefore, one of the main recommendations is towards further investigations of how "other" aspects of identity might interact with one's self-perceived ethnicity or culture to shape individual learning trajectories, ideally through ethnographic studies that might illustrate how HL learners' translingual abilities and practices in different contexts and learning settings might be implicated in the identity processes at the basis of complex motivational dynamics. In the years to come, such research could play a crucial role in expanding our knowledge of the full horizon of HL learning journeys and experiences and in establishing learner diversity as a rightful key element in future theoretical and pedagogical developments within the field.

Cross-References

▶ Russian Heritage Learners' Goals and Motivation
▶ Language and Ethnicity
▶ Plurilingualism: Vision, Conceptualization, and Practices
▶ Transnational Hispanic Identity and Heritage Language Learning: A Canadian Perspective

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Part III

Teaching Heritage Languages

Why Should Formal Linguistic Approaches to Heritage Language Acquisition Be Linked to Heritage Language Pedagogies?

9

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Abstract

The main goal of this chapter is to provide a link between formal heritage language studies and heritage language pedagogy, two areas of research that, despite being highly relevant to each other, have traditionally been approached from very different perspectives. Studying and understanding the mental reality of heritage speaker (HS) grammars—its acquisition and processing—is not only relevant for theoretical linguistics and psycholinguistics. Insights from linguistic studies on HS grammars are also of primary importance for language pedagogy because such insights reveal that HSs' pedagogical needs are considerably different from second language learners (Rothman, Tsimpli and Pascual y Cabo, 2016). We know that HS grammars are not broken, meaning pedagogical approaches bespokely designed for HSs should not have the aim of "fixing" them. Rather, instruction for HSs should be more akin to language arts class (what all natives have as children as opposed to language skills classes imparted to non-

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native adults). Recent work has shown that when HSs, defined by the context of the acquisition in early childhood, receive significant literacy training in the heritage language as part of their primary education they show very few to no differences from age-matched monolinguals in adulthood (see Kupsich and Rothman, 2016). In this chapter, we will provide a summary of what theoretical and psycholinguistic studies on HSs have revealed over the last two decades in such a way that the trends are understood by an audience who focuses on pedagogical intervention. We will also explicitly make the link between why understanding the aforementioned is of central importance for the development of heritage speaker pedagogies. We will conclude by offering insights into how formal linguistic properties of heritage language grammars can be implemented in developing more efficient pedagogical approaches to heritage language speakers in a classroom setting.

Keywords
Heritage Speaker Bilingualism • Formal Approaches • Pedagogical approaches

Contents

General Introduction

Heritage speakers (HSs) are bilingual individuals who grow up in an asymmetrical bilingual environment where the language spoken in their home or heritage language (HL) is not the dominant language of the society (e.g., Montrul 2008, 2016; Rothman 2009). Whether exclusively until the onset of schooling (approximately the age of 4 or 5) or simultaneously along with the societal language, acquisition of the HL is an instance of first language (L1) acquisition, taking place from birth via naturalistic exposure to native input. Although competence outcomes typically differ at a mature state of linguistic knowledge in adulthood, the learning task of HS acquisition in the simplest sense does not differ from that of monolinguals. That is, both relate to implicit acquisition processes at a very early age. As a result, it is not unreasonable to consider HSs as a subtype of native speakers of the HL (Rothman and Treffers-Daller 2014). Despite the fact that HSs exhibit a strong command of the HL during the first few years of their lives, with time, most will undergo a shift in linguistic dominance/preference that ultimately favors the societal language (e.g., Montrul 2008, 2016). The outcome of this shift is variable. While some reach a level of ultimate attainment in adulthood in both languages that is indistinguishable from that of monolinguals, others arrive at an end-state that, on a continuum, is considerably different from monolinguals, especially for the HL.

Current research in HS studies is shaped by questions and debates stemming from a broad range of perspectives (e.g., formal linguistic, psycholinguistic, neurolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, pedagogical, and more). One goal of this chapter is to provide some links between two strands of research that address potentially complementary parts of heritage language studies (cf., Polinsky and Kagan 2007). These are formal/theoretical approaches to HL acquisition/processing on the one hand and pedagogical approaches to HL teaching/learning on the other. Despite the clear existing overlap between these areas, collaborations and communication between these traditionally nonintersecting subfields have, to date, been rare. This is perhaps not so surprising, since the same is true of other, more established, traditions studying other subcases of bilingualism, for example, adult second language acquisition. More important, however, are the practical reasons that explain, if not justify, the general lack of cross-communication. It must be acknowledged that, despite both approaches being focused on heritage language bilingualism, the goals of each are quite different. Formal/cognitive-based linguistic approaches are concerned with describing and explaining the outcomes of childhood bilingualism, that is, the developmental path and ultimate attainment of naturalistic acquisition in a very specific environmental context. Pedagogical perspectives are inherently more applied, concerned not with uncovering a naturalistic path a posteriori, but rather to shape the path of formal learning with best practice moving forward, that is, determining and filling the gaps of instructional needs in a highly specific learning environment when HSs attempt to be formally educated in their L1 later in life. Regardless of why these fields have largely remained uninfluenced by one another, the general trend embodies a missed opportunity for cross-fertilization.

Before going further, however, it is important to define what we mean by the labels we use for the aforementioned macrotraditions. Starting with cognitive-based/theoretical linguistics, the term, as we use it, refers both to theories about the composition (mental representation) of grammar in the mind of a speaker that generate and decode language and theories regarding how such systems are acquired. Although formal linguistics is typically associated with generative grammar or Universal Grammar, we are not limiting our use of this term to generative approaches. Rather, this term is meant to cover all cognitive-based approaches to linguistic computation/architecture and acquisition. What these approaches share in common is the acknowledgment that formal linguistic analyses provide accurate and testable descriptions of the object of inquiry (language itself), which are needed to form the basis of hypothesis testing in language acquisition and processing. To be sure, there are nontrivial disagreements on the exact nature of linguistic descriptions, most notably related to what is and is not innately specific to language. Regardless of whatever cognitive approach one subscribes to, it is held as true by all that linguistic mental grammars have a psychological manifestation in the mind and are definitively not a mere reflection of memorized chunks of instances of language use. Rather, mental grammars are systems of analyzable, discrete units that come together in nonrandom ways. Such systems reflect the maxims of cognition (economy, processability, complexity, etc.) and are thus conditioned by a preprogrammed human mind. While concepts such as Universal Grammar are denied by various cognitive

approaches to language, other cognitive approaches such as those labeled as emergentism or connectionism assume species specific universal involvement of a different type, be them universal computational principles or general principles of cognition (e.g., MacWhinney and O'Grady 2015; O'Grady 2008), some type of human associative learning mechanisms (e.g., Ellis and Wulff 2015; Ellis et al. 2016), or typological universals (e.g., Eckman 2007). So, while all formal linguistic approaches agree that tense, aspect and mood in the verbal domain and case, gender, and thematic roles in the nominal domain form part of the competence of all grammatical systems, the debate entails how these characterizing properties of human language come to form part of individual mental grammars. Are (some of) these units, at least partially, provided by a genetic endowment specific to language or rather are they built from the bottom up via an interaction between linguistic input and species specific, yet domain-general, cognitive mechanisms? For the discussion of the present chapter, it matters very little whether or not there is a domain-specific language faculty. Therefore, we put aside this important debate among cognitive approaches, alternatively focusing on what cognitive-based approaches share in common as it relates to the questions pertinent at the highest level of theorizing about HL acquisition and processing as reflected in the questions that guide them.

From a cognitive-based/formal linguistic perspective, the focus for acquisitionists is to meet the descriptive and explanatory adequacy that characterizes formalist work with regards to (i) the HS grammatical competence of adult heritage speakers and (ii) theorizing about how/why these grammars develop the ways they do. To date, and regardless of the language pairing involved, most research findings indicate that HS competence tends to be quantitatively and qualitatively different from that of monolingual speakers of the same language. Differences across HS grammars have been documented for many properties and in multiple domains. These include, but are not limited to the lexicon, inflectional morphology, syntax, and phonetics/phonology (e.g., Montrul 2016 for a comprehensive review). The question, however, remains as to why this is so. Although we do not yet completely understand how native, naturalistic childhood acquisition can result so differently in adult HS grammars, it is clear that age of onset of bilingualism, cross-linguistic influence from the dominant language, HL attrition, and input differences between what HSs and monolingual children are exposed to conspire to explain at least some of the HS variance observed. Details aside, seeking to understand the complex mental reality of HS grammars – its acquisition, development, and maintenance – is not only relevant for cognitive-based approaches to language, it is also pertinent for language practitioners.

Pedagogical approaches do not exist in direct juxtaposition to cognitive approaches. In fact, any pedagogical approach can in principle be in line with any particular cognitive view of mental linguistic representation or vice versa. The remit of pedagogical approaches concerns primarily best practice in a heritage language classroom, that is, determining the bespoke needs HSs have when learning literacy in the HL, how to address those needs, and understanding why these needs obtain. Ideally, best practice is informed by theoretical insights on how information is processed by the bilingual mind in general and how naturalistic HL grammars

more specifically wind up taking the shape they do. From a pedagogical perspective, therefore, the task is not only to identify ways to better meet the particular needs of the HSs but also to take maximum advantage of the competencies that they do have. Given the multifaceted sociolinguistic background in which HSs grow up, it logically follows that their needs extend beyond language to include other affective, social, and attitudinal issues. To effectively attend to these, a number of important developments have been introduced, including the creation of textbooks, courses, and programs specifically designed with the HL learner in mind. What makes these resources particularly valuable is the fact that they are, for the most part, grounded in sociolinguistic principles. Herein, in line with this kind of reasoning, we aim to offer insights into how findings from cognitive-based linguistic research on heritage language grammars can also be implemented into the developing of more efficient pedagogical approaches to heritage language speakers.

Understanding HS Linguistic Outcomes: Cognitive-Based Approaches to HS Studies

Over the past two decades, considerable amount of data from psycholinguistic studies have demonstrated that heritage speaker competence and performance varies both from monolinguals and between individual HSs. Historically this has been referred to under the umbrella term *incomplete acquisition* (Montrul 2008, 2016) although this terminology has been the focus of some debate in recent years: others have offered other terms that avoid there word *incomplete* to capture the same phenomenon, e.g., the *(il)logical problem of HS acquisition* (Pascual y Cabo and Rothman 2012) and the *Heritage Bilingual Paradox* (Bayram et al. forthcoming). As discussed above, the apparent conundrum refers to the fact that naturalistic acquisition in early childhood for monolinguals and HS bilinguals typically results in very different linguistic outcomes. In the case of monolingualism, there is relative conformity both in developmental sequencing and the quality of the resulting grammar (see, e.g., Ambridge and Lieven 2011; Snyder 2007). Conversely, the same cannot be said of HL acquisition.

The existent empirical evidence from simultaneous child bilingualism (2L1) further complicates the matter, generally reporting, despite protracted delays, qualitative conformity in developmental path across bilingual children under comparable conditions (see Meisel 2011). Recall that the resulting adult grammars of HSs are highly variable. Given that many adult HSs are simply the adult outcomes of child 2L1 acquisition, the disparity between what is shown in child bilingual development (2L1) and adult HS competence is at first glance paradoxical (Kupisch and Rothman 2016). At present, we do not know what happens in the crucial time period between when 2L1 acquisition is tested in children (between 0 and 7) and the time that HSs are most traditionally tested (in the late teen to early twenties) that could explain the disparity. Suffice it to say for now, various potential explanatory issues are confounded such that an a posteriori conclusion would be premature. Crucially, for our purposes, it is enough to highlight that the default case of adult HS acquisition is

characterized by comparative differences in the target L1 grammar to other native speaker groups (monolinguals and potential L1 attriters who are adult bilinguals).

Difference from monolingual baselines seems to be a defining characteristic, if not a consequence, of bilingualism. However, it is not the case that baseline differences are the same across all bilingual types. For example, although the 2L1 literature largely points to qualitative similarity in developmental path, the timing of bilingual acquisition is on the whole delayed relative to monolingual acquisition. Thus, in the case of 2L1 acquisition, differences seem to be most profound in acquisition time-course as opposed to qualitative differences in grammatical representation. The case of adult L2 acquisition, even in highly successful cases (i.e., at high levels of L2 proficiency), is distinct in that differences in competence (mental representation) and language use to that of monolinguals is highly likely. As far as we know, HSs are partially unique (see Montrul 2012). Like the case of L2 learners, HSs use the HL differently from monolinguals, their grammars display representational differences, and they (sometimes) exhibit processing differences as well. However, the descriptive resemblance to the case of adult L2 acquisition does not mean that HSs are truly like L2 learners. The devil is in the details, so to speak whereby a close examination of how each bilingual group differs from monolinguals reveals that they are quite distinct from each other.

Let us entertain a few facts from the literature to justify the aforementioned claim. Whereas target language phonology seems to be universally problematic to all but a select group of L2 learners, phonology seems to be a privileged domain for proficient HSs. Moreover, partial end-state knowledge of morphosyntactic domains of grammar that appear stable in monolingual grammars defines HS knowledge much more than in L2 acquisition. Let us consider a tangible example to further elucidate this point. Research examining the subjunctive mood in HS Spanish in the United States shows that HSs have very robust knowledge of core non-optional uses of subjunctive morphology, for example, when it is selected as a complement clause of volitional matrix predicates (e.g., Martínez Mira 2009; Mikulski 2010; Montrul 2009). In such obligatory contexts, they do not differ from monolingual natives. However, when it comes to contexts for which both the indicative or the subjunctive are in principle possible, as is the case in discourse dependent environments (e.g. within relative clauses and so-called polarity subjunctive) where the pragmatic and/or semantic features determine selection, HSs can be highly different from monolinguals (e.g., Pascual y Cabo, Lingwall and Rothman 2012; Van Osch and Sleeman 2016). This is true whether or not the HS displays the highest levels of overall proficiency on standardized language measures. Conversely, knowledge of subjunctive mood in Spanish as an L2 seems to correlate reliably with overall proficiency. Learners whose L1s do not have dedicated subjunctive morphology at low levels of L2 proficiency show complete lack of knowledge of the morphosyntax of subjunctive. As proficiency increases, L2 learners progressively show greater conformity to monolinguals. At the highest levels of L2 proficiency, L2 learners can demonstrate knowledge of all domains of subjunctive, even the discourse dependent

subjunctives, to native-like levels of proficiency (e.g. Iverson, Kempchinsky and Rothman 2008). Recall that HSs, when tested as adults, are at an end-state already by definition, so the most meaningful comparison between HSs and L2 learners is the one that juxtaposes highly proficient L2 speakers to HSs because only the highly proficient L2 learners can be said to have achieved an end-state grammar. Although at various levels of proficiency both L2 learners and HSs diverge from monolinguals, these examples show that they do so in different ways.

Simplifying for ease of exposition, two general approaches have been put forth to explain the abovementioned HS linguistic outcomes. All researchers agree on the basic facts, that is, both general approaches acknowledge the inherent and well-documented differences between HS bilingualism and other sets of native speakers. The first approach considers adult HS grammars to be *deficient* in light of, for lack of a better term, an apparent failure to acquire age-appropriate proficiency and/or attrition of previously acquired properties over time (e.g., Montrul 2008; Polinsky 2011). The second general approach understands HS grammars as complete linguistic systems that develop naturally from the particular (socio)linguistic context in which each HS is immersed, which inevitably leads to differences by comparison (e.g., Pascual y Cabo and Rothman 2012; Pires and Rothman 2009; Putnam and Sánchez 2013).

The first perspective makes the most sense under the assumption that using a monolingual benchmark as a proper comparison is appropriate. After all, anything, grammar or otherwise, can only be incomplete or deficient by comparison to something that is not. However, why should we presume that HSs would wind up being like monolinguals in the first place if, by definition, they are not monolinguals? If the two groups of native speakers have significantly different experiences with the target language, does it not follow that the resulting grammars will diverge? As Kupisch and Rothman (2016) state, the issue of (in)completeness cannot be properly determined via a comparison of two different linguistic systems acquired under distinct conditions, but rather on whether each abides (or not) by universal constraints that determine what is a possible natural language. In this respect, we are operating under the second general perspective that does not view HS resulting grammars as deficient, but simply different. By definition, HSs' linguistic realities are inherently distinct from those experienced by monolingual speakers. These linguistic differences must necessarily factor into the final determination of HS outcomes (Pascual y Cabo and Rothman 2012; Pires and Rothman 2009; Putnam and Sánchez 2013; Rothman 2007). Thus, HL development is neither halted nor incomplete, but rather takes an alternative path (Putnam and Sánchez 2013). Considering this, the expectation, therefore, cannot be that adult HSs arrive at a related yet still arbitrarily chosen linguistic benchmark (i.e., monolingual standard), but rather at its own distinctive – and equally complete – endpoint. In other words, the input (i.e., quantity and quality) HSs are exposed to, the lack of literacy training in the HL, the stigma that is generally associated with its use in the public sphere, and other important social and linguistic factors, all conspire to shape HL development (e.g., Rothman 2009).

From the Wild to the Classroom: Pedagogical Approaches to HL Teaching

Different from the goals of formal linguistics, the pedagogical side of HL studies is mainly concerned with identifying ways to meet the particular needs of the HSs within the classroom setting. In essence, the emergence and development of tailored language teaching for heritage bilinguals can be viewed both as (i) a reaction to the commonly held view that envisage HS bilinguals, if not the HLs themselves, as broken/inferior to monolingual varieties, and (ii) as a recognition that HSs have bespoke needs as opposed to that of traditional second language learners.

Examples of negative attitudes towards the use of minority/HLs abound. Pavlenko (2002), for example, offers a compelling discussion of language ideologies towards minority/heritage languages in the context of the United States, noting that immigrants have long been encouraged to quit speaking their HL for reasons of quick acculturation. Such views, combined with the complexities of the particular linguistic ecologies that surround each HL, seem to be at least partially responsible for the dynamics of language shift/language maintenance observed in any particular community. For example, Yağmur (2004) compares the attitudes and ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish as a HL in two different contexts, namely, Australia and Germany. The participants' responses to a survey on language use/choice revealed significant differences between the two contexts, with Germany being the context with both the highest acceptance rates and the highest indexes of Turkish HL maintenance. Yağmur's findings indicate the dominant group's attitudes towards the minority group and towards the HL they speak contribute in nontrivial ways to the ensuing HL ethnolinguistic vitality, as well as to patterns of language maintenance and shift. Related findings have also been reported in other contexts with different HLs, such as Italian in Canada (Bortolato 2012) or Armenian in Los Angeles (Karapetian 2014). In the United States, this observation is particularly supported by data on Spanish HS bilingualism (i.e., US Spanish), which has long been misrepresented and its speakers frequently devalued due, for example, to associations with academic underachievement (e.g., Light 1971; Barker 1972). More recent examples include, but are not limited to, both quantitative and qualitative studies that focus on the relationship that exists between HSs' linguistic attitudes/ideologies and heritage language education. Achugar and Pessoa (2009), Lowther Pereira (2010), or Showstack (2012) among others, have independently found that Spanish HSs tend to exhibit conflicting and competing language ideologies that favor standard/prestigious varieties over their own local/informal HL varieties. In light of this tendency that delegitimizes HLs and their speakers, recent efforts have been made to transform HL education from the bottom up, empowering HL learners and having them play a more central role in their own learning and development. Among these efforts, perhaps the most influential one to date has been the adoption of what is generally referred to as critical approaches to the teaching of HLs (e.g., Correa 2011; Leeman 2005, 2012; Leeman et al. 2011). A critical approach to HL teaching stems from the perspective that HL learners will benefit more when they become active agents in the examination of the sociopolitical and linguistic environment where they live so as to

question the status quo and validate their own linguistic practices (e.g., Correa 2011; Leeman 2005, 2012). In other words, the idea is that "rather than socializing students as unquestioning recipients of dominant social and linguistic hierarchies, critical educators seek to identify and challenge educational practices that reify those hierarchies and power relations" (Leeman et al. 2011: 482).

Although it has been pointed out that HSs' and L2 learners share some characteristics with regards to their linguistic systems, primarily in that they both differ from monolingual grammars in significant ways (Montrul 2012), the two groups have also been shown to differ from each other significantly (e.g., Lynch 2008; Montrul 2011, 2016). For example, as a subset of native speakers of the HL (Rothman and Treffers-Daller 2014), HSs tend to have an advantage over L2 learners with regard to their knowledge of core syntactic properties, overall phonological fluency/perception, and vocabulary size (e.g., Montrul 2016). L2 learners, on the other hand, have been shown to outperform HSs in tasks that rely more heavily on metalinguistic knowledge such as untimed written and reading tasks (But see Chung (2013) for an example of Korean HSs outperforming L2 learners in an oral description task and a written forced choice elicitation task) (e.g., Bowles 2011). Said differences most likely correspond to the timing and mode of acquisition, to differences in the quantity and quality of input they receive, as well as to the extent to which they have access (or not) to formal education in the heritage/target language (e.g., Montrul 2008, 2016; Pires and Rothman 2009; Rothman 2007). These combined experiences are responsible for the particular needs (and strengths) HSs have when entering the language classroom. Although it is generally agreed now that HSs should be taught separately from L2 learners, the reality is that both groups are often forced to share the learning space in what has been generally referred to as mixed classes (Beaudrie 2011, 2012; Carreira 2014, 2016; Valdés et al. 2006). When instruction in such circumstances is based (mainly) on foreign language teaching principles, it is not uncommon for HSs to feel disengaged and discouraged in their efforts to reconnect with their heritage (particularly if the HSs themselves do not feel represented in the language/culture being discussed in class (e.g., Villa 1996)). On the other hand, when instruction is flexible and the curriculum is designed to represent the students' diversity and to build on their complementary strengths, mixed classes have been shown to be more effective. Support for the practicality and rationale of this sort of approach can be found in Bowles' (2011) study of Spanish HL/L2 learner interactions in a mixed classroom. In her analysis of oral and written tasks in mixed dyads, Bowles showed that HSs relied on their L2 partners for metalinguistic issues such as spelling and accent placement, while L2 learners trusted their HL partners for issues related to vocabulary and grammar.

Conversely, in recognizing the fundamentally distinctive nature of HS bilingualism and the potential benefits the HS community can gain by receiving specialized instruction, a growing number of resources specifically designed with the HL learner in mind have been introduced. In broad terms, these include the development of teaching materials, assessment tools, and placement procedures. Among other features, these resources consider the factors that shape and affect HL maintenance and development (e.g., Beaudrie 2012; Beaudrie and Ducar 2012; Beaudrie et al. 2014;

Pascual y Cabo 2016). For example, the incorporation of recent advances in socio-linguistic and applied research into curriculum design has become a fundamental characteristic of successful approaches to HL teaching. In so doing, HL programs tend to have multiple cornerstones, and while linguistic proficiency and literacy skill development remain important aspects, sociolinguistic and affective factors sit at their very core (e.g., Beaudrie et al. 2014; Lynch and Potowski 2014). In line with the critical pedagogies approach outlined earlier, these programs aim at creating spaces for awareness toward the realities of HS bilingual/bicultural communities, their histories, and the legitimization of their practices. To this end, the HL curriculum often incorporates a series of elements, ranging from the use of flexible bilingual practices in the classroom, to community-engagement components, specific-materials, and the implementation of critically oriented pedagogies. Representative of this adaptive and multilayered perspective is Beaudrie and Fairclough's (2012) model for HS diversity, which advocates for a comprehensive understanding of (and a critical consideration for) the historical, educational, affective, cultural, and linguistic dimensions that shape and influence the HS community. The balancing of all of these dimensions and the constructs associated to each one of them should be determined by the students' particular backgrounds, as well as local language ecologies. Of course, although efforts should be directed toward refining our under-standing of all of these dimensions, we focus moving forward on the purely linguistic and cognitive contributions – research on how HLs are acquired and mentally represented as well as cognitive considerations related to bilingual pro-cessing – that can be meaningfully injected into HL pedagogical approaches, which we turn to next.

Minding and Bridging the Gaps

It is prudent to acknowledge that bilingualism potentially provides more than social, cultural and economic advantages (e.g., Romaine 2000; King and Mackey 2007). Bilingual cognitive science research suggests active bilingualism over the life span also results in gains in so-called cognitive reserve. Such gains are seen primarily in increased capacities for particular domains of executive functions, measured (mostly) indirectly via behavioral performances and processing accuracy and speed. This essentially means that juggling two grammars in a single mind over a long period of time correlates with a bilingual's increased ability to outperform monolinguals on tasks that require high-level cognitive functioning such as inhibi-tory tasks, decision making, and attention allocation (for discussion and debate see Bialystok 2009, 2016; Valian 2015). Recent research in this area reminds us that bilinguals exist on a continuum and that certain factors related to the categorization of type of bilingualism (e.g., age of onset, use, and proficiency) are likely to correlate significantly with the amount of so-called (measurable) benefit (e.g., Luk and Bialystok 2013). An obvious question for the present purpose is thus, where would HS bilinguals sit on the bilingual continuum? In principle, there should be no special differences for HSs compared to any other type of bilingual that is not

accounted for at the individual level, that is, related to the exposure and usage patterns that any individual HS has experienced. It would seem then that HSs, at least ones that are communicatively competent and use the HL regularly, would have on average the same gains in executive functions as other sets of bilinguals with similar levels of linguistic competence and use.

If length of bilingualism and/or onset of bilingualism correlate positively with greater gains – because the mind has been balancing two languages longer or started to do so at a particularly useful time for the development of cognition – then it follows that HSs might have more gains to be maximized in a classroom setting. Coupled with greater metalinguistic knowledge (even if unconscious), cultural knowledge, greater personal connection to the HL and an existent system of grammatical representation for a dialect of the same language that would be the target standard of teaching in adulthood, the aforementioned gains in executive functions that HSs bring to the task of learning language makes them different as a group, which in turn translates as different needs. This does not necessarily mean, academically speaking, they should be "better" at "learning" the standard variety than L2 learners, if that is taken to be the goal of HL education. It simply means that their needs are unique.

From a particular point of view, learning from the bottom up might prove a less formidable task than learning from the top down. Because L2 learners have no previous knowledge of the target language in the classroom, they simply have to build from the bottom up. Of course, this is a complex task to accomplish that is not a guaranteed success (see Ortega 2007; Slabakova 2016; White 2003), but the nature of its development and ultimate fruition presents differently. Alternatively, HSs have a fully developed (albeit different from monolinguals) grammatical system for the HL. As a result, assuming L1 transfer, which is the HL, the learning task is in a sense more top down, including the reconfiguration of the mental representations that already exist for the HL dialect. To be clear, by this we do not mean replacing the HL with other linguistic styles/registers, but rather to incorporate them into their existing repertoires. Because the HL dialect, especially lexically, is sufficient to parse the target standard used in the classroom setting, reconfiguration of the grammar might prove especially difficult. Understanding that HSs potentially have gains in cognitive functioning and differential linguistic needs based on their experience with the HL over time, arms the teacher with important information about how the HS brain is likely to process the standard that they are being taught. Minimally, it helps the teacher to understand that HL teaching to HSs is not a task of filling in holes or fixing something that is broken. Rather, it is an endeavor that requires bespoke planning, not only for sociolinguistic reasons that are already well established but indeed because the linguistic needs and cognitive resources juxtaposed against the acquisition/learning goals in HL contexts are also necessarily different from typical adult L2 acquisition.

Specifically related to HS bilingualism, the picture at first glance appears complex: given their status as speakers of a minority language and the differential nature of their HL linguistic outcomes, bilingual HSs (and their HLs) have often been regarded as deficient and/or inadequate. Thus, as discussed earlier, using labels such

as incomplete to describe HS linguistic differences from monolingual norms does not contribute to the legitimization of heritage grammars (e.g., Kupisch and Rothman 2016; Pascual y Cabo and Rothman 2012; Rothman et al. 2016), an axiomatic element to our argument. Although inadvertently, and nowhere explicitly stated, without clarity of purpose its use may lend itself to misunderstandings, particularly among those instructors who are not necessarily trained in formal linguistics. In turn, these (mis)interpretations, as Rothman et al. (2016) note, can promote a pedagogical point of departure that is unintended and that can be taken to mean that the role of HL education is to fix "broken" grammars so they can look more like monolingual grammars (or even to be replaced by them). Conversely, the departure point for HSs is one of grammatical completeness, a grammar that does not need to be fixed. In keeping with this conceptualization, the goal of HL educators should therefore be to facilitate the understanding of differences between registers, as well as the development/transfer of literacy skills. To be sure, this approach should be inclusive of both, the standard and their own variety. In so doing, the HL instructor must be cognizant of the consequentiality of "defending" linguistic standards and instead, act as an "activist" for HS bilingualism. Crucially, it is fundamental to consider the HSs' linguistic repertoire as a linguistic – and experiential – advantage to build on. In other words, it is paramount for HL education to reformulate the linguistic abilities of HSs through the lens of multicompetence (Cook 1992; Cook and Li 2016), while nurturing the development of multiliteracies (New London Group 1996).

Indeed, relatedly, some emphasis concerning the conceptual distinction between HL linguistic competence and literacy is in order. More specifically, a first critical step towards developing effective pedagogical strategies in HL teaching is to identify and disentangle HS linguistic competence – inextricably linked to their cognitive abilities and linguistic experience – from their literacy skills in the HL – often carried over from their literacy in the L1. Although the two are very different concepts, they have often been perceived as an oversimplified, unified construct, whereby the (partial or complete) lack of literacy skills in the HL has been wrongfully linked to lack of linguistic/communicative knowledge, even when the HL learners display robust communicative competency. Crucially, this communicative competency is modeled after HSs' own life experiences and is representative of their capacities, not their limitations. Problematizing these grammars is both pedagogically counterproductive and scientifically uninformed. It is pedagogically counterproductive because it is likely to negatively influence the learner's affective profile (e.g., low linguistic self-esteem, anxiety, and motivation maintain the HL). Likewise, it is scientifically uninformed because it neglects the underlying nature of heritage grammars. In line with this notion, it is essential that HL instructors understand the characteristics accounting for the diversity of their HL students so that class time can be invested in the most effective way, and inimical measures can be avoided. To this end, instructors who are charged with the task of teaching HL courses must receive training that focuses on becoming familiar with the linguistic/extralinguistic factors that delimit HL bilingual development. To achieve this, instructors need to develop a

functional sensitivity to heritage grammars and a critical attitude that allows them to tease apart prescriptive ideologies from bona fide pedagogical inclinations.

Specialized training in HL education is, however, scant. Efforts to introduce sociolinguistically informed strategies to HL teaching have successfully been underway for several decades now (e.g., Beaudrie et al. 2014; Gutierrez 1997; Potowski 2005; Roca 1997; Valdés 1980, 1995). The results of these efforts conform the bedrock of the field of HL education, as we know it. While this perspective is unquestionably advantageous, it allows the instructor to consider the extent to which the social aspects of language factor into the complex dynamics of bilingualism. It is this inclination that has set the field of HL education apart from seemingly neighboring fields, such as foreign language teaching or ESL. Notwithstanding our acknowledgment of the benefits brought to bear by sociolinguistically oriented/based curricula, our main argument is that HL pedagogical practices must also be informed by formal theoretical advances in HL studies. To get to that point, the inclusion of cognitive research in HL education must occur at two general – but fundamental – levels: the instructor training level and the HL curriculum design level. Besides sociolinguistic awareness, HL instructors require high levels of metacognition, that is, to be able to think about their own linguistic thought processes, in order to reflect more accurately on their students' linguistic behaviors. Provided that HL instructors have strong metalinguistic skills, augmenting their resources at the language/cognition threshold becomes paramount. In so doing, instructors would develop an important tool they can gear towards the enhancement of the metalinguistic knowledge of their own students, a weak resource in HSs (Correa 2011). Also focused on the development of metalinguistic knowledge, but with an eye on cultivating the students' affective factors, we advocate for devoting some curricular space for grammatical discussion and introspection. That is, when grammatical aspects are presented to the students, opportunities for metacognitive development are often lost. For example, reflective exercises where students map out their knowledge through bottom-up strategies (e.g., contrastive analyses) showing differences between the majority language and the HL, or between the HL and its monolingual counterpart, may provide the HS with opportunities to gain a more informed perspective on their own linguistic repertoire, and the cognitive/learnability issues required to incorporate new structures across linguistic domains. These situations would afford trained instructors multiple opportunities not only to describe the cognitive/linguistic differences between bilingual and monolingual grammars but also to explore their developmental routes, the role of education in shaping certain domains (such as the lexicon), and the effects of elements such as input and output production in developing less common syntactic structures or less salient morphological elements.

Notably, this transdisciplinary approach to HL education could fortify the articulation of more powerful critical pedagogies. That is to say, it is when the instructor is able to convey a broad, detailed picture, framing the HL within sociolinguistic, historical-political, and theoretical/cognitive forces, that speakers can fully question the status quo, not only by contesting the majority society that imposes its language,

culture, and values but also the linguistic stigma placed on HLs by monolingual communities. For those coming from fields such as foreign or second language teaching, reformulating HL education through the adoption of a bilingual cognitive perspective may be challenging, as it entails letting go of old assumptions about how language should be used.

To further illustrate this connection between linguistic cognition and HL pedagogy, the focus is now turned to a discussion of a few formal linguistic studies and how their findings can be applied to the benefit of the HL learner. For example, in a cross-sectional study investigating production of tense and aspect morphology among child and adult Spanish HSs (compared to age-matched Spanish monolingual speakers), Cuza et al. (2013) found that adult HSs had access to both forms but exhibited a tendency to overuse the preterit and present tense, while disfavoring the use of the imperfect tense. Given these findings, it seems advantageous that Spanish HL instruction time be spent not in the traditional sequential development that presents one particular property at a time but on contextualizing, making form-meaning connections, and pointing out the differences that exist between them (Cuza et al. 2013). To this end, as it particularly relates to the preterite/imperfect distinction, it is suggested that interactive reading aloud practices could help HL learners draw their attention to (ir)regular morphological forms as well as to the semantic nuances associated with each tense (Cuza et al. 2013). Students' understanding of these differences should be practiced and reinforced via a combination of interpretation and production tasks that force students to paraphrase their intended meaning. Furthermore, a translingual approach to this endeavor would also entail contextualized translations between the dominant and the HL, providing another perspective, particularly accessible to lower proficiency students. While this sort of activities can be done orally/aurally with visual materials on the board/screen/flashcards, they could also be done in written/reading forms, switching the focus to the development of multiliteracy.

With regards to HL phonetics/phonology, an understudied area of HS grammars, a common belief among practitioners is that HSs' oral/aural skills are not problematic, and therefore, class time should not be devoted to the teaching/practice of listening comprehension and pronunciation. Recent empirical findings, however, challenge this misconception. While it is true that HSs have an advantage over L2 learners due to their earlier exposure to the HL (e.g., Au et al. 2008; Oh et al. 2003), they experience some difficulties both in terms of production and perception. For example, Spanish HSs have exhibited differences in the production/perception of consonants (Amengual 2012; Henriksen 2015; Rao 2014, 2015), vowels (e.g., Ronquest 2012, 2013; but see Kim 2015), as well as with suprasegmental tonal configurations (e.g., Colantoni et al. 2016; Henriksen 2012; Kim 2015; Rao 2016). Considering this, we argue that HL learners could also benefit from extensive practice in these areas to be maximally efficient and to better understand the nature of HL sounds (i.e., voicing, place, and manner of articulation), a good strategy would be to become familiar with and have the opportunity to practice using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Activities targeting oral/aural abilities (while also integrating other related skills) could include note taking from audios and videos,

reading aloud activities, role-plays, or script reading. An option to develop phono-logical awareness in HSs is to listen to (and produce) sentences in different varieties of the language in question, including their own variety, highlighting the resource-fulness of their own grammars, and validating their knowledge and experience. Again, navigating between the socially dominant language and the HL, bringing students' attention to specific aspects through the presentation of minimal pairs, or sentences with contrasting suprasegmental features, for example, would provide opportunities to observe and explore differences and similarities through practice.

Conclusion Final Section

As a unique subset of native speakers, heritage language speakers have been the centre of attention in bilingual language acquisition and processing studies in the last couple of decades. The main focus of these studies has been to address the Heritage Bilingual Paradox (HBP), that is, why the outcome of HL acquisition differs from that of monolinguals although both groups acquire the same language as their native language in childhood. Our goal herein was not to contribute per se to the main questions that drive the cognitive science research agenda of HSs per se, but rather to broadly present this line of research to a different audience, namely, HL practitioners, and to persuade them that a better understanding of HS grammars is also of significance to the field of HL pedagogy. To this end, we provided a few recommendations that stem from formal understandings of HS bilingualism as well as some insights into how findings from cognitive-based linguistic research could be implemented into the developing of more efficient pedagogical approaches to HL learners.

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Plurilingualism: Vision, Conceptualization, and Practices

10

Enrica Piccardo

Abstract

In response to increased mobility and the consequent multiplication of cultural and linguistic diversity, a new paradigm is emerging in language education and its conceptualization that stresses interconnection, interdependence, and a synergic vision. The notion of plurilingualism is a cornerstone of such a paradigm. In this paper, plurilingualism is presented and analyzed by highlighting its tenets, implications, and possible applications in education. The paper aims to investigate the paradigm shift represented by plurilingualism by explaining the historical roots of the plurilingual vision and by considering the value and potential of such a vision through different conceptual lenses. It explains how this notion has the potential to provide the foundation for a conceptual framework in language education and beyond.

The paper operates on two levels. The first part, on vision and conceptualization, moves from the roots of the idea of coexistence and the synergic interaction of linguistic and cultural diversity to highlighting the conceptual and theoretical development that prepared the ground for thinking in terms of linguistic plurality. The second section addresses the potential of plurilingualism for language education and discusses some of the emerging practices and their implications in reshaping the nature of classroom realities.

Keywords

Plurilingualism • Multilingualism • Complexity theories • CEFR • Plurilanguaging

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Introduction

Language education has been informed by many disciplines and has developed through a difficult process, sometimes swinging like a pendulum between opposite viewpoints. More recently, multidimensional metaphors, such as a waterway resulting from the confluence of different streams (Mitchell and Vidal 2001) or multiple-sided polygons (Porcelli 2005), have better conceptualized the range of disciplines involved and methodological options available. Also, the idea of a post-method era helped us to overcome the search for the methodological Holy Grail. Like medicine, language education can be considered as both a theoretic and a practical science aiming to find solutions in a contextually effective manner (Porcelli 2005). It is therefore increasingly seen as a complex endeavor, with practitioners playing a strategic role (Piccardo 2010) which needs to be rooted in a comprehensive and dynamic conceptual framework.

In recent years, the complexity of teaching contexts has increased dramatically with the acceleration of social mobility and consequent rise of linguistic and cultural diversity. This has given rise to a wide terminological debate and a wealth of studies that have addressed the issue of diversity from sociopolitical and educational perspectives, as discussed below. However, a reflection on the variety of perspectives that this very diversity requires needs an analysis that situates linguistic/cultural diversity and its consequences both diachronically, in relation to other similar phenomena which have happened in other historical periods, and synchronically, by investigating the relationships with socially and culturally relevant notions and phenomena is key. Complexity theories, which are increasingly being used in the field (Davis and Sumara 2005; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008; Piccardo 2010, 2014a, in press; Verspoor et al. 2011) can effectively inform such analysis.

Plurilingualism: The Historical Perspective

If we consider the challenges countries face, we can observe two incompatible visions. On the one hand, there is the idea that multiplicity and diversity can increase the chances of social and economic progress and that socialization through integration in educational and occupational contexts can absorb newcomers, even when

they retain a distinct identity and/or community. On the other hand, the fear exists that diversity will dilute, deracinate, and alienate communities and individuals. Sociopolitical entities that encompassed diverse cultural and linguistic "souls" have tended to be successful to the extent that they have been able to embrace diversity and to use it as leverage for material and spiritual enrichment. There were several examples in ancient history, including the Assirian, Hellenistic and Roman civilizations. Much closer to us in time, the Austro-Hungarian Empire is another relevant case. Certainly, it is undeniable that each of these successful melting pots contained the germ of its own self-destruction. The two opposite forces, i.e., acceptance of diversity, multiplicity, and cultural crossing – "métissage" – on the one hand and the quest for purity and isolation on the other, are separated by a very thin border, one that, like ice, is sensitive to the temperature of the elements it comes into contact with. The balance between success and failure is not acquired once and for all but needs to be constantly strived for and nurtured.

In ancient empires, language was a concept seen along a continuum going from a pragmatic means of everyday communication to the refined tool of literature and philosophy. The spread of civilizations was not identified with the imposition of a single codified language nor, in turn, were peripheral variations of that language stigmatized. The Austro-Hungarian empire, which survived from the Renaissance to the First World War, was maybe the last example of a successful navigation in what Bakhtin (1981) would call a polyphony of languages and cultures. In this delicate alchemy or "experiment" (Dacrema 2012: 302), which managed to work quite successfully until the nationalistic ferment exploded, language policy was a core issue. Emperors consciously used specific languages to communicate with the different local authorities. During what was the first census in modern history conducted in 1754, 12 languages were recorded as being used on a daily basis (German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovakian, Croatian, Serbian, Rumanian, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yiddish). The policy saw identity as a compositum and (a) acknowledged all ethnic groups without confining any of them to a minor role and (b) connected all these groups to the Vienna court, which spoke German (Dacrema 2012: 310). In the definition of curricula for all school levels, the importance of fostering a sense of identity and community belonging was recognized through schooling taking place in the languages of origin, with German as a foreign language. Mastery of German was acquired by those who needed it, through lifelong learning linked to professional and academic trajectories.

This flexible language policy appears very modern, especially considering how difficult it was in the twentieth century to overcome the idea that bilingualism was detrimental (Baker 1988) and to recognize any value in linguistic plurality. This world, which had its roots in the vision of Maria Theresia, represented a golden age of security, as Stefan Zweig (1944) aptly put it, within a continent in which nation states and nationalist movements made the ground dangerously shaky. And yet, the security that Zweig identified as the most positive feature of that multilingual and multicultural world recalls the long periods of relatively peaceful coexistence of very different cultures and languages in the ancient empires mentioned before. So, how can security coexist with multiplicity and diversity? How can the decision to

embrace diversity be a way of leveraging recognition and enhancement of different forms of human capital? How can our increasingly mobile, diverse, and complex societies operate a conceptual shift, which would help them capitalize on their linguistic and cultural resources? The time is ripe for an epistemological consideration of the tools and concepts that help us reconsider the value and implications of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Categorization, Frontiers, and Borders

Until very recently, linguistics focused on studying languages in isolation, in line with the idea that languages are phenomena that exist independently from their speakers. The centuries-long plurilingual identity of the old continent seemed to have been overlooked in this process together with the plurilingual characteristics of several other areas of the world (Canagarajah and Lyinage 2012). In Europe, the shaping of national identities, often accompanied by the translation of the bible and consequent codification of the majority language, greatly contributed to "the establishment of [...] ethnically exclusive and culturally and linguistically homogeneous nation-state[s]" (May 2008: 6), whose ideology, political nationalism, besides speaking a common language, requires maximum congruence between the boundaries of political and national identity (Piccardo 2014b). The creation of hagiographic national-myths-rooted nationalism is something reassuring and noble, fostering a sense of belonging. But this process is not inevitable and has had historical exceptions. We can almost outline an alternate movement in history going back and forth between discrete, particularized entities to broader, supranational, multicultural political composita, and an oscillation that occurred in various parts of the globe at different times. However, the notion of the nation-state certainly constituted a powerful ideology that needs to be considered within the broader framework of the development of the western scientific vision.

The process of constructing linguistic utopias and imagining homogeneous linguistic communities has paralleled the Cartesian vision in sciences (Piccardo 2005, 2014b), which was characterized by the search for clear categories and scientific purity. This obsession for categorization, separation, and defining frontiers imposed itself in all fields of knowledge in parallel to the development of nation-states and the rise of nationalisms. As Hermann Broch explains (2005), the noble pursuit of the epistemological definition of the different disciplines has increasingly turned into an obsessive search for a "vital space," in a constant quest for recognition, as if this was the condition for existence. Categorization involves setting borders, frontiers. Frontier derives from the latin *frons*, a military term. All that is beyond the frons is *extraneus*, unknown, strange, and thus potentially threatening. Categorization is reassuring; it protects us against what is undetermined and gives a sense of control. But frontiers and borders also imprison us, block our curiosity, and extinguish our thirst for knowledge. The notion of "borders," "frontiers," and "limits" has been a powerful force shaping our culture. Venturing beyond the limits is always dangerous; the great characters of literature and myth often cross real or

metaphorical borders and frequently pay a high price for doing so. In that perspective, "[t]ous les phénomènes de contact, de mixité, de métissage deviennent des anomalies difficiles à classer, donc inquiétantes, dérangeantes, à refouler." (Piccardo 2005: 112–113).

It is far easier to belong to a well-structured, historically rooted entity (albeit one with mythical roots) than to belong to a less defined, less structured, supranational entity, and this is increasingly so the more we move towards bigger entities, all the way to the "cosmos." Cosmopolitanism, belonging to the cosmos, to humankind as a whole, developed in opposition to the particularism of nation-states and their boundaries and represents an alternative, although quasi-unachievable, ideal. Overcoming boundaries is difficult in every field of life and of knowledge. There is an intrinsic, human difficulty in thinking about the cosmos, as there is an intrinsic difficulty in thinking about, and even more in accepting, plurality and diversity. The latter is an attitude that needs to be nurtured and protected in order for a shift in mentality to take place. Probably the best way of facilitating this shift is to move the focus from the entities to the borders themselves, to tackle the very idea of borders, their artificial, arbitrary nature.

From Bilingualism to Multilingualism to Plurilingualism

The fear of crossing borders, of mixing and meshing, happens not only at the macro, social, level but also at the micro, individual, one. The superiority of monolinguals over bilinguals was unquestioned for at least one and a half centuries as shown by several reviews (Darcy 1963; Peal and Lambert 1962). In the nineteenth century in fact, research in education considered bilingualism as detrimental to intelligence, stating that "a bilingual child's intellectual and spiritual growth would be halved, certainly not doubled" (Laurie 1890: 15, cited in Baker 1988: 9). After the turn of the century, research considered that "a facility in two languages reduces the amount of room or power available for other intellectual pursuits" (Baker 1988: 10). This view was predominant until very late in the twentieth century, holding away well after the publication in 1962 of Peal and Lambert's research on bilingual children, a major turning point in the field. Peal and Lambert's study acknowledged the beneficial effects of bilingualism and opened the way to the concept of multiple cognitive abilities. Their conclusions were that of bilingualism promoted: (1) Mental flexibility; (2) Abstract thinking and superiority in concept formation; (3) An enriched bicultural environment benefitting IQ; (4) Positive transfer between languages benefitting verbal IQ (Baker 1988: 17). As Baker aptly stated, these findings anticipated later research. Peal and Lambert's was not the only voice that called for a new perspective and attitude towards languages. In the German-speaking world, Mario Wandruska's visionary work (1979) pointed out how much individuals live in their own mother tongue in several varieties, stressing the composite nature of each language, its constant dynamic evolution, as well as the interdependence of languages and variations of the same language.

Such trailblazing research would eventually bear fruit, especially with the consideration of more than two languages, which expanded the perspective from bilingualism to multilingualism. Since the 1990s, several new concepts have been proposed. In the English-speaking literature, the notion of *multi-competence* proposed by Cook (1992) opened the way. Some years later, the term *translanguaging* was used (Williams 2002) in relation to a specific context (Wales) and practice. Since then, a proliferation of terms can be observed from *code-meshing* (Canagarajah 2006) to *transidiomatic practices* (Jaquemet 2005), from *polylingualism* (Jørgensen 2008) to a broader vision of *translanguaging* (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010), and a reconsideration of the Bakhtinian term *heteroglossia* (Pavlenko 2005) all the way to the more radical position of Makoni and Pennicook (2007), who consider languages as invented phenomena that need to be "disinvented" and reconstructed. All these notions have contributed to conceptualizing linguistic plurality and to highlighting issues related to multilingualism. In particular, they have criticized the underlying conception of languages as separate entities that informs the most widely spread view of the term multilingualism. In fact, the limits of the term multilingualism have become increasingly evident when it comes to capturing the dynamic aspect of language use or the holistic and hybrid nature of linguistic phenomena and practices. Some scholars therefore suggest a double vision of multilingualism: atomistic and holistic (Cenoz 2013: 10), in which the latter goes beyond considering languages separately; others have proposed replacing it with the alternative terms mentioned above. Finally, some go a step further in questioning the underlying conceptual assumptions of all terms containing prefixes like multi-, pluri-, inter-. or cross- because they presuppose a separate existence of the languages coming into contact (Blommaert 2012).

Meanwhile the notion of plurilingualism has appeared, rooted in the work that informed the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001). Plurilingualism is a broad, strategic notion that helps us address what Gogolin (1994) has defined as "the monolingual disposition" in which languages are studied separately, focusing "on the minority of the world's population – monolingual or predominantly monolingual speakers – [driven by the idea that] only when we find how 'things work' in monolingual speakers-listeners will we be able to extend the findings to speakers of more than one language" (Pavlenko 2005: xii). The resulting "dominance of monolingual assumptions [...] has prevented scholars from appreciating plurilingualism [...] hinder[ing] the development of plurilingual practices and knowledge" (Canagarajah and Liynage 2012: 50–51).

Plurilingualism and Complexity: Towards a New Theoretical Framework

At the confluence of different linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical traditions, the CEFR's coining a new term in English, for consistency with other languages, proved very useful in conceptualizing a phenomenon. "Plurilingualism is a unique, overarching notion, implying a subtle but profound shift in perspective, both horizontally,

toward the use of multiple languages, and vertically, toward valuing even the most partial knowledge of a language (and other para- and extralinguistic resources) as tools for facilitating communication." (Piccardo and Puozzo 2015: 319)

The CEFR establishes a clear distinction between multilingualism: "the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society" (CEFR 2001: 4, *author's emphasis*) and plurilingualism: the interrelation and interconnection of languages – particularly but not exclusively at the level of the individual – in relation to the dynamic nature of language acquisition. In particular, the CEFR stresses the unbalance that characterizes all types of language-related processes. It also stresses the interdependence between the individual and social dimension by underlying the agency of language learners/users and the culturally embedded contextual aspects of all language use. By integrating the idea of unbalance, purposeful use of different linguistic resources, and dynamism in any specific context, plurilingualism aligns with theories of complexity. According to the CEFR:

> [p]lurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (CEFR 2001: 168)

Whilst in multilingualism there is no focus on relationships between languages or flexibility in the use of different languages, in plurilingualism the relational principle is at the core. Multilingualism comes down to living alongside one another, with separate heritage language classes after school that have no connection with the mainstream curriculum. A multilingual classroom is a classroom in which there are children who speak different mother tongues. A Plurilingual classroom is one in which teachers and students pursue an educational strategy of embracing and exploiting the linguistic diversity present in order to maximize communication and hence both subject learning and plurilingual/pluricultural awareness. The CEFR underlines the relative "easiness" of multilingualism in comparison to plurilingualism. Plurilingualism is a complex as well as enriching endeavor "as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contribute and in which languages interrelate and interact."(CEFR 2001: 4). In emphasizing the dynamic, creative nature of the construction of plurilingual competence, the CEFR provides a series of examples:

– developing "partial competences" in an uneven profile as productive and receptive skills or accuracy and fluency may be considerably out of balance, with a focus (at least initially) on reception and fluency

- exploiting the wealth of languages one masters to make sense of a text in an "unknown" language
- using international words
- mediating/making communication possible beyond linguistic barriers
- using all linguistic or paralinguistic features to enable effective communication

In fact, considering the nature and scope of the CEFR, plurilingualism has not only been theorized in abstract terms, but it has informed language pedagogy. The main feature of plurilingualism in comparison to other terms mentioned previously is its ability to connect theory and practice.

Finally, plurilingualism itself is part of a broader vision:

> Plurilingualism has itself to be seen in the context of pluriculturalism. Language is not only a major aspect of culture, but also a means of access to cultural manifestations. [...] in a person's cultural competence, the various cultures (national, regional, social) to which that person has gained access do not simply co-exist side by side; they are compared, contrasted and actively interact to produce an enriched, integrated pluricultural competence, of which plurilingual competence is one component, again interacting with other components. (CEFR 2001: 6)

Thus, the notion of language competence, reconceived and recontextualized by the CEFR as "plurilingual and pluricultural competence" (2001: 135), includes multiplicity and recurrence at all levels, quasi as a fractal, (Piccardo 2014b), which is consistent with the systemic vision of languages and language classes.

It is easier to understand plurilingualism if we first focus on the core of complexity theories: complex adaptive systems (CAS). CAS all present common characteristics, namely, dynamism, openness, nonlinearity, self-organization, adaptability, and self-similarity. Furthermore, after a certain time, and independently from the initial conditions, CAS evolves towards what are called "attractors" that have precise conditions, spaces, and configurations. These attractors can also be chaotic, in which case they are called "strange attractors." Last but not least, due to the interaction of their constituting elements, CAS are characterized by phenomena of emergence: the spontaneous development of new properties or structures (Piccardo in press). Now, if we adopt complexity as our theoretical framework, a plurilingual vision of linguistic exchanges and discourse captures all these characteristics. An exchange can be considered as a CAS that evolves towards specific conditions that can also be chaotic, exactly as in a plurilingual exchange. Phenomena of emergence are in this case the specific features that result from the exchange itself, at the lexical, semantic, or syntactic level.

In the recursive way characteristic of complex systems, contexts in which plurilingual exchanges are taking place can also be considered as CAS. At the microlevel the individual is an example of a CAS, at the mesolevel the (language) class, at the macrolevel the society. As stated above, according to the CEFR the development of plurilingual competence does not proceed in a linear way but rather in a dynamic and open-ended way. It also evolves towards particular attractors, i.e., specific conditions and linguistic ensembles that can appear as chaotic (= strange

attractors). In the process, phenomena of emergence happen, at the lexical, semantic, and/or syntactical level, and precisely these phenomena are learning epiphanies whose personal significance supports memorization. In this case, the interaction – actual or mental – of different languages enables the emergence of linguistic composita or hybrids that are contextually effective, of creative solutions that further foster individual agency and of metalinguistic awareness that enhances reflection and further learning.

The distinction that the CEFR makes between multilingualism and plurilingualism goes well beyond a terminological one. The piling up of languages at the individual level, and the more or less passive coexistence of languages and cultures at the social level that multilingualism suggests, fully ignore the complex vision of language development and once again put the emphasis on borders and separation. But it is borders that are invented, not languages, and the phenomena of contact, hybridity, and cross-fertilization are unavoidable. Historically, such mingling has been at the basis of the evolution of languages. The superdiverse context in which we live today accelerates such contacts and maximizes such exchanges, such cross-fertilization; the concept of plurilingualism provides a conceptual framework that helps us to come to terms with this acceleration.

It is not surprising that plurilingualism is presented in the CEFR in relation to the notion of social agent. As Lahire reminds us (2011), we need to overcome a unidimensional view in the study of the individual, to stop isolating the student from the worker, the consumer, the spouse. . ... Individuals live heterogeneous experiences which imply a wealth of different roles and perspectives, shaped by the plurality of experiences he/she makes and the variety of worlds he/she lives in. This view of individuals navigating a plurality of experiences and contexts, and being defined in return by that plurality, reinforces Mondada and Pekarek Doehler's idea of language acquisition as a "situated practice," where learners achieve learning opportunities by playing an active role in tasks that are dynamically and collectively (re) shaped in relation to real or virtual partners and where linguistic competences intermesh with other types of socio-institutional capacities (2004: 502). In a plurilingual perspective, the learner engages collaboratively in real-life tasks that require his/her agency in strategically employing all resources available – linguistic and nonlinguistic, implying a variety of languages and codes – to solve a problem, to accomplish a mission. The achievement of the goal is the driving force of the action, followed by a reflective, metalinguistic phase.

Taking complexity as our theoretical lens allows us to explain the characteristics of plurilingualism, and the development of plurilingual competence in a way that captures the dynamic interaction between language as an entity and language as a constantly dynamically developing construct, between "language" and "languaging." Languaging is "a dynamic, never-ending process of using language to make meaning" (Swain 2006: 96). Paraphrasing this definition, plurilanguaging is a dynamic, never-ending process to make meaning using different linguistic and semiotic resources. We can say that languaging is the phase of chaos and language is the moment of balance, the homeostasy, albeit transitory, that the system seeks at certain moments. This can be valid both at the microlevel, the individual and his/her

language construction, and at the macrolevel, the society, with the evolution, modification, and commodification of languages. Thus, seen from the perspective of complexity theories, language and languaging are not opposites but complementary phenomena. Plurilingualism is characterized by series of transitory homeostases between phases of constructive, dynamic, and linguistically creative unbalances. As Kramsch reminds us "[l]anguage emerges from social and cultural activity and only later becomes an object of reflection" (2000: 134). The emergent properties and processes that characterize CAS apply to situated plurilingual practices and so does the tendency of CAS towards strange attractors that in this case are represented by the hybrid, changeable, contextualized, plurilingual discourse.

This vision of plurilingualism will also help us to overcome the radical positions which consider languages as invented (Makoni and Pennicoock 2007) or disputes all existence of separable units of language, culture, identity that we encounter (Blommaert 2012). Such relativistic positions are at least as problematic as the opposite, absolutistic, ones they aim to replace. While absolutism theorizes the existence of language per se, as an entity, which is totally independent from the speakers of that language, relativism negates the existence of such entities and only concentrates on the here and now of the exchanges and linguistic events. Such a vision does not take into consideration the archetypal representations that act as reference points for human thinking and feeling. Transcending categories does not mean denying their practical function, it means seeing them not as strait jackets but as practical yet constructed and flawed tools with uses and limitations. We need to be aware of the limitations of a view that does not concede the essential duality of all social phenomena, the fact that they need to be seen as "things" (nouns) or as "activities" (verbs) according to circumstances and the urgency for empowering individuals (and societies) through (recognition of) the linguistic repertoires they command. (Alexander 2008: 8–9).

The relativistic view underestimates de facto the political dimension of languages as entities. As Bourdieu (1991: 510) points out, class distinctions ought not to be underestimated. Certain privileged insiders define the norm, the distinction between purity and mixity, between native speakers and others. Class distinction underlies the fundamental question of social acceptability, which explains the considerable investment in the standard language made by the "petit-bourgeois." Alexander's words should act as a warning against the risk of disadvantaging less powerful, local languages by adopting radical, relativist positions that consider languages as invented phenomena, thus further disempowering their speakers. Against this risk, and precisely to empower these languages, Alexander advocates a proactive political program of plurilingual curricular reform. The idea of viewing languages both as an object and as a process informs plurilingualism and sets us free from the "purity model" of an idealized unrealistic native speaker. It shows a way of acting against monolingual bias, without threatening the very minorities it seeks to defend. Once again the theory of plurilingualism allows us to adopt a more balanced vision, one that links the conceptualization of changing linguistic landscapes, sociolinguistic developments, and pedagogic imperatives with curricular and pedagogical innovation. Unlike the terms mentioned earlier in this article, plurilingualism is not an

isolated notion generalized from empirical data, nor does it refer to a precise teaching and learning technique or strategy. It encompasses all the activities and dimensions suggested by the such terms but sets them within a sociopolitical, educational vision.

Towards a plurilingual pedagogy: from conceptualization to practice.

Plurilingualism allows one to cater for the increasingly diverse population of language learners and for the social and sociolinguistic complexity of the contexts in which language education researchers and practitioners operate. The CEFR reinforces the idea that language education should be adaptive to different situations and therefore respectful of the realities concerned, not only in the sense of historical social contexts but also in relation to the personal, psycholinguistic, affective and cognitive dimensions involved. Such realities and the dimensions involved in them are being investigated empirically in networks of research (e.g. the Dylan project, Lüdi 2014) and in educationally focused international projects (see for instance: www.miriadi.ne; www.ecml.at).

Plurilingualism feeds innovation in language pedagogy in at least three ways:

1. Contextually appropriate, principled, and pedagogically targeted use of linguistic and extralinguistic resources in different languages is encouraged. This values learners' linguistic trajectories and repertoires as well as scaffolding and enhancing metalinguistic awareness;
2. Learning is seen as a cognitively constructed and socially co-constructed process in which mediation plays a fundamental role and structures a habit of life-long learning among both learners and teachers. The integration of different languages in the process facilitates the meaning-making, cognitive development process;
3. The action-oriented approach advocated by the CEFR (re)conceptualizes language learning and language use in terms of problem solving. The CEFR sees language learners as social agents who are engaged in a strategic and reflexive process in which they make use of, and capitalize on, the full variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic resources in their linguistic and cultural repertoires. The centrality of the planning-doing-evaluating-revising cycle in action-oriented, real-life tasks constitutes a spiraling process-product-process scheme that aligns with a systemic vision.

Considering these three forms in turn will allow us to better understand the potential of plurilingualism for language education practice.

Use of Different Languages and Metalinguistic Awareness

In a plurilinguistic vision, mixing, mingling, and meshing languages is no longer stigmatized, but recognized as a naturally occurring strategy in real-life communication; languages are not seen as kept in separate mental compartments with their use reserved for separated contexts and purposes. Research in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics highlights the advantages of the bi/plurilingual brain, in which the presence of different languages requires the activation of the executive control

mechanism (Bialystok et al. 2008), which in turn proves beneficial for the development of the brain itself. Research in sociolinguistics records the increasingly plurilingual nature of discourse occurring everyday in professional contexts, (Lüdi 2014), the forms of hybridity that characterize language use at the individual and social level, and the evolution of this over time. Far from considering the brain as a sort of container with limited capacity where languages would be in competition for space, a new vision of the brain has emerged from research, where connections and neuroplasticity are at the forefront (Doidge 2007). In a similar vein, in the social context hybrid forms of discourse prove as inevitable as they are effective, not only dispelling the myth that the only valuable form of communication is a pure monolingual one but also underlining the positive impact of plurilingualism on both linguistic creativity and increased mutual understanding (Marsh and Hill 2009; Kharkhuriu 2012).

As explained earlier, the "normality" and efficiency of diversity and plurality can be accepted as long as attention and expectations are shifted away from the constructed ideal of monolingual purity and its invented notions of linguistic barriers. Once such a conceptual shift towards plurality occurs, the door is open for people not only to accept plurilingualism but to take pride in it and to capitalize on it. This shift has the potential to radically change the place of languages of origin in the perception of both society and the individual. Opening that door means above all adopting a self-aware and reflexive posture in the class and beyond. This involves a shift from considering any presence – even minimal – of other languages as a contaminating influence, a hindrance to progress in proficiency in the defined target language, to seeing the value of other languages as enabling tools to compare and contrast linguistic elements, to study etymological aspects, and to reflect upon culturally related syntactic and semantic choices. Making space for the etymological dimension of words and for the culturally embedded nature of expressions and idioms is a first important step for scaffolding such "noticing." Thus, languages of origin and/or other languages that an individual has an even partial knowledge of find their place and *raison d'être*.

In the class valuing the linguistic resources represented by other languages that students possess is core to plurilingualism. The practice of translanguaging reproduces at the classroom level what happens naturally in the society, i.e., "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different features of various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" (García 2009: 140). Encouraging the use of other languages among students to access the sense of texts is crucial. By being able to make use of all their linguistic resources, learners feel empowered and see their specific linguistic trajectories as a dynamic process. They also understand the value of partial competences in that process. Several techniques are useful in helping to achieve this feeling. For instance, the use of linguistic portraits – that can take the form of real portraits or more symbolic artistic creations like collages (Prasad 2014) – help learners to come up with a personally relevant artifact, which expresses and embodies their experience, feelings, and thoughts. The same can be achieved through the creation and use of bi/multilingual books.

All forms of plurilingual practices are most effective if they occur within a sound reflexive attitude. Portfolios (e.g., European Language Portfolio) and other related tools (e.g., Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters) where learners are encouraged to record and reflect on their linguistic and cultural experiences as well as on their progress over a period of time are also invaluable resources for the plurilingual class. Finally, pedagogies that explicitly focus on a comparative approach to languages (Auger 2004) by using learners' personal language(s) of origin to scaffold their metalinguistic reflection, especially at the level of grammatical and lexical features, are extremely powerful to enhance senses of self-efficacy and autonomy. Focused attention on similarities that help and lexical "false friends" that do not help give students the confidence to become more autonomous (Corcoll López and González-Davies 2016). It is precisely the importance given to the reflexive, comparative, and metalinguistic dimensions that distinguishes plurilingual pedagogies from multilingual ones. Thus, immersion education is not plurilingual, unless it incorporates these dimensions. For instance, Canadian immersion is informed by the opposite idea of keeping languages separate in order to protect them from any contamination and create pure, monolingual learning space.

Embracing plurilingualism is not an all or nothing choice. It is a process that can take various forms from the integration of words and expressions in the language class all the way to organizing language teaching entirely around linguistic plurality, both at the classroom and at the curricular level. Some examples of the latter include two-way immersion programs, content and language integrated learning (CLIL) in which one or more subjects are taught through the medium of another language, or intercomprehension, promoting an effective receptive (i.e., partial) competence in related languages. Plurilingualism is rooted in a dynamic and strategic process of noticing, meaning-making, purposeful use of (linguistic) resources, reflection, and openness to linguistic and cultural diversity. These are all characteristics that help us make sense of the second of the three ways plurilingualism feeds innovation in language pedagogy mentioned above, namely, mediation.

Mediation

The use of a plurality of languages in real-life contexts is never random but is purposefully shaped and conducted. Similarly, in the class, attention should focus on the reasons why different languages are used, the purpose, and the benefits for that choice. Allowing students, whenever necessary, to rely on their (shared) language (be it their L1/mother tongue or a common language) to accomplish a task in a target language provides scaffolding and facilitates the mediation process. The notion of mediation is core in plurilingualism precisely because it allows one to make sense of the complex and heteroglossic nature of the social exchanges and language learning process in our increasingly diverse societies and individuals.

The CEFR underlines a constant movement between the social and individual levels during the process of language learning and it stresses how the external context must always be interpreted and filtered by the user/learner in relation to

several characteristics (Piccardo et al. 2011: 20–21). Mediation in the CEFR appeared from the beginning as a broad and rich notion. In fact, "there seem to be fundamentally four types of mediation: linguistic, cultural, social, and pedagogic." (North and Piccardo 2016: 8). Linguistic mediation encompasses both interlinguistic and intralinguistic mediation. The former translates into pedagogic practices that require a movement between two or more language(s), and the latter implies the meaning-making process that always accompanies the decoding and/or relaying of a text in a given language. Also, the latter may naturally imply different registers and even codes, considering the composite and dynamic nature of languages on one hand and of cognitive processes on the other. Cultural mediation is inevitably linked to linguistic mediation as languages express and codify the different forms of (ever-changing) cultures that make up the diverse tapestry of our social existence. Once again, awareness of these more or less visible cultures is key in a plurilingual pedagogy. Cultural mediation is then also inextricably linked to social mediation. Social mediation in turn is multidimensional and multifaceted, but it always implies some form of bridging gaps, overcoming difficulties and creating shared spaces that facilitate mutual understanding. Last but not least, effective teaching can be seen as pedagogic mediation, which encompasses cognitive and relational aspects linked to facilitating access to knowledge, enhancing critical thinking, and the (co)construction of meaning, plus creating space for creativity (North and Piccardo 2016). Naturally, this process benefits from a plurilingual perspective, as teachers and peers switch languages to aid understanding, and as learners acquire both an attitude of openness towards linguistic diversity and increasingly more refined linguistic resources.

Since the development of the CEFR in the 1990s, mediation has been the object of a wealth of language-related research especially in sociocultural theory, which sees language as stemming from social interaction only later to become the object of reflection, in which the learner can reconstruct and internalize processes like thought or learning. Research in language pedagogy has allowed for deeper theorization of aspects that were already in embryo in the CEFR. This new theorization has in turn informed a recent Council of Europe project for the creation of new CEFR descriptors rooted in "a richer model of mediation" (North and Piccardo 2016: 11–15). The new descriptors cover both relational and cognitive mediation as well as the plurilingual dimension intrinsic to creating plurilingual spaces and facilitating plurilingual comprehension. By bringing to the forefront mediation in all its forms and by making its different facets explicit through targeted descriptors, another step has been taken towards a reconceptualization of language pedagogy, curricular reform, and the pedagogy of plurilingualism in terms that align with complexity theories, helping to further liberating practitioners from monolingual bias and constraints.

Introducing mediation descriptors in the curriculum supports a process of self-education among teachers: focus on mediation facilitates a dynamic vision of language learning that encourages freedom from barriers among and within languages through language integration, multiliteracies, and multimodalities. In turn,

the awareness-raising process in learners that these steps imply can enhance cognitive and social mediation. In class, this means, for instance, using resources in different languages as support for producing artifacts in a target language. It means students proactively looking for sources in a variety of languages and discussing them in a group, before producing a report or display. That discussion and those reports/displays may take place in one or more than one languages. The process can be taken a stage further by introducing a plurilingual paper in school-leaving tests. This is the case with an (optional) new paper in the Austrian professional baccalaureate: a plurilingual oral in which, among other tasks, the user/learner mediates a conversation between speakers of their first and second foreign languages. In a Greek national examination, user/learners take information from a text in Greek in order to write a text in a different genre in English aimed to fulfill a mission. Plurilingual mediation becomes an individual and social meaning-making, cognition-development process, which finds in the action-oriented approach its methodological realization.

The Action-Oriented Approach

As mentioned above, plurilingualism as theorized by the CEFR is not an isolated notion but is conceptualized in relation to underlining theories on the one hand and pedagogical implications on the other. The approach in which plurilingualism can better blossom is an action-oriented one (CEFR 2001: 9) in which the language user/learner is seen as a "social agent" who activates all his/her linguistic and extralinguistic resources to act strategically in a real-life environment.

> This is a very dynamic process. For the CEFR, the notion of the social agent implies genuine interaction between individuals and between the individual and the external context. Each learner has experiences and has contact with an ever-widening number of other individuals, and this helps to define and shape his/her identity. The learner becomes aware of his or her own knowledge and competences, and uses them in and for social action. In turn, through this social action and this sharing of language, the learner receives feedback that helps him or her to keep building up knowledge and competence. (Piccardo 2014c: 19)

The core of action-oriented learning is the task in which learners/social agents are engaged in an "increasingly independent planning, execution and evaluation" process (Lindemann 2002: 3). "Learning takes place in a cycle of process-product-process. The solution of a task ends in a product [...]. The product [...] facilitates another process, the process of reflection. The reflection is the starting point for the new act of a complete action" (Lindemann 2002: 4). In this approach, plurilingualism finds its natural space as it replicates what happens in increasingly diverse real life contexts. As stated before, language learning is situated practice and the action-oriented approach responds to a praxeological view that captures the dynamic nature of languaging and translanguaging. In the class, action-oriented

tasks can easily integrate plurilingualism, even in cases of imposed monolingual curricula. The purposeful use of diverse linguistic resources, the reflective process involved, the opening to symbolic and simulated spaces enhances a natural awareness (and development) of the learners' own plurilingualism.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The notion of plurilingualism that helps us conceptualize both language(s) and languaging as dynamic system(s) and process, respectively, is not only a liberating one but potentially very inspiring for pedagogical innovation. There are no "recipes" for plurilingual education, which is not surprising considering that plurilingualism is embedded in a complex vision, in which situated practices are at the core. Implementing a plurilingual vision is a process that requires several steps and a shift in mentality. In contexts where this notion has been used to inform curricula, new resources have been created which are having a considerably positive impact on learning and teaching practices (course materials Passpartout; http://www.passepartout-sprachen.ch/, textbook Euromania www.euro-mania.eu/index.php). From the methodological point of view, plurilingualism implies a move away from the linear vision of language learning as habit formation initiated by behaviorism. This method relied almost exclusively on exposure to pure samples of the target language organized in a rigid progression, and a view of language teaching mainly as the teaching of predominantly lexical and grammatical content, also organized in a rigid progression. From the pedagogic point of view, plurilingualism requires whole person education, thus helping learners to become increasingly reflective, autonomous, and able to integrate formal and informal learning. It also requires them to delegate power to students and embrace their limits in relation to learners' languages (Piccardo 2013).

Coping with the monolingual vision that still characterizes curricula is certainly a challenge; however, the biggest difficulty is at the political level. The monolingual vision and habit that still characterizes our societies and education systems, even in countries in which a plurality of languages is codified at the institutional level, acts as a major obstacle, especially as regards the views of parents and decision makers. It is not surprising that the strict separation of languages in the educational system is used as a banner by right-wing parties, whose political vision aims to protect the purity of national identity and consequently of language. The idea behind plurilingualism, by contrast, is that of finding stability in change, not seeing stability as resistance to change. Embracing plurilingualism means seeing the mission of the school as creating plurilingual people, citizens who are not afraid of differences and of various forms of linguistic and cultural contacts, but who see them as a natural social process and as a potential richness. In such a perspective, the role of scholars is to go back to the nature of language pedagogy – which is, as Porcelli (2005) says, both a theoretic and a practical science aiming to find solutions in a contextually effective manner – and to contribute to further strengthening and widening the

theory of plurilingualism, in order to help operate the paradigm shift that our increasingly multilingual and multicultural societies urgently require.

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The Multiplicity Framework: Potential Applications for Heritage Language Education and Pedagogy

11

Donna Starks and Howard Nicholas

Abstract

Engaging with language education in a heritage language context is a complex endeavor that transcends space and time. A heritage language is necessarily connected to past language use associated with older generations, perhaps even those who are no longer living. Heritage language is also associated with a different space, a place removed from the language context of those who are now seeking to learn or maintain the language. To engage with heritage language learning, previously established purposes and norms need to be reshaped through a younger generation who has different language communication opportunities, means, needs, and desires. This paper outlines a framework for understanding the communicative repertoire of heritage language learners and also for engaging them with their diverse and hybrid identities, the purposes for which they wish to use their languages and the various modes and modalities that are central to their diverse language learning needs.

Keywords

Multiplicity • Communicative repertoire • Hybrid identities • Heritage language needs

Contents

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Introduction

Effective, meaningful communication draws on a multitude of resources, as well as experiences in diverse contexts of use embedded in layered and evolving personal life trajectories. For heritage languages users, effective communication involves both the dominant and heritage languages of the community in which these users live, study, and work (He 2010, p. 73). As a consequence, effective heritage language education is not about teaching a single language variety but about exploring and establishing multiple ways of being and doing which engage with pasts, diverse presents, as well as with new ways of learning and using language for multiple futures. It is about catering for individual needs to relate to and communicate with/in diverse groups, while recognizing that effective communication is not the same for everyone. To engage with this layered diversity, we need frameworks for thinking about language that can embrace multiple options and complex interactions between diverse influences and sets of features.

Echoing the above, one of the defining characteristics of heritage language teachers and learners is their need to engage with complex contexts in which languages and identities are in the process of change (Cho 2014, p. 182), in both home and wider contexts. As a result, even as heritage language learners need to be seen as individuals who have their own learning needs and wants, as each attempts to develop an understanding of the multiple ways in which they experience and relate to the worlds in which they navigate (Zentz 2015, p. 88), they need to sustain relationships with sometimes quite fixed visions of the so-called heritage language and culture. Therefore, heritage learners need to use their varied resources in ways that appropriately acknowledge both the dominant and the heritage cultures, contexts, and ideologies that both constrain and enable them to interact and communicate with others (Creese et al. 2006; Leeman et al. 2012). These challenges mean that learners have to connect heritage languages with multiple and sometimes contradictory aspects of their identity, as they continuously perform and negotiate who they want to be in their daily interactions with their peers, parents, and older generations. To engage with this complexity, heritage language teachers need to see their learners as creative individuals who want and need to "signpost" their momentary subjectivities and voice them in ways that signal both membership and innovation. This is a difficult task for heritage language teachers to engage with as most language teaching methodologies downplay (to different degrees and in different ways) the totality of communicative resources available to learners as well as the multiple and

sometimes competing choices that learners have to make when putting those resources together, a task which is even more difficult when the resources involved are being used by learners from mixed backgrounds (see Shin 2010; Wu et al. 2014).

It would be easy to see the layers that heritage language learners engage with as simply a result of engagement with more than one language, but this would miss an important aspect of the nature of the communicative resources available to these learners. Guy and Hinskens (2016, p. 1) have recently remarked that the notion of the "coherent linguistic system" is increasingly becoming problematized as research unpacks the ways that individuals both "actively and idiosyncratically select from a palette of variants" as individuals explore and negotiate who they are and who they wish to be. While this point is one that has long been held (Le Page 1968; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985), current research into multilingualism is increasingly taking the stance that linguistic systems are interconnected and intertwined in the lives and minds of their users (Canagarajah 2013a; Grosjean 2015). In other words, grammars are no longer seen as simple entities, and for plurilinguals, their grammars are no longer considered as discrete (Bruen and Kelly 2016), nor uniform. In mobile and diverse communities, each individual needs to negotiate their way through multiple worlds using the sets of communicative resources available to them efficiently and effectively. This involves a view of a plurilingual repertoire as not only structures and features of spoken or written systems (Coste and Simon 2009) but also involves a view of the repertoire as incorporating a range of other nonverbal features (Lüdi 2013; Rymes 2014), such as gesture, movement, and spatial positioning. Individuals must learn to combine resources in ways that best achieve their intended purposes while reflecting, but also shaping who they want to be. These features may extend beyond the resources of the human body to involve the use of digital technologies which are often used to connect friends and family in one language using one digital platform (e.g., using Skype to talk with grandparents) and other friends and family members in another language variety via other platforms (e.g., use of Instagram, Facebook, or Snapchat with peers). The complex range of features associated with these diverse purposes is the learner's communicative repertoire. In this chapter we describe a framework that offers a systematic and comprehensive framework of communicative features and how these features connect so that both learners and teachers can engage with current and future communicative needs and wants when interacting and identifying in more than one culture and language. To locate this argument, we discuss the growing body of work that addresses the issue of the communicative repertoire.

The Communicative Repertoire

Gumperz (1964) and Hymes (1972) both explored the notion of a repertoire as a way of describing the sets of resources available to users of a language. The term has since been used to refer to verbal, stylistic, and more diverse nonlinguistic forms of communication (Rymes 2014; Nicholas and Starks 2014). To enable a communicative repertoire to be an educationally useful construct for the purposes outlined

above, we believe that it needs to encompass a wider range of features than language alone. It also needs to be seen as "a fluid set" of resources (Benor 2010, p. 160), able to change and reflect different communicative stances. Current responses to this challenge have tended to discard the notion of structure and bounded systems and present repertoires as lists of features (Fought 2006; Benor 2010). This is inherently problematic as lists do not reveal how different features work together. Learners need to understand the inter-connected communicative choices that they make, and teachers need to work with learners to develop an understanding of how to best make these connections in their communicative acts. This involves understanding that communicative acts involve purposeful controlled multidimensional combinations of structured features. While the notion of purpose is uncontroversial, the idea of structure is contested in a postmodern, poststructural world that brings with it the need to consider agentivity, creativity, and moments of interaction. Yet views of structure are not entirely absent. Stratilaki (2012) argues for the need for a description of multilingual competence that incorporates connections between macrocontexts and microcontexts while enabling its users to function as social actors with a repertoire that consists of different varieties and forms of knowledge that emerge and interact in different contexts. Melo-Pfeifer (2015, p. 212) has sought to capture relationships between diverse features by using visual narratives to connect up "the bits" to help understand the "multimodal representations of multilingualism." Faneca et al. (2016) have attempted to address the issue of structure by drawing on and referring to Andrade et al's (2003) attempt to construct a multilingual competence around different dimensions: affective, linguistic and communicative, as well as learning and management that learners can access when seeking to construct and perform their identities. Rampton (2011) has also confronted the need for some structure. While acknowledging that the field has seen "a major shift, away from the traditional emphasis on the conditioning of social structure towards an interest in the agency of speakers and recipients" (Rampton 2011, p. 1232), he has expressed some reluctance to give up entirely on structure and constraints, citing Heller (2007) and others who have argued that we need to "understand [system, boundary and constraint] as on-going processes of social construction occurring under specific . . .. conditions."

Even though researchers have engaged with the notion of structure for the communicative repertoire in limited ways, a framework is lacking which can engage with agency, individuality, creativity, and communicative resources in a multilingual, multimodal framework that can be used to help learners, teachers, and researchers to explore language learning, language needs, communicative acts, and metalinguistic processes. In this chapter we explore a framework (Nicholas and Starks, 2014) that is designed to meet these challenges and show its relevance for heritage language contexts. The framework is intended to be used to understand how learners/users (can) understand and work with the totality of their available resources for creating and interpreting communicative acts and for starting discussions about their individual needs and wants as communicators. The Multiplicity framework offers a structured and consistent means for understanding how users select and relate the various features available to them in ways that enable them to make

connections between and across diverse resources. A central part of our framework is a structure that enables learners to understand how they as individuals wish to both draw on and build on their communicative resources to communicate effectively and to expand their communicative repertoire in ways that allow them to express their various subjectivities.

The Framework

Multiplicity offers a structured way of viewing how individuals may draw on and combine features from their communicative repertoire. Multiplicity's structured view of the communicative repertoire is a theoretical construct common to all speakers/users, which individual learners/users draw on to construct their communicative acts. The structural features of the communicative repertoire provide learners with a framework through which to understand their communicative acts and build extensions or alternatives. In this framework, the first constraints of the communicative repertoire are presented as four sets of structured resources, each of which is drawn on in any communicative act, and together give each individual flexible ways of engaging with what and how they want to communicate. These four sets of resources (dimensions) constrain learners in different ways. Learners must use physical resources for the production of any intended communicative act (Modes). They are also constrained by the technological resources that they use to mediate their physical resources (Mediations). They are equally constrained by the social ways in which they wish to use language (Varieties) and the Purposes for which they wish to do this (Nicholas and Starks 2014, p. 16). As such, the four dimensions of the communicative repertoire, illustrated in Fig. 1, provide a framework for systematically understanding and connecting the necessary resources for communicative acts and can also be a useful tool for framing discussions with learners about how they wish to use these resources. Discussions about the dimensions provide the broadest way of understanding the resources available to learners. For example, while one heritage language learner may take as their focus a particular element within the dimension of Mediation and the particular feature sets from the dimension of Varieties necessary for effective TechSpeak, another learner may wish to focus on how to use the same type of mediating technology to perform the persona of a loving grandson. The framework identifies the resources used to construct communicative acts and enables learners to ask how these acts relate to momentary identities that they have been performing or want to (learn to) perform, which may be very different for different types of learners (cf. Hinton 2011; Lo-Philip 2010).

The Threads Across Each Dimension

A second layer in understanding and structuring the communicative repertoire is realized in the structures that constrain how a user reflects a "more or less" stance towards the features used in any communicative act. Different threads are embedded
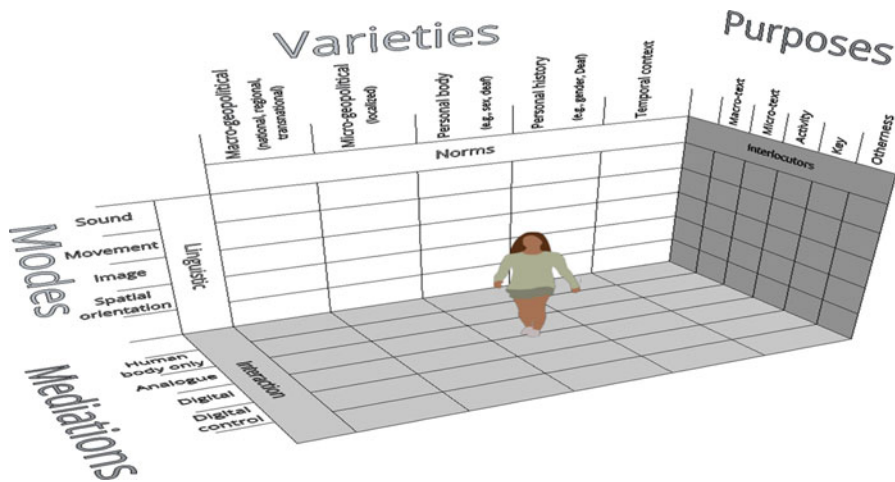
Fig. 1 The dimensions, threads, and elements of Multiplicity (Nicholas and Starks 2014, p. 69) (Permission has been granted for nonexclusive, English language rights for this diagram, originally published as Fig. 4.2, Dimensions, elements and threads of communicative repertoire on p. 69 of Nicholas, H. & Starks, D. (2014) *Language education and applied linguistics: Bridging the two fields*. London: Routledge)

in each of the dimensions within the framework. The thread within Modes constrains features as more or less linguistic. Many speakers use their voice to blur the sounds in the language they are speaking when they are unsure of how (or how appropriate) it may be to say what they are about to say. Others shout in order to indicate the urgency of their message. A slightly jerky/inconsistent handwriting may be a signal of the speaker's uncertainty about the spelling of a particular word. A script that is difficult to read may indicate the hurried nature of the act. The features within Mediations are connected by a more or less interactional thread. Alternative selections in relation to this thread enable users to variably engage their interlocutor in the interaction. A speech or piece of writing may be seen as entirely transactional or it may be written to engage with an audience (e.g., contain laughter, pauses for other responses or activities, etc.). The thread within Varieties enables users to relate "more or less" to norms to signal other aspects of identity. Users may wish to contest norms or conform to them in their entirety. Contesting may not be an easy choice as the use of new norms may not conform with the expectations of others (e.g., Reynold's (1998) reports on female Japanese teachers who attempt to contest traditional gender positioning in their classroom and the consequences of their acts). The thread that connects Purposes constrains how users adapt a communicative act to the interlocutor. Modifications can be quite small or extensive in nature. A heritage language learner needs to consider ways in which an interlocutor can be enabled to respond in a particular language. A central part of these threads is that the user is constantly combining them in various ways that nuance the "more or lessness" of the communicative act, reflecting the creative agentive self of its user. An individual may speak quietly both out of respect (norms) and because they are

uncertain about what they want to say (linguistic) and do not want their interlocutor to help them in the construction of the message (interaction). They may wish to send a message using clear language (interlocutor) but not too simple as to sound childish (norms). Identifying threads enables users to talk about what they want to modify, how and why in their communication. In classroom contexts, learners can exploit the "more or less" aspects of the threads in role plays where they can try out new ways of engaging diverse sets of communicative features.

The Elements Within the Dimensions

Within each dimension there is a further set of structured resources available to the learner, realized as elements. A discussion of the different elements within communication enables learners and teachers to explore agency in communication as learners seek to understand and control their communicative repertoire.

Modes

To illustrate, we start with the elements within Modes. Individuals have available to them diverse Modes for communicative purposes. These consist not only of the elements of "sound" and "image" which are typically associated with speaking, reading, writing, and listening but other elements such as "spatial" elements central to proxemics and gaze and "movement" associated with features of the repertoire such as "ways of walking" or "gesturing." Within Modes, we have left blank a space for the use of other communicative resources. This could include the way that in passing one touches a relative on the shoulder to say "hello" or the way one smells the air in the kitchen to signal pleasure to the cook about the upcoming meal. When considered on their own, this collection of features is no different than a list that may "more or less" differ between languages. The power of the framework is that it offers a way to systematize how learners combine features from the same (multiple types of sounds) and different (sounds and movements) elements to form a whole and is extensive enough to accommodate the range of features in the various tools already in use in daily lessons such as those in visual narratives (Melo-Pfeifer 2015). These features include images distributed on the pages of books in various ways, the presence of various language scripts, and/or the representations of speech in different ways (speech bubbles). While learners from a heritage language background may already have an implicit knowledge of many of the features associated with Modes, by exploring the elements of Modes and the features associate with them, teachers can begin to draw out the strengths of their students' existing resources and the ways that their existing features can be combined. A deep sniff in the kitchen as one passes someone cooking does not occur in isolation but is accompanied by features from other elements within Modes such as sounds (words), a smile (image), or movement (patting the stomach). Features of Modes interact with features along other dimensions such as when speakers talk on the phone or in face-to-face interactions

(Mediations). The features of Modes interact with features in Varieties (such as macro-geopolitical features of movement and spatial orientation (proxemics and kinesics) associated with one language or culture. Features of Modes interact with Purposes when speakers aim to adapt the way they speak to their audience, seeking to motivate or soothe, inform or persuade.

By engaging with the elements of Modes, a teacher can explore the types of features that their learners wish to express through the "what" he or she wishes to use or, in some instances, that he or she is already using. As is the case for all of the elements in all of the dimensions, the elements within Modes are complex and need to be negotiated. Decisions may be relatively simple ones such as whether the heritage language learner wants to engage with writing or not, but also additional issues as to whether the learner wants to focus only on the linguistic system or focus on the more nonlinguistic aspects, such as the neatness of their writing.

Mediations

Elements within Mediations affect how the communicative act is produced. These Mediations include some of the resources discussed as Modes in Kress (2009). In our framework, the Mediation elements reflect the technological "how" of the communicative act through the different resources used when realizing sounds or images (or other elements) in communicative acts. The different elements of Mediations reflect technological options. When languages are framed as heritage languages, they have as their starting point, connections with the past. These past associations are often associated with speaking, using the human body as the Mediation of sound in face-to-face interactions. Other past associations may involve those associated with letters written using the Mediation of a pen or typewriter. In such instances, the person physically produced the text using analogue technologies. Younger heritage language learners may not be interested in engaging with or have extensive experience of analogue technologies such as pens and typewriters, but they may still want to talk to others face to face and/or write notes in the sand on the beach or in the snow, examples of using the human body to produce the message. In heritage language contexts, there is an increasing use of digital technologies in computers or mobile phones for simpler communication such as email or texting or for richer communication types such as Skype, FaceTime, or Facebook (where any or all features from images, sounds, movement, and spatial orientation can appear) (Madianou 2014). Richer digital technologies can merge different Modes of communication for different purposes and use them in different ways (e.g., when talking/video linking and messaging at the same time). Heritage language learners need to learn to understand how to use these technologies to communicate in both their heritage language and the dominant language(s) of the surrounding community, and they may want to mix their Varieties when doing so. Priorities in the heritage and in the language of the dominant

community may differ. Heritage language teachers may need to work with their students to enable the students to teach their older relatives about how to use some technologies for communicative purposes, while at the same time possibly learning how to communicate using other technologies from those same relatives, a skill that *may* not be required for the surrounding community's dominant language. In relation to Mediations, teachers need to engage their learners with the "how" of communication and to envisage what future technologies may offer, for example, they may need to explore what grandparents might expect from them when communicating via Skype/FaceTime over long distances. It may not be the case that teachers have these resources or can explore all options in their classrooms, but they can open up the possibility for future means of communication potentially involving more digital control (e.g., spell checkers or auto-correct functions in various writing programs or other forms of computer assisted communication). When engaging with the youth of today, we need to encourage not only the use of existing technologies but also emerging ones. Teachers plant seeds and open up possibilities, and as such a space has been left blank in the Mediations dimension in Fig. 1 to include emerging technologies.

Varieties

Through the elements within the Varieties dimension learners engage with communicative resources framed in (relation to) particular settings, times, or even periods of time in their lives. We see the features within the elements of Varieties as including features of both the language and culture of the wider community as well the heritage language and culture, and all of the communicative resources and norms implied by those terms. As identity is shaped by and expressed through interconnected resources, the various elements of Varieties often blend into one another, as we illustrate below. We now consider how the features within the elements within the Varieties dimension can be used to explore what heritage language learners have access to, need to have access to, and want to have access to.

Features associated with the elements of Varieties help create connections between a user and the practices of various groups and groupings. Learners create connections by taking features of Modes (sounds) employed in face-to-face interaction (their human body) and combining them with features drawn from elements within Varieties to create practices connected with different kinds of communicative spaces, connected with place: here and now and there and then. For example, they could speak in ways that reflect a particular accent or embody sets of localized practices such as the Japanese self-introduction routine of "jikoshoukai" that is an important part of meeting people for the first time (Shigemitsu 2010). Mode features could be associated with different sorts of Varieties features including what we have labeled the macro-geopolitical element, the communicative features that we associate with languages (or broader communicative systems) in different places.

Embedded within the macro-geopolitical element are, therefore, features that a heritage language user associates and aligns with place in the macrosense: the historical homeland, their current homeland, and perhaps other places that they have lived in along the way. For example, Templer German speaking communities in Australia use not only some standard German features but also many nineteenth Century southwestern (Swabian) dialect features with some Arabic lexical items from their community's time in Palestine. For other heritage language speakers of German, macro-geopolitical features may include the use of specific words e.g., the use of *"Auf Wiederschauen"* [Good bye] for general (more formal) southern, Catholic-associated German varieties, or alternative ways of localizing such expressions (*"Pfüatt Gott"* for Bavarian or *"Adele"* for Swabian varieties). In other communities, this may involve decisions around certain movement (e.g., decisions to (or not) to shake hands in particular ways or with one or all genders) or other activities that engage in meaning-making (for example, whether to talk while eating at a dinner table or whether to move closer to or further from an interlocutor when a heritage language learner switches from one language to another). Because macro-geopolitical features are associated with Varieties and draw on the elements within Modes and Mediations, the possible combinations of features and the ways they are used by individuals are almost infinite. The macro-geopolitical element is not restricted to specific language use but also allows features of transnational varieties and mixes thereof to be considered. In heritage contexts, such transnational issues are often complex as multiple languages are used in diverse ways, which may or may not reflect the language use of the source country (for example, whether German speaking migrants to Australia should learn standard German names for Australian animals since these names may not be known in German-speaking countries or learners may choose to make use of the English names used in Australia, which would provide local recognition but no association with standard German norms). In this kind of macro-geopolitical context, blending is often the norm, and variation in these norms may occur across generations, families, and individuals. Sometimes this blending can be as simple as the use of a local word. As an illustration, in Australia, many post WWII speakers of German adopted the German name for a rubber tree, *"Gummibaum"*, to refer to a *"gum tree,"* the local Anglo-Australian name for a eucalyptus tree. Multiplicity as a Framework enables heritage language learners and teachers to engage with these blends and to talk about their use in heritage language contexts and the ways in which the norms in a heritage language context may differ from those in other contexts. Connections with multiple norms increase the potential features that can be combined and teachers need to be attuned to the fact that selections may differ from one student to another in the same class. For example, in a Macedonian-English bilingual program in Australia which one of the authors observed, children and teachers discussed how to refer to Australian television programs, locally available toys and beach/ocean creatures for which Macedonian had no readily accessible equivalents. As a result of the different decisions that individuals made in response to these possibilities of combination, individuals positioned themselves slightly differently in relation to given national/community

norms. I some contexts learners may (because of the different norms within the community) experience discrimination.

A second element central in considering how users project themselves into a communicative act is one that is equally tied to identity. This element, labeled the micro-geopolitical element, considers the localized domains in which communicative interaction occurs. Place is always localized in that each home, neighborhood, church, workplace, and playspace (what Fishman (1972) would label as domains) has its own sets of norms regarding language use. The norms in these micro-geopolitical contexts affect the choices that an individual has about how to use a heritage language. A common issue in many classrooms is how teachers are to be referred to, whether with names or titles or just by various expressions of the label "teacher." These micro-geopolitical elements connect with various features in Modes, producing similar and different ways of speaking and writing and moving. They also connect with Mediations, producing similar and different options for how an individual wishes to communicate with relatives overseas, at home or elsewhere within the local community – by home phone, letter/postcard (analogue) or through various digital technologies (computer; smart phone).

An understanding of micro geopolitical features is important in heritage language learning as there can be a mismatch between the institutional variety that is being taught and the variety that is spoken in the home (for a good overview of this and how it affects middle-school learners of Chinese, see Wu et al. 2014). There may also be a conflict between the communicative acts within the workplace (where accent may not matter) and other contexts where accent may have a more important role (cf. Canagarajah 2013b). Heritage language programs often struggle with connections between macro- and micro-geopolitical agendas. Taiwanese community schools in New Zealand, for example, need to make conscious decisions about whether to teach Mandarin with a standard Beijing accent or with a local Taiwanese one. These choices reflect macro-geopolitical differences but they also reflect micro-geopolitical decisions within the institution and potentially within the classroom. Using the Multiplicity framework, learners can engage with the conflicts that are embedded in this, and the subtle ways that individuals may or may not want to draw on features that demark their separate identities.

Varieties that heritage language learners use to communicate are not solely restricted to connections with place but can be unique to each individual and manifested through aspects of their personal body. It may be that heritage language speakers see themselves as young and therefore not entitled to speak in public. They may see themselves as old and requiring certain protocols of address. They may see themselves as female and only able to talk to males in particular settings. Each individual will "more or less" ascribe to such cultural and societal norms. Views of personal body are often interconnected with another key element in heritage language learning contexts: personal history. This element contains features which reflect our personal identity, religion, sexual orientation, or hobby choices that heritage language learners may wish to draw on to make communicative choices, affecting communicative choices as well as how available linguistic resources are

used to reflect those choices. Such choices are reflected in the sounds that learners select to communicate to give them an accent associated with a particular "ethnicity" as well as broader communicative features reflected through the images used to embellish their human body (the way one dresses or the types of tattoos that are applied). Features of personal history can include the use of particular words for greeting protocols to perform particular identities. Tongans are known, for example, to greet each other in Tongan even when they do not know whether their interlocutor speaks Tongan or not. Personal histories can be made manifest through language choices that acknowledge one's religious faith or even the selection of one linguistic feature over another as the preferable way to indicate a sexual orientation (Lunsing and Maree 2004).

The final element within the Varieties dimension is temporal context. Features connected with temporal context enable heritage language learners to engage with their communicative resources in yet other ways. For example, a lack of fluency can be used by an individual to signal that it is late in the day (or early in the morning) and that she is tired. A temporal element might also include stored words and ways of speaking and writing with specific temporal associations that may have been taught to learners, which they associate with the past. As an example, Lunsing and Maree (2004) report on the case of a Japanese homosexual who changed his use of first person pronouns to refer to himself in different ways in different years of his life.

By exploring elements within Varieties, a teacher can also come to understand the degree to which learners wish to suppress their heritage language use in their daily communicative expression of their dominant language (or conversely) include such features. Some of these features may be ones that a heritage language learner wishes to more directly associate with particular macro-geopolitical norms, others may be ones where the learner is happy to exchange heritage resources for resources from their dominant language. Heritage language teachers need to consider how they wish to work with their students to consider how each learner wishes to combine features from various elements to communicate. There are many complexities here. An individual may wish to learn how to connect heritage sounds and movement and gaze, or she/he may not wish to do so if all she/he wishes to do is write to her/his grandmother. In engaging in these discussions, the teacher can discover what learners already know, what resources they have access to and which features they wish to acquire/extend. Multiplicity provides a framework that can accommodate individuals not wishing to focus on all of the elements as well as those who may wish to do so in different ways, drawing on different features (eye movement, arm gestures, finger movements, etc.) to increase and differentiate their linguistic repertoire in ways that may be more or less associated with traditional views about what is or is not the heritage language. Learners may want to learn features at different points in their learning and in different ways. Some may start with more nonlinguistic ways of shrugging off a point and then move on learn to expand these with linguistic features associated with the heritage language, others may wish to learn non-linguistic and linguistic features simultaneously, whereas still others may only be interested in the linguistic features.

Purposes

The fourth dimension is Purposes. The elements within this dimension can be accessed through questions related to "why" a particular communicative act is structured as it is. This includes decisions about those aspects of communication that individuals draw on to construct coherent texts and that situate the speaker in relation to their interlocutors. This includes textual features that the learners use to construct meanings (spoken and written and signed) which are associated with macro-texts (arguments, narratives) and micro-texts (details added for particular communicative effects or features of particular parts of spoken, written and signed texts, e.g., the detail included in conversational openings and closings). For all languages and in nearly all circumstances, learners make choices about how to engage with textual features. A learner may consider a paragraph as more or less convincing if it ends with a main point rather than beginning with it. If learners are to control their text, then they need to both recognize that this is some kind of a structured choice that they are engaging with and understand the connections between the elements containing the features that they have used. In this respect, in the blending worlds in heritage learners' plurilingual lives, a learner may want to include features from Modes, Mediations, and Varieties that signal fluency and competency but may wish to have macro-texts that express a different purpose, a blended self, one that writes like a "nativelike-speaker" at the sentence level but carries hybridity at other levels within their text. Multiplicity provides a framework for seeing how these combinations are reflected in micro-texts through the selected use of sounds and images, including emoticons, to indicate a self that is not restricted to one particular language but understands the conventions of all the languages involved.

Elements connected with texts are tied to the activities in which these texts are embedded (whether we choose to communicate as a competent user of a smart phone, a teacher, or as a public speaker in face-to-face interaction). Each activity has associated with it different expressions, and potentially different features and combinations thereof. It may be useful, for example, to mix features in particular ways while Facebooking and in another way when texting that may involve other displays of hybridity such as emoticons. In a heritage language context, a learner may engage in some activities and not others, for example, whether they learn through formal activities by attending a specific-purpose class in an out-of-hours school or learn only in informal activities in the home. For many learners, the activities embedded in complementary schools (such as writing activities) may not be common at home. In the out-of-hours school, they may also engage in learning games (activities) that bring additional linguistic resources into play. Activities enable learners to engage with their own learning and develop new communicative skills. Often whether/how learners have experiences of learning to read or write in the language are connected with activity choices (language use for shopping). A fourth element within Purposes is the key that we use to express ourselves (formal, informal, relaxed). It is important in heritage language contexts that some learners need to know how to "chill" as well

as give a speech. These different types of key involve features associated with other elements, including macro and micro text and activity, encouraging learners to stylize their own ways of communicating, if they wish to do so. A complex but vital part of decisions learners make about Purposes also involves how learners wish to be seen as when they communicate. Heritage language learners may at times wish to use their communicative resources to distance themselves or to present themselves as belonging to another group. As an example, in the early years of a primary school bilingual program supporting the development of both English and Macedonian in Australia, one of the authors witnessed the following exchange between M and V about a third girl, A:

> [M and V are stronger in Macedonian; A is stronger in English]. The parts of the conversation that were in Macedonian are in italics. M to V: *Tell A* I don't like her. *Go on, tell her,* I'm not coming to her party. *Go on, you tell her.* I'm not her friend.

While the instructions to V are in Macedonian, the message for A (which borders on bullying) is prepackaged in English that M believes A will find easier to understand.

Within the Multiplicity framework, a communicative act will involve features from all four dimensions (Modes, Mediations, Varieties, Purposes), to various degrees. Because communicative acts involve multiple layers, heritage language learners have the capacity to embody more than one layer through the features embedded within elements in any communicative act. In much of the literature, these are presented as simply alternatives or boundless lists. Multiplicity offers a structured way of engaging with the layering that allows individuals to go about creating unique selves at different moments and to communicate the complexity that they feel to be an inherent part of their message through various features and threads. Multiplicity engages with how something uttered in one, two or more languages can convey multiple layers. We hope that this framework will allow teachers and learners to deepen and diversify how they engage (and wish to engage) with language learning in their own heritage context.

Conclusion

While heritage language classrooms tend to be designed for language learning in the heritage language, in teaching it is not uncommon for both teachers and students to draw on the totality of their linguistic resources. Li Wei (2014, p. 162) notes that such learning environments are often considered as "a safe space for the pupils to practice their multilingual identities and contest the monolingual and monocultural ideologies" and that these contexts often contain within them "funds of knowledge" for "real world meaning making." In developing the Multiplicity framework, we have sought to provide a way of opening up discussion between heritage language teachers and learners which can draw out symbolic competence in language use and

explore individual histories, life experiences, and future language-learning trajectories and the ways in which these are reflected (and want to be reflected) in individual communicative repertoires.

An important part of understanding a "whole" is to consider the ways in which the various parts of the whole interconnect and how learners relate to these resources in different ways. As difference is an essential part of heritage language users' experiences and futures, the Multiplicity framework aims to enable a more inclusive, nuanced yet structured approach to understanding the diverse needs of learners, who may want to engage with different parts of their repertoires in overlapping and discrete ways. By working back from the larger structured frame for understanding the totality of resources available to be drawn on in any particular communicative act to the kinds of combinations of resources that can be achieved, the framework opens up pathways for discussion of both similarities and differences that learners feel are part of their resources and provides opportunities for heritage language learners to learn to create unique and confident selves who are able to communicate effectively in different and diverse moments of interaction. To this end we have included a number of key questions that can be included in activities to spark discussion about the options available to teachers.

Implications for Teachers

If Multiplicity is to be used as a framework in classrooms, it is important to ensure that the technical terminology necessary for outlining the theoretical import of Multiplicity does not become an additional learning burden for either teachers or learners. It is therefore important that the issues that Multiplicity is grappling with can be accessed through nontechnical language and in ways that engage with the issues that learners might realistically be expected to want to talk about in ways that they would want to discuss them.

It is possible to achieve this through some broad plain language questions that reflect on the various elements, threads, and dimensions embedded in the framework. Resources can begin to be discussed through questions about the "what," "how," "when," "where," "with whom," and "why" of communication. Seeking answers to these questions enables the learner and teacher together to build up a view of the resources relevant to each learner as structured sets of resources that can then be engaged with in relation to each of the elements, threads, and dimensions of the framework. The patterns that emerge in the use of these resources enable learners and teachers to explore the relationship between how the learner currently presents and how that same learner wants to present through their communicative resources and hence to identify learning needs and consequently teaching priorities. This process is a dialogic one. The plain language questions provide a way of starting to think about features and how they can serve as part of a communicative act. The answers can then be explored to consider how they may help in understanding the effect multiple features have on communication, and how learners can use

combinations of features to communicate what they want to say and how they want to say it using the totality of their communicative resources. Then the whole can be considered in relation to the parts.

Key questions heritage language teachers could ask themselves when using the Multiplicity Framework are:

When you observe your learners communicating spontaneously, what communicative resources do you observe them using (and in which combinations)?

In your classes, which communicative resources do learners ask questions about? What do they want to be able to do? What frustrates them?

What are the communicative resources that the textbooks or materials in your programs encourage your learners to use?

Which communicative resources are particularly important for you as a teacher (and in which combinations)? (Why?)

Which communicative resources are highlighted/missing in your own approaches to teaching?

If you were to adopt a different methodology in your language teaching, what changes would you have to make in the communicative resources that you would include in your teaching? (Why?)

Cross-References

▶ Building Empowering Multilingual Learning Communities in Icelandic Schools
▶ Plurilingualism: Vision, Conceptualization, and Practices

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Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Modeling Teachers' Professional Learning to Advance Plurilingualism

12

Eugenia Arvanitis

Abstract

Heritage languages bring forward an intriguing challenge in the cosmopolitanization era as diversity is defined on the basis of interconnectivity. Heritage languages are not an ethnospecific issue alone confined in traditional binaries (mainstream vs. minority status). They are intangible aspects of cultural heritage and an important component of plurilingualism. Modern citizens communicate in plurilingual settings and develop a wide range of language repertoires over their lifespan in their effort to sustain personal/professional growth and inclusive participation in local/global democratic processes. Only plurilingual and intercultural competent citizens have the ability to fully participate in public discourse and interact with "others" in all aspects of their interconnected lives. In this context, a culturally responsive pedagogy recognizes the active role teachers and students must undertake to construct their learning and acquire intercultural competence acting as "agents of change." Remodeling teachers' intercultural training emerges as an urgency due to widespread nationalization, ethnocentricity, and radicalization of modern world. Culturally responsive teachers avoid "methodological nationalism" as well as reflect on and adapt their teaching philosophy using learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds as a valuable resource. Culturally responsive pedagogy paves the way to a more reflective professional practice presupposing teachers' strong intercultural awareness, competence, and responsiveness. Finally, culturally responsive instructional design reaffirms equitable pedagogy through collaborative teaching praxis, responsive feedback, epistemological framing, and scaffolded learning. Heritage languages

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teaching can be contextualized in a mainstream and culturally responsive pedagogy framework.

Contents

Introduction: Cosmopolitanization and Heritage Languages

The discussion of heritage languages is an intriguing challenge due to existing cosmopolitanization from within (Beck 2009). Diversity is not only plurality, but a matter of fluidity, border erosion, and worldwide interconnectivity. People are imperatively and coercively connected as new forces interlink markets, states, religions, cultures, and life-worlds of common people. Important transformations occur in our daily routines and identities, since global problems affect them. Cosmopolitanization occurs from inside with the constant presence of the *excluded/alien others* and the rise of new demands for legitimation and integration. Natives (*familiar others*) and *the alien* (*exotic*) *others* unavoidably and involuntary mix all over the world, resulting a wave of re-nationalization and radicalization.

In addition, societies and individuals confront new global risks, which create imperatives and possibilities for a new global civility and coordinated actions. Interlinked networks of different actors go beyond the boundaries of nation-state, in a conflicting and yet unifying way. Territorial and temporal characteristics of these networks are constantly redefined creating new *intermediate* (*third*) spaces of belonging and action (Soja 1996). At the same time, the mix between the *familiar* and *alien others* contributes to the emergence of reflexivity and global awareness, which re-determine identity. Identity can no longer be shaped by the opposition to *others* and the negative confrontational dichotomy of "we" and "them." Interculturality reconstructs the sites of human contact as spaces of inclusiveness, dynamic convergence, and collaborative/intercultural learning. In these contact zones, people and communities develop multifaceted forms of identities and personal expression generating intercultural capital (Pöllman 2013). A significant component of this capital is the respect and transmission of intangible cultural

heritage manifestations (traditional, contemporary, and living) from one generation to the next. These manifestations include nonmaterial cultural aspects transmitted such as oral traditions, rituals, languages, sociocultural practices, and the wealth of knowledge and skills to produce artifacts. Valuing intangible cultural heritage of different communities encourages reciprocity and mutual respect for cultural expressions of the *other*. It also contributes to the intercultural dialogue, inclusiveness, and social cohesion encouraging a sense of identity, continuity, and responsibility as people realize that may share similar expressions to those practiced by *others*. This is an intellectual act of humans to secure a sense of continuity with previous generations, reinforce cultural identity, take ownership of their living communities, and harness cultural diversity for future sustainability.

Heritage Languages is a vital component of transmitting the intangible cultural heritage of humanity mainly through the oral tradition and expression (UNESCO 2003). However, living/intangible heritage is constantly recreated in *intermediate* spaces of communication and action. This creates a new context in which heritage languages operate. Language and cultural experiences expand through formal and informal learning (in schools, travel, work, direct experience), whereas people build up a dynamic communicative competence comprised of their home, national languages, and languages of *others*. This dynamic change means that individuals may acquire in different levels new languages and lose old ones depending on their needs. These languages might include national/minority languages, mother tongues, first/second or heritage languages, foreign and regional languages, etc. Transnational polity such as the European Union has highlighted the importance of enabling individuals to communicate using the full range of their linguistic repertoire in a globalized world. The Council of Europe has adopted the term *plurilingualism*, to describe the full linguistic repertoires many individuals use in their lifetime for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction (Council of Europe 2001, p. 168). Linguistic competence is fundamental prerequisite for growth, mobility, and democratic citizenship. Similarly, individual plurilingualism is regarded as crucial to participation in democratic, economic, and social processes and in defining the sense of national and transnational belonging (Council of Europe 2001). In civic pluralistic societies, democratic processes no longer take place in confined spaces of national language communities, but in multilingual and culturally diverse settings at supranational and/or (sub)national levels. Consequently, linguistic homogenization or the imposition of a *lingua franca* is heavily biased and restrictive. This is because it hinders the fundamental human right and need of individual expression/identity and civic participation as modern people interrelate and interact in multilingual and global settings. To this end, both the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf) and the *European Language Portfolio* (http://www.coe.int/en/web/portfolio) have been developed to harness the rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe as a valuable common resource. A major thread here is to convert diversity from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding. Europe recognizes and validates plurilingual repertoires and levels of communicative language competence

(linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic) considering people as significant social actors able to communicate within various domains.

Thus, heritage languages cannot be seen only as an ethnospecific issue but as important component in the project of plurilingualism, which contributes to the development of a complex civic identity (Lo Bianco 2004). Plurilingual competence increases individual participation in local/global democratic processes as well as it offers greater understanding of the plurilingual repertoires of other citizens and a respect for language rights. From an intercultural pedagogy point of view, a comprehensive policy on languages can be justified on the basis of human intellect in transmitting intangible cultural heritage; human/language rights and respect for plurilingualism; personal/professional/economic growth; democratic social inclusion and cohesion as well as identity through harnessing cultural and linguistic diversity; and finally, civic participation (democratic citizenship). These elements offer a legitimation for languages enhancing intercultural communication, collective action, reciprocity, and individual responsibility.

In European official documents, the core principle of plurilingualism is connected to interculturality comprising an essential element of intercultural education. The Council of Europe calls for the need to infuse intercultural dialogue, intercultural awareness, and plurilingual competence at all levels of education. Similarly researchers note that it is crucial to acknowledge global learners' multiple sociocultural identities and their full range of *material*, *corporeal*, and *symbolic* differences (Kalantzis and Cope 2012). The meaningful engagement of all students with learning and with the world it surrounds them goes through an equitable, inclusive, and culturally responsive and transformative approach. Here the role of the teacher education becomes critical to forge a new kind of intercultural understanding. Educators, as knowledge professionals, increasingly address sociocultural and linguistic challenges. Their ability to be aware of these challenges and assess their impact on students' achievements, mobility, and equity is crucial. Teachers are widely expected to act as *agents of change* securing successful inclusion of diversity.

In this context, teacher intercultural education requires systematic reform to promote language and cultural learning. From a cosmopolitan perspective, an epistemological shift is required. For instance, the tendency to analyze languages within the framework of the nation-state boundaries fails to acknowledge the changing social reality and transnational linkages, structures, or identities. This, in turn, restricts intercultural training by the so-called methodological nationalism (Beck 2000) or methodological ethnocentricity in which nation-states are perceived as universal and most important "containers" on which social activity could be interpreted. The dichotomy of inside (*we*) and outside (*others*) is inherent in methodological nationalism, which considers languages as an exotic exception to a standard national one. Intercultural professional learning models should go beyond methodological nationalism to capture the cosmopolitanized context in which languages operate. Methodological shift could mean the renewal of intercultural/diversity pedagogy and its epistemology though the removal of "ethnic lenses" on the basis of valuing individual diversity, considering a nonterritorial/geographical understanding of space and being self-reflexive about practices and power of agency.

Thus, a comprehensive pedagogical framework would train *culturally responsive* teachers who (a) are aware of sociocultural transformation and culturalization affecting their students (including knowledge of students' cultural capital and the factual information about cultural particularities); (b) hold a strong theoretical knowledge for an inclusive and culturally responsive curriculum and demonstrate instructional design skills and differentiated practice; and (c) act as reflective practitioners of their own professional learning being exposed to diverse concepts, methods, and tools (Gay 2000).

This chapter analyzes the theoretical and practical dimensions of the so-called Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) as an attempt to reframe intercultural professional learning and validate student lifeworlds as a learning asset. Culturally Responsive Pedagogy coincides with other terms such as *culturally responsive* or *relevant teaching* or *diversity pedagogy* to define a new approach away from assimilation and/or integrationist logic. Culturally responsive pedagogy seeks individual and collective empowerment as it prepares learners for a local/global diverse reality.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Researchers (Gay 2000, 2010; Ladson-Billings 2009; Villegas and Lucas 2002) used the term *cultural responsive pedagogy* to describe teaching practices involving reciprocity, respect, and a deep understanding of differences. Cultural responsive pedagogy is a journey towards equity and inclusivity, which validates and affirms students' cultural capital in their everyday learning. Integrating diverse student lifeworlds and their cultural/linguistic uniqueness into learning is considered as an important resource/capital for effective learning. Detailed description of family cultural capital such as family background and structure, home languages, parental education level, interpersonal relationship styles, as well as approaches to discipline, time and space, religion, food, health and hygiene, history, traditions, and holidays, offer intangible cultural resources for learning (Perso 2012, p. 48).

Moreover, CRP follows the constructivist and inclusive tradition and it is learner-centered with a balanced agency in teacher/student relation. It aims at culturally reflexive, trustful, and caring school/class environment recognizing that all students learn differently due to their *material*, *corporeal*, or *symbolic* conditions (Kalantzis and Cope 2012). In terms of teaching, it applies situated, interactive, and collaborative learning as well as evidence-based practices, which empower learners and build on their prior experiences and needs. Emphasis is given on metacognitive inquiry and high order skills. Explicit scaffolded pedagogical design and assessment offers diverse and multilingual pathways of learning. Knowledge and learning rituals are expressed in different cultural contexts and shared in heterogeneous learning communities through self-reflectivity (Perso 2012, pp. 45–46).

Research data support that CRP affects student performance mainly through (a) balanced agency between teachers and students based on collaborative relationship and peer learning, (b) a global integrated approach to language skills across the

curriculum, (c) situated learning and validating student lifeworlds, (d) engaging students in challenging, authentic and real-world learning, and (e) emphasizing dialogue, empathy, and reflection over didactic approaches (Perso 2012, p. 59). Furthermore, CRP is oriented to maintain high expectations for all students, whereas student lifeworlds are utilized as a prime learning resource to promote high academic performance, (inter)cultural competence, and critical cultural consciousness (Gay 2002; Ladson-Billings 1995; Richards et al. 2007).

Finally, culturally responsive pedagogy could be better understood through its *institutional*, *personal*, and *instructional* dimensions. All three dimensions are crucial in establishing an inclusive school culture, and they are strongly correlated to high student achievements and well-being (Gay 2002; Ladson-Billings 2001). More specifically, the *institutional* dimension describes educational policies and organizational values. A culturally responsive schooling privileges the cultural/ linguistic diversity and student lifeworlds as essential starting points and a valuable resource for instructional and curriculum design. Also, schools act as systemic mediators, which move away from traditional ethnocentric pedagogy and connect mainstream setting with home cultures and cultural/linguistic diversity of students. Thus, schools are transformed into intermediate spaces of reciprocal cultural contact where all students become culturally competent in each other's cultural mindset and language use. Affirming culturally specific attitudes would enhance all students to appropriately use and transfer cultural and linguistic codes in mainstream or other contexts. One example of this is making a meaningful use of code-switching many bilingual students perform during their school routines. In addition, the integration of heritage culture/language into curriculum as something that is not of little value or importance may counteract subtractive bilingualism. Both mainstream and heritage languages are taught in a *multimodal* and *kinaesthetic* way (Kalantzis and Cope 2012) creating alternative learning pathways, critical thinking, and openness.

Culturally Responsive Instruction

Instructional dimension refers to culturally responsive classroom practices, which focus on both high learning expectations and academic rigor as well as scaffolded learning activities harnessing student's lived experiences as a learning asset. Literature supports that students of diverse sociocultural backgrounds perform better in languages when teachers have high academic expectations for them. Also when teaching is authentic and relevant to students' cultural and linguistic prior knowledge, then it is beneficial for all students enabling them to see themselves as the main actors in their learning journey (Kalantzis and Cope 2012).

Culturally responsive practices cover six themes: instructional engagement; culture, language, and racial identity; multicultural awareness; high expectations; critical thinking; and social justice (Aceves and Orosco 2014). Lee et al. (2007)

list seven *Common Characteristics of Culturally Responsive Practices,* which refer to teachers' ability to:

1. Create a caring, respectful classroom climate valuing students' cultures;
2. Built between academic learning and students' prior cultural and language knowledge;
3. Make instruction meaningful and relevant to their students' lives (culture, language, and learning styles);
4. Fully integrate into the curriculum local knowledge, language, and culture
5. Hold high academic expectations for all students;
6. Create a more collaborative and challenging learning environment away from traditional teaching practices (memorization and lecturing); and
7. Build trust and partnerships with families, especially marginalized ones. (Lee et al. 2007, cited in Perso 2012, p. 66).

Overall, Aceves and Orosco (2014, pp. 13–16) highlighted four evidence-based culturally responsive teaching practices such as collaborative teaching, responsive feedback, modeling, and instructional scaffolding.

More specifically:

(i) **Collaborative teaching**
Research indicates that direct and explicit collaborative learning improves student literacy, engagement, and motivation. Collaborative teaching includes a wide range of instructional methods to enhance problem solving, peer, reciprocal, and differentiated learning. It enables both teachers and learners to engage in a collective learning sharing knowledge outcomes. This requires individual responsibility, accountability and positive interdependence, self-directed learning, and strong interpersonal skills (Aceves and Orosco 2014).

(ii) **Responsive feedback**
Ongoing, individualized, culturally relevant, and *recursive feedback* (Kalantzis and Cope 2012) increases students' learning, motivation, self-esteem, and metacognitive thinking. Culturally responsive feedback occurs when teachers provide immediate, critical, and ongoing feedback in well-designed activities. Informal and formal assessment activities capitalize on students' linguistic and cultural diverse knowledge perspectives. Culturally responsive assessment practices involve measures and procedures, which validate students' unique perception of learning (students' own lifeworlds/insights) and correct the imbalance in student achievements created by official norms and extrinsic approaches (reward and punishment through grades and class rank). Instructional biases in choosing assessment procedures contribute to students' under-achievement and their placement in special reinforcement programs. Research also shows that responsive feedback had a positive impact on English language learners and underachievers (Fuchs and Vaughn 2012). Overall, students'

intrinsic motivation could be enhanced *through* recursive feedback, co-produced learning, and respect of cultural differences replacing the metaphor of extrinsic reinforcement.

(iii) **_Instructional modeling_**

Instructional modeling involves explicit documentation and framing of learning repertoires (learning focus and outcomes, content, learning activities, etc.). Teachers' instructional design skills and the production of new knowledge/content are essential in instructional modeling. Constructivism, Multiple Intelligences Theory, Multiliteracies, and Learning by Design coincide with CRP approach as they are student-centered promoting intrinsic motivation and effective learning. These approaches provide an optimal framing offering opportunities for students to engage in decision-making about their learning content and techniques using their ideas, background knowledge, values, communication styles, and preferences in a self-regulated mode. This framing exemplifies and values student cultural, linguistic, and lived experiences and connects them with curriculum in a meaningful and effective way. For instance, acknowledging multilingual skills and using home language/s within ordinary class routine familiarizes students with their plurilingual profile and competence. Perso (2012) has also suggested that using community local stories, which are meaningful to students' everyday life, as well as teaching new vocabulary every day and placing visual aides/pictures around the classroom and school is appropriate technique for language teaching. In this way, English second language learners increased their writing, reading, and oral productivity feeling that their informal/prior/heritage learning is officially validated. Finally, child-centered approaches foster student dialogue and conversation and have positive effects on English reading skills.

(iv) **_Instructional scaffolding_**

Instructional scaffolding is another essential element of a culturally responsive approach, and it is particularly effective for second/heritage language learners and underachievers (Goldenberg 2013) enhancing their self-esteem.

Teachers' ability for pedagogical scaffolding when design learning repertoires could bridge what students already known (prior knowledge) and are familiar with to the intended learning (new learning). Scaffolding may include an epistemic framework of mixing different multimodal activities (experiential, conceptual, analytical, and application) (Kalantzis and Cope 2012) to enhance deeper understanding and language learning. This is also possible through comparing language codes, analyzing code-shifting, and using heritage language modes. Moreover, teachers' ability to act as co-designers of materials is critical. Teachers and students are producers of knowledge and not just consumers of nationally selected materials, which are usually ethnocentric. Researchers have argued that diversity should be present in materials to reflect students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Banks 2004; Gay 2010, 2013; Ladson-Billings 2009). Cross thematic and culturally relevant learning topics include all students and familiarize them with school routine. Authentic and multimodal materials support *kinaesthetic* learning (Kalantzis and Cope 2012)

and offer a valuable resource to knowledge production including diverse mass media, Internet, literary sources, ethnic interpretations of events, and personal narratives and experiences (Gay 2013). In addition, problem solving, as Aceves and Orosco (2014) note, is an important teaching approach. Higher order thinking skills are deployed and alternative solutions towards meaningful change are devised when students engage in solving real-world problems based on diverse cultural linguistic and authentic materials. Finally, instructional scaffolding impacts teachers' genuine interest in their students' learning styles and outcomes (McIntyre and Hulan 2013). Knowing students diverse learning styles (ways of knowing and doing) is important and can be ascertained through rigorous exploration of students' home cultures and expectations. This applies to all students as some value direct instruction or oral presentation and others may prefer a more self-directed learning (Perso 2012, p. 57).

Culturally Responsive and Competent Teachers

The CRP *personal* dimension refers to the mindset, attributes, and professional qualities of educators, namely their intercultural competence and responsiveness. Teachers (consciously or unconsciously) bring their own racial/cultural constructions and discriminative behaviors to the profession through omission or incorrect assumptions. Prejudices and misperceptions are widespread in mainstream pluralistic societies. They often grounded in fear of differences (e.g., language, race, ethnic background, cultural values, religion, color, or world views). Furthermore, racist behaviors might include harassment, ridicule, putting people down, spreading untruths and rumors, exploitation, racial vilification, and even assault, but also harmful assumptions, paternalism, prejudice, low expectations, stereotypes, violence, and biased curriculum materials (Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist 2003).

Culturally inclusive and competent teachers perceive culture as fundamental component of teaching-learning process being aware of cultural diversity in their classrooms. Multicultural awareness and critical reflection as well as self-awareness are equally important teacher qualities to counteract stereotypes and prejudices, challenge own beliefs, and engage in effective communication in a multicultural school community (Banks 2004). These qualities construct the so-called teachers' *diversity consciousness* (Bucher 2010) and their ability to maintain multiple reflection. On one hand, they self-reflect on the challenges of cosmopolitanization and plurilingualism and recognize how multiple social identities are shaped and contradict each other. On the other, they acknowledge their own personal cultural and instructional biases (beliefs, discriminatory positions, teaching practices) and the way these might benefit some students while disadvantaging others.

Sheets (2009, p. 12) has demonstrated that *Teacher Pedagogical Behaviors* (TPB) can have a detrimental impact on *Student Cultural Displays* (SCD). More specifically, *Teacher Pedagogical Behaviors* describe teachers' philosophy, actions, and attitudes in the classroom concerning eight dimensions: *Diversity, Identity,*

Social Interaction, Culturally Safe Classroom Context, Language, Culturally Inclusive, Content Instruction, and *Assessment.* All eight dimensions are interconnected with each other with both teachers and students being able to demonstrate more than one at the same time. However, teachers' preferable philosophy on these dimensions may hinder or enhance *Student Cultural Displays*: *Consciousness of Difference, Ethnic Identity Development, Interpersonal Relationships, Self-Regulated Learning, Language Learning, Knowledge Acquisition, Reasoning Skills*, and *Self-Evaluation*. This means that teachers who consistently recognize student cultural patterns are more likely to encourage students to display their cultural uniqueness, in the form of academic skills, sociocultural attitudes and knowledge, and the opposite. In other words, when teachers are culturally competent and responsive, they develop diversity consciousness to their students, promote ethnic identity development, provide opportunities for social interactions, create a safe classroom context, encourage language learning, select culturally inclusive resources, adapt specific instructional strategies, and use multiple ways to access competency (Sheets 2009, p. 13). In this context, students use their own cultural and linguistic repertoires and competences as devises to construct new knowledge and eventually to be able to operate in new sociocultural or multilingual settings and achieve better academic results. On the contrary, teachers who are unaware of or indifferent to students' cultural backgrounds promote dualistic reasoning, support assimilation to mainstream culture, control classroom social events, maintain a stressful climate, advance heritage language loss and silence, choose generic instructional content, employ universal instructional methods, and adopt limiting assessment criteria.

Finally, culturally responsive educators consider themselves as agents of social and pedagogical change aiming to nurture the same attitude to their students and help them to access and value their cultural capital as well as to confront inequalities (Gay 2010; Ladson-Billings 2009). Culturally responsive educators are expected to be aware of and counteract inequalities through their social-justice oriented work even at the microlevel of their classroom (Villegas and Lucas 2002). Teachers undertake responsibility of making schools more equitable and inclusive places fostering students' high achievements and well-being paying particular attention to underachievers (Gay 2004; Ladson-Billings 2001).

Teachers' Intercultural Competence and Responsiveness

Literature review on teachers' intercultural preparedness to accommodate diversified classrooms reveals a gradual shift from cultural awareness to cultural responsiveness. During the 1970s, much attention was placed on understanding cultural difference (similarities and differences between the various groups) rather than *diversity.* The rise of multiculturalism and ethno-specific services (in health and social security system, education, media, etc.) during the 1980s gave prominence to *cultural sensitivity*, namely knowing one's culture. Attention was given to the fact that "diversity exists between and within cultural groups" (Perso 2012, p. 17).

The dominant rhetoric was about maintaining a more positive attitude and being sensitive towards the culturally *other* without negative judgments. After the mid-1980s, a demand for (*inter*)*cultural competence* emerged especially in the United States, Canada, and also Australia to ensure access, accountability, and equity in the health care and social security system and cater for an increasingly diversified client population. The focus was clearly on particular skills someone has to acquire to actively and appropriately respond to different needs.

There is no clear or commonly accepted definition of cultural competence. Generally defined, *cultural competence* is the ability to interact and communicate effectively with sensitive, empathic, tolerant, reciprocal, and reflexive way with people in intercultural situations and diverse sociopolitical contexts. Researchers agree that cultural competence is a personal capability of someone to act. Bennett (2013) has defined a continuum of stages from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism (e.g., denial, defenses, minimization, acceptance, adaptation, and integration) to describe the developmental progression on which people experience differences. However, intercultural competence is not necessarily innate, but a dynamic concept, which develops over time through deep self or collective reflection. Critical preconditions are both the ability to empathize with how people from other cultures develop their worldviews and cultural practices and the deep awareness and reflection of one's own identity, biases, and prejudices. Petty (2010, p. 15) described cultural competence for both educators and students as a "*demonstrated capacity*" that enables them to work effectively in cross-cultural settings. There is a strong emphasis on access and equity as well as high academic achievements for all students. In Petty's terms, culturally competent people demonstrate capacity to "(1) value diversity, (2) engage in self-reflection on one's own cultural reference points, conscious and unconscious assumption, biases, power, and areas of growth, (3) build cross-cultural understanding over time with an ongoing commitment to continual growth, (4) build knowledge and understanding of historical and current systemic inequities and their impact on specific racial and other demographic groups, (5) adapt to the diversity and cultural contexts of the students, families, and communities served, (6) effectively manage the dynamics of difference, (7) support actions which foster equity (not necessarily equality) of opportunity and services" (Petty 2010, p. 1, cited in Perso 2012, p.28). This capacity is evident in all aspects of school life (policy, leadership, and administration; curricular development, instructional practice, and assessment) and involves all school stakeholders and families in decision-making.

On a more personal account, cultural competence has been perceived as a *lifelong* journey of transformation. This journey goes through various stages from "awareness of one's own values, attitudes, biases and beliefs and using one's own culture as a benchmark against which to measure others, to valuing diversity and understanding the dynamics of difference, and hence leading to integrating the knowledge and skills with professional skills to meet the needs of culturally diverse clients" (Perso 2012, p. 19). Other researchers described this journey as a passage from cultural awareness/sensitivity to *cultural responsiveness*. Mason (1993) and Banks (2004)

have suggested a continuum upon one (individual of organization) can reflect and determine the different level of attaining cultural competence. Mason (1993, cited in Perso 2012, p. 19) refers to five stages on the continuum: (a) *Cultural destructiveness* to others' cultures; (b) *Cultural incapacity* to deliver services and accommodate diversified needs something that may not be intentionally racist; (c) *Cultural blindness*, when assuming that all people are the same without differences, which may hinder their social integration; (d) *Cultural pre-competence*, when there is a growing recognition of cultural differences and actions are taken for equitable participation, even though this does not ensure equitable outcomes; and (e) *Cultural competence*, when there is a systematic self-reflection on the way cultural differences are respected and accepted, whereas actions are constantly monitored to ensure equity.

Banks (2004) adopted Masons' three initial stages, but he further elaborated stages d and e to emphasize attainment of cultural competence. He proposed three other stages, namely the *emerging, basic*, and *advanced cultural competence*. In the emerging stage, an individual/organization "recognizes diversity and inequity and attempts some improvements." Basic cultural competence is attained where one "accepts and respects differences [and] recognizes the need for systemic change." Finally, people with advanced cultural competence "hold culture in high esteem" pursuing an "[O]ngoing individual and institutional change to address equity based on informed decision making" (Perso 2012, p. 20). The last stage in Banks's (2004) continuum is regarded as the highest degree of *cultural responsiveness*. In other words, *cultural responsiveness* is the acquired cultural competence integrated and enacted in practice as a delivered outcome and manifested mainly through accessible, equitable, and quality services.

Overall, researchers agree that cultural competence can be demonstrated through three interactive to one another components: *knowledge*, *skills*, and *attitudes/awareness* (Byram 1997; Deardorff 2009). More specifically, knowledge includes cultural self-awareness; culture-specific information about various groups and their inner diversity, history, cultural communication and linguistic patterns, world views, belief systems and values; and sociocultural awareness and grasp of contemporary global realities (Deardorff 2009). Skills include *general* skills (e.g., problem solving – defining the problem and arriving at a solution from multiple cultural perspectives and empathizing with *others'* perspectives) and *containment* skills (e.g., patience, perseverance and skills to observe, listen, analyze, relate, interpret, mediate, and evaluate) (Deardorff 2009; Perso 2012). Attitudes refer to respect *others'* cultures; openness and suspending judgment; curiosity in viewing *others'* differences as learning opportunity and tolerance for ambiguity (Deardorff 2009). Here the emphasis is on critical examination of personal negative cultural assumptions or prejudices and potential ethnocentrism. Teachers' self-awareness/reflection is critical together with humility and willingness to learn, respect and nonjudgmental attitude as well as a clear commitment to social justice. To sum up, at the individual teacher level, cultural competence refers to a wide range of intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes: a self-reflexive stance and critical re-examination of one's cultural assumptions; empathizing and being aware of one's own and *others'* cultural biases;

diminish ethnocentric attitudes; willingness to engage in intermediate contact zones; differentiating teaching and recursive feedback.

Intercultural Training Implications

Culturally responsive and competent teachers use their student's sociolinguistic and cultural background as resource for new learning, maintain high academic aspiration for all students, and hold strong instructional design skills (Gay 2000). However, many teachers worldwide are inadequately prepared to address students' diversity (Cummins 2007) causing a cultural and linguistic alienation between them and their students (Gay 2010; Ladson-Billings 2009). This, in turn, limits educators' ability for effective instructional design and differentiated teaching. Ethnocentric curriculum and materials benefit mainstream students voiding the culturally and linguistically diverse learners (Orosco and O'Connor 2011). Even the antiracist information teachers receive in their educational training serves to reinforce rather than reconstruct, their bias towards race (Haberman and Post 1992). Other studies revealed improved teacher attitudes immediately after training, but no lasting changes to behavior (Sleeter 1993). Thus, superficial multicultural training may increase teacher knowledge, but has little or no effect on attitudes or behavior (Jackson 1994, p. 298).

Most teachers worldwide have not adopted a concrete diversity pedagogy framing to reflect on language and cultural diversity and guide their practice. This means that "most teachers teach the same way they were taught" (Sheets 2009, p. 16). For instance, the Greek teaching workforce appears reluctant to acquire new intercultural leaning as it threatens their ethnocentric and ethno-romantic narratives of identity as well as their sense of security and homogeneity. They prefer to maintain the old dichotomies of addressing *otherness* and through them maintain a traditional/didactic methodology (Dragonas 2008). Greek teachers are in their vast majority native monolingual/monoracial professionals with little international or intercultural experience, who deal with diverse student populations (e.g., Roma and migrant/refugee communities). However, the majority of teachers have no meaningful immersion in community- and language-specific activities, whereas heritage languages are not taught in the Greek school system. Also there is no consistent validation of their intercultural competence.

Moreover, tertiary intercultural courses are optional among preservice teachers, which means that many of them have minimal or no preparation in cultural diversity. In addition, preservice teacher intercultural training is characterized by a mismatch between the theory and cultural reality with student practicums not taking place in culturally and linguistically different settings. Teacher education practicums provide little time for de-briefing and self-reflection on personal experiences. Thus, preservice teachers have no real understanding of how their own sociocultural identities affect students' achievements and reproduce existing prejudice and inequalities. Finally, it is documented that prospective teachers have an

affirming attitude and high expectations towards mainstream students (Villegas and Lucas 2002), but no real understanding of the consequences this brings to nonmainstream students.

Reflection on diversity is important when training teachers as the majority of them cannot see themselves as *agents of change* that may challenge current inequalities (Cochran-Smith 1997). Overall, teacher reflection about diversity is limited at a lowest or middle level. The first refers to e*xclusive reflection* and represents traditional and mainstream perspectives about the *other* including folkloristic practices and celebrating simplistic multiculturalism (Morey and Kilano 1997). Some teachers may perform *inclusive reflection* (middle level) in which diversity is discussed and compared with the dominant norm. However, a challenging prospect for teacher force is to engage in a *transformed reflection,* which re-conceptualizes traditional views of diversity encouraging structural transformation and inclusiveness (highest level). In Greece, for example, several thousand teachers and tertiary students have been involved in peer learning projects of instructional design and differentiated teaching (Learning by Design implementation – https://cgscholar.com/bookstore/collections/365). From more than 535 teaching plans, only one quarter (25%) was focused on diversity. One fifth of the designs (19%) elaborated the idea of diversity as a human/children's right. However, the majority (40%) of teaching plans emphasized intangible aspects of cultural heritage and simplistic multiculturalism. Knowing about *other* cultures and exploring different customs, religions, food, celebrations, and clothing was central in instructional design efforts. These folkloristic aspects of culture provided an opportunity for scaffolded, field-based, and action research learning through an authentic approach to local cultural life. However, some plans made references to learning about Eskimo, native Americans, Asians, and Africans unveiling an *emerging* reflection and a superficial and stereotypical stance. Other themes, such as acceptance of the *other*, inclusiveness, racism, cultural differences, migration, and special needs, represented 37% of the designs and revealed a more *inclusive reflection*. Finally, references to language diversity were very minimal (4%). One explanation to this is the total exclusion of heritage languages in the Greek schooling system and their marginalized status.

The above implications highlight the importance of redesigning teachers' professional learning to include culturally responsive training/pedagogical framework for preservice and in-service educators. *Learning by Design* (Kalantzis and Cope 2012; Kalantzis et al. 2010) provides such a framework as it meets the standards of cultural responsive teachers described by the Australian *National Professional Standards for Teachers* (Perso 2012, p. 62). Research findings in the Greek context (Arvanitis and Vitsilaki 2015) revealed that the main Learning by Design affordances for 45 primary and secondary teachers were working in reflexive learning teams in real class contexts ensuring relevance with everyday practices and student actual learning, rethinking (professional) learning space with the optimal use of digital media, and documenting differentiated pedagogical choices to encounter diversity. Similarly Arvanitis and Katsaros (2016) found that the Learning by Design application had *catalytic*, *outcome*, *process*, *dialogic*, and *democratic* validity for primary school teachers in Piraeus, Greece. In addition,

instructional design artifacts (teaching repertoires) proved highly effective for intercultural education. In particular, reflexive and scaffolded learning enhanced second language learners' understanding of cultural differences and the notion of temporality (Arvanitis and Sakellariou 2014). Moreover, Learning by Design has proved very effective in promoting creative writing in multicultural classrooms, enhancing primary students' reflection on racial prejudices and reinforcing learning motivation (Tsoraglou 2016). Finally, research findings support that Learning by Design's scaffolded and multimodal framing cultivates students' ability to analyze social reality using cartoons depicting diversity and forming arguments and critical discourse (Paximadaki 2016).

Conclusion and Future Directions

Recent examples of terrorist attacks, negative perceptions towards migrants/refugees, xenophobia, and wide spread radicalization alert educational systems to look closely to their response towards cultural and linguistic diversity. Cultures play a critical role in learning as well as social and cognitive development of children (Sheets 2009), whereas heritage languages are important intangible cultural "assets" enabling people to interact effectively across global/local multilingual settings. They are also prerequisites for democratic citizenship and well-being in modern pluralistic societies. Only plurilingual and intercultural citizens have the ability to fully participate in public discourse and interact with *others* in all aspects of their interconnected lives.

Promoting plurilingual and intercultural competence is highly stressed by European language policies and rhetoric as a necessity to recognize, include, and validate diversity in modern pluralistic societies. However, the teaching and learning of languages is still very much based on a monolingual/ethnocentric paradigm. Most of the times, methodological nationalism and traditional binaries exclude heritage languages from mainstream schooling as the main focus is to integrate the *alien other* within the receiving culture. This is counterproductive as plurilingualism and heritage languages are deeply embedded in individual lifeworlds and intensified by migration and refugee movements, which continue to flow re-constructing the national psyche. A plurilingual and inclusive approach to language teaching would help societies to forge new *collective awareness* of diverse interpretations and conceptualizations as well as the challenges embedded in a cosmopolitanized world. Intercultural pedagogy needs to address this pressing issue as newly arrived refugee students will find a place in mainstream schools in Europe as its future citizens. Their family languages can be seen as personally contextualized and meaningful tools for both learning other languages and demonstrating intermediation skills.

In this context, teachers and students must undertake an active and collaborative role in constructing learning and advocating new moral values for an equitable education. This *balance of agency* counteracts students' disengagement or low achievement and enables teachers to assume greater responsibility towards an

equitable and culturally responsive pedagogy. Changing teachers' professional training and practice to reflect more inclusive approaches to diversity requires an integrated epistemological framework of learning and doing. Culturally responsive pedagogy offers this framework as it is centered on flexible and adaptive scaffolded curricular activities/repertoires fostering intercultural learning and action. Content-related strategic discussion assists students to collectively understand concepts, derive the main ideas, solve real-world problems, and relate what they are learning to their own cultural backgrounds. At the same time, culturally responsive pedagogy enables educators to acquire strong intercultural competences and be more reflexive on their teaching philosophy. Culturally responsive teachers are able to make purposeful choices to differentiate their teaching and scaffold learning. They are doing so by recruiting activities from progressive, traditional, critical, and transformative pedagogy. Teachers' professional learning strengthens as they collaboratively design and explicitly document (*retrospectively* and *prospectively*) their teaching repertoires harnessing students' cultural and linguistic diversity.

In conclusion, an important mission for intercultural pedagogy is to re-visit its epistemic principles for an equitable, inclusive, and effective education for all. This is crucial due to growing anxieties sprang from globalization, technology, new divisions, fears about identity/security and new ethnocentrisms. Intercultural education becomes more important in a cosmopolitanized context, as it is expected to address and provide solutions for a cohesive sociality and personal fulfillment and self-realization. Only culturally responsive *knowledge professionals* equipped with sound pedagogical knowledge and *intercultural responsiveness* can validate diversity as a productive advantage and effectively counteract inequality and prejudice. Forming strong professional ethics can only be sustained through vibrant communities of practice, which advocate a new role for teachers and the necessity for modern pluralistic societies to investment more on intangible cultural aspects, such as heritage languages. Local applications of responsive professional intercultural paradigms connect global research with local circumstances and validate normative expectations of an inclusive society. *Learning by Design* application in Greece serves the purposes of a culturally responsive pedagogy thought an extensive trial of differentiated teaching plans. Finally, emerging new intermediate spaces for professional and academic dialogue on interculturality shape significant preconditions for transforming education such as *collective wisdom* and *diversity consciousness* (http://intercultural.upatras.gr/en/).

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Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation

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Themistoklis Aravossitas and Marianthi Oikonomakou

Abstract

This study examines the professional development needs of heritage language (HL) teachers as part of a community-based investigation about the status of Greek language education in Canada. A series of community initiatives aimed at assessing and improving the level of teaching and learning of Modern Greek has included (a) the profile of HL teachers who currently work at the elementary and secondary levels and (b) the implementation of a pilot professional development course for noncertified instructors. Using data collected through targeted questionnaires at different times, this chapter sheds light on the conditions faced by HL practitioners and reveals that both teachers and administrators understand the need to facilitate the teaching of HL programs through carefully designed professional development courses. In order to address the main challenges of HL education and to support different categories of instructors, we claim that such courses require a focus not only on language learning principles but also on promoting community collaboration and on improving the pedagogical conditions for HL classes, most of which are held on the edges of mainstream education.

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The Context

Heritage language education (HLE) takes place frequently in non-mainstream settings. Thus, the work of educators involved, particularly in community-based complementary schools, is neither systematically supported nor assessed through official processes (Compton 2001; Moore 2014a). In recent years, the teaching of HLs has been studied systematically as a distinct domain of bilingual education (Peyton et al. 2001; Brinton et al. 2008), and much attention has been drawn to the preservice and in-service professional development (PD) of teachers who work in the field (Kagan and Dillon 2009; Carreira and Kagan 2011; Schwartz Caballero 2014; Parra 2014; Carreira 2014, 2016a, b; Lacorte 2016).

As HL teachers are faced with a different reality than their counterparts in other fields of second language education (Schwartz 2001; Potowski 2001; Kondo-Brown 2003; Berardi-Wiltshire 2012), their needs, challenges, and voices require special attention and research. Language teachers involved in HLE usually teach quite diverse groups of learners, placed either in mixed age or mixed language proficiency classes which are often designed for foreign language learners or in after day school programs with several infrastructure limitations and pedagogical challenges (Carreira 2014, 2015). In many cases, community-based HL programs faced with funding limitations and teacher recruitment, and retention issues (García et al. 2013; Moore 2014a, b) use instructors who are either volunteers or language teachers employed only on a part-time basis (Liu et al. 2011; Aravossitas 2016). Despite their significant educational contribution as practitioners who play a role in strengthening their students' identities and promoting multilingualism and intercultural awareness, many HL teachers lack professional acknowledgment and certification. Moreover, due to limited prospects of career advancement and limited recognition from mainstream education authorities, they often feel marginalized (Feuerverger 1997; Lee and Oxelson 2006; Liu 2006; Mercurio 2010; Wu 2011; Cummins 2014; Aravossitas 2016).

Several studies have focused on the pedagogical characteristics of HL classes and what HL teachers need to know about their learners (Anderson 2008a, b; Kagan and Dillon 2009; Beaudrie et al. 2014; Scarino 2014; Carreira 2016a, b). In his investigation of student teachers of HLs and the development of a preservice teacher

education course in England, Anderson (2011) suggests a number of key principles to be considered in preparing educators for working with HL learners. They include the adoption of an interactive pedagogical approach that activates the learners' prior knowledge and experiences, appreciates their overall bilingual capital, and focuses on their individual learning needs. He also recommends a task-based teaching strategy that offers cognitive and communication stimuli, facilitates cross-curricular, cross-cultural, and citizenship connections, as well as connections between language and culture, allowing learners to express themselves through a variety of texts, media, and technologies and fostering confidence through formative assessment (Anderson 2011). According to Lacorte (2016), the knowledge base of instructors working with HL learners should include an understanding of the HL learners' sociocultural and academic backgrounds, their varied language proficiency levels, the psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic factors that affect HL acquisition, as well as affective variables, motivations, and attitudes regarding the target language. Lacorte also stresses that HL preservice or in-service PD courses need to focus on the teacher's personal/professional experiences and their familiarity with differentiated instruction pedagogies and classroom management skills to facilitate collaboration between HL and FL learners and learners of diverse levels of proficiency in mixed classrooms (Lacorte 2016, p. 103).

In their studies of stakeholders' views in Korean and Chinese HL programs in the United States, Liu and You suggest that HL teachers should receive systematic training in making their classes more fun, relating their content to their students' life experiences, focusing on communicative language skills and fostering their students' motivation and engagement (Liu and You 2014). Kagan and Dillon (2001) suggest that HL instructors must be able to use macro-based teaching approaches. Carreira (2016a, b) points out that such approaches use effectively the students' personal experiences and background knowledge, and they explain grammar and vocabulary in a contextual, deductive, "whole language" process, moving from the general to the specific (e.g., from the text to the word or from the authentic task to the grammatical phenomenon). Similar principles that could inform the preparation of teachers for the instruction of HL learners are found in "discourse-based, content-based, task-based, genre-based, and experiential-based teaching" (Carreira 2016a, b, p. 128).

Significance and Outline of the Study

In Canada, many of the 168 immigrant languages (Statistics Canada 2012) have been taught for decades in heritage language programs, also known as International Language Programs (ILPs) (Cummins and Danesi 1990; Cummins 1992; Duff 2008). Many of these programs face serious funding, administrative, and educational challenges that include minimum PD opportunities for their educators (Liu et al. 2011; Aravossitas 2016). Across Ontario, the numerous public school boards that offer the Ministry of Education mandated elementary ILPs of 2.5 h of instruction per

week usually taking place after school in weekend or weekday evening classes (Ontario Ministry of Education 2016), hire instructors who might be noncertified (Ontario College of Teachers 2016), and provide them with sporadic in-service professional development, customarily offered during workshops that take place before the start of the school year. However, many HL programs are implemented by a variety of educational institutions, including community organizations that do not necessarily have the resources or the expertise to train or support their educators (Liu et al. 2011; García et al. 2013).

The research presented in this chapter provides a profile of educators who teach Greek as a HL in Ontario, a province where more than 50% of the approximately 260,000 Greek-Canadian community population resides (Statistics Canada 2011). In order to highlight the PD needs of these teachers, we collected data via open- and closed-type questions that explore their educational path, their working conditions, and aspects of their teaching practices and professional difficulties. We also searched for any PD and certification courses aimed at HL teachers in Ontario and found only one such course: the *Effective Teaching* module, offered specifically to Greek language instructors (York University 2016). Developed by the Department of Continuing Education of York University, the course was implemented in the fall and spring of 2015 and was funded by the Hellenic Heritage Foundation (HHF), a community institution that provides financial support to various projects that promote Greek language and culture education in Canada (Hellenic Heritage Foundation 2016). As *Effective Teaching* is currently the only PD course in Ontario specifically designed for HL teachers, we examined the participants' feedback to explore its organizational and educational features, focusing on the degree of achievement of PD objectives that were set before the implementation stage. For the analysis of our findings, we examined data that were collected in two Greek HL instructors' PD workshops, and we compared them with the teaching principles proposed by experts in HL education (see previous section).

By outlining the profile of HL teachers and presenting their experiences as participants in a PD course, we hope to offer a new perspective in HLE research and practice, informing a much needed preservice and in-service support for HL educators.

Situating the Study and Methodological Remarks

Exploring issues related to the needs and concerns of HL educators in Canada is part of a broader community concern about the status and prospects of language education for heritage learners which is regarded as an integral part of HL intergenerational transmission (Campbell and Christian 2003) and ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977). Particularly, in the context of the Greek community which is quite active in preserving its heritage beyond the crucial stage of the third generation (Jedwab 2014), a multifaceted research study was initiated at a time when Greece was facing a severe economic crisis which could affect the country's ability to provide support to the communities in the diaspora (Damanakis 2010;

Damanakis et al. 2014). Community institutions in Canada have a long tradition of offering Greek language education programs and view HL maintenance primarily as their responsibility (Constantinides 2001, 2014).

Several groups participated in a community-based research project that aimed at identifying the challenges of teaching and learning Greek in Canada at all levels and providing recommendations for collaborative actions (Aravossitas 2016). The first phase of this project involved mapping Greek language education and was initiated as part of a doctoral program of studies (2011–2015) at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto, in collaboration with the office of Greek language education at the Consulate General of Greece in Toronto, the Association of Greek Language Teachers of Ontario, and the Education Office of the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Toronto – Canada. The investigation located across Canada included 71 organizations (universities, communities, cultural associations, school boards, private schools, etc.) operating a total of 115 Greek language programs, attended by a total of 9600 students, mainly heritage learners. Community leaders, parents, teachers, and students provided their view on the status of Greek HLE and identified several challenges, including a difficulty in finding properly trained HL teachers. Other major challenges reported by the administrators of institutions/schools involved in Greek language education in Canada are (a) students and teachers' retention, (b) difficulty in forming relatively homogeneous classes especially where the number of students is not sufficient to separate groups based on age or linguistic criteria, (c) inadequate parental participation, and (d) lack of program/teaching assessment and evaluation structures (Aravossitas 2016).

In an attempt to address the issue of Greek HL teachers' professional development in Canada, a series of workshops was organized at a community level between 2012 and 2014. The participants, who were teachers employed by various Greek language programs/schools mainly in Ontario, filled out a questionnaire which revealed data about their educational profile, their professional development needs, and their working conditions. A second questionnaire that was distributed to the same group of educators, as part of a Greek language online learning project (University of Crete 2016), focused particularly on the teachers' technological profile, exploring issues of familiarity with access to and utilization of information and communication technologies in HL classes. In October 2013, the Greek Embassy in Ottawa organized the conference *Strategies for the Promotion of Greek Language Culture and Heritage in Canada* (Aravossitas 2016). The participants discussed the current situation and ways to improve Greek HL programs. One of their main suggestions was to encourage community institutions to invest in HLE by facilitating retraining courses and incentives to HL teachers. The HHF was the first community institution that responded to this call by providing the financial means for a professional development/certification course for Greek HL instructors, in cooperation with the Department of Continuing Education of York University in Toronto.

To design the course according to the needs of the potential participants, the HHF worked with several community partners and developed a questionnaire that was completed by Greek language program/school administrators in Ontario. Based on

their responses, which to a great extent represent the main community concerns on the efficiency of current HL programs, York University's Department of Continuing Education prepared the module *Effective Teaching* that was offered to instructors involved with Greek language teaching in community settings. Upon completion of the course, the participants were asked to evaluate the course along with providing recommendations for the content of complementary courses.

The method of this investigation is modular, as it involves the processing of data that were collected at different times and by different researchers. The basic research tool utilized in all stages is a questionnaire with closed- or open-ended questions that allows both direct answers on given questions and the possibility of free expression and comments by the participants (Johnson and Christensen 2016). Some of the questions require the agreement or disagreement of the participants on given statements accompanied by the opportunity of substantiating the chosen answer. The questionnaire's editorial philosophy is governed by the principle of functionality, as in addition to the prime research interest; it invites participants to address educational issues of a practical/organizational nature. The analysis of the responses allows for the drawing of comparative data, since the investigated topics intersect in some cases, which affects the reliability of the findings. For example, questions on the professional needs and challenges of the teachers that are included in questionnaires were not only addressed to educators but also to administrators who have a different perspective on this matter. What is attempted overall is both a qualitative and comprehensive – if possible – approach to the investigated topics as reflected numerically by participants' answers and also a critical examination of all responses that are freely expressed in different parts of the data collection process.

Greek HL Teachers: Profile and Practice

As part of the project discussed in the previous section, the Education Coordinator of the Consulate General of Greece in Toronto; the Education Office of the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Toronto, Canada; and the Association of Greek Language Teachers of Ontario organized a symposium with the participation of 60 educators who teach the Modern Greek language and culture in Canada. During this event, which included several professional development workshops, 49 teachers completed a questionnaire comprised of 20 predominately closed-type questions, focusing on three distinct areas: the teachers' profile, their professional development needs, and aspects of their teaching practices.

Studies, Teaching Experience, and Working Conditions

In order to outline the teachers' profile, the investigators examined first the nature of the relationship that teachers have with the Greek language. Specifically, the participants were asked to provide information about (a) where and how they learnt Greek, (b) their academic background, and (c) the years of Greek language teaching

experience. Most respondents, by 51%, indicated that they were born in Greece, while 41% and 8%, respectively, were born in Canada and other countries. The clear majority of the participants learnt Modern Greek in Greece (by 63%) and approximately one third (31%) in Canada, while only 6% received their Greek language education elsewhere. Knowledge of the Greek language was of university level for 45% of the participants, of high school for 37%, and of middle school for 14%.

On the basis of the participants' origin, the distributions concerning the level of Greek studies provide a clearer picture: of those born in Greece, 16% completed programs at the middle school level, 29% at high school, and the majority of 55% at a university. In contrast, Greek language teachers born in Canada, 13% completed Greek language studies at the middle school level, 47% at high school, and 33% at university. As per the field of studies for those who are university graduates, regardless of the country where the academic institution is located, the majority of teachers have studied humanities. Most them are graduates of Greek or foreign language philology departments (42%), followed by primary education (36%), social and political sciences (14%), and other fields, such as theology, biology, accounting, business, and computer studies (8%).

The educators who participated in the study are involved with the teaching of Greek on a regular basis, as most of them have acquired substantial teaching experience in Greek schools. Thus, 37% have taught up to 5 years, 33% from 6 to 15 years, while 24% have longer experience ranging from 16 to 30 years; a remarkable 6% have already exceeded 30 years of teaching the Greek language. The degree of engagement with Greek language teaching is reflected more precisely in the number of working hours during the time of the study which found that participants work primarily on a part-time basis. Specifically, two thirds of respondents (67%) teach Greek for up to 10 h weekly (51% 1–5 h and 16% 6–10, respectively), and 20% for up to 20 h (10% for 11–15 h and another 10% between 16 and 20 h), while only 12% seem to complete a full-time schedule, as they are employed from 21 to more than 30 h per week (4% selected the option 20–25 h, 4% 26–30 h, and 4% 30+ h).

As per the time required for teachers to commute to their workplace, most respondents seem to have generally easy access: for 55% it takes up to 20 minutes, for 35% up to 40 minutes, while for 10% of respondents, transportation to their respective Greek school location requires more than 40 minutes. As for the conditions under which they carry out their educational work, the participants were asked to provide negative or affirmative statements in a package of related questions. On the degree of teachers' satisfaction with the general working conditions offered by the educational institution in which they are employed, as is clear from Fig. 1, the participants feel positively about the efficiency of the educational work and the climate of cooperation with their colleagues (94% and 92%, respectively), and positive views are expressed regarding working stability and infrastructure (82% and 80%, respectively). On the other hand, the negative statements pertain to their salary, administrative support, and access to audiovisual/electronic materials or the use of ICT in the classroom (the negative rates for the above three parameters are 45%, 35%, and 31%, respectively).
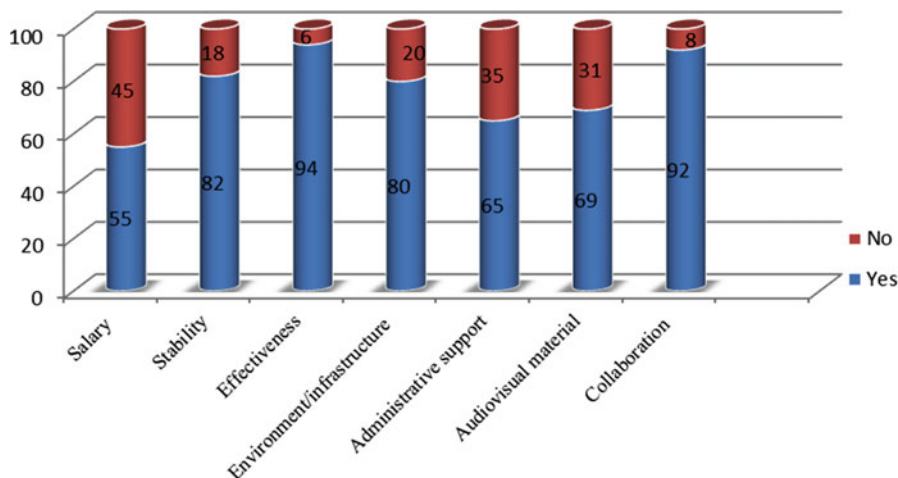
Fig. 1 Working conditions

Educational Challenges and Recommendations

One of the organizational/administrative parameters that affect the teaching quality in Greek HL schools/programs in Canada is that teachers are required to serve mixed classes, both in terms of different age groups and the proficiency level of their students. Among our participants, 65% teach simultaneously more than one age group of students; most commonly these groups of students consist of preschool up to second grade ages (33%), ages of grades three to five (27%), and grades six to eight (20%). The rates of mixed classes at the secondary and continuing education (adult classes) levels are significantly lower; 11% and 9% of participants teach mixed 9–12 or adult classes, respectively. Finally, teaching classes with students of diverse Greek language proficiency levels is a reality to almost every HL educator who participated in the study, as the rate of agreement statements is 96%.

In terms of class administration challenges, the most acute problem, according to teachers' responses, is the irregular attendance of a significant percentage of their students. Conversely, behavioral problems in class do not seem to be a major concern. Thus, 53% of teachers reported a high degree of student absenteeism, while 76% are generally satisfied with the behavior of their students. However, teachers are concerned with the lack of active participation of parents mostly in providing sufficient support to students with their homework. According to the teachers' responses, parents are not involved with their children's Greek school homework (41%), do not often ask to be updated on their progress (31%), and do not follow the school schedule, as they tend to bring or pick up their children late (28%).

In terms of Greek HL curriculum, participants seem to have formed a clear picture – with 96% agreement rate – of the learning materials and the methodological approaches that are suitable for their lessons; 67% express their satisfaction with

the appropriateness/effectiveness of their textbooks, while 41% use a combination of textbooks and personal notes/resources in their lessons. Participants were asked to reveal which Greek language textbook series are their favorite. The two series that seem more popular are produced or approved by the Ministry of Education of Greece for heritage language learners: 32% of respondents primarily use the textbook series *I Learn Greek*, followed by 26% who use the University of Crete's series *Things and Letters* and *Margarita*, and 18% use the *Papaloizos* textbooks (Aravossitas 2016). At the same time, a significant percentage of participants (90%) utilize new technologies in their Greek language teaching practice: most of them (55%) in the planning and preparation of their lessons and fewer (35%) in the classroom.

Both English and Greek are the languages of communication/instruction in class, 55% of teachers claim they use both languages equally in class, 20% use the Greek language between 50% and 70%, and only one quarter of participants teach in Greek for more than 71% of their instruction time. Assessment of learning is carried out in a combination of methods that include oral (35%) and written testing (34%) and individual or group projects/assignments (31%). Generally, those assessment processes take place at different time periods during the school year. Particular emphasis is given to summative evaluation at the end of each unit (38%) and at the end of each semester/term (26%), whereas 21% and 15% mainly assess their students' learning after each course or at the end of the school year. Homework activities are assigned on a regular basis by 53% of teachers, often by 37%, while only 10% rarely assign any homework.

The final part of the questionnaire was designed to explore the practitioners' ideas for the improvement of teaching improvement. Through open-ended questions, the teachers-participants were asked to submit their recommendations for upgrading the quality of teaching in Greek heritage language programs and to suggest areas in which they need further professional development support. With regard to their learning needs, from four suggested fields – with the possibility of other suggestions – participants showed greater interest in familiarizing themselves with new ICT educational applications, developing strategies to teach effectively students of various proficiency levels, and further specializing in teaching Greek as a foreign language: the corresponding rates for each of the aforementioned recommendations are 34%, 32%, and 26%, respectively. On the other hand, issues related to classroom management seem to concern a lower percentage of teachers (8%), while the participants did not use, at this stage, the possibility of submitting additional recommendations as indicated by the option "other suggestions."

Instead, more themes emerged concerning ways to improve the quality of teaching Modern Greek. One of the main recommendations by the teachers-participants was the development of appropriate/effective learning materials and new curricula aligned with the needs of students and their educators. At the same time, they highlighted the need for professional development on a regular basis with focus on multimedia as well as on more innovative teaching/learning strategies. Other recommendations included upgrading the existing infrastructure and resources, increasing the teaching hours, and facilitating the active participation of parents in the educational process. Finally, we should highlight an interesting comment by a

participant who suggested the incorporation of a community/educational council which would foster the establishment of a common framework to standardize the ways of teaching Greek as a heritage language in Canada. In this direction, the recommendation calls for the initiation of dialogue among all Greek language education stakeholders that will result in their ongoing collaboration.

Technological Profile

New technologies are increasingly used in the teaching and learning of languages (Chapelle 2007; Davis 2009; Davies 2011; Golonka et al. 2014). In recent years, this trend is evidenced in Greek HLE (Huang et al. 2011; Damanakis et al. 2014). In addition to the audiovisual materials that educators have been using to enhance their teaching (i.e., videos, pictures, music, etc.), the Internet offers many resources and learning tools which Greek language schools/programs in Canada have begun to exploit. Between 2011 and 2015, the Center for Migration and Intercultural Studies of the Department of Primary Education at the University of Crete (CMIS aka EDIAMME) implemented a European Union-/Greek Ministry of Education-funded program, titled Greek *language elementary and secondary intercultural education in the diaspora*. As part of this program, CMIS developed the *E-Gateway*, a Greek language online learning environment (Kourtis-Kazoullis et al. 2014; University of Crete 2016). Before the implementation stage of E-Gateway, CMIS investigated the familiarity of Greek heritage language educators with new technologies.

During a professional development seminar that took place in Toronto in September 2014, 27 Greek HL educators were asked to complete a questionnaire about their technological profile and whether/how they use new technologies in their language teaching practice. According to their responses, 100% have a PC/laptop which they use daily for information, communication, and entertainment purposes; 85% have sufficient familiarity with the use of software such as Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, PowerPoint, etc.); 56% are frequent online social media users; and 45% use phone applications regularly. The use of computers in the workplace is particularly widespread, with 82% of positive responses. However, only 70% favor the regular use of computers as a learning tool in Greek HL classrooms. Finally, it is worth noting that a significant percentage of 33% admit that they have never received any computer training, and 78% report that they rely on the support of family members, friends, and colleagues to deal with computer-related issues.

As seen in Fig. 2, 96% of participants expressed their interest in upcoming professional development opportunities that focus on the organization and functionality of online learning communities, 77% find online learning platforms and e-learning tools' workshops very useful (Kourtis-Kazoullis et al. 2014), and 73% believe in the educative benefits of training in asynchronous and synchronous communication media such as Skype. Since most educators are already familiar with frequently used software such as Microsoft Office, only 46% expressed interest in Word/PowerPoint training sessions. Finally, only 35% of participants consider useful a professional development module on
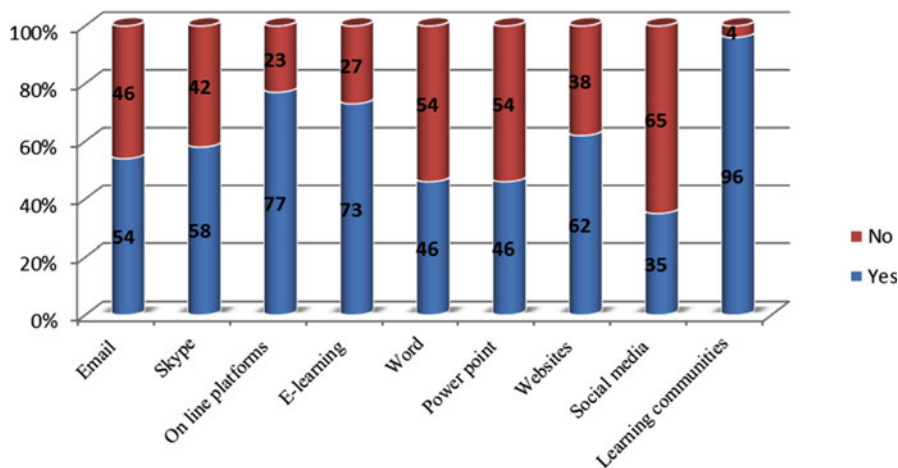
Fig. 2 PD interest in new technologies

social media as a sign that they consider them more appropriate for personal rather than professional/educational use.

Professional Development Needs and Challenges: The Administrators' Perspective

To explore the PD needs of Greek HL educators in Canada as well as practical aspects related to the organization and implementation of related courses, the HHF initiated research involving the administrators of 12 institutions that operate Greek HL programs in southern Ontario. Initially, participants were asked to state whether their instructors – professionals or volunteers – needed further pedagogical development or enhancement of their (Greek) language proficiency. Overwhelmingly, with 92%, the participants reported that their priority is to enhance the pedagogical competence of their instructors and improve their teaching efficiency. However, the need to upgrade their Greek language proficiency was also considered significant by 83% of respondents. To further clarify the desired range of professional development topics, the participants were asked to rank 13 suggested topics related to designing and organizing lessons as well as more specific aspects of language teaching.

The processing of the first five hierarchical preferences revealed that the majority of Greek language education administrators prioritize the development of teaching strategies to address students with diverse learning needs (85%), while class management issues were rated second at 69%. Planning and preparing a lesson followed at 67%, and teaching in multilevel classes also received 67%. Next in the listing of preferred professional development topics are course designing with 58%, teaching strategies to develop speaking skills with 51%, and theoretical issues and teaching methodology (emphasizing the interconnection of Greek with the English language)

with 42%. Lower in the scale, we find the following topics: assessment of learning objectives 34%, utilization of ICTs in Greek language programs 25%, interdisciplinary approach to teaching 25%, grammar and syntax 17%, integration of culture in the teaching of Modern Greek language with 8%, and developing strategies to cultivate writing skills with 0%.

Regarding the implementation conditions of the recommended professional development course/s, emphasis was placed on two factors: estimating the time that such courses would require and covering the expenses. Concerning the first aspect, the participants estimated that interested teachers could devote for their basic professional development (a) up to 2 h weekly for 8 weeks or (b) 2–3 h weekly for 16 weeks; the two options were rated 42% and 16%, respectively.

As for the expenses, 58% of program operators indicated their high or very high willingness to pay the fee for the participation of their teachers in PD courses (42% would cover the fee in total and 16% in part). The remaining 42% expressed their inability to cover any related costs. Interestingly, most participants (92%) agreed that the teachers who work in their programs would not be able by 92% to spend an amount of $ 400–500 for this purpose. To make the suggested PD courses more affordable and accessible to teachers who live and work far from the center of Greek community (e.g., outside the Greater Toronto Area), it was also recommended that the courses be offered in distance learning settings. Other suggestions or concerns that were submitted by participants include: (a) organizing carefully any professional development activities, (b) selecting topics that meet the Greek school priorities and particularities, (c) ensuring the high quality of the courses, and (d) emphasizing an achievement-based curriculum that would inform Greek language teaching with the principles of task-based approaches (Long 2015). Overall, the professional development of HL instructors is an issue of high importance for those individuals responsible for operating Greek language schools/programs in Ontario, Canada, as it is expected to affect the quality of their programs.

Organization and Evaluation of a Professional Development Course

After analyzing the administrators' recommendations, the HHF commissioned the York University's Department of Continuing Education to design the PD course *Effective Teaching* and covered in full the development and implementation expenses. The course developers set as an overall goal of this module to foster the dialectical relationship between effective teaching and active participation in the learning processes as well as to strengthen the learners' incentives. According to the suggestions of the Greek language program administrators, they also focused on incorporating in the module strategies of differentiated instruction and assessment as well as strategies of teaching planning and classroom management.

In particular, the module was designed to enable teachers of the Modern Greek language in Canada to:

(a) Create learning environments in which students not only participate actively but also learn how to cooperate harmoniously as group members
(b) Design courses that will enable students to learn through creative activities and be engaged in the learning process without the fear of taking risks and making mistakes
(c) Apply differentiated classroom management strategies
(d) Use, on the basis of their students' needs, alternative assessment techniques that encourage accountability and inclusion
(e) Create environments in which the teachers' work will be meaningful and appreciated

At the same time, the program developers took under consideration the prospects and challenges of teaching Greek as a heritage language with emphasis on the development of students' communication skills and effective social interaction with escalating confidence building toward the use of the target language. In setting the abovementioned objectives, the course developers acknowledged the need to foster the communicative use of Greek in different social environments and to enhance the interconnection of the language with global citizenship. Beyond the awareness of the benefits that language skills offer at an international level, what is highlighted here is the desire of the course developers to empower learners with a feeling of confidence to maintain harmonious relationships with those around them and to become agents of creative and critical thinking processes.

Effective Teaching was offered for the first time between October and December 2015 in Toronto with the participation of 21 instructors (teachers of Greek language in Ontario employed by boards of education, community, and private schools). The course included 36 h of face-to-face instruction (12 three-hour sessions), structured in five thematic circles that included course and lesson planning (short term and long term), principles of differentiated teaching, classroom management, and assessment methods. As part of the final cycle, instructors-participants were assessed through the completion of an assignment based on the content of all thematic units of the course.

Upon completion of the course, participants were asked to evaluate it and provide their suggestions for the content of future professional development modules. Evaluation was conducted through questionnaires that were filled out by 15 participants who were asked to reply to 14 questions: four open-type and ten agreement or disagreement statements. Overall, the evaluation outcome was very positive, as evidenced by a complete absence of negative comments about the course. All participants (100%) gave an affirmative answer to the first five general evaluation questions. Their justifications provided feedback on the main aspects of the course as follows:

1. Course relevance to the needs of the students: participants considered very positive the range of themes covered and the interactive dimension of the course activities that helped them to familiarize themselves with the specific psychological and social characteristics of different groups of students, thus upgrading their classroom management skills.
2. Course relevance with the professional learning needs of the teachers-participants; respondents underlined the usefulness of:
   (a) The breadth of techniques and methods that were presented which particularly benefited the younger/less-experienced instructors
   (b) The age/group appropriate activities
   (c) The design of integration/inclusion strategies
   (d) The opportunity to work with practical (hands-on) material instead of acquiring just theoretical knowledge
3. New ideas and approaches that can be used in the classroom: in addition to the participants' satisfaction with the acquired integration/inclusion and assessment strategies, they provided very positive feedback on their involvement as active learners in the course. They emphasized the high-participatory nature of the course, which fostered the exchange of views through educational games and collaboration in working groups during projects and workshops.

Because of the well-structured activities, teachers worked as students, developed critical thinking skills, and practiced wording questions. Also, by sharing their own experiences, they were exposed to a variety of teaching strategies that can be implemented in multicultural and multilevel classes. In this sense, we can explain the clear preference of the participants for face-to-face professional development activities which provide more interaction opportunities.

Hence, in the question about the format of supplementary modules, 59% selected in-class courses, whereas only 18% expressed their preference for online tutorials or blended learning modules (a combination of face-to-face and distance learning). A very small rate of 6% suggested the implementation of future courses through synchronous communication media, such as Skype.

The part of the questionnaire that required agreement or disagreement statements suggests that the way the course was structured facilitated the teachers-participants' engagement. It is evident that by establishing a collaborative learning environment, members of the class/community were encouraged to give and receive useful feedback. This statement received 100% agreement (93% absolute agreement and 7% partial agreement). Furthermore, 87% and 13% agreed or partially agreed with the statement that the course managed to achieve a balance between theory and practice, and 80% and 20% are in absolute and partial agreement with the statements that the course was challenging and offered differentiated learning both in the process and the products. Furthermore, the open-ended questions produced noteworthy findings consisting of recommendations for improvement and views on the necessity and the content of supplementary professional development courses and workshops. In part of the recommendations, the attention initially focused on

organizational observations. Concerning the implementation time, it was suggested that future professional development courses should be longer and on a regular basis in different periods of time to facilitate continuity and feedback. However, a few suggestions called for shorter but more intense courses with content that is also available online.

Another recommendation concerns the separation of professional development sessions based on the level or the age group of the students. For instance, it is suggested that instructors who teach younger students need more emphasis on the educational use of games as learning tools.

Other recommendations include: practical application of new theoretical teaching approaches, update of the educational materials used in Greek HL education, and the development of a portal to allow HL students, teachers, and parents to network as well as to share resources.

The need for the organization of additional PD courses is highlighted by all participants (100%) who wish the continuation/enhancement of the module, and it is elucidated on the basis of lifelong learning. Thus, beyond their desire to expand their knowledge in some specific pedagogical subjects, Greek HL teachers see their professional development as an ongoing opportunity to deal successfully with new challenges in a constantly evolving environment. Subsequently, they share the view that education is a field of continuous turmoil, so the pedagogical approaches do not constitute a closed cognitive grid to be learnt or consolidated but are formed through daily practice and the sharing of experience by community members.

The range of the interests of participant teachers emerged through the selection of preferred themes for future professional development sessions. Out of four themes suggested by the questionnaire, the two most popular with 28% of preference each are (a) lesson planning and unit planning and (b) development of student engagement strategies. Next, with 24% and 20%, respectively, are (c) basic principles of language acquisition and (d) assessment techniques.

However, many participants selected the option "other" which further expands the list of recommended professional development subjects, as follows: managing a multilevel classroom, conflict management at the classroom level, the study of learning disabilities and speech disorders, and psychological and ethical implications of teaching. Finally, several participants recommended comparing the Greek language programs' curricula with the Ontario curricula particularly those that concern the kindergarten and primary divisions.

The last question in which teachers had the opportunity to add general comments generated responses in two general directions: (a) assessment of the program and (b) recommendations. The program was characterized as productive, enjoyable, and creative, while participants expressed the hope that more teachers would take part in similar initiatives. Interestingly, at least one teacher suggested that participants should contribute financially to their professional development in case there are barriers to funding for the program.

Finally, the instructor of *Effective Teaching* received very positive feedback, as all participants praised her organizational and teaching skills.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study approaches the teaching of Modern Greek as a HL in Canada from the educators' perspective, revealing a wide range of concerns that are rooted in the peculiarities of heritage language education (Brinton et al. 2008; Carreira and Kagan 2011; Carreira 2014; Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014). In the previous sections, we attempted to illustrate the heterogeneous and often dispersed nature of the heritage language learning environments, outline the teachers' profile, and map their professional needs. In particular, teachers in the context of Modern Greek heritage language education in Canada have different career starting points, educational paths, and cultural features. They work consistently in the area of teaching Greek, and despite all the difficulties encountered in the field, they have a very positive perception about their work and the collaborative environment that is formed in their workplaces.

Furthermore, it appears that they have clear knowledge of their students' needs, as the majority are faced with the challenge of teaching in heterogeneous classes of multiple levels. Although most teachers seem to be aware of the basic theoretical principles for teaching the Greek language, they could benefit from supportive educational materials that meet the particular needs of their classes, particularly the ones that involve young students (primary level). With a view to upgrading their skills and enhancing their teaching capacity, they are seeking to expand their knowledge base in both teaching methodology and pedagogy as well as in the target language. Exploring aspects of their technological profile, we recorded familiarity with basic technological tools and services (e.g., emails). However, they still express the desire to learn how to utilize further the educational potential of information and communication technologies in their lessons and to deepen their knowledge of the functionality of online learning communities and e-learning applications. As for the difficulties and concerns that arise in the professional field of Greek/heritage language instructors, the emphasis was on (a) the need to improve the earnings of teachers and (b) to strengthen the supportive framework either by improving the infrastructure or through cooperation and exchange of views with all the Greek heritage language education community players. In this direction, the administrators of schools or institutions could play a more active role. At the same time, parents could have more creative participation in the schools and the community.

Increasing the teaching hours and restructuring the levels of study are measures that could provide continuity in the produced educational work that is characterized by fragmentation. The creation of a common framework for collective action with reference to the designing of new curricula for Greek heritage language education in Canada and the utilization of online teaching and learning recourses – through social media, websites, e-learning platforms, or specialized educational portals – could also contribute to the overall improvement of the teaching quality and the treatment of many existing difficulties or shortcomings.

What is demonstrated without any deviations from all data examined in this study is the need to strengthen efforts to design and organize innovative professional

development programs. Also vital is the need to strengthen the hitherto positive acceptance by the educational community of programs already realized, such as the one that has been running in Toronto and Ontario. These programs seem to (a) promote the professional knowledge of the participants and (b) cultivate the consciousness of collective action in support of community educational work.

The development of effective teaching and classroom management strategies, as well as the adoption of new teaching approaches to meet the requirements of Greek HL education, seems to help teachers to (a) fill knowledge gaps or weaknesses stemming from their diverse and often disparate cognitive and experiential background, (b) renew their methodological repertoire, (c) introduce and apply new ideas in the design and implementation of their lessons, and (d) use more widely in their everyday practice, applications of information and communication technologies. At the same time, the professional development modules have highlighted the issue of production and distribution of educational materials (textbooks and curricula) that meet quality criteria and are designed based on the peculiarities of language teaching in the specific sociocultural context.

In addition to the knowledge-based parameters, the previously presented initiatives have demonstrated the desire of teachers to be part of an educational community – for example, community of practice (Wenger 1998) – with more solid links and communication channels in order to promote the cultivation of a substantive dialogue on the prospects and realistic problems that arise during the teaching praxis. In this direction, we should underscore the satisfaction of the participants due to the collaborative nature of the professional development activities based on the exchange of views and experiences on feasible teaching practices. That is why, as indicated earlier, teachers prefer to participate in face-to-face professional development programs blended with the use of technology, despite their time limitations resulting from a heavy schedule or other professional and social commitments. Along the same lines, teachers are trying to achieve a common action framework through closer cooperation both with students and their parents and also with different educational and cultural organizations that are active in promoting Greek/ heritage language education. This common framework of action will provide consistency, continuity, and efficiency and will set clearer standards at all levels in regard to the production of teaching materials as well as the organization and operation of educational programs. In this way, some practical organizational issues could be addressed, such as financing or co-financing professional development programs and other educational activities that could be organized with continuity and expanded with more themes according to the participants' preferences.

The data collected in this study offers significant clues for the content of upcoming professional development courses for HL educators. Our suggestion is that such courses should be designed to enhance both the language proficiency and the pedagogical capacity of the instructors. The preferences of the teachers, as recorded in different stages of the study, indicate that the themes that involve specifics on the teaching of Greek as a heritage language in Canada are more popular than any other professional development topic. Greek language educators set as their learning

priorities (a) strategies for teaching in heterogeneous classes, (b) strategies for teaching very young learners, and (c) effective long-term teaching planning in order to achieve the active involvement of students in the learning process.

The analysis of the profile of Greek language educators in Canada reveals that the diversity among heritage language learners – according to their linguistic background, their relationship with the HL and the community, and their different learning styles, interests, and incentives – applies also to their teachers. The majority of those who work in community-based programs teach only on a part-time basis, thus suggesting their need for professional development. In contrast to previous studies showing that teachers of heritage languages feel frustrated and professionally isolated or neglected (Feuerverger 1997; Lee and Oxelson 2006; Liu 2006; Mercurio 2010; Wu 2011), our data indicate that despite their relatively low wages and the part-time employment conditions, HL teachers are generally satisfied with their work.

Their professional development needs are primarily pointing at the challenge of teaching mixed classes, in terms of the students' age group and language proficiency, which could be remedied by methods of individualized/differentiated instruction (Carreira 2007, 2016a, b). However, many teachers involved with community-based HL programs lack the background knowledge and expertise, the time, and the suitable guidance to support this approach, particularly since they are already challenged by issues including extensive student absenteeism, deficient parental participation in the education process, learning materials created in the home country, and curricula somewhat irrelevant to the conditions and needs of their students. HL educators recognize the pedagogical potential of the tools offered by new technologies and multimedia resources but require support and training to be able to use them in their practice.

On the other hand, the administrators of HL programs who participated in this study feel that their teachers need support both on pedagogical issues and on developing further their proficiency in the target language. According to the program directors, greater priority for the professional development of HL educators should be given to building their expertise in differentiated/multilevel teaching, on improving their classroom management skills, and on preparing students for authentic language communication settings. Moreover, they are ready to bear the costs of professional development courses and recommend the creation of online classes to facilitate the participation of many educators and overcome time and distance obstacles.

Finally, the most significant element of this study is the community involvement and collaboration (Liu and You 2014; Aravossitas 2014) which resulted in the development of a much needed PD course. Considering the complexities of HLE, the fact that community leaders, researchers, teachers, administrators, and teacher educators were able to form a professional network and address, one of the main challenges of Greek HLE in Canada poses an encouraging example of success in community-based HL programs which can be flexible, productive, and sustainable.

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Language Teachers' Ideologies in a Complementary Greek School in Montreal: Heteroglossia and Teaching

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Argyro Panagiotopoulou, Lisa Rosen, and Ofelia García

Abstract

This contribution is centered around the following question: What are the various ideologies about language and multilingualism held by teachers of a complementary Greek school in Canada? It focuses on the tensions between the multilingual nature of Canadian society and that of the Greek-Canadian children who attend this nonmainstream school, and the ideologies of teachers about teaching a community language in a Greek complementary school.

Analytical results from four theory-generating expert interviews within the project "Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism" (Panagiotopoulou and Rosen, Professionalism and multilingualism in Greece and Canada: An international comparison of (minority) teachers' views on linguistic diversity and language practices in monolingual vs. multilingual educational systems. In D. Lengyel, L. Rosen (Eds.), Minority teachers in different educational contexts – Recent studies from three German-speaking countries. Tertium comparationis. *Journal für International und Interkulturell Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*, 21(2), 225–250, 2015) about teachers' views on multilingualism and language practices at school are presented. The multilingual context of Montreal, the context of complementary schools, in this case that of a Greek school, the research design, as well as the methodology are described.

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The results are discussed with regard to the professionalization of teachers in multilingual and migration contexts. All interviewed teachers are positive that the children they teach are multilingual, and see this as an asset. However, even though all four teachers lead multilingual lives, according to their self-reports, the ways they handle their own and their students' multilingualism vary greatly. For instance, what has emerged as a particularly interesting result is the fact that teachers with the least academic preparation tend to have the most dynamic views on bilingualism.

Contents

Introduction

Mario is 10 years old and is sitting in a Saturday classroom for Greek children in Montreal, Canada. Mario is multilingual. During the week, his schooling is mostly in French, although English is taught and is also used in the school. But his parents came from Greece 12 years ago, so besides French and English Mario also speaks Greek, a language he hears from his parents, the Greek television programs, and his peers in the Greek Saturday school. Mario identifies as a multilingual Canadian of Greek heritage. And yet, in none of the school spaces that Mario inhabits are his teachers' ideologies about multilingualism the same as those that Mario holds. That is, his teachers pay attention to pieces of Mario's language identity – his French, his English, his Greek; but for the most part, his teachers do not recognize and nurture Mario's multilingual identity.

This chapter is about the different language ideologies about multilingualism and the teaching of Greek held by teachers in a complementary Greek school in Montreal. It focuses on the tensions between the multilingual nature of Canadian society and that of the Greek-Canadian children who attend the school, and the ideologies about teaching a community language of teachers of Greek in a complementary school. That means it is centered around the following research question: What are the various ideologies about language and multilingualism held by teachers of a complementary Greek school in Canada? In order to answer the research questions, expert interviews with four teachers who were part of a larger case study on Greek and German teachers

in complementary schools (see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2015) are analyzed. These selected teachers represent the prime examples from which the continuum of monoglossic-heteroglossic ideologies (see ▶ Chap. 12, "Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Modeling Teachers' Professional Learning to Advance Plurilingualism") is shaped. Before turning to the four teachers and their language and multilingualism ideology, it is important to first describe the local contexts in which they teach – the multilingual context of Montreal – and the context of complementary schools, in this case that of a Greek school (see ▶ Chap. 13, "Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation"). Secondly, the research design as well as the methodology (see ▶ Chap. 4, "Heritage Language Learners in Mixed University Classes: Language Skills, Attitudes, and Implications for Curriculum Development") are described.

Language Teachers' Ideologies in Complementary Greek Schools

Contexts for the Study: Montreal and Complementary Schools

Montreal today is a multilingual city located in the province of Québec. In 2000, Francophones were said to predominate (67%), only 12% were said to be Anglophones, and "allophones" (the Canadian term for those who are said to speak neither French nor English as a "first language") made up 21% of the population (Lamarre et al. 2002). Although French is heard more in Montreal today than before the Quiet Revolution and the passage of Bill 101 (The Charter of the French Language) in 1977, there has also been a steady increase in the bilingualism and even multilingualism of the population (Marmen and Corbeil 1999). In fact, one in six Montrealers are said to be trilingual or multilingual (Authier 2002). And because of the growing population of young Montrealers, multilingual practices are becoming more commonplace (Lamarre et al. 2002).

Complementary schools in Canada, known sometimes as heritage language schools, have enjoyed much more government support than other supplementary forms of education around the world. Canadian Heritage language programs started as Cultural Enrichment Programs in 1977 and have grown considerably as a result of Canada's Multiculturalism Act in 1988 (Cummins and Danesi 1990; García 2009).

Schools organized by ethnolinguistic communities outside of the government-sponsored day school are not new and do not just exist in Canada. These educational institutions have been especially important to influence identity and cultural socialization among ethnolinguistic minorities and to extend their bilingualism (Creese et al. 2008). In the USA, it was Joshua A. Fishman (1980a, b) who first studied their effects on minority language maintenance, calling them "ethnic-mother tongue schools." García et al. (2013) have also studied the efforts of what they call "bilingual community education" to support the language and cultural practices of diasporic communities. In the United Kingdom, the study of "complementary schools" has received much attention especially through the work of Angela Creese and her collaborators (2006, 2008; see also Li Wei 2006).

Perhaps most prevalent throughout the world are complementary schools established by Chinese diasporas where Chinese language but also Chinese cultural values of perseverance, obedience, etc. are taught and emphasized (for such an effort in Canada, see Curdt-Christiansen 2006, 2008). Also popular throughout the world are complementary schools of groups where language, ethnicity, and an established religion are linked. In the Hebrew schools in the USA, South America, the UK, South Africa, Australia, and other places, children are taught to read the *Torah* in classical Hebrew and learn the values of being Jewish. And Muslim children throughout the world often attend complementary schools where they are taught Classical Arabic (Fuṣʹḥá) to read the Qu'ran. The Armenian and Greek Orthodox communities throughout the world also have large networks of complementary schools. Although Classical Armenian (Krapar) is the liturgical language, the emphasis in Armenian complementary schools is the development of Armenian language and culture among the diaspora that were decimated as the result of the 1915 Armenian genocide. Greek complementary schools also emphasize the Greek culture and language rather than Greek Orthodox religion, although a prayer in Greek is often said before classes start.

In this chapter, the research interest is *not* on how the Greek language is used by teachers or students in Greek complementary schools. Rather, the attempt is to excavate in an exemplary manner the language ideologies of four teachers, following a grounded theory analysis (Charmaz 2014) of the theory-generating interviews (Bogner and Menz 2005) that were conducted.

Research Design and Methodology

In schools, linguistic practices are often constructed through "monoglossic ideologies" (García 2009) that promote socialization to the language that "ideally expresses the spirit of nation and the territory it occupies" (Gal 2006, p. 163). These monoglossic ideologies reify what is a standard language and what is academic language, presenting them as discrete autonomous linguistic categories that can be taught and assessed. As a result of these monoglossic ideologies, students are categorized as "native speakers" or stigmatized as "second language learners." Through rituals, teachers in schools tend to reproduce these ideologies. And although complementary schools also have such rituals, it becomes obvious that teachers can indeed escape these monoglossic ideologies and create spaces for heteroglossic contestation, even when the school has been set up precisely to defend and maintain what is Greekness and what is the Greek language. At least this is what the accounts of teachers about their own teaching practices collected within an interview-based study point to.

This study is the international comparative research project "Educational Professionalism, Migration, and Multilingualism in Canada (Montreal, Quebec), Germany (Cologne, North Rhine-Westphalia), and Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki)." Panagiotopoulou and Rosen explore how (minority) teachers view migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity, and translingual practices (Panagiotopoulou

and Rosen 2015). So far they have conducted 54 "theory-generating" expert interviews (Bogner and Menz 2005). The epistemological interest of this kind of interview focuses less on factual knowledge and more on the "interpretive knowledge" of teachers (ibid, p. 44), meaning their subjective proclivities to act in certain ways, (implicit) decision-making maxims as well as knowledge constituents and routines which they develop throughout their work (cf. ibid, p. 38). This know-how is generally considered not to be directly retrievable; instead, it has to be deduced, meaning reconstructed, through communication by which – building on Bogner and Menz – "the field of ideas and ideologies" (ibid, p. 42 and 44) and therefore also the field of language ideologies can be accessed.

The interview guides used by Panagiotopoulou and Rosen contain various prompts and questions through which the teachers' language ideologies within the scope of institutional contexts are explored (for the complete guidelines, see Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2015, p. 250). First, the teachers are invited to report on their own teaching plan/lesson conception and thus to reflect on their own practice. But also, there are questions that focus on the language practices, which pay attention to the language practices of multilingual children and youth both within educational institutions and outside of them. The interviewees are asked to express their opinions and observations. For example: "We assume that your students use different languages in their everyday lives. In what way is this also the case in everyday school life? In what way do your students mix languages, and does this affect your lessons and teaching?" (ibid). Moreover, the interviewees are encouraged to state their opinions about scientific findings concerning multilingualism und bilingual education and to further elaborate using personal examples. Panagiotopoulou and Rosen also ask a question about the experts' personal (private and/or familial) language use in order to deliberately and methodologically "integrate the expert as a 'private person'" and ensure a "substantially rich elicitation" of experts' interpretative knowledge (Bogner and Menz 2005, p. 44). It is important to note that what makes the expert an expert is not his or her knowledge advantage, but rather his or her power to shape situations that go along with knowledge, in our case, in the context of educational institutions: "During the theory-guided expert interview, we interview experts because their proclivities to act in certain ways, their knowledge and their assessments (help) structure the other actors' options for actions; due to this, expert knowledge exhibits the dimension of social relevance" (Bogner and Menz 2005, p. 45).

The four teachers refered to in this contribution were interviewed in Montreal in 2014 by Panagiotopoulou and Rosen. Two were interviewed in Greek and two were interviewed in English. The interviews were transcribed, and the Greek transcripts translated to English. These transcripts were then shared with various "critical friends" that included Greek, American, German, Austrian, Luxembourgish, and Swiss sociolinguists and intercultural education scholars on two different occasions (June 2015 and February 2016; for further information on the participating colleagues from various European universities, please refer to http://sinter.uni-koeln.de/sites/ca5/Veranstaltungen/Flyer_160212_final.pdf). Some in the group were senior scholars, others were junior scholars, still others were doctoral students. The

transcripts were discussed and the data analyzed over the course of the two sessions that lasted approximately six hours each. The groups were organized into a Greek-speaking group that had the transcripts in Greek and an English and German group. The three authors then spent 3 days reviewing the group discussions that were taped, as well as conducting the final analysis. Our purpose in having a cross-linguistic, cross-cultural, iterative, and in-depth look at the data had to do with our goal of excavating the language ideologies of teachers without imposing a single view or perspective that was language- or culture-specific. What is avoided by proceeding this way is the pitfall that Foucault (1980, 2002) identifies in knowledge production, that is, that each society has a "general politics" of truth that regulates what can be said and done and what constitutes right and wrong.

Results

Being Multilingual in Montreal: The Four Teachers

Our four teachers taught in the same complementary Greek school in Montreal. Three of the teachers were born in Greece and one was born in Canada, although he lived in Greece for 22 years. All would be considered multilingual. Two are females and two are males. The teachers are between 35 and 45 years of age.

- **Anna** moved to Montreal in 2013. She had taught English in Greece for 19 years. She does not consider herself multilingual and is certain that she will never be multilingual, because she learned English as a second or a foreign language. Even though Anna is bilingual, and has been prior to her immigration to Canada, her ideologies about her bilingualism are monoglossic. She sees bilingualism as "a button you switch on and off, on and off." When Greek is on, English cannot be, and viceversa. Thus, she describes all heteroglossic language practices as being "a trap a lot of people fall into when they try to express themselves using two, even three languages." And she says it is "wrong, of course." Anna's views of her language practices follow notions of *additive diglossic bilingualism* (Lambert 1974; Fishman 1972). For herself, Anna has not developed the notion of bilingualism and multilingualism that a multilingual, multicultural society like Montreal demands. Hers is an old-fashioned bilingualism, responding to interests that are personal for Anna, but not societal.
- **Fotis** was born in Canada to a Greek family. He attended an elementary Greek school in Montreal, as well as the Greek complementary school in which he now teaches. Fotis then lived in Greece for 22 years before returning to Montreal 2 years ago. Unlike Anna, Fotis' ideology of multilingualism is related to the political interests of Canada as a multilingual society. Having been raised in Montreal and having attended Greek schools mean that Fotis' multilingualism is *lived* and is a product of a Canadian life. Fotis views his multilingualism as a resource, giving him an advantage at the Greek company where he works. Although he does not dwell on how his multilingualism works, it can be

characterized as being dynamic and not simply additive as in Anna's case (for the difference between additive and dynamic bilingualism, see García 2009).

- **Evi** has been in Montreal only 7 years, but she previously taught in Toronto for 2 years and in Los Angeles for 5 years and had studied for her Masters degree in Greek Paleography and Classical Philology in England. If Fotis is about *being* multilingual, Evi is about *thinking* multilingualism. For her, multilingualism is about being able to make structural connections in her brain. This, of course, stems from her graduate education and her university teaching. Evi considers herself multilingual, she has studied the languages (Greek, English, French, German, Spanish) carefully, identifying cross-linguistic connections and she is sure that the exercise of learning many languages is good for the brain. It is precisely because she has this superior advantage that she considers herself a model for her children of how to be multilingual in Canada. Unlike Anna who clearly differentiates when she speaks what language to whom in a diglossic sense, Evi reports that she uses the language that optimizes her chances of communicating effectively. She has a transglossic use of her multilingualism (García 2009; 2014) and does not simply use one language with one person. This different ideology from that of Anna is shaped by Evi's longer contact with the Montreal community where so many interlocutors are multilingual, therefore giving speakers freedom to select features from their repertoire to communicate with people that do not have a single language identity. Unlike Fotis, she is cerebral about languages and multilingualism, and yet she says that she does not want "named" languages to be "a taboo in her brain." For Evi, the multilingualism that children experience in schools is important, as will become more obvious when presenting her teaching approach.

- **Kostas** has been in Montreal for 7 years. However, prior to that, he lived in Spain and England. As seen above, Anna has a diglossic approach to her multilingualism that places her outside of Québecois society. Fotis has a natural approach that is the product of being a Québecois. And Evi has a cerebral approach to her multilingualism that has more to do with her understandings of the capacities of multilinguals than of her own lived experience. In contrast, Kostas experiences with multilingualism are the product of his global experience, living in England and Spain, and speaking a fourth language – Spanish. Whereas Evi holds herself up as an example of multilingualism and as the expert, Kostas clearly declares: "I am not an expert." Multilingualism for Kostas is not to think, to have more cognitive brain advantages, or to simply live in Canada; multilingualism is, he says, "to dig further," "to really deepen into culture," "to enter into the culture." Clearly Kostas' multilingualism enables him to live across and beyond cultures, and this is what makes multilingualism important for him. Therefore, Kostas goes beyond the established boundaries of "named" languages to use all his features, all his semiotic repertoire. This is precisely the way in which most multilingual communities use language, going beyond the boundaries of "named" national languages (the external perspective), and instead using all the features of their repertoire, *translanguaging* to make meaning (García and

Li Wei 2014). Translanguaging, as Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 281) have said "is the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages." Kostas is not afraid to go beyond established named languages, to be creative in his linguistic performances because to him, language is life, freedom from the national borders and constraints in which he was born and socialized. He is a global multilingual citizen.

Despite the similarities in their backgrounds and the institutional consistency of a Greek complementary school, all four teachers display different language ideologies that could be placed along a continuum of monoglossic-heteroglossic ideologies.

The following sections focus on teachers' ideologies about teaching a heritage language like Greek and how that impacts their teaching practices.

Being a Greek Teacher in Multilingual Montreal

All teachers are very sure and certain that the children they teach are multilingual and see this as an asset. And yet, their teaching practices and ideologies about teaching Greek certainly differ.

When asked whether their children are multilingual, Anna repeats four times in the course of replying, "yes, they are." And Fotis repeats three times, "Yes," and emphasizes, "they are." Kostas answers with an enthusiastic "definitely," "for sure."

All of the teachers also perceive multilingualism in a very positive light. Anna says her students "are very lucky" because they "can pick up the following languages with much more ease, and faster," because "they are more linguistic," and adds "that part of the brain works."

Evi, following her cerebral cross-linguistic approach to multilingualism says that "children make easier connections in their brain, grammatical analogies [are] easier, certainly." And she adds "it's really easy." In fact, Evi gives the example of a friend who is doing a study about giftedness and multilingualism. She explains: "A child who is growing up being multilingual,... the brain structures are more dense and they function, and has superior intelligence." With certainty she explains that the higher results of the intelligence tests of bilingual children have to do with their bilingualism. She says:

> It's obvious. These kids are not having anything more. They were not fed better and did not have better life conditions. So the only thing which differentiates them from the rest of the world is being bilingual.

And yet, Evi acknowledges that "family demands" and "pressing from their environment" make a difference as to whether these children will become "University professors, doctors and lawyers" or have "simpler jobs" such as working "in restaurants."

Kostas certainly views the children's multilingualism as "a big privilege." He sees "the fact that they're multilingual" as "an amazing fact," "a plus." A child who is multilingual, he tells us, "only has a plus; he only has benefits. It's an advantage for

them." Kostas repeats three times that studying in the complementary Greek school is "a nice and great opportunity."

Despite their absolute agreement on the advantages of multilingualism, these four teachers act differently, a product of different life experiences that have shaped their ideologies about teaching these Greek-Canadian children. Each of the teachers is characterized with a metaphor that captures their positionalities in terms of teaching. That metaphor is put alongside the ideologies about language and multilingualism that have been discussed above to create an accurate portrait of the different ideologies these four teachers hold.

Anna: The Nonmultilingual Gardener

Anna positions her teaching-self as just presenting the children with a garden from which they can freely choose. Because she deeply believes that "the earlier, the better," she believes in an immersion approach to the teaching of Greek. She repeatedly says that children "can pick up" languages if "surrounded" by the language, if "exposed" to the language. She believes that children find it much easier "to pick up" the language from peers, so she makes sure that she sets up the conditions in her classroom so that children can speak to peers because then "everything comes easier." In teaching, she makes sure that she provides a Greek immersion "surround." When the children use features beyond those of Greek in speaking to her, she "repeat(s) the sentence that they have said in the Greek language." Thus, Anna's only multilingual concession in her classroom is for what are called "recasts" (Ellis and Sheen 2006), repeating in Greek what the child has said in English or French. Anna believes that a good teacher of Greek is one who uses only Greek in the classroom because otherwise "you don't learn to fly on your own," "you prolong your flight," "it delays, it prolongs the acquisition of the language." She teaches Greek in multilingual Canada in the same way she would teach in a monolingual context. And as a teacher she ignores the multilingual resources that the children bring.

Fotis: The Multilingual Greek Social Actor

Like Anna, Fotis believes in reproducing an immersion experience for his children in his classroom. Like Anna, he believes that "French and English, they're gonna learn anyways." If "you live in a bilingual country, you are gonna learn the language, even if you don't want to. You're eventually gonna have to learn it." He recognizes the multilingual character of the children – "the kids that come here their mother tongue is not Greek." So he "acts like I don't speak English in my lesson." "I act like I don't understand what they're saying." He continues:

> So I tell them, like, 'I don't understand. What you're talking? What language is that?' They're like, they say it, they repeat it a second time. I say it again. They're like, 'Oh, sure, okay,' and they switch into 'Engl-Greek' so they can do so. I do that. I try *not never* to speak English in class.

Despite his insistence in providing a Greek immersion experience, Fotis recognizes the multilingual practices of his students, what he calls "Engl-Greek." But he tries "not never" to speak English in class. Yet, he is willing to make exceptions: "When there's a word that they don't understand no matter what I do, so I have to tell them in English what the word is, but that's it." Unlike Anna who does not validate the multilingualism of her students, Fotis does, although like Anna he tries to create an immersion experience in Greek. He adds:

> When I hear English, I tell them 'In Greek. Speak in Greek.' They don't, but okay; it's easier for them to speak [in English]; and especially when they're among themselves they only speak English.

Fotis accepts the children's multilingual use among themselves and recognizes their multilingual practices, even though he would wish for Greek performances, and thus he "acts as if."

Evi: The Cross-linguistic Greek-Canadian Multilingual Model and Thinker

If Anna and Fotis believe in different degrees of immersion in Greek as a teaching practice, Evi believes in cross-linguistic analyses to support children's metalinguistic abilities. She focuses on linguistic connections, and despite the fact that English and Greek belong to different families, she emphasizes that their "grammatical structures are similar because they are near one to the other."

Evi is certain that the children she teaches will have no difficulty precisely because they are developing their trilingualism in a multilingual society that supports their use of the three languages. They are, as she says, "living as trilinguals." She is conscious of the fact that this can only happen with societal support and acknowledges Canada's role in institutionalizing multilingualism: "Canada declares multiculturalism in its Constitution, as one of its liberties.... It is officially documented. It's not simply tolerated by Canada; it's even promoted."

Besides teaching in the Greek complementary school where the rest of the teachers teach, Evi is qualified to teach in a trilingual day school. She is especially supportive of trilingual day schools and recognizes Canada's unique contribution to the proliferation of such schools. After explaining Canada's support for multilingualism, Evi continues:

> That's why we receive money from the Ministry of Education. The Ministry cannot forbid us from teaching Greek. They can say that we must teach more hours of French, but they cannot say to us: 'Do not teach Greek'... This would be a breach of our right.

Greekness in the day school is not simply artificially created in the immersion experiences narrated by Anna and Fotis or in the cross-linguistic analyses in which Evi engages the children in the complementary schools. Instead, she says:

> The children have an everyday touch, an everyday exposure to the Greek element. . . . We will do our ceremonies as part of our everyday schedule, and not like if it were an extra activity, mandatory to attend on Saturday.

And she explains that, for example, not only the Greek children participate in a celebration about Greek Independence Day, but so do English and French students, celebrating liberty and freedom. And so Greek Independence Day is shared among all Canadians for its emphasis on liberty and freedom, which connects to the French Revolution.

It is precisely Evi's understanding of the interrelationships of languages and cultures that leads to Evi's more heteroglossic practices when it comes to teaching Greek. She says:

> As much as it concerns vocabulary, it's not a problem for me to explain it to my students in either French or English. I don't care. It's a matter of time. If I have little time to explain unknown words... that is not my priority. I want to do other things. I could say to them a phrase in Greek, and then they will understand. And then they will reply, and say the word in French or English. So, I confirm it. I am not limited. I don't want to be limited by trilingualism.

Evi sets herself up as an example to her trilingual children. She uses her three languages to teach in a transglossic type of way, not caring whether the specific language has to be taught and used in only one classroom space. She continues:

> If you feel that you can't [use the other language], if you feel that you are not doing well your job if you use another language, No! It can't be! We are living in a multilingual environment. It would be silly not to speak in other languages.... I am an example for these children.... I am speaking the three languages which I demand them to learn. Isn't it so?

Evi's cross-linguistic pedagogy has to do with her wish to help the students "make the linguistic connections." She continues, "if I don't offer them the other language the students cannot [make the connections]."

Because of Evi's cross-linguistic pedagogy, she crosses also subject and language lines. And so she can say that the French teacher says to her: "Oh kids told me that you are doing that subject" [meaning the same grammatical structure].

Evi's pedagogy is not about immersing students in Greek. Her Greek language pedagogy acknowledges the children's multilingualism and uses cross-linguistic comparisons to go beyond simply the teaching of Greek. In that respect, Evi is enabling the children's translanguaging, acknowledging their full language repertoire. But her pedagogy falls short of what a translanguaging pedagogy needs, for Evi translanguages only to provide cross-linguistic analyses and not to disrupt the language hierarchies and provide multilingual children with ways of using language that go beyond these named languages. Translanguaging for Evi is all in the head, in the linguistic analyses, but not in the language practices themselves.

Kostas: The Global Translanguaging Companion and Pragmatist

Kostas' pedagogy parallels the language practices of his multilingual students. He acknowledges the fact that children "are speaking English and French with their friends," "they're watching movies and they're listening to English songs." So it's natural that in the Greek complementary school, "during their break, they speak

English between themselves." Kostas also describes how children are "thinking in one of the other languages before expressing themselves in Greek," but that's "okay." And they're constantly "translating. They're thinking either in English or in French." Unlike Anna and Fotis who may see all of this as a problem, Kostas sees it as "a big plus." The children's multilingualism is a plus for the complementary Greek school. Kostas doesn't see Greek as competing with English and French, but in interrelationship with them.

This idea that teaching a language has to adjust to the local context in which it is performed also relates to Kostas' privileging oral abilities beyond literacy abilities. He says:

> These kids, they do not read. Apart from their [Greek] books, they do not read literature in Greek. Okay, they watch TV, some of them at home Greek channels and Greek series. The parents... are pleased if they, the kids, understand and speak orally... The fact that there are rules of grammar and orthography; it's not perfect; it's not the number one issue for them.

Kostas does not have any unrealistic expectations of what performances in Greek should be for children growing up multilingual in Canada. He is happy with it not being "perfect," as are the parents. He does not care if the "grammar and orthography" are "not perfect." He looks at how the children are using Greek in the home, mostly to talk to parents and to watch Greek television programming. He builds on those oracy skills, which are so important for literacy later on. And he does not dwell on what should be a "perfect" monolingual performance in Greek.

Kostas is patient. He accompanies the children in what he calls "the process of learning" Greek. He does not "judge," for he says that he "knows many adults" who also "make mistakes, either multilingual or unilingual." That is, Kostas perceives language as a series of social practices that come "bit by bit." He does not expect children to get the language as an autonomous structure, but he wants them to use the features that they do acquire, "bit by bit, more and more" within their other linguistic performances. Kostas does not have a view of acquisition of an additional language as additive, but as dynamic, in interrelationship with other language practices. And he certainly does not see multilingual performances as having an end point, as being "perfect," as moving towards what second language acquisition scholars have called "ultimate attainment" (Birdson 1992), an end point or final state of acquisition. Kostas focuses on the *process* of learning, not on the product.

As such, he engages the children in team collaborative work. He makes them "feel good," "work as a team," to feel as if "they are a team." He recognizes that the best thing he can do as a teacher is to use the Greek language authentically within a multilingual environment. To do that, he uses Greek in interrelationship with French and English. He brings in French newspapers and English cultural facts. The children are surrounded by multilingual texts, not just Greek texts. But Kostas supplements these texts with songs and movies, multimodal texts that optimize the meaning potential of the Greek texts. In teaching Greek, he also uses Latin characters. Children are engaged with Greek not as simply in Classical Greece, but as in our

global times and world where texts are multimodal, and Greek can be read, heard, seen, listened to, and embodied in gesture and life. Kostas pedagogy goes across and beyond languages and scripts, as well as modes.

As Evi, Kostas also works with relationships between Greek and French and English, but his approach is different. He asks the children to see the relationship between a headline in French from the French newspaper and the Greek language. He tells them:

> Many French will not understand, but you have a big advantage because you know Greek and you can see it, and this makes them feel proud because the language [Greek] has lent so many terms.

And he goes on to say that Greek is useful if children go to a doctor, to a hospital, or if they are sick with an illness. He continues:

> If you say *ophtalmologiste* to a French, they have to learn that it's a guy, a doctor, who is treating eyes; but if you speak Greek or if you understand Greek you know that *ophtalmos* means eye.

The comparisons that Kostas draws are not for linguistic prowess, as are Evi's. They are to make life more simple, to understand more, and to feel the pride that comes from speaking a language like Greek from which so many have drawn.

When asked whether he "mixes" languages in teaching, Kostas simply replies "I do." His use, however, is different from what he perceives the children speaking, which he terms "Grenglish." One of the activities in which he engages the children is to:

> Talk with everybody that you know, your grandpa and your parents and collect as many words as you can, and then we will see what is the English word, what is the Greek word, the proper one that we use, and what is the Grenglish.

Kostas pedagogical ideology has much to do with translanguaging. He allows the children to use all the linguistic features in their repertoire in order to make sense of new linguistic features and appropriate them into their single unitary system that makes them Greek Canadians. He acknowledges that multilingual practices can cross "named" language boundaries and produce what he calls "Grenglish." He knows these practices exist in multilingual communities, even among adult parents. At the same time, he makes children aware of how to select appropriate features from their single repertoire in different circumstances. In their multilingual community, blended features are common in practice because multilinguals speak not a series of bounded languages, as linguists and educators would have us believe. And yet, multilingual children have to be able to suppress some of the features of their repertoire at times, especially in schools. Kostas' translanguaging pedagogy includes making multilingual children aware of their unitary multilingual repertoire (the internal psychological/linguistic perspective), at the same time that it raises their consciousness as to which features are associated with different named languages

and social positions. Thus, Kostas' translanguaging pedagogy also helps children learn to suppress certain features at specific times (the external sociolinguistic perspective).

Unlike Evi, Kostas does not promote himself as the linguistic model. He simply accompanies the children, helps them, and usually turns to a peer or classmate to rephrase, rather than recasting what the child wants to say. He says "It's better to hear it from a classmate, from another student [than from me]." Kostas is accompanying the children in their global existence as multilingual beings. His pragmatism in teaching Greek to multilingual children in Montreal has to do with his extreme pragmatism about how language functions in a multilingual society.

Conclusion and Future Directions

All four teachers lead multilingual lives; however, according to their self-reports, they handle their own and their students' multilingualism differently. Hence, they would hold varying views on 10-year-old Mario, the Saturday Greek Complementary School student presented at the beginning of this contribution, and his multilingual life, and would most probably handle his linguistic practices very differently in their own classes as well. Similar to the teachers of the regular school that Mario attends during the week, some of the Complementary School teachers would certainly consider only the piece of Mario's language identity most relevant to their work: Mario's Greek; the language to be used and learned in their Saturday classes according to the school's language policy. Thus Mario is expected to act as a monolingual person in this particular context and to adjust to the logic of an institution that promotes and fosters one language only.

Other teachers focusing primarily on the multilingual practices of their students rather than on language itself would consider Mario's multilingualism in relation to his dynamic language acquisition. Those teachers would not insist on monolingual performances but would acknowledge Mario's multilingual identity and everyday practices as the norm. His linguistic repertoire should be enriched by attending their classes and his translingual discursive abilities should be extended.

Within this context of the Complementary School, professionals such as Evi, who enjoyed a diverse pedagogic education, converge with people like Kostas, who is not formally pedagogically trained. Both have gained experience within the context of various migration societies and have lived multilingually for years. Teachers who grew up within the community, such as Fotis, teach within the same school as teachers who have lived in Greece up until recently and who, like Anna, perceive the linguistic practices of Greek-speaking Montrealers as deviant.

The various views and ideologies in the context of an institution that exists parallel with mainstream school and that is not subjected to the governmental mandate and hegemonic logic of the education system constitute a specific pedagogical field: These schools "are institutions that endorse multilingualism as a usual and normative resource for identity performance" and they "potentially provide an alternative (Mirza and Reay 2000), safe (García 2005; Martin et al. 2004), and

multilingual (Hornberger 2005) space for institutional bilingualism" (Creese and Blackledge 2010, p. 104). It is for that reason that researchers expect to find similar concepts when reconstructing the teachers' views on multilingualism.

However, what was found in this research context are diverse concepts that exist parallel to each other as well as in a broad continuum (exemplarily illustrated in this contribution) of monoglossic-heteroglossic teachers' ideologies. That is, even with multilingual teachers one cannot assume that their own linguistic reality and that of their students is being addressed in the daily life of a complementary school. Especially, what has emerged as a particularly interesting result is the fact that teachers like Kostas, with little formal training to be a teacher, tend to have the most dynamic views on bilingualism. This is why, with regard to the future professionalization of teachers, it appears critical to look into the question of how teachers field-test alternative concepts, such as a translaguaging pedagogy, that cater to the heteroglossic reality of students like Mario in the context of nonmainstream schools. In order to accompany this process using ethnographic research beyond the interviewing of teachers, the interactions between teachers and their multilingual students in everyday class life of complementary schools need to be reconstructed.

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A Language Contact Perspective on Heritage Languages in the Classroom

15

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Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of possible outcomes of language contact as a starting point for discussion on contact-induced linguistic variation in the heritage classroom. The rationale for this discussion is that variation awareness will enable students to reflect on their language use without evaluative labels like correct and incorrect. An open mind to language variation is especially important in the heritage classroom, because the heritage language connects the students directly to their parents. Criticizing the variant the student speaks implies indirect critique on their parents and might cause the student to feel that they do not belong to their ethnic linguistic community because they do not speak properly. Knowledge of sources of contact-induced variation and sources of social values on variation will facilitate linguistic awareness and linguistic self-confidence.

Keywords

Variation awareness • Language contact • Cross-linguistic influence • Additive complexity • Incomplete acquisition

Contents

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The Importance of Variation Awareness in the Heritage Classroom

A native language is most often transmitted from parent to child. The language directly connects the child to her parents. Criticizing the language of a child is indirectly criticizing her parents. Moreover, if the language of a heritage learner is different from the language of the community this can affect the extent to which heritage speakers feel they are granted membership to the heritage community or their ethnic community (cf. Carreira 2004).

Because the heritage language is so closely connected to the roots of the speaker and to their sense of identity, a classroom that focuses on prescriptive norms only can alienate and demotivate students. Various authors have therefore stressed the importance of discussing language variation in class (cf. Valdes 1981; Martinez 2003; Leeman 2005; Showstack 2015 among others). Leeman (2005) for example writes:

> It is important for students to realize where social evaluations of language variants come from and to gain insight in the linguistic factors that underlie variation. [heritage]Spanish educators should strive for students to critically understand their own linguistic experience and the role of language in their own lives, as well as in their own communities and the country in which they live.

Frequently authors who talk about awareness of language variation look at dialect variation and register variation. This chapter focuses on another source of variation in heritage languages, namely the effects of contact-induced change on the heritage language. Although the domain is slightly different, this chapter hinges on the same idea that knowing about social and linguistic factors in heritage languages is an important part of heritage education.

This chapter first presents a general overview of possible outcomes of language contact, followed by examples per situation.

Possible Outcomes of Language Contact

When a speaker speaks two languages, this can affect both languages in a number of ways. What type of effect this is depends on the linguistic structure and on sociolinguistic circumstances (cf. Muysken 2013). Sometimes there is crosslinguistic influence. Characteristics of one language influence characteristics of the other language and in other cases the effect of language contact is more indirect. Indirect effects of language contact relate to reduced use (in specific contexts). Figure 1 illustrates the types of possible variation that results from direct and indirect effects of language contact.

The yellow box in picture 1 represents the dominant language and the blue box the heritage language. Outcome 1 with a large blue box represents stability or in other words the absence of change. The heritage language and the baseline are the same and hence they are represented by the same large blue boxes. Box 2 represents the
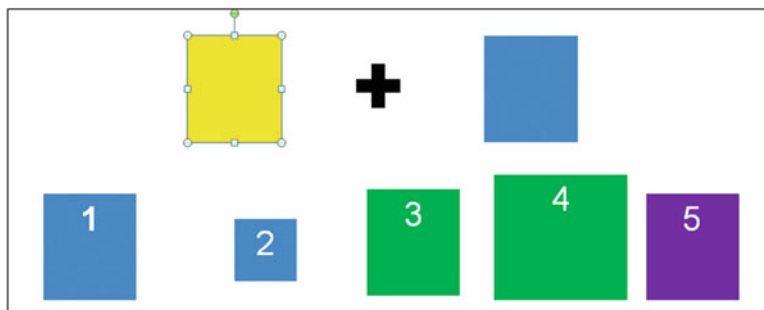
Fig. 1 Possible outcomes of language contact

small blue box. The idea is that the heritage language consists of a subset of the possibilities of the baseline, the smaller box. The green box in 3 represents the mixing of the heritage language and the dominant language. The green box in 4 again represents mixing, but box 4 is made larger because the options in the heritage language are extended with material from the dominant language rather than replaced such as in box 3. Box 5 represents universal contact induced changes that are not necessarily present in the heritage language itself or in the dominant language. Below I will illustrate case studies related to each of these possible outcomes.

Stability/Absence of Change (Box 1)

The box in 1 represents an under-researched linguistic question, namely why some linguistic domains do not change so easily in language contact situations. Resistance to change in heritage languages is discussed in Aalberse and Moro (2014) and in Polinsky (2016). Both Aalberse and Moro as well as Polinsky (2016) report on stability in the domain of number. Aalberse and Moro report on the maintenance of the use of classifiers after numerals in Mandarin Chinese and Polinsky (2016) reports on the retention of special case marking after numerals in heritage Russian. Polinsky (2016) shows that whereas case marking in general is under pressure in heritage languages, case marking after numerals is robust.

Moro (2016) presents an overview of literature that suggests that nonoverlapping structures tend to resist change most. For example, heritage Ambon Malay in the Netherlands has retained postnominal adjectives (e.g. "the girl beautiful") although the dominant language Dutch has prenominal adjectives just like in English as shown in Fig. 2. In contrast, demonstratives can be used prenominally and postnominally in homeland Malay. Moro shows that partial overlap between the dominant language and the heritage language triggers a shift toward the shared structure. Figure 3 shows that demonstratives are used preverbally in heritage Ambon Malay to a much larger extent than in homeland Malay. The idea is that when languages already show a little bit of overlap, this overlap will increase due to language contact, but when such overlap is absent, the structure is robust and resists change. One could ask students to investigate
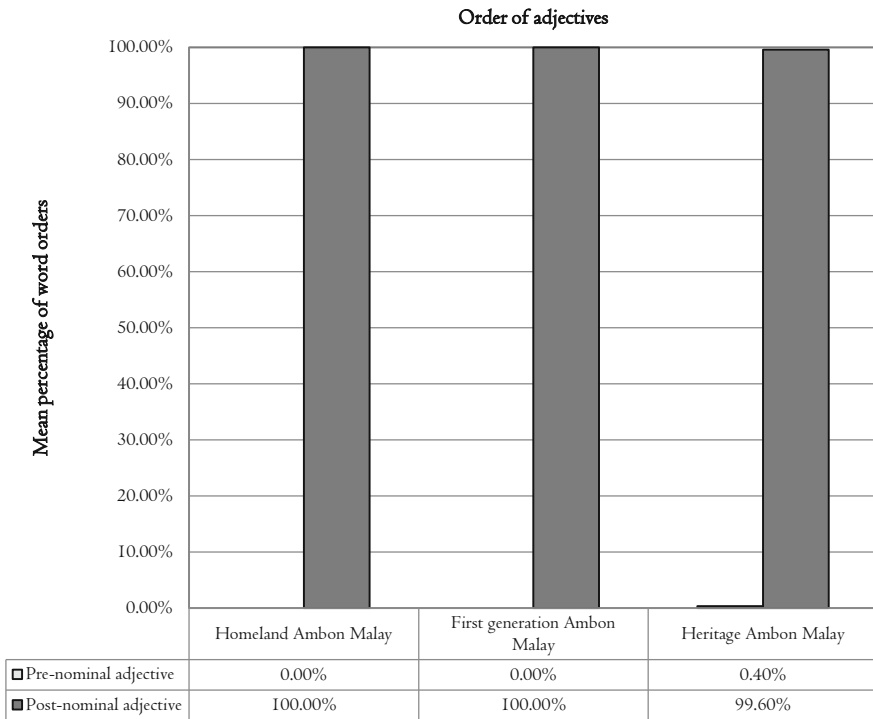
Fig. 2 Order of demonstratives in homeland and heritage Malay taken from Moro (2016)

what parts of their heritage language overlap with the dominant language and which parts do not and to let them check if this has effects on stability.

A Subset of Options (Box 2)

Outcome 2 the small blue box, illustrates the situation where a subset of the possibilities of the baseline variety is retained in the heritage language. Language contact means fewer hours of exposure to the heritage language than in a mono-lingual situation and it means exposure in fewer settings. For example, many heritage speakers have less training in the use of politeness forms because they do not use the heritage language in situations that require extensive politeness. Less exposure and less variety in use settings can result in not acquiring certain features of the language.

The effects of less use are often referred to as incomplete acquisition. Authors who adhere to the notion of incomplete acquisition assume that because heritage speakers have less input in their heritage language their acquisition path might not be complete (see Silva-Corvalán (2016) for discussion). Others like Rothman (2007), Pires and
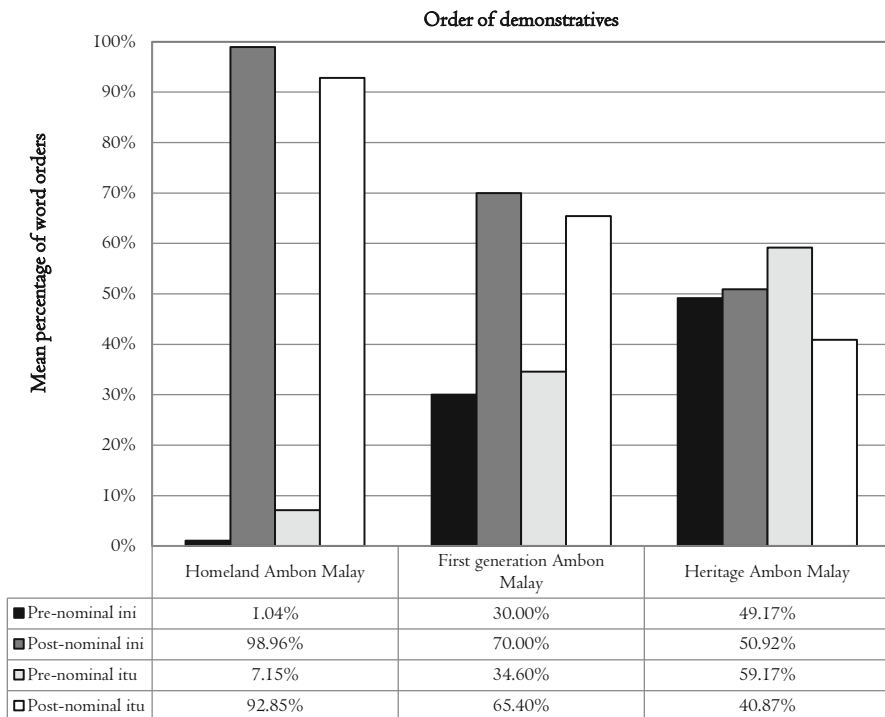
Order of demonstratives

	Homeland Ambon Malay	First generation Ambon Malay	Heritage Ambon Malay
■ Pre-nominal ini	1.04%	30.00%	49.17%
■ Post-nominal ini	98.96%	70.00%	50.92%
□ Pre-nominal itu	7.15%	34.60%	59.17%
□ Post-nominal itu	92.85%	65.40%	40.87%

Fig. 3 Order of adjectives in homeland and heritage Malay taken from Moro (2016)

Rothman (2009), and Kupisch and Rothman (2016) stress that what might look like incomplete acquisition might actually not be an effect of less exposure, but an effect of different input. They claim that if heritage speakers show a subset of the possibilities of baseline speakers, this is connected to the quality if the input rather than to quantity. Often heritage speakers receive informal input only.

Pires and Rothman (2009) show that inflected infinitives are used by educated Brazilian Portuguese speakers, but that these forms are absent in informal settings and are not used by speakers in Brazil until the age of 12. Since most heritage speakers use their heritage language only in informal settings, the inflected infinitive is not part of their input and can thus not be acquired. Pires and Rothman (2009) show that the inflected infinitive is present in informal input in European Portuguese and also present in heritage European Portuguese. The presence of the inflected infinitive in heritage European Portuguese shows that speakers with less input can acquire the structure as long as it is in their input. Moreover, Kupisch and Rothman (2016) show that when there is competition between two languages (and thus less exposure to each of them) differences between mono-linguals and bilinguals dissappear if the heritage language is also used as an instruction language in school. This observation is taken to show that it is not

about the quantity of the input, but rather the quality that explains acquisition or non-acquisition.

Crosslinguistic Influence (Box 3)

Box 3 represents the mixing of the heritage language and the dominant language. In other words, the heritage language comes to share more aspects with the dominant language. As briefly discussed in section "Stability/Absence of change," if languages have partially overlapping structures, the structure that is shared in both languages will receive a boost. Silva-Corvalán (1994) coins changes in frequency distributions as a result of language contact "indirect transfer." Johanson (2002) refers to the process as frequential copying.

An example of a change in frequency due to language contact is the expression of ditranstive structures in heritage Malay in the Netherlands. In ditranstive structures three semenatic roles are expressed, namely an agent (1), an object (2), and a recipient (3). One way to express these roles in Malay is to use a two-predicate construction where the object is expressed with one verb and the recipient with another verb as illustrated in (1)

(1) Dia   pegang   tas   tarus   dia   kasi   par   dia   pung   tamang

     3sg   hold   bag   next   3sg   give   to   3sg   POSS   friend

He holds a bag and then gives (it) to his friend.

As in English, the Dutch structure in (1) is infrequent and it is more common to relate all three arguments (*he*, *the bag*, and *the boy*) to one verb as shown in (2).

(2) Hij   geeft   de tas   aan   zijn   vriend

     He   gives   the bag   to   his   friend.

He gives the bag to his friend

What Moro (2016) and Moro and Klamer (2015) find is that in heritage Malay in the Netherlands the construction with one-verb predicates become more frequent. E. g., the structure as shown in (2) becomes more frequent at the expense of the structure in (1). This structure in (2) was already a possibility in homeland Malay, but it became more frequent under the influence of contact with Dutch.

Other examples of influence of the other language include changes in loan translations or calques. Phrases are translated more or less literally from the dominant language into the heritage language. Example (3) is taken from Backus (2010) and shows how Turkish heritage speakers in the Netherlands translate the Dutch phrase

de schuld geven ("give the guilt" ➜ accuse) literally rather than using the common phrasing used in Turkish from Turkey as presented in (4).

(3) suç-u bana ver-di (heritage Turkish in the Netherlands)
    guilt-ACC to.me give-PAST.3sg

   he accused me

(4) suçlamak "accuse": suç-la-mak "guilt-VERBALIZER-INF" (homeland Turkish
    in Turkey)

Yet another common way to make the heritage language and the dominant languages more alike is the use of c-elements of the dominant language into the heritage language through code-mixing. The utterance in (4) gives an example of the mixing of Dutch and Turkish. The bold words are Dutch words, the other words are Turkish.

(4) iki	gün	once	işte	**bioscoop**-a,	**vragen** yap-tıydı-m
two	day	before	INTERJ	**cinema**-DAT	**ask** do-PLUPF-1sg

   but two days before I had asked her along to the movies (Backus 1996)

Code-switching is common practice in some but not all heritage communities depending in part on the language ideology of the community of speakers. Keim and Cindark (2003) studied different groups of Turkish heritage speakers in the German city Mannheim, and found that the groups varied widely in their code-switching behavior (from almost not doing it, to doing it almost all the time). A discussion point with students is what they think about code-switching themselves and what the function of codeswitching is. Leeman (2005) stresses the importance of discussing with students what it means to codeswitch. She writes:

> Students in my classes are invariably struck by the 16-year-old participant in Zentella's study who explained the importance of language in performing his identity as a Puerto Rican: "Sometimes I'm talking a long time in English and then I remember I'm Puerto Rican, lemme say something in Spanglish". (1997, p. 114)

Discussing codeswitching and functions of codeswitching makes students more aware of the kinds of choices they make. Another point to think about in heritage language classes is whether code-switching should be allowed in class (sometimes).

Even when speakers are not actively codeswitching some words from the dominant language might enter the heritage language. Van Hout and Muysken (1994) present a hierarchy of likeliness that words from a certain linguistic category are borrowed into a language. Words are most likely to be borrowed when they are

without inflection and used at the most outer ends of an utterance. This makes discourse markers good candidates for borrowing. The use of discourse markers from the dominant language in the heritage language is documented for Spanish in an American context by Showstack (2015) as shown in (5) with the use English *so* in Spanish and in (6) with the use of the Dutch word *ja* ("yes") in Turkish taken from Backus (2010). The borrowed discourse markers are printed in bold.

(5) Sarai: **so** no me gusta hacerlo pero sí lo hago.
     so I don't like to do it but I do do it.

(6) B: O altı puanı hani çöpe atıyosun.
     "so you throw away those six points"
        S: ***Ja*** doğru. Halbuki o çok lazım oluyo artık.
        "*Yes* correct. Whereas, that becomes very necessary now"
        B: O çok yani. O altı puan belki.
        "That's a lot then. Those six points maybe."
        S: ***Ja*** anlıyom.
        "*Yes*, I understand

The interesting aspect about the example in (6) is that it comes from a discussion between a heritage speaker and a researcher from Turkey (Demirçay). The speaker tries to suppress Dutch because she tries to adapt to the Turkish investigator from Turkey and the investigator does not know Dutch. Nevertheless the speaker uses the Dutch affirmative Dutch discourse marker *ja*. When teaching one could ask students about words from the dominant language they find hard to suppress and ask them to explain why they think it is those words that are hard to suppress.

The last kind of crosslinguistic influence that I would like to discuss in this chapter is the changes in the semantics of words. Bilingual speakers can observe similarities between an item from the heritage language and from the dominant language. These similarities are sometimes referred to as "equivalences" or "interlingual identification." For example the word *pakken* ("to take") in Dutch translates into *pegar* ("to take") in Portuguese. Although the words share semantics, they are not identical. The Dutch verb *pakken* ("take") implies intention from the subject and control over the situation, whereas the Portuguese word *pegar* does not imply intention or control over the situation. So saying that someone "takes the train" is acceptable in both languages, but that someone "takes a cold" is only acceptable in Portuguese, because catching a cold does not imply intention. Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek (1997) reports that heritage speakers of Dutch in Brazil do use the expression *een ziekte pakken* 'take an illness' under influence of Brazilian-Portuguese *pegar*.

Apart from changing semantic features, the pragmatic load of a word can also change. For example, the word *hate* in the United States is used more to express a general dislike whereas in Dutch the meaning is more intense. Witteman (2013), a Dutch journalist living in the US with her family at the time of writing, reports on

discussing the different intensity of the English word *hate* and its Dutch equivalent "haten" because she notices her son uses the Dutch word with the American pragmatic load.

If he is angry he hates me. This week I explained to him that you don't say "hate" for just any futility in Dutch. Saying "ik haat je" in Dutch is much worse than saying "I hate you" in English. . . Well he understood me alright. . . "I really hate you. I hate you in Dutch"

Contact-Induced Additive Complexity (Box 4)

The notion of contact-induced additive complexity comes from Trudgill (2011). Trudgill illustrates that bilingualism at an early age can spark off additive complexity, e.g. the addition of grammatical category from one language into the other language. Heine and Kuteva (2005) describe this process as contact-induced grammaticalisation. Backus et al. (2011) and Moro (2016) are among the few who have studied incipient contact-induced grammaticalisation in heritage languages. Both studies focus on the rise of overt definiteness marking in heritage languages that usually leave definiteness marking unexpressed. Moro also describes the rise of finiteness marking in heritage Ambon Malay in the Netherlands. She shows that some of the heritage speakers use the marker *ada* significantly more than homeland speakers and she interprets this use of the *ada* as a marker of finiteness. Moro interprets this increase as an effect of crosslinguistic influence of Dutch. The dominant language Dutch triggers lexical encoding of finiteness and definiteness. Backus et al. (2011) illustrate that Turkish heritage speakers in the Netherlands use the numeral "one" in more domains than homeland speakers. They interpret this extended use as a form of incipient contact-induced grammaticalisation. The numeral one is changing into a marker of indefiniteness. This was already possible in Turkish in some circumstances, but these circumstances have widened in heritage Turkish.

A different example of adding new layers to the heritage languge comes from Queen. Queen (2012, and earlier references therein) shows that Turkish-German bilinguals in Germany combine a Turkish and a German intonation pattern within one language to structure narratives. The speakers use the Turkish intonational pattern to indicate continuation in a narrative and a German intonation pattern to indicate narrative salience. Using their two languages enables speakers to overtly code a distinction they could not code using only one language.

Yet another way of combining two languages in order to create a new layer of information is described by Li Wei (2011). Li Wei (2011) gives examples of how bilinguals play with the meaning and the sounds of their two languages. For example, bilingual Chinese-English speakers who use the English words "cakes sellers" as an interjection in their Chinese speech. In Chinese cake sellers 卖糕的 (maigao de) sounds like English "o my god." By uttering the English translation "cake sellers" they do not utter these sounds but do evoke their connotation. This kind of play is also found in China itself so it is not restricted to the heritage

situation, but it shows how playing with the two languages can create another layer to one's speech. Because of this extra layer I see it as additive contact-induced change.

Universal Principles (Box 5)

Muysken (2013) refers to universal principles as "general combinatory principles governing improvised language behavior." These strategies are available to all language users independent of the languages they know. If speakers do not use their heritage language a lot it might be the case that they depend on these universal principles when using the heritage language. They might for example use reduplication to mark emphasis: "I saw a big-big elephant," where the reduplication of big emphasizes and intensifies the meaning of *big*.

In short, I have presented some examples of possible outcomes of language contact. The idea is that knowing about these possible types of change might help students to reflect on their language use. Moreover, the hope is that students will think about the ways variants of a language get evaluated socially.

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Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in Language Education Through Plurilingualism: Linking the Theory into Practice

16

Angelica Galante

Abstract

Linguistic and cultural diversity is inherent in many societies around the world and, despite its importance, this diversity is typically neglected in many educational settings. In the field of language education, the historical prevalence of the monolingual theoretical framework has corroborated with the notion that learners should attain language proficiency based on the native speaker model, which has been mistakenly used as reference for language development. Due to the limitations of this framework, students' knowledge of languages and cultures have often been underused and devalued. To address issues of diversity in language education, including heritage language programs, plurilingualism is an alternative framework that can be used to teach languages while respecting and encouraging this diversity. The aim of this chapter is to link the theory of plurilingualism to its practice by exploring empirical studies that have followed a plurilingual framework, with focus on the extent to which the theory is represented in practical terms. This chapter also raises fundamental issues – such as the prevalence of monolingual and neoliberal ideologies – that need further exploration in research so that knowledge about plurilingual education in different geographical locations and educational contexts can be advanced.

Keywords

Heritage language education • Linguistic and cultural diversity • Plurilingualism

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Contents

Introduction

Theoretical paradigms in the fields of language learning and applied linguistics have been constantly shifting. The traditional area of second language acquisition (SLA), for many years, considered the acquisition of languages based on native-like proficiency levels in all linguistic skills (speaking, writing, reading, and listening). Acquiring a language meant reaching absolute proficiency based on the native speaker, who was typically left undefined in the literature. In addition, the underlying notion was that once a person had acquired a language, it would be maintained at the same native-like level of proficiency. While this may be a goal for some people, it is unreasonable for many. Developing a second, third, or fourth language – or more – is highly dependent on one's life history (i.e., immigration, educational, professional purposes), and developing them all to a native-like proficiency level is both unnecessary and unrealistic. This in turn has afforded a shift in the concept of language learning, from *acquisition*, which considers languages as fixed and static, to *development*, which embraces the fluidity and fluctuation of languages. The problematic term *second language* may not be representative of many individuals' history of language development, whose repertoires encompass more than two languages, including heritage languages. In fact, languages within an individual's repertoire can be constantly changing, developing more or less depending on one's needs, history, and geographical location. All these dimensions have corroborated to shift theoretical frameworks, moving them away from monolingualism and the native speaker model. Nowadays, this model is deemed inadequate in SLA and language education (Cook 1999; Cummins 2007; May 2014) and is no longer prevalent.

In the past decades, a rich body of literature has emerged as a strong reaction to the monolingual framework, offering alternative language learning approaches and strategies that encourage the use of all of an individual's linguistic knowledge. This

does not consider only the first or second language but any knowledge of other languages, even if partial. The following two cases exemplify how languages can fluctuate:

> Martha was born in the Basque Country and learned Basque, her first language, at home. At the age of 6, she began to learn Spanish at school and developed high competence in both languages, being fully bilingual. At the age of 21, she traveled to France on an exchange program and, after 2 years, developed working proficiency in French. However, at the age of 23, she moved to Amazonia and, because most colleagues were Spanish and Brazilian, she did not use French as often. Her Basque, however, was well maintained as she would use it in online communications with her family, but her proficiency in French decreased. Because she was developing projects with indigenous populations, Martha began to learn Katukina, an indigenous language. After 2 years, she moved to Argentina, where she married an Argentinean, and began learning another variety of Spanish. By this point, although still able to have simple interactions, she had limited proficiency in French and Katukina. Her abilities in Basque and the variety of Spanish spoken in Spain were the strongest.
>
> Mohamed was born in Syria and learned Arabic, his first language, at home. At the age of 3, he and his family immigrated to Ontario, an Anglophone province in Canada. At home, his parents would speak Arabic – considered his heritage language because of the new context – but at daycare he was exposed to English. His school life continued to be in English, the main language of instruction, and his parents decided to enroll him in a heritage language program so Mohamed could continue to develop Arabic. At age 13, he and his family moved to Quebec, a Francophone province in Canada, where French (or Quebecois, a variety of French) was the language of instruction. At that point in time, Mohamed's strongest language was English, even though Arabic was his first language. Given that the language of instruction in Quebec schools was French, his focus would now be on learning this language.

Martha's and Mohamed's life journeys afforded them the opportunity to develop different languages and their varieties, partially or at high levels, which might or might not continue to be developed in the future. Their history indicates that the concept of sequence in language development – first, second, third, etc. – as well as notions of heritage, foreign, and native languages are flexible rather than static. These are highly dependent on the context, along with its political, social, and historical structures. Life trajectories such as these are not uncommon in a globalized world where national and transnational mobility along with the rise of new technologies and the Internet have strongly influenced ways in which people live, work, and develop languages. Given the current complexities in language development, the fields of language education and applied linguistics have aptly evolved, rejecting notions of the native speaker model for language development.

In fact, the notion of the native speaker has also been questioned for ignoring language variation; that is, for its inherent assumption that there exists only one model of a native speaker. For example, in English language teaching (ELT), Jenkins (2006) discusses the importance of including different varieties of English, or *World Englishes* in language pedagogy, including native speakers from different locations (e.g., India, Australia, Nigeria, and elsewhere) as well as nonnative English speakers. Varieties in registers, rhetoric, sociolinguistic usage, and lexical, grammatical, and phonological items are all important when learning a language. For example, while

accents can be a factor in oral speech, different accents are integral to linguistic diversity and should not be assumed to pose a barrier to communication. Studies investigating pronunciation show that nonnative speech can have high levels of comprehensibility even when spoken with the accent of the first language (Galante and Thomson 2016), suggesting that native-like speech is unnecessary. In addition, the concept of ownership of a language is not only a privilege of the native speaker but also of any user of the language (Ortega 2014). Discussions of language varieties and ownership have great significance in current language education programs. This is also why plurilingualism accords well with superdiverse societies as it embraces different languages and acknowledges and encourages linguistic diversity within the same language.

Although historically the broad concept of plurilingualism is not new (Flores 2013), it gained traction with its formal introduction in a French publication by the Council of Europe's Language Policy Division in the late 1990s (see Coste et al. 1997), which later appeared in the English version of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR-Council of Europe 2001). It is important to note that the French concept of *compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle* was translated as two separate concepts in the English version of the CEFR (2001): plurilingual competence and pluricultural competence (Coste et al. 2009), which may have subsequently oriented pedagogy and research to address language and culture separately.

The CEFR is an important document that serves as a guide for language education; it has been translated into 37 languages and widely distributed in Europe, Asia, South America (see an overview of the origin of the CEFR in Little 2006), and North America (see Piccardo 2014), influencing the embrace of plurilingualism in language education. Since the publication of the CEFR in 2001, much has been written about plurilingualism and how it benefits language learning.

This chapter provides an overview of empirical research studies carried out in different geographical locations to confirm or refute such benefits. First, this chapter briefly introduces the theory of pluriligualism, with a discussion on the similarities between the terms plurilingualism and multilingualism. Second, it provides an overview of the practice of plurilingualism by examining recent empirical research studies under the plurilingual framework, particularly aiming to explore the extent to which plurilingual instruction benefits language learning. Third, shared goals and key issues raised in these studies are discussed. Finally, suggestions for future research are made.

The Theory of Plurilingualism

Plurilingualism has been advocated by European policy documents (e.g., CEFR 2001) which aim to encourage Europeans to develop at least two more languages, in addition to their first. The notion of speaking multiple languages is typically viewed as an asset in the present globalized world, and plurilingualism is considered a useful skill for the twenty-first century transnational job market. The idea of valuing individual plurilingualism is

connected to Blommaert and Backus's (2013) notion of language repertoire: the knowledge of languages an individual possesses that can be activated while learning a new language and its varieties. Although focus has been on language, the broad theory of plurilingualism also includes cultures, as the concept *compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle*, introduced in French suggests. This unification is also confirmed in recent English publications, which consider that "plurilingualism and pluriculturalism go hand in hand" (Piccardo 2014, p. 197) and that both language and culture develop dynamically. When an individual's repertoire is stimulated, it facilitates both the process of development of a new language and the understanding of a new culture (Coste et al. 2009). The theory recognizes, values, and encourages the use of learners' linguistic repertoires for the transfer of linguistic knowledge between or among languages, facilitating further language learning (García and Sylvan 2011; Piccardo 2013).

The link between language and culture has been underexplored in SLA research. Plurilingualism has been making contributions to the field by strengthening the relationship between language and culture, and both competences are highly valued, as suggested by the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001):

> [. . .] the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as a superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw (p. 168).

Following this description, an individual can use languages and cultures for different purposes in varied contexts: for example, using one language with a particular group of people, another language at school, and another language at home. Mixing languages in conversation, or *code-switching* as it is commonly known, is also viewed as a natural process. Because of the complexity of this repertoire, it is not uncommon for individuals to have proficiency levels of varying degrees in their languages (Moore and Gajo 2009). Thus, one may speak one language more or less fluently depending on the historical moment in his/her life, as in the cases of Martha and Mohamed described at the outset of this chapter. This inequality in linguistic competencies across languages is considered to be natural rather than a deficiency. The notion of linguistic repertoire is one of a unitary system that does not isolate languages or varieties of the same language. In addition, the same repertoire includes cultural knowledge which allows for a pluricultural competence. Simply put, this competence includes an individual's sensitivity to different cultural orientations and familiarity with otherness as well as the ability to use social and cultural strategies for effective communication (Coste et al. 2009).

Plurilingualism and Multilingualism

The terms *plurilingualism* and *multilingualism* have been used interchangeably in the literature, but it is important to explain the nomenclatures. Conteh and Meier (2014) have noted that the two terms are typically used depending on language

traditions; for example, scholars who write in French tend to use plurilingualism (or *plurilinguisme*) while multilingualism is often used in the English-speaking literature, particularly in North America. However, the term plurilingualism, which has been used by a solid body of literature in Europe (Castellotti and Moore 2002), has been gaining popularity globally, including in the Americas, and advancing to international audiences (see for example Taylor and Snoddon 2013; Garton and Kubota 2015; Galante 2015).

The term multilingualism is sometimes used to refer to languages as separate rather than integrated (Jeoffrion et al. 2014). It is also commonly referred to on a societal rather than an individual level as "the knowledge of a number of languages or the co-existence of different languages in a given society" (Council of Europe 2001, p. 4). Following this, multilingual societies refer to societies where many languages are spoken but are typically isolated from one another. For example, many languages are spoken in Toronto, one of the most linguistically diverse urban centers in the world, but interactions among people are typically made in one language. Yet, this distinction is not always well delineated as the terms individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism are also widely used (Cenoz 2013).

The concept of societal plurilingualism differs from societal multilingualism in the sense that multiple languages are used interchangeably in a society, as is the case with some countries in South Asia (Canagarajah 2009) and Africa (Abiria et al. 2013) where individuals make use of a plurality of languages to communicate, even in a single interaction. Thus, plurilingualism can also be individual or societal as it focuses "on the fact that languages interrelate and interconnect particularly, but not exclusively, at the level of the individual" (Piccardo 2013, p. 601).

Because both terms have been interchangeably used, it can cause some confusion, particularly when conceptualizing political, educational, and research agendas. Thus, when using either multilingualism or plurilingualism, it is important to define the terms for clarity purposes. For the purposes of this chapter, plurilingualism refers to both individual and societal use of not only different languages but also different varieties within the same language. In addition, given the interconnectedness of language and culture, plurilingualism offers an indispensable perspective for considering pluriculturalism as integral for language education. Thus, this chapter focuses on educational practices using a plurilingual lens. In addition, this chapter does not make a distinction between second, third, foreign, or heritage language learning as these terms are dependent on personal histories and geographical locations, along with their educational and political contexts.

Theoretical literature on plurilingualism suggests that plurilinguals have rich linguistic and cultural repertoires which embody a wide variety of ideas and concepts, in turn enhancing their creativity, cognitive flexibility, and innovative thinking (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002). Similarly, plurilingualism is regarded as offering a rich source for developing higher cognitive flexibility, for linguistic and cultural transfer, and for enhanced creative thinking (Boekmann et al. 2011). In the context of economic globalization, one's own plurilingualism and culturalism are considered the "two most valued assets of the twenty-first century citizen, namely, human creativity and human relationships" (Furlong 2009, p. 366). The Council of Europe

(2001) has stressed the importance of plurilingualism in educational contexts as it promotes a dynamic process of language development and use, even at a limited level of knowledge in a language, rather than encouraging individuals to become fully proficient in many languages. From a theoretical standpoint, plurilingualism offers many benefits for language learners, as well as for the social contexts in which they interact. Yet, examining empirical studies with practical applications of plurilingual education is important to confirm such benefits. In the following section, a representative sample of empirical studies that exemplify the practice of plurilingualism is presented and later discussed.

The Practice of Plurilingualism

Empirical studies carried out in different geographical locations and educational contexts within the plurilingual theoretical framework have yielded interesting and mainly positive results. The countries represented here include Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Uganda, and Mexico. While this representation is limited, it serves as a sample of the extent to which the theory is reflected in practical terms in different geographical locations.

France

A study investigated French university students' perceptions of their own plurilingualism in relation to their life trajectories (Jeoffrion et al. 2014). Participants were 684 students in first and fourth years, most of them learning English as an additional language and others learning up to three languages at the same time. They provided answers to a survey with 26 items that referred to plurilingual and monolingual practices. As previously suggested by the theoretical underpinnings of plurilingualism, the results of this study show that students who learned several languages had an enhanced plurilingual posture compared to students who knew fewer languages. The findings also indicate that upper-year students showed integrative attitudes to learning languages, which may lead to motivation for studying more languages in the future. Because most participants were English learners, it would be interesting to find out whether learners from a less dominant language would have similar attitudes, particularly whether those who do not yet have English in their repertoire would be motivated to learn a minority language.

France and Germany

In the French and German contexts, a similar study investigated students' perceptions of their plurilingualism and included both younger and adult language learners (Bono and Stratilaki 2009). Students in two secondary schools, one in France and one in Germany, along with students in a French university participated in this study.

While most of the secondary students were French-German bilinguals, the university students spoke French as L1 (first language), English as L2 (second language), German as L3 (third language), and Spanish as L4 (fourth language). Informal interviews probed data on students' motivation to learn languages, their self-perception as plurilingual learners and speakers, and their opinions about effective ways to learn languages. Similar to the previous study (Jeoffrion et al. 2014), most students perceived their plurilingualism as an advantage for further language learning, communication, and metacognitive and metalinguistic skills, particularly among linguistically experienced students.

Spain

Another study examined the impact of plurilingual education on second year primary school children in Barcelona, Spain, where both Spanish and Catalan were used as resources to learn English (Corcoll 2013). Participants were from four different classrooms: one within a plurilingual framework and the other three outside it. Through surveys, group interviews, and pre- and post-language tests, the study investigated whether plurilingual tasks would impact cognitive, metacognitive, and socioaffective factors. Results suggest that motivation (metacognitive), self-esteem, and classroom atmosphere (socioaffective) were positively influenced by the plurilingual tasks. Similar to Jeoffrion et al.'s (2014) study, these were language learners of a dominant language (English) and little is known about whether studies with minority language learners would yield similar results.

Portugal

Still within the European context, a study in a secondary school in Portugal investigated the linguistic trajectories of two Ukrainian students, ages 13 and 15 (Oliveira and Ançã 2009). Interviews sought to explore participants' awareness of their plurilingual identities. Data analysis revealed that students' perception of their plurilingual identities was somewhat positive as they recognized their plurilingual repertoires and also showed awareness that language proficiency levels fluctuate over one's life trajectory, according well with the plurilingual theory (Council of Europe 2001). However, these two participants did not seem to be aware of the full potential of their plurilingual repertoire; that is, they left some of their languages unrecognized, possibly due to prevalent monolingual ideologies. Concluding remarks express the need for educational systems to encourage students to reflect on political, social, and historical factors which may affect language use, as well as to revisit teaching methodologies, and to decentralize grammar as the focus of instruction.

Many language teachers still tend to place grammatical rules at the center of instruction. In another study carried out in Portugal, the development of four Portuguese/English teacher candidates was examined over a one-year period

(Pinho and Andrade 2009). Analyses of interviews and diaries suggest that teacher candidates had a grammatical and functional representation of language teaching, with language seen as "a ready-made system of rules to be transmitted" (p. 321). Participants also seemed to neglect the theory of plurilingualism and students' linguistic repertoires at first but, with time, they began to gain awareness of plurilingualism as a framework for language teaching and showed an understanding of the key role of intercultural citizenship. It is interesting to note that although the national Portuguese curriculum follows plurilingual policies for language learning, opportunities and expertise to put the theory into practice were seen as major challenges, resulting in frustration among teacher candidates.

Greece

In Greece, an analysis of the use of language learning strategies and their relation to degrees of plurilingualism was investigated by Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou (2009), who collected data from 1555 Greek undergraduate students learning different languages in an academic context. Two instruments, the *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL) and the *Styles Analysis Survey* (SAS) were used. Students were categorized as bilinguals and trilinguals according to their proficiency levels in language certificates that used the CEFR equivalence, from levels B to C. The results indicate that the trilingual students used learning strategies such as memory, cognition, compensation, and metacognition more frequently than the bilingual students. The analysis also shows that more advanced trilinguals used these strategies more often than less advanced trilinguals. An interesting conclusion presented in the study is that the strategies employed by trilinguals and their learning styles indicated these learners were more autonomous in relation to their own language learning.

United Kingdom and Australia

Due to globalization, mobility, and immigration in the UK and in Australia, Pauwels (2014) designed a study to investigate teachers' awareness of the change in student language profile and how their teaching practices accommodated it. Sixty-two teachers taught 16 languages, including major European and Asian languages (e.g., French, German, Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic) and less widely taught languages (e.g., Hebrew and Swahili). Information about the teachers' language profiles show they formed a linguistically diverse group, with the majority (47) having some proficiency in an additional language, one other than English or the language they taught. When asked about their students' language profiles, most teachers had very limited awareness of the languages spoken by their students. Half of the teachers seemed to believe the presence of linguistic diversity in their classrooms had no or little effect on their teaching practice; that is, linguistic diversity was generally not taken into consideration. Interestingly, most teachers

viewed plurilingual students as an annoyance (e.g., having a negative effect on class dynamics) while a small number, mostly teachers who had some exposure to applied linguistics or training in language pedagogy, viewed them as an asset (e.g., having a positive effect on the class). This shows that teacher orientation toward plurilingual students is dependent on teacher education development.

Australia

The influence of teachers' own plurilingualism on educational practice was the topic of investigation of an Australian study. Ellis (2013) investigated English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers' (N = 31) language repertoires and how they influence professional knowledge about language teaching. Analysis of data gathered from classroom observation, semistructured interviews, and teacher language biographies suggests that plurilingual teachers share different views about language learning compared to monolingual teachers. Plurilingual teachers described their different levels of proficiency in their language repertoire as normal and predictable and, although they showed a clear understanding that language learning does not happen without effort, they seemed to share positive attitudes toward their own language learning. Monolingual teachers, on the other hand, expressed their attempt to learn languages in a pessimistic way, viewing their experiences as a failure with no successful experiences to share. Teachers' language trajectories were also found to inform their professional knowledge about language teaching: compared to monolingual teachers, plurilingual teachers seemed to have more awareness of language learning strategies (e.g., code-switching) and also expressed more understanding of what it means to have a plurilingual identity. Although not formally trained to be plurilingual teachers, this awareness was a result of the teachers' personal experience with their own language learning.

Canada

Outside European countries, plurilingualism is also practiced in North America, particularly in Canada, although the term is not necessarily present in national and provincial policy documents where the terms *multilingualism* and *multiculturalism* more commonly appear. A study with grade 5 students in a French school in Ontario (an Anglophone province) used arts-informed research data to investigate plurilingual self-representation (Prasad 2014). Students demonstrated their self-representation by completing plurilingual tasks such as *Linguistic Portraits* and *Family Language Maps*. Results suggest that the students could represent their views about their own and others' unique plurilingual repertoires and valued the use of multiple literacies, including written text, drawings, and images as daily literacy practices.

Similarly, another study examined how transnational students in a first year academic literacy course at a university in British Columbia (Anglophone province)

practice their plurilingualism (Marshall and Moore 2013). Results suggest that the participants were able to understand and use their plurilingualism as an asset in social and educational contexts and make use of their linguistic repertoire as a resource to communicate in the languages that were part of their repertoire. Results also show that languages other than English were used to enhance academic literacies in English and that agency was a key dimension of students' plurilingual competence, allowing them to be aware of their linguistic practices and to use different languages depending on the context and audience with whom they interacted. Recommendations for educational contexts to "recognize the value of plurilingual competence for better learning" (p. 496) are made. This study shows that adult students are agents of their plurilingualism; that is, the choice of using one language or another for communication is done naturally.

Uganda

In Uganda, a country where societal plurilingualism is common (with over 200 languages spoken in the country), a study investigated the extent to which plurilingualism is practiced in classes where English is the language of instruction (Abiria et al. 2013). Five primary English teachers (grade 4) and their coordinators participated in the study through classroom observations, questionnaires, reflections, and interviews, and collections of their photographs, documents, and artifacts were also analyzed. Analyses of the data reveal that although efforts were made to introduce plurilingual practices, the school rules reinforced an English-only policy, particularly because of external pressures of language policies and language status in the country. While other local languages could be chosen as the mode of instruction, English has a "powerful linguistic currency" (p. 568) in Uganda and is known as the language of the educated people. Language status is a key issue that requires careful consideration (Flores 2013), and this seems to be the case in Uganda and many other countries. In the school where this study was conducted, only one local language could be used in the classroom besides English, and language learning was treated separately with no interaction between the two languages. The lack of training to address the linguistic and cultural needs of the students, combined with current educational structures that are English-dominated, pose a challenge to the promotion of plurilingual approaches.

Mexico

In a Mexican university, a study investigated strategies used by adult learners of French (Payant 2015). Four participants spoke Spanish as L1, English as L2, and were learning French as L3. Data from four in-depth interviews with learners and oral data from eight pedagogical classroom tasks were gathered. Findings suggest that learners used their language repertoire to mediate the learning of a new language, although they relied on the L1 more often that the L2. While participants

believed the L1 could be used as a scaffold to learn a new language, mainly for learning of lexical items, they also believed the use of the L1 should be minimized or avoided while learning the L3. There was little evidence that participants would rely on the L2 as support for new language learning; that is, although learners were plurilinguals, they did not make use of their entire linguistic repertoire to learn the new language. It could be that learners relied more on Spanish – rather than English – as it is typologically similar to French.

Considerations and Challenges

The practice of plurilingual education represented in the empirical studies above seems congruent with the underpinnings posited by the theory. It supports that plurilinguals tend to be the norm rather than the exception in superdiverse urban communities. As shown from educational practices in different geographical locations, plurilinguals share traits that are supported by the plurilingual theory. Overall, plurilinguals tend to be open to new ideas, languages, and cultures, suggesting that linguistic and cultural diversity is at the core of the plurilingual mind. In addition, individuals with high levels of language experience tend to be autonomous learners and motivated to learn more languages, even if not at high proficiency levels. It seems that partial linguistic competence – in a new language or variety of the same language – is not a deficiency but a natural process for plurilinguals.

More specifically, results from the empirical studies suggest several benefits, including metacognitive skills (Bono and Stratilaki 2009), motivation to learn new languages (Corcoll 2013; Jeoffrion et al. 2014), plurilingual identity (Oliveira and Ançã 2009; Prasad 2014), and autonomy (Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou 2009). Although all of these benefits do not appear to be specific to the geographical location of the research, future studies in other countries and educational contexts are needed to confirm these results. In addition, plurilingual teachers themselves have a more holistic view of their own language learners by considering the language learning process as fluctuating, indicating that the different levels of proficiency in one's language repertoire is a natural phenomenon rather than a deficiency (Ellis 2013).

While there are several benefits of plurilingual education for language learners in diverse linguistic and cultural contexts, fundamental issues need further exploration. One key issue is that the political discourse does not necessarily translate into classroom practice. Practical application is a major challenge even in countries where educational policies suggest the practice of plurilingualism, such as Portugal (Pinho and Andrade 2009) and Uganda (Abiria et al. 2013). Monolingual practices still prevail in language learning, possibly due to their historical dominance. In addition, despite having specialized training in applied linguistics and/or language education, language teachers seem unprepared to address linguistically diverse classrooms (Ellis 2013). Another issue that deserves special attention is language status in a given context, which is present in Uganda (Abiria et al. 2013), France (Jeoffrion et al. 2014), and possibly many other countries, where dominant

languages tend to overshadow minority languages even in bilingual or multilingual realities. The fact that educational and language policies, as well as societies, continue to attribute more power and status to one particular language in relation to others contributes to a focus on learning the dominant language. In fact, it takes more than policies to put linguistic and cultural diversity at the center of the debate in language learning. A solid shift in linguistic paradigms, from monolingualism to plurilingualism, can place minority languages at the forefront of the linguistic and cultural diversity debate, but it might not solve problems in power relations among languages.

A political perspective on plurilingualism, often left unexplored in applied linguistics literature, needs careful consideration. Block et al. (2012) have called for research that considers the political economy, mainly capitalism, including social classes and neoliberal ideologies. Among the original principles of plurilingualism posited by the Council of Europe is the need to address the high immigration intake in Europe, treating linguistic and cultural diversity as an asset, and facilitating the process of European integration for further development of democratic citizenship (Council of Europe 2007). Although this is a reasonable argument, the fact that languages and cultures have different status in given contexts, including in European countries, may pose threats to the practice of plurilingualism. On the one hand, plurilingualism in language education can offer opportunities for minority languages to be more visible and further developed. On the other hand, they can be simply used as a resource for learning a majority language, one that has high status. Thus, policies on plurilingualism can continue to be endorsed; however, a failure to address linguistic diversity will likely result in languages with higher statuses (e.g., Romance languages and English), continuing to dominate over minority languages (e.g., indigenous and sign languages). There is a need to explore the relationship between minority and majority languages, power relations, as well as local and global political agendas prior to accepting that plurilingualism alone can support the notion of democratic citizenship. This notion, in fact, can be interpreted as political, following neoliberal ideologies representative of certain European countries, which can also be problematic when transferred to other contexts where they might conflict with local realities. This political perspective is presented here not to discourage the practice of plurilingualism but to examine whether it is promoted on behalf of plurilingual agents or major social and economic structures.

The debate that languages and cultures are susceptible to power relations is integral in applied linguistics and language education, and plurilingualism should be no exception. In many countries, a plurilingual speaker of Swahili, Maasai, and Tanzanian sign languages is not viewed with the same status or capital as a plurilingual speaker of French, German, and English. When Cree and Ojibwe, two of Canada's indigenous languages, are part of individuals' repertoires, this bilingualism typically goes unnoticed in a country where bilingualism means proficiency in English and French, the two official languages. Similarly, in Peru, both Spanish – the official language – and English – considered an international language – are assets, while Quechua – an indigenous language – is not accorded similar status. Beyond this language debate, cultural practices that do not follow dominant cultures

are frequently questioned and can even be considered illegal. An example of this was a recent attempt from former Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, to ban public servants from wearing the niqab and during citizenship ceremonies (Kirkup 2015). Other examples such as this occur on a daily basis in many countries around the world, where minority groups are often pressured to conform to the mainstream culture. Thus, plurilingualism cannot be viewed as a practice detached from political ideologies, educational agendas, and without critical analyses of individual and societal barriers. In education, plurilingual teachers must include discussions of status of linguistic and cultural representations so plurilingual students can make mindful decisions of when, where, and how to practice and advocate for their plurilingualism.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This chapter opened with a brief description of two life trajectories – Martha's and Mohammed's – to exemplify that languages learned do not follow a linear and definite process. It then briefly introduced the theory of plurilingualism (Council of Europe 2001) and compared it to multilingualism, calling for a conceptual clarity of nomenclature in future research. The major focus of this chapter was to explore recent empirical studies using plurilingualism as a theoretical framework in different countries to examine the extent to which the theory is reflected empirically. The studies represented language learning through a plurilingual perspective in both European (Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, and the UK) and non-European countries (Australia, Canada, Uganda, and Mexico), providing a sample of how the theory is used in practical terms. Overall, the benefits proposed in theory are well represented in practice, but fundamental issues need further exploration.

Given the challenge that language educators face in addressing linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom, even among those who receive specialized training in language education (Ellis 2013), future research should explore the effect of training on pedagogical practices. For example, studies can provide teachers with professional development focused on plurilingualism and examine the extent to which plurilingual practices impact dimensions of language learning. In addition, while monolingualism seems to have a negative effect on how learners perceive their individual linguistic practices (Payant 2015), it would be particularly interesting to investigate how these would differ within plurilingualism.

As for the cultural dimension, while linguistic and cultural repertoires are two interconnected factors integral to the plurilingual theory (Council of Europe 2001), major attention has been given to linguistic dimension. Future research investigating the effects of plurilingual education that also focuses on cultural dimensions is needed.

The discussion on language status and power relations among languages and cultures deserves special attention in future research. An examination of the extent to which political agendas, both locally and internationally, may contribute to or inhibit

plurilingual practices is necessary. The notion of language as a skill, which is typically translated as the more languages (typically dominant languages) one speaks the more social and professional capital one has, may be solely representative of neoliberal ideologies and needs careful exploration. A plurilingual whose repertoire includes several minority languages and variations does not seem to be given as much social capital as a plurilingual of majority languages.

Additionally, previous research typically examined plurilingualism in educational contexts where the target language was a majority language. Future research should further investigate minority language learning, including heritage languages, sign languages, and other minority languages, for example, the indigenous languages in Brazil, Canada, and New Zealand, among other countries. Plurilingual approaches in contexts where language revitalization is needed might have to give priority to the minority language and maximize its use until it is not at risk.

While both the theory and the practice of plurilingualism clearly have distinguished merits, a careful examination that is context-specific prior to and during the process of its implementation is key for its effectiveness. If educational and language policies continue to attribute higher status to one particular language in relation to others, it is not surprising that language students and teachers will likely neglect minority languages. All the issues raised deserve special attention in future research and would contribute to advancing knowledge about language education and plurilingual practices at the local and global levels.

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Part IV

Educational Systems, Policies, and Resources

Encouraging the Use and Activation of Heritage Languages in the Broader Educational System

17

Lesya Alexandra Granger

Abstract

This chapter briefly reviews the literature in which heritage languages (HL) and heritage language education (HLE) is defined and positioned and identifies some of the terminology used by scholars and policy makers to describe notions of HLE. Challenges and opportunities that emerge from HLE practices as they are organized for school-aged children and youth in Ontario's International Languages Program are described and presented to provoke further inquiry into HLE in Ontario and in other school systems. While each HL context will determine a vision and specific objectives, overall goals of supporting HLE and integrating it into the education system might include strategies to encourage students' minority language literacy as an integral component of their overall literacy. The next steps for both researchers and practitioners include finding a viable implementation of plurilinguistic approaches that activate each learner's full range of linguistic competencies through authentic, action-oriented forms of deeper learning.

Keywords

Ontario schools • International languages program • Plurilingualism • Heritage language education • World languages • Twenty-first century competencies

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Introduction

When minority languages appear in a new context by way of immigration, several generations of speakers of those languages can struggle with a disconnection from their original language context. Their language will be lost in the host countries if they are not integrated in the home environment and the public education domain of the newcomers, and the identities of several generations will be weakened by this loss. Until very recently, heritage language education (HLE) was not viewed as a separate area of study. Although it is now called by various names (Cummins 2014b; Bale 2010), HLE today is an emerging field of bilingual education (Montrul 2016; Aravossitas 2014; Polinsky 2011) that encompasses world, minority, and home languages. HLE addresses linguistic, sociological, and cultural aspects of language learning and use that are disrupted by immigration and diaspora realities. The greatest gap in heritage language education in host countries is the lack of meaningful and effective inclusion of heritage languages (HLs) in school systems. The challenge for policy makers, administrators, and teachers working with student

literacy in multicultural and multilingual contexts across the globe is to formulate a vision and a plan to promote the learning of languages and to include HLs in students' overall education goals.

Heritage language integration in the school system depends on informed and committed parents, teachers, and administrators who preserve and build on the linguistic capital (Piccardo 2014) that students contribute to the academic environment and social fabric of their school communities, and consequently, to broader society. Inclusion and validation of the HL must take place in school systems as well as at home to ensure that the whole child, the whole person, with all aspects of their cultural and linguistic identity, is educated and included in achieving literacy in their HL(s) as well as in the dominant language(s) of their society. The ultimate goal is to view literacy and schooling in English and other official or status languages as being incomplete without the HLs that students bring into the classroom with them.

In Ontario, as in other provinces of Canada, creative and innovative strategies are needed to align HL literacy in publicly funded HL "Saturday schools," along with plurilingualism and other practices in day schools to actively include students' various HLs and to activate them in the regular, day school French-language and English-language curriculum. Activating a language in a classroom consists of using a teaching approach and strategies that engage the student in metacognition and language awareness when using or considering their own language use. Incorporating students heritage or home languages in their daily learning activities would entail educating administrators and teachers, devising a network of accessible resources, aligning curriculum, and coordinating efforts of numerous stakeholders, including parents, administrators, day school teachers, HL teachers, community organizations, the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME), and other partners and policy-making bodies.

This chapter briefly reviews the literature in which HLs and heritage language learners are **defined and positioned**, and identifies **terminology** used by scholars and policy makers to describe HLE. **Challenges and opportunities** related to notions of plurilingualism and plurilinguistic approaches in HLE and SLE are discussed. The ideas and solutions that emerge from **HLE as it is organized for school-aged children in Ontario** are described and presented to provoke further inquiry into HLE in various jurisdictions and in contexts where HLE is an established or emerging practice.

Context: Heritage Language Education in Research

Empirical Studies of Heritage Language Education

Studies in heritage language education fall into three general fields of second language education: linguistics, sociolinguistics, and education. 40 years of research and publications in these three fields provide the framework and evidence for decisions taken by curriculum developers, policy makers, teacher educators,

teachers, and administrators. Broadly speaking, the research identifies how languages are acquired (linguistics), determines learner linguistic, social and cultural needs (socio-linguistics), and improves pedagogic tools and approaches (education). Studies about language learning as it relates to HLE generally address the academic and sociocultural benefits of HLE for students and for society. These benefits are often presented as a contrast to what is lost when HLs are neglected or forgotten (Cummins 2014b; Park 2013; Fillmore 2000) or as an impetus to consider language planning and to foster language diversity (Cummins 2014a; Baker 2011).

The arguments that underline the importance of HLs and their benefits to students cite a rich tradition of canadian re-search as referred to by patricia Duff (2007), that "examines students' heritage language maintenance and multilingualism, and their multiple literacies [. . .] as a way of countering prevalent superficial "linguistic deficit" discourses, [. . . and . . .] validating the linguistic and cultural knowledge students already possess and can build upon" (p.152). Over and over again, studies demonstrate that HL and other SL students make tremendous gains in their educational, intellectual, and social growth (Cummins 2005, 2014a, b; Piccardo 2014; Chumak-Horbatsch 2012). Literacy in more than one language improves employment opportunities and has also been shown to increase linguistic competencies in all languages learned, through the interconnectivity of languages in the brain. Diaz (1983) explored language learning as improving divergent thinking and math skills, and Baker (2011) cites Pavlenko in positing that bi- or multilingualism "may also provide varied and alternative conceptualizations which enable flexible and critical thinking" (p. 161). Learning a second language helps improve linguistic malleability and an ease in acquiring additional languages (Piccardo 2013).

It is not just the learning or acquisition of numerous languages that is important but how those languages are permitted to interact or to be "activated" in each language learner (Piccando 2013). The dynamic nature of learning, of the process of language acquisition, and of the complexity of language use in a multilingual context and within a plurilingual framework offers the HL learner and teacher opportunities for asset-oriented and additive learning (Piccardo 2013, 2014). Siloing language learning and use by relegating, implicitly or explicitly, HLs to contexts outside of the classroom supports the "minority languages deficit model" that considers HLs a deficit and hindrance to students' acquisition of official language(s) (Stagg-Peterson and Heywood 2007). The deficit-oriented attitude runs contrary to all research evidence in the fields of linguistics and education (Cummins 2014a). It results in *subtractive bilingualism* as described by Baker (2011), where students lose their HL competencies while acquiring literacy in the official language(s) of instruction. Providing students with multiliteracy opportunities and the use of multiple languages in their learning contributes to their self-esteem, identity, and academic success in all domains (Cummins 2014b).

Engaging administrators and educators in HLE issues could promote an effective use of multiple languages in classrooms. When studying optimal approaches to "productive' engaging learning communities" (Duff 2007, p.161), sociolinguists

and educators take into account the social aspects of language learning and HLE, such as immigrant students' diaspora identity (Park 2013), and a sense of belonging through linguistic identity that encourages responsibility to self, to family, and to the community (Fillmore 2000). Sociolinguists have expanded the framework of social and political factors that are related directly to diaspora or cultural community support of minority language learning to include critical theory issues that relate to HLE and community education (Garcìa et al. 2012). Researching the sence of belonging related to linguistic identity that encourages responsibility to self, to family, and to the community (Fillmore 2000), for example, can help educators and administrators better serve the needs of HLE students and develop appropriate HLE curriculum, course outlines, and tasks.

Heritage language education research "brings to the fore" the importance of language planning and proactive leadership that link home to school and community through the public school system to society at large. Research should help to influence policy and curriculum decisions that focus on plurilingual engagement based on synergetic interaction (Piccardo 2013, 2014) rather than on the current reality of a multilingual co-existence whereby different cultures and languages exist in classrooms without interaction. Continued research focusing on projects that encourage an alignment of policy and practice of language learning and teaching in an increasingly globalized world is needed to clarify the overall HLE parameters and objectives.

Terms and Definitions Used in Heritage Language Research and Practice

Research in heritage language education is grounded in definitions previously established through research on bilingual education and second language acquisition. Heritage language theory and practice has been studied through the lens of applied linguistics and often in the context of education research, with studies that examine how languages are learned (acquired), how languages ought to be taught (transmitted and activated), and how languages competencies that are acquired at various stages of learning can assessed (output and production metrics and delineated sociocultural benefits). As such, a wide variety of terms have been used to identify, name, and describe HLs and HL learners, as well as concepts relating to HL, such as language acquisition order or sequence.

Descriptive Terminology: Naming the Language by Context and Learner Needs

Definitions of HL learners in academic studies and in HLE literature are based on categories such as sequence of acquifition, shifts in use, proficiency and preference,

and students self-identification as HL learners. However, learners "complex, multiple and hybird linguistic and cultural identities, repertoires and social networks" (Duff 2007, p.152) render it necessary to maintain flexibility when naming or describing HL learners. The examination of the acquisition, maintenance, and language vitality of HLs, and of the input and output tendencies of HL learners in their various sociocultural milieus contextualizes HLE and underlines HL students' multifaceted identities as CLDs: *culturally and linguistically diverse learners* (Prasad 2012). If, naming, describing, or designating someone an HL speaker or HL learner involves examining them as CLDs in a metric of learner categories that currently does not exist because a general category or definition of HL learners is not yet fully or clearly defined (Montrul 2016; Cummins 2014b; Aravossitas 2014; Bale 2010), describing or categorizing languages can be equally challenging for scholars. Definitions of HL learners in academic studies and in the literature are based on categories such as sequence of acquisition, shifts in use, proficiency and preference, and self-identification as HL learners. Terminology used to name or describe HLs is similarly dynamic and shifting, and it is closely tied to the contexts in which the language(s) are acquired, used, and learned. Descriptive terms related to HLs situate the language(s) in their various contexts in ways that make the purpose of the research objectives and findings evident to the reader. This includes descriptive terms such as *home languages*, *community languages*, *international languages* (at school or work), *immigrant languages* (in society), and *foreign languages* (in the global economic sphere).

Prescriptive Terminology: Naming the Language by Context and Function

Since these contexts and studies of them are never free of politics, many terms become prescriptive in that they guide or presuppose the reader's assumptions of what is being described. If one names a language as a *heritage language*, for instance, it may imply that it is not a global language with international prestige. Similarly, when one uses the term *foreign language*, one might understand it to exclude the official languages of the country or the jurisdiction in question without considering regional varieties of the official languages. Does the term *modern languages* apply also to those that have survived to this day as regional or indigenous languages or only to standardized forms of select languages with international prestige?

Prescriptive HL terms can also work to reinforce the assumption or presumption that the designation, position, or prestige of languages in a country, nation, or community is justified and static. Terminology related to official languages in contexts with an unclear or incomplete vision for regional or nonofficial languages could be confusing and lead to further marginalization of nonofficial languages. Calling a language a *minority* or a *modern* language can mean two very different things despite it being possible that a language could be both (as Italian would be commonly designated as either in Canada, depending on the context). The term

minoritized language makes a statement about the position of the language within the context of the larger social structure over the course of space and time (Bale 2010).

Language Politics and Heritage Language Terminology

In Ontario, the terminology related to the teaching of nonofficial languages has changed over the decades to reflect the political mandate in 1977 and agenda of an evolving provincial and national language policy. When immigrant minority languages were first mandated in 1977 by the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) to be taught to school-aged children, the program was called the *Heritage Languages Program*. Originally a close partnership between cultural communities in urban centers and the Ontario Ministry of Education, the HL program came into being on the heels of Canada adopting multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971. Almost two decades after the establishment of the Ontario Heritage Languages Program, it was renamed the *International Languages Program* in 1994. The new name better reflected the inclusivity and accessibility of publicly funded immigrant language programming and alluded to the fact that students were not required to be of a particular heritage to study a language. The term *international* also highlighted the sociocultural and economic benefits that language learning brings to a province, a society, and a country, namely, access to the global marketplace, to jobs abroad, to diplomatic relations, etc. The languages taught in the International Language Program (and previously in the Heritage Languages Program) are "modern languages spoken in various areas of the world" (OME 2016a, p. 19) other than Indigenous languages of Canada and the two official languages, English and French. In Ontario curriculum documents, the language taught is referred to as the *target language* (OME 2016a, 2012).

Once it was removed from the legislation and the curriculum, the term *heritage* could now be reassigned to two groups not originally included in the grouping of heritage languages taught in Ontario: French and English (designated as the two national official languages in 1969 and in 1988) and Indigenous languages with their fundamental connection to the land and the heritage of the country's original inhabitants. Just before Ontario's *Heritage Languages Program* was renamed the *International Languages Program*, a new federal Department of Canadian Heritage was created to solidify national unity by supporting the arts, Canada's two official languages, and athletes, as well as other initiatives pertaining to Indigenous cultures and languages and multiculturalism – but to the exclusion of immigrant languages. Cummins points out that ethnocultural communities in Ontario were in favor of the change of name of HL programs to *International Languages* because it better positioned the programs as teaching "language skills that have significance for children's overall educational and personal development" (2014b, p. 5). The change appears also to have clarified the national agenda of (re-) defining "heritage" in the Canadian context as rooted in official bilingualism within a policy of multiculturalism that solidifies HLs in the domain of education and language policy in education as mandated by provincial governments.

Naming the Order of Languages: Learner Situation and the Researcher Position

The different areas of inquiry and the domains in which researchers work usually determine the sequencing they use to describe the HL or its speakers and learners. Linguists such as Montrul and Polinsky and education theorists like Cummins generally refer to HLs by the order of the sequencing of acquisition, with L1 being the first language acquired, L2 the second, L3 the third, and so on. Therefore, if a HL is only partially acquired or later lost, it is still considered the learner's L1. An L1 HL speaker might be an immigrant or the child of an immigrant. With global mobility and immigration, younger generations may no longer use their L1 after relocation. To account for these shifts in language usage, preference, or proficiency, some scholars choose to use the L1 designation for the dominant (or preferred) language and L2 for the displaced HL. Aravossitas (2014) points out, however, that the specific needs, competencies, and contexts of HL learners distinguish them from L1, L2, or foreign language learners. In *The Acquisition of Heritage Languages*, Montrul (2016) addresses the question of whether HL learners are native speakers or second language speakers and raises the feasibility and implications of studying HL learners and HLE as unique and separate from second language learners and second language education (SLE) including foreign language learning. The terms and delineations can also be influenced by the researcher's academic domain. For example, scholars like Ambrosio (2014), primarily researching official languages of a country, might use *L3* interchangeably with *HL* because, from the perspective of their research, the HL is the third language taught at school, after the LI (first official language acquired – English or French) and the L2 (second official language, often acquired in a SLE context).

As Jim Cummins points out (2014b), "definitions of 'heritage language' remain dynamic rather than static, reflecting the contested cultural and political terrian to which the term refers" (p. 3). Listing, reflecting upon, and analyzing HL and HLE terminology, and the history, use, and nuances associated with it, is necessary to better understand and engage in the development of HLF research, policy, and practice.

Policy, Curriculum, and Program Delivery: Heritage Languages in the Context of Ontario as a World Leader in Public Education

Heritage Language Education and Current Language Learning in Ontario

A 2010 report by Mourshed, Chijioke, and Barber for McKinsey & Company entitled, *How The World's Most Improved School Systems Keep Getting Better*, reported that, "Ontario is among the world's highest-performing school systems. It consistently achieves top-quartile mathematics scores and top-decile reading scores in PISA

[the Program for International Student Assessment]" (p. 47). The competencies measured and described in this study and other similar studies focus on student numeracy and literacy skills in one of the official languages, particularly as they relate to high school graduation rates. Heritage languages and heritage language education are not taken into account in assessments of student success, whereby HLE and additional language learning continues to be regarded as an add-on to the core subject areas of the curriculum, rather than as an integral part of the students' overall literacy and success.

As a leader of SLE and HLE for many decades, Canada has a wide variety of heritage, additional, and international language policies and programs – all of which are provincially mandated by ministries of education (Cummins 2014b). With the highest immigration levels in Canada, numerous established diaspora communities in urban centers, and a push to expand international education, the Ontario Ministry of Education is mandated through the *Education Act* (Government of Ontario 2010) to offer through publicly funded school boards (Pubic and Catholic; English and French) 12 or 13 years of HL / additional language classes for students from Junior Kindergarten to Grade 12. School boards across Ontario offer classes in 77 languages from around the world (immigrant languages other than English or French) through the *International Language Program* for elementary grades and in international languages high school credits courses for secondary students and adult learners. These optional courses are usually offered outside of regular school hours on weekends, during the week after school or over the lunch hour in elementary schools, and on weekends and weeknights for credit courses. International languages programs are typically managed by continuing education departments of district school boards where IL classes and courses take place in regular schools or in appropriate community spaces.

A new IL program for elementary-level students can be initiated by a school board upon receipt of a formal request from at least 23 parents or guardians. The elementary IL program consists of 2.5 h of weekly language instruction, per language, throughout the school year and, if available, 2.5 h of daily language instruction during the summer. International languages secondary classes for high school students or adult learners are offered when school boards receive sufficient student registrations. They consists of 3.5 h per week of language classes for a total of 90 h if offered on a weeknight or 110 h if offered on a weekend during the school year. Students can earn a total of up to three high school credits per chosen language. Students may wish to study more than one language, although many find this difficult due to other academic, social, and community responsibilities. The programs are publicly funded and free of charge for Ontario residents, other than minimal fees requested in some cases to help cover expenses related to special events or special materials (OME 2011; Government of Ontario 2010).

Montrul (2010) and others have pointed out that language learners with childhood exposure to a heritage language learn differently than their second language peers with no previous exposure to the language. In Ontario IL programs, heritage language learners and those new to a language are grouped together and taught

with a combination of strategies and pedagogic approaches for native language instruction and second language education (OME 2016a, b), though SLE practices are most often applied in these classes. The most common and useful approach to teaching multilevel classes and multilingual students, however, is through a differentiated approach that "involves adapting instruction and assessment in response to differing student interests, learning preferences, and readiness" (OME 2016a, p. 37).

Partnerships for Program Delivery and Integration into Mainstream Educational Space

In order to better address learner needs and to mediate learner motivation in classrooms, parents and cultural communities are invited to partner closely with school boards offering international languages classes. Parents and community members sometimes become "leaders in establishing, organizing and running" (García et al. 2012) language learning support structures, bringing Ontario IL programs closer to García's concept of "bilingual community education" rather than to a strictly institutional model of SLE (García, p. 28). Partnerships between the school system and community involve a range of stakeholders, be they cultural (churches, associations), private (individual teachers, parents and leaders), local (volunteer organizations), international (governments), diplomatic (embassies), or academic (universities). Yet integrating ILs/HLs and a HLE partnership-centered framework in an effective and sustainable manner is "an extremely complex task that entails various challenges of a sociolinguistic, educational and organizational nature" (Aravossitas 2014, p. 141).

In addition to developing partnerships with communities, continuing education departments also join efforts with individual day school staff within their schools boards. The pedagogic and philosophical position of international languages is shared with day school staff, as are agreements on the practical elements of sharing classroom space and making accommodations for the weekend program, or setting up language classes during the week for the day school students as extended days or lunch hour classes. Partners and stakeholders can only do their part if they are informed and educated about the IL program and HLE. For example, new or prospective parents can offer their children better support if they are informed of the importance of HL maintenance, the IL program resources available to them, and strategies that support language learning such as committing to provide their children with regular, quality language input and output opportunities. Similarly, when parents and educators of students from socioeconomically marginalized or remote urban communities feel supported, they can more fully maximize HLE and IL opportunities for students. Cultural communities are much better able to support the programs with supplementary learning materials, prospective teaching candidates, and cultural enrichment activities if they are educated about equity and inclusive education and other pedagogic practices specific to the Ontario school system (OME 2016a). Creating a context of informed partnership is a colossal task, but worthwhile and necessary. In the short term, it improves the quality of the language classes. In the long term, it helps integrate HLs more organically into the

school system (Ambrosio 2014, 2011; Cummins 2014a) and into the mainstream educational space (García et al. 2012; Chumak-Horbatsch 2012).

Ontario Curriculum and Policy Documents for International Languages Programs

Laying the groundwork for a (pro-) active inclusion of HLs in day school programming and bridging students' IL successes with their broader educational objectives and achievements is very difficult to do without basic policy interventions. The Ontario Ministry of Education has aligned expectations across the curriculum and in program delivery models and has included international languages in the cross-curricular design process. The 2012 *International Languages (elementary) Program Resource Guide* published by the OME describes the international languages program for kindergarten to Grade 8 and offers many recommendations for teachers, parents, administrators, and community partners – from specific pedagogic approaches and resource selection to classroom management strategies and student assessment processes.

The *Classical Studies and International Languages Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10*, and *11 and 12* (OME 1999, 2000a) was revised from 2009 to 2015, and published in 2016. This document is closely aligned with recent Ontario secondary curriculum and resource documents that elaborate further on the definitions of pedagogic concepts and instructional approaches. The IL curriculum is founded on and directly related to principles of pedagogic theory, practice, and provincial education requirements. Pedagogic objectives and cross-curricular expectations presented in the 2016 IL curriculum include: SLE and the process of acquiring literacy; considerations for new English or French language learners and for those with special education needs; metacognition, socio-linguistic awareness, and intercultural understanding; environmental education, financial literacy, and global citizenship; ethics, equity, and inclusive practices; creativity, innovation, and critical thinking, including deeper thinking; digital citizenship; and information and communications technology (OME 2016a, b). The IL-e *Resource Guide* (2012) and the revised IL secondary curriculum (2016) define and provide direction to IL programs and courses in Ontario, and align IL with SLE notions and pedagogic approaches common to all areas of teaching elementary and secondary students in Ontario.

Ontario Policy Documents that Support Second Language Learning and International Languages

Recently, the elementary and secondary international languages programs have been included in other Ontario Ministry of Education policy documents. International education in Ontario is aimed at students who are able "to study abroad through exchange programs that offer [. . .] immersive learning experience[s]" as well as at students who are unable to travel but can learn through "experiential learning

opportunities [in Ontario schools] to connect with "their classmates and the broader community in which they live" (OME 2015d, p. 9). *Ontario's Strategy for International Education K-12* (OME 2015d) describes an initiative that encourages students in French- and English-language school boards to acquire intercultural competence and skills for a world greatly influenced by diversity in local and global contexts.

The *Strategy* refers specifically to the study of international languages in Ontario schools and encourages district school boards to "enhance international languages programs" (p. 21), to provide support to encourage students "to study international languages" (p. 5, 21), and to help "foster deeper learning and global understanding" through learning experiences and the "intercultural competence" as it expressed in the "Ontario curriculum for international languages for Grades 9 to 12" (p. 9). The *Strategy* provides evidence-based statements linking language learning to overall education objectives. "Learning a second or third language", it says, "not only strengthens students' problem-solving, reasoning, and creative-thinking skills, it also develops [student] awareness and appreciation of the world and their place in it" (p. 21). Ontario's international education *Strategy* proposes on some levels to bring into Ontario classrooms what already exists in students' heritage and international language experiences: cultural and linguistic diversity, a connection to people from other countries, contact with youth in those countries, and opportunities for exposure to global issues and the development of intercultural awareness. The *Strategy* draws a direct connection between international education and the international languages program in Ontario and provides strategies for administrators and teachers to align language competencies with students' overall education.

The encouragement of language learning as it is presented in recent policies and curriculum documents are a positive step for language learning in Ontario. There is still work to be done by policy makers, administrators, and researchers to acknowledge the full potential that students' heritage and international language competencies bring to the education system. Considering specific strategies for all teachers (not just language teachers) to activate the use of students' language repertoires in the classroom as often as possible can bring languages "into productive contact" (Cummins 2014a, p. 5). Day school classes and subjects in all areas of the curriculum can be aligned or bridged more directly with the optional weekend or afterschool language classes. Education should open the world of languages to students through the languages or language varieties already present in the classrooms, to enable students "to use their L1 [HL] as a cognitive tool and develop their LI abilities to the level of literate competence" (Cummins, p. 6) while growing as lifelong learners and global citizens.

French-Language School Boards in Ontario

Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum and policy documents are tailored individually to the differing needs of French- and English-language school

boards. Accordingly, the French and English versions of the 2016 Ontario international languages curriculum embody several differences. The French version has consolidated two of the four strands, listening, speaking, reading, and writing, presented in the English version. *Listening* and *speaking* are combined into *communication orale* (oral communication). Other differences include tables in the French version with samples of prescribed *formes de textes* (text types) based on language teaching approaches specific to French-language schools, as well as examples and teacher prompts aligned with the prescribed text types. The French version contains an additional section in the preface delineating particular teaching objectives as examined through the lens of the francophone minority context. This section concludes that the awareness and appropriation of a minority francophone identity in French-language Ontario schools aims *to help the student to value the linguistic, cultural, and cognitive capital gathered in the classroom* ("ces référents culturels [francophones] aide l'élève à . . . valoriser le capital linguistique, culturel et cognitif rassemblé dans la classe" OME 2016b, p. 5). French-language school boards in Ontario accept and serve a diverse demographic of CLDs (culturally and linguistically diverse) learners.

The French language version of the previously discussed Ontario *Strategy* (for international education), la *Stratégie ontarienne en matière d'éducation internationale de la maternelle à la 12e année*, offers an additional perspective on how heritage or international language learning might be viewed in a minority francophone context. While the English version of this document refers to languages of study as "international languages" (2015d, pp. 9, 21), the French version uses the term *langues étrangères* (foreign languages) in the same sections of the document (2015d, pp. 9, 24) and *langues internationales* only when referring specifically to the international language program. The use of the term "foreign languages" could be interpreted as a prescriptive rather than a strictly descriptive reference to language learning objectives, attesting to a varied perspective in Ontario on place, functionality, and prestige of international languages within the context of international education.

In spite of challenges related to integrating heritage languages and international languages into an overall vision for literacy and education, the 2016 *Classical Studies and International Languages Curriculum* and other recent OME documents make it clear that Ontario is aligning initiatives and interventions to promote, streamline, and improve language learning in the province. Questions remain, however, about whether the process of integrating ILs and HLs across the curriculum will be comprehensive enough to fully include and validate in home languages and students' additional language competencies. Exposing teachers to second language research and to specific SLE approaches, resources and tools, may help validate the linguistic and cultural capital that students bring to their learning environments and connect it more explicitly to educational objectives that aim to develop global and twenty-first century competencies.

Ontario Policy Documents that Should Explicitly Include Second Language Learning and International Languages

Policy documents such as *21st Century Competencies: Foundation Document for Discussion. Phase 1: Towards defining 21st century competencies for Ontario* offer important tools to encourage educators and education administrators to guide students towards language studies through IL classes, heritage language literacy, and intercultural awareness. However, language learning is not mentionned at all in this recent document, other than a general reference to the importance of communicating "effectively in different contexts in oral and written form in French and/or English" (OME 2015a, p. 56). This omission of international languages competencies in a culturally diverse Ontario with large numbers of plurilingual learners emphasizes the sense that, despite recent curriculum and policy integration measures, international language education and HLE continues to be viewed by many in the education system as a separate and marginal education program rather than a basic and necessary global competency.

Policy as a Basis for Practice and Future Reserch

Despite a more gradual integration of international language education in some areas of curriculum and policy, the work with HLs, ILs, and language literacy mandated by the Ministry of Education that is actually and currently practiced in Ontario schools situate the province as a leader in the greater context of advanced and successful education systems that strive to continue to improve and to meet the challenges of a multilingual reality and the need for a plurilingual pedagogy. While the Ontario model may not be directly transferable to other contexts, the processes developed and the research on which they are based can provide data and possible pathways for creating, organizing, and delivering a heritage language program and international languages programs in other jurisdictions and for improving those already established in Ontario.

Challenges in Heritage Language Policy and Implementation: Program Planning, Organization, and Delivery

The gap that exists between heritage language education research and practice in Ontario is rooted in a reluctance across the education system to fully validate language learning through an explicit integration of the full range of students' language competencies into their day to day schooling. Despite the change of name from the *Heritage Languages Program* to the *International Languages Program* in 1994, and despite the inclusion of *international languages* in policy documents 20 years later, funding of IL education has not increased to meet the growing needs. Challenges specific to HLE and IL programming in Ontario identified by Aravossitas (2014) and Ambrosio (2011, 2014) relate directly to a lack of funding and resources. Issues pertaining to the exclusion or neglect of ILs, HLs, and

a HLE pedagogy in students' regular classes have been raised by Cummins (2014a, b), Piccardo (2014), and Chumak-Horbatsch (2012). These educators and scholars argue that an improved pedagogy inclusive of HLs instituted in day school classroom practices will benefit all students and the entire schools system. The discussions of HL policies by Cummins (2014a), Bale (2010), and Piccardo (2014) shed light on the misalignment of HL research, funding and program planning, and on the gaps between research evidence and classroom practices in Ontario and beyond.

HLE Internationalization: Language Hierarchies and Minoritization

Generally, HLs and ILs are not actively integrated into the English-language and French-language classrooms of day schools despite research showing the positive effects of simple and transformative classroom practices that actively include HLs in second language acquisition and in students' overall literacy (Cummins 2005, 2014a, b). There are a number of pedagogic strategies that help teachers incorporate HLs and students' HL identities into classrooms that align well with literacy practices for English and/or French. These include pedagogic practices such as language portraits (Prasad 2013), dual language projects (Cummins 2014a, b; Prasad 2013), and HL inclusion and activation by day school teachers (Prasad 2013; Chumak-Horbatsch 2012). The lack of widespread acceptance or even knowledge of these practices by teachers, administrators, and policy makers effectively relegates HLs to the margins of education, and HL identity to the private domain of students' lives. That, in turn, contributes ultimately to language attrition and societal loss of linguistic capital that otherwise would not be expensive nor difficult to harness (Cummins 2014a). It is important to educate teachers that inclusive and proactive practices *would not favor HL students over their monolingual peers* because plurilingual educational approaches and strategies benefit all students in a class on an ongoing basis through the linguistic capital and competencies that each one of them shares with their peers. Piccardo's assertion that "we are all plurilingual" (2013, p.604) serves to underline that each student brings with her or him some knowledge and experience of languages, such as the recognition of language families and varieties, different registers within their own native language, comparisons of aural and written language segments, and so on. The culturally and linguistically diverse context in which many students live present many opportunities to help students develop an interest in languages without placing one group of students or select languages above the rest.

In Ontario, HL classes are optional, with only a certain portion of students studying languages, often at the insistence of their parents who wish to pass along their HL to their children (Aravossitas 2014) or to expose them to a new language, culture, and language system. Ambrosio (2014) asserts that a strategic review of the Ontario curriculum could contribute to the prestige and practicality of language study. She quotes an Ontario HL teacher who suggested that in addition to English and French, "we [should] expect kids to go through with [at least one credit] at the high school level in a third language" (p. 142). This type of suggestion goes

beyond improving curriculum documents, as has been done in Ontario. It calls for change in attitude to challenge the idea or practice that language learning is not much more than an optional add-on. International education, the kindergarten to Grade 12 program encouraging students to go or come from abroad, and the international certificate program or international baccalaureate programs (special secondary programs in select high schools that focus on global studies) might help to enhance the prestige and priority of language learning, particularly of international languages that are popular or dominant in host countries or at travel destinations. Encouraging literacy among students in minority diaspora languages spoken in the home helps provide status and recognition to those languages as part of a wide array of international languages. The inclusion of lesser-known minority languages in the 77 international languages taught in Ontario helps avoid minoritization as defined by Bale (2010) of HLs that have less international prestige, status, or social currency.

Starting with the Secondary: Program Quality, Access, and Purpose

The Ontario IL secondary curriculum (2016) has been restructured. The four-level system, which for over 30 years permitted students earn up to four credits per language, became a three-level program with the possibility of earning and applying three credits per language towards the high school diploma. The two-stream option of one set of course codes for "native speakers" (OME 2000a), "students who have previous knowledge" (OME 2000b), and a separate set of course codes of "non-native speakers" (OME 1999), "students who have no previous knowledge" (OME 2000b), is no longer applied. The revised 2016 curriculum has only one set of course codes, those used previously for non-native speakers with no previous knowledge, reflected in the Level 1 course description "to begin to develop and apply skills . . . in the language of study" (2016a, p. 113). On the surface, the lack of prerequisite for Level 1 and the beginner level description in the course outline may seem to reflect a foreign language learning direction for Ontario international languages courses. However, the front matter of the draft curriculum (OME 2015b) stated that, "Ontario's changing demographic profile will include opportunities for expanding the growing list of international languages offered in schools" (p. 4) and acknowledged that, "many students will bring prior knowledge to these programs" (p. 5). Offering one stream for all learners regardless of their language proficiency may encourage more students to attempt the courses. It is also more consistent with SLE practices and plurilingual education, in which multiple language levels in a class are an asset and not an obstacle to authentic task and inquiry-based language learning (Piccardo 2013, 2014). The change from grades (Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12) to levels (Level 1, 2 and 3) also encourages students to take a language course in any grade of secondary school (OME, 2016a, p. 19). As in the 1999/2000 IL secondary curriculum, each course level in the revised curriculum continues to be offered either as an "open" or an "academic/pre-university" course to accommodate the needs of students with diverse program pathways and post-secondary plans.

Activities suggested in the 2016 curriculum that focus on awareness of sociolinguistic conventions provide opportunities to compare languages and language structures and to learn the standard version of a language while exploring regional and other language varieties, dialects, and hybrids that may be present in students' homes and cultural communities. The OME has also included information online for IL teachers who may be working in rural or remote communities where demographics and cultural organizations may be less diverse but where the local linguistic and cultural environment may bring with it alternative or specific opportunities. The inclusion of these elements, as well as flexibility for course expectations to "be adapted to reflect the local linguistic and cultural environment" (2015b, p. 24), reflect the progressive direction of education in Ontario and the improvement of ILP/HLE programs within it. While the OME is aligning the ILP with the broader curriculum and with new literacies, research is needed to assess what resources are available to help implement the approaches and how post-secondary institutions will continue to offer a language-learning journey for students through university and college programs and continuing education classes.

Teachers and Instructors: Qualifications and In-Service Training

Teaching opportunities for IL elementary classes (2.5 h weekly) are open to certified teachers as well as to language instructors who are not members of the Ontario Teacher's College but whose qualifications in the language and in pedagogy meet school board requirements. Flexibility in candidate selection is desinged to open up a wider pool of instructors with a requisite level of proficiency in the target language. In order to teach the secondary, credit course classes (3.5 h per week), a teacher must possess appropriate competencies in the target language and be certified and in good standing with the Ontario Teacher's College. If such a candidate is not available, language competencies and teaching qualifications obtained outside of Ontario or outside of a teacher training program are assessed, and if found to meet requirements, a special letter of permission to teach the course may be sought by the school board from the OME on behalf of the candidate (Government of Ontario 2010).

The number of uncertified teachers or of certified teachers with no previous exposure to language teaching or to HL learners warrants intervention and guidance from principals of continuing education and IL program and curriculum managers. Teachers without SLE or HLE qualifications, without level/age-specific qualifications, or with little or no previous exposure to HLE contexts also require a range of in-service training activities as well as ongoing professional development opportunities. HLE literature shows clearly that there is a lack of resources in the area of teacher training and professional development (Aravossitas 2014), as a problem that is often acknowledged by the teachers themselves (Ambrosio 2014, 2011).

Internet resources are being developed for HL/IL teachers and school board administrators. An initiative by the OME includes the integration of online resources on the EduGAINS website with IL resources developed by the OME that complement the IL curriculum and other ministry resources. Recent curriculum and resource documents, whether online or in printed format, contain easily visible

boxes with names, short descriptions, and URLs of related or pertinent documents and resources on the EduGAINS and OME websites. Additional resources developed by subject matter associations and other education organizations also improve the practices of HL/ILP teachers. These include the International Languages Educators' Association of Ontario (ILEA) and the Ontario Modern Languages Teachers' Association (OMLTA).

Opportunities: Leadership and Classroom Realities

Administrators: Information, Knowledge, Competence

While one can find research about classroom implementation of HLE approaches to language learning and literacies (Cummins 2014a,b; Edwards 2009), almost nothing has been researched and written on leadership and administration in HLE. In Ontario, there are many levels of support and administration related to IL elementary and secondary courses. Each district school board with school or community interest in ILs organizes its own IL programs (Government of Ontario 2010). Coordinators, education officers, managers, or site administrators are hired, as well as support staff, to help principals of continuing education run the IL programs and classes. The work of these administrators includes communicating with ILP staff as well as school board staff in other departments who may not be familiar with HLs, HLE, or language literacy practices. Administrators' responsibilities include communicating with the OME, partnering with cultural and community organizations and the diplomatic corps, interacting with parents and intervening in discipline or other management issues, as well as managing financial and human resources for the IL programs. While education always requires interest, commitment, and enthusiasm on the part of teachers and principals, the input of all levels of administration is key – and is especially important in the challenging HLE and LI environment.

A lack of continuity related to some aspects of IL programs contribute to unusual management issues that tend to sometimes detract from concentrating on professional development and in-service training. Such aspects include teacher and student turnover rates higher than in regular school programs (Aravossitas 2014), annual changes in location (classrooms and sometimes school sites), and weekly classes rather than daily classroom activities. Continuing education administrators often manage a number of diverse programs. Competencies required for this work include experience with and knowledge of theory and practice of SLE and HLE as well as leadership strategies for work with a range of cultural communities and other institutions. Additional but necessary work that falls on IL administrators and teachers comprises of encouraging inter-language and cross-class activities, sharing of best practices across language groupings, connecting IL and day school students using the same classroom but at differing times, and promoting HLs and IL in homes and schools. In addition to working directly with the community and classroom stakeholders of the IL program, administrators are also responsible for demonstrating

leadership and promoting IL to various school board departments with whom they work.

Classroom Resources

A shortage of resources is often a challenge in the practice of education and other public services, with IL/HLE programs being particularly stretched due to the specific and very diverse needs of HL learners (Aravossitas 2014; Ambrosio 2014; Montrul 2010). In Ontario HL contexts, cultural communities often play an active role in providing additional resources. The use and sharing of classrooms in publicly funded schools by ILP instructors and day school teachers creates an additional challenge for both. While day school teachers are required by the OME and the school board to prepare their weekday classrooms for the weekend or after-hours ILP courses (Government of Ontario 2010), the ILP teachers or instructors have the added challenge of not necessarily having their materials stored in the classroom, not being able to set up learning centers for younger students, and not always having access to computer labs and other resources normally available to teaching staff. Researching mobile spaces and digital spaces might prove beneficial to teachers and other stakeholders trying to negotiate a place and a space in the school system for HLE and ILPs.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Education administrators and HLE teachers depend on cultural communities to reach and work with families who commit to language learning in the education system. The plethora of recent research findings in Canada and abroad points to a need for leading edge pedagogic approaches and classroom practices that encourage language activation (Piccardo 2013). For a number a decades, scholars continue to find that "schools and educators must find ways to embrace and build upon students' prior knowledge," particularly whatever "set of literacy skills" they have as individuals and as a group (Duff 2007, pp. 149 and 154). More research is needed to examine HL communities through questions related to family language planning (Slavkov 2016; Baker 2011) and community resource mobilization and involvement (Aravossitas 2014; Gracía 2012).

Research about opportunities and challenges in HLE program delivery and administration is needed to identify policy and resource management issues that affect pedagogy and student engagement and to assess how leadership envisions and promotes HL and IL learning in school communities and in broader society. A decline in language learning and multilingualism has been observed in Canadian schools despite well-intentioned language policies and model educational systems such as that of Ontario. In her 2007 article on the myths and realities of multilingualism in schools, Patricia Duff contextualizes the current problem of "societal inertia regarding language learning" (p. 161) – a problem that may be emerging

across the globe. The enthusiasm of new immigrants for their children's literacy in both official languages of Canada appears to wane once their children's heritage language is lost. Canadian bilingualism may well be contingent on the development of HLE and the incorporation of students' languages into their day school experiences and overall education. An unexplored additional benefit of HLE, therefore, may be the promotion of the study of official and nonofficial languages and carrying on of regional and historical language traditions, such as the study of French and possibly of Indigenous languages across Canada.

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The National Heritage Language Resource Center: A Locus of Activity in the Field of Heritage Languages in the USA

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Maria M. Carreira, Arturo Díaz, and Olga E. Kagan

Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of the field of heritage language (HL) education in the USA and describes the activities of the National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC), which focuses on developing effective pedagogical approaches to teaching HL learners through research, curriculum design, materials development, and teacher education. First, the authors consider how global migration has influenced the linguistic landscape and demographics of the USA, resulting in a heritage speaker population that academic institutions and government agencies recognize as having the most potential to attain the advanced levels of language proficiency required for performance at the professional level. The chapter addresses the need for pedagogy and curriculum design to help heritage learners reach their full potential, providing a brief overview of macro-based teaching, form-to principles, differentiated teaching, and formative assessment. In addition, a history of the NHLRC is provided, highlighting specific research by the center, its engagement in teacher training, program building, material design,

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and its activities in forming a community of experts and a coalition of community language schools. Finally, the authors consider new directions that researchers and practitioners need to take if the HL field of education is to continue its growth and development, such as longitudinal studies and institutionalization of HL pedagogy within the educational system and through community building with professional organizations and public/private initiatives, with a view toward raising awareness of the potential that HL speakers have for strengthening America's place in the interconnected world of the twenty-first century.

Keywords
Heritage language learners • Heritage language speakers • Heritage language pedagogy • Macro-based teaching • Differentiated Teaching • From-to Principles

Contents

Introduction

Global migration is radically changing the linguistic landscape of the world, with profound implications for institutions of learning. In the USA, the geographical region on which we report in this chapter, over 61 million people, or one out of five residents, speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau 2015). Of these, 12 million are estimated to be school-age children (National KIDS COUNT 2015).

Individuals exposed to a language other than English at home but educated primarily in English are known as heritage language speakers of the home language. Definitions of heritage language (HL) and heritage language speakers vary, but in the framework of this chapter, the terms "heritage language" and "heritage language speaker" are derived from definitions by Maria Polinsky and Guadalupe Valdés. Polinsky (2008a) defines a heritage language as "a language which was first for an individual with respect to the order of acquisition but has not been completely acquired because of the switch to another dominant language" (p. 149). A heritage language speaker, or HL speaker, according to Valdés, is "a person who is raised in a home where a language other than English is spoken, who speaks or understands that language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the home language" (2000, p. 1). The UCLA Research Priorities Conference Report (2000) further distinguished between HL acquisition, which begins in the home, and second-language (L2) acquisition, which typically begins in the classroom. Thus, a *heritage language speaker* (HL speaker) indicates an individual who grows up in a US home where a non-English language is spoken, while a *heritage language learner*, or HL learner, is an HL speaker who pursues formal study of the heritage language.

The study of heritage languages – how they are preserved or lost by immigrant communities and individuals, how they evolve in contact with the dominant societal language, and how they are learned by children in their home and communities of residence, as well and in the school context – is at the heart of the work of the National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC) at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). Founded in 2006 through a US Department of Education Title VI[1] grant, the NHLRC's mission is to develop effective pedagogical approaches to teaching heritage language learners, both by creating a research base and by pursuing curriculum design, materials development, and teacher education. The NHLRC is one of 16 Title VI National Language Resource Centers (LRCs) that are funded by the US Department of Education. This chapter will provide an overview of the field of heritage language education in the USA and, against this background, describe the NHLRC's activities, focusing on the impact it has had on the emerging field, both theoretically and in praxis. Looking ahead, this chapter will also consider new directions that HL researchers and practitioners need to take if the new field of HL education is to continue its growth and development.

The US Linguistic Landscape

Demographics

In the language acquisition field, new pedagogical theories, methodologies, and assessment protocols appear periodically, but it is rare that an entirely new subfield emerges. Heritage language teaching has become such a new field of inquiry,

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[1]Title VI programs of the US government support foreign language, area, and international studies at US colleges and universities

Table 1 Languages other than English spoken in US homes (million speakers; totals subject to rounding; source: US Census Bureau data)

Language	1990	2000	2010	2012	2014
Spanish	17.4	28.1	35.5	36.8	38.1
Chinese	1.3	2.0	2.7	2.8	3
Tagalog	0.8	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.6
Vietnamese	0.5	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.4
French	1.9	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.1
Korean	0.6	.89	1.1	1.1	1.1
German	1.6	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.0
Arabic	.35	.61	.77	.87	.98
African languages (Amharic, Ibo, Twi, Yoruba, Bantu, Swahili, Somali)	not listed	.42	.77	.84	.94
Asian languages not listed separately (Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Turkish)	not listed	.4	.74	.85	.97
Russian	.24	.71	.83	.87	.89
Totals	24.69	38.83	48.31	50.23	52.08

Adapted from "Table B16001: Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over" for the USA. American Community Survey 2010–2014 5-year estimates, US Census Bureau

because heritage language learners now constitute a major demographic learning group for a large number of language programs within the USA.

Table 1 shows US Census Bureau data on speakers of selected languages other than English in the USA. From 1990 to 2014, the number of speakers in all languages except German and French increased. All the languages except Spanish are less commonly taught languages, and some (such as some African and Asian languages) are what Gambhir (2001) calls "truly less commonly taught" languages, many of which are studied almost exclusively by heritage language speakers. The data include both heritage language speakers who arrived in the USA in childhood and those born in the USA to immigrant parents and indicate the large-scale potential to strengthen language knowledge in the USA by more effective heritage language instruction.

With most students of less commonly taught languages (at both secondary and post-secondary levels) being HL learners, it is almost impossible to discuss the teaching of those languages without reference to HL pedagogy. Instructors who participate in the NHLRC's teacher training and materials development workshops teach Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Hebrew, Hindi/Urdu, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese among other languages.

US HL Learners

A national survey of college-level HL learners by Carreira and Kagan (2011) provides important insights on these learners' home background, patterns of language use, linguistic attitudes, and goals and motivations surrounding their HL. Of the
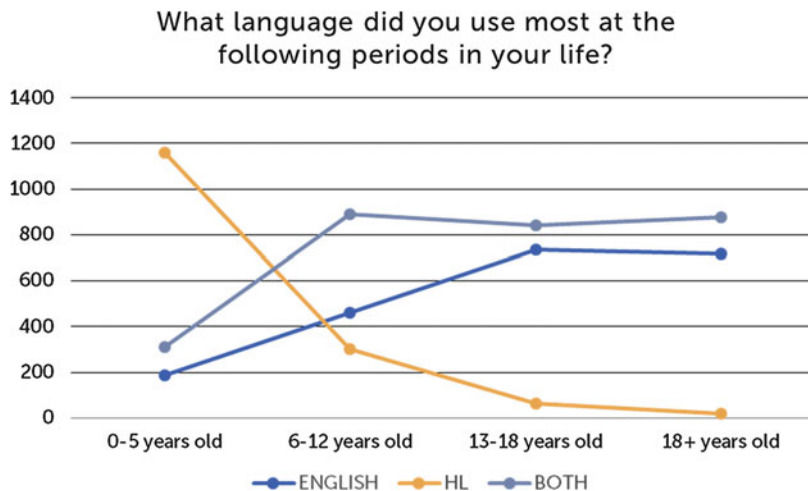
Fig. 1 Language use of heritage language learners. (*Note*: Reprinted from "The Heritage Language Learner Survey: Report on the preliminary results," by M. Carreira and O. Kagan 2009, April. Copyright 2009 *National Heritage Language Resource Center*)

approximately 1800 survey respondents, most (60.6%) were US born and typically speak their home language until they start school, when they rapidly switch to English (Fig. 1). Following this pattern, nearly all survey respondents reported being dominant in their HL until the age of six, at which point they started shifting to English. As adults, the majority of respondents report speaking English most of the time but also using their HL at home and in their communities. In other words, these HL learners continue to use their home language to some extent and retain functional proficiency, sometimes considerable.

From the point of view of teaching, one of the most telling responses to the survey is heritage language speakers' self-assessment of their language skills, shown in Fig. 2. As the figure shows, respondents rate their proficiency in writing as low, in reading and speaking as intermediate, and only in listening as native-like.

In terms of attitudes, for the most part, respondents were very positive about their HL, offering examples where their home language made it possible to connect with others better or proved to be of practical value. As to their reasons for studying their HL, respondents' top priorities were (1) to learn about their cultural and linguistic roots (59.8%), (2) to communicate better with family and friends in the USA (57.5%), and (3), as a purely pragmatic goal, to fulfill a language requirement (53.7%) in their institution. A significant number (49%) also cited professional reasons, though there were notable differences between languages with regard to this goal.

Overall, these responses both show complex patterns of language use and underscore HL learners' linguistic potential. In terms of curriculum development, they point to the importance of building on HL learners' considerable linguistic strengths, addressing their knowledge gaps, attending to their goals and motivations, and drawing on their life experiences. We address each of these points in detail in the sections that follow.
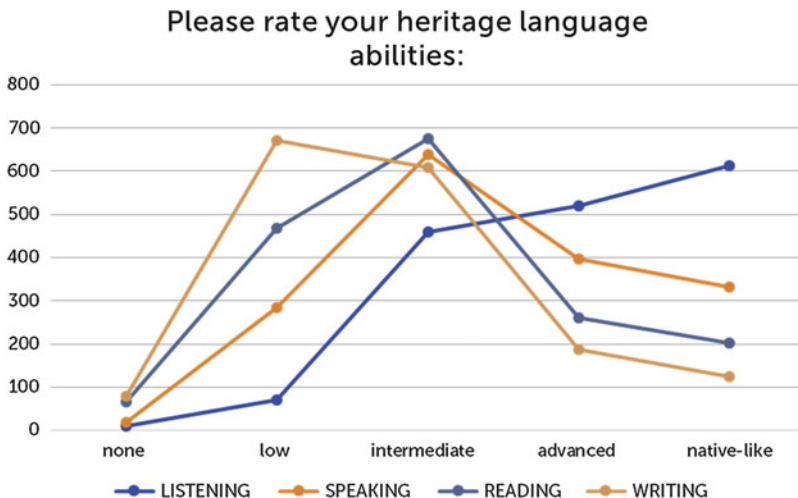
Fig. 2 Self-assessment of heritage language proficiency. (*Note*: Reprinted from "The Heritage Language Learner Survey: Report on the preliminary results," by M. Carreira and O. Kagan 2009, April. Copyright 2009 *National Heritage Language Resource Center*)

HL Learners' Potential

Despite their mixed profiles and incomplete knowledge, HL speakers have what Valdés (2001) describes as "developed functional proficiencies" (p. 38), which means that they "usually possess skills that a non-native speaker of the language would require hundreds of hours to acquire" (Kagan and Dillon 2001, p. 510). Because of this, HL learners can progress much faster than foreign language learners if they are taught with a pedagogy that builds on their incoming proficiencies. Defense Language Institute data show the average number of hours of instruction required to reach professional-level proficiency for English-speaking adult foreign language learners with no prior knowledge of the language. These estimates range from ~600 h for languages closely cognate with English (e.g., French, Spanish, Dutch) to ~1100 h for languages with significant linguistic/cultural differences (e.g., Amharic, Russian, Vietnamese) to more than 2200 h, including instruction abroad, for languages that are "exceptionally difficult" for native English speakers to learn (e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean) (Omaggio-Hadley 2001).

HL speakers' potential to reach high-level proficiency is faster than L2 learners', and more generally, their potential to increase the overall language capacity of the USA is now widely recognized. Brecht and Ingold (2002) characterize HL speakers as "a largely untapped reservoir of linguistic competence in this country" which is of particular importance in increasing the number of proficient speakers of critical[2]

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[2]In the USA, the term "critical language" is used in reference to languages that are important from a geopolitical or economic standpoint; many critical languages are also less commonly taught languages and languages in which the demand for proficient speakers exceeds supply

languages. A position statement issued by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages[3] (ACTFL 2010) advocates that heritage and native language speakers "be able to continue to develop their heritage linguistic and cultural skills in order to become fully bilingual and biliterate in today's global environment" and emphasizes the optimal instruction for these speakers that builds on the knowledge they bring from their home-based exposure. Indeed, Davidson and Lekic (2013) found that 70% of Russian HL speakers tested at ILR[4] Level 4 (ACTFL Distinguished) across all modalities after completing a year abroad in a rigorous undergraduate Flagship[5] language program and the remaining 30% tested at ILR Level 3 (ACTFL Superior). Most of HL learners in their study tested higher than L2 learners studying in the same overseas program.

In short, a well-conceived HL instructional program is a highly effective way to train the global citizens that US institutions of higher learning, business ventures, and government agencies are working so hard to nurture (Carreira 2014b). In addition, at an individual level, heritage language learning also benefits HL learners by helping them to communicate better with their families, pursue intellectual and cultural activities in English *and* their heritage language, and apply their language skills and cultural literacy to their careers. For these potential benefits to materialize, however, instruction must be carefully calibrated to the needs of HL learners and respond to their lived experiences and goals, as discussed earlier. To employ foreign language pedagogy with HL learners who already have highly, though not fully developed, language competencies risks squandering their existing knowledge as well as stifling their motivation to acquire the highest possible proficiency in their heritage language (Wiley 2008). Specialized HL textbooks are critical in this regard. There is ample evidence that foreign language curriculum and textbooks are not responsive to heritage language learners' needs and lived experiences (Campbell and Rosenthal 2000; Kagan 2005; Kanno et al. 2008) and neither are textbooks and curricula designed for native speakers (Bermel and Kagan 2000).

Even HL learners with minimal proficiency in the heritage language or those with little to no formal schooling in their heritage language have abilities and instructional needs that are significantly different from those of L2 learners and, thus, require the use of specialized pedagogy and curricula to increase their proficiency and motivate them. For example, Kagan (2005) finds that HL learners of Russian who begin classroom instruction with *no* literacy, nonetheless, have measurable proficiency in speaking and listening. In this way, they are very different from the typical L2 learner.

With this in mind, the NHLRC has created a pedagogical paradigm tailored to the special instructional needs of HL learners. Three main components of this paradigm

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[3] ACTFL is the principal professional association of teachers of languages other than English in the USA

[4] The ILR (Interagency Language Roundtable) is a scale of oral proficiency ranging from 0 to 5 developed by the Foreign Service Institute in the USA. http://www.languagetesting.com/ilr-scale

[5] The Language Flagship is a national effort to change the way Americans learn languages; it supports language programs at US colleges in critical languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, Korean, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Swahili, and Turkish

are discussed in the next section, namely, macro-based teaching, the from-to principles, and differentiated teaching and formative assessment.

HL Pedagogy and Curriculum Design

Macro-Based Teaching

Given HL learners' home-based language acquisition, which results in the development of functional skills, and given their lack of literacy skills, these students benefit most from instructional approaches that can be characterized as "macro" or top-down (Kagan and Dillon 2001/2003; Carreira 2016). Such approaches build upon learners' listening comprehension and speaking ability and take a more authentic "real-life" approach to language use in the classroom. Macro-based approaches teach grammar and vocabulary as dictated by function or context, with instruction proceeding from the general message or the big ideas in a text, to the analysis of its linguistic building blocks. The inverse is true of micro-based (bottom-up) approaches, which are common in foreign language classes, especially at the lower levels of instruction. Crucially, though both approaches could include both form-focused instruction and the use of authentic materials and tasks, they diverge with regard to the role and timing of these components in the instructional sequence (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000; Kagan and Dillon 2001/2003). This difference between the two approaches is represented in the diagram below.

Top Down

A reading or authentic task

Form-focused instruction

Bottom Up

A reading or authentic task

Form-focused instruction
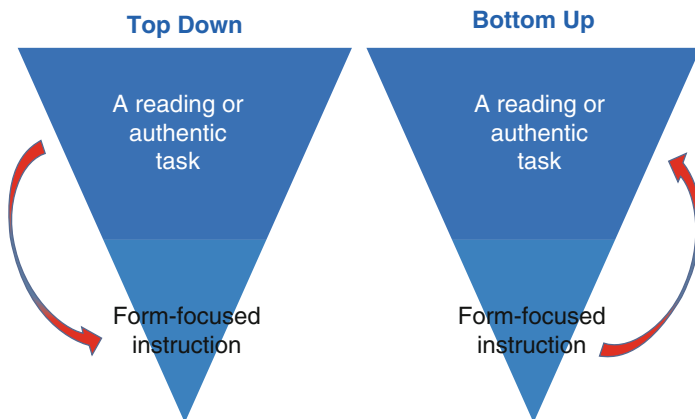
Within the general framework of macro-based teaching, content-based, theme-based, and project-based instructional approaches have proven particularly effective for teaching advanced learners, i.e., in the academic and professional spheres (Murphy and Stoller 2001). These approaches are also highly effective with HL learners because of the opportunities they provide for building on their functional skills and responding to their goals and motivations. For example, a project that involves interviewing HL community members and writing a report on the history of the local HL-speaking community serves to connect HL learners with local communities

of speakers, thereby responding to one of the main reasons for studying their HL. In addition, this project leverages HL learners' oral skills to develop their writing skills. The NHLRC is currently developing an HL-specific model of project-based learning, as well as developing curricula, guidelines, and materials for using this approach in HL classes, and mixed classes (classes with HL and second-language learners), at different levels of instruction and for different heritage languages.

The From-To Principles

Leveraging HL learners' oral skills to develop their writing skills (Chevalier 2004) is part of a larger strategy of HL teaching put forward by Kagan (Kagan and Kudyma in press) that involves building on learners' global knowledge of their heritage language and culture, as well as their functional skills. These principles are formulated in a "from-to" format, as listed below.

(1) Aural	→	Reading
(2) Spoken	→	Written
(3) Home-based register	→	General and academic register
(4) Everyday "real-life" activities	→	Classroom activities
(5) HL learners' motivations surrounding identity and group membership	→	Content

Kagan's proposal is that HL teaching should make strategic use of HL learners' strengths to address gaps in their knowledge. Specifically, their listening and speaking skills should serve as the springboard for developing their reading and writing skills, respectively, and their home register should serve as a bridge to more formal registers. In the same vein, authentic and meaningful activities – the kind that reflect part of the everyday experiences of the community of speakers in the USA and respond to HL learners' goals – should guide the design of class work and pedagogical materials.

Differentiated Teaching and Formative Assessment

As noted earlier, HL learners present a wide and complex range of linguistic profiles. As a result, classes enrolling HL learners, be they HL-only classes or mixed classes, are highly diverse. The NHLRC has developed an HL-specific model of Differentiated Teaching and formative assessment to help teachers navigate the challenges associated with both of these contexts. Differentiated Teaching (DT) is premised on the idea that instead of making the students conform to a fixed curriculum, a differentiated curriculum should conform to the students and their needs. DT provides powerful tools for teachers to address issues of diversity and help them manage their classrooms in a more efficient way. Formative assessment is a type of assessment that takes place during the course of instruction for purposes of aligning instruction to the learners and enabling learners at different levels of readiness to

meet the goals of instruction. Drawing on these two approaches, the model developed by the NHLRC is designed to address the needs of HL learners in three domains of teaching: (1) the linguistic domain, (2) the socio-affective domain, and (3) the learning/cognitive domains (Carreira and Chik 2017).

Focusing on the linguistic domain, Table 2, adapted from Kagan and Dillon (2001/2003), compares HL and L2 learners in terms of their linguistic needs and beneficial pedagogical interventions. Below that, Table 3, adapted from Carreira and Chik (2017), compares HL and L2 learners with regard to the other two domains.

Altogether, the pedagogical paradigm developed by the NHLRC, which includes macro-based instruction, the five from-to principles, and differentiated teaching/ formative assessment, as well as specific guidelines and strategies for attending to the needs of HL learners both in HL classes and in mixed classes, constitutes a framework for instructors and learners to employ according to their needs and local circumstances. At the center of this framework is the idea that effective HL

Table 2 Linguistic needs and prescribed pedagogical interventions: Second-Language vs Heritage-language Learners

Teaching domains	L2 learners	HL learners
Pronunciation and intonation	Instruction needed	Little to no instruction needed
Vocabulary	Essential, everyday vocabulary	Lexical expansion focusing on the formal registers
Grammar	Full range of topics, presented case by case	Selected topics, presented by functional needs
Reading	Short, simplified, texts, gradually increasing in volume and complexity	Authentic texts, with the aid of reading strategies
Writing	Sentence level, gradually advancing to paragraph level	Complex writing assignments at early stages of instruction, with the aid of writing strategies
Speaking	Formulaic phrases gradually progressing to more complex and authentic interactions	Emphasis on register expansion and developing the interpersonal and presentational modes
Listening	Initially restricted to short simple texts, gradually increasing in volume and complexity	Emphasis on exposure to the full range of native language input, i.e., movies, documentaries, lectures

Table 3 Socio-affective and learning needs: second-language versus heritage language learners

	L2 learners	HL learners
Socio-affective needs	No family connection to the target language and culture. Do not identify in terms of the target language and culture	Seek to strengthen family connections through the target language and culture. Identify and/or seek identity in the target language and culture
Learning needs	Are receptive to form-focused instruction when using authentic materials in a formal setting	Focus on content, to the neglect of form, when using authentic materials in a formal setting

pedagogy is about building upon HL learners' linguistic experiences and abilities and responding to their interests and needs (Kagan and Dillon 2009). The sections that follow outline the wide range of research projects and initiatives that together have contributed to the design of this framework. Current and future work will further inform and strengthen this framework.

A Brief History of the NHLRC

The NHLRC draws on the work of Guadalupe Valdés and Spanish HL teachers who were the pioneers in the field of HL teaching. Since the Center's establishment in 2006, its mission has evolved through the course of its three funding cycles to focus on three primary, interrelated, and interdependent goals: research, pedagogy, and building a community of experts and practitioners.

In keeping with these goals, the first funding cycle, from 2006–2009, focused on foundational projects that took stock of the existing knowledge base of the field as well as of its needs and priorities, particularly in the areas of basic linguistic research and pedagogy. Notable accomplishments during this period were the establishment of an annual research institute with the goals of advancing a comprehensive research agenda and promoting collaboration among researchers, the convening of the First International Conference on Heritage/Community Languages, and the publication of the edited volume Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging (Brinton et al. 2008).

By 2010, HL teaching was already widely recognized as a distinct new field. Therefore, during the next funding cycle of 2010–2013, the NHLRC continued to build upon the foundational activities in research and pedagogy of the initial phase, and it expanded its mission to emphasize community building by creating pathways for the dissemination of advances in theory and practice and by expanding and strengthening the community of scholars and practitioners in the HL field. Notable accomplishments include a number of position papers and research projects in the area of HL pedagogy and the creation of an online workshop for HL teachers.

Today, the NHLRC has entered a third phase of development where the focus is the institutionalization of the field of HL teaching, with a view toward developing HL instructional paradigms that are sustainable and feasible from an institutional standpoint. In addition, the NHLRC is redoubling its efforts in the areas of research, pedagogy, and community building. Notable products during this phase include, in the area of institutionalization, a volume for the Routledge Handbook series that addresses theoretical and practical issues in the design, implementation, and growth of HL education and initiatives in many different countries (Kagan et al. 2017); in the area of pedagogy, an online certificate in HL teaching; and, in the area of community building, convening several international conferences and collaborating with various institutions of learning to strengthen HL teaching and maintenance.

The sections that follow describe in greater details some of the above projects as well as others that are representative of the NHLRC's strands, i.e., research, pedagogy, and community building. Though listed separately, it is important to note that these activities are all interrelated and build upon each other to advance the field of HLs.

Research

Research Institutes

As previously noted, a foundational project of the NHLRC has been an annual research institute, which was established to support one of the Center's principal missions to develop a research base for HL education and connect research findings with pedagogical approaches. There have been nine such institutes between 2006 and 2016 that have covered a range of topics from theoretical, applied, and sociolinguistics. Guadalupe Valdés (1995) described the field of heritage languages as "a-theoretical." While no single theory has been advanced, the work of the institutes has contributed to a better understanding of HL speakers' language capabilities and has resulted in a number of publications both in basic linguistic research and pedagogy, among these:

(1) A study combining linguistic and pedagogical research (Polinsky and Kagan 2007)
(2) The *White Paper*: *Prolegomena to Heritage Linguistics* (Benmamoun et al. 2010) that examines the linguistic knowledge of HL speakers
(3) A special 2013 issue of the *Heritage Language Journal* that was dedicated to the exploration of advanced-level proficiency of HL learners (Davidson and Lekic 2013; Montrul 2013) and a position paper by Carreira (2013) on this same topic
(4) A guidebook for teaching mixed classes (Carreira http://www.nhlrc.ucla.edu/nhlrc/category/research#3)

The *Heritage Language Journal*

The *Heritage Language Journal* (HLJ) was established in 2002 by the UCLA Center for World Languages, and the NHLRC assumed editorial responsibility on its founding in 2006. Since its inception to date, the online, blind peer-reviewed journal has focused on original research on the acquisition and pedagogy of heritage and community languages from multidisciplinary perspectives in applied and theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, language pedagogy, language policy, and other relevant fields. All of the journal's issues are accessible on the HLJ's website (http://www.heritagelanguages.org) and also through the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC). With 8000 subscribers, the HLJ's publications have played a major role in establishing the HL field and continue to be among the most important venues for reporting research and sharing materials and practices.

Selected Studies

The NHLR has conducted two national surveys, the survey of college-level HL learners (Carreira and Kagan 2011) and a survey of college programs (Carreira 2014a). Focusing on documenting the state of HL teaching in the USA, the latter

study found that although the number of dedicated HL classes offered at the college level has increased in recent years, there is an urgent need for HL-specific materials and curriculum in these classrooms and HL teacher education. In addition, the survey found that attempts are rarely made in mixed classes to address HL speakers' instructional needs, and instruction is largely focused on the L2 learners. Given that most HL learners are in mixed class settings, the lack of teacher preparation, materials, and attention to their special needs prevents them from reaching their potential. Building on this research, a current project seeks to assess emerging best practices in HL teaching. Because of considerable differences in the pedagogical needs of L2 and HL learners, there is a consensus that the latter learn best if they are taught in separate classes (Kagan and Dillon 2001/2003). Despite a substantial increase in the number of dedicated HL classrooms, however, very few US schools and universities have sufficient resources for separate language tracks, and most HL learners in the USA are enrolled in mixed classes (Fee et al. 2014; Carreira 2014). There has, however, been almost no research into learning in mixed classrooms. Insofar as this is the modal case, the project seeks to catalog strategies suitable for the needs of both groups of learners.

Another research project, a collaboration of the NHLRC/ACTFL, stemmed from concerns over measuring the proficiencies of heritage language learners. Existing guidelines and scales such as the *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines – Speaking* and the *ILR Language Descriptors* are the most commonly used criteria for evaluating speaking proficiency. Because these guidelines and descriptors were originally written to describe the speaking ability of a second-language learner, their appropriateness for use with heritage language speakers is a topic that has been debated within the language testing community (Valdes 1989; Kagan and Friedman 2004). The main goal of the project was to determine what prevents heritage language speakers from becoming superior-level speakers (Martin et al. 2013; Swender et al. 2014). An additional goal, which relates to the question of the appropriateness of the guidelines for use with HL learners, was to issue recommendations to testers for assessing heritage language speakers' oral abilities. These recommendations have been added to the training of OPI (the OPI, i.e., the Oral Proficiency Interview, is an assessment test of speaking abilities developed by ACTFL) testers and will also appear as an official document on the ACTFL website (Swender, personal communication, July 2016).

In addition to conducting its own original research, the NHLRC has also supported a number of independent projects, for example, Polinsky (2008b) and de Klerk and Wiley (2008, 2010).

Research Dissemination

One of the NHLRC's primary missions is to disseminate research that would lead to improvements in the teaching and learning of heritage languages. In support of this aim, the Center has developed two edited volumes as well as other publications, namely, Brinton et al. (2008) and Kagan et al. (2017). The NHLRC's website acts as a central location where the Center posts all its research papers, event programs, and

developed materials. The website's research and proficiency assessment section provides HL references, proficiency assessments, questionnaires, and research tools that may be utilized for assessing or conducting research on the language skills of HL speakers and learners. It also includes bibliographies of HL dissertations since 2006 and bibliographies of HL resources.

Pedagogy

In spite of the large number of HL leaners in K-16 classrooms, most US HL learners receive inadequate instruction because most foreign language teachers are not trained in HL pedagogy (Carreira and Potowski 2011; Carreira 2016). The wide range of initiatives and projects described in this section aim to address this most pressing area of need, by focusing on teacher training, program building, and materials development.

Teacher Training

Workshops for Heritage Language Teachers
Since 2009, the NHLRC has collaborated with STARTALK[6] to offer an annual, week-long workshop for instructors of a spectrum of heritage languages at all levels of education. The NHLRC has also offered shorter workshops, by arrangement, for local institutions. For example, it offered one such workshop in 2015 for Spanish language instructors from the Los Angeles Unified School District. In addition, the Center has been invited to participate in teacher professional development workshops in many organizations including UC Berkeley/UCLA Southeast Asian National Resource Centers; the South Asia Summer Language Institute at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; the National Middle East Language Resource Center at Brigham Young University; the Texas Language Center, UT Austin; and others. Such workshops have provided a forum to put into practice the fruit of the Center's research and advances in the area of pedagogy.

ACTFL Webinars
In order to help raise HL awareness on a broader spectrum, the NHLRC completed three webinars in 2015 for ACTFL, which were broadcast nationally and are now archived for use by over 12,000 ACTFL members. The webinars were based on data collected from the two NHLRC surveys described earlier, namely, Carreira and Kagan (2011) and Carreira (2014). The first webinar focused on understanding the complex profile of HL learners and what this means for instruction, and the other two focused on tailoring curricula for HL learners through differentiated instruction in mixed classes and motivating HL leaners through authentic tasks and materials.

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[6]STARTALK is a federally funded program that supports (K-16) student programs in critical languages and seeks to enhance language teacher development

STARTALK Online Modules and Online Certificate Course

In 2010, the Center developed an online workshop for HL teachers consisting of self-paced video-based tutorials that cover a broad spectrum of issues of interest to teachers of heritage languages. The first two modules were originally designed for teachers of world and heritage languages to gain a better understanding of important differences between HL and L2 learners. Due to demand from the HL community, a third module was added that focused on language-specific topics and approaches for Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, and Korean. This online program has received more than 10,000 unique visits since its launch and has become required professional development material for some institutions, like the Stanford University School of Education (Valdés, personal communication)[7].

More recently, the NHLRC has collaborated again with STARTALK to expand the online workshop into a full certificate program for teachers of heritage languages. The certificate consists of six modules that address the following topics: (1) introduction to HL teaching, (2) differentiated teaching and formative assessment for HL teaching, (3) teaching mixed classes, (4) linguistic and affective issues in HL teaching, (5) materials development and project-based learning, and (6) effective pedagogy across the curriculum, program design, and assessment. The certificate will be available in 2017–2018. Recognizing that some teachers may not need the full certificate, the program will also award digital "badges" (i.e., an online representation of an acquired skill) that demonstrate proficiency in one or more areas by completing individual module/s.

Program Building

In keeping with the Center's current goal of addressing issues of institutionalization, the NHLRC has most recently worked with two institutions of learning in the greater Los Angeles area, namely, Mt. San Antonio College (Mt. SAC) and the Garden Grove School District, as part of a larger effort to develop a general protocol for building HL programs that can be applied to other institutions.

Mt. SAC is the largest single-campus community college district in California. At the time when this work took place, the college's Department of Foreign Languages taught a wide array of languages (e.g., Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish) and had plans to add Korean and Russian. However, very few students were taking more than one semester of language. The pilot program, which focused on teacher training, assessment practices, and curriculum redesign, increased enrollments in upper-division language courses, thereby benefiting students and the department.

The Garden Grove Unified School District also asked the NHLRC for help in designing and implementing district-wide HL curricula. Parents originally raised the need for this program in focus groups. The district had planned to address the issue

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[7]Information about the NHLRC/STARTALK HL teachers' online workshop is available at http://startalk.nhlrc.ucla.edu/default_startalk.aspx

through traditional bilingual education until Garden Grove staff attended the NHLRC's International Heritage Language Conference in 2014 (see below). This project represented an opportunity not only to institutionalize HL practices on a large scale (15,000 students in 8 high schools), but also to develop a model for transfer to other districts. Accordingly, the program addressed both instructional and administrative elements, including connecting HL learning to the common core and other educational policy goals. The pilot was staggered, beginning in Spanish (spoken by 40% of the students in the district) and adding Vietnamese (spoken by 27%) at the end of the 4-year development phase. The project consisted of three initiatives: (1) the design of new or improved courses for HL learners, (2) professional development for teachers and district staff, and (3) materials development.

Materials Design

The NHLRC began developing materials for high school HL classes in 2007. The materials targeted a wide range of languages (Arabic, Armenian, Hindi/Urdu, Japanese, Korean, Persian, and Russian) and were designed to build on HL learners' functional skills, reflect their experiences with the HL, and respond to their needs and goals. The NHLRC has also partnered with other Title VI LRCs to develop materials for Portuguese, Spanish, Tagalog, and Vietnamese.

In addition, a yearly summer program for high school students offered by the NHLRC and sponsored by STARTALK has served as a laboratory for piloting materials, teaching strategies, and assessment. The classes have been taught by a cohort of UCLA graduate students, who are trained in HL teaching techniques and materials and curriculum development. Over the years, the Center has offered Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Hindi/Urdu, Japanese, Korean, and Persian.

Community of Experts

The NHLRC's third mission is to create a community of HL professionals and practitioners, so as to institutionalize the tenets of HL research and pedagogy. The institutes and workshops, in particular, have been critical in this regard, as scholars from the fields of linguistics and education have forged links between theory and practice, and graduate student participation has helped create a new cadre of specialists. The NHLRC continues to foster this growing community through a range of initiatives, including those described below.

International Conferences on Heritage/Community Languages

The NHLRC has held two international conferences on heritage/community languages in 2010 and 2014. The conferences focused on HL studies as a multidisciplinary field. Presenters from more than 20 countries participated in this conference, representing over 40 heritage languages and a wide range of fields of

studies including anthropology, demographics, linguistics, sociology, applied and theoretical linguistics, education, and studies of bilingualism. Selected conference papers were published in special issues of the *Heritage Language Journal*. The NHLRC will host the third conference in 2018, in which participants of past research institutes and teacher workshops will present.

National Coalition of Community Language Schools

During the NHLRC International Conference in March 2014, leaders of 11 community schools met to discuss opportunities to promote and improve HL instruction. Participants represented Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, and Portuguese community schools from across the USA. One of the greatest problems these institutions face is isolation from each other, the academic community, and the public school system. Although some states have community schools' registries and a few umbrella organizations exist (e.g., for Chinese community schools) most languages are unsupported. There is also little communication or resource sharing across languages. Addressing this situation, the community school leaders have collaborated with the Center to develop a web portal (http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/nhlrc/resources/article/143931) for *all* language community schools to share information on teacher training, articulation with public schools, and student recruitment. The NHLRC has collaborated with the Center for Applied Linguistics' Heritage Alliance to build that portal, which includes a discussion forum through which community schools can connect with each other, public schools, and universities to share information and resources.

Conclusion and Future Plans

Heritage language is no longer a tentative or novel concept. Instead, it is an internationally recognized field that is separate and distinct from the long-standing discipline of foreign language pedagogy. The heritage student population is understood by academic institutions as well as government agencies to be the most crucial language-learning population in the USA today as the nation confronts the consequences of its linguistic frailty in the era of globalization. Heritage language speakers form the population group most capable of attaining the advanced levels of language proficiency required for performance at the professional level. High-level capabilities are particularly needed for the most difficult and least commonly studied languages. However, in order for HL students to reach their full potential they need to be taught in ways different from commonly accepted pedagogies for students of foreign languages. The differences between the two groups have been highlighted by the research carried out by NHLRC and its affiliates in the past 10 years. Based on that research we can already identify teaching approaches and strategies that would most benefit HL learners. While many scholars have contributed to the development of the field, the Center has served as a locus of activity in the new field, facilitating critical opportunities for collaboration among specialists from a wide range of

backgrounds. This has proved of vital importance in maximizing the reach, coherence, and relevance of the field of heritage languages.

The first research agenda for the field of heritage education was formulated by the UCLA Research Priorities Conference (UCLA Steering Committee 2000). Looking ahead to the future, it is time to formulate the agenda for the 2020s. In terms of research, Lynch (2014) recommends longitudinal studies that address the complex ways in which language evolves over the lifespan. Such studies could follow the model created by Agnes He's pioneering research in this area. (2004, 2014). Now that the field is established, such studies may become a reality allowing us to have a fuller picture of HL speakers' language use as well as "competence, repertoires, attitudes, and practices of individual speakers in their everyday lives over a number of years, particularly from childhood to adolescence, and into adulthood and middle age" (Lynch 2014, p. 240). In terms of pedagogy, the field has now arrived at the stage when the institutionalization of heritage language education is within reach. The NHLRC has taken the first step in this direction through its current work documenting the state of institutionalization of HL programs and practices throughout the world. Driving these efforts is the belief that in order for the research and pedagogical advances of previous years to have their greatest impact, HL programs need to become firmly rooted in an educational system; that is, they need to become institutionalized. With this in mind, the development and establishment of HL instructional paradigms that respond to and instantiate current research and pedagogical findings and that are workable from an organizational standpoint is a priority of the field. Finally, in terms of community building, it is important to continue to forge new connections and collaborations not just within educational institutions but also beyond, such as with professional organizations and public/private initiatives, with a view toward raising awareness of the potential that HL speakers have for strengthening America's place in the interconnected world of the twenty-first century.

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Teaching Hungarian as Heritage Language in North America

19

Rita Gardosi

Abstract

The primary aim of this chapter is to outline the most important centers of Hungarian schools and heritage language teaching in North America, focused mainly into Canada. In this study, the following topics will be described: Hungarian churches, Scout movement, folk dance groups, and nonprofit organizations. These are the key elements in preserving ethnic identity in the Western Hungarian diaspora.

The 2011 census reported 316,765 Canadians of Hungarian descent. More than 90% of all Canadians with Hungarian ancestry live in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces.

Hungarians arrived to North America in different waves of immigration. The first wave of immigrants arrived from the second half of the nineteenth century, primarily to escape increasing poverty in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to find greater economic opportunities abroad. This first wave of immigrants founded the first Hungarian churches and schools. The next, larger wave of Magyar immigrants fled Hungary in interwar period and near the end of World War II. Finally, there is the post-1950 era in Hungary which precipitated another influx of refugees to the American continent, mostly the young freedom fighters.

This study describes 16 Hungarian heritage schools in Canada: two in Alberta (Bethlen Gábor, St Emeric), three in British Columbia (Dörmögő, Szt László népe, Kelowna), nine heritage schools in Ontario (Arany János, St. Elizabeth, Helicon, Oskola, Guelph, Kitchener, Hamilton, Mississauga, and Windsor), and two in the province of Quebec (Hungarian School of Montreal and Fehér Mihály). Higher education has also Hungarian sections like Toronto and Alberta Universities.

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Contents

Introduction

"Nyelvében él a nemzet/The nation lives within its language" says the renowned proverb from the era of the language reform in the nineteenth-century Hungary. In the framework of this reform movement, thousands of words were coined or revived, enabling the Hungarian language to keep up with scientific progress and become the official language of the nation in 1844 up against German. The ideology of this reform was rooted in the German philosophy of Johann Gottfried Herder. Herder became a household name in Hungary on account of his reference to the Hungarians in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in which he claimed that the Hungarians would probably disappear altogether in the sea of Germanic and Slavic peoples and that their language would face extinction. This prophecy caused much heart wrench and torment among Hungarian intellectuals and was the chief cause of pessimism about the future of the country. Thanks to inter alia for the successful Reform movement, the use of the Hungarian language gradually gained ground in schools and establishments for higher education. The crowning success came in 1844 when a bill was passed in Parliament making the use of Hungarian legally binding in all public transactions (Czigány 1984).

This study is intended (as did Themistoklis Aravossitas in his thesis in 2016) to draw parallels between the Romantic vision of the "death of the nation" (nineteenth-century Hungary) and the contemporary reality in the Hungarian diaspora (twentieth

and twenty-first centuries). In both cases, even under completely different circumstances, Hungarians consider the preservation of their identity, language, traditions, and culture an absolute priority.

The primary aim of this chapter is to outline the most important centers of Hungarian schools and heritage language teaching in North America, focused mainly into Canada. In this study, the following topics will be described: Hungarian churches, Scout movement, folk dance groups, and nonprofit organizations. These are the key elements in preserving ethnic identity in the Western Hungarian diaspora.

The Hungarian Diaspora

We can consider two main groups of the Hungarian or Magyar diaspora. The first one is those who are autochthonous to their homeland and live outside Hungary since the border changes of the post-World War I era. In consequence of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, 3.3 million Hungarians found themselves outside of the new borders. The other main groups are the emigrants who left Hungary at various times (e.g., the Hungarian Revolution of 1956).
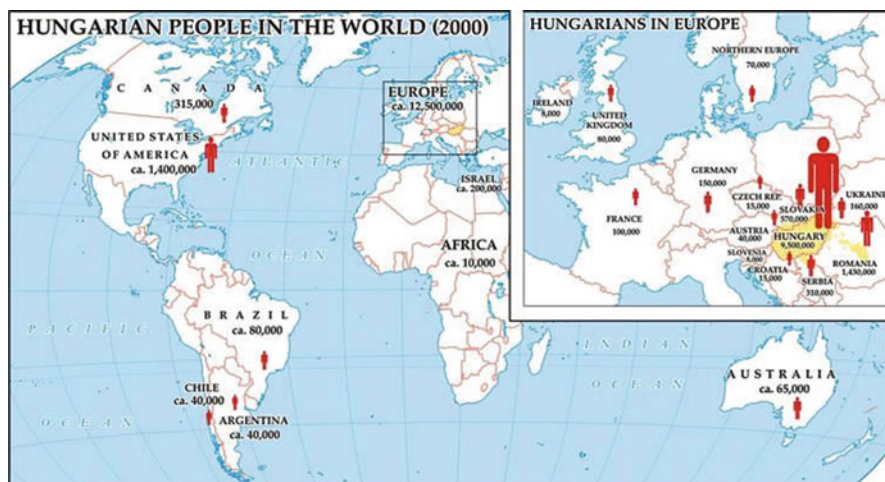
Regarding North America, according to the 2013 US Census, there were 1,468,069 persons of Hungarian ancestry in the United States. In Canada there are 316,765 Canadians of Hungarian ancestry (2011 Census).

Total population	
316,765 (by ancestry, 2011 Census)	
Regions with significant populations	
Ontario	151,750 (1.3%)
Alberta	48,655 (1.48%)

<div align="right">(continued)</div>

Total population	
British Columbia	43,515 (1.12%)
Saskatchewan	24,400 (2.5%)
Quebec	16,490 (0.23%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	245 (0.05%)
Prince Edward Island	415 (0.30%)

Hungarian Canadians (source: Wikipedia)

History of Hungarian Canadians

The Hungarian connection to Canada can be traced back to 1583, when the English explorer Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked on a search for the Northwest Passage that took him and his crew to the shores of Newfoundland. Enlisted as his chronicler was the well-known sixteenth-century Hungarian poet and humanist Stephen Parmenius of Buda, whose impressions of the New World were committed to posterity before he drowned off the coast of Newfoundland in August of that year (Cap 2009).

Hungarians arrived to North America in different waves of immigration. The first wave of immigrants (almost two million) arrived during the second half of the nineteenth century, primarily to escape increasing poverty in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to find greater economic opportunities abroad.

The first Hungarians arrived in Alberta in 1866 with Count Paul Oscar Esterhazy, who wanted Hungarians to resettle after they had immigrated originally to Pennsylvania. In 1885, the Hungarian immigrants established several settlements in the eastern region of Saskatchewan. One of them was Esterhaz colony which still exists to this day. In 1888, a new settlement was founded near Esterhazy, which was named Kaposvár (now part of Esterhazy). By 1902, these two settlements had over 900 people. Other Hungarian settlements are Stockholm (in Hungarian *Sokhalom*), Otthon ("Home"), and Békevár ("Peaceburgh"). A larger influx of immigrants with 300 people into Alberta is also recorded in 1914–1915.

The first wave of the Hungarian immigrants reached Manitoba in 1885, many of whom settled in or near Winnipeg. In 1906, the Hungarian Presbyterian Church was established there. The first Hungarian newspaper in Canada was published in Winnipeg in 1905 entitled *Kanadai Magyarság* ("Canadian Hungarians"). In Ontario, the first Hungarians (60 people) arrived in Welland in 1906. The first Hungarian society was established in Hamilton in 1907.

By the end of World War I, the conditions for international migration had altered. The United States, hitherto the top destination, tightened its policies, introducing an origin-based quota system, which temporarily increased the number of minority Hungarian communities in the twentieth century going to Canada (25,000–30,000 in 1924–1930) (Papp 2011, 643).

In Saskatchewan by 1921, the Hungarian population grew to 8946 and in 1931, to 13,363. Significant Hungarian populations existed in the Saskatchewan settlements like St. Benedict, Prud'homme, Yellow Creek, Zichydorf, East Central, Cudworth,

Whitewood, and Mistatim. Later Hungarians settled down in the northern part of Saskatchewan; close to Wakaw, there was the Buda School District. West of Wakaw was the Dunafoldvar district (named after Dunaföldvár), and south of Wakaw was Matyasfold (Mátyásföld "Land of Matthew").

In 1931, more than 1000 Hungarians lived already in Hamilton, Toronto, and in Welland, Ontario. There were significant Hungarian populations in Brantford, Kitchener, Oshawa, St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, and Port Colborne. In 1931, three-fourths of the Hungarian-Canadian population lived in Ontario. Two Hungarian newspapers were established in 1933: the *Kanadai Magyar Újság* and the *Wellandi Kisújság*.

At the end of World War II, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) managed, between July 1947 and the end of 1951, to coordinate the settlement of a million displaced persons (DPs) in refugee camps in Germany and Austria. According to IRO figures, some 17,000 people of Hungarian origin were sent to the United States, Canada taking 16,500 such Hungarian citizens between 1946 and 1955 (Papp 2011, 644).

In 1949 a so-called Delhi & Tobacco District Hungarian House was dedicated in Delhi-Tillsonburg, Ontario. The center was initiated by Paul Rapai in 1947. Forty percent (about 1500 people) of the tobacco factory was Hungarian.

Finally, there is the post-1950 era in Hungary which precipitated another influx: tens of thousands of refugees (6000 in Ontario) were accepted after the Hungarian Uprising of 1956. 1956–1957 also saw a large wave of Hungarian migration to Prince Edward Island and probably the largest ever. A special Emergency Relief Committee was established to manage the arrival of Hungarian refugees. In addition to a reception center which was established in Falconwood, a number of other groups participated in supporting the settlement of the Hungarians.

Jim Prentice, Minister of the Environment in Canada, announced in 2010 the designation of the Refugees of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution as a national historic event. "The arrival of thousands of Hungarian refugees helped to shape Canada's model for the reception of refugees and helped Canadians adopt a more receptive attitude towards immigrants," said Minister Prentice. "This event of national historic significance opened doors for other refugees wanting to live in Canada."

The Hungarian emigration did not stop there. Annual numbers of emigrants up to the change of system, legal or illegal, ranged between 3000 and 6000: altogether some 130,000 Hungarian citizens left between 1960 and 1989 (Papp 2011, 645).

Another new issue is the Roma immigration from Hungary which began to increase in Canada from 2008. In 2011, Roma asylum seekers from Hungary numbered 4400.

Hungarian Language Maintenance and Its Challenges

"The decisive role in preserving ethnic identity in the Western Hungarian diaspora is played by the Churches, the Scout movement, and the weekend Hungarian schools that they run Organization of Hungarian-language religious congregations began

towards the end of the nineteenth century" (Papp 2011, 652). "The Catholic and Protestant Churches as well as the Hungarian clubs, were instrumental in organizing schools at the elementary level" (Hegedűs 1980, 79). Nonprofit organizations and folk dance groups are also key players in this question.

The Hungarian Churches

Today 11 Hungarian Catholic churches exist in Canada. We can count nine Roman Catholic in Alberta, Calgary, Hamilton, Montreal, Manitoba, Toronto Vancouver, Welland, and Windsor and two Greek Catholic churches in Courtland and Welland. As for other Hungarian denominations (Presbyterian, Baptist, Reformed), we can find congregations in Calgary, Delhi, Kelowna, Kitchener, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

"In the interwar period the most important immigrant institutions of Hungarian-Canadian society continued to be the Churches" (Dreisziger 2000, 243). The churches play an essential role in maintaining ethnic or national awareness in the Hungarian diaspora as the challenges of assimilation are felt most strongly in the community life. The Magyar ethnic Schools have always been closely associated with Hungarian-Canadian churches. Their purpose was twofold, the religious education of children and the passing of the Hungarian heritage onto the second generation; they were designed to supplement the education children received in the regular Canadian school system (Dreisziger et al. 1982, 122).

There have been different types of Hungarian instruction: late afternoon, weekend, and summer schools. Attempts to establish bilingual (Magyar-English) school had taken place even before 1914 but without much success (Dreisziger 2000, 245). Nevertheless, weekend schools provided training in Hungarian language and taught reading, composition, and history at the elementary level. The most active Roman Catholic promoters of the school movement were the Sisters of Social Service, mainly in the Prairies and Central Canada (Dreisziger et al. 1982, 123).

As for the churches, it can be addressed that there has been problems, not only with replacing clergy (especially for the Catholics), but with retaining the congregation when the number of Hungarians is declining. There is sometimes debate within the diaspora churches about the relative emphasis to be placed on keeping up the faith or on sustaining the Hungarian community (Papp 2011, 653). Like the organization of congregations, the establishment and maintenance of schools has also been plagued by problems. Hungarian Canadians' geographic and religious atomization made stable, good quality schools feasible only in the largest centers. One problem is the attitude of parents, some of whom did not believe in sending their children to ethnic schools. Another factor is the distance, especially when instruction is held in another part of the city. Then there is the shortage of qualified teachers, arising from the fact that members of the teaching profession were virtually excluded from Canada. As a result, the task of teaching often devolved on an already overburdened priest or minister, a minister's wife, or volunteers whose qualifications may not have been the best (Dreisziger et al. 1982, 123). As Hajnal Ward also

noticed in her article (2006: 188), one of the biggest problems of Hungarian education in diaspora has always been the lack of teacher training. In the absence of appropriate teacher training and recruitment, Hungarian schools tend to rely on luck, and it oftentimes happens that the teacher is an occasional random neighborhood resident, not qualified, but an enthusiastic amateur. Another important question is whether weekend courses can contribute in a broader sense to social integration and complement the lives of young people in schools not taught in Hungarian.

In this question, one big challenge for most church or voluntary schools is to recruit suitably qualified teaching staff. Another is to have suitable teaching materials, where Hungary can provide only a measure of support. There is still aversion in some places to textbooks from Hungary or even to adaptation of them to local needs. Since the 1970s, materials for weekly tuition prepared jointly by educators in Hungary and from Western communities have been published by the International Society for Hungarian Language and Culture (Mother-Tongue Conference) (Papp 2011, 654).

Currently the Balassi Institute also works on teaching materials for Hungarian diaspora. This institute is a worldwide nonprofit cultural organization funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Hungary. Balassi spreads and promotes Hungarian language and culture abroad and also plays a key role in developing and attaining Hungary's objectives in the area of cultural diplomacy. As an organizational hub, it coordinates and directs all activities provided by Hungarian institutes abroad. As Balassi is a center for education and scientific cooperation, it fulfills a supporting, coordinating, and funding function in the international network of Hungarian Studies institutions and in the teaching of Hungarian as a foreign language. Its foremost task is not only to develop teaching materials for nonnative speakers but also to provide appropriate educational resources to teachers of Hungarian as a heritage language abroad. Other than the organization of seminars, conferences, and training sessions, the publication of professional journals, e-textbooks, and e-books also forms a vital part of the institute's mission. They edited a colorful series for Hungarian children living in diaspora and also provide learning opportunities either 10 months or 2–4 weeks in duration which can be attended by scholarship or payment of tuition.

The most recent step from the Hungarian Government is the launch of Hungarian diaspora or Kőrösi Csoma program`. This program helps Hungarian communities around the world to maintain their Hungarian identity and language. Since 2013, each year 100 young Hungarians were sent to Canada, the United States, Australia, Western Europe, and South America and elsewhere to assist the local Hungarian communities for an average 9 months. Similar, but concerning the Magyar diaspora in Carpathian basin the Petőfi program, just started in 2015.

Scouting Movements

Other than the churches, the Scouts support most of the weekend Hungarian schools with other voluntary bodies serving the Hungarian diaspora in the West. Organization of the Hungarian Scout movement began in 1945, when the Hungarian Scouts

Association formed in 1912 was revived in the refugee camps. Troops were formed in the camps, assisted by the Teleki Pál Scout Association formed in 1946, and spread among those who immigrated to the United States, Canada, etc. The spread of the Scout movement in the United States began with Gábor Bodnár and his troop, and the Federation moved to headquarters in Garfield, NJ. It continued to strengthen over subsequent decades and today involves 4000 Scouts in 70 troops, having peaked in the 1980s with 6200 Scouts in 84 troops.

One of the big challenges is the rule that only those conversant with the Hungarian language may take part, with the result that the declining numbers of Hungarians and the pressures of assimilation make recruitment increasingly difficult (Papp 2011, 654). Another difficult issue is, as Gábor Tarján (2016) states, "Today [it] also happens that a scout from a recent emigrated family speaks better Hungarian than the second generation Scout leader."

According to figures published in 1974, half of the 82 Hungarian language schools were directly operated by the Scouts Associations. The leadership training programs of the association have always been important to language maintenance. The program begins with those 14-year-olds who aspire to become patrol leaders. To become eligible to attend leadership camp, the candidate must pass a series of tests in Hungarian history, literature, and geography. The final examinations for the scoutmaster troop leader category require a preuniversity level of knowledge of Hungarian literature and history. The association organized week-long summer camps for the study of Hungarian culture (Hegedűs 1980, 76).

Folkdance Organizations

Táncház (literally "dance house") is a "casual" Hungarian folk dance event (as opposed to stage performances). It is an aspect of the Hungarian roots revival of traditional culture which began in the early 1970s and remains an active part of the national culture across the country. Ethnic Hungarians outside of Hungary are also celebrated by this movement. In recognition of the revitalization and safeguarding efforts of the *táncház* method in teaching traditional dancing, it has been inscribed on UNESCO's List of Intangible Heritage of Urgent Safeguarding in 2011.

Hungarian folk dance in Canada had a total of at least 12 groups and around 500 members; the most populous are Kodály Ensemble in Toronto and Kapisztran Folk Ensemble of Winnipeg with over 60 members. The primary aim of Canada's Hungarian folk dance groups is the preservation of Hungarian folk and traditions to the Canadian public. It is also serves for community survival as a social vehicle for keeping young people in the Hungarian community. Most of the groups were originally founded by various Hungarian clubs or associations and functioned initially within the bounds of the founding organization. Today Canada's Hungarian dance groups are by and large artistically independent; however, their community ties are still very much evident. More than half of them hold practices still at

Hungarian churches or clubs (Dreisziger 1993, 73), and traditional folk dance is often an integral part of heritage school instruction.

Nonprofit Cultural Organizations

Besides the ethnic churches, Hungarian-Canadian society had other immigrant institutions. Three of these are worthy of mention: the mutual benefit associations, the Hungarian language press, and the national federations of Hungarian organizations (Dreisziger 2000, 244). One central question for schools and other Hungarian associations was whether they could cooperate and how far they took note of one another. The operating logic of some includes keeping up a common umbrella organization, while others have started to form networks recently and bodies representing special interests (Papp 2011, 655).

One of the first nationwide federations of organizations was the Kanadai Magyar Szövetség (Canadian Hungarian Federation or CHF) established in 1928 in Winnipeg, but it ceased to function by the early 1930s.

The foundation that distributed the largest sum is the Canadian Széchenyi Society, founded in 1963 and directed by J. Fulopp and Laszlo Duska. Between 1964 and 1972, the Széchenyi Society's "Hungarian Educational Committee" collected and distributed close to $50,000, supporting not only the Montreal Hungarian program but also dozens of other cultural and scholarly activities. Since 1970, when the idea of a Hungarian chair at the University of Toronto was conceived, the Széchenyi Society raised over $190,000 for that purpose (Vardy 1975, 113).

The Rakoczi Association founded in 1953 as an organization dedicated to maintaining Hungarian cultural traditions in Canada and helping the Hungarian-Canadian community to establish roots in their new adopted homeland. The first president and founder, Miklos Korponay, was dedicated to building the foundation into a strong representative and charitable organization for the Hungarian community in Canada. In 1976, the association officially became the Rakoczi Foundation. The Foundation has since become a pillar of the community in its commitment to students through scholarships and grants to organize conferences at the University of Toronto and other Canadian educational institutions. The foundation has published books and provides assistance to maintain Hungarian cultural and language programs at high schools and universities in Canada. The Foundation's principal fund-raiser is the Rakoczi Gala Ball and Dinner, held each year in January.

The Hungarian Helicon Society (HHS) was founded in 1951 by Hungarians who immigrated to Canada after World War II. Their goals were threefold: to preserve and promote Hungarian heritage in their new home, Canada; to introduce Canadians to Hungarian culture and history; and finally to ensure that second- and third-generation Hungarian Canadians will know their roots, mother tongue, history, and culture of their parents' homeland. To achieve these goals, HHS promotes Hungarian

education and organizes many cultural and social events, such as lectures, exhibitions, concerts, and the annual Helicon gala ball. The main focus of HHS is to support, promote, and finance Hungarian education through Hungarian Language Classes for Adults, Accredited Hungarian Language Proficiency Examinations, the Hungarian High School Academy Program, and Scholarships at the University of Toronto.

The Hungarian Studies Association of Canada (HSAC) is a multidisciplinary scholarly organization devoted to the study of Hungary, Hungarian society, culture, and history. Established in 1985, HSAC sponsors annual conferences, supports publications by members, and issues a newsletter on a regular basis. In addition, the internationally noted scholarly journal Hungarian Studies Review is edited and published under the aegis of HSAC.

Other political and professional umbrella organizations that formed earlier in the United States include the American Hungarian Foundation, the American Hungarian Educators' Association, the American Hungarian Foundation, the American Hungarian Association, the Hungarian American Coalition, the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, the Hungarian Studies Association, the Hungarian Communion of Friends, and the Association of Hungarian Teachers in North America (MITE). The primary purpose of these umbrella organizations and their members is to preserve and encourage use of the Hungarian language and culture.

Hungarian Heritage Language Schools in Canada

In his study, Tamás (1966) describes three periods of Hungarian schools in Canada: 1892–1940 "upswing phase," 1941–1956 "setback phase" on account of World War II and economic crisis, and finally from 1957 "fresh start phase." After his survey, in the first period, 31 Hungarian ethnic schools existed (run mainly on Saturday) and 30 summer schools. More than half of the schools were promoted by the Sisters of Social Service. In general, we can say that in all examined period, Magyar schools were mainly organized by the Catholic, Reformed, or Lutheran parishes and just few of them were run by an association. In Montréal one school was operated by the Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Hungarian Parish together. Sixty-two percent of the schools were formed after 1957, but after the statistics, in the 1960s, just 5% of the children who had Hungarian origin went to ethnic school.

Province	1892–1940	1941–1956	1957–1966
Alberta	Calgary (1932)		Calgary (1960, 64)
	Lethbridge (1934)		Edmonton (1958, 64)
Columbia			Vancouver (1964)
Manitoba	Winnipeg (1926)		Winnipeg (1958, 63)

Province	1892–1940	1941–1956	1957–1966
Ontario	Hamilton (1930)	Hamilton (1953)	Hamilton (1953)
	Kitchener (1930)	Courtland (1951)	Delhi (1960)
	Oshawa		Courtland (1951)
	Toronto (1939)	Toronto (1956)	Toronto (1956)
	Welland (1926)	Welland (1949)	Welland (1949)
	Windsor (1928)	Windsor (1965)	Windsor (1965)
		Ottawa (1953)	Ottawa (1953)
			Guelph (1965)
			Kingston (1963)
Québec	Montréal (1930)	Montréal (1933)	Montréal (1933, 61)
Saskatchewan	Békevár (1903)		Regina (1962)
	Kaposvár, Esterhaz (1892)		
	Otthon (1894)		
	Regina (1932)		
	Stockholm (1917)		

Nowadays with the help of different Canadian School boards, Hungarian heritage language learning is starting to open up new solutions to survive. One good example is that the Canadian Ministry of Education established Ontario's "Heritage Languages" Program in 1977. The International Languages Program (Elementary) operated by the Toronto Catholic District School Board (TCDSB) gives children a valuable opportunity to learn another language and culture. The Board, in cooperation with several community organizations, was piloting "Heritage Languages" classes for some 5700 children in 14 schools in the beginning. This Program is provided outside school hours unless the parents of at least 67% of the children in a school request that a program be established during an extended school day. The school day is then lengthened to accommodate the International Language classes. To establish International Language classes outside school hours, the regulations require an enrolment of at least 23 children. The Board has also established the International Languages (Elementary) Advisory Committee as a means of providing community input for the program. International Language Centres offer classes during the regular school day, as well as after regular school hours (mostly on Saturdays).

In Quebec since 1978, a similar program exists (Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine (PELO)) and from 2012 Activités de culture et de langue d'origine (ACLO), but unfortunately the Hungarian language never took part in this initiative.

Previously, the operation of the Toronto schools was coordinated by the Hungarian School Board, founded in 1971. The board has organized summer camps where children have received intensive instruction in the Hungarian

language. It has also published textbooks (called "Kis Magyarok") used by the Saturday schools in addition to being written by the teachers themselves (Hegedűs 1980, 79).

The Government of Alberta recognizes that parents have the right to choose a private school for their children and has provided financial support for private schools since 1967. There are over 250 private schools and private Early Childhood Service providers in Alberta. In this province, heritage language schools offer programming for students in Early Childhood Services to grade 12. Heritage language schools may use Alberta Education-approved courses to offer the eight provincially developed international language programs. Funding may be provided through the Credit Enrolment Unit (CEU) funding system for these provincially authorized courses or via Alberta Education-approved locally developed/authorized high school courses.

Let's see today's Hungarian heritage language schools:

Alberta

The Bethlen Gábor Hungarian Language School promotes an understanding and preservation of the Hungarian language, heritage, and culture through language courses taught in an educational setting for the benefit of students residing in Calgary, Alberta. They offer progressively structured language courses at beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels. The goal of our Hungarian language courses is to establish basic language competency and an understanding of Hungarian history and culture in a relaxed, friendly, and fun-filled environment. Language proficiency is best developed in meaningful contexts of activities and tasks in which the language is used, but academic credit will not be granted upon completion of the courses. Classes are held once per week on Sunday afternoons for 9 months (mid-September–mid-June), each class is 90 min, and courses are 50$/semester. In the 2015–2016 school year, 35 kindergarten age children, 35 pupils, and 15 adults studied Hungarian language and culture in this school.

St. Emeric Hungarian School is a private school in Edmonton providing education operated under the authority of the Catholic Hungarian Association. This heritage language school uses Alberta Education-approved courses to offer developed international language programs and the Credit Enrolment Unit (CEU) funding system. The main goal of the school is the instruction of the Hungarian language which includes the development of Hungarian speaking and writing skills and rising interest about Hungarian traditions and habits and Hungarian national history, geography, folk art, and poetry. These objectives are to be achieved through age groups and students' proficiency levels. Fifteen academic credits will be granted upon completion of 3 years of classes. Classes start on Saturday at 9 am. In the 2015–2016 academic years, 38 little students learnt in this school Hungarian language.

British Columbia

The Hungarian school in Vancouver started in the fall of 2000 within the framework of re-hosting the First Hungarian Reformed Church of Hungary as the Dörmögő Dömötör School. Its purpose was twofold: passing our roots and language skills onto younger generations and contact search with new families with small children. In 2004, the Calvin Hungarian National Association was established, which is a nonprofit organization, aimed toward school maintenance and to ensure a more successful and organized operating conditions.

Hungarian classes are geared toward children who already speak and understand Hungarian. The school year starts in September and is separated into two phases: the first phase is from September to December (ending at Christmas); the second phase is from January to June (ending at Father's Day). Classes are on Sunday mornings from 10 to 11 am. Tuition fees are as follows: one child, 20/month; two children, 30/month; and three children, 40/month. This year 35 kids participated in language instruction.

Classes are currently offered on different levels:

• Kindergarten (ages 3–6) – Hungarian folk songs, nursery rhymes, and games
• Elementary level: beginner group (ages 6–8) – Hungarian alphabet, Hungarian reading, and writing skills
• Intermediate group (ages 8–10) – continuous reading and writing in Hungarian
• Junior high (ages 10–14) – Hungarian literature, grammar, history, and geography
• Hungarian language classes for beginners (ages 7–12)

The Calvin Hungarian Educational Association together with the ELTE-ITK of Budapest – the Centre for Foreign Languages of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, Hungary's largest and internationally most recognized institution for language examinations – jointly organizes the Hungarian as a second-language exam in Vancouver. The "Szent László Népe" Hungarian School at Lady of Hungary church in Vancouver was started 30 years ago. The Sunday school is open between 9:30 and 11:00 wherein kids between the age groups of 3–6 attend kindergarten, while those aged 6 and 7 attend the school. This year they had 20 children.

Okanagan Hungarian School started in 2014 by the help of the Kőrösi Csoma program. Language classes were held in the Hungarian Hall on Tuesday and Thursday with 18 children. Instruction is completed by violin and folk dance teaching. Adult courses are also available on Friday.

Ontario

Saint Elizabeth Elementary Hungarian School was started in 1935 by the Sisters of Social Service, today joined to the Toronto Catholic Board School System, one of

the biggest Hungarian ethnic schools in Canada with its 200 students: three kindergarten groups, 1–8 grade separate classes, and special class for those who are learning the Hungarian language. The school has its own music teacher and choral. Classes are held on Saturday morning.

The Arany János Hungarian Week-end School was established in 1975 and developed from the former Family Circle operating in the Hungarian Cultural Centre. Regular subjects taught in the morning were followed by cultural activities in the afternoon. These included choir, music, embroidery, egg painting, pottery, folk dancing, and practices to perform at various celebrations. In 1990, the federal government withdrew support from foreign language programs, and an alternative solution was sought out through the Toronto School Board, allowing the classes to continue. Today Arany János Iskola has second- and third-generation children, children of mixed marriages, and children of refugee families, as well as some New Canadians. Classes begin on Saturday at 9:30 a.m. and end at 12:00 p.m. In 2015/2016 year, the school was operated with 45 children. The Ottawa based "Oskola" is a Hungarian school providing classes for 35 children between the age of 4 and 14 on Saturday morning hosted by Notre Dame High School which took part in Ontario International Languages – Elementary Program. In Ontario, other cities have also tried to maintain the Hungarian language and culture within the Catholic Board and International Languages Program. St. Francis of Assisi School in Guelph with 26 children, Crestview Public School in Kitchener with 30 children, and Catholic Central High School in Windsor with 25 children are organizing Hungarian school on Saturday morning. In the latter and in Hamilton, the Windsor-Essex County Catholic School Board is the sponsor of the Hungarian language education and its International language learning program. This charge-free education is designed for every interested person between 5 and 14 years; no previous knowledge or Hungarian background is required. In Hamilton Hungarian classes were held every Tuesday evening (5:30–8:00 p.m.) with 39 children. The Hungarian School in Mississauga welcomes students between the ages of 4 and 14. Classes run every Saturday from 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. The school is organized not only to teach students Hungarian but to also educate them of Hungarian history, arts, and traditions by a well-trained visual art mentor teacher and learning through the arts program. Classes were held at St. Jude Separate School with 26 kids this year.

Québec

The Hungarian School of Montreal was founded by the Social Sisters in 1933. Today the school is part of the "Youth House" of Our Lady of Hungarian Parish. Classes are on Saturday mornings and adult courses are also available. The Hungarian United Church also organizes Hungarian heritage school (Fehér Mihály

Református Iskola) on Sunday from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. The two schools operate with 20 kids.

Saskatoon

The major concern of Saskatchewan Intercultural Association (SIA) became the preservation of heritage languages. In 1983, the association established the Multi-lingual School in cooperation with the Catholic School Board. Until 2015, the school included Hungarian heritage language instruction with the help of the Hungarian Society of Saskatoon which is a nonprofit organization representing the Hungarian community of Saskatoon since 1949. This school was attended by around ten children. The Hungarian school was functioning actively until last year, but they discontinue in 2016.

Manitoba

In Winnipeg, the Hungarian school was revived by young Hungarians participated in the Kőrösi Csoma Program. In 2014, classes were held on Saturday morning in the St. Istvan Hungarian Hall by the presence of seven kids.

Hungarian High School Education and University Programs

"While Hungarian immigration to Canada has been considerable, Hungarian studies programs at Canadian institutions of higher learning have never been able to compete with their counterparts in the United States" (Vardy 1975, 107). The only Hungarian high school program has been established in Toronto, Ontario.

In 1961, the Hungarian Helicon Society formed a Helicon School Committee which helped develop an extracurricular program that offered Hungarian classes for high school students. In 1969, the Helicon School became recognized by the Toronto Board of Education as a credit course program, and then in 1994, the Separate School Board in Toronto also started to support Hungarian credit courses. Currently, over 40 students in grades 9 through 12 are taking advantage of the opportunity to study Hungarian literature, grammar, and history in school. The school plays an important part in educating first-, second-, and third-generation Hungarian Canadians and also other members of our multicultural community who are interested in Hungarian heritage. The high school courses are offered at the "Torontoi Magyar Gimnázium" or "Helikon Iskola" which operates under the umbrella of the Toronto Catholic District School Board's (TCDSB's) International Languages Program, and students are awarded high school credits, which they can

use toward the completion of their Ontario Secondary School Diploma. The program is open to all students of any faith including those who attend non-TCDSB schools (the credits are accepted by other Ontario school boards, including public school boards and private schools). The Hungarian Helicon Society also offers Hungarian language classes for adults. The courses focus on grammar, vocabulary expansion, and conversation but also include some reading and writing in Hungarian. Classes are held for students in grades 9 through 12 on Saturday mornings from 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. at Senator O'Connor Secondary School from mid- to late-September until the end of May.

Since 2003, the Budapest-based Centre for Foreign Languages (Idegennyelvi Továbbképző Központ or ITK) joined forces with the Hungarian Helicon Society to offer Accredited Hungarian Language Exams in Toronto. In November 2006, the Helicon Society became the first and only accredited site in North America for these examinations.

Initial attempts to introduce university courses on Hungarian language, literature, history, and the cultural value of these disciplines began in the 1960s, resulting only in half-measures or temporary solutions (such as courses offered on an annual basis). Without permanent funding, Hungarian courses were at the mercy of university administrators. No university showed a willingness to integrate Hungarian into its curriculum. According to statistics from the early 1970s, Slovak language and literature were taught at seven Canadian universities, Latvian at six, and Hungarian at none (Bisztray 1990, 19).

Prior to 1964, no Hungarian program at the university level seems to have existed in Canada. The first Canadian Hungarian studies program was established at Montreal's Loyola College under the direction of Prof. Heckenast. It was sponsored by the Széchenyi Society and comprised basic courses in Hungarian language, literature, and history. The Loyola program functioned for 6 years (1964–1970), in the course of which it had about 250 registered students in one or another of its courses. By 1970, it was terminated, partially because of a lack of sufficient interest and partially because the Széchenyi Society terminated its financial support (Vardy 1975, 108).

In the early 1970s, the idea of an endowment fund was conceived to secure the continuous operation of a Hungarian chair. The choice of location was obvious: the University of Toronto, Canada's most prestigious institution of higher learning, situated in a city with the largest Hungarian community in the country. The Hungarian Studies chair was established in 1978, the first such chair to be created through the joint efforts of one of Canada's immigrant communities and the Canadian government anxious to promote multiculturalism. The program's Hungarian sponsors had hoped to fund a chair of Hungarian history but certain members of the U. of T.'s history department opposed the idea and the university's administration decided to establish a chair of language and literature studies. For administrative purposes, the chair was placed in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures (Dreisziger 2013, 229). During the first decade, Hungarian courses "reached and affected" approximately 250 students (Bisztray 1990, 24).

Today, Hungarian Studies at the University of Toronto is part of the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (CERES) in the Munk School of Global Affairs and includes major and minor programs for undergraduate students. Hungarian studies at the University of Toronto focus on the language, literature, cinema, and culture of Hungary and on the international role of Hungary and Hungarians – particularly on Hungarian immigration to Canada. This is the only Canadian university where Balassi Institute sends every year a guest professor to teach Hungarian culture. Another Hungarian University program is available in Alberta. The Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies was originally established in 1998 upon an initiative by the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Sciences, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Austrian Conference of University Presidents as the "Canadian Centre for Austrian and Central European Studies." Subsequently the center also received the support of the governments of Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Renamed the "Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies" in October 2003 in recognition of Dr. Manfred and Dr. Alfred Wirth's generous endowment, their principal mandate is to raise the profile of Central Europe and Central European Studies in Canada and to provide a leadership role in a network of cooperation in this field with other Canadian universities. The Institute undertakes hosting one or two visiting researchers and doctoral students from Hungary per year.

At beginning in the fall of 2015, the University of Manitoba and its Department of German and Slavic Studies have offered Hungarian language classes every other year. A graduate exchange student from Szeged University (Hungary) teaches language classes.

The State of Hungarian HLE in Canada: Analysis

The following chart summarizes today's Hungarian heritage language schools in Canada (2015–2016 year):

Hungarian programs (preschool and elementary)	Type of organization	Operation days	No. of children
Bethlen Gábor, Calgary, AB	Community	Sunday afternoon	70
St. Emeric, Edmonton, AB	Private	Saturday morning	38
Dörmögő, Vancouver, BC	Community	Sunday morning	35
Szt. László népe, Vancouver, BC	Community	Sunday morning	20
Kelowna, BC	Community	Tuesday, Thursday	18
St. Elizabeth, Toronto, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	200

Hungarian programs (preschool and elementary)	Type of organization	Operation days	No. of children
Arany János, Toronto, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	45
Oskola, Ottawa, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	35
Guelph, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	26
Kitchener, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	30
Windsor, ON	Community and boards of ed	Saturday morning	25
Arany János, Hamilton, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Tuesday evening	39
Mississauga, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	26
Magyar Iskola, Montreal, QC	Community	Saturday morning	10
Fehér Mihály, Montreal, QC	Community	Sunday morning	10

Hungarian programs (secondary)	Type of organization	Operation days	No. of children
Helicon Gimnázium, ON	Community and boards of ed.	Saturday morning	33

The dispersion of the Hungarian schools is a perfect reflection of the Canadian 2011 Census regarding Hungarian ancestry. Almost half of all Canadians with Hungarian origin live in Ontario: 151,750 or 48%. Present survey shows that the province of Ontario has the largest number of Hungarian heritage school with the only one high school and university full program. No wonder that 70% of the kids with Hungarian roots are taking part of Hungarian instruction in Ontario.

No. of children

0%

18%

11.45%

70%

- Alberta (108)
- British Columbia (73)
- Ontario (459)
- Quebec (20)
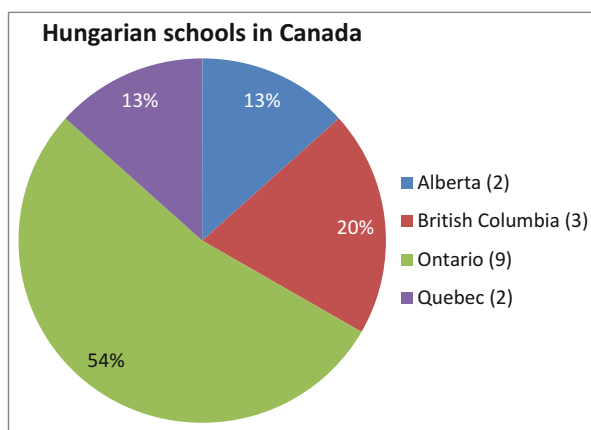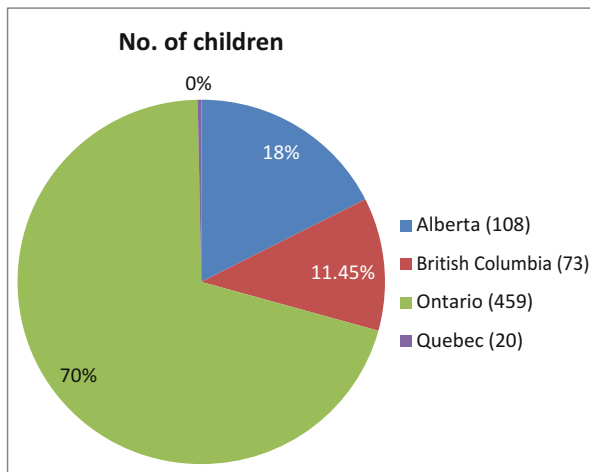
Churches play an important role in maintaining ethnic or national awareness in the Hungarian diaspora. Almost all of the Hungarian schools are community organizations; nevertheless, 60% of the Hungarian school programs are taking part of the Catholic District School Board International Languages Program, and one is a private school.

Type of Hungarian School

0%

40%

60%

- Community School (6)
- Community & Boards of Ed. (9)
- Private (1)
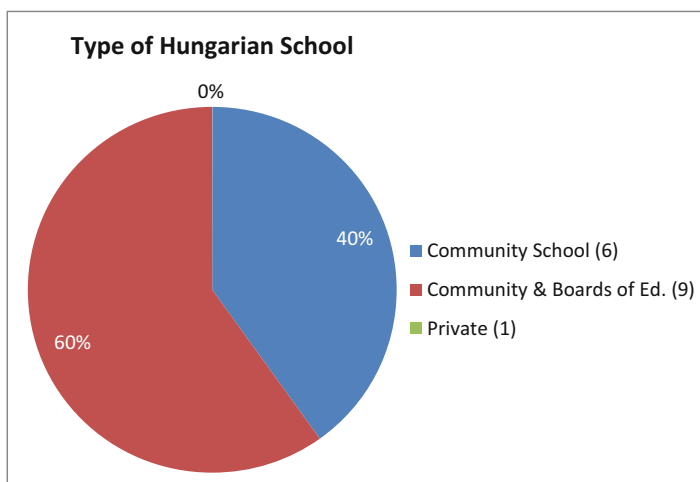
Generally Hungarian classes are given on Saturday morning for 2 h. The Reformed Protestant churches have chosen Sunday for instruction, just before worship service. Smaller community-organized classes can be given other day, mainly on Tuesday evening. Only Kelowna assured classes twice a week.
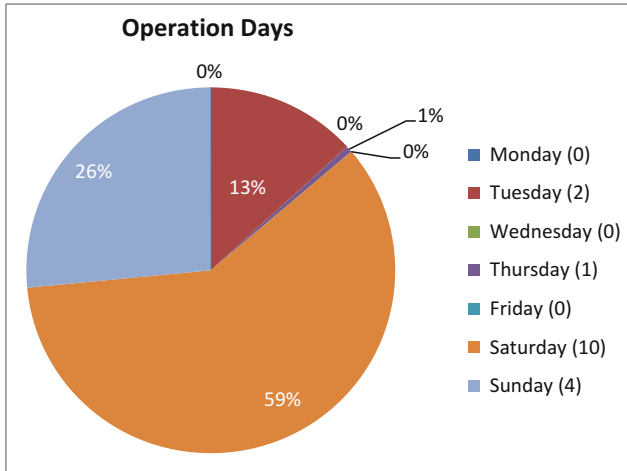
Conclusion

This study is intended to draw parallels between the Romantic vision of the "death of the nation" (nineteenth-century Hungary) and the contemporary reality in the Hungarian diaspora. It is apparent that in both cases, Hungarians consider the preservation of their identity, language, and traditions and culture an absolute priority.

The primary aim of this chapter was to locate and map all community organizations and educational institutions that offer programs to Hungarian heritage teaching across Canada. Recently this school system has not been extensively studied to this point, serving the goal of maintaining the Magyar heritage. This survey shows that Hungarian heritage language schools concentrated in the province of Ontario and often associated with Canadian School Board International Languages Program. Instruction is provided mainly on Saturday morning for 2 h.

This study does not include sections about Hungarian heritage language teachers and teaching methods; another research can be associated subsequently.

In the future, the most important task will be to prove that the instruction of Hungarian as heritage language is a viable initiative within the Canadian mosaic. To maintain the Hungarian heritage schools, not only are the support of the Hungarian community, Canadian Heritage language programs, and nonprofit organizations necessary but also the attention of parents and third- and fourth-generation Hungarians. Other areas of improvement include cooperation with Hungarian governmental programs and universities, providing annual meeting and training for Hungarian heritage language teachers and the development of a curriculum for local needs.

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Bethlen Gábor Hungarian Language School, Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church, 101–14th Avenue SW Calgary, Alberta. http://www.bethlen.ca/language_school

St. Emeric Accredited Hungarian Language School, 12960 112 Street Edmonton, Alberta. http://www.szentimremagyariskola.com/

Dörmögő Dömötör Magyar Betűvető Iskola, First Hungarian Presbyterian Church 2791 East 27th Avenue, Vancouver, BC V5R 1N4. http://www.vanmagyariskola.ca/

"Szent László Népe" magyar iskola, Our Lady of Hungary 1810 East 7th Avenue Vancouver, BC. V5N 1S2. http://www.vancouveri-katolikus-templom.org/iskola/iskola-hu.htm

Okanagai Magyar iskola, Okanagan Hungarian Hall 1670 Ross Road West Kelowna, BC / V1Z 1L9.

Saint Edward Catholic School (1 Botham Rd, North York, ON M2N 1A9).

Arany János Hungarian School, Hungarian House 141 Sunrise Avenue, Toronto, M4A 1A9. http://aranyjanostoronto.ca/

Torontói Magyar Gimnázium/ Helikon Iskola, Senator O'Connor College School 60 Rowena Dr, North York, ON M3A 3R2. http://www.heliconsociety.com/html/kozepiskolai_program.html

Oskola – Ottawai Magyar Iskola, Notre Dame High School 710 Broadview Av, Ottawa, ON K2A 2M2.

Hungarian School Guelph, St. Francis of Assisi School 87 Imperial Rd. S. Guelph, ON, N1K 1Z4.

Hungarian School Kitchener, Crestview Public School 153 Montcalm Drive Kitchener, ON N2B 2R6.

Hungarian School Windsor, Catholic Central High School 441 Tecumseh Rd E, Windsor, ON N8X 2R7.

Arany Janos Hungarian School, St. Joseph Catholic Elementary School 270 Locke St. S. Hamilton, Ontario, ON L8P 4C1.

Hungarian School in Mississauga, St. Jude Separate School 175 Nahani Way Mississauga, ON L4Z 3J6. http://addr.ws/mississaugai-magyar-iskola-hungarian-school-in-mississauga–mississauga-ca.html

Montreáli Magyar Iskola, *Our Lady of Hungary Parish 90 Guizot Ouest, Montréal, Québec H2P 1L4.* http://www.montreali-magyar-iskola.com/

Fehér Mihály Református Iskola, Hungarian United Church of Montreal 50 Graham Blvd., Montréal QC, H3P 2C1. http://fmrefi.blogspot.ca/

Hungarian Studies, Center for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, 1 Devonshire Pl, Toronto, ON M5S 3K7. http://sites.utoronto.ca/hungarian/faculty.html

Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies, University of Alberta, Suite 300, Arts Building, 116 St. and 85 Ave., Edmonton, AB T6G 2R3. http://www.wirth.ualberta.ca/

Department of German and Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba, 328 Fletcher Argue Bldg. Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2. http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/departments/german_and_slavic/3078.html

Heritage Language Education in Germany: A Focus on Turkish and Russian from Primary to Higher Education

20

Helena Olfert and Anke Schmitz

Abstract

The purpose of the present chapter is to demonstrate the implementation of two major heritage languages, Turkish and Russian, throughout the German educational system. Due to historical reasons, these languages differ according to their institutional implementation, their instruction from primary to higher education and their acceptance by society. In this context, after a brief outline of the migration processes of Russian and Turkish speakers to Germany, the chapter discusses characteristics of heritage language instruction in contrast to foreign language teaching in primary and secondary schools. While in primary education heritage language instruction is established in almost every public school throughout Germany for more than 30 years, Russian and Turkish language learning in secondary schools is considerably heterogeneous depending on the assigned status of the language. By providing course attendance rates for Russian and Turkish speakers, this chapter also traces differences in the language maintenance motives of these two migrant groups. At university level, only recently specific courses for heritage language students have been established at some university language centers thus recognizing heritage languages as a resource and empowerment tool. The discussion of the implementation of Turkish and Russian in the German educational system considers factors such as official legislation, the status and prestige of the respective language at different educational levels, issues of teacher education, the development of adequate curricula and learning material as well as diagnostic test instruments.

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Contents

Multilingualism in Germany

As a worldwide debated topic, multilingualism is also lively discussed in Germany and in Europe in general. Europe is a densely populated area with more than 700 million inhabitants living in about 50 countries, which contributes to a respective linguistic diversity. This diversity is represented not only by 24 official languages of the European Union (EU) but also by numerous smaller regional languages such as Basque, Frisian, and Welsh. The preservation of this cultural and linguistic heritage is a declared goal of the European Commission and anchored in its educational and minority politics (Eurobarometer 2012). As a concrete claim, the EU encourages its citizens to learn two foreign languages in addition to their mother tongue (m+2 policy). Until now, the educational policies of the European countries mostly have tried to achieve m+2 by establishing programs that facilitate foreign language learning. This effort especially affects the teaching of official and influential European languages such as English, German, French, and Spanish. One recent and noticeable development in Germany is for example the early beginning of English lessons in primary schools at the age of six. Allochthonous heritage languages like Turkish, Russian, or Arabic spoken by migrant populations all over Europe are explicitly not considered. This disparity in the handling of different languages is reflected in school statistics on the attendance rates of foreign language classes: 87% of German students learnt English during the academic year 2014/2015 followed by 18% who additionally attended French language classes. Only 1% of the students learnt Russian and 0.1% Turkish (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015). This language distribution reveals that the European multilingualism policy mainly resulted in learning English – at least in Germany.

Nevertheless, multilingualism in Europe is not only regarded from the viewpoint of national languages but smaller regional languages are also considered. The protection and preservation of autochthonous minority languages like Basque in Spain,

Occitan in France, or Kven in Norway is the second goal of European language policy. This claim has officially found its way into the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). Germany was one of the first European states to sign this document (Bundesministerium des Innern 2011). The Charter obliges national governments to protect the smaller European minority languages by officially enabling the use of these languages in public, and by proposing concrete measures of action to preserve them. Speakers of these minority languages should retain the possibility to express their cultural identity through their language in several domains of public life including schooling, administration and justice, media, and cultural activities (Europarat 1992). However, the Charter only covers autochthonous languages that are spoken by minority groups traditionally living in a certain state area. It explicitly excludes the protection of allochthonous minority languages spoken by large immigrant groups who are not indigenous residents of the state. Hence, in Germany only autochthonous minority languages (Danish, Frisian, Sorbian, Romany, and Low German) are protected, while speakers of allochthonous languages like Turkish and Russian do not have a legal claim for the promotion of their language.

This different treatment of majority languages versus autochthonous and allochthonous minority languages is also reflected in the citizens' attitudes towards the several languages at play. In general, minority languages are considered to be of less prestige and value than the majority language. Corresponding to the attendance rates of foreign language courses at school (cf. the numbers above) many European citizens (67%) believe that English is the most advantageous language for their personal development followed by other major national languages like German, French, and Spanish. A representative study by Gärtig et al. (2010) strongly suggests that Germans appreciate people with a French, Italian, or English accent. These most popular accents are either accents of foreign languages that are well-established at school or languages of countries that Germans prefer for their holidays. In contrast, Germans dislike accents of typical immigrant languages like Russian, Turkish, and Polish. Also, while over 80% of the participants support the preservation of regional languages on German territory, 45% dislike that immigrants use their mother tongue in certain areas of daily life.

Overall, the language policies of both the European Union and the German educational system strongly promote well-established foreign languages that are spoken by large European communities. Although smaller regional languages are protected by law, their use and learning are effectively restrained to the minority community itself and not further encouraged with regard to the majority population. The status of allochthonous immigrant languages within the German educational system is even more problematic. Since they are neither perceived as promotion worthy in terms of the European m+2 policy nor protected by the ECRML, the implementation of these heritage languages is intricate and only a peripheral matter within the German educational system.

In order to shed more light upon this issue this chapter demonstrates the embedding of the two largest heritage languages spoken in Germany, Turkish and Russian, in the German educational system. Due to historical reasons stated in the second chapter, these allochthonous languages differ very much not only with respect to the

maintenance efforts of the immigrant group itself but also in how these languages are taught from primary to tertiary education and how they are recognized by society.

The Status of Russian and Turkish as Heritage Languages in Germany

Russian and Turkish are the most commonly spoken heritage languages in Germany. However, they differ in their implementation into the German educational system. To understand the reasons for this difference, a retrospective view on migration processes to Germany is inevitable. In contrast to autochthonous minorities who either were separated from a neighboring country by the drawing of state boundaries (like Danish in Northern Germany) or who did not receive a distinct territory during the emergence of European national states (e.g. Sorbian in Eastern Germany), allochthonous minorities migrated to a certain area in Germany from other territories. One of the most considerable waves of migration to Germany was triggered by bilateral labor recruitment agreements ("Anwerbeabkommen," Bundesarbeitsblatt 1962) passed by postwar Western Germany in the early 1960s. These historical agreements were concluded with nine countries in Southern Europe and North Africa and entailed the migration of 2.6 million guest workers ("Gastarbeiter") for the heavy industry. In the course of this development, roughly 500,000–750,000 Turkish guest workers mainly from rural areas migrated to Germany until the expiry of the agreement in 1973.

According to the idea of a guest worker the Western German government expected the Turkish migrants to return to Turkey and did not intend or foster their integration into mainstream society during their stay in Germany. The Turkish migrants themselves also did not plan to stay permanently but to return home with their savings after a few years. Yet, due to political and economic instability in Turkey at that time, many of the Turkish guest workers decided to stay in Germany. Today, the descendants of these first migrants live in Germany in the third or fourth generation (Küppers et al. 2014).

Turkish migration to Germany, however, cannot be simply traced along generation lines and is characterized by diverse migration processes. On the one hand, Turkish speakers constantly kept immigrating to Germany after the expiry of the recruitment agreement as labor migrants or refugees, due to family reunification or marriage migration thus ensuring the vitality of the Turkish language (Schroeder 2003). On the other hand, many Turkish speakers can nowadays also be considered as "trans-migrants" (Gogolin and Pries 2004) alternating their place of residence between two countries and constantly using both their languages in several contexts. Turkish speakers of the second or third migrant generation have often even spent some years in Turkey either before entering the German school system or while visiting school (Küppers et al. 2014). These disrupted biographies surely contribute to the maintenance of the Turkish language and its vitality in Germany. One recent development is the remigration of educated middle class migrants of Turkish descent to Turkey due to the flourishing Turkish economy (Kunuroglu et al. 2015; Pusch

2012). Also in this context, the elaborate knowledge of the Turkish language is doubtless of great value for the Turkish community.

Providing current speaker numbers for the Turkish group is difficult for several reasons: First, there exists no census of languages in Germany so that the figures have to be estimated on the basis of features like citizenship or the so-called migration background (Extra and Verhoeven 1999). According to official data, people with a Turkish citizenship form the largest foreigner group in Germany in 2015 (approximately 1.5 million of 81 millions). However, these numbers do not exactly represent the size of the Turkish speaking group mainly due to naturalization processes starting from the second generation. When the social construct of a "migration background" is additionally taken into account by the micro-census different numbers of speakers emerge. This category takes a wider focus and also considers the naturalized second generation born in Germany. By this closer look, the number of potential Turkish speakers increases up to 2.9 million. Second, even these figures do not fully capture the size of the Turkish group. Since Turkey is a multilingual state where additionally several other minority languages are being spoken, a Turkish citizenship or a Turkish migration background does not guarantee that the person indeed does speak Turkish. Brizić (2007, 2009) reports that several participants in her study officially classified as Turkish speakers displayed not only a fairly low competence in German but also in their alleged first language Turkish. In-depth interviews with these students' parents revealed that the majority of speakers in this apparently homogeneous group in fact were speakers of Kurdish, Arabic, or Zaza. Being afraid of further stigmatization they withheld these non-prestige languages. Third, there are several groups of potential Turkish speakers that are not captured by the statistics. These are people of third and further generations of immigrants as well as speakers from Macedonia, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Romania, Iraq, or Greece where Turkish is spoken as a regional minority language. Still, all of this suggests that Turkish is one of the largest heritage languages used in Germany.

The Russian speakers living in Germany can be subdivided into two major groups: migrants of German descent ("Aussiedler" or "Russian Germans") and Russian speaking Jews. This distinction is critical with regard to language maintenance processes since both groups display a different attitude towards the German language and Russian language retention (Brehmer 2007). The so-called Russian Germans are descendants of German-speaking settlers who came to Russia during the late eighteenth century at the command of Catherine the Great to populate the uninhabited territories of her empire. Due to a segregated lifestyle in their colonies, they managed to maintain a variety of German throughout centuries (Berend 2012). However, especially after World War II the Russian Germans suffered from highly oppressive Soviet minority politics and were often forced to give up their German heritage language in favor of Russian. After the political opening and reorganization of the former Soviet Union ("glasnost" and "perestroika") starting in the 1980s, the Soviet Union (SU) loosened the exit regulations for its citizens. Simultaneously, the German government decided to receive Russian Germans as displaced persons of German ethnicity. Until now, almost 2.5 million ethnic Germans from Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan took this opportunity and

immigrated to Germany with their families. Being officially treated as of German descent, these immigrants attained the German citizenship upon eased terms and became permanent residents of the state (Roll 2003).

Because of these historical reasons the Russian Germans are reported to have the highest German language skills among all immigrant groups in Germany (Anstatt 2009). Especially the older generation born before WWII in many occasions still acquired a variety of German as their first language back in the SU (Berend 2012) which facilitated their learning of standard German. Fearing discrimination, the younger generation that was born and raised during the Soviet era often did not acquire more than passive German skills in the family and was brought up completely in Russian. However, since also this generation strongly identified as ethnic Germans they perceived their immigration to Germany as an act of homecoming even without any knowledge of German. Likely to remain in Germany in the long term and feeling a connection to their German heritage many Russian German families felt a strong desire to fit in within mainstream society. They did not actively try to retain Russian or even perceived it as a burden from bygone times. Thus, a pronounced orientation in favor of German as the language of family communication can be observed in many Russian German families nowadays (Brehmer and Mehlhorn 2015). In this context, Russian is only casually being transmitted to younger children for practical reasons such as communication with Russian-speaking relatives or probable job opportunities in future. At the same time, an opposite development can be observed. Despite their claim to a German identity, the Russian Germans were not perceived as fellow Germans by the majority population due to their lack of German language knowledge and their affinity to Russian cultural practices (Reitemeier 2006). This rejection led to a reorientation of many Russian Germans towards a Russian identity and thus fostered their wish to maintain Russian as the family language.

The second largest Russian-speaking group in Germany is formed by about 200,000 Jews who fled from the successor states of the SU starting in the early 1990s based on the Contingent Refugees' Law ("Kontingentflüchtlingsgesetz") as quota refugees. These Jewish refugees were seen as a chance to reestablish Jewish life in Germany and to compensate Germany's historical debts to this community. Similar to Russian Germans, also Russian Jews suffered severe discrimination during the Soviet era and were intensely forced to give up their community language Yiddish that was a vitally spoken language in the shtetls (Jewish towns) until that time. However, the imposed shift to Russian as the community language and the tight bonds to Russian culture and lifestyle are the only attributes that are common to both groups. In contrast to Russian Germans, the Russian Jewish community in Germany mainly comes from urban areas in Ukraine, the Russian Federation, or Belarus, has a very high educational level, and is not historically connected to a German identity. Thus, for this group the retention of the Russian language as a mean of family communication has a distinct role than for the Russian Germans. In-depth

interviews with members of this community have shown that Russian is being transmitted not only for potential economic benefits but especially due to a strong perception of Russian as a mother tongue and identity marker as well as its function as a "door opener" into the rich Russian literature, philosophy, and culture (Irwin 2009). Apart from this appreciation of Russian as a cultural asset, the members of this community also mentioned general cognitive benefits associated with bilingualism.

Similar to the Turkish-speaking group, it is difficult to provide exact numbers for Russian speakers. Also in this context, the ongoing naturalization processes blur statistical statements about immigrant numbers, and the language constellations in the countries of the former SU do not allow a simple matching of prior nationality to the spoken languages. However, it is highly probable that the majority of these two groups indeed are speakers of Russian thus representing one of the largest allochthonous languages spoken in Germany alongside Turkish. These assumptions can be underlined by the results of four major language surveys conducted in schools in larger cities throughout Germany that give a first insight into the actual distribution of allochthonous languages (Ahrenholz and Maak 2013; Chlosta et al. 2003; Decker and Schnitzer 2012; Fürstenau et al. 2003). According to these studies, the percentage of Turkish speakers in schools nowadays fluctuates between one third in urban areas in Western Germany and 6% in Eastern Germany. For Russian, the percentage is roughly about 10–25% of the students depending on the considered area.

Russian and Turkish Heritage Language Education in Germany

Starting with common characteristics of education for allochthonous language minorities in Germany, the following chapter discusses heritage language education from primary school to university by the example of Russian and Turkish. The diverging historical contexts of both groups portrayed in the previous chapter are reflected in unequal implementation strategies with regard to their languages. While Turkish is mostly taught as a heritage language, Russian is typically offered as part of foreign language instruction. This difference in the course denomination is critical with regard to criteria developed by Broeder and Extra (1999) for a successful implementation of allochthonous minority languages in European educational systems. The criteria mainly comprise official legislation and arguments in support of the realization of minority language courses as well as hereby associated financial, organizational, and personnel aspects. Besides, Broeder and Extra (ibid.) consider the curricular anchoring of minority language instruction, the existence of target-oriented learning material, and explicitly defined teacher professionalization of crucial importance for an effective implementation. On this account, the following elaborations strongly focus on these aspects since they give insight about the current

status of a heritage language in mainstream society and its potential to be integrated into regular education (Schmitz and Olfert 2013).

General Aspects of Language Education for Heritage Speakers

The integration of student speakers of heritage languages into the German educational system can basically be compared to the US-American concept of submersion, which counts for most of the German public schools. That implies that heritage language speakers are integrated into regular classrooms according to the following four dimensions (Reich and Roth 2002): (1) heritage speakers participating in regular classrooms with monolingual education in the majority language and without official consideration of their heritage language; (2) a participation of heritage speakers in regular classrooms with additional or integrated learning of German as a second language (sustained submersion), but excluding their heritage languages; (3) the attendance of heritage speakers in regular classrooms plus additional and voluntary heritage language courses *or* foreign language courses (submersion with language maintenance lessons); and (4) an integrated learning concept with teaching of at least one subject in the heritage language (submersion with bilingual learning).

Most of the German public schools decided for the second or third option. Thus, the language education of heritage speakers in Germany consists of two pillars: (1) children can learn their heritage language in specifically established heritage language courses or in ordinary foreign language courses and (2) have integrated or additional remedial instruction in German as a second language. The model of additional heritage language instruction is representative for Germany especially in primary schools, while in secondary schools either heritage language courses or foreign language courses are offered. However, the second pillar is clearly the main goal of educating heritage speakers. Learning German as a second language is mandatory and can either be part of regular classroom teaching for all students or is outsourced after regular teaching. Its prominence is reflected by the development of detailed curricula, purposeful learning material, and the creation of specific university chairs as well as the implementation of this topic in professional teacher education (Allemann-Ghionda 1999; Putjata et al. 2016; Uysal 2002). Sophisticated models of language maintenance, where the heritage language serves as the major language of instruction in several subjects or is anchored as a distinct subject for all students, count only for autochthonous minority schools in Germany, such as Danish and Sorbian schools. Both minorities established a well-structured educational system with continuous heritage language instruction starting from kindergarten to higher education (for Danish: Schmitz and Olfert 2013). This successful implementation is based on the historical belonging to a certain state area of Germany, considerable support of influential diplomats and financial funding from private sponsors. Bilingual education in allochthonous heritage languages similar to the US-American two-way immersion models, however, is only sparsely existent in some private schools (Schroeder and Küppers 2016).

Basic Characteristics of Heritage Language Instruction in Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education

A decisive starting point for the consideration of allochthonous heritage languages in the German educational system was the labor recruitment agreement from the 1960s mentioned above. With the waves of migrant workers and their families, the European Directive set the obligation to educate children of migrant workers by fostering the acquisition and preservation of their mother tongue (Allemann-Ghionda 1999). These language courses were not considered to be a part of the regular language teaching curricula and did not aim at an integration of the speakers into the German society, but especially at a preparation for the potential re-migration into their home countries (ibid.). Therefore, the responsibility for heritage language education was initially delegated to consulates or to independent sponsors (Amtsblatt der Europäischen Gemeinschaften 1977) thus representing a missing coherence in heritage language education (Pflegerl 1977).

Nowadays, heritage language education is exclusively managed by the 16 German federal states that are officially accountable for its organization. However, some states are also free to pass their authority back to consulates of the countries of origin. As a consequence of German federalism, heritage language education is implemented heterogeneously throughout Germany hereby establishing an incoherent and unbalanced patchwork (Schmitz and Olfert 2013). Lower Saxony, for instance, promotes the maintenance of multilingualism to integrate language minorities into society and to foster their communication skills (Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium 2005). Baden-Wuerttemberg aims to ease contacts with the languages and cultures of the students' home countries (Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg 2008). In North Rhine-Westphalia, heritage language education not only has the longest tradition but is also implemented to foster foreign cultures and languages for a sustained personal development (Extra and Yağmur 2004; Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2009). For primary and secondary schools, the Ministry of Education and Arts of North Rhine-Westphalia set a new directive in 2009 on the consideration of heritage languages in the state's school system. The directive defines languages and cultures of migrants as part of the learners' identities and as an important aspect for their individual personality. Moreover, multilingualism is said to reflect cultural diversity in the global and merging world. As a consequence, public schools in North Rhine-Westphalia are supposed to offer heritage language education in the most frequent allochthonous minority languages from grade 1 until 10. In contrast, Bavaria eliminated heritage language education courses to create additional time for German lessons as the Friedrich Ebert Foundation quotes in 2009. Hence, to which extent and for which reasons allochthonous languages are implemented in the German educational system has to be analyzed according to federal state boundaries.

Generally, heritage language instruction in Germany serves as an extracurricular activity and is a voluntary element besides regular classroom teaching (Reich and Roth 2002) that often takes place in the afternoon. Provided that the number of

interested participants is too small in a specific school, cooperations with other schools need to be established. As a result, the language classes do not only have extracurricular time slots but also different locations than the usual place of learning. Moreover, these organizational obstacles do not only cause demotivating effects but also provoke a vast heterogeneity within the learning groups since learners from different types of schools, different ages, and with a high variance in heritage language competence ranging from balanced to passive bilinguals (Polinsky and Kagan 2007) can participate in one single heritage language class. According to its classification as a supplemental instruction, the students' performance in heritage language courses is of no importance. This means that the achievement is not relevant for academic success. Only at the end of secondary education, where an official language exam adjusted to specific school levels is mandatory, an inadequate performance in another language course can be compensated with a good grade in a heritage language course.

A basic condition for implementing heritage language courses in schools as per Broeder and Extra (1999) is the existence of proficient teachers. To teach a heritage language, the instructor needs to be qualified for teaching the respective language according to German law. For least commonly spoken languages this is hardly ever the case since most German universities only offer teacher training in the official and influential European languages such as English, French, and Spanish. As a consequence of this inadequacy, heritage language classes are often conducted by teachers who acquired their qualification for another subject at a German university and speak the respective heritage language to a certain competence degree.

Corresponding to the teacher training, only few diagnostic tools are existent for certain heritage languages and language levels. The same can be stated with regard to the teaching material that either needs to be designed and provided by the instructor especially for each single course thus observing the individual differences in the students. Or teachers tend to use material that is intended for mother tongue instruction and designed in the country of origin. These textbooks often do not meet the special requirements of heritage language speakers with regard to linguistic complexity, methodological approaches, or topic relevance for their daily life.

Overall, in contrast to the USA or Canada where heritage language courses are to some extent well established also in higher education, in Germany they mainly emerge in primary schools. Three out of four heritage language classes are taught within primary education (Gogolin and Oeter 2011), while in secondary schools or universities they are still a peripheral matter. This gap is closely related to the strict classification in foreign and heritage language courses within the German educational system mentioned before. Starting from the secondary school sector, it is intended to gradually transfer heritage language courses into systematic foreign language learning. This implies an intended "upgrading" of heritage languages to modern foreign languages (Küppers et al. 2014). Although the labeling as a foreign language course connotes an admission for all students independently of their language socialization simultaneously causing a very heterogeneous learner group, the implicit target students of these new language courses are still heritage speakers of the respective minority language (ibid.). Nevertheless, this shift in classification to

foreign language courses indeed does foster an official valorization and elevation of heritage language education within the German educational system in terms of organizational, curricular, and financial support. Foreign language courses are an integral part of the curriculum and are organized under the responsibility of the school. Also, the grades that students achieve in foreign language courses are relevant and contribute to their academic success. However, this official "upgrading" entails a complex validation process and is only an option for languages that are already established as modern foreign languages for the majority students. While major European national languages like Italian, Spanish, or Russian have a long tradition of being taught as part of foreign language instruction in German schools, languages like Turkish or Arabic have a tough act to follow. For these languages, this renaming still does not ensure an adequate teacher training, appropriate learning materials, or language assessment instruments.

While the implementation of heritage language learning appears to be restricted in primary and secondary education due to several legal regulations, in the tertiary educational level many formal boundaries vanish. Whereas some university language centers focus on currently economically relevant languages and offer courses in prestigious foreign languages like Chinese or Japanese, others also establish courses in the languages of allochthonous minorities. A commonality of the different university language programs at university level is that often no distinction is drawn between heritage languages or foreign languages. Only recently some university language centers recognized these "re-learners" as a specific language learner group with distinct prerequisites and started to organize special heritage language courses for minority students. Central objectives of these classes are to acquire literacy in the heritage language and to expand heritage language skills for professional career. Additionally, such officially certified skills could profitably be used on the labor market. The promotion of professional language knowledge goes along with the necessity of heritage language competencies in specific professions such as medicine, social areas, and in public authorities. Meyer (2008) demonstrates in a survey that heritage languages, especially Turkish and Russian, are extremely important for social and medicinal professions. Denominated heritage language courses at universities are offered for speakers of different levels from mere beginners with passive language skills to advanced learners wanting to consolidate their knowledge. At the course outset, the students occasionally need to pass an entrance test in order to be placed in an appropriate course according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This framework, however, is adjusted to foreign language learners and cannot fully be transferred to suitably assess heritage language skills. Like in primary and secondary education, qualified teaching staff for these university courses is scarce.

By Way of Example: Russian and Turkish

Although Russian and Turkish both form the largest allochthonous minority speaker groups and display vital language communities in Germany, the vast majority of heritage language instruction is realized in Turkish. In North Rhine-Westphalia for

instance, the federal state with the longest tradition of heritage language education, almost three quarters of heritage language lessons at all school levels are Turkish lessons (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2013). Russian heritage language courses are very rare and represent a peripheral phenomenon reflected by course attendance rates below 5% (ibid.). As stated above, this salient mismatch can both be attributed to the groups' different motives for the maintenance of their heritage language and to the separation into foreign and heritage language classes by the educational system (cf. chapter 3.2). Particularly the Russian language strongly benefitted from this upgrading during the last years which will be further elaborated below.

Russian is one of the few immigrant languages that are implemented as a second or third modern foreign language in German secondary schools after English, French, and Spanish. Especially in the former Soviet occupation zone in Eastern Germany Russian is until now one of the most popular foreign languages. Russian teacher training can be completed at more than 20 German universities, and learning material for Russian as a foreign language is well established throughout the federal states. Consequently, this advanced infrastructure could be a fertile ground for the organization of Russian heritage language courses within the school system. However, school statistics of North Rhine-Westphalia suggest that only 6.5% of Russian German students attend heritage language classes (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2015).

Seminars in Russian as a foreign language are of course not exclusively open for monolingual students but also for speakers of Russian as a heritage language. This circumstance has two consequences: First, Russian heritage language speakers can profit in the maintenance of their heritage language from the already existing and exceedingly developed foreign instruction supply. This way, they gain access to literacy in Russian considerably easier than speakers of other heritage languages. Second, compared to students who attend heritage language classes, speakers of Russian participating in Russian foreign language courses obtain a certified qualification for their successful attendance and can eventually benefit from their language competencies on the job market. At the same time, it is questionable if the ordinary foreign language courses are adequately adjusted to the heterogeneous language competences of heritage speakers (Tichomirowa 2011). Yet, school statistics also in this case reveal that only 11.4% of potential course attendees make use of this possibility and enroll for Russian foreign language classes (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2015) once again underlining this group's attitude towards the retention of Russian. Students with Turkish as their heritage language, on the other hand, display very high attendance rates in heritage language classes. In North Rhine-Westphalia, for example, in the school year 2014/2015 almost 60% of Turkish speaking students participated in such a course (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2015). These numbers indicate a rather opposite situation than the one described for Russian and emphasize the high demand of Turkish speakers willing to acquire literacy in their heritage language. Especially in primary schools, Turkish is being taught as a heritage language in supplementary mother tongue instruction classes exclusively

for bilingual students who receive informal contact to Turkish at home (Küppers et al. 2014; Schroeder 2003). Because of its decades-long history as a school subject, several curricula for Turkish as a heritage language were composed, but until today, content-integrated language learning and coordination with German instruction is not realized in primary schools. According to Küppers et al. (2014), only one school in Cologne offers a coordinated Turkish-German instruction from grade 1 to 2. In secondary schools, occasionally courses for Turkish as a modern foreign language are provided. In 2014/2015, 11.1% of Turkish heritage students seized this opportunity and enrolled in these classes (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2015). Although Turkish-speaking students participating in foreign language courses encounter similar difficulties as Russian-speaking students described above, they also gain the possibility to pass an official Turkish language certificate (TÖMER-certificate) initiated by the university of Ankara and the University of Duisburg-Essen to get access to Turkish universities and international companies. TÖMER certifies the language levels A2, B1, and C from the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

Despite the fact that the upgrading to a denomination as a foreign language is an intentional top-down strategy to strengthen the role of Turkish and to legitimate its position within the German educational system, until now this option can hardly be implemented. One decisive barrier is the shortage of qualified teachers since a comprehensive and accredited concept of teacher professionalization is almost nonexistent. According to Küppers et al. (2014) three groups of Turkish teachers can be distinguished: (1) teachers trained in Turkey for teaching in primary schools. These teachers have lower income and status at German schools and are not considered as full pedagogical professionals because they mostly teach only Turkish, (2) consulate teachers sent by programs established by the German Academic Exchange Service who teach Turkish in Germany for a certain period of time and are not further integrated into the teaching operations of the regular curriculum, (3) teachers of Turkish with full-fledged studies in Germany. These teachers clearly form the minority since studying Turkish as a regular subject is only implemented by a couple of universities. Due to this lack in qualified Turkish teachers, most of the German federal states employ teachers who speak Turkish as their first language, but who are trained to teach other subjects than Turkish (ibid.). But teaching Turkish as a foreign or heritage language is not only restricted by the deficient teacher education but also by almost unavailable teaching and learning material. For primary and secondary schools, only few schoolbooks are offered (Schroeder 2003), and according to Arslan (2013) teachers criticize that these few existing schoolbooks are even outdated (Küppers et al. 2014).

At the tertiary level both Russian and Turkish have to compete not only with popular major European languages like English, French, or Spanish but also with prestigious foreign languages like Chinese and Japanese that are dynamically requested by students at universities with an emphasis on economics. While these languages are high in demand and courses are offered at every level from novice A1 to superior C2 at many university language centers, Turkish and Russian classes can often only be attended until B1 advanced level – if these languages are part of the

university foreign language curriculum at all. As already mentioned above, recently also some university language centers started offering courses especially for Russian and Turkish heritage speakers. However, numbers cannot be provided neither for participants of heritage language classes nor for Russian and Turkish foreign language courses at university level.

Discussion and Outlook

Regarding primary and secondary education, it can be subsumed that especially the implementation of Turkish within the German educational system is restricted and that the "adhering to common labels of 'heritage language instruction' or 'mother tongue education' perpetuates the ethnicization of problems related to issues revolving around (language) education of immigrant students" (Küppers et al. 2014, p. 1). The sustained tradition of downgrading Turkish language education to heritage language instruction is further supported by institutional regulations: Schools offering heritage language classes instead of foreign language classes even receive financial support realized by additional staff placement. At the same time, the formal upgrading of heritage languages to modern foreign languages is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it means official and certified approval of language competences in nonprestigious languages and hereby a potential revaluation of heritage languages as entry requirement for higher education or at the labor market. On the other hand, as long as no structural conditions concerning teacher qualification and learning material are specified the upgrading option remains a lip service. Besides, the denomination as a foreign language class promotes very heterogeneous learner groups since heritage language learners differ from foreign language learners in learning motives, options for language contact and use, as well as identity formation. Probably, these speakers could best unfold their language potential in a course configured according to heritage language didactics.

The comparison of the implementation of Russian and Turkish revealed that a fostering infrastructure in foreign language education alone – as in the Russian case – does not automatically guarantee its acceptance. Only if instruction and literacy acquisition in the respective heritage language is also claimed by the language community bottom-up it can be successfully supported by top-down strategies. With regard to the Turkish language community, the speakers actively engage in the transmission of their language to further generations and for decades make an effort to establish Turkish language education within the German educational system. It is quite likely that this community aim triggered the implementation of Turkish as a foreign language in the first place.

Another general aspect for discussion of heritage language education in Germany is its position within the primary school. Since English is strongly dominating the very first foreign language learning in this educational stage it influences the children's first learning experiences and attitudes towards the usefulness of other languages. Küppers et al. (2014) therefore estimate that heritage language programs will soon be almost vanished in primary schools.

Furthermore, heritage language instruction is still not coordinated with regular teaching as Pflegerl (1977) already stated 40 years before. Although it is ideally suited for the development of a comprehensive multilingualism curriculum (Reich and Krumm 2013), heritage language instruction and German lessons do not align their content and coexist alongside one another thus fostering a "multiple mono-lingualism" of the students (Marx 2014). This dissociation continues in the lower payment and status of heritage language teachers, the outsourcing of heritage language classes beyond the schedule or the school grounds, as well as the lack of adequate learning material provided by the state that is responsible for the education of the students.

The establishing of heritage language courses in higher education is a rather new development in Germany. The Technical University of Darmstadt is the first university to launch a heritage language learning center in higher education in Germany at the end of 2016. This center will offer courses in Polish, Russian, and Turkish as heritage languages and aims at expanding and enhancing the language competence of heritage speakers in order to increase their chances on the job market. The courses are supposed to adjust to the special needs of heritage speakers and strongly differ from foreign language courses offered by the center.

As is generally the case with studies on heritage language education, works on the genesis of these courses at German universities as well as on practical issues related to this process do not yet exist. Up to now, it is unclear if the students' language competencies are assessed before enrollment, which tools are provided for adequate assessment and how the process of language learning is officially certified. Concerning concrete language teaching practice, it is important to analyze the applied learning material, didactic aspects of language teaching and especially how the teachers integrate heterogeneous learning prerequisites. Issues of quality assurance, such as teacher professionalization and students' course evaluation, are also unanswered questions.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Approaches to Heritage Language Learning: From Linguistic Survival to Resistance and Action
▶ Linguistic Foundations of Heritage Language Development from the Perspective of Romance Languages in Germany
▶ Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation
▶ Heritage Language Speakers in the University Classroom, Doing Research
▶ The Multiplicity Framework: Potential Applications for Heritage Language Education and Pedagogy
▶ Turkish Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance in Germany
▶ Why Should Formal Linguistic Approaches to Heritage Language Acquisition Be Linked to Heritage Language Pedagogies?

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The Victorian School of Languages as a Model for Heritage Language Education

21

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Abstract

HL education often has an ambivalent relationship with mainstream schools. While volunteer-run HL schools often struggle with curriculum, resourcing, and teacher-quality issues, it can be difficult for mainstream schools to teach HLs in normal school hours if there are not large numbers of speakers of the same HL in each year level.

The Victorian School of Languages offers a potential hybrid model to address some of these issues. This government-run school provides after-hours classes in 49 languages across 40 sites to more than 15,500 students, many of whom are HL speakers. This chapter gives a brief overview of the school's development and structure before exploring the degree to which this model is able to capitalize on the best bits of both volunteer-run and mainstream HL classes. It argues that the model has a range of benefits over volunteer-run classes, many of which flow from the increased administrative support and professionalization that comes with being an official government school. However, it is not a panacea and a number of issues remain around resourcing, curriculum, and teacher professional development. Integration with the government school system also results in some loss of autonomy and means the political clout of language communities can play a role in determining whose languages are taught in what contexts. Despite these potential problems, the Victorian School of Languages provides a useful model that could be followed in other contexts where communities are looking to integrate their HL teaching more fulsomely into mainstream schooling.

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Introduction

Heritage language (HL) education often has a somewhat ambivalent relationship with
mainstream schooling. On the one hand, those involved in volunteer-run after hours
schools often lament their marginal status and the attendant issues they face in teacher
quality, resourcing, and waning attendance as students age and face greater demands
on their free time (Mau et al. 2009; e.g., Chung 2012). For teachers and parents in this
situation, integrating HL teaching into the mainstream curriculum can look like a silver
bullet. However, as the experience of many Australian schools that have attempted to
run HL programs in normal school hours can testify, these programs come with their
own set of issues. Chief among them are the interrelated issues of numbers and
representation, that is, whether there are enough students from any given language
background to fill classes and how parents from different backgrounds will react to the
news that the school has decided to teach certain HLs, but not others (Hajek and
Slaughter 2007). In the 1990s, a small number of Victorian secondary schools set out
to be maximally inclusive in offering HLs programs in a wide variety of language –
four was not uncommon and more than 10 not unheard of – but such diversity quickly
became unsustainable and programs were scaled back (see Arber 2008; Willoughby
2014 for case studies of two such schools).

    In school contexts where one ethnic group dominates the issues of language
selection may not be so complex, but issues remain around timetabling (what subject
does the HL replace, and if it is an elective how many students will choose it over other
options?) and the highly heterogeneous language skills student in the same year level
are likely to bring to the classroom. In Australia, at least, these issues have proved to be
quite pernicious and – together with concerns about the usefulness of HL study – have
played a large role in many HL speakers choosing not to enroll in HL programs offered
in their school (Gibbons 1994; Inglis 2004; Willoughby 2014). And while integration
into the mainstream school system does generally come with some funding for

material development and teacher professional development, these are rarely sufficient to cover needs. Programs are thus often highly reliant on teachers working well above and beyond what they are paid for to develop lesson plans and resources and face a high risk of teacher burnout as a result (see e.g., Lotherington 2001).

So what is to be done? This chapter presents a possible third model for HL teaching: that of the Victorian School of Languages (VSL). The VSL is a government-run school in the Australian state of Victoria that runs classes outside of normal school hours at 40 campuses in both metropolitan and regional areas. In what follows, I present a brief overview of the history and offering of the VSL before discussing the degree to which it is able to mitigate the issues faced by HL programs when they sit fully outside the school system or are integrated completely into it.

Overview of the VSL

The VSL began life in 1935 as an experiment: a Saturday school to teach Japanese and Italian to a small cohort of interested, highly academic students at a time when French, German – and occasionally Latin and Ancient Greek – were the only foreign languages with any real presence in High Schools (Ozolins 1993). While the school had the blessing of the Education Department and modest funding from it, it owed its existence not to a special policy initiative but to successful lobbying from a small number of teachers and administrators who became the school's core staff (all part-time), and to one-off grants and in-kind support from several benefactors (Mascitelli and Merlino 2012). The courses taught in these early days were not tied to a formal curriculum or examination system but reflected the interests of the staff involved and resources available in the local community.

Over the next 30 years, the school grew in its enrolments and languages offered, and the Education department took on full financial responsibility for the school. Dutch, Russian, and Chinese were added in the immediate post-war years and Indonesian was offered from 1961 (Mascitelli and Merlino 2012). Japanese and Italian were also formalized as subjects that could be taken towards one's school leaving certificate in the mid-1930s, and Dutch was added to the mix by 1950 (Baldwin 2010). Throughout this period, the primary audience for the Saturday School of Modern Languages, as it was then known, was Anglo-Australian students interested in learning a less commonly taught language (perhaps with a view to careers in areas like foreign affairs). But by the 1960s, Australia had become a very different place following an influx of more than two million European migrants in the post-war years. These groups were increasing lobbying for government support to run HL classes and the school responded by adding classes deliberately targeted at HL speakers in the 1960s and 1970s (Leitner 2004). By 1975, the Saturday School of Modern Language offered 17 languages, and this grew further to 26 in 1981 (Mascitelli and Merlino 2012). In 1965, the school received its first full-time administrator and over the next 20 years its management was increasingly incorporated into the regular school system, culminating in foundation of the Victorian

School of Languages as an official mainstream school in 1987. Since that time, it has continued to respond community demand for HL teaching and regularly adjusts its suit of languages on offer accordingly.

An important point from this history is that the VSL has never *just* been an institution for HL teaching, and to this day it continues to offer languages such as French, German, and Latin that are taken primary by students with no heritage background who are not able to study that particular language at their current school (Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015). The Victorian curriculum also draws few formal distinctions between classes for HL speakers and those for students with no background in the language (see High Stakes Assessment of Heritage Languages: The Case of the Victorian Certificate of Education, this volume for more on this point). It is thus not possible to say with any certainty what proportion of VSL students are HL learners, though experience suggests few, if any, non-HL learners enroll in many of the less commonly taught language programs. These days the VSL also runs the Education Department's distance education language program (i.e., correspondence school) for students who are not able to attend face-to-face classes for whatever reason. This program is available in 8 languages and the audience appears to be principally students with no background in the languages in question.

From its humble beginnings, the VSL has grown to an institution that offered 49 languages in 2014 to over 15,500 students (Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015) (All subsequent figures in this section are the author's calculation from raw data available in DET 2015). Of those languages, Classical Greek was offered solely by distance education and Syriac solely to primary students, but the remaining 47 languages were offered in face-to-face classes at both primary and secondary levels. Of the 39 languages that were accredited as subjects towards the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE; our High School Diploma) in 2014 the VSL offered 33 (as well as two language which has been added subsequently), and for a number of these languages, the VSL is the sole VCE provider. In 2014, the VSL operated over 40 sites and taught over 7000 primary and 6500 secondary students in face-to-face classes.

The number of students enrolled in each language program is highly varied – Mandarin Chinese (approx 2400) and Vietnamese (approx 1800) are by far the largest programs, followed by Greek (900) and Sinhala, Arabic, Punjabi, and Turkish all with around 700 students. Together these seven languages account for 57% of the VSL's student body. The majority of languages, however, have fewer than 200 enrolments, including 14 languages taught to less than 50 students. The number of languages offered at any one campus is similarly varied, ranging from just one or two at smaller country campuses to 12 or even 14 at the larger city campuses in areas of high migrant concentration. Mandarin is easily the most popular in terms of number of sites as well as student numbers, being taught at 20 of the 40 sites. Spanish is next with 12 sites, followed by Italian (11 sites) and Greek (10 sites).

The VSL exists alongside a thriving network of after-hours Community Language Schools (CLS) in Victoria, which also receive a very small amount of government funding if they have gone through an accreditation process. There

were 172 such schools in Victoria in 2014 offering programs in 40 languages to 37,052 students (Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015). Twenty six of these languages are also taught by the VSL, and it is interesting to note that communities vary widely in where they are more likely to enroll their children. At one extreme are languages such as Tamil (7%), Greek (12%), and Mandarin Chinese (15%) where only a very small proportion of enrolled students attend the VSL. But conversely for Khmer (85%), Punjabi (79%), and Croatian (78%) provision is almost entirely through the VSL. The reasons for this uneven distribution are highly individual and beyond the scope of this chapter but will in part be down to the way the communities have assessed the relative merits and pitfalls of the VSL model, the topic of the next section.

Putting HL Education on the Mainstream School Agenda. . .

Arguably, the greatest achievement of the VSL is the extent to which it has secured a place for HL education within the mainstream school system. This achievement has by no means been achieved single-handedly: the VSL has always had a symbiotic relationship with after-hours community language schools, and ethnic organizations more generally, and it is only due to concerted lobbying on a number of fronts that HL have achieved the position that they have in the Victorian school system (see Ozolins 1993). But what the VSL has done – in small steps over a number of years – is to provide a space for the education department to experiment with language teaching offerings outside the constraints of the mainstream school system. In the early years of teaching each language, there is often little to distinguish VSL programs from what might be offered by a well-run community language program, but the involvement of the education department gives both a (modest) source of funding for curriculum development and teacher training and a pathway to scale-up successful programs – for example, by accrediting the language for VCE examination – that are often lacking for community language schools.

The VSL does not solve the problem of students needing to study an HL outside of normal school hours, but it may also help lend cache to this study. VSL students follow a state-mandated curriculum and most language can be taken as part of the high school diploma. This acts as something as a stamp of quality for parents or mainstream school teachers who might otherwise doubt the contribution HL classes make to a child's education (cf. Choudhury 2012; Otcu 2012). Since most Victorian secondary schools require students to study a language other than English (LOTE) in at least years 7–8, schools may elect to recognize the study students undertake at the VSL by exempting them from LOTE classes at their mainstream school (an option not available to community language school students). It is also near universal practice to allow students studying a language at VCE level through the VSL to take a lighter subject load at their mainstream school in compensation. Such measures help reduce the overall imposition of HL study on students' free time in the senior years and may help counteract the attrition rates HL classes typically see at this time (cf. Archer et al. 2009).

The decision to accredit a language for VCE rests with the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) – not with the VSL itself – but the VSL plays an important role in facilitating the accreditation process. At a very practical level, VSL secondary enrolments send a signal of the likely demand for VCE classes in a given language and can help the VCAA decide where to invest its resources. Most recently, we have seen this pathway accessed by Chin Hakha and Karen – two Burmese language – which the VSL have taught for several years which have been accredited for Year 12 VCE study in 2016 and 2017, respectively (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2016). The VSL is also a logical provider for any new VCE language courses that are developed (and is offering Chin Hakha and Karen at VCE), although here it is worth noting that they are not necessarily the sole possible provider. The Victorian government has a long history of innovative provision of VCE subjects and has processes in place to allow institutions other than mainstream schools to become accredited VCE providers for individual subjects (Victorian Registration and Qualifications Authority 2015). Thus students may study a subject like *Dance* through their ballet school or a language through a community language school. It would thus be incorrect to say that HL offerings at VCE have come into existence solely because of the VSL, or that the VSL goes about teaching VCE subjects in a different way to community language schools that also offer them. However, the VCE accreditation process is not trivial to negotiate. It requires a high degree of commitment and professionalization among teaching staff and is thus beyond many community language schools. The VSL thus provides a VCE pathway for language groups whose community schools are not able to – or do not want the bother of – gaining VCE accreditation.

When a government education department becomes involved in the day-to-day running of heritage language programs, thought must be given to the issue of teacher quality and training. Since it is rare for most heritage languages to find people who are fluent speakers but also fully-qualified teachers in the Australian system, this requires a degree of compromise. In Victoria, all teachers at the VSL are required to hold (at a minimum) provisional teacher registration (Victorian School of Languages 2016). This does not require teachers to have completed a full teaching qualification but does require progress be made towards full registration – for example through attendance at certified professional development courses (see Victorian Institute of Teaching 2015). Having set up these requirements, the Education Department is also then obliged to ensure that the requisite professional development courses are run, and are run to a reasonable standard. Since VSL teachers are paid, this also creates a virtuous circle around professional development and accreditation: the prospect of (continued) paid work with the VSL is an inducement to meet the provisional teacher requirements, and attendance at training is either paid or subsidized.

This training regime has also had a number of important knock-ons that improve the quality of teaching in community language schools. Most concretely, the Victorian Education Department subsidizes the attendance of CLS teachers at many of its training sessions. But the very fact that the VSL pays its staff also means that CLS need to compete for the best quality teachers. As a result, a number are no longer staffed by volunteers, and in languages that have a large community of speakers in

Australia (such as Chinese, Greek, and Turkish) schools often prominently advertize the teaching qualifications and expertise of their professional teachers as well as becoming accredited as VCE language providers. Families in turn have proven willing to accept the higher fees that these schools must charge as a worthwhile investment, particularly given the pay-off that their children may see in good marks for the language at VCE level.

One final, very pragmatic advantage the VSL offers is a guaranteed minimum standard in facilities. VSL campuses are hosted at mainstream state schools and have access to the facilities of those school, whereas the facilities of community HL schools may vary greatly. Mau et al. (2009) note that most of the UK Chinese HL schools that they surveyed rented premises from mainstream schools but were not given access to attendant equipment, such as computers, copiers, interactive white boards, and school bells. Anecdotally, this also seems to be an issue for a number of Australian CLS. Concerns about security, licensing, cost-sharing, and so on mean that in many cases it would not be practical for a mainstream school to allow a CLS hiring their venue to have full access to their equipment and technological resources, but the integration of the VSL into the mainstream system helps smooth some of these processes. As technology assumes an ever-greater role in teaching and learning, life will become more and more difficult for CLS that have to look after their own technological requirements. The technological backing the VSL receives by virtue of being part of the mainstream school system may become more and more key to its ability to offer a state-of-the-art educational experience.

But at What Cost?

From the discussion so far the VSL model might seem like it can do no wrong. Yet we have seen that two of Victoria's most widely taught HLs – Mandarin and Greek – have only a small fraction of their enrolments through the VSL. This section considers the flip side of integration into the mainstream system.

When the VSL agrees to teach a language, a decision must be made about which variety (or varieties) is taught. This becomes particularly important in the case of pluricentric languages, such as Arabic, Chinese, and Tamil, and those that have only limited codification, such as Dinka. Since the VSL is a government-run institution, it must be careful to not be seen to give preferential treatment to one particular community if there are competing standard forms. We thus see compromises in teaching approach such as the following text taken from the VCE study design for Tamil:

> As a result of the scattering of Tamil speakers across the world, there are some marked variations in the spoken language. These variations may surface in different social situations, and are acceptable, provided they occur in the appropriate context. (Collaborative Curriculum and Assessment Framework for Languages 2013)

Such compromises are admirable solutions to complex problems and have the added bonus of maximizing the potential audience for the classes. However, like any

compromise, they run the risk of leaving some parties dissatisfied. Particularly in the case where differences are politically charged – such as the use of traditional or simplified Chinese characters – a community may thus prefer to keep running their own language classes, where they can enforce their own prescriptive norms for the languages rather than submitting to a compromise version (see, e.g., Taiwanese school of Melbourne 2016).

There is also the question of what communities view as the wider purpose of HL education and how well this aligns to the goal of the state-sponsored curriculum. This may be a particular concern for communities where there is a strong link between the HL and religion, since the state curriculum is necessarily secular. The importance of Arabic for Muslims hardly needs commenting on, and it seems that some migrant-background families who speak Arabic at home regard Koranic schooling as an adequate substitute for – and certainly more important than – secular Arabic classes (Gomaa 2011). Even when classes are not explicitly religious in their focus, religious groups from all faiths have often been at the forefront of organizing language maintenance classes and many parents may appreciate the ways in which classes run by a religious organization can reinforce the morals and tenets of the faith (Gogonas 2012; Engman 2015; Perera 2016). In some cases too, a religious organization may decide to offer classes as a deliberate evangelization strategy, which seems to be the case for a number of Chinese schools linked to Christian Churches in Melbourne (e.g., Melbourne Chinese Christian Church 2015)

Even without the faith connection, families may have concerns about the pace, rigor, or content of the state-sponsored curriculum. For HL schools around the globe, building students' knowledge of the heritage culture and pride in belonging to the community are core goals (e.g., Creese et al. 2006; Mau et al. 2009; Choudhury 2012), and this may not sit so well alongside a state curriculum more focused on specific linguistic skills. Communities may also feel that they have a better understanding of the capabilities and needs of their own students than can be reflected in a more general state-sponsored curriculum and may value the opportunity to work at their own pace and with their own emphasis outside the formal school system. CLS in Victoria leverage this opportunity in different ways. Some (e.g., Pedia Greek School 2014) market themselves as following their own tailored curriculum, while others seek legitimacy by aligning their curriculum with state-sponsored standards but producing their own resources and emphasizing a particular pedagogical approach to learning (e.g., Melbourne Chinese Ethnic School 2015; Chinese Association of Victoria 2016). This sort of differentiation appears particularly common among Chinese and Greek CLS schools in Melbourne and may be spurred on by a need to distinguish one's school in a market where many competing schools operate. But the very fact that so many competing school survive suggests that there is a real market for niche operators within these large language communities.

On reviewing a list of accredited CLS in Victoria (Ethnic Schools Association of Victoria 2015), a striking feature is how many are embedded in wider ethnic associations. Such schools are arguably better placed than stand-alone institutions

like to the VSL to help second-generation children maintain intergenerational social networks and build a sense of community, and thus may be parents' first choice of provider. This is backed up by research that clearly demonstrates the benefits for language maintenance of dense and multiplex social networks – that is, ones where a group of people all know each other and have opportunities to interact in different social roles (such as classmates and friends; cf. Li 1994; Stoessel 2002; Gibbons and Ramirez 2004). Social networks centered on these organizations can also act to sanction families who elect not to send their children to classes and may thus help to drive up attendance among those who would be unlikely to attend VSL classes if left to their own devices.

In closing this review, it is also perhaps worth saying a few words about the languages that are currently taught only by the VSL or by CLSs and what that may say about the two systems. A striking point is that there are five African languages taught in CLSs that are yet to have a VSL presence (Harari, Oromo, Otuho, Shona/ Ndebele, Somali) but only one African language taught exclusively at the VSL (Amharic). Conversely there are six Burmese languages taught exclusively through the VSL, while Thai is the only language of South East Asia taught solely through accredited CLS. European languages are more evenly balanced, but the VSL has a preponderance with eight not offered elsewhere as against five in CLS sector.

Conventional wisdom in Australia is that there is a multi-year lag time between new communities arriving in the country and gaining access to language resources such as community radio broadcasting slots or HL classes (Clyne and Grey 2004; Willoughby 2014). At the same time, latency in the system often means that communities retain access to these resources well after their numbers have significantly declined. This explanation does not fit so well to this data though. The fact that the VSL teaches six different Burmese languages – and that Chin Hakha and Karen are achieving VCE accreditation – shows that it is willing and capable of working with recently arrived communities without this lag time and suggests that there may have been some productive information sharing and support across these language groups in establishing their programs. African community organizations in Melbourne have a reputation for being somewhat small and fractured (Majka 2001; Willoughby 2008), which may impact on their ability to effectively liaise with an institution like the VSL. However, it is also clear that some of the smaller communities like Otuho are not looking to formalize their teaching in a way consistent with a VSL offering (Musgrave and Hajek 2013). Ndhlovu (2013) discusses a further trend of African-background families preferring to maintain a local language in the home and send their children to classes in African languages of wider communication, such as Swahili (which the VSL does offer). Thus the imbalance of African languages at the VSL as against South-East Asian languages may have more to do with the different linguistic environment that communities are coming from and the role they see for their languages in Australia than any administrative barriers faced to gaining access to VSL classes.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to outline the VSL as a potential model for HL schools in other jurisdictions that are looking for greater integration into the mainstream school system but do not view teaching within the normal school timetable as a viable option. A prerequisite of this kind of integration is a government that is ideologically supportive of heritage language education, since the VSL is almost entirely government funded. For many communities, it may prove an uphill battle to even interest mainstream educators in HL education, but once that battle is won, the VSL model provides a way to make classes viable for communities that are too dispersed and/or heterogeneous in students' skill levels to run workable classes in the mainstream school setting. The history of the VSL – and its transition from small experiment to large multi-campus institution – also shows how one can incrementally build the involvement of mainstream education in HL education. It is doubtful that the Victorian government would have approved budget for today's VSL if a proposal for it had been presented to them from scratch 20 or 30 years ago, or that a governments not currently involved in HL education would launch into a similarly-sized program for their own jurisdiction straight away. However, getting mainstream educators and bureaucrats involved around the edges of HL – be it through running in-services, developing curricula, or offering the odd class here or there – and provides a stepping stone for greater involvement. As the VSL experience demonstrates too, the benefits may not stop at HL classes that are officially run by government educational institutions but may also flow on to community-run schools, if resources and training opportunities are shared across sectors.

While the VSL has been a positive innovation, it is important to note in closing that it is not a model that will suit all language groups. A perk, but potentially also a downside of community-run schools, is that they are beholden to no-one and can teach what they want, when they want, and how they want. Fitting in to the VSL model requires a degree of standardization and agreement around the aims and content of HL classes. For communities that have been struggling to work out how to teach their languages effectively access to a curricula with clear progression and suggested activities can be an absolute boon. However, those who have already developed an approach that is working well – or that see language teaching as a means to an ends (such as religious education) rather than an end in its own right – may be better served maintaining their autonomy and continuing to operate outside the official school system.

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High Stakes Assessment of Heritage Languages: The Case of the Victorian Certificate of Education

22

Louisa Willoughby

Abstract

The opportunity to receive credit toward a high school diploma for heritage language study has been shown to act as a major factor in motivating students to enroll in heritage language (HL) classes. Such courses can allow students to develop higher-order literacy skills in the heritage language and help prepare them to use the HL in work contexts. But the heterogeneity of the HL student body creates a number of challenges for equitable assessment.

In this chapter, I explore these issues through the lens of the Victorian Certificate of Education, where students may choose from 41 different languages on offer. Most languages in Victoria are only offered at one level only, and I show how this system has encouraged highly proficient recent migrants to enroll in these subjects, sometimes to the detriment of second-generation migrants. I also explore what is taught and assessed in these courses and the degree to which it matches the interests and needs of HL learners. I conclude with recommendations for educators looking to develop their own high-stakes courses for heritage language learners.

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Introduction

For many people involved in heritage language (HL) teaching, the ultimate goal is to see HL study gain a level of formal recognition through the mainstream school system. One of the most prestigious ways that this can occur is through students receiving credit for HL study toward their high school diploma. In the USA, this is often done through students demonstrating a certain level of proficiency in their HL (see, e.g., Wang 2015). However, in countries such as the UK, Australia, and Canada, a number of HLs exist as formal school subject for the senior secondary years, with an attendant curriculum and standardized examination system.

Including HLs as possible high school diploma subjects acknowledges the effort that students have put into HL learning over the years. Since many after-hours HL schools see their enrolments drop as students enter the teenage years and have more pressure on their time, they can also serve as an important motivation for continued attendance (Archer et al. 2009; Willoughby 2006). Many HL schools let students enroll in these subjects as soon as they are ready (i.e., regardless of chronological age), so they can offer the further advantage of letting students get a diploma subject out of the way years in advance, giving them more time to concentrate on their other studies in the final year of school, as well as pride in a precocious achievement (Lytra and Martin 2010; Mau et al.2009).

Since HL learners tend to be a cohort who bring highly varied skills to the classroom, this creates a number of issues in designing and assessing high-stakes HL programs. There are no easy answers on how to equitably assess students in these programs, and each possible model will have its own advantages and disadvantages. This chapter first gives an overview of the approach that has been taken in Victoria, Australia, before unpacking the consequences of this for student uptake and performance. The aim here is not to present a model of best practice or to chastise the Victorian system for its inadequacies. Rather, following Jaffe (2011), I seek to expose the implications of various choices in program design and thereby help schools and policy makers to better achieve their goals in running heritage language programs.

Heritage Languages in the Victorian High School Diploma

Victoria has two high school diploma options for senior secondary students, each with their own subjects. The Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) is by far the most popular and is the only one that will concern us here. The alternative Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (taken by 21% of students in 2014 (author's calculation based on figures taken from the documents available at http://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Pages/vce/statistics/2014/index.aspx)) is –as the name suggests – a vocationally oriented certificate that does not include heritage language units.

VCE students have extremely wide latitude of subject choice with around 130 subjects accredited for study (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2016). In order to graduate, students must pass 4–6 subjects in each of Year 11 and Year 12, including a certain number of units of English and Math. In Year 11 student assessment is left entirely in the hands of individual schools, but in Year 12 students are assessed via a combination of school-assessed coursework (where teachers have some latitude in designing the task, but mark according to preset standards) and centralized exams. Many schools also encourage students to begin their VCE study in Year 10 by taking one subject at Year 11 level and then taking one Year 12 subject during Year 11. The thinking behind this is that it acclimatizes students to the structure and demands of VCE units in advance and helps lighten the study load in Year 12, since one subject has already been completed.

Students can elect to study one of 41 languages as part of their VCE. These include three classical languages (Latin, Classical Hebrew, and Classical Greek), Auslan (Australian sign language), and a subject "Indigenous Languages of Victoria" (which is focused on language reclamation/revitalization) which will be of no further concern to this chapter. The remaining 36 languages are split between 12 languages where the curriculum has been developed in Victoria and is locally assessed and 24 languages that are available under the Collaborative Curriculum and Assessment Framework for Languages (CCAFL) (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2013). This national scheme has developed a common syllabus and assessment regime for heritage languages with relatively small enrolments, allowing the six Australian states to offer a wider variety of languages that would be possible if each was working individually (see Scarino 2014, pp. 70–71 for more on the CCAFL).

A hallmark of the VCE system is that there exists an underlying curriculum and assessment handbook for "second languages" in general (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2013) that specifies the sorts of content students should be studying, the structure and weighting of exams, and even criteria for judging the quality of student work. The standards in this handbook are based on what should be expected of a student who began learning the language as a novice in Year 7 – the first year of high school in Victoria. While some adjustments are made to take into account differences in, e.g., writings systems, grammar, and culture across languages, the overall effect is that French and Arabic – to take two examples – look

quite similar in what they ask of students, despite the very different profile of the average learner in each subject. The exceptions to this rule are five languages: Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese where there is an additional level (and in fact two additional levels for Chinese) to cater to more advanced HL speakers than the baseline curriculum.

Students whose HL is a language – such as Chinese or French – that is widely taught as a foreign language may have the opportunity to study their HL at VCE at their home school. However, for most languages the more common option is that they will be studied outside of normal school hours through the Victorian School of Languages (see ▶ Chap. 21, "The Victorian School of Languages as a Model for Heritage Language Education," this volume) or a community language school which has been accredited to teach VCE subjects. In 2014 just under 18% of VCE students eligible to graduate from a government school had included a language in their Year 12 subjects (Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015a, p. 39).

Who Can Take High-Stakes Classes?

HL students are notoriously heterogeneous in their skill base and this can be a particular point of concern for high-stakes assessment. Balancing the desire to reward highly proficient students for their ability with the desire to reward less-proficient students for the improvement they make over time is a complex art, and the various systems used in Victoria over the past 30 years have all been subject to complaints from some quarters that they unfairly advantage certain HL learners over others (Clyne and Kipp 1997; Elder 2000; Tamis 1993; Willoughby 2006). Arguably, it is impossible to design a system that will be fair to all learners, but detailed deconstruction of the way in which the Victorian system deals with heterogeneity may be instructive to those grappling with the issue in other contexts.

Most VCE languages are open to all students, regardless of background or prior proficiency. However, the individual languages pattern quite differently in how many HL speakers enroll. Anecdotally, we know that there exists a continuum from widely studied foreign languages like French and German where only a few students have an HL background right up to niche offerings like Khmer and Bosnian where virtually all students are HL learners to some degree. Languages also vary by the typical proficiency HL learners bring to the classroom. Here the taxonomy created by Clyne et al. (1997, p. 8) is a useful way of breaking down potential learner skills:

(1) Recent arrivals: target language has been the principal language of socialization/education.
(2) Less recent arrivals: a strong background in the target language, most/all of primary education.
(3) Good knowledge of the spoken language: preschool development and limited further development.
(4) Limited colloquial home background.

(5) Passive knowledge of the spoken language only.
(6) Limited active and/or passive knowledge of language based on direct input from only one caregiver.
(7) Variety very heavily influenced by English (see also Clyne 1997, pp. 105–106).

Clyne et al. stress that these categories form a continuum of potential language knowledge, but that the distinction between levels 2 and 3 is often quite sharp because this marks the point where students have had exposure to formal education through the heritage language and the attendant development of literacy skills and knowledge of the standard language that it brings. This creates a potential large equity concern for high-stakes HL programs if learners at levels 1 and 2 enroll in programs in significant numbers. It can also lead to a vicious circle of less-proficient students abandoning high-stakes courses because they feel that they are unfairly disadvantaged (Tamis 1993), further enhancing the perception that these classes are only for those who are quasi-native speakers.

In Victoria higher-level units were introduced in 1995 for Chinese and in 2001 for Japanese, Korean, and Indonesian. In 2005 Chinese was further subdivided into Second Language and Second Language Advanced (Baldwin 2010). From 2016 differential units have also been introduced for Vietnamese. Differential units were initially developed for Japanese, Indonesian Korean and Chinese at least in part due to the *National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools* strategy, an initiative launched in 1994 that sought to boost the teaching in Australian schools and the number of students studying these languages to high levels. It was recognized at the time what has now been proven through detailed testing: in these languages there are significant cohorts of heritage language learners as well as numerous "foreign language" learners, and the HLL would significantly outperform the foreign language learners on average if they were assessed in one class (Scarino et al. 2011). Australia also has a large international student market, where school students from around the globe come to private and government schools as full-fee paying students for the final years of high school. China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Indonesia, and Japan are some of the largest source countries for this program (Willoughby 2007), collectively supplying the Victorian school system with thousands of native speakers who might take these language units.

Potential students of Chinese, Indonesian, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese are restricted to enrolling "first language" units if they have had more than 7 years of education using that language as the language of instruction. Chinese also has a "second language advanced" category for students who have lived in Chinese-speaking countries for at least 3 years or been educated in Mandarin for 1 year. These higher-level units thus only target the most fluent HL students: in Clyne's terms only level 1 students and the occasional level 2 student would have to take the higher-level units. The second language units for these languages thus remain hugely heterogeneous and this has become a particular issue for Chinese. It is estimated that seven out of eight VCE Chinese Second Language students are HL speakers of a Chinese variety, and widespread concerns remain about how to equitably assess the

very different skills these learners bring to the language classroom (Orton 2008; Scarino et al. 2011).

The VCE system assumes that students bring at least 4 years of prior study of the language to the Year 11 classroom, but there is in fact no requirement for prior formal study and indeed no requirement to have completed the Year 11 language course before enrolling in Year 12. Beykont (2012) recounts that this creates a problematic situation for Turkish (which is doubtless repeated for other HLs) in that many HL learners join classes in Year 11 thinking that they will perform well because they use the language in daily life, only to discover that they are not strong in the specific skills required by the VCE curriculum. This was a particular point of annoyance for the students in Beykont's study who had been diligently attending Turkish classes throughout high school, as they felt that their VCE classes were often dumbed down because of this influx of new students who had to be taught things the diligent students had already mastered.

Who Chooses to Study

Having explained the options available, it is instructive to look at statistics to see who is taking up the opportunity to study an HL at VCE. While it is not possible to separate out HL learners from "foreign" language learners in many languages, the following table shows a number of relevant trends in VCE HL study. Note that "Unit 4" means the second semester of Year 12, i.e., the final unit of study in the VCE. It is also important to note that this data applies only to students studying at government schools. Victoria has a robust Catholic and independent (private) school sector, and only around 57% of Year 12 students attend government schools (Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015b). The full number of students who studied each language in a given year can be seen by accessing assessment reports from the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authorities website: http://www.vcaa.vic.edu. au/Pages/vce/statistics/2015/statssect2.aspx.

A number of interesting points emerge from this table. The single most popular language unit taken is Chinese First Language (640 students), demonstrating the clear demand and need for Chinese units specifically targeting HL learners at different levels. This also stands in stark contrast to the enrolment numbers for other first language units, which were all taken by less than 40 government school students. It is also noteworthy that first language enrolments for Indonesian have plummeted over the years: when the subject was introduced in 2001, it had more than 200 students enrolled across government, Catholic, and independent schools, whereas in 2014 there were only 18 (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2001a, 2014a). Japanese First Language has also seen enrolments halve since 2001 (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2001b, 2014b), calling into question the continued need to maintain the first/second language distinction for these languages.

French, Indonesian, Japanese, and German are all very widely taught foreign languages in Victorian secondary schools (DET 2015a), and many of the students

Table 1 Number of government school students who completed a VCE unit 4 languages course, by year undertaken (reproduced with permission from Department of Education and Training [Victoria] 2015a, pp. 38–39. Based on raw data provided by the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority)

	Year unit 4 undertaken			
Language	Year 10	Year 11	Year 12	Total
Chinese (Mandarin)	**82**	**928**	**405**	**1,415**
Chinese First Language	17	463	160	640
Chinese Second Language Advanced	27	160	80	267
Chinese Second Language	38	305	165	508
French	4	59	565	628
Japanese	**3**	**74**	**404**	**481**
Japanese First Language	1	26	11	38
Japanese Second Language	2	48	393	443
Vietnamese	8	189	110	307
Indonesian	**0**	**48**	**252**	**300**
Indonesian First Language	0	7	10	17
Indonesian Second Language	0	41	242	283
German	1	39	246	286
Italian	0	19	210	229
Greek	3	66	66	135
Turkish	0	31	65	96
Arabic	0	36	38	74
Korean	**2**	**47**	**16**	**65**
Korean First Language	1	12	7	20
Korean Second Language	1	35	9	45
Persian	0	26	39	65
Other	22	248	196	466
Total	**125**	**1,810**	**2,612**	**4,547**
Percentage	**2.8**	**39.8**	**57.4**	**100.0**

who have taken those languages at VCE would not be HL learners. For the other languages in Table 1, however we can say that most – if not all – VCE students would have an HL background. For languages such as Vietnamese, this will include many speakers at Clyne's levels 1 and 2, whereas for Italian and Greek, the majority are now second-, third-, and even fourth-generation speakers who may have little or no exposure to the language outside the classroom. We get more of a sense of this spread by looking at data in the table on whether students were in Year 10, 11, or 12 when they completed their final language unit, as it can serve as a proxy for determining the proportion of highly proficient students taking the unit. Internationally, we know that early completion is popular among proficient HL speakers in jurisdictions that allow it (Lytra and Martin 2010), and we see this too in the First Language and Second Language Advanced units in Table 1: the clear majority of students finish their language study in Year 11 or even Year 10. Table 1 also shows high rates of early completion for VCE Vietnamese and Chinese and Korean Second Languages, suggesting that – regardless of the title of these units – they have a large

Table 2 Top eight languages spoken at home by Victorians aged under 20 (Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011)

Language	# Speakers under 20
English	1,344,135
Vietnamese	25,296
Arabic	22,623
Mandarin	21,334
Greek	18,306
Cantonese	14,429
Italian	9,168
Turkish	9,106

proportion of strong language speakers in them (and this issue has now resulted in the introduction of a First Language unit for Vietnamese from 2016). For Greek, Persian, Arabic, and "other" languages in the table, there is a fairly even split on whether the final language unit is taken in Year 11 or Year 12, suggesting a higher proportion of students in these units who may have some HL background but are not highly proficient. And finally, the widely taught foreign languages have relatively few students taking the language early, in keeping with their profile of proportionally few HL enrolments.

One can get a loose sense of the relative popularity of HL study by comparing enrolment numbers in Table 1 with census figures in Table 2 showing the most widely spoken home languages for Victorians aged under 20.

Census data preserves a distinction between the different varieties of Chinese, but only Mandarin Chinese is available at VCE level. If the speaker numbers of Mandarin and Cantonese (never mind other Chinese varieties) are combined, "Chinese" becomes the most widely spoken home language other than English for the under 20s, mirroring its popularity at VCE level. For the other languages, we can see that Italian does somewhat better in VCE enrolments than one might predict based on the number of home-language speakers (but see the comment above around the large number of students of Italian heritage), and Arabic has somewhat low take-up rates. While it is difficult to prove empirically, Arabic may be suffering particularly from concerns about Australian-born students being disadvantaged if they take this unit. In recent years, Australia has had a significant refugee intake from Iraq and South Sudan (with many of the South Sudanese having lived in Egypt for years before resettlement in Australia), boosting the number of young people highly proficient in Arabic living in Victoria. VCE Arabic can look like a very attractive and easy subject for these highly proficient students, but their presence in large numbers makes it hard for students with a more limited background in the language to do well (Willoughby 2006).

In any high-stakes context, there will be students who choose their subjects around what they think will maximize their overall score or open up opportunities, rather than necessarily where their interests lie. HL study can benefit from this thinking when students feel the subject offers an "easy A," but often seems to lose out to concerns that the HL is not useful enough to warrant study or will not be

assessed favorably (Gibbons 1994; Papademetre and Routoulas 2001; Willoughby 2006). In Victoria these issues become more acute because of the way VCE subjects are scored and our tertiary admission processes work. For each VCE subject, raw grades go through a complex scaling process to give a final study score, which is essentially a ranking of the student's performance in the subject relative to their classmates and adjusted for the difficulty of the subject as a whole. This can lead to a student who has been performing well in their letter grades receiving a quite low study score if they are part of a large cohort of students who have been excelling. This issue is compounded because of the weighting grades have in the Australian tertiary admission process. Students wishing to go on to higher education apply for an Australian Tertiary Entrance Rank (ATAR) score, which uses a formula to add together the student's study scores and rank their performance on a scale of 0–99.95. This score is the primary way that Australian university courses decide which of their eligible applicants to admit: portfolios, admission essays, extracurricular activities, or aptitude tests are quite rarely used outside creative arts courses (though this is starting to change, cf. Jacks 2016). And even though a score of 95.00 indicates that a student is in the top 5% of high school graduates, it is too low to get admitted into dozens of popular courses, making university admission a potentially cutthroat process.

Given the Victorian ranking and scaling process, it is easy to see how and why even quite minor assessment inequities might be leveraged to make HL study seem very (un)attractive to students depending on their prior proficiency. However, it is important not to overstate the degree to which these concerns drive HL enrolment. In Willoughby's (2006) study exploring why 15 HL speakers chose (not) to study their HL at VCE level, only three students saw favorable assessment as a motivating factor to study the language, and one student took her HL despite being clearly disadvantaged by the assessment regime. Two other students persisted with VCE study of the HL – both of whom spoke Chinese. For one student, economic arguments about the utility of Chinese in business were her primary motivation, whereas the other was somewhat vague on her motivation, but factors such as connection to roots and pride in finishing the whole curriculum were at play. Of the nine students who chose not to complete VCE units, none saw the way the subject is marked as the primary issue. Instead, they focused on their lack of need for high-level HL proficiency in their lives in Australia and the fact that they were "lazy" and felt that studying a language takes more effort than taking subjects in English.

Designing Successful High-Stakes HL Classes

The detailed Victorian case study shows how one jurisdiction has been able to introduce a wide number of HLs into the high school diploma curriculum and the successes and challenges that stem from the model that they have chosen. Under-pinning this discussion too are broader questions about how we conceptualize equity and the purpose of high-stakes HL classes that are fundamental to how we design and evaluate the success of any new programs, to which the chapter now turns.

Fairness and Justice in High-Stakes HL Classes

In the language testing literature, it is common to conceptualize equity concerns in any high-stakes testing on two dimensions: the degree to which the test itself is an accurate and unbiased measure of the test-takers' skills (*fairness*) and the social consequence given to test scores (*justice*) (Karami 2013; McNamara and Ryan 2011; Shohamy 1997). In the heritage language context, both of these areas may be potentially problematic, but the Victorian example suggests that issues of justice have the larger impact on student enrolment.

In many ways, justice concerns are an inescapable consequence of the high-stakes assessment context. Spolsky (1995, p. 1) notes that "from its beginnings, testing has been exploited also as a method of control and power – as a way to select, to motivate, to punish." High-stakes HL programs in many jurisdictions – including Victoria – owe their genesis at least in part to a desire to counteract injustices in how schools assessed HL learners more generally, by providing an avenue for formally recognizing their bilingualism as well as a chance to demonstrate the general aptitude without being constrained by their English competence (Gorter and Yağmur 2008; Ozolins 2004). If we take this view of HL classes, then the "problem" of students taking a class for an easy A disappears completely – the A becomes a deserved reward for a student who faces unfair challenges in other aspects of their education (cf. teacher in Willoughby 2014, p. 279). The Victorian system does well on this social justice front because of the breadth of languages covered and the fact that – on paper at least – it sets the same expectations for proficiency in each second language. Philosophically, the Victorian system sends the message that proficiency in, say Khmer, is just as valuable and just as much of an achievement as proficiency in French. But this message is diluted somewhat by issues in subject scaling discussed above that mean in practice high-level proficiency in French is likely to score better than the same abilities in Khmer.

One approach to dealing with justice concerns in HL contexts is to think more carefully about how programs are designed and assessed to ensure that we are comparing apples with apples. In the Australian context, Angela Scarino and colleagues have conducted extensive work on the assessment of Asian languages (e.g., Elder et al. 2012; Scarino 2012; Scarino et al. 2011; Scrimgeour 2012), including benchmarking student achievement for learners with different levels of exposure to the language and developing guidelines for grouping students into different streams based on this exposure. This work also ties into reforms being ushered in as Australia adopts a national curriculum for the Foundation – Year 10 school years, which will include specific heritage language learner streams for a number of languages (see Scarino 2014 for more on this point). Alternatively, justice concerns could be mitigated by redesigning high-stakes assessment of HL to place less weight on ranking student performance. If the aim in high-stakes HL study is simply to acknowledge and reward students' HL skills, this could be done by issuing simple pass/fail grades on HL units. Such a system gives equal reward to the recent migrant who breezes through and the dedicated HL learner who slogged for years to be able to pass and saves examiners the complex moral decision of rating

who of the two is the more worthy learner. One could also argue too – *à la* Knight (2002) – that the justice issues inherent in HL assessment are symptomatic of a wider crisis in assessment in academia, where far too much weight is placed on decontextualized numerical scores. In such a view, tinkering with the way HLs are assessed is akin to shuffling deck chairs on the titanic and our real business if we are concerned about justice is in lobbying for systemic change.

Revisiting Purpose or the Value of Blue-Sky Thinking

As Willoughby (2014) notes, a fundamental issue for HL programs in the senior years of high school is that they are often somewhat unclear about their overarching aim and purpose. Internationally, policy documents that establish HL programs often have a lot to say about the social role the program will fill – such as promoting pride in students' heritage or intercultural understanding – but much less about the sorts of academic or linguistic skills the program will impart (Gorter and Yağmur 2008). When HL programs slot in to a pre-existing language teaching structure or curriculum, like the Victorian system, this solves the question of aims and purpose on one level, as they are appropriated from the wider curriculum. However, it can mean that questions about whether this model serves student needs well go unanswered and may constrain thinking on what is possible in heritage language education.

   The fact that Victoria is able to offer VCE units in 41 languages is intimately tied to the use of a common curriculum for second language units. This system greatly simplifies the process of adding a language when a new community emerges and seeks VCE accreditation for their language, relative to a system where curricula are developed from scratch for each language. But the downside to such a system is that all HL classes retain a very strong focus on developing students' mastery of the formal, literate standard form of the language, regardless of how well this suits the needs and motivations of the learner cohort. This issue crystallizes if one considers the opening sentences of the study guide for Chin Hakha, a minority language spoken in Myanmar and India that has undergone limited codification:

> The language to be studied is modern standard Chin Hakha. The written form is in the Roman alphabet. Although regional variation in pronunciation is acceptable, students are expected to use the modern Chin Hakha spoken and written forms.(Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2014c, p. 5)

   Given that students taking this subject are primarily recently arrived refugees from Myanmar, it is legitimate to ask whether such a focus is really the best use of limited HL education classroom time. Undeniably, any HL education is beneficial for helping recent migrant children continue to learn at grade level and develop their cognitive-academic proficiency in English (cf. Cummins 2005). From that perspective it is great that the VCE offers Chin Hakha, as well as many other HLs. But if thinking moves to the next level to ask not "can we find a space for HL teaching?" to "what kind of HL teaching would be of most benefit to these students?", then different possibilities open up.

Teaching HL as subjects similar to any foreign language in the curriculum requires teachers and students to adopt a mind-set that the HL and the majority language of the society are two largely separate codes: what Cummins (2008) refers to as the "two solitudes" assumption. Yet this is very different to the ways in which HL speakers often use their languages in everyday life; where translanguaging and other forms of language mixing are commonplace. Translanguaging provides a huge challenge for high-stakes HL teaching contexts, and I am not yet aware of any assessment regimes that attempt to integrate it. If and how this might be done, or HL education recrafted to better reflect the realities of how students use language in their daily life, clearly remains an area ripe for future research.

Blue-sky thinking about what sort of education really benefits HL speakers the most in the senior secondary context may lead different communities down very different paths. In some contexts, students may respond well to programs that engage with how the language is used in their local community (Helmer 2007), while in others bilingual or CLIL instruction (content language integrated learning, i.e., the teaching of subject matter through the HL) may be preferred. And of course some students will continue to value programs that give them access to the formal written standard form of the language – particularly if there are clear employment, education, or business opportunities associated with that mastery (i.e., working as an interpreter, attending college overseas). Balancing competing interests and different learner skill sets will always be a challenge in creating high-stakes HL courses, but getting it right offers rich rewards as courses become more sustainable in enrolment numbers and more enriching for students who take them.

Conclusion

A paradox faced by many HL educators is that – for all the work that goes into creating HL classes – relatively few students choose to enroll in them (Ducar 2008; Ingold et al. 2002; Liu et al. 2011). This case study of HL in the Victorian Certificate of Education confirms this general trend and showed how concerns about equity in assessment contribute to this problem in the Victorian case. But equity is only part of the picture: students are also concerned about the relevance of HL skills for their future lives and concerned about fitting an HL into a limited selection of high school subject.

This chapter has showed the need to look in detail at course design and assessment practices in order to understand why high-stakes HL classes may look attractive to some HL learners but not others in a given context. Extrinsic motivation will always have some influence on student performance in formal HL classes, but in high-stakes contexts, extrinsic concerns such as "how is this marked?" and "how easy will it be for me to get an A?" rise to the fore. Program designers in these contexts thus need to be particularly conscious of the cumulative effect many small decisions can have on the number and type of students who take up HL options. Moving to a deeper level, they may also benefit from more critical reflection on the overall aims and purpose of high-stakes programs. A classic failing in language

policy and planning is that small decisions in program design end up undermining the effectiveness of well-intentioned policies, and high-stakes program designers may do well to reflect on whether the kinds of students they were hoping to attract are indeed the ones who are entering their program.

Cross-References

▶ A Reconsideration of the Distinctive Role of Heritage Languages in Languages Education in Australia

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Languages and Learning in South African Classrooms: Finding Common Ground with North/South Concerns for Linguistic Access, Equity, and Social Justice in Education

23

Margie Probyn

Abstract

At first glance, the term "heritage language" as applied in North America and Europe does not appear to relate directly to the postcolonial multilingual scenario in South Africa. Here the term "heritage languages" is applied narrowly to languages not declared official languages, such as minority indigenous languages, nonindigenous languages from Asia and Europe, and languages used for religious purposes. Such "heritage languages" are protected in terms of the South African Constitution. In addition, the linguistic ecology in South Africa is very different in that multilingualism is considered a defining feature of being South African, and there are 11 official languages, nine of which are indigenous African languages and two are the former colonial languages of English and Afrikaans. However, the global hegemony of English has meant that despite it being the home language of less than 9% of the population, it continues to dominate the political economy and, as such, skews choices in education away from using indigenous languages as media of instruction, beyond the first 3 years of schooling. This has the unintended consequence of limiting epistemic access for the majority of African language students in township and rural schools. In addition, research has shown that in urban multilingual schools that were desegregated postapartheid, the hegemony of English persists, and the linguistic resources that African language students bring to school are ignored and even suppressed. Thus the underlying concerns of the advocates of bilingual or heritage language education in the global north do find common ground with the concerns around language and education for African language speakers in South Africa. This paper explores language-in-education policy (LiEP) and classroom languaging

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practices in South Africa within the context of a shared North/South commitment to linguistic access, equity, and social justice in education.

Contents

Introduction: Heritage Languages in the Context of South Africa

South Africa is a multilingual country with 11 languages recognized as official languages in the postapartheid constitution of 1996 (Republic of South Africa 1996) (see Fig. 1). As with other postcolonial countries, the linguistic ecology of South Africa is very different to that of North America and Europe, in terms of the relative status and numerical strength of languages. With colonialism, European languages were imposed as languages of political control and power over African languages, which nevertheless continued to operate robustly at community level. This is the situation that pertains in South Africa today, where English is the home language of less than 10% of the population (Statistics South Africa 2012) but dominates the political economy and as such is a key determinant of upward mobility. The geographic distribution of languages reflects the apartheid past, when the state imposed racial and linguistic segregation as a means of political domination.

Heugh (2014) drawing on Heine (1997) makes the point that in Africa, local languages function along horizontal axes, for the purposes of social cohesion and cultural expression; and former colonial languages function along vertical axes for the purposes of the formal economy and politics and are generally learned in school.

This is a rather different linguistic situation to that of the global north where the current discussion around heritage language education and research has originated and where heritage language education may refer to both languages as object or medium of learning. There appear to be a wide range of definitions of the term "heritage language" in the literature coming from the global north, but broadly it is used to refer to languages other than the dominant societal language or languages and may be languages of immigrant or minority indigenous groups (Montrul 2016). Baker (2001) makes the point that in the UK, the preferred term is "community language" on the grounds that "heritage language" appears to point to the past rather than the future.
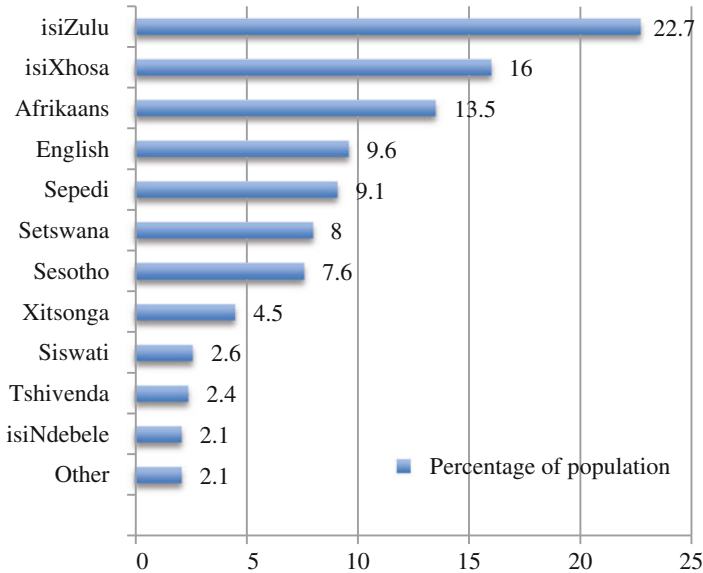
Fig. 1 Home languages of South African population, Census 2011 (*Source*: Statistics South Africa 2012)

So while in the global north, heritage or community languages are minority languages both in terms of status and numbers of speakers; in the postcolonial multilingual context of a country such as South Africa, indigenous languages are de facto minority languages in relation to English in terms of political and economic status but dominant numerically in terms of numbers of speakers (see Heugh (2014) for a detailed analysis and comparison between the linguistic contexts of the global north and the global south).

In South Africa, the term "heritage language" is not one that one hears very often. Where it is used, it has been applied fairly narrowly to a group of languages spoken by minority groups and defined primarily in terms of being "other than the official languages." In the report of the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) (LANGTAG 1996), set up by the newly elected democratic government to develop a coherent language plan for South Africa, an argument was made for the use of the term "heritage language" rather than "nonofficial languages" or "minority languages" as these both were deemed to have negative connotations; and the option of "community languages" was rejected too on the grounds that this was confusing as it could apply to any language. The LANGTAG report distinguished between:

- *African heritage languages*, including indigenous minority languages such as Nama, Khoi, and San languages that are under threat of extinction, indigenous African languages that were not declared official, and languages spoken by recent immigrants from other parts of Africa

- *Asian heritage languages* referred to those originating from slave communities dating from over 300 years ago (Malay), long-standing economic immigrants from India (e.g., Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu), and more recent economic immigrants from India and China
- *European heritage languages* with substantial immigrant communities of several generations, e.g., French, German, Greek, and Portuguese
- *Religious heritage languages* such as Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Arabic

The South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996) guarantees the protection and respect for all languages, including nonofficial languages, and the development of all official languages, as well as the heritage Khoi, Nama, and San languages.

The South African national curriculum (Department of Education, RSA 2005) provides for the option of "nonofficial languages," which may be studied as subjects, and these include Arabic, French, German, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Latin, Modern Greek, Portuguese, Spanish, Tamil, Telegu, and Urdu. As can be seen, there is a considerable overlap between these "nonofficial languages" and the "heritage languages" identified in the LANGTAG report (LANGTAG 1996). However, such curriculum offerings depend on student demand and availability of teachers, and the numbers of students in state schools who study "nonofficial" languages as subjects are a small minority of the population.

In addition, heritage languages or nonofficial languages in South African education have been offered by independent schools in a variety of guises, both in terms of languages as objects and media of learning, but this has depended on the motivation and available resources in those language communities. So there are independent schools offering European heritage languages such as German and French schools where German and French are learned as subjects as well as being the media of instruction. In addition, there are independent Jewish and Muslim schools that offer Hebrew and Arabic as subjects and independent religious schools that operate after school hours and offer classes in Hebrew and Arabic for religious purposes. These schools also cater for a small minority of students.

Thus, the question of heritage language education in South Africa has a fairly narrow focus and does not have the same contested political overtones as has been the case in the global north, as described by Cummins (2005), Garcia (2005), Hornberger (2005), Wiley (2005), and others, where the term has been strategically coopted as a means of opening up alternative spaces for what hitherto has been termed bilingual education. It is here that there appears to be some intersection with the language-in-education debates, policies, and practices in South Africa and other postcolonial countries in terms of the mutual concerns for access, equity, and social justice in education, in contexts where the students' mother tongue or home language is different to the dominant societal language and language medium of the school. This is a situation that continues to pose barriers to learning for the majority of South African learners and will be explored in the balance of this chapter.

Language-in-Education Policy in South Africa

Language policy and practices are embedded in historical-political-social-economic contexts and none more so than in South Africa. In colonial times, for over 300 years under the Dutch and then English rule, and then under the ethnically white apartheid government from 1948 to 1994, language-in-education policies were used to assert political dominance, by including or excluding certain language groups. So for 146 years of Dutch colonial rule (from 1652), Dutch was the language of government, trade, and education until it gave way to English as the official language under the British colonial government from 1814. English then replaced Dutch as the medium of instruction in education, and children of Dutch descent were explicitly forbidden to use their mother tongue while at school (see Harrison 1981, pp. 48–56). In 1910, with the political union of the former Afrikaner republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, the political boundaries of modern day South Africa were established, and English and Dutch were both proclaimed official languages, with Afrikaans (a local creole language derived from Dutch) replacing Dutch in 1925. Separate schools were established for English and Afrikaans children, who learned though the medium of their mother tongue and learned both English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) as subjects.

In parallel, during the colonial period, missionaries undertook the transcription and codification of indigenous African languages and established schools for African children living in the vicinities of mission stations, as a means to the conversion of the African population to Christianity and to advance the "civilizing" mission of the colonial governments (Hartshorne 1992, p. 220). The education of African children, usually though the medium of English or Afrikaans, remained under the control of mission schools until the apartheid era, when in 1953 mission schools were closed, and this function was taken over by the state who introduced "Bantu Education" – a separate and deliberately inferior system designed to keep African students undereducated and subservient (Hartshorne 1992; Heugh 2002, p. 172). Under Bantu Education, African languages were introduced as media of instruction as far as the eighth grade, with a switch to English medium of instruction thereafter. This move was vigorously opposed by the African population, who correctly perceived this as part of the broader plan to classify and divide the population ethnically, linguistically, and spatially in every sphere of life, in order to maintain white political domination. One result of this has been that the question of African languages as media of instruction carries the heavy stigma of this link to apartheid policies (Kwamangamalu 2004; National Education Policy Investigation 1992).

Another result of the linguistic and spatial segregation under apartheid is that the natural processes of urbanization were artificially restricted, retarding the free movement of people and languages. So the geographic distribution of African languages tends to reflect this past, and there are still strong geographic bases for languages, with relatively monolingual communities in rural areas, and truly multilingual communities found mainly in the townships of the economic hub of Gauteng Province, which historically drew African men to work on the gold mines. This has

implications for the kinds of language policies and practices that are possible in schools in these different linguistic contexts.

Language policies played a critical role in triggering a watershed event in the struggle against apartheid: the 1976 Soweto student uprising which was sparked by a proposal by the apartheid government to introduce Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction alongside English, for half of the curriculum in African schools, from year seven on. Protesting students were shot and killed by police – 12-year-old Hector Petersen being the first to fall. The protests and violence spread throughout the country, and thousands of African students left the country to join the liberation movement in exile. As a result of these protests, the apartheid government was forced to back down on the proposal for Afrikaans medium of instruction, and thereafter in African schools, students switched to English in year five, after an initial period of instruction in their home language. In addition African students were required to learn an African language (usually their mother tongue) and English as subjects. Inevitably, the question of the language medium in education remains highly emotive, politicized, and fiercely contested (see Hartshorne 1992 for a full account).

Although African students had fought for an earlier switch to English medium instruction, the political system of apartheid and the demographics of the country ensured that most African students had very little exposure to English materials or English speakers outside the classroom, and so most students were not sufficiently proficient in English to cope with the sudden switch to English medium instruction in year five. Macdonald's (1990a) seminal research documented the challenges for year five (Standard 3) African language students in accessing the curriculum though English, challenges that she likened to "swimming up a waterfall" (Macdonald 1990b). Macdonald found that by the end of year four, after learning English as a subject, students at best would have an English vocabulary of approximately 800 words, but that this fell far short of the vocabulary requirements of approximately 5000 words considered necessary to cope with learning through the medium of English in year five (Macdonald and Burroughs 1991).

As Macdonald (1990c) noted, teachers' classroom practices were molded by the linguistic limitations of their students, and so teachers and students frequently switched to their common mother tongue to communicate lesson content and resorted to writing up simplified notes on the chalkboard for students to copy and learn by rote to cope with assessment in English (see also Probyn 2001). Under these conditions, the language medium posed a barrier to real learning and contributed to academic failure and high dropout rates (Heugh 2014). Very similar challenges have been noted in the literature in other postcolonial contexts (see, e.g., Alidou and Brock-Utne 2011; Arthur 1996; Ferguson 2003; Lin 1996; Martin 1996; Martin-Jones 2000; Rubagumya 1994).

After the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the newly elected government introduced policies aimed at dismantling and transforming the apartheid education system, with the specific goals of access, equity, and redress (Department of Education 1995). In line with these goals, the new language-in-education policy (LiEP) (Department of Education 1997) recognized multilingualism as a "global

norm" and a defining characteristic of being South African and aimed to contribute to the building of a nonracial nation by promoting "communication across the barriers of colour, language and region" (p. 1). To this end, students were required to study at least two official South African languages as subjects, one of which should be the "language of learning and teaching" (LoLT).

The LiEP was less clear on the question of the choice of LoLT: the policy was informed by theories of bilingual education drawn from the global north, in particular the work of Jim Cummins (see Cummins 1979) which argued for the importance of developing and maintaining students' home languages, as a basis for learning additional languages. Accordingly, the LiEP advocated school language policies that were based on "additive bilingualism" as these were considered to be most supportive of "general conceptual growth among learners" (Department of Education 1997, p. 1). Logically, for the approximately 80% of students in South Africa whose mother tongue is an indigenous African language, this would mean adopting policies that supported learners' home languages as LoLT beyond the first few years of schooling.

The intention of the LiEP was that schools should be empowered to develop language policies that fitted their particular linguistic contexts, and so decision-making on school language policies was devolved to school governing bodies, composed of representatives of parents, teachers, and, in secondary schools, students. However, the progressive intentions of the policy ran up against a number of obstacles – material and attitudinal – and so instead of schools developing policies that recognized students' home languages as linguistic capital, and as resources for learning, the trend became for schools to introduce English as LoLT even earlier than had been the case under apartheid (Probyn et al. 2002).

The obstacles to developing policies that extended the use of the students' mother tongues as languages of learning and teaching included the following: South Africa's reentry into the global economy and the dominance of English as a key global language for trade and communication, amplified the existing status of English as the language of education, and as a gatekeeper to economic, social, and political power. So parents correctly saw the acquisition of English as a means out of the poverty trap – as a teacher put it bluntly, "English puts bread on the table" (Probyn et al. 2002, p. 39). In addition, English was perceived as a lingua franca in the liberation struggle and as such had accrued added status, and as already mentioned, the notion of African languages as LoLT bore the fatal stigma of apartheid policies.

However, the nub of the problem has been the common sense perception that time on task and early submersion in English is the most effective way to acquire English, and this belief, coupled with the real need to acquire English, appears to have overridden the paradoxical reality that such policies actually have limited learners' access to the content of the curriculum and have instead blocked them from the desired upward mobility. The somewhat counterintuitive research evidence of the benefits of mother tongue instruction for learning both content *and* a language of broader communication such as English (see, e.g., Bambgose 1991 in Nigeria; Thomas and Collier 2002 in the USA; and Taylor and Coetzee 2013 in South Africa) have not been effectively disseminated or fully understood even

among the education community, beyond the circles of applied linguists and language activists, let alone by the key decision-makers in school governing bodies.

Material constraints on decisions in favor of mother tongue LoLT have included the lack of materials to teach content subjects in indigenous African languages beyond the Foundation Phase (ending in Grade 3). But without systems level policy making in this regard, publishers are naturally unwilling to commit resources to developing such materials without guaranteed markets – a Catch 22 situation indeed. A related perception is that African languages do not have the terminology necessary for expressing certain specialized knowledge. However, that is a perception that is overturned by the example of the corpus planning for Afrikaans, which was deliberately developed so as to be able to express specialized academic knowledge.

Under apartheid, state schools were segregated on the basis of race and language, so there were separate schools and education departments based on the racial classifications of "black," "colored" (i.e., mixed race), Indian, and "white" students and a further linguistic subdivision of separate schools for "white" English and Afrikaans speakers. Since the dismantling of apartheid education, the typical linguistic scenarios have shifted in some schools: formerly "white," "colored," and "Indian" schools, mainly in urban areas, now have relatively diverse student populations, but these are not necessarily matched with similar levels of diversity in terms of teaching staff. With some notable exceptions, such schools have tended to fall back on assimilationist policies and practices, with little acknowledgment of the linguistic capital of African language speakers, either in the formal curriculum or in the classroom practices (McKinney 2017; Soudien 2004). However, as could be expected, the shifts in student demographics have been along pathways of upward mobility (Soudien 2004, p. 89), and so there has been very little change in the racial and linguistic composition of formerly black schools in townships and the rural former homelands, which cater for the majority of students in the country. These schools still carry the historic disadvantages of the apartheid era, in terms of inferior resourcing and teacher training, and so little has changed for students in these contexts: "huge disparities between schools largely continue to reflect the country's history of discrimination" (Taylor and Schindler 2016) including the challenges of learning through the medium of a poorly acquired additional language.

Policies are made and then remade on the ground (Ball 1994) and so it is with the LiEP, where the policy intentions have been unconsciously subverted in the various political, social, and economic contexts in which they play out. The net result is that currently the majority of English-speaking students and many Afrikaans-speaking students benefit from learning though the medium of their home language throughout their schooling, while African language students, comprising 80% of the school population, learn though the medium of English from Grade 4 or even earlier and so effectively have to perform "double the work" (Short and Fitzsimmons 2007) – compounding and perpetuating the historic disadvantages of apartheid.

Large-scale international systemic assessments such as the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) (Howie 2001; Reddy 2006; Reddy et al. 2012), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) (Howie et al. 2008; Howie et al. 2012), and Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring

Educational Quality (SACMEQ) (Moloi and Chetty 2010) have consistently shown that while a minority of middle-class students achieve results comparable to international standards, the majority of South African learners underperform in mathematics, science, and reading literacy relative to their peers in other countries.

Fleisch (2008) has noted that this bimodal distribution of learning achievement reflects the reality of two parallel systems of education: the first system consisting mainly of well-resourced former white and Indian schools serving middle-class children, while the second system consisting mainly of under-resourced former "colored" and black schools serving the majority of working-class and poor children. According to Taylor and Schindler (2016), this gap in learning achievement between middle-class and poor students is equivalent to almost 2 years' worth of learning by the end of Grade 5 – despite the stated intentions and efforts of government to transform the education system in line with the goals of equity, access, and redress.

The mismatch between students' home language and the language of assessment has frequently been proposed as a key factor contributing to this achievement gap (Howie 2001; Prinsloo and Rogers 2013), although as researchers have noted, this factor covaries with low socioeconomic levels, making it difficult to disentangle LoLT factors (Reddy 2006). And indeed the PIRLS assessments have shown that the majority of South African students perform very poorly in reading literacy even in their home language (Howie et al. 2008; Howie et al. 2012) – supporting Murray's (2002) observation that issues around literacy have been "eclipsed by concerns around multilingualism" (p. 443).

The section that follows provides a broad overview of South African research has explored issues around language and access to education and questions of language, identity, and language ideology in postapartheid South Africa.

Language and Education: South African Research

The education research community in South Africa has long recognized that the issue of language and learning is central to the academic success or failure of students. The influential National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) report on language (1992) that was designed to guide language-in-education policy for the new democratic South Africa has this to say in its introduction:

> That language in education policy affects learners' opportunities for cognitive development is probably taken for granted by most educationists, both policy makers and teachers in classrooms. Less widely recognised are the effects of such policy on individuals' and groups' sense of identity and relative worth, and on the shaping of socio-economic and political power relationships in arenas outside the school. (NEPI 1992, p. 1)

This section provides an overview of some of the key research findings relating to language and learning in this multilingual context: small-scale classroom-based studies that have described the impact of language policies in terms of the challenges of teaching in learning through an additional language, classroom languaging

practices and issues around identity and linguistic power relations, and more recent large-scale quantitative studies associated with national and international assessments that have attempted to isolate and quantify the causal factors contributing to the persistent and stubborn educational inequalities, so as to be able to identify points of leverage and paths to greater equity in the education system(s).

Many of the research studies into language and learning have been small-scale case studies and so suffer from the problem of generalizability. Nevertheless, their findings have accumulated and converged to provide a broadly consistent picture of teaching and learning in classrooms (Hoadley 2010).

Many qualitative classroom-based studies have built on the research of Macdonald (1990a) in township and rural contexts, which are largely linguistically homogeneous and where there is a switch in the official LoLT from the learners' home language to English, generally at the beginning of Grade 4. These studies have identified the challenges faced by teachers and students and the resultant classroom languaging practices (see Fleisch (2008) and Hoadley (2010) for overviews of such research). These studies confirmed Macdonald's (1990a) finding that students are generally not sufficiently proficient in English at the time of the switch from home language to English LoLT, and like the teachers in Macdonald's study, the students' language proficiency (or lack of it) molds the teachers' classroom languaging practices.

Chick (1996), for example, found a predominance of "chorusing behavior" with teachers calling out statements and cuing students to fill in a missing word with a heavy questioning pause – what Macdonald (1990a, p. 143) described as "rote rhythm" or "cloze chorus." This practice Chick claimed functioned as "safe talk" as it appeared to enable teachers and students to hide their poor command of English and understanding of the academic content, while maintaining a facade of learning taking place. Macdonald (1990a) claimed too that it was possible for learners to participate in classroom discourse in this way without necessarily understanding what they were saying. Such practices, along with copying notes off the chalkboard to learn off by heart, underpin rote learning and are inimical to real engagement with learning.

Many teachers in such schools find it impossible to communicate lesson content solely through English, and so a common pragmatic response is for teachers to alternate between the official LoLT and learners' home language during classroom talk to achieve a range of cognitive and affective goals. Consequently, much of the research on classroom language practices in African/black schools in South Africa has focused on the codeswitching practices of teachers and learners.

Adendorff (1993), Probyn (2009), Setati et al. (2002), and others have come to the same conclusion, namely, that such codeswitching practices, although unplanned, are highly functional in supporting epistemic access, for classroom management and for affective purposes, including to reduce the tensions and alienation of learning through the medium of a strange language. However, in such classrooms, reading, writing, and assessment are conducted solely in English, and so effectively this means that the oral language of the classroom is conducted bilingually, while reading, writing, and assessment are in English. Setati et al.

(2002) referred to the linguistic gaps that teachers needed to help learners bridge not only from their home language to English but also from everyday language to the specialized discourses associated with particular school subjects. They noted in their observations that this "journey" was frequently "incomplete", with teachers conducting exploratory talk bilingually but then moving straight to expository talk or written work in English without the necessary support to bridge the transition across languages and modes.

In line with findings from other postcolonial countries, the official view of such codeswitching practices has been negative (Ferguson 2003) largely based on poor understandings of the role of language in learning in general and of the role of the learners' mother tongue(s) in particular and the possibilities of bilingual classroom practices and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer as proposed by Cummins (2008). Consequently, the majority of teachers in these South African studies regarded codeswitching as "an indecent, forbidden form of behaviour" that they were "ashamed to admit to" (Adendorff 1996, p. 389). In the same vein, a teacher in a study by Probyn (2009) referred to "smuggling the vernacular into the classroom." Setati et al. (2002) and Probyn (2009) referred also to the inherent dilemmas for teachers of trying to provide access to both curriculum content and the language medium.

Although more recently the official line has softened toward codeswitching, referring to it in passing as a legitimate strategy (e.g., Department of Education, RSA 2003, p. 44), such practices remain largely reactive and unplanned, with a wide range in languaging practices between teachers (Probyn 2015). Thus far, there have been no official efforts to support the development of coherent and planned bilingual pedagogies that draw on students' full linguistic resources. There is still a lingering stigma associated with the use of the students' home language in the classroom, and a consequence of this for research into classroom language practices is that teachers and students are sensitive to any suggestion of surveillance, increasing the likelihood of reactivity (Probyn 2009).

Research findings such as these, along with evidence from international studies, have been used to advocate for policy changes, on the basis that currently students switch to English LoLT before they are sufficiently proficient in the language, and therefore proposals have been made to extend the period of home language LoLT, while providing access to English (Alexander 1995, 2009; Heugh 2002), along with developing coherent multilingual languaging pedagogies (Makalela 2015; McKinney 2017; Probyn 2015). However, counter-voices have argued that it is the strengthening of English teaching that should be the focus particularly in urban areas such as in Gauteng Province where there is not a dominant local language, where there are urbanized varieties of African languages spoken that differ from the standardized written forms, and where many children speak hybrid varieties such as "tsotsitaal" (literally, gangster language). An argument has been made that English LoLT is the only feasible option in such contexts (see Vinjevold 1999).

Another line of small-scale classroom-based research has focused on urban schools which were formerly segregated and reserved for white, Indian, or "colored" students but became desegregated from 1990 onward. The cultural and linguistic diversity of these schools has been enlarged with students from economic and/or

refugee-migrant families. In many cases, the teacher demographics have remained relatively unchanged from that of pre-1990 and so have teachers' language proficiencies and attitudes. With notable exceptions, schools have generally followed assimilationist policies, promoting an ideology of "Anglonormativity" (McKinney 2017), with lip service paid to multilingualism, and language policies remaining relatively unchanged (Chick 2002; McKinney 2017). As Makoe and McKinney (2014) described in their case study of two such schools, English was naturalized as the language of power, while Zulu, the home language of the majority of students, was positioned as less valuable and an impediment to learning. They make the point that the language ideologies and policies of the apartheid era have in fact been reproduced postapartheid, despite the transformative intentions of the language-in-education policy (Department of Education, RSA 1997).

In these urban multilingual school contexts, the construction of the home languages and identities of African language students as problems-to-be-solved has resulted in alienation and identity issues for students (Makoe and McKinney 2014): many teachers regard African students' use of their home language in class as subversive, and teachers' lack of proficiency in their language is viewed by students as alienating (Murray 2002). Recently, such issues burst into the public domain when student at several girls' schools protested about not being allowed to sport "afro" hairstyles and being punished for using their home language in class or even in the playground (Isaacs 2016, September 1). Remedial action was taken but it appeared that school managements were caught off guard and largely oblivious that their actions were causing resentment and unhappiness – with obvious negative implications for effective learning for those students.

A recent policy change has been introduced and sets out to address some of these challenges: students are now required to study three official languages (previously two), one of which should be an indigenous African language (Department of Education, RSA 2013). This means that English- and Afrikaans-speaking students now have to study an indigenous African language, and African language students in former white, Indian, and colored schools will also have the opportunity to study an African language. However, the policy avoids tackling the issue of the mismatch between home language and LoLT for the majority of students (Pluddemann 2015).

Several large-scale studies have attempted to identify and quantify the causal factors, including the LoLT, that contribute to the poor performance of South African students overall in relation to their counterparts in other countries and the wide gap in achievement between the small percentage of top performing South African students and the great majority. As Taylor and Schindler (2016) observe in a report on South Africa's progress in terms of the Sustainable Developmental Goals, "It is distressing that, for more than two decades after the end of apartheid, historical patterns of disadvantage persist in the schooling of poor children" (p. 13).

As part of the National School Effectiveness Study (NSES) (Taylor, van der Berg and Mabogoane 2013), a group of over 2000 Grade 3 students were tested for reading literacy and mathematics in their home language and sat for the same tests a month later, but in English. Unsurprisingly, the results showed that students performed better in their home language than in English, although the difference

was far greater for reading literacy (a difference of 10% points between mean scores) than for mathematics (only 3% points difference). The researchers suggested that the difference might be because teachers use English numerals and terms when teaching mathematics in an African language. However, test scores were very low overall, and the mean percentages of 33% and 23% for literacy in home language and English, respectively, demonstrated that students' literacy levels in both their home language and English were far too low to be able to switch to "reading to learn" through the medium of English in Grade 4 the following year – confirming the findings of the PIRLS studies (Howie et al. 2008; Howie et al. 2012).

Taylor and Coetzee (2013) set out to disentangle the effect of medium of instruction on the academic performance of children with an African language as home language. As discussed, individual schools decide on school language policy, and so the choice of LoLT in Grades 1, 2, and 3 may vary between 0 and 3 years of home language for African language speakers. In a meta-analysis of national data involving 827,745 students in 9180 primary schools, the LoLT of schools in the first three grades from 2007 to 2011 was matched against the results of national assessments in 2012 in Grades 4, 5, and 6. The study showed that after controlling for school fixed effects, students who had received the longest period of home language LoLT (3 years) performed best in assessments of English proficiency in Grades 4, 5, and 6. This result appears to confirm those of other international studies claiming the positive effects of home language LoLT on academic achievement and support linguistic theories of the transfer of literacy skills across languages (Cummins 1979, 2008). However, although Taylor and Coetzee (2013) concluded that "the language in which children are instructed in primary school is one of the most important inputs into the education production function" (p. 19), they suggest it is not the main cause of poor performance, but that more severe constraints are imposed by factors such as community and home-level poverty, weak school functionality, weak instructional practices, inadequate teacher subject knowledge, and weak accountability throughout the educational system (p. 20).

Spaull (2016) extended the analysis by Taylor, van der Berg and Mabogoane (2013) discussed above, to include a comparison with students whose LoLT was English, so as to account for the effect of school quality and home background – on the basis that English LoLT is a proxy for middle-class background and access to greater school quality. Spaull's (2016) analysis found that while the effect of language of assessment was 1–2 years of learning for literacy and 0–1 years for numeracy, the composite effect of home background and school quality was equivalent to 4 years of learning for both literacy and numeracy.

These large-scale studies have attempted to disentangle the effect of LoLT on academic achievement from that of poverty and school quality and have found that after poverty, the language medium has the greatest causal effect on learning. Language is therefore a key point of leverage in the curriculum, for, while schools can do little to change the socioeconomic status of students, they can make changes to language policies and classroom practices so as to improve their learning opportunities, and what these studies have also shown is the need to improve the teaching of literacy across all languages.

Despite much research in South Africa that has documented de facto classroom language practices, there is little that has attempted to examine what practices might be most supportive of learning and to offer a coherent view of possible best practices. This is a way forward suggested by Ferguson (2009) in relation to codeswitching research in general.

Looking Forward

More recent research and writing on multilingualism, including translanguaging, originating in the global north (e.g., Canagarajah 2011; Cummins 2008; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Garcia 2009) offer the prospect of a way forward. This has marked a shift from what Cummins (2008) described as the "two solitudes" view of bilingualism – essentially a monolingual orientation to multilingualism – to a view of bilingualism as it occurs in natural settings, reflecting a heteroglossic reality, with speakers and communities drawing on their total linguistic repertoires in flexible and adaptive ways. Baker (2011) has defined "translanguaging" as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, understandings and knowledge through two languages. Both languages are used in an integrated and coherent way to organize and mediate mental processes in learning" (p. 288). This seems to offer teachers and learners a way out of the monolingual straightjackets of the past, but it requires a different heteroglossic orientation, a move away from the inflexible two solitudes view that has dominated education in multilingual contexts, encompassing a view of codeswitching at best as a necessary evil.

Several small-scale research studies have investigated naturally occurring and experimental multilingual classroom translanguaging practices (Makalela 2015; McKinney 2017; Probyn 2015) from the perspective of developing practices that capitalize and build on the multilingual resources of the classroom to improve epistemic access, equity, and social justice. For example, Probyn (2015) identified codeswitching in science classrooms, where teachers deviated from the official medium of instruction and base language, English, when they detected signs of incomprehension on the faces of students. These switches were of a relatively brief nature, and operated as repair strategies, but stemmed from a monolingual orientation and ideology. Although such strategies might well have offered students improved opportunities to understand the lesson content, it seems likely that the reactive and unsystematic nature of the codeswitching might still leave students with gaps in their understanding. This was contrasted with evidence of what was termed "pedagogical translanguaging," where a teacher deliberately and systematically first developed a sound understanding of science concepts through the students' home language and then supported students in transferring that understanding to everyday language in English, and then to scientific language, while simultaneously scaffolding a shift across modes from oral to written text production. This kind of skillful translanguaging practice provides an example of "teaching for transfer" – what Cummins (2008) has

advocated for bilingual classroom practices in the context of the global north and a possible means of working with two languages so as to provide access though the students' home language to both of language and content knowledge.

McKinney (2017) provides descriptions of what she describes as "transformative pedagogies" in contexts both in South Africa and the USA. In a Grade 10 English language class in a South African township school, where students spoke several different home languages – predominantly isiXhosa, isiZulu, Xitsonga, and Sepedi – the teacher encouraged students to write poetry in their home language(s) as well as English, to express aspects of their cultural heritage and township experiences. These practices affirmed students' home languages and identities and provided them with a means to developing strong voices in constructing what Cummins has described as "identity texts" (Cummins 2008). However, in this context, unlike those described by Cummins, the students were not a minority group in a class of English speakers, but rather a majority group whose home languages were not English, in a school where the language medium was English, and in a society in which English dominates the linguistic hierarchy and political economy.

A second example of transformative pedagogy in a South African context provided by McKinney (2017) is that of out of school writing camps for 10–12-year-old isiXhosa speaking-students from rural areas in the Eastern Cape Province, under the auspices of the Nelson Mandela Institute for Rural Development at the University of Fort Hare. McKinney describes the fluid translanguaging and biliteracy practices of writing facilitators as they encouraged and supported learners in producing and performing oral and written texts in both their home language, isiXhosa, and in English.

Makalela (2015) provides a further example of translanguaging pedagogy for developing reading literacy in Sepedi and English in a rural Grade 6 class where the home language of students was Sepedi. Teachers introduced several translanguaging strategies: vocabulary development in both languages with explicit comparisons of words, oral reading of texts with reading of a text in one language followed by reading a text in the other language, reading comprehension with a text in one language and questions in the other, and writing a story in one language and rewriting it in another. Makalela makes the crucial point that multilingualism and working with several languages is very much in line with societal multilingualism and fluid heteroglossic practices in Africa: what he terms "linguistic Ubuntu" – drawing on the humanistic African term expressing the interdependence of persons: "a person is only a person though other people" and applying it to heteroglossic languaging practices.

The above examples of translanguaging in multilingual classrooms provide some starting points for opening up discussions about alternative practices that engage with and expand students' full linguistic repertoires, rather than shutting down what McKinney (2017) has described as "the most valuable resource children bring to school." Such practices open up opportunities for epistemic access and affirming students' identities and culture.

Conclusion

This broad overview of language and education practices and research in South Africa throws up some similarities and differences with contexts and practices in the global north.

According to the World Bank, "South Africa remains a dual economy with one of the highest inequality rates in the world, perpetuating inequality and exclusion" (The World Bank 2016, October 16). The gap between rich and poor is reflected in the dual education system (Fleisch 2008), and what South African research has shown is that while poverty remains the greatest predictor of academic success, language, and in particular the mismatch between students' home language and the language of learning and teaching, is the next most important causal factor in explaining the continued low academic performance of African language students. In urban desegregated multilingual schools, the ideological framework of "Anglonormativity" (McKinney 2017) suppresses the languages and identities of African language speakers. Thus, the question of indigenous African languages and their role in society and education remains a key issue in addressing questions of equity, access, and social justice in education in South Africa. These same issues are key concerns in relation to heritage or community languages in the global north, and so these common concerns provide a platform for exploring the possibilities of research cooperation and problem solving.

However, as Heugh (2014) has pointed out, there are fundamental differences in the sociopolitical-economic and linguistic contexts of the global north and south, and so caution should be exercised against an uncritical adoption of ideas and theories by the global south and, in so doing, falling into the trap of the academic hegemony of the global north.

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A Reconsideration of the Distinctive Role of Heritage Languages in Languages Education in Australia

24

Angela Scarino

Abstract

The provisioning of community languages in Australian education has had a long and successful history when judged in the context of the number of specific languages being offered and assessed at senior secondary level in the formal examinations that provide the basis for entrance to tertiary education. However, although this provisioning is a direct result of languages policies that supported linguistic and cultural diversity in a nation with a history of migration, policies for teaching the languages of migrants have not been sustained. At the same time, the current context of complex diversity and globalized multilingualism prompts a reconsideration of the very nature and orientation of language learning (Stroud & Heugh. Languages in education. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Cambridge handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 413–429). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). In this chapter, I consider briefly some dimensions of the provision for community languages in Australian education, highlighting the provisioning and the efforts on the part of communities to gain legitimacy for their languages and cultures, the complexity of national collaboration that has made it possible, and issues related to the nature and quality of programs. I then propose a reconceptualization of the learning goals and pedagogies for the learning of community languages. Both are necessary to ensure that they remain a distinctive form of provision in languages education in Australia and that this provision is responsive to the diverse and dynamic affiliations, desires, and expectations of learners of these languages in contemporary times. I conclude with a reflection on necessary research that would sustain the provision of community languages.

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Introduction: Changing Contexts

The provisioning of community languages[1] in Australian education has had a long and successful history when judged in the context of the range of structural/organizational provisions on the one hand and on the other hand, the number of community languages being offered and assessed at senior secondary level in the formal examinations that provide the basis for entrance to tertiary education. This provisioning is a direct result of progressive languages policies that supported linguistic and cultural diversity (notably, the 1987 National Policy on Languages – see Lo Bianco 1987) and the recognition, at that time, of languages as a productive resource both for individuals and for the nation. In the context of Australia as a nation built on a history of migration, the teaching of immigrant languages represented an enlightened move. Although provisioning for these languages in education has been maintained because of the way in which it was structured into the educational landscape, the policies for multilingualism and multiculturalism that nurtured this provisioning have atrophied (see Heugh 2014; Scarino 2014; Liddicoat and Curnow 2014). I suggest that this at least partly explains the current state of play of issues related to the nature and quality of community languages programs.

Layered onto this provisioning, linguistic and cultural diversity in Australia, as in all parts of the world, has become increasingly complex. Furthermore, the globalization of multilingualism and multiculturalism has rendered language capabilities increasingly important and languages issues more salient than ever before. As Della Chiesa and colleagues (2012:23) highlighted, in the context of globalization,

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[1]"Community languages" is the term used to refer to the specific languages used by immigrant communities in Australia. The term originated as part of the advocacy in the 1970s to expand languages provision beyond the prestige foreign languages that had been available (see Lo Bianco 2014). It is essentially the equivalent to the term "heritage languages" in the USA, though the Australian term does not also include the revitalization of languages or the languages of indigenous people.

language learning becomes central to politics, economies, history, and education and is totally enmeshed with all the important issues of future humanity. This environment prompts a reconsideration of the very nature and orientation of language learning. Stroud and Heugh (2011:424) described the necessary change as follows:

> Classroom and curricula need to be able to engage and build on the diversity in semiotic modes that learners bring to the classroom. . . The shifting nature of learner personae and subjectivities point to the need for new understandings of the teaching/learning process . . . particularly its individuation to accommodate different types of learning biographies emanating from the heterogeneity of learning.

Equally, Kramsch (2014:302) has highlighted the ways in which globalization has changed the conditions under which languages are taught, learned, and used, and she has recognized that these changes "call for a more reflective, interpretive, historically grounded, and politically engaged pedagogy" than was previously needed. This call for a reconsideration of the very nature and orientation of language learning pertains distinctively to community languages.

A further dimension of change in the Australian educational landscape is the recent release of the (national) Australian Curriculum, including the Australian Curriculum – Languages. In its conception, this document makes particular provision for community languages. I discuss this in further detail below.

In this chapter, I consider briefly some dimensions of provision for community languages in the Australian educational setting, highlighting some of the different forms of provision (illustrated particularly through the case of South Australia) as well as the ongoing efforts on the part of communities to gain legitimacy for their languages and cultures, the complexities of national collaboration that has made provision possible, and issues related to the nature and quality of programs. I then propose a reconceptualization of the learning goals and pedagogies for the learning of community languages, which is necessary to ensure that they remain a distinctive form of provision in languages education that is responsive to the diverse and dynamic affiliations, desires, and expectations of learners of these languages in contemporary times. I conclude with a reflection on the necessary research that would sustain the provision of community languages.

Some Dimensions of the Provisioning of Community Languages in Australia

In the languages education landscape of Australia, Aboriginal languages, so-called traditional "foreign languages," and community languages of migrant communities are offered alongside English as the dominant and majority language of the country. Clear prioritization and sufficiency is accorded to English (Clyne 2008; Scarino 2014). Within the provision for languages other than English, different discourses circulate, with a prioritization of the languages of trading partners, primarily the languages of the Asian region. Within community languages, there is a great deal of

vitality, which relates to the diverse periods of mass migration, different reasons for migration (asylum seekers as well as highly skilled migrants), and a range of different desires, affiliations, and expectations in relation to their languages and cultures. Alongside a general decline in migration from Europe (Italy, Greece, Germany), there has been a recent emergence of migration of highly educated young people from Italy and Greece seeking employment and an increase in migration from Africa and the Middle East.

The provision for community languages varies. Languages such as Italian, Greek, German, Vietnamese, and Chinese are offered to at least some extent in mainstream schools. In contrast, the languages of asylum seekers are unlikely to be available in mainstream schools. In most (but not all) states and territories of Australia, there is a government-funded School of Languages. The South Australian School of Languages, for example, has the role of enhancing access, choice, and continuity in language learning through the provision of programs in a broad range of languages through kindergarten to Year 12, known as K-12 (Tedesco and Buchanan unpublished). These programs are intended to complement and supplement languages programs offered in mainstream schools. In 2016, for example, it offered 24 languages: Afrikaans, Arabic, Bosnian, Chinese, Croatian, Dinka, French, German, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Khmer, Korean, Nepali, Persian, Pitjantjatjara (an Aboriginal language of the central Australian Desert), Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Serbian, Spanish, Swahili, and Vietnamese. In 2017, it is intended that Auslan and Arabana (an Aboriginal language of the far north of South Australia) will be added to the range of languages offered. Appendix 1 presents the 2016 School of Languages student enrolment data for each language. The courses of the School of Languages are made available at 25 teaching centers around the metropolitan areas. These are mainstream schools that permit the courses to be offered after regular school hours. Each of the nominated sites acts as a central location for participating students from a range of schools. In 2016, there were 794 participating students in K-7, 261 in Years 8–10, 822 in Years 11–12, and 90 staff, many of whom work on a fractional basis.

The School of Languages operates within the policies and procedures framework of the Department for Education and child Development, to which it is accountable for student achievement and for reporting school effectiveness. Teachers must be fully qualified and registered and benefit from an extensive professional learning program.

In some of the languages offered, learners will learn the language as an additional language (traditionally called "foreign" languages). In most, learners will bring a home background in the language they are learning and with that a local community of users of the language.

A further form of provision is through the so-called "ethnic schools." (These are known as community-run complementary schools in some contexts. The name of these providers in South Australia is likely to be changed in the near future.) The role of these schools (or more appropriately, programs) is to ensure that community groups maintain, develop, express, and share their linguistic and cultural heritages.

In 2016, there were 92 "schools" offering a total of 45 languages. Student enrolments included 561 students in pre-school, 6,165 students at primary level, and 1,332 students at secondary level, totaling 7,497 students (See Appendix 1).

Each ethnic school offers the language of its community. They operate within the requirements of their incorporated body and the Ethnic Schools Association. Each ethnic school authority elects a nine-person executive committee that is responsible for the operations of the association, and all ethnic schools must comply with a range of requirements in order to be eligible to receive State Government funding.

All teaching programs and assessment and reporting practices are decided by the community. This may mean that programs in ethnic schools have a strong cultural and in some cases religious focus, as ethnic schools play a key role in language and cultural maintenance.

Teachers are not necessarily fully qualified and registered. Those who do not have formal qualifications are required to undertake an accreditation course within the first 12 months of their appointment at an ethnic school. Many teachers are volunteers. The Ethnic Schools Association of South Australia provides a range of professional development.

Almost all students have a home background in the language being learned, though the level of linguistic and cultural background will vary across languages depending on the migration era for each particular language community and the history of the particular community within the local community.

Ethnic schools receive a per capita grant per student from the State Government. In addition, the State Government provides funding for professional development and for the administration of the Ethnic Schools Association.

These two forms of provision as represented by the School of Languages and the Ethnic Schools in South Australia are both long standing and complementary, extending the provision of languages in mainstream schools. There is a strong though not exclusive focus on community languages in the School of Languages and an exclusive focus on community languages through the Ethnic Schools Association. Similar provisions are available in most states and territories of Australia, though the configuration of languages offered may differ, reflecting the differing migration and settlement patterns across Australia. (For a description of provision in the state of Victoria, see Slaughter and Hajek 2007). The brief description provided here does not do justice to the immense diversity that they encompass. There is a diversity of languages, with diverse histories of community migration and different histories of provision in the educational landscape of South Australia. There are diverse relationships to English as the dominant language. There is a diversity of students with diverse capabilities in language and literacy development and use of the language being learned, along with their diverse life worlds and experiences, purposes, desires, affiliations with, and expectations of their language learning. The students have different opportunities to use the language being learned in the home and the wider social and/or professional environment. There are diverse communities associated with the language being offered and diverse conditions for learning (e.g., availability of teachers, resources, and technologies). Furthermore, the demand

for particular languages is never static. Some languages are offered continuously; others are included only at particular times. The School of Language's total school enrolments per language from its establishment in 1986 to the present illustrates the changing landscape of provision (see Appendix 2).

On the one hand, the diversity of languages made available speaks to the success of the provision for community languages; on the other hand, this diversity is not readily navigated without substantial expertise that may or may not be available in particular communities.

Another positive indicator of the availability of community languages in South Australia is the provision for a range of languages in the formal assessment system that marks the end of secondary schooling and leads to the award of the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE). For communities, this represents a major way of gaining legitimacy for their particular language. Becoming available for assessment at Year 12 means that the result of the assessment of their community language learning may be included in the high-stakes calculation of the tertiary entrance score (see Scarino 2008). This has been sustained through a national collaboration across the Boards of Studies/assessment authorities across states and territories in Australia.

The national collaboration is based on the Collaborative Curriculum and Assessment Framework for Languages (CCAFL), an agreed framework through which different states take responsibility for managing the national assessment process for particular languages. Table 1 shows the community languages offered nationally in 2016, with the state responsibilities.

Although this provision can be understood as positive, it is by no means without complexity. Elder's body of work since 1997 describes the issues involved in the assessment of background speakers (e.g., Elder 1997, 2005).

Finally, a recent initiative that has recognized community languages is the preparation of the (national) Australian Curriculum for Languages. The Shape Paper[2] (ACARA 2011) proposed a language-specific rather than a generic design, which fundamentally recognizes the distinctive nature of each language in terms of its structure and use, its community presence in Australia, and its history in Australian education. The design also proposed that diverse pathways be available to encompass the needs of diverse learner groups: those who are continuing to develop the language being learnt as their first language; those who are home users of the language to some extent, referred to as "background learners"; and second language learners. In this way it became possible for each specific language curriculum to reflect the specificity of the language and its learners. Pathways for all three learner groups were developed for Chinese, the language in Australia that currently encompasses the greatest diversity of students. For all other languages developed (Arabic, French, German, Hindi, Italian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean,

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[2]The author was also the author of the Shape Paper for the Australian Curriculum – Languages.

Table 1 Interstate languages course offerings for Year 11 and Year 12, 2016

Languages: interstate	State	Polish*	SA
Armenian*	NSW	Spanish*	SA
Chinese: background language* (Heritage Chinese NSW)	NSW	Arabic*	Vic
Chinese: first language (Chinese background speakers NSW)	NSW	Auslan*	Vic
Croatian*	NSW	Bosnian*	Vic
Filipino*	NSW	Dutch*	Vic
Indonesian: background language* (heritage Indonesian NSW)	NSW	Hebrew*	Vic
Indonesian: first language (Indonesian background speakers NSW)	NSW	Hindi*	Vic
Japanese: background language* (heritage Japanese NSW)	NSW	Macedonian*	Vic
Japanese: first language (Japanese background speakers NSW)	NSW	Maltese*	Vic
Korean: background language* (heritage Korean NSW)	NSW	Portuguese*	Vic
Serbian*	NSW	Punjabi*	Vic
Swedish*	NSW	Romanian*	Vic
Ukrainian*	NSW	Russian (continuers)*	Vic
Hungarian*	SA	Sinhala*	Vic
Modern Greek*	SA	Tamil*	Vic
Khmer*	SA	Turkish*	Vic
Malay: background speakers	SA	Vietnamese*	Vic
Persian: background speakers*	SA	Yiddish*	Vic

Courses marked * have both written and practical (oral) examinations
Source: CCAFL website. Reproduced by permission

Modern Greek, Turkish, Vietnamese, Spanish, an Australian Aboriginal Languages Framework, a Classical Languages framework, and Auslan), the one most relevant pathway for each learner group was developed. Although the development has been extensive, at this stage, it is unlikely that curricula will be developed in more languages. Thus, many of the community languages will remain without a national curriculum that is specific to their particular language, even though a design is available that would begin to capture their distinctiveness.

In summary, the provisioning for community languages, though both dynamic and fragile (for some languages more than others), does tell a story of success, at least in terms of making a range of community languages available to meet diverse student needs, desires, and aspirations. Major challenges remain in relation to (1) their status in a largely monolingual, English educational system, (2) the fragility of uptake in some languages which, in turn, threatens their viability, (3) the availability of curriculum and resources for teaching and learning, (4) student assessment and reporting, (5) program evaluation, (6) the capabilities of teachers who may or may not have been trained but willingly volunteer to offer their language to younger generations of children, and (7) at a fundamental level, the nature of the programs

offered and their meaningfulness to learners. It is to this latter issue that I now turn, with a proposal that a reconceptualization of the learning goals and pedagogies is necessary for success in community language learning in contemporary times in Australia.

Reconceptualizing Learning Goals and Pedagogies for Community Languages

As indicated above, the design of the Australian Curriculum – Languages (ACARA 2011) goes some way toward addressing contemporary goals for the learning of community languages. It proposes a move toward an intercultural orientation to language learning. (See Kramsch 2009; Liddicoat and Scarino 2013). This is an orientation that seeks not only active participation in acts of meaning exchange but also the transformation of students' identities in the act of learning. This is achieved through a constant referencing of the language being learned with their own language/s and culture/s. In so doing, students are invited to decenter from their own primary linguistic and cultural world to consider their situatedness from the perspective of another. In this way, students learn to *move between* linguistic and cultural worlds. For community language learners in Australia, depending on the migration history of the particular language community, this may mean either working from their own community language as primary language toward Australian/English or moving from Australian/English in their educational and social worlds toward the community language in their family world.

In the Shape Paper (ACARA 2011), which was developed as a conceptual base to inform the development of the Australian Curriculum – Languages, the nature and goals of language learning were expressed as follows:

In learning to use the target language, learners learn to:

- Exchange meanings reciprocally through interaction with people and/or texts
- "Move between" and come to understand the linguistic and cultural systems of the language they are learning and at the same time referencing these to their own linguistic and cultural systems
- Develop metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness of what it means to interpret and to act in the world and to be interpreted reciprocally by others (ACARA 2011, p. 14)

A distinctive characteristic of the learning of community languages is that the learners are not experiencing intercultural processes of exchange solely as an abstract, intellectual exercise, but rather as a lived experience. The learning goals and pedagogies need to reflect this, inviting learners to engage in increasingly complex processes of exchange – exchanging not only information, but also meanings. At the same time and equally importantly, they need to be invited to analyze and reflect on these intercultural exchanges and the role of languages, cultures, and

life worlds/world views in the exchange. In this way they come to consider matters related to their voice, their positioning, and their identities, notably, who and how they can be in (at least) the two linguistic and cultural worlds in which they live and learn. They come to examine the construction of multiple or blended identities in ways that are most meaningful to them. (See also Douglas Fir Group 2016; Leung and Scarino 2016). As He (2010:73) explained in seeking to pinpoint the "heart of heritage":

> Linguistic meanings and meaning makings are . . . necessarily embedded in cultural systems of understanding. An account of linguistic behaviour must then draw on accounts of culture. The heritage culture is by definition a complex, developing, transnational, intercultural, cross-linguistic and hybrid one. Accordingly, to know an HL means not merely to command the phonetic, lexical, and syntactic forms in both speech and writing, but also to understand or embrace a set of continually evolving norms, preferences and expectations relating linguistic structures to multifaceted, dynamic contexts.

Given the circumstances of community language learning, particularly within the Ethnic Schools sector in South Australia, the goals of learning remain predominantly linguistic and communicative, with communication understood in the restricted sense of exchanging information rather than in the sense of exchanging meanings. In many ways they are taught as traditional "foreign" languages and as such are removed from the sociological world of the learner (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009). The reflectivity and identity formation goals are not as foregrounded as would be necessary for meaningful community language learning.

Equally, in terms of pedagogies, a tendency toward traditional pedagogies remains, with the language being taught as a monolingual rather than as a multilingual process. In addition, the teaching and learning tends to remain focused on language and culture as content, rather than as content *and* process. As such it remains depersonalized, when personalization is called for. Especially because the learner is *living* the phenomenon of multilinguality, pedagogies need to consider the life worlds and experiences of the learners; they need to draw out their experiences, perceptions, conceptions, reactions, and responses and to invite analysis and reflection on the ways in which, in intercultural exchange, language/s, and culture/s come into play in the exchange of meanings. In this way, community language learning itself becomes a process of self-understanding (see Garcia 2009; Garcia et al. 2013; Kramsch 2011; Li Wei 2011).

Conclusion and Future Directions

The provision of community languages in Australia is not a random accumulation of programs; rather, it is a direct result of successive waves of migration to Australia, especially since the 1950s, and a response to the diverse linguistic and cultural needs and desires, affiliations, and expectations within the Australian population. This provision creates the real possibility for ensuring that there is at least some learning

of the languages of the Australian community. It provides a way of working in languages education that is exemplary in that they are linked so closely to local communities. The challenges remain in terms of a fragility in relation to participation in some languages and the reality that they may well cease to be offered. There is also a challenge of reimagining the goals and pedagogies that would do justice to the interlinguistic, intercultural, and identity-forming nature of the endeavor, recognizing that these will and must continue to evolve in specific ways for each specific language, in the historical context of its distinctive place in the languages education landscape.

Greater attention needs to be paid in future to a mapping of the total provision for languages in each state, encompassing mainstream education, schools of languages, and ethnic or community language schools. This would permit analysis of the ecology of overall provision and monitoring of uptake, especially of the different community languages – those that have now been available for several generations and those that have been introduced more recently. This reimagining of goals and pedagogies that ensure relevance from the students' points of view must be nourished by the findings of programs of research that examine and document the history of particular languages, cultures, and communities in Australian education that investigate the desires, affiliations, expectations, and practices of the diverse learners themselves. It is possible now to envisage research that captures systematically the students' direct experiences of community language learning as a basis for ensuring relevance and meaningfulness to them. Further research should also be undertaken to examine the dynamic bi/multilingual practices of students, both in community language programs and in their social lives within their families and their local Australian communities. This would inform an important project of discovery and subsequent development of diverse young peoples' multilingual capabilities as they mediate between the diverse linguistic and cultural life worlds that they move between. Such research would strengthen the value of community languages programs in the eyes of students, in the hope of addressing language loss. (See Cavallaro 2010 for a discussion of the problem of language shift that needs to be arrested.)

By investigating different linguistic and cultural communities, it would become possible to establish reciprocal ways of working in language teaching and learning among diverse communities so that some of the more recent communities might benefit from the experience of the more established ones. Research should also examine the learning outcomes of community language programs as a basis for signaling their value. Finally, in Australian education, it has been possible to establish provision in community languages education. The reimagined goals and pedagogies and the proposed research would go a long way toward beginning to address the important project of strengthening the quality of provision and developing the bi/multilingual capabilities in students that will sustain their home languages and their active participation in a linguistically and culturally diverse world.

Appendix 1: School of Languages and Ethnic Schools (South Australia) Student Enrolment Data, 2016 (Reproduced by Permission)

2016 STUDENT ENROLMENT DATA								
	SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES				ETHNIC SCHOOLS EDUCATION CENTRE			
LANGUAGE	PRIMARY YEARS R-7	SECONDARY YEARS 8-10	SENIOR SECONDARY YEARS 11/12	TOTAL	PRIMAY YEARS R-7	SECONDARY YEARS 8-10	SENIOR SECONDARY YEARS 11/12	TOTAL
Afrikaans	4	2	1	7				-
Arabic	0	12	19	31	762	146	21	929
Arabic/Coptic				-	83	29	30	142
Bari				-	40	7	1	48
Bengali				-	118	18	1	137
Bosnian	0	1	5	6	32	9	0	41
Bulgarian				-	11	0	0	11
Burmese				-	14	9	1	24
Chinese Mandarin	142	10	48	200	788	146	16	950
Croatian	0	7	3	10	58	0	0	58
Dari				-	16	0	0	16
Dinka	0	0	29	29	75	20	0	95
Farsi				-	221	24	0	245
Filipino				-	9	2	0	11
French	185	26	51	262	60	15	28	103
German	0	12	50	62	113	17	15	145
Greek				-	940	63	5	1,008
Hebrew				-	20	0	0	20
Hindi	21	13	49	88	16	0	0	16
Hungarian				-	2	0	5	7
Indonesian	14	13	28	55				-
Italian	161	28	29	218				-
Japanese	39	24	100	163	105	8	0	113
Kirundi				-	98	106	21	225
Khmer	101	11	16	128				-
Korean	44	4	54	102	62	5	0	67
Latvian				-	24	1	0	25
Lithuanian				-	10	0	0	10
Nepali	0	46	26	72	115	1	0	116
Pashto				-	15	4	2	21
Persian	0	2	101	103	31	3	0	34
Pitjantjatjara	0	0	8	8				-
Polish	3	15	12	30	47	4	2	53
Portugese	0	0	6	5	12	2	0	14
Punjabi	0	9	8	17	103	6	2	111
Romanian				-	10	0	0	10
Russian				-	418	88	46	552
Serbian	0	3	9	12	93	4	0	97
Sinhalese				-	167	18	3	188
Somali				-	32	11	9	52
Spanish	74	4	112	190	30	0	0	30
Swahili	0	0	2	2	13	0	0	13
Tamil				-	94	15	10	119
Tatar				-	10	0	0	10
Telugu				-	45			45
Turkish				-	13	1	0	14
Uighur				-	50	15	1	66
Ukranian				-	46	9	1	56
Vietnamese	6	19	56	81	1144	219	87	1,450
TOTAL	794	261	822	1,877	6165	1025	307	7,497

**Ausian & Arabana languages are to be introduced in 2017*

Appendix 2: School of Languages Enrolment Data, 1986–2016 (Reproduced by Permission)

SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES ENROLMENT DATA 1986-2016

LNAGUAGE	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Afrikaans																															8
Arabana																				8									11	15	
Arabic																	17	14		10	30	35	34	37	33	49	29	36	39	28	31
Aust Lang												31	15	4	60																
Bosnian																				15	17	14	8	15	16	7	16	13	14	10	6
Chinese		116		140	153	135	96	89	85	91	78	96	107	84	89	87	134	130	147	152	157	172	212	219	218	148	92	77	142	221	197
Croatian	22	46		40	30	35	33	43	33	24	20	36	42	55	64	55	31	44	49	40	52	51	41	47	35	29	11	4	7	5	11
Dari																								11	11	8	16	15	8	9	
Dinka																										9	19	27	36	43	30
Dutch				9	10	12															19										
French																9	51	39	67	77	109	80	105	136	115	114	90	147	260	263	255
German																13	16	14	36	42	49	49	44	46	55	46	16	19	27	41	58
Hindi																								8	8	13	24	73	71	80	92
Hungarian																									23	11					
Indonesian				23		31	28	27	33	100	93	80	75	53	37	26	34	42	54	56	47	47	42	55	51	60	44	40	43	39	56
Italian																72	51	61	95	101	134	117	89	120	118	192	124	128	163	189	215
Japanese				15	12	92	65	118	64	151	119	135	176	228	186	139	100	124	119	125	104	129	146	131	153	152	137	105	153	152	155
Kaurna														3					11	7	12	16	10	18	15	24	16	27			
Khmer	35	74		54	96	110	95	102	93	88	172	207	206	221	198	117	118	88	79	124	132	116	105	96	96	91	96	99	111	138	129
Korean									13	9	27	44	60	47	47	23	21	21	30	70	68	84	73	65	87	72	32	43	41	46	98
Lithuanian	7	8	10																												
Malay		8	9		14	13																									
Nepali																															79
Persian															42	28	50	46	46	33	26	36	76	139	146	138	114	89	63	101	99
Pitjantjatjara																13				8	8	39	16	36	42	48	50	35	28	17	9
Polish	39	43		103	114	123	130	128	98	99	89	70	79	97	76	66	62	60	75	61	59	64	58	50	50	48	36	33	31	31	32
Portuguese																					15	15	25	30	33	32	8	5	3	4	6
Punjabi																															
Research Proj																										2	1				17
Russian	16		27	24																											
Serbian																	52	54	50	22	16	17	19	17	14	6	9	4	4	3	14
Spanish	47	57		57	30	76	112	127	136	130	151	160	141	170	151	192	184	162	171	171	197	206	205	207	211	199	87	105	127	171	187
Swahili																						5	12	18	13	10	1	2	5	4	3
Turkish									7	7	9																				
Vietnamese	36	135	153	110	129	179	192	183	244	240	243	275	198	204	208	105	49	39	38	38	49	62	76	59	67	68	55	51	41	54	80
TOTAL	155	380	519	552	611	829	815	903	869	1008	1089	1220	1192	1270	1214	1017	970	938	1067	1160	1292	1365	1401	1566	1598	1584	1126	1177	1442	1677	1867

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Part V

Families and Communities

Turkish Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance in Germany

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Fatih Bayram and Clare Wright

Abstract

This chapter discusses the case of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany, considering the factors affecting heritage language maintenance and education, including parental and institutional perspectives. We contextualize this within a brief review of the history of Turkish migration to Germany, highlighting the relationship between the challenging integration process experienced by many Turkish immigrants to Germany, and the social, educational, and linguistic journey of the Turkish language within the Turkish community. Data from a recent research study presents empirical data examining associations between parental perspectives, including maintaining literacy, on Turkish heritage language maintenance in Germany and the linguistic outcomes of heritage language competence within the younger generation, presented here within the formalisms of Processability Theory (Pienemann 1998). We finish with a discussion on the lack of a uniform approach from German governments toward accommodating Turkish language within the mainstream education system and how this may affect the future of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany.

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Contents

Introduction

A recent Eurobarometer survey (2012) reveals that 54% of Europeans are multilingual, which reflects the ever-increasing expectations from multilingual families, often moving around Europe away from their home country, that they wish to maintain their home language within their new societal environment and within the mainstream education system of their host countries. The community languages spoken within these multilingual environments are now referred to as heritage languages (HL) within the study of bilingualism. HLs, broadly defined as ethnic minority languages, are usually divided into two main categories: (a) indigenous languages of a group of speakers who have always inhabited the region where the majority language is now spoken: for example, Welsh in Wales, Catalan in Catalonia, and Quechua in Peru; and (b) languages spoken by groups of immigrants who move to a host country where another majority language is spoken: Arabic and Turkish in Germany and The Netherlands, Punjabi speakers in the United Kingdom; Spanish, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Russian, and many other immigrant groups in the United States and Canada (Montrul 2011, p. 156).

There are many characterizations and definitions of heritage language speakers (HS) in the literature (e.g. Kupisch and Rothman 2016; Montrul 2008, 2016; Rothman 2009). Generally speaking, HSs are bilinguals whose native language is a minority language in a majority language context, that is, where the language of the home environment differs from what is spoken in the society as the main language. Current approaches to HSs tend to agree on the following three key elements:

(a) Heritage speakers are minority language speakers in a majority language environment.
(b) Heritage speakers are bilingual.
(c) Heritage speakers are dominant in the language of their larger national community.

Overall, HSs seem to have a high level of linguistic competence of their HL in the very first few years when they are generally confined to their home environment with significantly more exposure to HL than the societal language. However, most HSs experience a language dominance shift both in use and exposure with the start of formal schooling leading them to becoming dominant in the societal language. Studies have looked at heritage speakers from all around the world with various language backgrounds, cultures, education, and social status, and found that linguistic competence and performance in heritage speakers may differ from age-matched monolingual speaker norms to varying degrees and in various linguistic domains, ranging from native-like comprehension skills only (so-called receptive HS bilinguals) to intermediate and advanced competence, including either or both literacy/ oracy skills, depending on the language, the community, and a number of other sociolinguistic circumstances (see Montrul 2016 for review).

As discussed elsewhere (Rothman and Treffers Daller 2014) and in other chapters in this book, heritage speakers are bilingual native speakers of their home language, whatever the variety of adult linguistic outcome. One key factor affecting HS bilingualism, however, is whether HSs get formal education in the heritage language or not, which also varies from one country to another, and is usually strongly associated with degree of parental support for maintaining home language use, even after the children start school. Research now shows that HSs who receive formal education in their HL, in tandem with strong parental support, show almost no difference in terms of their linguistic competence and performance when compared to age-matched monolingual speakers of the same language (e.g., Rothman et al. 2016). The importance of formal HL education, parental attitudes, and HL linguistic competence needs to be examined across a range of contexts to foreground this finding. Here we illustrate the key issues in the light of a recent research study triangulating empirical data on child heritage speakers of Turkish in Germany with parental attitudes, and institutional regional language policies, illustrating the complex degree of intersecting factors affecting the highly variable outcomes of Turkish HL in Germany. Before presenting the research findings, we provide a short overview of the history of Turkish work migration to Germany to enable the reader to understand better how and why it has led to the current situation of Turkish as a heritage language in Germany.

Turkish Migration to Germany

The most recent figures (Statistical Yearbook 2015) show that there are about 1.6 million Turkish nationals in Germany in 2014, in addition to the estimated three million naturalized Turks, making Turks Germany's largest community with a migration background (Pfaff 2011). The factors that have led the Turkish community to become one of the largest immigrant communities within Europe, and in Germany in particular, were set in motion about five decades ago, starting in the early 1960s and now extending through four generations. Understanding the pattern of this immigration helps clarify the complex links between success and constraints on

home language use, societal integration, and economic and educational opportunities, which have affected the heritage language competence of many of the current generation of Turkish community in Germany, with implications for HS in the wider context of Europe, which has again become increasingly important at the start of the twenty-first century.

The History of Turkish Migration to Germany

The first migration wave of Turkish workers (*guestworkers, "Gastarbeiter"*) to Germany started as a result of bilateral agreements between Turkey and Germany in 1961, by which Germany brought Turkish workers to boost up the economic growth after the World War II. The profile of these workers varied from a very small number of highly educated ones, to a larger number of those with no or little vocational training; the latter workers typically either came from rural parts all around Turkey, or from "gecekondu" squatter districts that were illegally constructed around big cities in the west part of Turkey, which was itself a product of an internal migration process (Abadan-Unat 1985; Kıray 1976).

Due to the economic recession caused by the oil crisis in the 1970s, the German government decided to stop recruitment of new migrant workers, which made it more difficult to get a work permit in Germany (Soysal 2008). The immigrant workers already in Germany, who were until then seen only as a temporary workforce, were allowed to settle in Germany, reuniting with their families through The Family Reunification Act of 1972 (Auernheimer 2006; Ross 2009; Yurdakul and Bodemann 2006). This notably changed the composition of the Turkish population from a community of mostly male workers to a family-based population with women and children, and resulted in a rapid increase in immigrant numbers. However, many Turkish women were poorly prepared for a life in Germany. They often came with no qualifications and no language skills, and were sometimes even illiterate, which isolated these women from German society (Daller and Treffers-Daller 2014; Orendt 2010). As using Turkish workers was planned to be a cheap solution to temporary labor problems, the German government expected the Turkish population to go back to Turkey when the labor shortage was over. This initial expectation caused German governments to ignore problems of isolation, with a few policies initiated to boost integration. Germany also lacked a fully centralized accountability and clear national integration policy, as each state was autonomous in terms of policies and implementation, which also created an unclear future for the guestworkers (Castles 1980; Hackett 2011). It took about 10 years for governments to start to respond to the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity (Faas 2008; Orendt 2010; Zawilska-Florczuk 2010).

One of the prompts for change came from the work of one of Germany's top investigative journalists, Günter Wallraff in the 1980s, who adopted the identity of Ali Levent, a Turkish guest worker, and spent 2 years undercover, personally experiencing the difficult life of immigrants in Germany. Wallraff' exposed the shocking examples of discrimination and exploitation of Turkish workers in his best-selling book "*Ganz unten*" (*Lowest of the Low,* Wallraff 1988), which sold three

million copies in the first three years, confronting the unacceptable conditions Turkish workers had been subjected to since their arrival in the 1950s, and changing the way the German nation looked at the Turkish community.

In recent decades, thanks to positive changes in immigration and citizenship policies, in part stimulated by the shock of Wallraff's writing, many Turks have achieved educational and professional success (Schaefer 2005; Wegmann 2014). However, it is also found that among all immigrant communities in Germany, Turks still come last in living standards, skills, and employment (Gaebel 2011; Orendt 2010; Özcan 2004; Song 2011). Many argue that the early experiences of Turkish immigrants in Germany constructed a "failed" process of integration, with more or less continuous problems extending to today (Gaebel 2011; Kaya 2011; Orendt 2010; Schaefer 2005). Hoff (2011) reports that Turks were generally employed in the dirtiest jobs and remained "invisible to society at large" in the early years of immigration; that they are the minority community that still "attract the most resentment". The effects of this exclusion can be seen in educational and linguistic outcomes too.

Turkish Heritage Language Proficiency in Germany: Educational Impact

Due to the lack of an integrative linked-up approach to immigrant inclusion from German politicians and authorities in the early years, as mentioned above, immigrants including Turks faced educational as well as socioeconomic problems (Beck 1999; Castles 1980; Schaefer 2005; Orendt 2010). This was partly due to the fact that schooling was not compulsory for immigrants, as they were assumed to be temporary residents. Moreover, first generation Turkish parents were also reported to have little interest in their children's school education in Germany as they intended to return to Turkey (Lucassen 2005). In the 1980s, expectations and perspectives of both sides began to change when it was realized that many Turkish people's long-term future was going to be in Germany. Since then, there have been improvements, although not consistent across Germany, in terms of what children with an immigrant background can achieve within the mainstream education system.

Early policies and measures taken toward teaching community languages in Germany varied from one state to another, and were mainly one of the following three approaches found across Germany: (a) supplementary teaching of the native language as a voluntary option for immigrant children attending mainstream classes; (b) "mother tongue teaching" in place of the first or second obligatory foreign language (usually English or French); and (c) "mother tongue" as a subject and as language of instruction in reception classes for pupils of the same nationality (Gogolin 2005; Hackett 2011). There have been a limited number of bilingual education models that were successfully implemented (e.g. in Berlin and parts of Bavaria), but these were largely individual projects of benefit only to the most immediate local communities, with a little wider adoption (Luchtenberg 2002). The majority of the mainstream immigrant education programs were poorly organized and proved somewhat unsuccessful, leading to further separation between the immigrant children and native

Germans (Ellis et al. 2010; Gogolin 2005; Luchtenberg 2002). It is perhaps unsurprising when studies continue to show that, despite all efforts, Turks of all ages seem to achieve lower levels of literacy, and children show poor general academic and vocational success when compared to native Germans, and also Italian, Greek, or Russian immigrant children (Herkenrath 2012; Herkenrath et al. 2003; Kalter et al. 2007; Lucassen 2005; Pfaff 2011; Söhn and Özcan 2006; Wegmann 2014).

Within this highly complicated multilingual and multifaceted German education system, the Turkish language – despite being the native language of the largest immigrant community in Germany – remains one of the most neglected by the authorities. Since the medium of instruction in Germany is standard German, the majority of children growing up with a language other than German including those with Turkish as their heritage language still do not receive any substantial and systematic support for their first language in Germany (Daller and Treffers-Daller 2014). This educational and social "ghettoization" has had linguistic implications, recognized particularly in the studies of Pfaff, Backus, and Treffers-Daller et al. (see below). Although the Turkish language currently seems to have a high level of "ethnolinguistic vitality" in Germany (Yagmur 2004), the evidence from the studies presented here suggest critical linguistic differences from monolingual norms, possibly even a newly emerging heritage Turkish variety, largely due to influences from the dominant societal language, compounded by inconsistency of different states' educational policies (Backus 2004, 2015).

One of the main areas of divergence from monolingual norms for Turkish emerging from current studies seems to be not just in overall amount of language used, but specifically later acquired more complex syntax, which is known to be a particularly variable domain in HS acquisition. Treffers-Daller et al. (2007) analyzed the speech of second generation Turkish-German bilinguals and monolinguals (average age 19.7 years), checking the use of clauses requiring increasingly complex embeddings (noun clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses, as ranked by Özsoy and Erguvanlı-Taylan 1989). Treffers-Daller et al. (2007) found that their cohort of young Turkish-German bilingual adults, all born and raised in Germany, used fewer, and less complex embeddings both than their monolingual peers who were born and lived in Turkey all their lives, and similar-aged Turkish-German bilingual returnees who had lived in Turkey for 8 years at the time of recording. The results indicated that informants of the second generation "fail to acquire a number of aspects of Turkish grammar, and replace these with more analytical means of expression" (Treffers-Daller et al. 2007, p. 271). Similarly, Backus (2004) noted that there was a tendency toward "the replacement of synthetic means of clause linkage and subordination (or at least their decreasing usage), especially of relative clauses, by simple juxtaposition" (p. 715), as also demonstrated by Aarssen (1996) among Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, in Bayraktaroglu (1999) among Turkish-English bilinguals, and Akinci and Jisa (2000) among Turkish-French bilinguals. These studies echo Verhoeven (2004, p. 443) who identifies Turkish spoken in German as "a substantial erosion of the grammatical system of Turkish", especially if the immigrant speakers of Turkish become the main source of input for the heritage speakers.

Pfaff (1993) noted that Turkish children often acquired Turkish and German sequentially, rather than simultaneously, despite regular input in both languages, and that some were Turkish dominant while others were German dominant. In this seminal study, Pfaff (1993) investigated the acquisition of Turkish by "Turkish-dominant" immigrant children, finding that their process of acquiring Turkish was almost the same as monolingual language acquisition and that the inflectional morphology was "virtually indistinguishable" from that of their monolingual peers. Even the German-dominant children did not make errors apart from very few errors in case marking (up to 10–15% maximum) and subject-verb agreement (up to 5% maximum) (Pfaff 1993, 1994). Another issue highlighted in Pfaff's studies is that the more competent the Turkish children were in German, the more frequently they code-switched between Turkish and German (Pfaff 1994, 1997, 1999), suggesting that a deficit model of heritage acquisition masks the reality of the richness of HS linguistic competence.

Pfaff's projects, however, must be approached with caution before making any generalizations, in that the sociolinguistic situation in Berlin is not necessarily a phenomenon that can be seen across Germany. Besides being Germany's capital city, Berlin also accommodates the largest population of Turks with an immigrant background in areas of very high density of Turkish people (Hottmann 2008). Haig and Braun (1999) note that the investigations in Pfaff's studies in Berlin was carried out in the areas with exceptionally high Turkish population density (50% of the children from 6 to 15 years old are Turkish), and thus the outcome of the acquisition process of Turkish may differ in other areas with a lower Turkish population. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the majority of Turkish children with an immigrant background in Germany descriptively differ from their monolingual peers in Turkey in their use of Turkish and fail to demonstrate equivalent mastery of certain structures such as word-order, pro-drop, case marking, and subordination which are liberally used by their monolingual peers.

Rather than view such differences as deficit or incomplete in acquiring monolingual norms (see for a detailed discussion Montrul 2008, 2016), another interpretation (Pascual y Cabo and Rothman 2012; Rothman 2009) is that adult HS linguistic competence may be an outcome of the unique (socio)linguistic environment they happen to experience as the primary source of linguistic input that shapes their HL grammars. Although it is argued to be too early to define any of the immigrant varieties in North-west Europe as a new variety of Turkish considering the very short history of Turkish in contact with European languages (Johanson 1999), the subtle changes seen across generations as a result of increased contact with the host language in Germany and in Western Europe may be playing a key role in shaping the grammars of the new generation of HSs under investigation (see Bayram, Pascual y Cabo and Rothman for a detailed discussion on cross-generational factors in HS competence).

One factor that has been highlighted to account for the evidence of different Turkish linguistic outcomes on complex syntax in the bilingual HS population is to do with the age and course of acquisition of grammatical structures in Turkish. Studies in first language acquisition of Turkish show that many of the abovementioned

complex structures are acquired at a relatively late age (i.e., Aksu-Koc and Slobin 1985). The shift from home input to limited societal exposure as well as the shift from dominant use of Turkish to dominant use of German due to schooling and other social factors at early ages constrain these children's chances to encounter rich input and meaningful contexts to test and use their heritage language, leading to the variability of heritage acquisition compared to monolingual norms.

Another defining factor in similarity or difference of bilingual heritage Turkish compared to monolingual varieties may be differences in access to language and literacy education in Turkish within and outside the home. In some cases and certain areas in Germany as mentioned above (e.g., Berlin, Bavaria), Turkish is supported by the German schools, where Turkish instruction is mostly found at the elementary level 6 and taught until the end of grade 4 (for a detailed account for Turkish language education across Germany see Küppers et al. 2015). However, participants in our study did not receive any Turkish instruction as part of their formal education, and most of the participants in the other studies presented here received very little or no support for Turkish as part of their formal education once school has started. Turkish lessons organized by local Turkish consulates and alternative community-led cultural schools found in most major cities in Germany provided some exposure to Turkish, but these are taught on a voluntary basis which are not part of the formal school system. Besides, the majority of the community-led centers function primarily within the context of religious and cultural education, rather than literacy and linguistic development per se (Amelina and Faist 2008; Oner 2014); there are also some emerging concerns in some communities of their local center's focus on religious conservatism, which is not always necessarily shared by the local settled families (Doomernik 1995). These community-led activities are all extracurricular and are not recognized by the educational authorities so that they cannot be integrated into the formal schools' curriculum; therefore many parents prefer not to send their children to these activities nor do they actively expect the centers to offer a systematic and accessible heritage language education for the language development of their children (Bagci 2012).

Current accounts of heritage language acquisition thus need to show how both input and linguistic complexity seem to combine to affect degree of heritage acquisition. We therefore present here a theoretically driven account of Turkish heritage acquisition, to account for such linguistic developmental constraints, and using an emerging criterion of acquisition, which we see as more relevant than comparing to a monolingual target. Also, in view of the evidence of extensive variability within heritage language outcomes among Turkish heritage speakers in Germany, and the apparent connection with the amount of institutional and parental support which also varies considerably around the different regions of Germany, our study also incorporates, for the first time, a thorough investigation of parental attitudes and experience of heritage language maintenance, to assess the role of parental and institutional support affecting input which in turn affects heritage children's linguistic development.

The Study

The study reported here (see Bayram 2013 for more details) has two pillars; the first is a psycholinguistic behavioral experiment to test the language development of Turkish HSs within the formalisms of Processability Theory; the second is an interview with parents of those HSs to dig deeper into parental perspectives and influence on Turkish HL maintenance in Germany.

Experimental Design

Processability Theory (Pienemann 1998, 2005) has been used mostly within the study of second language acquisition. The theory is founded on a universal architecture of processing grammatical structures, formally analyzed within Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001). Briefly, Processability Theory (PT) focuses on online language production as evidence of the mind's ability to store, process, and produce lexis, morphology, and syntax in increasingly complexity. Its extension to other areas of language acquisition, including heritage language acquisition, is promising. PT predicts that language development unfolds on an implicational and hierarchical path where words and formulaic chunks are at the first stage, which are followed by various morphological processes, followed by basic syntactic structures, and then complex syntax (see Table 1). Since each developmental stage is seen as a prerequisite for the next one, any learner who is able to process and produce those grammatical structures predicted to be at a higher stage of hierarchy should be able to produce those structures that are at the previous stages. Within this line of thinking, it is predicted that a learner who is only able to produce words and basic morphological structures cannot automatically process and produce grammatical structures that are at higher developmental stages. Given that the literature on heritage speakers show that their grammatical competence vary significantly on a very broad spectrum from indistinguishably monolingual like competence and performance to only an unproductive comprehension of HL between different groups and within groups (i.e., Montrul 2008, 2016), heritage speakers of Turkish in this study were also predicted to be at different stages of grammatical development in their heritage language.

Contrary to the general trend in the majority of HS studies which use a criterion based on grammatical accuracy at any rate from 60% to 90%, we used an emergence criterion to determine the language development of Turkish HSs against the developmental stages in the acquisition of grammatical structures in Turkish as given in Table 2. Pienemann (1998, p. 138) advocates operationalizing a criterion of acquisition that is based on the emergence of grammatical structures, which, from a speech processing/automaticity perspective, is "the point in time at which certain skills have, in principle, been attained or at which certain operations can, in principle, be carried out." The emergence criterion identifies the first productive use of a grammatical form within an obligatory linguistic context was used to determine whether processing procedures required for production of those structures were

Table 1 Processability hierarchy and implicational order of procedures

Stage	Processing procedures	Mapping outcomes	Topic hypothesis	Lexical mapping hypothesis	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4	Time 5
5	Sub. clause procedure	Main and sub. clause		Complex predicates	−	−	−	−	+
4	Sentence procedure	Interphrasal information exchange	Topicalization of core arguments	Passive exceptional verbs	−	−	−	+	+
3	Phrasal procedure	Phrasal information exchange	XP-adjunction		−	−	+	+	+
2	Category procedure	Lexical morphemes	Canonical order	Canonical order	−	+	+	+	+
1	Word/lemma access	"Words"			+	+	+	+	+

Adapted from Pienemann (2011, p. 48)

Table 2 Processing procedures in PT corresponding to Turkish structures

Stage	Processing procedures	Level of information	Topic hypothesis (syntax)	Morphosyntax	
				Verbal	Nominal
5	Subordinate clause procedure	Interclausal information		Relative clause (long-distance dependency)	
4	S-procedure	Interphrasal information	Non-canonical mapping (OSV) TOPIC = OBJ	Passive ([a]ST)	
3	Phrasal procedure	Phrasal information	Adjunct + canonical mapping (SOV) TOPIC = ADJ	Verb comp.	Genitive-possessive
2	Category procedure	Lexical morphemes	Canonical order: SOV pro-drop TOPIC = SUBJ	Passive ([b]NST) tense person	Case plural
1	Word-lemma	"Words"	Single words, formulae	–	–

[a]*NST* nonsuppressed thematic role
[b]*ST* suppressed thematic role

acquired or not. According to Pallotti (2007, p. 362), there are three justifications for the use of an acquisition-based emergence criterion:

> ...by focusing on the very first uses of a new structure – rather than asking 'how much' it is supplied or 'to what extent' it is correctly used -one can identify more clearly any regular distributional patterns which may not correspond to any of the L2 rules. Secondly, emergence of a structure seems to be a more constant and less arbitrary landmark with respect to accuracy levels set anywhere between 60 and 90 per cent. Finally, emergence focuses on the order in which structures first appear, which represents a qualitative restructuring of the interlanguage.

In this line, a given grammatical form will be considered as acquired if it is used systematically and productively in at least four linguistic contexts. That is, at least one minimal pair of morphologically and lexically varied contexts is required to appear for a morphological structure to be regarded as emerged. For instance, The Turkish plural marking "-lar" needs to be found with different lexical items such as "kurbaga-lar (frogs)," "agac-lar (trees)," "kopek-ler (dogs)," and so on, but the lexical items also need to be produced unmarked as well. PT thus offers a promising theoretical and empirical basis for testing heritage acquisition which can account for variability of outcomes not in terms of deficit, or incompleteness against a proto-typical monolingual norm, but more descriptively as the degree of progress along a universal implicational processing hierarchy. The study presented here is the first study within the paradigm of PT that investigates Turkish as a heritage language in Germany.

The linguistic assessment part of the study was designed using cross-sectional data collection to investigate the grammatical knowledge of 24 young heritage

speakers of Turkish (mean age 12.8), including case, word order, passives, and relative clauses. The data were collected using four oral production tasks. The first task was a semistructured interview in Turkish which was used as a warm-up activity and to ensure speakers were comfortably established in the target monolingual mode – i.e. where the mind works predominantly in one language (Grosjean 2010). The second task was a storytelling elicitation task based on Mayer's (1969) *Frog Story*, which enabled participants to use whatever language they could to retell the story from the picture prompts, without setting any specific linguistic constraints. The third task was designed specifically to elicit passives; the fourth, similarly, was to elicit relative clauses (see Bayram 2013 for details).

All tokens of morphosyntactic structures were formally matched to stages along a separately established developmental hierarchy of Turkish (Bayram 2013), then calculated according to PT's emergence criterion of the minimal pair as noted above (Pienemann 1998). We analyzed the evidence of emergence conservatively, taking into account morphological and lexical variations for the production of any given grammatical structure, ensuring production obeyed both required word order rules and also morphosyntactic rules. We were then able to assign participants to the appropriate stage of overall linguistic development. Implicational scaling enables the data elicited from a number of participants at one point in time (cross-sectionally) to be interpreted to check the cumulative nature of language development among the participants (Hatch and Lazaraton 1991; Pienemann 1998).

Overall, the 24 Turkish HSs in this study showed a clear compliance with the developmental hierarchy of Turkish as predicted within the formalism of PT. Our analysis (see Table 3) shows that two participants demonstrated procedural skills required for Stage 2 of the developmental hierarchy, 17 of them reached Stage 3, three were at Stage 4 and only three participants were found to have reached Stage 5, the highest stage yet defined for Turkish attainment. These findings also conform to the predictions of PT that language development follows an implicational processing hierarchy. The three HSs of Turkish who were at Stage 5 were also able to produce all other grammatical structures at lower stages; participants identified to be at Stages 2 or 3 were not able to show any systematic production of grammatical structures from Stages 4 or 5.

We found that basic nominal and verbal morphology as well as canonical word order are acquired early (Stage 2), followed by the acquisition of nominal genitive-possessives, verbal complements, and the introduction of Adjunct to the sentence initial position (Stage 3). These findings support Di Biase and Kawaguchi's (2002) evidence for the development of early stage morphological structures in Italian as second language. Next, the type of passive that requires word order changes (and thematic suppression of the argument or Agent role) is acquired later (Stage 4), in line with Kawaguchi's (2005) findings on the acquisition of Japanese passives. Finally, the acquisition of relative clauses is achieved at a higher stage (Stage 5), which also confirms previous studies (Mansouri 2005; Zhang 2005). Thus our Turkish data provide, for the first time, clear evidence of developmental stages in acquisition which conform to existing theoretically driven models of development.

Table 3 Application of emergence criterion to overall distributional analysis

PT stages	Rel. Clause	Pass. (ST)	ADJ SOV	Verb comp.	Gen- Poss	Pass. (NST)	Tense/ aspect	Person	Plural	Case	(S)OV	Word- Lemma
P24	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P23	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P22	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P21	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P20	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P19	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P18	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P17	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P14	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P13	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P12	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P10	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P9	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P6	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P5	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P16	.	.	≤	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P15	.	.	≤	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P7	.	.	≤	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P11	.	.	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P8	.	.	/	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P4	.	.	≤	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P3	.	.	.	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P2	.	.	.	/	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
P1	.	.	/	/	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
(stage)	5	4		3				2				1

We next turn to the qualitative data on parental perspectives, to explore similarities and differences in attitudes and experiences in maintaining the heritage language, and to assess how far individual variation along the hierarchical stages of development could be associated with family or institutional support.

Parental Perspectives Survey

Due to time limitations and logistics, only 16 of the parents of the heritage speakers who participated in the experiments were interviewed by the researcher. The 16 parents represented a fair spread across the different levels of linguistic development demonstrated by the children, including the children at Stage 2 and at 5 identified in the previous section, so we can take them in general terms as representative of the whole sample. All the participants in our study came from a relatively homogenous socioeconomic background. All the children who were tested were enrolled at a Haubtschule – the bottom level of the three-tiered German school system which offers general academic education to young students with low grades and who are highly unlikely to attend university – and their parents reported themselves as members of the working class within the German context. All were literate in both Turkish and German, although there were differences in terms of educational achievement amongst parents – 2 out of 16 held a university degree, while the other 14 were secondary or high school graduates. The interview consisted of two parts: the parents were first asked questions about their personal experiences about immigration, their personal use of Turkish and ways of communicating with their children; second they were asked to fill in a self-evaluation survey about the use and exposure to Turkish language within the family and with friends. This survey was adapted from the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) by Marian et al. (2007). The questionnaire provided a mix of quantitative Likert-scale responses, and qualitative open-ended questions which we coded using thematic analysis.

The goal of interviewing the parents was to tease apart the role of parental influence and education in HL from other factors that might affect the course of HL development in the context of Germany. As stated above, most of the education in HL in Germany is delivered through community centers where attendance is on a voluntary basis. None of the families interviewed here had access to any of the mainstream bilingual schools referred to earlier. Thus, parental decisions whether their children should attend the activities in the community centers would potentially be a major effect on levels of nonhome exposure to the HL. It was also essential to find out levels of parental awareness of their children's linguistic development, and their commitment to use of Turkish within and outside the family. The parental data thus enabled us to find out how parental attitudes toward maintaining Turkish language use may influence the language development of young heritage speakers.

We found some general tendencies about parental decision-making that were in line with other HS studies (Nesteruk 2010; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009), but in our data we identified two distinct attitudes that associated with the patterns found in the children's linguistic development in Turkish as reported above from

experimental part of our study. First, there was clear consistency among the parents of their own dominant use of the Turkish language in their daily life. They all watched Turkish TV channels on a daily basis (minimum 2–3 h per day) and read Turkish magazines and newspapers significantly more than those in the German language. They all had family, relatives, and friends in Germany who they reported to speak with everyday either on the phone or face-to-face and similar connections back in Turkey who they regularly visited with the whole family at least once a year, and frequently spoke with on the phone or via other means of social media (on average 5–7 h per week). The medium of communication between parents and among other Turkish adults in their social circles was predominantly Turkish, using certain common German phrases, as one parent noted, "when necessary" (e.g. when talking about work-related issues). They all reported having children's books, magazines, and other written materials in Turkish in the home, as well as providing access to Turkish TV programs, films, songs, and other multimedia.

However, when extending this commitment to Turkish dominance in the house to interactions in practice with the children, we found a different pattern. Across the cohort, there was a general concern about the way their children used Turkish (words they used, pronunciation, etc.), which the parents considered as "different" from the "standard" Turkish they self-reportedly used, and which they appeared to find sometimes upsetting or criticized their children for using. However, that generalized often negative attitude toward generationally different linguistic knowledge/use did not necessarily mean that all of the parents seemed willing or able to take proactive steps to promote more "standard" Turkish, e.g. through richer, more systematic exposure in and out of the home.

The main practical step that was most commonly taken was to enroll the children in weekend community schools and/or culture centers where they are educated in the Turkish language, religion and Turkish culture in general. However, the community schools were not consistently seen as an easy or desirable means of improving Turkish (eight parents reported they sent all their children to weekend school, the others that they had started with the eldest children, but had ceased to insist on attendance for younger children. This was stated to be usually for practical or logistical reasons, but some parents alluded to fears that they did not want their children to be involved in the strict religious/traditional agenda certain cultural centers aim to expose to the children). This is similar to families in other HS situations (i.e., see Bale 2010 for Arabic HSs in the USA, and Nesteruk 2010 for Eastern European HSs in the USA).

The second practical step was to lay down certain ground rules in their homes regarding language use between the members of the family; that is, Turkish was the primary medium of communication unless there was a visitor who did not understand Turkish; however, only 6 out of the cohort of 16 families were confident they actually maintained this rule in practice. Furthermore, while all parents stated that they made sure their children had books and other materials in Turkish in the home, only a small number of them (4 out of 17) regularly checked whether their children engaged in those materials on a regular basis., The four children at the higher levels of the PT hierarchy all came from the families who tried to maintain these practices,

especially home literacy, as much as possible. Parents also noted highly varied levels of motivation among the children themselves in using Turkish. In particular, parents noted often, somewhat despairingly, that despite speaking Turkish to each other and to their children, their children mostly spoke to them in German, and used Turkish only instrumentally. One parent stated that their children would be more inclined to speak Turkish with them when they tried to persuade their parents to buy them something new, or to allow them to do something that they would not be allowed to otherwise.

We therefore identified an underlying ambivalent attitude to children's use of German: it seemed that that children's predominant use of German within the home environment was somehow "excused," since most parents thought that their children needed to be highly proficient in the German language, to help integration and future success. Unlike earlier families in the 1960s and 1970s who often stated they planned to return to Turkey in the future (see section "Turkish Migration to Germany" above), in this study, parents were clear that the family's life was in Germany and therefore their children's future both academically and professionally would be in Germany. In this vein, although not directly stated during the interviews, those parents who did not send their children to the cultural centers implied that they felt a lot of social pressure to encourage their children to integrate into the German society by promoting (or not interfering with) the predominant use of German. In turn this led to the parents paying less attention to their children's HL development, mainly because they seem to be content with the amount of Turkish their children speak with them, or their relatives in Germany and back in Turkey during summer holidays.

According to the parents, the main reasons behind this parental variability and ambivalence toward children's use of Turkish was logistical. Most parents, both male and female, worked very long hours at odd shifts and thus were unable to spend quality time with their children at home, e.g. often "feeling too tired" to maintain the principles of using Turkish consistently, and unable to generate interest in the children in using Turkish. This is typical of other HS families, particularly where just one parent is trying to keep the language going (Park and Sarkar 2008; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009) and where there is little wider community or institutional educational support. In this context, the attitudes of the children to the lack of wider HS exposure also seemed to impact strongly on the parents, who said that they found it really challenging to motivate their children to learn Turkish since there was no formal support for the Turkish language within the German education system. Therefore, four parents state that their children consider learning Turkish as a *waste* of time since it did/would not help them achieve much, if anything, at school or within the society. Unsurprisingly, these four families included the two children at the lower stages on the PT hierarchy of linguistic achievement.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the abovementioned predominantly German socioeconomic and academic environment, is it possible for Turkish parents to ensure that their children both gain positive attitudes toward their HL and maintain it over the next generations? Studies

have revealed that parental and individual positive attitude toward the HL as well as active communicative use of it within the home environment help maintain heritage language (Fishman 2001; Hashimoto and Lee 2011; Li 1999; Man Park and Sarkar 2008). There is also evidence showing that parents' use of mother tongue instead of the societal language with the child and particularly a richer home literacy environment with books and frequent reading activities have a strong potential to encourage lexical development and thus increase the vocabulary size among heritage speakers (Willard et al. 2015). However, it is also the case that these familial and individual efforts do not necessarily and/or sufficiently result in preventing the linguistic outcomes seen in communities where HL is not formally supported in the wider context, especially when the societal language inevitably becomes dominant within the third generation HSs who experience a sharp language shift when they start formal education solely in the societal language.

It is a generally acknowledged fact that formal education and literacy enables linguistic standardization in monolingual environments. Moreover, recent studies (see for instance Kupisch and Rothman 2016) suggest that differences in access to mother-tongue literacy in combination with formal education in a bilingual environment seems to be the most consistent explanatory variable that underlies the linguistic divergence in HSs as compared to other language learner groups (see for a detailed discussion Montrul 2016). Based on their review of a series of studies examining HSs of French and Italian in Germany across a wide range of grammatical properties (morphology, syntax, and phonology), Kupisch and Rothman (2016) concluded that the differences between French and Italian groups resulted from the fact that only the French HSs received mother-tongue literacy as they were students of the Lycée Francais in Germany. The same review also showed that HSs, in this case the French, who received significant literacy training in the heritage language as part of their primary education, showed very few to no differences from age-matched monolinguals in adulthood in terms of their grammatical competence.

Rothman (2007) argues, in the case for the use of inflected infinitives in Brazilian Portuguese by HSs, that exposure to formal literacy leads to greater quality and variation of input which is otherwise not readily available to HSs within the home environment. This richer exposure thus enables these HS grammars to develop and converge on a more standard variety of their mother tongue. The evidence also is clear that higher levels of productive HL and literacy in HS positively aids linguistic and literacy outcomes in the societal language (Rauch et al. 2012). However, as discussed above, this level of HS maintenance or societal academic achievement is not currently possible in Germany where mainstream education and literacy in Turkish is not formally and systematically available for all HSs. Likewise, parental commitment to HS, understandably, faces heavy logistical and emotional pressures to allow German dominance to become normalized among the children. This all makes Turkish HL language development more vulnerable to variability and divergence. With clear evidence of the value of consistent educational and institutional support, current ill-informed, under-resourced, and negative practices from the authorities could change for the better. Meanwhile, it would be surprising to expect HS children to maintain a positive HL attitude within and outside the home

environment where they could regard their HL and its culture as a resource for a better future.

Clearly, the results of this study in line with the other studies cited here emphasize that not only parents and the HS community but also the mainstream curriculum designers in Germany need to get involved in creating an effective and consistent environment for Turkish HS children to understand the importance of HL learning and maintenance. Without authorities recognizing the specific needs of Turkish HSs as part of the official school system, Turkish children will eventually lose motivation and commitment toward learning and maintaining their HL in the "wild" mainly because they grow up in a social and academic environment where only the German language is recognized as a means to achieve certain socioeconomic and academic success. There are successful pedagogical HL teaching practices around the world (see Bayram, Pascual y Cabo and Rothman in this book) that authorities can benefit from while attending to the needs of Turkish HSs and other HS groups in Germany. The efforts of parents and community centers could be recognized and promoted in a more unified way to strengthen the collaboration between formal and nonformal exposure, and make HL education more accessible to wider populations.

This paper is intended to provide a resource for families, educators, and other interested parties in maintaining Turkish language as a rich and resourceful linguistic heritage in Germany. The extension of PT to HL acquisition as a formal/cognitive approach may potentially help answer issues dealing with language development with its predictive power to account for grammatical structures unfolding at a predetermined developmental schedule and the individual variability of levels of acquisition observed within heritage speaker communities. This, in turn, may inform HL pedagogies to be implemented in a more effective way. HL education is and will continue to play a key role in HL maintenance and development. Although there are recent efforts to bring together formal and pedagogical approaches to HS bilingualism (e.g., Rothman et al. 2016), there is still an immense amount of research that remains to be done for a better understanding of HS grammars and more communication to take place between all the interested bodies involved in this process.

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Heritage Language Development in Interlingual Families

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Martin Guardado

Abstract

Heritage language research across contexts and areas of focus has intensified in the last two decades. Despite such an increase, families of mixed linguistic background are minimally represented in the literature. This is incompatible with the current global increase and social reality of this family type. The ethnolinguistic diversification of family composition worldwide calls for more targeted research with a growing demographic that grapples with an amplified complexity of issues. Therefore, the chapter provides a succinct overview of a selection of topics of fundamental importance, such as family language policy, an emerging area traditionally discussed only tangentially in related scholarship. It then describes the deployment of various family language policies and the relative effectiveness of implementing these communication arrangements. Moreover, the chapter highlights some of the ways in which the social, linguistic, and political circumstances of interlingual families may pose challenges related to policies and practices where various power relations – particularly gender – are implicated. It is shown that heritage language research with the children of parents who do not share a mother tongue has begun to establish key foundational knowledge regarding the factors that impact their linguistic lives but also reaffirms the recent call made by scholars about the need for further research around interlingual family language policy, socialization, and related issues. Finally, the chapter puts forward possible directions for future research and knowledge dissemination among key stakeholders.

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Introduction

While the use of the term heritage language (HL) is relatively new, in the last decade there has been a significant increase in its use to refer to research historically bearing the labels of mother tongue, home language, bilingualism, language maintenance, language loss, language attrition, and so on (He 2008). This growing scholarship has arguably advanced the body of knowledge in these related research areas in important ways. As a result, our understanding of families' beliefs, opinions, motivations, and practices around HL development is relatively well established in sociolinguistics – although many questions remain. Yet, a comprehensive review suggests that linguistically intermarried families are not significantly represented in this research literature (Braun and Cline 2014; Jackson 2007; Okita 2002), which is rather incongruous both with the current increase of this family type internationally and with the idiosyncratic social reality of these families. Indeed, HL development is viewed as significantly more challenging and complex for interlingual parents – emotionally demanding, time-consuming, and labor intensive (Blum-Kulka 2008; Minami 2013; Okita 2002; Tsushima and Guardado 2016). These families must contend with several languages in daily life, coupled with the potential for conflict that cultural differences in beliefs and practices may pose around child-rearing and other issues. Studies have shown that often parents disagree on cultural transmission priorities and specific language practices for HL development (Crippen and Brew 2013; Dumanig et al. 2013). For instance, in a US study that explored strategies of cultural adaptation employed by intercultural couples in which one parent was an immigrant, Crippen and Brew (2013) identified several strategies of cultural adaptation, a finding that underscores the great diversity of ways in which intercultural/ interlingual parents may approach parenting and language socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012) with their children.

Despite the increasing richness of knowledge in HL socialization, development, and maintenance, there is a relative lack of research with children who grow up in linguistically intermarried families with parents who have been raised in different ethnic communities and thus do not share the same native languages (Braun and Cline 2014; Jackson 2007; Yamamoto 2001). Given the coexistence of two or more HLs and cultures in interlingual families, child-rearing becomes significantly more challenging compared to monolingual and even bilingual families (Blum-Kulka 2008). These

parents face unique parenting challenges due to often competing and contradictory linguistic ideologies and cultural values. It is argued that these and other elements complicate their family dynamics, including metalinguistic negotiations, decision-making around family language policies, and the implementation of patterns of language use among all family members. Thus, there is a pressing global need to better understand HL issues in children who grow up in interlingual families given the rapid rate at which the diversity of populations is currently increasing in many parts of the world (Wang 2008). Thus, this chapter provides a state-of-the-art review of research from across contexts and language groups with families whose parents do not share a mother tongue.

The Growth of Linguistic Intermarriage

The accumulated research around HLs has advanced this area of study significantly, although it generally presumes and focuses on families whose parents share the same mother tongue. The focus of this chapter is on HL development in cases of linguistic exogamy, the practice of marrying outside of one's ethnolinguistic group. These families have been variously referred to in the research literature and associated scholarship as mixed unions (Statistics Canada 2011b), linguistically intermarried couples (Jackson 2009; Piller 2001a), interlingual families (Jackson 2009; Yamamoto 2001), cross-linguistic and cross-cultural marriages (Constable 2005), and bilingual/multilingual couples (Piller and Takahashi 2006), among other terms in use. The terms most commonly used in this chapter are *interlingual* and *linguistically intermarried families*. This definition differs somewhat from the usage sometimes found in the literature. For instance, the typology of interlingual family proposed by Yamamoto (2001, p. 43) includes parents who share a native language, but use their mother tongue or a third language for family communication. In her view, these families are interlingual in relation to the societal language.

The linguistic diversity of traditionally Anglophone countries is currently increasing and often discussed in the media. Examples include cities such as Sydney in Australia, London in the United Kingdom (UK), and New York in the United States (USA). In Canada, the number of non-Anglophone speakers has grown steadily with each consecutive national census, and as of 2011, first-generation Canadians (those who were born outside of Canada) and their children accounted for 39.4% of the total population, and this trend is likely to continue in the 2016 census. Since Canada's Anglophone population is estimated at about 58% (Statistics Canada 2011a), Canadian residents who are bilingual, multilingual, or monolingual in a language other than English potentially make up about 42% of the total Canadian population. The proportion of the Canadian population who reported using a language other than French or English at home has been increasing steadily as a result of this demographic trend. In Quebec, the most multilingual province in Canada, 42.6% of the population reported fluency in both English and French (*ibid*). However, the linguistic landscape of Quebec homes is rapidly changing as well. The 2011 census showed that the use of French as the only language spoken at home has

steadily declined in this city since 2001, indicating that the presence of languages brought by immigrants continues to be on the rise.

In line with the above trends in Canada and internationally, the growth of interlingual families globally has been noted in relation to various countries, including Norway (Constable 2005), Japan (Yamamoto 2001), Australia (Oriyama 2010), and Canada (Minami 2013). In the latter, this type of exogamy has increased rapidly since at least the 1976 census (Castonguay 1982) and most dramatically over the 20-year period between 1991 and 2011. The total number of married and common-law couples in mixed unions increased from 2.6% of all couples in 1991 to 4.6% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2011b). Strikingly, out of the total of Japanese Canadian couples reported in this census, the group with the highest incidence of forming partnerships or marrying outside of their group, approximately 78.7% involved a spouse or partner who was not Japanese. It was also reported that the likelihood of mixed couples to have children was much higher than for non-mixed unions. Importantly, research based on census data indicates that children whose parents do not share the same mother tongue experience the most HL loss in Canada (Harrison 1990; Pendakur 1990; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 1997). Indeed, the little Canadian research that has examined the processes of HL socialization and maintenance in the children of linguistically intermarried couples demonstrates that the challenges they face in this regard are significantly intensified compared to families whose parents share the same mother tongue (e.g., Hwang 2005; Minami 2013; Tsushima and Guardado 2016).

Interlingual Parenting Complexities

Scholarly writing tends to characterize HL socialization as highly complex (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Guardado 2008a; He 2010, 2012; Li and Duff 2008; Tsushima and Guardado 2016). A growing body of research with monolingual and interlingual families has documented the multiplicity of forces that impact the policies, practices, and outcomes related to HL development at various levels (e.g., micro and macro) (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; del Carmen Salazar 2008; Guardado 2008b, 2009; King et al. 2008; McGroarty 2010; Ricento 2005). This work has also shown the situated, socially constructed, and contested ways in which identity is tied to the HL (Blackledge et al. 2008; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Guardado 2010, 2011; He 2010). Last but not least, communication dynamics emerging from power relations within families, cultural production, child agency, resistance, and many other issues have been examined based on naturalistic interactions in homes and communities (Guardado 2008a, 2009, 2013). It is not surprising that one of the most common themes found in scholarship with interlingual families is its multifaceted nature (Döpke 1992; Fogle and King 2013; Jackson 2009; Kouritzin 2000; Lanza 2001; Minami 2013; Okita 2002; Tsushima and Guardado 2016; Yamamoto 2001).

Given that the issues involved are significantly intensified and embedded within added complications, language use patterns in interlingual families are considerably more fluid (Yamamoto 2001). While language is an important index of personal and

ethnic identity for linguistic minorities (Jedwab 2014), this link is particularly marked for parents in interlingual families and more so for mothers when they are full-time child care providers without employment, familial, or other social networks outside the home. Montreal, the largest city in Québec and the second largest in Canada, serves as an example. Although officially Francophone, English has a high status and strong presence in society, and many immigrant and indigenous languages are often heard on the streets. In this highly multilingual milieu, parents in interlingual relationships grapple with many more complications compared to parents in other settings. On the one hand, with their partners, they may use French, English, or other languages for family communication, and their children invariably bring the French language from school. Although research has shown that HL maintenance is significantly higher in Quebec than in other Canadian regions (e.g., British Columbia and the Prairies), this finding only applies to parents who share a mother tongue. In fact, using official census data, Swidinsky and Swidinsky (1997) found that in Canadian families where only one parent was foreign born, which fits the interlingual family definition used in this chapter, HL maintenance was significantly lower. This finding complicates the topic in the Quebecois context considerably, in particular in relation to interlingual families and more so in the city of Montreal where English and many other languages interact in society.

A variety of associated complications have been examined in several international contexts, such as Japan and the UK. For instance, Jackson's (2009) research in Japan addresses the linguistic complexity in interlingual families in regard to the often highly politicized nature of parental attempts to foster the HL. He argues that these families need to negotiate, among other things, the terms and characteristics of the interactions among family members. Okita (2002), based on research in the UK, posits that an example of this complexity can be found in the variety of dilemmas habitually faced by interlingual families in relation to child-rearing dynamics and family language planning. This complexity is arguably also closely related to the often-mentioned emotionally demanding, time-consuming, and labor-intensive nature of HL development in interlingual families. These and other issues, which are at the center of HL socialization in interlingual families, are discussed below.

The Emergence of Family Language Policies

Discussions of home language policy and management have traditionally occurred as a side issue within HL scholarship (Kopeliovich 2010; Spolsky 2009), but this focus has recently emerged as an area of study in its own right. Most commonly discussed under the title of family language policy in recent years, this area of research brings together several interrelated fields and topics that include language policy and planning, second language acquisition (King et al. 2008), and language ideologies and metapragmatics (Guardado 2013). This newly emerging field of study refers to the "explicit and overt planning" (King et al. 2008, p. 907) taking place within families in relation to language use among its members. As a fairly recent addition to HL scholarship, language policy within the home context has been

conducted mostly in interlingual families (King et al. 2008; Okita 2002; Piller 2001b), with few exceptions (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Schwartz 2008). A central research focus on interlingual families is not surprising given the additional complications brought about by competing languages in such family configurations.

While the choice itself to use a particular language in homes where parents have a mother tongue in common may be less problematic, for interlingual families the decision-making process can be a highly political (Jackson 2009; Liamputtong 1991), gendered (Lyon 1996; Pavlenko 2001) and even emotional (Okita 2002; Yamamoto 2001) affair. Making decisions regarding what languages to use, when, and with whom in interlingual families can indeed be an emotional undertaking, as it is something that will affect the rest of their children's lives at various levels, including the type and quality of relationships they will have with their parents and extended families, especially those living in the country or countries of origin of the parents. Tsushima and Guardado (2016) conducted a study with Japanese-descent mothers living in Montreal, Canada, who had formed partnerships with non-Japanese men. The mothers reported experiencing various feelings of guilt and anxiety as a result of their status as the only native speakers of the HL in their families and therefore the sole linguistic resource, making HL development their responsibility. Among the anticipated outcomes of raising children proficient in Japanese, the mothers foregrounded the mother-child bonding as well as overall family bonding. Therefore, for them, this was arguably a high-stakes endeavor they did not take lightly.

Piller (2001a) explains that pervasive asymmetrical power relations in interlingual families on many dimensions can generate a variety of conflicts. Indeed, one of the parents is often positioned in an unfavorable position in the relationship, be it as nonnative speaker, migrant, female, economically dependent, or other positionings based on national and cultural background, or all of the above. A specific analysis of the politicized nature of the decision-making process regarding family language policy in interlingual families is provided by Jackson's (2007, 2009) research with couples living in Japan in which the mother was Japanese and the father was US American. Jackson concluded that the HL development of children in linguistically intermarried families tends to be more complex and politicized due to the need to negotiate a variety of processes related to developmental issues and the overall relations and interactions in the family.

Given that gender is a fundamental organizing principle across ethnolinguistic and cultural groups (Gordon 2008), it is not particularly unexpected that one of the most persistent imbalances of power in the language policy decision-making process of interlingual families is related to gender. Mothers have traditionally been seen as the primary caregivers (Tannen 2003), socializers, and transmitters of the mother tongue and this is also the case for interlingual families. Thompson (1991) posits that although in certain contexts fathers are increasingly more involved in parenting, mothers are still the primary caregivers. The expectations regarding multilingual parenting also more often than not seem to rest on mothers (Okita 2002; Pavlenko 2001). Moreover, research in various settings shows that in interlingual families, the language spoken by mothers influence the language developed by children at home

(Luk 1986; Lyon 1996), which may be heard as a predictable result. This outcome, however, may mask a more definitive and critical role played by gender power relations in interlingual families. Drawing on her research with Welsh/English families in Wales, Lyon (1996) found that in this context, mothers tended to accommodate the language of the father. In other words, the father's language determined the home language – including that of the mother – an unequivocal sign of the role that gender plays in the family language policy decision-making process. Even though the languages used by mothers are generally most likely the ones to be passed on to their children, the language spoken by a mother in an interlingual relationship may be that of the father.

Although discussions around the imbalances in terms of gender power relations often presume a disadvantage against women, as evidently shown in the above example, there seem to be instances in interlingual families where the opposite may be true given particular contextual factors. Jackson's (2009) research in Japan found that in one family, the power relations seemed to have shifted in favor of the mother who even "banned" her Anglophone husband from studying and learning Japanese. Jackson speculated that this mother preferred to have her husband remain "a weak Japanese speaker – both in terms of the way this affected the power differentials in the marriage, and the cultural capital potentially derived from being the bilingual wife of an English-speaking husband" (p. 68). Albeit perhaps a rare case, Jackson's research illustrates the varied ways in which "the family's political economy of language" (p. 61) can be politicized and power relations deployed in their policies regarding language use.

Language policies come about differently in different interlingual families, although certain patterns have been identified. For instance, language policy decisions may be made consciously through discussion between parents (Tsushima and Guardado 2016), the decision may be entrusted to the mother (e.g., Yamamoto 2001), the language used may by default be the language in which the couple originally began their relationship, or it may just emerge naturally. The latter is illustrated by Okita's (2002) research with Japanese mothers married to British men living in the UK who found that language decisions were made through discussions with the children or with their partners, and in some cases the language policies developed intuitively. When decisions are made consciously, several factors have been found to impact the process and final decision. The mothers who participated in Tsushima and Guardado's (2016) research in Montreal, for instance, reported engaging in frequent metalinguistic conversations with their partners, relatives, friends, and other stakeholders, which the mothers valued highly and drew on for devising and implementing family language policies.

King and Fogle (2006) have specifically explored the sources of influence in this decision-making process. In their research with families attempting to raise bilingual children in Spanish and English in the USA, half of whom were linguistically mixed, they found that an array of factors affected their participants' decisions, including published parenting advice, their own personal experiences, family members' opinions, and public discourse. As a highly educated group, particularly the mothers, it is not surprising that they had reviewed relevant multilingual parenting literature and

were familiar with certain popularly held notions about bilingualism. For instance, King and Fogle reported that parents sometimes cited research related to cognitive advantages, and even augmented it, and alluded to aspects of the critical period hypothesis, claiming that earlier exposure to multiple languages was better. Even though many of these "citations" were generally unspecified, they had a strong effect on their decisions to raise their children bilingually. Nevertheless, King and Fogle found that the most powerful influence on the parents' language policy decisions did not come from the expert advice they cited but from their personal experiences, beliefs, and preferences. Expert and popular advice was only heeded when it matched their beliefs and the way they had learned, but was dismissed as ineffective when it contradicted them. Another source of influence seemed to come from unsuccessful parenting practices observed in other families. The participating mothers committed to avoiding such pitfalls by engaging in parenting strategies that differed from observed practices they viewed as detrimental.

The participants in Tsushima and Guardado's (2016) Montreal research discussed similar topics, but approached them differently in practice. Their female Japanese participants seemed less assertive in relation to advice received, particularly when this advice was frequently emphasized by individuals in positions of authority, such as teachers in their children's schools. Lacking the confidence to challenge their recommendations and without access to reliable alternative knowledge, some of them abandoned the promotion of the HL in their families.

A final factor affecting the decision-making process of family language policies that cannot be ignored is related to beliefs and values about language held by society and individuals. Language ideologies can be understood as sets of beliefs and values held by community members about the worth of their languages and also about how, when, with whom, and in what contexts or circumstances these linguistic resources should be used (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Therefore, these ideologies also powerfully inform family policies about HL use in and outside the home. Often, however, these ideologies can be highly contradictory, and even though a set of parents may subscribe to the same beliefs about language overtly, in private they may make different choices and engage in different practices (Guardado 2009; Lanza 1997/2004). Thus, language ideologies are central to the success of HL development (Guardado 2017; King et al. 2008) given that they inform family language policy, which impacts practices and largely determines whether a HL is maintained or lost.

The Deployment of Family Language Strategies

It is general practice for interlingual couples to select one of their native languages as their language of communication, which is often the dominant societal language (Romaine 1995), but not necessarily in all cases. In fact, many interlingual couples have native languages that do not match that of their community, posing potential challenges in terms of their language planning choices and communication patterns. The research literature on interlingual parenting has identified several family communication arrangements and has attempted to investigate the relative effectiveness

of each of these. Some of these communication patterns are one parent-one language (OPOL), minority/heritage language at home (MLAH/HLAH, hereafter HLAH), mixing both languages, or using no specific strategy at all.

Studies in a variety of settings have identified OPOL as one of the most common communication arrangements, although not necessarily the most successful (Billings 1990; De Houwer 2007; Döpke 1992; Shang 1997; Takeuchi 2006; Yamamoto 2001). Given its popularity and pervasiveness, it has been researched significantly and referred to in a variety of ways, including a principle (Bain and Yu 1980; Dopke 1992), method (Romaine 1995), framework (Döpke 1998), approach (Döpke 1992; Lyon 1996), strategy (Lanza 1992), and rule (Genesee and Nicoladis 1995). Regardless of the terminology, the format in an OPOL household is that each parent speaks a different language to their children, which may be his or her native language or some other language, often the societal language. The expectation is that the child will use a different language to communicate with each parent. The common language of communication between the parents may be the societal language or a different one, sometimes the language in which the couple started their relationship (e.g., Yamamoto 2001).

Although widely used and often acclaimed as the best method for raising children bilingually in interlingual family situations (e.g., Döpke 1992; Ronjat 1913), several studies have shown that in actual practice, results are inconsistent and less optimistic (e.g., Billings 1990; De Houwer 2007; Quay 2012; Shang 1997; Takeuchi 2006; Yamamoto 2001). This outcome dissimilarity has been attributed to a variety of circumstances and factors. For instance, Takeuchi's study in Australia with Japanese mothers focusing exclusively on OPOL families found that most children did not use the Japanese language actively as adults. She posited that families that were consistent in their strategy use were more successful in raising bilingual children. Billings (1990) found OPOL to be generally successful, although it led to active bilingualism in only half of the cases. Döpke (1998), an enthusiastic supporter of OPOL, recognizes the lack of consistent outcomes across families and concludes that several factors have an impact on its effectiveness in fostering active bilingualism, including the quantity and quality of linguistic input, insistence on the use of the HL, and interactional style of parents. She posits that this variability poses questions about the forces that cause different results under similar conditions within families.

The HLAH pattern of family communication is not as widely known as OPOL, but seems to be adopted at least as frequently. HLAH consists of both parents selecting the minority language for family communication. This assumes that only one heritage language is involved or promoted and that the societal language is the native language of one of the parents. Thus, this parent will use the minority language – a nonnative language – for all family communication. An example of this is a French-speaking Canadian man living in Montreal, Canada, whose female partner is a native speaker of Japanese. In this example, the French-speaking father would use Japanese at home. If both parents speak a non-societal language, such as the case of a Japanese-speaking woman living in Montreal who is married to an Arabic-speaking man, one of the two HLs might be selected for family communication, provided both parents are proficient in this language, to the detriment of the

other HL. Otherwise, French or English might be used, in which case the HLAH pattern of communication would not be possible. A case in point is provided by an ethnographic study with Hispanic families in British Columbia, Canada. Guardado (2008a) described a family in which the mother was from Spain and the father from Afghanistan. The father used English with all family members and the mother used Spanish with the children. Clearly, in this family, the only heritage language promoted was Spanish, to the exclusion of Persian. Researchers have found the HLAH method of communication to be widely used. For instance, Yamamoto (2001) studied interlingual families living in Japan and found that HLAH, not OPOL, was actually the most common and effective pattern of family communication. Other studies have found varying results regarding the frequency with which OPOL is adopted, with some studies finding OPOL to be the most commonly selected pattern (Billings 1990; Shang 1997), followed by HLHA, and others identifying the HLAH as the most common, followed by OPOL (Yamamoto 2001; in the Japanese context when the HL is English). In terms of their effectiveness for fostering active bilingualism, HLHA has been found to be as effective (Shang 1997) and in some families more effective than OPOL (Billings 1990; Yamamoto 2001).

The third most commonly found communication arrangement is the mixed language strategy where all family members use both parental languages for family communication (Billings 1990; Yamamoto 2001). The results have shown that this method tends to lead to more passive than active bilingualism (Billings 1990; Yamamoto 2001). Finally, there are interlingual families that report interest in HL development but lack a defined family language policy. Not having a strategy most often leads to passive bilingualism or even monolingualism (Shang 1997; Yamamoto 2001).

In sum, the research literature has shown that both OPOL and HLAH are common and effective methods adopted by interlingual families, although individual family differences and practices tend to produce different results. Mixing and lack of strategy consistency do not produce successful results (Billings 1990; Döpke 1998; King et al. 2008; Yamamoto 2001). While both OPOL and HLAH are effective strategies, HLAH was been identified as the most effective overall (e.g., Billings 1990; Shang 1997). This might be because although children in general tend to frequently select the dominant language for interactions with all family members, the use of a minority language by all family members makes it more prevalent, increases linguistic exposure, and conveys explicit and implicit messages about its significance. These factors may create conditions in which children are more likely to use the minority language when the HLAH strategy is implemented.

Factors Affecting Interlingual Heritage Language Development

Heritage language development in interlingual families is shaped by a variety of factors that are related and unrelated to the above patterns, including – but not limited to – discourse practices used to encourage HL use, number of siblings, quantity and quality of linguistic input, gender relations, and language ideologies.

A few studies have found that the number of siblings and order of birth can have an effect on the level of active bilingualism they develop. For instance, Döpke (1992) found that younger children in interlingual families in Australia tended to develop lower proficiency in the heritage language, presumably as a result of the reduced HL input they received, echoing Hoffmann's (1985) earlier research in the UK and corroborated by more recent research in other contexts (e.g., Yamamoto 2001). Indeed, it is commonly recognized that older siblings tend to bring the dominant language into the home, drastically impacting the language use patterns of younger siblings (Guardado 2002).

Parents have been found to utilize a variety of linguistic devices to encourage their children to use a particular language in their day-to-day interactions. These have been termed parental insisting strategies (Döpke 1992), discourse strategies (Lanza 2007), discourse styles (Quay 2012), and metapragmatic strategies (Guardado 2013). Lanza's (2007) findings suggest that making the parental linguistic preferences explicit to children is essential in ensuring the child uses the expected language (see also Yu 2014). Along these lines, Lanza has found that interactional strategies that promote a more monolingual communication pattern between a parent-child pair foster more favorable conditions for active bilingualism. In recent research based on microlinguistic analyses of adult caregiver-child interactions, Guardado (2013) has hypothesized that rhetorically strong strategies such as direct commands may not be the most effective in fostering HL development in children as these directives tend to negatively affect communication within families. Although there does not seem to be conclusive research showing the relative effectiveness of particular interactional strategies in fostering active bilingualism, there is an agreement that the use of linguistic devices (such as commands or requests) to encourage children to use one language or another is central to HL development (Döpke 1992; Kasuya 1998; Lanza 2007).

Just as studies have identified gender structures as influential in the language use choices of interlingual families, this factor has also been found to decisively impact outcomes. For instance, in her research in Wales, Lyon found that mothers accommodated the language of their husbands, effectively setting the home language policy. Because mothers directly impacted the language use patterns of the children, this gender imbalance determined the fate of the children's language development. Similar effects have been observed in other research (e.g., Luk 1986). Relatedly, Yamamoto (2001) found that if the mother was the speaker of the minority language in an interlingual family, the couple was more likely to use the minority language in their communication, and when this was the case, the children's chances of developing active bilingualism were higher. A further gender effect found was that in cases where the father was the minority language speaker, the family was more likely to adopt the OPOL interactional strategy. A variety of other gender effects have been discussed by several scholars (e.g., Clyne and Kipp 1997; Jackson 2009; Okita 2002).

The role that language ideologies play in HL development in general (e.g., Becker 2013; Guardado 2009, 2013) and in particular within interlingual families (Fogle 2013; Lyon 1996; King et al. 2008; Yamamoto 2001) has been increasingly

addressed in research. This work has shown that societal and parental attitudes about language and multilingualism are a strong influence on the language management and policy decisions made by interlingual couples. The role of language ideologies is key to HL development given that they inform family language policies, which in turn shape the language use patterns found in these homes. Consequently, they impact the language development trajectories of children and determine the maintenance or loss of the heritage language (Fogle and King 2013; King et al. 2008; King and Fogle 2006; Lanza 2007; Okita 2002). In sum, the most positive environment for HL development in interlingual families seems to be one where both parents use the minority language for communication in the home. This, of course, is only possible when only one parent's language is being fostered, as in the case of a minority language mother and a dominant language father who is proficient in the minority language. Yamamoto (2001) seems to summarize this point in the self-explanatory "principle of maximal engagement," which she proposes as an alternative to OPOL. She states that in linguistic environments where this principle operates, children receive greater HL input as well as a subtextual message that the HL is important and should be used at all times.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The present review of the literature shows that heritage language research with the children of parents who do not share a mother tongue has begun to establish key foundational knowledge regarding the factors that affect their experiences, at least in certain contexts. Through research investigating a wide range of questions in various settings and using different methodologies and theoretical lenses, scholars have generated important understandings of how HL development is shaped by the linguistic, cultural, and social contexts in which these families are embedded. Nevertheless, many scholars have recently called for increased research around interlingual family language policy, socialization, and related issues given the multiple complexities that this demographic faces (Heller and Levy 1992; Jackson 2009; King et al. 2008; Lanza 2001, 2007; Minami 2013; Noro 2009; Tsushima and Guardado 2016). Indeed, much more research needs to be undertaken which examines, documents, and theorizes the full range of ways in which the children of interlingual families experience the languages in their lives, the factors that impact on these experiences, and how the outcomes of these processes affect their future.

Indeed, this specific area of inquiry offers several valuable lines of future research. For instance, if, as Ochs and Schieffelin have stated, learning language "goes hand-in-hand with acquiring sociocultural knowledge" (1995, p. 74), HL development within the highly complex interactional dynamics of interlingual families must no doubt involve intricate processes of negotiation and socialization into highly varied and hybrid cultural values and practices. Ethnographic accounts using a language socialization perspective have much to uncover and explain regarding the linguistic lives of families made up of various ethnolinguistic

combinations. Ochs and Schieffelin ([2008]) posit "that the coexistence of two or more codes within a particular community, whatever the sociohistorical and political circumstances that have given rise to them or brought them into contact, is rarely neutral in relation to children's developing linguistic and sociocultural competence" (p. 10). Recasting the family as a community of sorts, it is argued that the social, linguistic, and political circumstances of interlingual families are not neutral and in fact pose significant challenges where various power relations come to play. Gender emerged repeatedly in this literature review as a central point of friction and power struggle that impacted family language policy, communication dynamics, and even the well-being of family members, particularly mothers. Future research should examine in more detail how power dynamics related to gender impact the HL socialization of children in these families across settings and ethnolinguistic combinations.

For interlingual parents, the complexities associated with HL socialization, along with the concomitant emotional, physical, and financial burden they often shoulder, can lead to feelings of anxiety, guilt, confusion, and frustration. As Tsushima and Guardado found, this state of affairs is largely generated or at least compounded by interlingual parents' relative lack of access to knowledge regarding multilingual parenting and family language planning. Therefore, in addition to deepening research into the complexities, possibilities, and limits of HL development in interlingual families, it is of utmost urgency that scholars also make efforts to ensure that knowledge created with families also reaches families, clarifies ambiguities, and informs their daily practice. This scholarly knowledge should also reach other stakeholders, such as community leaders, school personnel, health professionals, and other stakeholders who at times are in a position to provide linguistic advice to families.

Cross-References

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Parents-Schools' Communication and Albanian as a Heritage Language in Greece

27

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Abstract

The purpose of this chapter is to provide, in the first part, an overview of research data concerning immigrant parents-school communication in the Greek context. The focus is on Albanians as they constitute the largest immigrant group in Greece. We present data from a study which included focus-groups and group interviews with parents in order to investigate the communicative and language needs of Albanian parents with regard to their communication with the schools attended by their children. The issue of parents-school communication was also approached through the teachers' perspectives. In the second part, we present a review of Greek sociolinguistic studies relevant to the issue of Albanian as a heritage language. We draw on the issues that the field has been dealing with and on the recent research trends. Specifically, we discuss (a) Greek educational policies regarding heritage languages and (b) attitudes and practices of parents, students, and teachers concerning the use, teaching and learning of Albanian. We present data and findings of a set of qualitative and quantitative large or small-scale studies conducted in Greece during the last decade (2009–2016). The chapter will conclude with some suggestions for future directions in research and practice.

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Contents

Introduction

The importance of parents-school communication is well documented on an international level. The challenges of communication between immigrant families and schools constitute a field that has attracted scientific interest in the last two decades (cf. Bernhard et al. 1998; Peña 2000; Worthy and Rodríguez-Galindo 2006 for North American cases). The issue of parental involvement becomes more complex, multidimensional, and ideologically loaded in the case of immigrant background parents, who have a language and culture other than the school language/culture. International research data have stressed the role of parental involvement as an important, supportive factor for the academic development of students of immigrant origin (Jeynes 2003; Martinez et al. 2004; Kao 2004; Kim 2002) and in this context, plenty of good practices and educational interventions have already been planed and implemented. In the Greek context, research into sociolinguistic issues among immigrant families has developed rather recently, focusing mostly on the Albanian immigrants, who constitute the largest ethnic group in the country (Gkaintartzi 2014a).

Overview of Immigrant Parents-School Communication in the Greek Context

Research studies on this issue in Greece remain rare (Chatzidaki 2007; Damanakis 1997), whereas the difficulty in communication and collaboration between the schools, attended by students with immigrant backgrounds and the immigrant families, which have limited skills in Greek, imposes the need to find solutions (Androulakis 2013). On the one hand, the dominant view in the Greek school context concerning immigrant parents' participation in their children's school education is that they are involved very little and in an incomplete way, conceiving of

involvement mostly as contacting and visiting the school, participation in its activities, and helping with homework (Chatzidaki 2007). Immigrant parents, on the other hand, face obstacles in communicating with their children's schools, which are related to lack of competence in the majority language, long working hours, their status of residence, difficulties in understanding the school process, etc. (Gkaintartzi 2012).

Parent-school communication is also hindered by the different beliefs, attitudes, and expectations of parents on the one hand and teachers on the other. Relevant research data in Greece have indicated that a large number of teachers believe that immigrant parents do not participate in their children's school education either because they cannot or they are not interested (Damanakis 1997). Moreover, teachers are reported to believe that immigrant parents have average or limited educational expectations for their children and thus consider their attitude toward the Greek school as "indifferent" (Damanakis 1997, p. 187). Similar more recent qualitative data have shown that teachers attribute immigrant students' learning difficulties to their deprived – economically, educationally, and linguistically – family environment and think that immigrant parents are not interested in their children's education (Kasimi 2005). It is also pointed out that most teachers interpret immigrant families' attitudes towards the school based on their socio-economic status and in general hold a negative view of their potential involvement in their children's education (*ibid*). Teachers tend to attribute immigrant parents' cooperative attitude toward the school also to the future plans of the families (repatriation or permanent residence) (Kontogianni 2009). Kindergarten teachers are also reported to consider immigrant parents' communication with the schools as limited but on the other hand believe that home-school cooperation is an "extra burden" for them and unnecessary (Pantazis 2006).

Most of the above research data have confirmed that teachers in majority believe that immigrant parents are not involved in their children's education. It is also pointed out that teachers' negative representations are so powerful that affect even those with no personal experience with immigrant families (Chatzidaki 2007). Their view of parental involvement is thus characterized as "hegemonic," since they devalue their capital and do not recognize their diversity. Another study on kindergarten teachers has shown that although teachers promote immigrant parents' involvement, encouraging them to participate mostly in group cooperative activities and events, they do not actively involve them in the school learning processes (Kontogianni 2009). They also consider them as cooperative toward the school, a (different) finding which can be interpreted upon the less demanding, more "favorable," and thus accessible for communication environment of the kindergarten school (Kontogianni 2009).

However, it seems that the dominant view of parental involvement from the teachers' perspectives does not take into account the existing difficulties, which immigrant parents face in communicating with the school, the different linguistic and cultural capital nor the different beliefs and perspectives these families may hold regarding the issue. This gap between teachers' and parents' construction of the concept of parental involvement and its content is documented by an ethnographic study, investigating in a composite way language views and practices from the three

perspectives of teachers, immigrant parents, and their children (Gkaintartzi 2012). According to its research data, parents, mostly mothers who do not work, report that they have undertaken the role of helping, supporting, and checking their children with their homework, especially in the first primary classes, while they themselves have learnt to read and write in Greek through this process. They mostly conceive of their role as helping their children at home and devoting time to their homework. They also express their agony, concern, and active interest in their children's school progress, stating their investment in the Greek language for their future academic and social development and trying to fulfill their role towards the schools' demands concerning school (language) learning, often implying their conflicts and dilemmas. They even adjust their language choice patterns in the home context and choose to speak Greek exclusively with them, when assisting them, in order to support them more with their school learning, as shown in the following extract from an Albanian father:

Interview Excerpt

> I speak with Entri Greek and Albanian, because when we do his homework, we speak mostly Greek, of course he can write better than me, his spelling and so, because he has learnt it, while I can read and understand all the books and I help him do his homework, to be prepared for the next day, to go to school, to have the homework done. And OK we speak Greek, almost, but only, except from the school homework, when we finish it, I try to speak Albanian, so as not to forget, to know everything in Albanian too, not to forget[…] It is just that Greek attracts him more now, because he learns it at school too and it attracts him more but nevertheless, he does well in Albanian too, for example he can read and […]

Concerning their contact with the school, they believe that they do communicate adequately with the school, taking into account their long working hours, their language and communicate needs, family obligations, and feelings of embarrassment (Gkaintartzi 2012). Moreover, their attitudes toward the Greek school seem to be affected by their school experiences from the Albanian school, which was more "strict" and not open to communication, since it emerges that they do want to "interfere" with the teachers' work at school and thus restrict their role mostly to supporting their children in the home context. Parental involvement appears thus to be culturally oriented and conceived of through different perspectives, experiences, and values.

On the other hand, teachers tend to attribute the children's school difficulties to the use of the heritage language at home and hold immigrant parents responsible for showing lack of interest in their children's academic development and inclusion through their language use patterns in the family context (Gkaintartzi 2012). For them, home-school communication depends mostly on the active interest shown by immigrant parents to maintain a frequent contact with them, while communication skills in the Greek language emerge as a basic factor, upon which they evaluate parents' willingness to assimilate and as a result participate in home-school cooperation (Gkaintartzi 2012). As the school teacher points out in the following extract:

Interview Excerpt

> This father speaks Greek very well and his vocabulary, I heard him speak; he also used difficult words, which I have never heard before from Albanians. This father is very good [. . .] while in the beginning he was hesitant at school, now he seems more comfortable, he came to pick his child up and I saw him[..]But why don't they come to school? To work with the teacher? To be closer? Why do they not care?

It appears that if home-school communication is constructed only through the Greek language, the legitimate language of the school, immigrant parents are by that very fact placed in "weaker," "deficit" positions and home-school power relations control their communication. In other words, the linguistic and cultural capital of immigrant parents is interpreted and treated by school teachers as "deficit" (Auerbach 1993), and therefore, access to the children's education is determined upon the legitimacy of one and only capital. Thus, home-school communication is based on "hegemonic," unequal, and unilateral communication, which contributes to the disempowerment of immigrant families (Gkaintartzi et al. 2012).

From the above overview of research data concerning immigrant parents-school communication in the Greek context, it is evident that most studies have investigated this issue from the teachers' perspectives, while studies on immigrant parents' views and perceptions of their involvement and cooperation with the school are limited (Gkaintartzi 2012; Chatzidaki 2007). The research presented in the following section (ELMEGO) includes data from immigrant parents and teachers in order to study the issue of parents-school communication from both perspectives and provide a more complete view of the data.

The Project ELMEGO

ELMEGO is an acronym for Greek for Immigrant Parents and it was a research program funded by the Research Committee of the University of Thessaly. It was carried out throughout the years 2011–2012. The subject of this project was to plan and implement specialized courses of Greek language for immigrant parents with children attending compulsory education. The main objective was to facilitate immigrant parents' communication with teachers and schools, attended by their children, with the overarching aim to facilitate linguistic, school, and social integration of immigrants in Greek society. It was a project undertaken in a particularly sensitive context of financial and social crisis in Greece, during which negative and even racist reactions had been brought about. The project "had been conceived as a combination of social solidarity and cutting-edge research on second language teaching and learning" (Androulakis 2013). It was awarded the European Language Label for 2012.

The courses were based on the needs analysis of the target group and the material was developed for the purposes of the project. Concerning the research methodology, the project was team based and grounded within the community (Wei 2012). A qualitative approach was adopted, which involved open (unstructured) and semi-

structured interviews, individual (3) and group (4) interviews, focus groups (8) with prospective students and teachers, ethnographic observation of the courses and written reports from teachers, mediators, and researchers.

ELMEGO Findings

Immigrant Parents' Perspectives of Home-School Communication

The ELMEGO findings confirm that immigrant parents consider their communication with the school as satisfactory, in contrast to teachers and state their involvement in their children's education. In general, they perceive the concept of home-school communication as receiving information from the teachers about their children's progress. Despite their investment in their children' education and school progress, home-school communication is not ranked very high by immigrant parents among their communication needs in the Greek language, compared to other language domains. This is interpreted by the researchers on the basis of several factors, which relate to their low self-esteem and sense of insecurity due to their status, their devaluation from the school and social context, their needs' prioritization, and their culturally oriented perceptions of home-school communication.

It seems that their culturally defined perception of home-school cooperation is driven by their past experiences and beliefs concerning the Albanian school system and rests on their absolute acceptance of and trust in the teachers' and schools' role, as shown in other research data as well (Chatzidaki 2007; Gkaintartzi 2012). There are, however, some parents who do express their willingness for a more qualitative and multifaceted communication with the school, for which they would like advice and guidance from the school.

The most important difficulties reported concern home-school communication in the written form, which functions through school notes and documents in Greek, sent to immigrant parents in order to inform, require their approval and signature, etc. Such mode of communication demands specific literacy skills, and apart from creating practical communication problems, it has also multidimensional aspects, since it appears to contribute to their sense of low self-esteem and negative self-image and consequently to their further disempowerment. As shown in the following extract coming from an Albanian mother below:

Interview Excerpt

[...] the teacher so as not to say: "Oh! Her mother is Albanian and does not know how to write" and my daughter not to feel ... devaluated

The main dimension of their involvement, as articulated by them, is helping their children with their homework, while they also express their difficulties, feelings of agony, low self-confidence, and conflicts, a finding which is confirmed by other data

too (Gkaintartzi 2012). What is interesting though is that they do not communicate their difficulties to the school teachers, since their contact is restricted only to receiving information about their children's school performance. It thus becomes evident that home-school "dialogue" is mainly constructed on a hegemonic, unequal "monologue," controlled by the school, which "silences" the voices of immigrant parents (Delpit 1988, Silenced Dialogue) and defines all terms and access to communication (Gkaintartzi et al. 2012). This "silence" of immigrant parents is interpreted by the researchers as a conscious choice of their own, driven by their language difficulties in expressing their thoughts efficiently and discussing in depth with teachers, as well as by their feelings of embarrassment and their devaluation from the school context. Their "silence" relates to their "invisibility" (Gkaintartzi et al. 2016) since, among other, immigrant parents report that they do not participate in activities organized by parent-teachers associations. This is how an Albanian background mother describes her verbal communication with the teacher at school:

Interview Excerpt

> You collapse psychologically! You feel nothing! You stand there for five – ten minutes and you feel like "when is this conversation going to end to get out of here!"

It could, however, be argued that this "silence" is not a choice from the part of immigrant parents but rather a position imposed on them by the "hegemonic," "violent" communication (Bourdieu et al. 1999), as it is constructed between the school and the parents, which deprives them of their "voices," makes them "invisible," and consequently leads to their disempowerment.

Teachers' Perspectives of Home-School Communication

Concerning Greek state school teachers' perceptions of home-school communication, the ELMEGO research data confirm that they report the lack of interest and distance shown by immigrant parents. The attitudes of *these uptight people*, as characterized by a teacher of the research sample, are attributed, among other things, to their low social and educational status. However, a very enlightening finding is that the issue of home-school communication emerges as a rather vague and unclear procedure for them, perceiving it almost exclusively from the scope of their own needs and expectations. It seems that they conceive of home-school communication as having specific boundaries – drawn by the school – which cannot be transcended by parents, otherwise it is considered as intervening with their work. Home-school communication is thus restricted to the acceptance of the school priorities and rules, without interfering with the teachers' work, while most responsibilities and demands are stated from the part of the parents. As a teacher explains:

Interview Excerpt Communication should be 'everyday', it should be pursued by the parent and not constitute only a response to the teacher's call, it should be characterized by respect and not to intervene with the educational work.

Therefore, contradictorily, they express their satisfaction with their communication with immigrant parents, not because they do communicate qualitatively with them but rather because in fact immigrant parents cannot adequately express their thoughts and voices. Their perceptions of communication with immigrant parents are affected by their role and position of power held in the school context. It is effective if immigrant parents respond "appropriately" linguistically, culturally, and educationally, and therefore, their involvement is interpreted from a dominant view, which requires from parents passive acceptance, "respect" and assimilation to the Greek norm. It is evident that home-school communication in the case of immigrant parents has broader socio-political dimensions, and it is a highly ideological issue, echoing dominant language ideologies and hegemonic power-relations among them (Blackledge 2001; Gkaintartzi et al. 2012).

Greek Educational Policies Regarding Heritage Languages

Migration has altered the economic, social, and educational landscape of Greece, since the early 1990s, when the first flows of immigration started. The Greek state has tried to be oriented towards the directions of the European Commission concerning the language teaching-learning and educational inclusion of immigrant background children so as to promote diversity and multiculturalism. In order to respond to the new challenges created by the presence of a large number of immigrant students in Greek schools, the first official decision for the Greek educational system was taken in the early 1980s, with the law 1404/198, which provided for Reception and Support (or Tutorial) classes in mainstream schools, where Greek was taught as a second language. However, these classes were mainly oriented towards the linguistic assimilation of immigrant background students, focusing on the intensive teaching of the Greek language regardless of their linguistic and cultural background (Damanakis 1997; Dimakos and Tasiopoulou 2003).

Several years later, Law 2413/96 "Greek Education Abroad, Intercultural Education and Other Provisions," originated by the change of the socio-political landscape and the increasing migration flow, came to fill in the gap. Among other regulations, this law led to the establishment of 26 "intercultural schools" throughout the country. The aim of this measure was to cover the language and communication needs of pupils, who have a mother tongue other than Greek (first and second generation immigrants) and *provide education to young people with a specific educational, social or cultural identity* (the Ministry's translation). One of the requirements was that 45% of the student population consists of "foreign" students. Despite promising special curricula and provisions, this legislation led to the unsuccessful linguistic and cultural integration of non-Greek background students (Mitakidou et al. 2007). The intercultural educational policy aimed at "particular" – ethnic minority – students and their learning needs, while it did not consider the sensitization of the total student population towards diversity (Damanakis 1997).

Foreign and immigrant background students were isolated as "special" students in "special" schools and their "otherness" was legitimized by policy (Damanakis 1997).

Connecting mainstream state schools, educational provisions for immigrant children included mainly the teaching of Greek as a second language in Reception or Support classes (Dimakos and Tasiopoulou 2003; Mitakidou et al. 2007). Concerning the teaching of heritage languages, the ministry of education issued a decision Φ1/22/Γ1/720 (14/9/99), which included more active measures regarding students with immigrant origin. This ministerial decision, recognizing the importance of linguistic diversity and multilingualism, provided for the establishment of classes, where immigrant pupils could be taught the language and culture of their country of origin as part of their school curriculum. Specifically it is stated that: *"lessons for the language and culture of the children's country of origin are optional and classes may be established in schools on condition that there is a sufficient number of pupils (i.e., 7–15 pupils)"* (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b, p. 3). Unfortunately, however, this measure has hardly been implemented in the state school practice (Kiliari 2005). So far, the authorities have claimed that the reason for not introducing such a measure is the lack of interest shown by immigrant parents since immigrant parents do not want their children to attend mother tongue classes for fear that this may interfere with their children's effort to acquire Greek (Mitakidou et al. 2007; Gkaintartzi et al. 2016). Moreover, according to research data, Greek teachers tend to advise parents to speak only Greek at home in order not to "confuse" the child (Gogonas 2007; Mitakidou and Daniilidou 2007; Skourtou 2002).

Migrant languages are still excluded from the state school curriculum and the prevailing perception in the official discourse on the maintenance of heritage languages pertains to a human right, which does not concern the Greek school, transferring thus the responsibility of teaching and learning their languages to the immigrant groups themselves (Gkaintartzi et al. 2016; Kiliari 2005). All in all, measures taken by the Ministry of Education to address immigrant students' educational needs concern exclusively reception and support classes in the Greek language, while there is no "space" for heritage languages teaching-learning, even though these languages concern a large number of immigrant pupils like those of Albanian origin. Concerning heritage language teaching, complementary schools (i.e., schools providing heritage language courses) have begun to function. These are mainly supported by immigrant associations and communities in Greece, without receiving any official recognition by the Greek Ministry of Education (Maligkoudi 2009, p. 298). The first complementary schools were established by the Albanian immigrant communities and focus on teaching the heritage languages and organizing activities for covering their social and cultural needs. However, the number of "complementary" schools organized by local Albanian communities is still quite disproportionately small and participation rates in such classes are quite low (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a).

Furthermore, some studies (Gogonas 2007, 2009, 2010) discuss that the lack of institutional support for teaching-learning heritage languages in Greek schools, in connection with the stigmatization it has received in Greek society, has led to the "abandonment" of the heritage language (Gogonas and Michail 2014). In contrast,

the foreign languages offered in general education are three: English (obligatory), German, and French (obligatory by choice), indirectly reproducing the language hierarchies maintained in EU (Dendrinos and Mitsikopoulou 2004) and reinforcing the abandonment of heritage languages. It can be concluded that the Greek state has not provided for policies that could inspire an intercultural approach and a critical linguistic and cultural awareness and as a result immigrant pupils' languages remain "invisible" in education (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Tsokalidou 2005). All in all, the Greek educational system has been criticized for promoting ethnocentrism and conformity with monolingual norms (Frangoudaki and Dragonas 1997; Katsikas and Politou 1999).

Review of Sociolinguistic Studies Concerning the Issue of Albanian as Heritage Language in Greece

Greek Teachers' Attitudes and Practices Towards the Albanian as a Heritage Language in Greece

Research on Greek teachers' views towards the bilingualism of immigrant pupils in their classrooms has shown that they mostly focus on their school learning difficulties as well as on integration problems they may face (Skourtou et al. 2004; Skourtou 2002; UNICEF 2001; Bombay 1996). Especially, at the beginning of the influx of immigrant pupils in Greek state schools, the majority of teachers reported feeling unprepared to deal with issues of diversity in their classrooms and stated their need for further training (Skourtou et al. 2004; Skourtou 2002). Research data have shown that despite the teachers' progressively positive attitudes towards their students' bilingualism in general, they are still not aware of its' benefits for their school language learning and academic development and thus do not relate it to the school language process (Skourtou et al. 2004; Skourtou 2002). Their views reveal the orientation towards languages as a problem, mainly regarding school language learning (Ruiz 1984).

According to several studies (Gogonas 2007; Mitakidou and Daniilidou 2007; Kasimi 2005; Skourtou 2002), Greek teachers tend to advise immigrant parents to speak only Greek at home, since they consider their heritage languages as an obstacle to school language learning, which hinders second-language development, especially when referring to low-prestige languages such as Albanian in the Greek context (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b). Recent research data have shown that Greek teachers are still hesitant about incorporating the "theory" into their classroom practices, despite their professional developmental experience and their positive attitudes towards bilingualism in its general sense (Skourtou 2008). It seems that as far as school learning is concerned, they hold quite fixed views about their pupils' heritage languages as an obstacle. This also implies the importance of their language ideologies, which according to research data (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b) seem to reflect the legitimization of the Greek language as the "one language for all" in the

school context and the exclusion of the children's heritage languages from everyday school practices.

Concerning the issue of the further development of heritage languages and their inclusion into the state school curriculum, teachers reveal contradictory stances and a degree of ambivalence (Mitakidou and Daniilidou 2007). As a result, it still remains a highly debated issue. According to most recent research data from a nationwide questionnaire survey on Greek state school teachers' views towards their students' heritage languages and their inclusion into the official curriculum, a considerable number of them (48.2%) still believe that heritage languages hinder school language leaning (i.e., Greek) (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b). Another large number stated that the learning of heritage languages should concern the immigrant communities themselves (52.5%). Concerning the issue of teaching the heritage languages in the Greek state school, about half of the teachers (54.8%) responded in a positive way but the overwhelming majority of them (79.2%) stated that such classes should take place after the regular daily school schedule. Their controversies can be understood by studying their language ideologies, which reflect the legitimization of the Greek language as the only school language within the Greek school timetable (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b). Qualitative data on teachers' discourse reveal that their seemingly "neutral" language attitudes, expressed through "indifferent" stances, actually promote the exclusion of the children's heritage languages from the "normal" school timetable. Teachers seem to be "trapped" into this "neutrality" towards the children's heritage languages, driven mostly by the underpinning ideology of monolingualism, which nevertheless remains highly "invisible" to them.

Immigrant Parents' Attitudes and Practices Towards the Albanian as a Heritage Language in Greece

Sociolinguistic research into language attitudes and practices of immigrant groups in Greece has developed rather recently, focusing mostly on Albanian immigrant families, as they constitute the largest ethnic group. Most of these studies indicate tendencies of language shift among the second generation of Albanians in Greece (Chatzidaki 2005; Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012; Gogonas 2009, 2010; Maligkoudi 2010; Michail 2008a, b, 2010; Tsokalidou 2005). A common finding in such studies (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a) is that second-generation speakers of Albanian origin demonstrate higher competence in Greek in comparison to Albanian and a preference for the majority language, especially when communicating among siblings and peers (even of the same background), something that could point to the direction of language shift. Albanian immigrant families tend to restrict the use of the heritage language, to a large extent, to the domain of the "home," while the Greek language dominates in all public domains (Gkaintartzi 2012).

A basic factor for this language shift documented by some studies (Gogonas 2007, 2009, 2010; Michail 2010) is the stigmatization of the Albanian language within the Greek society and the lack of institutional support for teaching Albanian

in Greek schools, despite the large number of Albanian origin pupils (Gogonas and Michail 2014). Moreover, research data also demonstrate young and adult Albanian immigrants' own low perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality and integrative attitude (Gogonas and Michail 2014). At the same time, regarding family policies, research reports that Albanian parents do not apply systematic policies to support Albanian language maintenance (Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013). Although Albanian immigrant parents express positive attitudes towards language maintenance and the further development of the heritage language, they do not engage in specific, systematic language management practices, revealing a degree of ambivalence towards the support of the Albanian language (Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013). Research data attest to their high investment into the Greek language, as a vehicle to the educational, professional, and social development of their children, while their anxiety for language maintenance is often articulated through dilemmas, conflicts, and controversies (Gkaintartzi 2012).

All in all, most sociolinguistic research data among Albanian families in Greece document immigrant parents' positive attitudes towards language maintenance and further attest to their desire for heritage language education, showing however the ambivalences and multiple ideological stances, through which they voice this desire. Research findings suggest that Albanian immigrant families in Greece do not present a uniform picture with regard to language maintenance but vary as to the degree they commit themselves to it, which can be further understood by studying their language ideologies (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a). Such research data attest to the ideological conflicts, expressed through their discourse concerning the inclusion of the heritage language into Greek state school curriculum (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a).

Drawing from a nationwide quantitative study on immigrant parents' perspectives about heritage language maintenance and education in Greek state schools, the overwhelming majority of Albanian immigrant parents (88.3%) report that they would like their heritage language to be taught in the state schools attended by their children (Gkaintartzi et al. 2016). They seem to believe that in this way the Greek state school would fulfill its responsibility towards them, while the inclusion of the heritage language in the state school curriculum would also strengthen the social status of the language *(ibid)*. Among the main reasons for the support of heritage languages reported is the symbolic link of the home language to the country of origin as a core value of their identities, the need to maintain bonds with their relatives in the homeland as well as the usability of the language in their future, which could be interpreted regarding the possibility of repatriation in times of economic crisis in Greece. The synthesis of the quantitative data with qualitative data on their language ideologies shows that immigrant parents are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for heritage language maintenance and education and desire a "space" in the Greek state school curriculum, articulating however multiple ideological "voices" ranging from resistant, counter hegemonic to in-between and conciliatory (Gkaintartzi et al. 2016). Namely, the issue of whether heritage language classes should be included within the regular morning timetable of the state school or "outside" it appears to be a matter of ideological conflict,

reflecting their ambivalence regarding their rights and demands from the Greek state (Gkaintartzi et al. 2016). All in all, Albanian immigrant parents "voices" support heritage language education and have come to realize the benefits of bilingualism and its further development for their children.

Immigrant Background Students' Attitudes and Practices Towards the Albanian as a Heritage Language in Greece

Research in immigrant background children's language views and practices is rather scarce in Greece. There are only very few studies which have investigated their sociolinguistics experiences and perspectives through their own "voices," since they have mostly been studied through the adults' (parents' and teachers') scope (Gkaintartzi 2012). Research data on language maintenance and shift among second generation Albanian immigrants in Greece have indicated that students choose Greek to interact with peers (even of the same background) while they use mostly the heritage language with adults, parents, and relatives (Gogonas 2007). These language patterns are evident in other research data as well (e.g., Chatzidaki 2005; Maligkoudi 2010; Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012).

Concerning their language skills, research data have pointed out a considerable dominance of the Greek language over the Albanian among Albanian immigrant especially concerning their literacy skills in the heritage language (Gogonas 2010). Second-generation speakers of Albanian origin demonstrate higher competence in Greek Albanian, which could point to the direction of language shift if other dimensions and factors are not fully studied, such as the broader context of economic crisis in Greece and potential repatriation plans (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b). Concerning patterns of the language use and choice among Albanian immigrant adolescents, they are reported to still use the heritage language quite frequently, especially when addressing older family members, although they do demonstrate a distinct preference for the use of the majority language (Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012). Regarding their ethnolinguistic vitality, research data have shown that Albanian pupils seem to be aware of the stigmatized status of their ethnic group and wish to distance themselves from a stigmatized identity and language (Gogonas 2010). Many of them refrain from using the heritage language in public (Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Gogonas 2010; Gogonas and Michail 2014) and in the school context as well (Gkaintartzi 2012).

Drawing from ethnographic data concerning the language views and practices of Albanian immigrant background primary school and preschool children, the children do express the important role the heritage language plays in their lives, as it emerges as an integral part of their everyday realities (Gkaintartzi 2012). They state the need and desire to maintain and further develop the heritage language, stressing its role for communicating with their parents and maintaining bonds with the homeland and their relatives, as well as implying its symbolic connection to their identities. For these children, Albanian is the "private" code of the family and the homeland, which has an important place in their lives, aside the Greek language as the "public" code

and fulfills specific communicative needs and functions, which cannot be satisfied through one language.

According to nationwide quantitative research data on Albanian immigrant background students' language views, who attend primary and secondary Greek state schools, the majority of them states that they do know and use their heritage language in specific domains and with specific interlocutors (Kiliari 2014). They also state their desire to further develop the heritage language and mostly improve literacy skills, referring to three basic factors, which are (a) its symbolic value and relation to their country, (b) its role for communicating with relatives and co-ethnic friends, and (c) its instrumental value for the future. The last reason could be related to the possibility of repatriation, which is strengthened in times of economic crisis in Greece. Concerning the teaching of heritage language in the Greek state school, the research data reveal quite ambivalent and contradictory stances, since about half of them (56.1%) wish to learn Albanian at school while a considerable number do not relate its teaching to the regular Greek state school timetable (43.9%). This ambivalence can be interpreted by studying the interaction of broader language ideologies and discourses, which are reproduced through the social, school, and home context. Immigrant children do receive direct and indirect messages concerning the language power relations and the value of languages through the broader and the school context and formulate "embryonic" ideological discourses (Gkaintartzi 2012), affected by family and school language ideologies. Research data indicate the conflicts and dilemmas the children experience in the intersection of the school monolingual ideology and their parents' ambivalent, "in-between" language ideologies (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b) concerning language hierarchies in the Greek school.

According to research data on immigrant students' discourses in written essay texts (Archakis 2014), they attempt to integrate into the majority culture, by embracing dominant Greek social values but on the other hand wish to maintain their cultural identity, by building their sense of cultural pride. Consequently, they appear to construct broader identities, which include their relation to both the countries, the homeland and the host country, wishing to keep a bond with their past while adjusting in the new country (Papandreou 2013; Archakis 2014). Immigrant students seem to value their languages and countries in different ways, constructing multiple and complex identities and striving for more spaces of "translanguaging" in their sociolinguistic realities.

Conclusion

The above overview of research data concerning Albanian immigrant parents-school communication in Greece attempted to discuss multiple dimensions of the issue, as they have been highlighted by sociolinguistic studies in the Greek context. It is evident that home-school communication is a culturally oriented concept and a complex, multifaceted issue conceived of in different ways by teachers and parents. Immigrant parents' involvement into their children's education is shown to function under power-relations maintained and controlled by the Greek school, while aspects of language hierarchies and "legitimacy" of a specific linguistic and cultural capital restrict their

access and lead to their further disempowerment and "invisibility." Home-school communication is constructed from the dominant view as a "monologue," a passive, one-way, and receptive process, in which immigrant parents ought to participate in, without having the right or the appropriate capital to express their voices. On the other hand, immigrant parents seem to participate in their children's education in the ways in which firstly they conceive of it and secondly they can while being aware of their weaker status in the school context. They are "silenced" through existing school language attitudes and practices concerning home-school communication, as it appears that teachers of the dominant group determine what they should communicate, in which language, and how, without listening to them. Moreover, research in Greece needs to focus to a greater extent to their own "voices" and needs in order to empower them in their communication with the school and in their integration process into the Greek society. More critical, inclusive approaches are needed not only in pedagogy but also from research so as to "listen" to their needs, "see" their capital, and empower their role in their children's education and as an extension in the Greek social context.

The second part of the paper presented a review of data concerning the issue of Albanian heritage language in the Greek context from the perspectives of immigrant parents, teachers, and students as well as through educational policies. The lack of "space" for heritage languages in the Greek state school emerges as a highly ideological issue, related to the devaluation of the Albanian language and the dominance of monolingualism in education and society. Immigrant parents' and students' needs, capitals, and voices need to be heard in home-school communication – starting from top-down approaches – as well as in educational policies and research so as to move towards more equal and cooperative relations and a more inclusive, culturally responsive education for immigrant background students. The future of the Albanian as a heritage language in Greece is affected by multiple factors: socio-political, economic, educational, and ideological, and heritage language education in the Greek school can constitute a powerful, positive step towards the empowerment of immigrant students, parents, and communities.

Cross-References

▶ Heritage Language Education in Germany: A Focus on Turkish and Russian from Primary to Higher Education
▶ Preserving Heritage Languages Through Schooling in India
▶ Strengthening Linguistic Bridges Between Home and School: Experiences of Immigrant Children and Parents in Iceland

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Bilingualism in Younger Generation of Greek Orthodox Community in Istanbul: The Language Use of Greek and Turkish Languages in Greek Minority Educational Institutions

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Abstract

The Greek Orthodox community is an indigenous minority with long-standing historical existence in Istanbul. However, heavy emigration to Greece, combined with pressures and restrictions applied historically to the community, raises concerns as to the survival of the Greek language of the bilingual community, which remains, nowadays, approximately, only 2500 people, in over 18 million population of such a huge city like Istanbul. According to the study held, in the beginning of the 2000s (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis, J Multiling Multicult Dev 28(5):365–384, 2007), the Greek language had such a symbolic value in the eyes of the Greek Orthodox community that even gained space in the practical needs covered by the Turkish language. However, during this decade, things have changed to the detriment of the Greek language. It is observed that young men and women feel the need to use Turkish. This proves that the attitude of the minority, against the Turkish language, has been changing from generation to generation. It is supposed that the extending use of Turkish will limit the use of Greek.

This chapter focuses on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul, in order to predict to the maximum possible extent the linguistic behavior of the new generation of the members of the Greek-speaking minority of Istanbul, based on the observation of the use of the two languages (Greek and Turkish) by informants aged 10–18. The chapter reports findings related to a questionnaire study conducted in Istanbul, in the academic period 2013–2014.

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Introduction

Being bilingual, according to Edwards (1995), is "*a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority of the world today*" and researchers have increasingly focused on the complexities underlying bilingualism in individual, communicational, developmental, and societal perspectives (e.g., Grosjean 1982; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Romaine 1995; Sachdev and Giles 2004; Sella-Mazi 2016).

Garcia (2009) compares bilingualism to an all-terrain vehicle. She considers that

> bilingualism is not like a bicycle with two balanced wheels; it is more like an all-terrain vehicle. Its wheels do not move in unison or in the same direction, but extend and contract, flex and stretch, making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective.

Garcia has an optimistic point of view, she considers that the two languages in bilingual community have probably some contractions, pressures, but this situation makes them be more sustained and effective. Researchers focus that with the language contact, it can be expected that it may occur either language maintenance, either language shift, or language death (Allard & Landry 1986; Baker 2004/2011). Among the external factors cited as significant in various studies of language maintenance, shift and death are: numerical strength of the group in relation to other minorities and majorities, social class, religious and educational background, settlement patterns, ties with the homeland, degree of similarity between the minority and the majority language, extent of exogamous marriage, attitudes of majority and minority, and government policy towards language and education of minorities and patterns of language use (Romaine 1989). In the case of language maintenance, it is easily given the example of the Greek minority of Istanbul whose speakers manage one way or another to retain their language, use it competently, and pass it on to the next generation, approximately 500 years, during the Fall of Constantinople (1453) till the Proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1923) and then after. This occurs because the Greek Orthodox Community in Istanbul wishes to maintain their

separate ethnic identity and they want to preserve their cultural heritage as well as their religion. In this point, the existence of the Ecumenical Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul (the factor of the religion) has played crucial role for years.

Joshua Fishman first introduced the concept of domains in order to analyze the minority speaker's behavior with regard to language maintenance and shift (1965/2007). The researchers, in their study, investigated the gradual take-over of informal domains (such as family, friendship, leisure), which supposedly call for the use of the minority language, by the language of the majority (Garcia 2003; Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012). Joshua Fishman has argued that the core element on which successful minority language maintenance depends is intergenerational transmission of the language from parents to their children in the home, to the extent that it remains or becomes the everyday language of informal communication among three generations of speakers (Fishman 1991, 2001; Ohifearnain 2013). Fishman's (1991, 1993, 2001) graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS) is recognized as a useful aid in understanding language planning and attempted language reversal from an international perspective across all minority languages. Fishman's scale gives a guide to how far a minority language is threatened and disrupted in international terms (Baker 2004). The value of the scale is that it prioritizes major actions for reversing languages in decline. According to Komondouros' study (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007), the Greek language in Istanbul is somewhere between stages 4 and 6, the latter being seen as "the crucial, pivotal stage for the survival of a language" on Fishman's GIDS scale.

Fishman (1991) is particularly guarded about how much bilingual education can achieve in reversing language shift. There is sometimes the belief that, where families do not transmit the minority language, the school is there to do it instead. The school is expected to be the substitute minority language parent, where parents do not bring up their children in the minority language (Baker 2011; Edwards 1988). Not surprisingly, the school is the setting where mismatches often occur and speakers are presented with a choice. This is because, the school, although physically located within the community, is not considered part of it (Romaine 2006). A school can only initiate second language acquisition in the minority language. For that language to survive inside the individual, a person needs to become bonded in language minority social networks while at school and particularly after leaving school. There needs to be pre-school, out-of-school, and after-school support and reward systems for using minority language. As Baker points out (2011),

> the minority language needs to be embedded in the family-neighborhood-community experience and in the economics of the family. Unless this happens, it is much less likely that bilingually educated children will pass on the minority language to the next generation. (Baker 2011)

The present chapter reports on the current sociolinguistic situation of the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul, in order to predict to the maximum possible extent the linguistic behavior of the new generation of the members of the Greek-speaking

minority of Istanbul, based on the observation of the use of the two languages (Greek and Turkish) by informants aged 10–18. The aim is to investigate the domains of use of Greek and Turkish in order to compare the use, the frequency, and the values of the two languages as well as to provide a detailed description of the factors that affect the user's linguistic choice.

In comparison to the Turkish-speaking Muslim minority of Thrace who has undertaken linguistic work in depth over a long period (Sella-Mazi 1997a; Tzebelekou et al. 2004), until 2005 there was no linguistic research to have been undertaken on the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. This is of great interest, as Sella-Mazi (1997a) notes, the existence and rights of each of these two communities are determined by each other.

A selection of research (Landry et al. 1996; Extra & Yağmur 2009; Papapavlou and Pavlou 2001; Karahan 2004; McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas 2001; Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012) from other bilingual or multilingual settings is reviewed, chosen because the language contact situation bears similarities to that of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, but mostly, the study of Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007), who has undertaken on the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul in 2005, forms the backbone of the research. Firstly, Markos Komondouros studied the language attitudes and use in the Greek Orthodox community, concerning the virtuality of Greek as well as the possibility of language shift within the Greek-Orthodox minority.

The first part of the chapter focuses on identifying the sociolinguistic factors which predict language development as a first or second language and on predicting if Greek is likely to survive or if linguistic and/or cultural assimilation occurs or is likely to occur, always within the adolescent groups of the minority. The second part of the chapter defines the characteristics of bilingual education and bilingualism of the Greek-speaking minority students in junior and high schools, and the domains of use of the two languages (Greek and Turkish) among minority pupils, with the aim being to compare and contrast the two languages and to provide a detailed description of the background and of the factors that affect linguistic choice.

The Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul: Sociolinguistic Profile

The Greek-Orthodox minority in Istanbul has its own specific characteristics, unlike the other Greek-speaking minorities around the world which may vary in size, geographical situation, social composition, and economic strength and the political status (Hoffman 1991). First of all, The Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul is indigenous minority and not immigrant. It has a long-standing history and presence of Greek in Istanbul, supported by a full institutional and societal framework (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007). The Turkish state uses the term "Rum" referring the remaining members of the Greek Orthodox Minority (originally Greek with Turkish nationality).

The Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul was recognized as religious rather than ethnic or national groupings, with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The Treaty of

Lausanne entitled them to the rights of all citizens in their respective host countries, safeguarding in particular their religious, educational, and linguistic freedoms. Its rights and very existence are closely linked with those of the Turkish-speaking Muslim minority in the Thrace region of Greece (Anastasiadou and Dumont 2007). In addition to its strong historic presence, the minority also has political and symbolic significance, given the background of Greek-Turkish relations (Alexandris 1983; Anastasiadou and Dumont 2007).

Heavy emigration to Greece combined with pressures and restrictions applied historically to the community, including on its linguistic and educational rights, raises concerns as to the survival of the Greek language in this setting close to, but isolated from, mainland Greece. Although Greek is an official minority language in Turkey, it has low geographic continuum by majority linguistic group in Istanbul (Sella-Mazi 1997b, 2016). The Greek Orthodox community is located in Istanbul, mainly in the areas Pera, Sisli, Tatavla, Agios Stefanos, Chalkidona, and usually in the Princess' Islands in Marmara Sea for summer habitation. The majority of Greeks remained in Istanbul dealing with trade, the maritime, and slightly with industry. Most were working in the Patriarchate or in the institutions of community, some are teachers in primary and secondary education in Greek minority schools.

From population over 200 thousand members in 1923, due to combined effects of emigration and the various pressures applied by the Turkish government intent on homogenizing minorities (Alexandris 1983), the population has dwindled and is currently estimated to be only 2,500 in a huge metropolitan city with its population, approximately over 18 million, like Istanbul. Despite its small numbers, however, the community appears to remain tightly knit and to have a strong sense of ethnocultural and linguistic identity (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007).

The Greek language in Istanbul derives its status as a language, rather than a dialect, not so much from its linguistic characteristics like an abstrand language but from its social, cultural, and political characteristics. These characteristics will normally involve autonomy and standardization. Greek and Turkish are regarded as distinct languages, not because they are linguistically very different from one another – there is clear mutual intelligibility – but because they are associated with two separate, independent nation states, and because they have tradition involving different writing systems, grammar books, and dictionaries (Trudgill 1992; (Sella-Mazi 1997b, 2016).

The Greek language, related to the national origin of the Greek population, strengthens its position by the fact that it serves his needs, in carrying out his religious duties. Orthodoxy, for its part, makes this population more modest; opposite to another population of different language, religion, and customs; and this for the general behavior and not only linguistic. The Orthodox religion, given the historical importance of the Ecumenical Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, plays a central role in the Community's social life and provides employment for "Rums" of today's.

The Greek-speaking minority in Istanbul maintains close relations with Greece, where her mother tongue, the official language occupies position (large number of

families have relatives, friends established in Greece). Also, the Greek-speaking community – issued two daily newspapers in Greek (Iho and Apoyevmatini) and an online radio in Greek (www.ihotispolis.com) – contributes to the strengthening of the regime and maintain the Greek as a mother tongue.

According to Markos Komondouros' research (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis 2007), concerning the virtuality of Greek, as well as the possibility of language shift within the Greek-Orthodox minority, ethnocultural identity of the minority was found to be extremely sensitive. Related to the interviews, done with the members of the minority, Greek culture and traditions, the Greek language, Greek Orthodox religion but also, crucially, being Istanbullites with deep roots and history in the city and belonging, albeit as members of a minority group, to Turkish society, he points out: *The better their Greek, the stronger the feeling of Istanbullite identity.* Komondouros argues that this suggests a possible weakening of Istanbul Greek identity, diachronically as Greek competence falls within the community.

The Greek Orthodox minority of Istanbul is usually influenced by the Grosjean's complementarity principle (Grosjean 2006) which is the fact that they usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. With regard to the domains of use of Greek language, the data that Komondouros found out show us that the Greek Orthodox community use the Greek language at limited domains such as at home, at religious and community events, at work if they are involved with the church, or at other Greek-speaking establishments. But in daily life and other social contexts, they speak Turkish; a process of language shift away from Greek. Older members of the community are fluent in Greek, speaking it in a more formalized, stylistic version than is encountered today in the vernacular in mainland Greece. Middle generation tend to speak good Greek and be fluent in Turkish, having benefited a fuller education in Greek and broader institutional support but also having learnt and used Turkish fluently to develop and live successfully in Turkish society. Younger generation is feeling the effects of a lower exposure to Greek due to the sparser demographic concentration of their numbers and the increased exposure to Turkish through the media. This cause a process of language shift away from Greek which is significant in self-assessed relative competence in Greek and Turkish between the older and younger generation.

As a conclusion, Komondouros claims that

> The indigenous minority language's high symbolic status and the Community's strong sense of ethnocultural identity seem to be offering some resistance to language shift.

However, amongst *the younger generation*, attitudes and patterns of language use are changing to reflect the realities of everyday life in a majority culture. The situation was assumed by Komondouros (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis 2007) to be at a critical stage and should to be analyzed in order to design a more efficient approach to heritage language maintenance and to the promotion of bilingualism.

Minority's Bilingual Education: Linguistic Setting

In the recent years, the use of the Greek language among the minority's young members is in a constant state of change. The language repertoire of bilinguals has been changing over time: as the environment changes and the needs for particular language skills also change, the same will happen with their competence in these skills (Grosjean 2006). The children of the Greek Orthodox Minority grow up in a language community containing individual bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman 1991; Sella-Mazi 2001/2007, 2016). Younger generation is feeling the effects of a lower exposure to Greek due to the demographic concentration of their numbers. They are usually under strong external pressure to learn the language of the society at large and may also be under internal family pressure to keep the home language (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). Between Turkish and Greek spoken in Istanbul, Turkish plays the role of lingua franca among the pupils of the nursery, junior, and high Greek-minority schools. The linguistic map of the young generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority has undergone a radical change from the previous generation, where balanced bilingualism was firmly established more than 500 years.

According to the dramatic and sharp decrease of the minority's size, Greek minority schools, despite their long and prestigious tradition, are now declining, as the number of students and teachers has been dramatically reduced. Although there were 70 Greek schools in Istanbul, with a total of 11,000 pupils in the 1924–1925 academic year, in the years 1955–1956, there were 45 junior schools and 6 high schools with a total of 5,380 pupils, while in the 2013–2014 school year, only 7 schools were left: four junior schools and three high schools with a total of 235 pupils; 50 in nursery, 71 in junior, and 114 in high schools.

The schools which still operate and offer bilingual education in the academic year 2013–2014 are as follows: Zappion Nursery & Junior school, Junior school of Vlanga, Junior school of Büyükada/Pringipos, Junior school of Gökçeada/Imvros, Zappion High School, Zografion High School, Great Nation High School of Phanar.

Education in the Greek Minority schools is offered in two languages; in *Greek and in Turkish*. Both languages are taught equally (number of hours). *Greek language and Literature, Science, Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Music, Art, Physical Education* are courses taught in Greek, whereas *Turkish language and Literature, History, History of Reforms, Sociology, and Geography* in Turkish. Moreover, students learn English as a foreign language.

Related to the recruitment of teachers in Greek Orthodox minority schools, there are three categories of teachers:

- Greek language courses can be delivered by teachers who have graduated from various departments of Greek language and literature in Turkey. The teachers, called "*contract teachers*," are recruited after receiving approval from the Ministry of National Education. They are usually selected from the Greek Orthodox Community, so they are all bilingual, that is, they speak both Greek and Turkish. Nowadays, the Greek Minority schools in Istanbul has 40 contract teachers (Kaya and Somel 2013).

- Some of the Greek courses are delivered by "*quota teachers*" coming from Greece within the framework of the 1951 Culture Agreement between Turkey and Greece. As required by the principle of "reciprocity" between two states, Greece and Turkey, according to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the same number of teachers must be sent from Turkey to the Turkish minority schools in Thrace region of Greece. In the academic year 2013–2014, only 13 teachers were sent from Greece. They speak only Greek, they do not speak Turkish (Kaya and Somel 2013).
- *The chief deputy heads and the teachers of Turkish Language and Turkish Culture courses* in the Greek minority schools are appointed by the Ministry of National Education of Turkey. These teachers all are Turk and speak only Turkish (Kaya and Somel 2013).

The Sociolinguistic Status of Pupils in the Greek Orthodox Minority Schools

During the research with the students of the Greek Orthodox Minority schools, it was observed a multilingual environment, rather than a bilingual one.

In academic year 2013–2014, the total number of students was 235; 50 in nursery, 71 in junior, and 114 in high schools. The status of the students in all the Greek minority schools is as follows:

- **Sixty** students of the total sum are **"Rum**," students whose both parents are from the Greek minority, that is, they are Turkish citizens and bilingual.
- **Eighteen** students of the total sum are children whose parents are **Greek** citizens. Since 1968, only children who are Turkish citizens may attend minority schools. In addition to "Rum" children who are Turkish citizens, the children of Greek citizens working in the Greek Consulate, or of quota teachers working in Greek schools and of NATO officials who are citizens of Greece may also attend the Greek Minority schools. They speak only Greek and participate only in the Greek lessons. They do not speak Turkish.
- **Forty six** students of the total sum are the children from **mixed marriages**. The common language these families use at home is Turkish. As it is confirmed by the statistical facts taken from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the number of the mixed marriages of the Greek minority has been increased by 62% in the years 1993–2005 (Abatzis 2005)
- **One hundred and eleven** students of the total sum are the students of **Arabic origin,** and they speak Arabic and mostly Turkish.

In this point, it would be very useful to briefly describe the Arabic origin community, which, due to political and socioeconomic reasons, is interfered in the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. By 1980s, for socioeconomic and political reasons, there was a movement of the Arabic origin Orthodox community from south-east part of Turkey (Antakya, Mersin, Iskenderun) to Istanbul (Massabetas 2011). The Turkish Government gave the right to their children to enroll in Greek

minority schools. The common religion and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul brought together the two deeply different communities. These people do not speak Greek; they speak only Arabic and Turkish. For the children of this minority, Greek is totally a foreign language, as they speak Turkish at home and in some cases Arabic. The children of this minority that attend the Greek minority schools constitute the second generation of an immigrant population. Due to inadequate facilities available to them to learn Greek which, in their case, is a foreign language at junior school, these pupils often arrive at high school with insufficient Greek, in order to follow Greek classes properly. This situation often results in the use of Turkish as the common language among these pupils, their Greek-speaking counterparts, and teachers. Nowadays, the gradual increase of the children of Arabic origin make up almost 50% of the pupils in Greek minority schools and this situation affects the education system in the Greek minority schools (Fig. 1).

As it is observed from the detailed chart, the distribution of the pupils attending the Greek Minority schools is complex; there are some schools which only Arabic origin pupils attend or others in which the rate of Arabic origin pupils is much more greater than the bilingual pupils; this situation provokes the loss of use of Greek in schools, as the communicative vehicle for these pupils is Turkish. Therefore, the basis for the design of an educational intervention within the Greek minority is probably lacking.

The Study: Data Collection

Data is collected through a combination of deskwork and interviews. The questionnaire written in Greek was comprised of seven sections. The first section contained questions regarding students' personal details, about his/her family, his/her neighborhood, the socioeconomical status of his/her family, the educational status of his/her parents, etc. Questions in the second section regarded the language network and frequency of use. In the third and forth sections, students were asked to provide data on both languages use and the domains of the language use (Greek-Turkish) and also their comments on the Greek/Turkish language courses at school, that is, students' opinion about their school and their Greek/Turkish language courses. Questions in the fifth section regarded students' language skills and their proficiency in both languages, Greek and Turkish. The sixth section contained questions regarding subjective vitality and students' identity. Finally, the last section was a variation of "language background scales," used in many similar studies (cf. e.g., Abrahams et al. 2008; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Baker 2011).

Questionnaires were distributed in the academic year 2013–2014, through the three Bilingual Minority Greek Orthodox high schools, after having obtained the permission of the authorities concerned (Pedagogical Institute) and the collaboration of the headmasters, to pupils aged 10–18. Questionnaire results were supplemented by selected interviews, to probe more deeply into certain issues with minority school teachers and head masters and also with Turkish contract teachers and the chief deputy heads who work in the Greek minority schools.
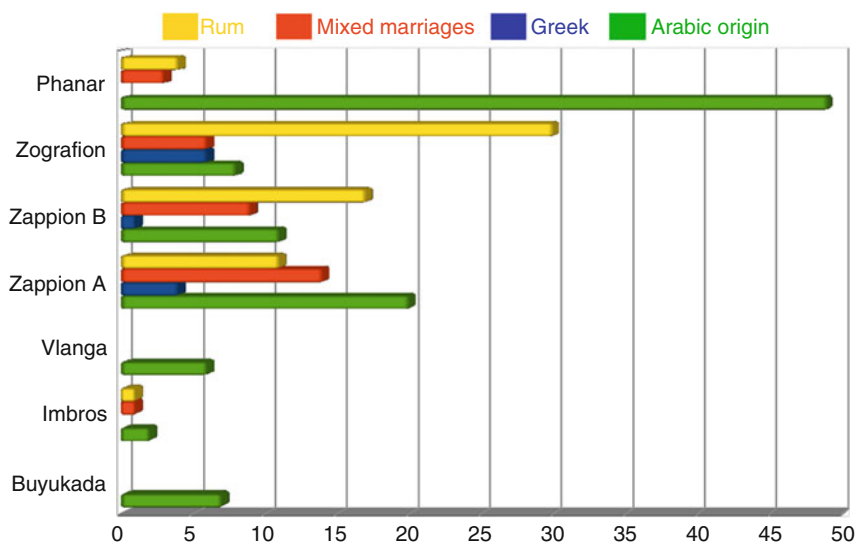
Fig. 1 Detailed chart of the pupils attending the Greek Minority schools in the 2013–2014 academic year

Results and Discussion

The original population under study consisted of the total number of students in the three secondary and high schools of Greek minority schools: Great Nation High School of Phanar, Zografion High School, and Zappion High School. The questionnaire was distributed to all students: (1) bilinguals from the Greek minority, Rums, (2) pupils whose parents work at the Greek consulate or children of quota teachers (originally Greek), (3) pupils from mixed marriages, and (4) pupils of Arabic origin. The sample discussed in this chapter focused on the domains of language, language use and usefulness in and out of the school, and on the students' self-evaluation, amounted to 92 youngsters: 51 boys and 41 girls aged between 10 and 18 years old. 23 of them are in secondary and 69 of them at high degree in the Greek minority schools. Almost all of their father work in several jobs, whereas only the 33.6% of their mother works in a profession, 66.4% are housewife. The economical status of their family is considered middle and upper-middle as almost all the pupils, 99% has mobile phone, 90% of the total has a computer, 85% of the pupils have television at home, whereas only 56% of their families have car.

Personal Details

With regard to language spoken at home when the informants were toddlers, the findings are interesting (Fig. 2). This question, based to the theory (Cummins and Swain 1986) that a child's ability in each language may vary from none to fluent proficiency in both oral and literacy skills on entry to school, aimed to find out the language spoken at home before coming to school. The majority language has the
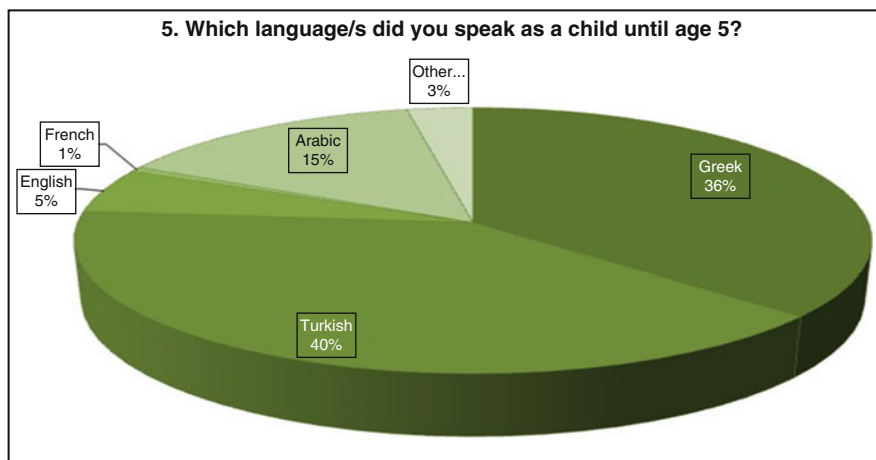
Fig. 2 Language spoken in childhood

power, 40% of informants spoke Turkish and only 36% spoke Greek. Obviously, this shows that the means of communication at home is the majority language. On the other hand, this shows that the informants of Arabic origin as well as the informants from mixed marriages grew up speaking the majority language at home and started learning Greek at school. That is, for 40% of informants, Greek was not their L1, language which was acquired at home, in the family environment, but it is their second language that they come to learn at school. Another point to mention is that only 15% of the toddlers spoke Arabic, before coming to school. That is, all Arabic origin pupils do not speak Arabic at home and speak mostly the majority language – Turkish – although their mother tongue is supposed to be Arabic.

In sum, the findings show us that the majority of the children live in a mixed language family and as Romaine claims (1989) "*Where a mixed language community exists, the loss rate is highest. The implications can be seen at the level of family structure.*"

Language Network and Frequency of Use

Languages the Informants Use at Home
The presentation of our findings involves the language used at home by interlocutors and also the language used when addressing the subjects. The informants could give more than one answer to these questions (Fig. 3).

With the regard to the language spoken at home throughout the day, it is noticed that the similarity in the language use with the informants when they were toddler. The results reflect that the predominant language is Turkish and that Greek loses power. On the other hand, it is observed that the use of Arabic is limited to 12%. This finding shows that the Arabic origin minority uses mostly the majority language, that is, Turkish, at home rather than its language. Researchers point out that a lack of
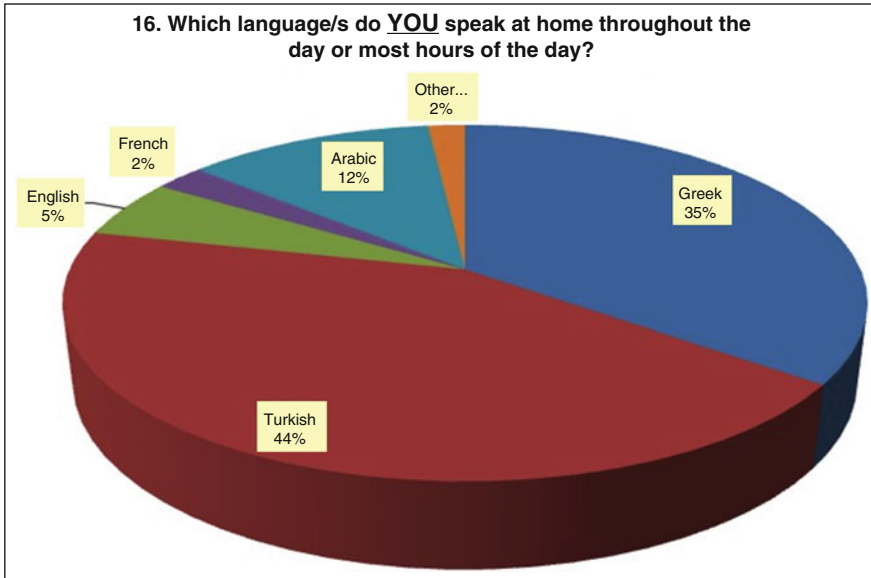
Fig. 3 Language spoken at home

family language reproduction is a principal and direct cause of language shift. They assumed that in this scenario, a minority language can die within two or three generations unless bilingual education can produce language speakers who then find everyday purposes (e.g., economic, social, religious) for that language (Sella-Mazi 2001/2007, 2016; Baker 2011).

Language Spoken to Close Family Network

The informants were asked to choose one of the following options: (I speak to my father, mother, brothers/sisters, grandparents, friends) *(1) "only in Greek," (2) "mostly in Greek," (3) "in both languages equally," (4)"mostly in Turkish," (5) "only in Turkish."* Their answers were originally codified as percentages included in a six-column table. The result concerns the informants' language choice with older and younger interlocutors (Fig. 4).

With regard to the language spoken to close family network, the findings reflect the result that the majority language is the predominant language used with the close environment of the informants. It is interesting to observe that the pupils speak either Greek or Turkish to their father or mother, that is, the bilingual community, "Rums" and Greek origin pupils speak only Greek whereas Arabic origin pupils speak only Turkish with their father and mother. On the other hand, the rate for the answers that they speak equally Turkish and Greek to their father and mother is very low, whereas the rate that they communicate both in Greek and Turkish equally with their friends is very high. This shows that the informants use both languages when they are with their friends. Moreover, it is observed that the use the ethnic language increases
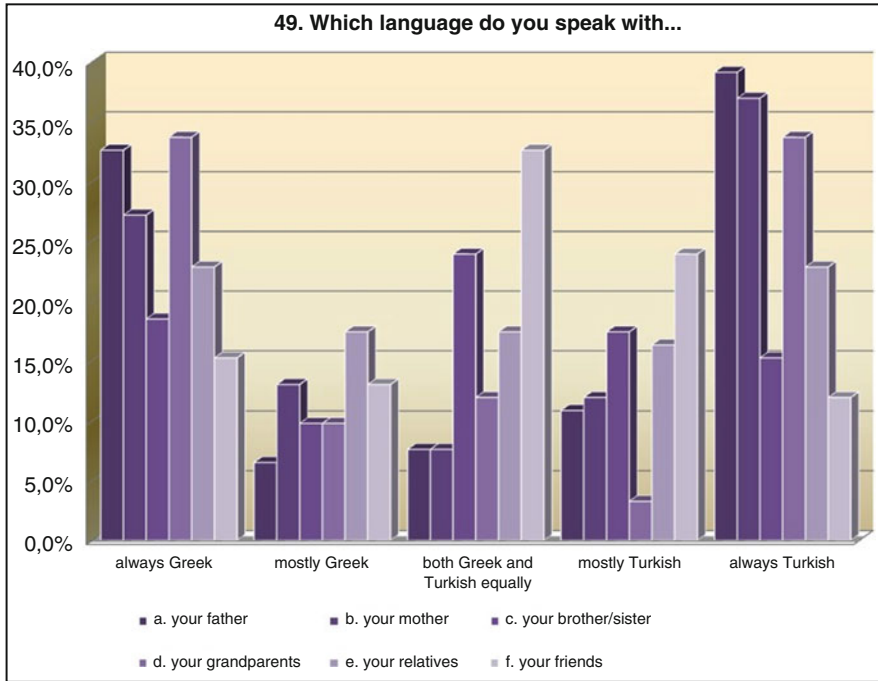
Fig. 4 Language spoken to close family network

when the addressee is a grandparent (34%). Apparently, grandparents are the kind of interlocutor that "compels" younger speakers to use the ethnic language with them, a common finding in the literature (Pauwels 2005; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Chatzidaki and Xenikaki 2012; Sella-Mazi 1994/2004) that points to the importance of older family members for language maintenance.

Language Spoken Out of School

The informants were asked to choose one of the following options:*(1) "never,"*
(2) "rarely," (3) "once a month," (4)"several times in a month," (5) "several times
in a week," regarding the use of Greek language out of school activities (writing letters to his/her friends in Greek, speaking Greek to his/her neighborhood, his/her friends, his/her relatives, and to tourists visiting Istanbul). Their answers were originally codified as percentages included in a five-column table. It is impressive to notice that the highest rate of Greek language use out of school is (72.8%) when they are with their friends. Only 27% of them (the lowest rate) communicate with Greek tourists out of school. It is noticed that besides their friends, the informants do not probably have the opportunities to use the minority language, out of school. This shows that lack of Greek language use outside school causes the language shift in majority language in the bilingual community (Fig. 5).
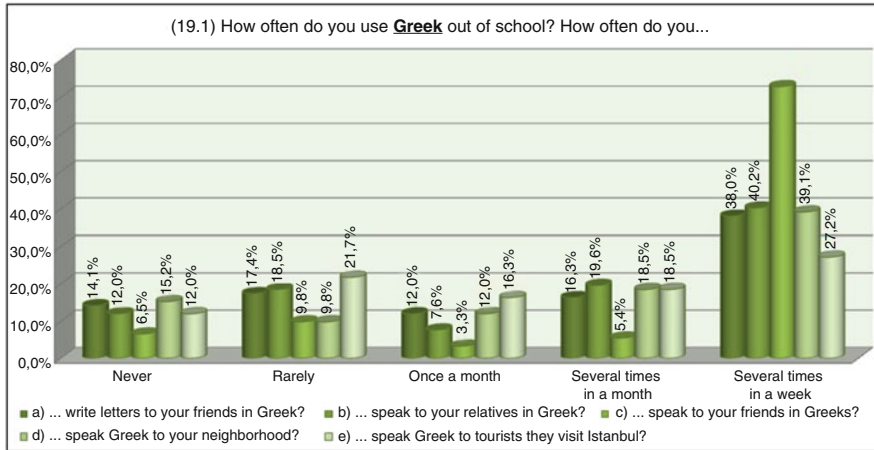
Fig. 5 The use of Greek language out of school

Language Use in Classroom Activities

The informants were asked to choose either "never" or "always" options to answer the questions related to the language use in classroom activities (Fig. 6). With regard to the language used in classroom with the teacher and in peer groups, we note that the pupils speak in Greek mostly to their teacher 56.5%, but on the other hand in peer groups or in class they express themselves mostly in Turkish; 31.5% of informants never speak in Greek when they work in peer groups and they speak to each other. This shows that pupils in Greek minority schools do not use fluently Greek language in classroom activities, even in Greek lessons. The majority language probably facilitate them to achieve their goal in classroom activities.

Language Usefulness

With regard to language usefulness, 71.7% of the students believe that the Greek language is very useful for them for their identity (personal reasons) and 26.8% of them believe that Turkish is useless for their personal life. In this point, it is noticed the maintenance of the ethnic group's original language. According to Edwards (1988), the continuity of ethnic identity is commonly seen to be central for the maintenance of original group language.

On the other hand, with regard to education and for professional reasons, we note that the usefulness of Turkish is higher; 78.8% of the students believe that Turkish is useful in education and 77.2% believe that Turkish is useful in their professional life (Fig. 7).

It is impressive to notice that the young generation of Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul wants to continue their higher education in Turkish universities. As Turkish is the language used at the university entrance exams in Turkey, students give more importance to it. It is found out that since 2004, no students from Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul have gone to Greece in order to attend Greek
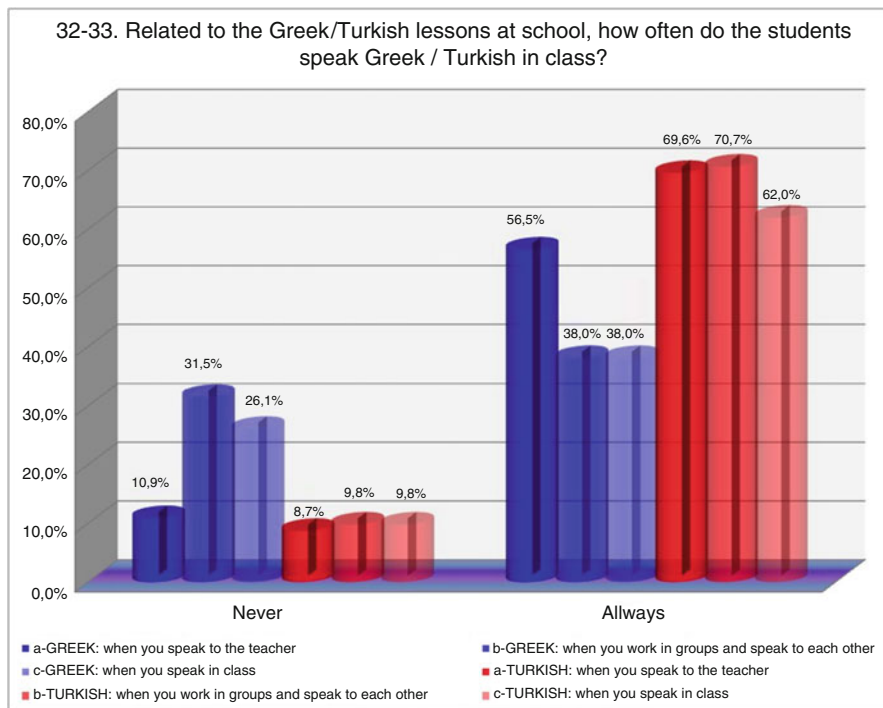
Fig. 6 Comments about the Greek/Turkish language courses at school
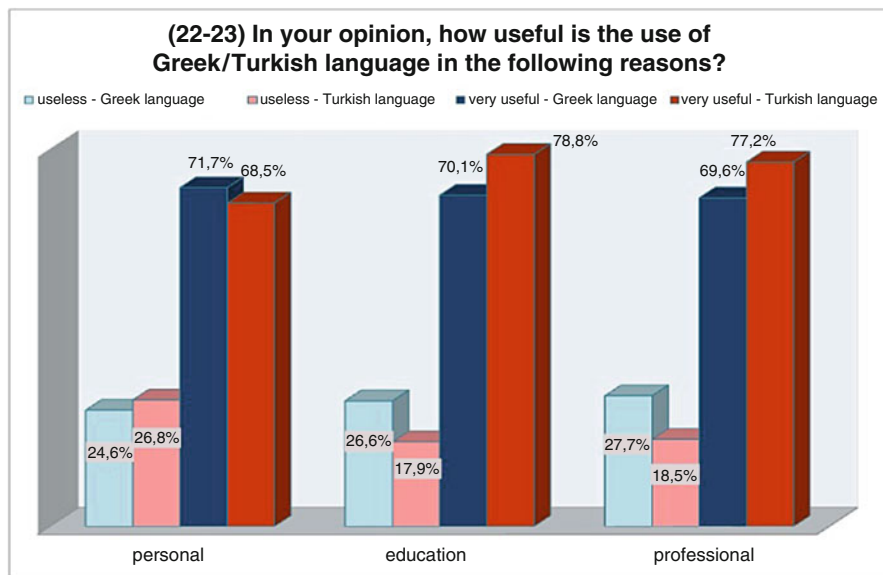
Fig. 7 The usefulness of Greek/Turkish

universities. Something that should be emphasized here is that the fluency in Turkish is directly linked to the social advancement of young people. When the informants refer to the "usefulness" of Turkish, they have in mind the concept of "social advancement." A good knowledge of Turkish will help also in social relationships because a foreign pronunciation will be easily perceived by Turkish-speaking people; this obviously would hinder their social and professional advancement and development. For these reasons, the subjects aim at a sociolinguistic assimilation.

Language Self-Evaluation of the Competence in Greek and Turkish

Data was collected on the subjects' language self-evaluation competence. The instrument used was a self-rating scale. Informants were asked to provide an assessment of their own competence in both languages on a two-point scale ("not yet," "yes") and in five different skills from the basic to upper level ("I can speak," "I can understand my teachers during courses/a news bulletin on TV/a speech/," "I can read and understand basic information/detailed information in a newspaper article," "I can write a note/a letter/a summary/an article," "I can talk about history," "I can support my opinion," etc.) covering both informal and formal ("academic") aspects of language competence (Cummins 2000; Figs. 8 and 9).

With regard to language ability and competence in all skills, we note that in all linguistic skills, the majority language takes the place of the minority language. Students are more competent in using the majority language in reading, writing,
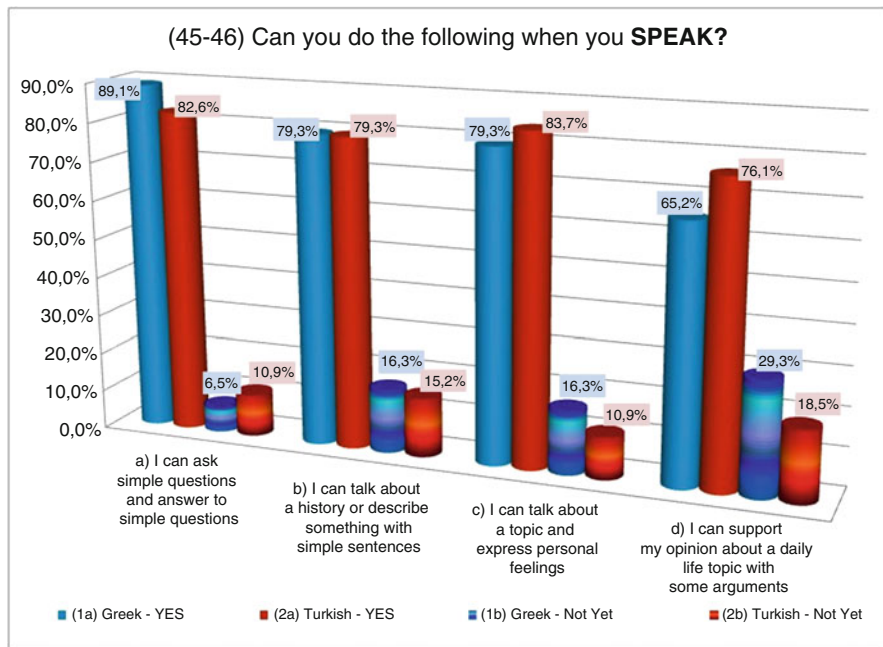
Fig. 8 Self-assessed competence in Greek and Turkish in speaking skills
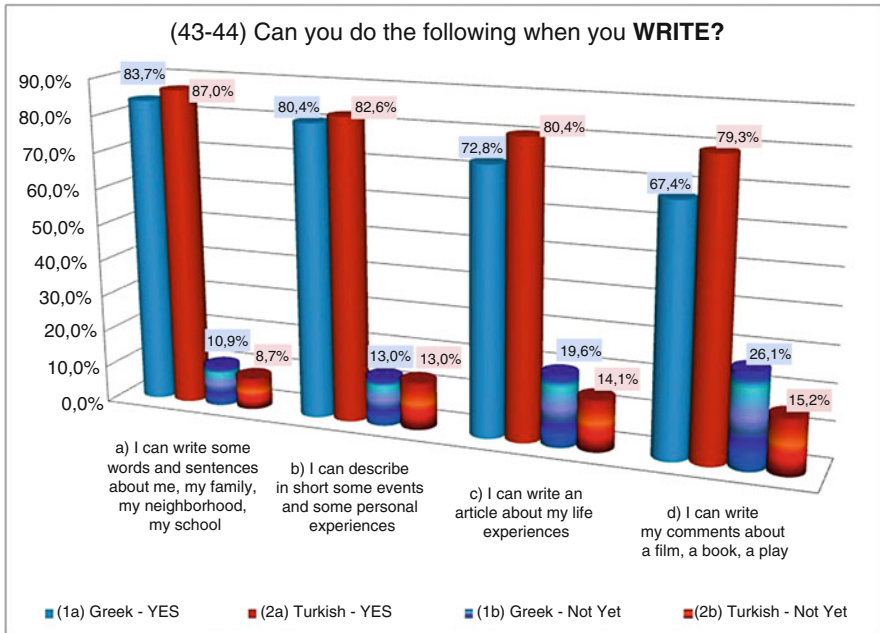
Fig. 9 Self-assessed competence in Greek and Turkish in writing skills

listening, and speaking. Young people seem to feel easier when using the majority language; they show interest in Turkish, the language of their environment, the language of Turkish-speaking population, in which the minority is developing more and more relationships, as needs grow. The young minority live necessarily in a bilingual or, today, in a rather monolingual world: the Turkish-speaking world. The daily life in the city (through their social relationships and at home because of television) multiplies the "Turkish-speaking stimuli" around them (other than those offered at school). As Brenzinger (2006) assumes, limited use of the minority language leads to limited exposure to that language, which results in decreasing competence, lack of confidence in using the language, and increasing reliance on the dominant language that the circle then repeats itself on a lower level, by more limited use of the minority language (Figs. 8 and 9).

Language Background Scales

The informants were asked to choose one of the following options: *(1) "only Greek," (2) "mostly Greek," (3) "both languages equally," (4) "mostly Turkish," (5) "only Turkish" while doing humor/telling jokes, singing, counting, being angry, expressing their feelings*. Their answers aimed to measure actual use of two languages as opposed to proficiency (Baker 2011; Fig. 10).

With regard to the actual use of the two languages, it is noticed that the informants mostly use the majority language while feeling angry or expressing their feelings, two of the actions, that a person use the language he/she feels more at ease and can
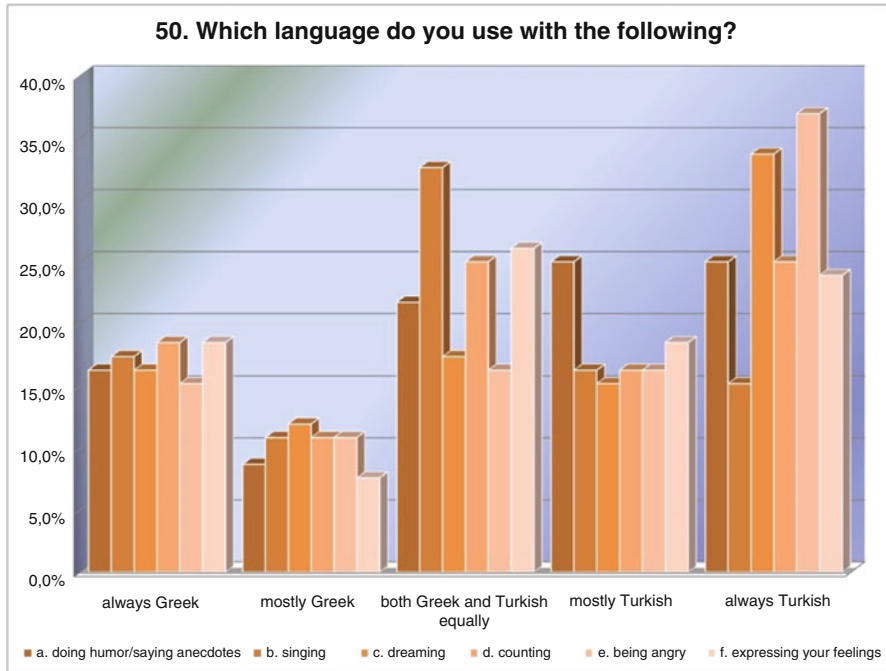
Fig. 10 Language background scales

express himself/herself more fluently. On the other hand, the informants like singing in both languages equally. With regard to telling jokes, the informants like doing humor mostly and always in majority language.

Conclusion

The study in question aimed at investigating the use of Greek and Turkish by the younger generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority, that is, by children and teenagers aged 10–18, both at school and outside the school environment; this is because it is believed that this generation will determine the future of the Greek language use within the Greek Orthodox Minority. The present chapter investigates the following topics:

- The domains of language use of the young generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority
- The frequency of the language(s) use
- The ability and the proficiency in both languages

It is mentioned that the main problem of the Greek Orthodox Minority in Istanbul is a demographic one. When the Minority population has dwindled, the field of use

of the Greek language was directly limited. Other factors play here an important role such as sociolinguistic settings, intensity, and frequency in the use of Greek and Turkish; the level of proficiency in Greek and Turkish; the ability to use various linguistic repertoires; the functionality of both languages; emotional connection; as well as the value young speakers attach to both languages. Usually, in cases of balanced bilingualism, there is a fixed and stable distribution in language use (Sella-Mazi 1999, 2001/2007). Such a balanced distribution has been observed in Istanbul from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) until 1980s, which is really admirable. However, the social factors that preserved the bilingual regime have changed during the last decades, and there is no sheer field of Greek language use other than the family, school, and religious/church setting.

According to the study by Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), in the beginning of the 2000s, the Greek language had such a symbolic value in the eyes of the Greek-speaking Rums that even gained space in the practical needs covered by the Turkish language. However, during this decade, things have changed to the detriment of the Greek language. One wonders whether its symbolic value is so great that it could manage to maintain the language use despite the huge pressure by the Turkish language which has become the socialization language (Batsalia 2001), of the new generation of the Greek Orthodox Minority.

It is observed that more and more young men and women feel the need to use Turkish. This proves that the attitude of the minority against the Turkish language has been changing from generation to generation. It is supposed that the extending use of Turkish will limit the use of Greek. In general, it is observed that among young generations, Greek and Turkish are not equivalent.

Nowadays, Greek has low vitality status compared to Turkish among the young generation of the Greek Orthodox community. When a majority language is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, a shift towards the majority language may occur. Today, Turkish has won prestige and good knowledge of Turkish is necessary to cover everyday communication needs. When the bilingual individuals refer to the "usefulness" of Turkish, they have in mind the concept of "social advancement."

Another factor that affects the linguistic profile of the young generation is the bilingual education in the Greek minority schools. Educational programs need to compensate for linguistic deficiencies of the external environment by providing them in school; a strong second language program for majority language children; a strong first language program for minority language children (Cummins and Swain 1986). According to this point of view, new school books that teach Greek as a second language must be published according to the needs of the Greek Orthodox community. On the other hand, the use of languages within educational institutions is probably an essential but not sufficient condition for language maintenance. As Baker (2011) considers, "*where schooling in a minority language exists*, he says, *the chances of survival are greatly increased but not guaranteed*" (Baker 2011). It should not be expected that schools alone to successfully counter strong social tides (Edwards 1988). In order that language survive inside the individual, a person needs to become bounded in language minority social networks while at

school and particularly after leaving school. The minority language needs to be embedded in the family-neighborhood-community experience and in the economics of the family. Unless this happens, it is much less likely that bilingually educated children will pass on the minority language to the next generation.

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Strengthening Linguistic Bridges Between Home and School: Experiences of Immigrant Children and Parents in Iceland

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Renata Emilsson Peskova and Hanna Ragnarsdóttir

Abstract

Heritage language education (HLE) problematizes issues of second language studies and culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay. Culturally responsive teaching: theory, research, and practice. Teachers College Press, New York, 2000), as it provides some answers to the sensitive topic of quality education of students of foreign background in mainstream schools (Trifonas and Aravossitas. Rethinking heritage language education. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014). HLE and plurilingualism receive increased attention and recognition worldwide, especially in North America and in the European Union (Council of Europe. Plurilingual Education in Europe. 50 Years of International Cooperation. 2006 [cited 2016 Jun 18]. Available from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/plurinlingale ducation_en.pdf; Cummins. Mainstreaming plurilingualism: restructuring heritage language in schools. In Trifonas and Aravossitas (eds) Rethinking heritage language education. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014; García and Wei. Translanguaging. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014). This qualitative research paper provides insights into experiences and views of parents of foreign origin and their children who attend Icelandic compulsory schools and study their HL in a nonformal system; it presents students' attitudes toward their developing linguistic repertoires and parents' experience of their participation in this process, including communication and cooperation with their children's schools. The information from the participants is situated within the context of national and local policies. The findings reveal discrepancies between official statements and parents' and students' needs, on the one hand, and the school practices, on the other hand. We argue that building on the resources of the students, their backgrounds, cultures, and especially languages promotes students' success and that school is missing out

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on considerable educational opportunities. Furthermore, considering how difficult it is for parents and students of foreign origin to take an extra initiative to build bridges between their original culture and the compulsory education, the lack of schools' active approach to culturally responsive pedagogies and promoting students' linguistic repertoires has significant influence on students' social and academic outcomes in the mainstream schools.

Keywords

Qualitative research • Heritage language • Parents' experience • Linguistic repertoires • Culturally responsive pedagogy

Contents

Introduction, Background

Heritage language education has received increased recognition worldwide (Cummins 2014; Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014), and plurilingualism is viewed as an asset for students' academic success by many scholars (Cummins 2004; García and Wei 2014). Parental involvement and active cooperation of educators and parents are considered a prerequisite for efficient schooling (Coelho 2012; Nieto 2010), and the cooperation of schools and parents is also described as desirable in the Icelandic National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Schools (Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið 2013). However, despite the policy implications, parents of foreign origin are frequently excluded from discussions about and the implementation of school reforms. Teachers' initiatives in reaching out toward these parents are limited, because schools are usually not organized to encourage involvement of these groups (Nieto 2010). In Iceland a parent-run NGO, *Móðurmál – the Association of Bilingualism*, provides nonformal instruction in 26 heritage languages, thus contributing to children's active bilingualism and creating the missing link between homes and schools (Móðurmál 2016). Many parents of plurilingual children choose to give their children the opportunity to maintain and learn their HL through Móðurmál, and some of them serve as volunteers and teach.

This chapter presents findings from an ongoing research project at the School of Education, University of Iceland, which explores plurilingual children's experiences in compulsory schools. The aim of the project is to discover how plurilingual

children who receive heritage language instruction in nonformal settings (Boeren 2011) think about their heritage languages (HL) and what attitudes they have toward keeping and developing them. The focus of this chapter is on the children's developing linguistic repertoires (Council of Europe 2006) and the role that parents play in the development. This paper looks for answers to these questions: How do plurilingual students develop their linguistic repertoires in compulsory schools and outside of them? How do parents of plurilingual students influence the development of their children's linguistic repertoires? How do students and their parents experience the stance of schools toward the linguistic repertoires of the students? This chapter argues that Icelandic schools do not respond to the needs of the plurilingual students, to the expectations of the parents, and to the national policies with regard to their heritage language education. Language repertoire of the participants is the lens through which students' experience is observed and interpreted, and it is here also understood as one of the chief factors in achieving social and academic success in schools.

The chapter starts by positioning heritage language instruction in the Nordic and international context and within international literature on heritage language instruction. It continues to describe how heritage language instruction is organized in Iceland. After theorizing the problematic features, especially with regard to plurilingual students in compulsory schools and their parents' involvement, the methodology of the study is outlined in detail. Ethical considerations of researching students of foreign origin and the limitations of the study are stated before the discussion of results and the conclusions of the research.

Local Context

The term "heritage language" was coined in Canadian context, and it refers to mother tongues, home languages, native languages, languages of parents, and grandparents (Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014). In other words, heritage language is a language that the speaker has a personal connection to directly or through family roots. The terminology varies across regions and has changed over time, also reflecting political and regional situations.

In Nordic countries, heritage languages are usually referred to as mother tongues. There is a strong tradition in the region to provide HL instruction to minorities (i.e., Finnish minority in Sweden) and to students of foreign background. Individual countries have developed their own solutions, which are either under the auspices of national or local authorities or, in the case of Iceland, in the hand of non-governmental organizations. Internationally, HL instruction is gaining more ground, as HL is found to be a human right and a strong prerequisite of academic success of students with foreign background (Cummins 2004; Thomas and Collier 1997; United Nations 1990). In some regions, heritage languages are being revived (Irish, Welsh), maintained (Basque, Catalan), and promoted for both democratic and educational purposes (Austria, Canada).

In Iceland, heritage language education reaches back to the 1990s when Móðurmál – the association on bilingualism – was established by parents. Since then, HL instruction has been in the hands of parents and NGOs. However, local communities and national policies have recognized the importance of active bilingualism (Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið 2013; Skóla- og frístundasvið 2014) and thus provided the schools with the framework to work with the HL of the students. These measures were supported by Nordic and international research that refers to many versatile benefits of sound knowledge of HL and of active bilingualism. One of the proven benefits of structured instruction in academic HL is its connection with the learning of the second language and general academic achievement (Cummins 2014; Cummins and Early 2011; Thomas and Collier 2003).

The academic achievement of students of foreign origin in the compulsory schools in Reykjavík, the capital of Iceland, is not satisfactory. Icelandic vocabulary of 1400 students of foreign origin in compulsory schools was tested in 2013–2014, and the results showed that over 70% of the students who learned Icelandic as a second language needed extra support with their Icelandic (Leskopf et al. 2015). These results were also confirmed by the international PISA testing (OECD 2016). Students with insufficient vocabulary in Icelandic cannot fully understand the subject of study and do not achieve the same results in the schools as their monolingual counterparts (Ólafsdóttir 2015). According to these results, a serious achievement gap between local students and students of foreign origin is prevalent in Icelandic schools, which the local and national policies have already reacted to, but the schools still need to incorporate.

Literature and Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study includes critical multiculturalism (Banks 2009; Gay 2000; May 2010; Nieto 2010), second language studies (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006; Cummins 2000), and heritage language research (Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014). Inequality and social injustice in schools have been criticized since the second half of the twentieth century, and various disadvantaged groups, i.e., ethical and immigrant groups, have been identified as not having equal opportunities to quality education (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976; Trần 2015). Critical multiculturalism has provided some answers to policy makers, schools, and teachers on how to approach students of all backgrounds. According to May (2010), schools in democratic, pluralistic societies must include equal opportunities to learn for all students. He believes that critical multiculturalism is constituted by theorizing ethnicity, acknowledging unequal power relations, critiquing constructions of culture, and maintaining critical reflexivity. Ragnarsdóttir (2007) defines critical multiculturalism as focusing on and identifying the position of various minorities within a society with the aim to understand what the factors are that cause and maintain the different positions of the groups and individuals. Teachers have to be constantly reflective and understand inherent inequalities in school settings and use their understanding to build on the strengths of all students, without forcing them to abandon their identities

(Gay 2000). One of the main goals of multicultural education is to empower students to achieve both personal and social growth, to achieve academically, as well as to develop social action skills (Nieto 2010).

Cummins (2001), as early as in 1986, offered a suggestion on how to lessen and close the vast achievement gap between minority and majority students. He claimed that in the classroom which maintained unequal power between groups, linguistically and culturally diverse students would not achieve a long-term success. The systematic devaluation of students' identities has to be reversed, for example, by allowing them to use and build on their linguistic repertoire in the schools and use their intellectual, imaginative, and cultural resources. Teachers always have the power to empower students to build on their funds of knowledge and to become fluently bilingual and bilateral, and they can encourage parents to take part in this process. García et al. (2011) suggest seven principles that support students' plurilingual abilities and plurilingual practices in education (heterogeneity, collaboration, learner-centeredness, language and content integration, language use from students up, experiential learning, and local autonomy and responsibility). These lead to increased academic success and proficiency in the school language but also give the students a dynamic tool for translanguaging and constant adaptation of their linguistic repertoires to the reality of multilingual classrooms.

HLE has a deep meaning for children – their development, studies, and successful participation in the society (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006). Various studies have shown the positive influence of bilingualism on achievement in schools, particularly in language learning (Thomas and Collier 2003; Wozniczka and Berman 2011). Children who master two languages and gain cultural insight into both cultures can benefit from this knowledge professionally in the future (Bolten 2003; Müller 2003). On the contrary, insufficient competence in the HL can lead to negative bilingualism that has serious consequences for both the individual and the society in which they live (Baker 2011). HL instruction also affects the forming of the self-image of children because they experience themselves as part of more cultural and language groups (Butler and Hakuta 2006). Heritage language education, according to Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014), is a multidimensional, autonomous discipline that relates both to linguistics and pedagogical sciences, but it is also concerned with the identity negotiation and cultural inheritance. They believe that the field of HLE will change the traditional view of language education toward social justice and equity in education.

Method

At the heart of the abovementioned theories, there is the voice of the individual who has the right to succeed academically without giving up her cultural, linguistic, or social identities. On the contrary, her multiple identities and resources serve as a springboard both in the school and in the multicultural society. In order to answer the research questions about experience of students and their parents of foreign origin in school settings in Reykjavík, Iceland, qualitative methodology was selected as the most appropriate. During the in-depth semi-structured interviews, the participants

answered questions about themselves, their language repertoires, their heritage countries and the country of residence (Iceland), their experience from the compulsory schools and with the communication with school representatives.

There were 19 participants, eight parents of foreign origin whose children are attending Icelandic compulsory school (in one case both a mother of foreign origin and her Icelandic partner took part in an interview) and ten students (seven boys, three girls) of foreign origin who attend compulsory schools in Greater Reykjavík Area. With two exceptions, all students were of European descent but of different language families. All students learned their HL in a nonformal setting (Boeren 2011), nine of them attend nonformal HL classes in language groups of Móðurmál on weekends and one of them studies at home in a structured way with his mother. Eight students were born in Iceland, they are the so-called second generation of immigrants, and they are all plurilingual, as they use two or more languages daily. All students have lived in Iceland for over 10 years, with one exception. They speak very good Icelandic and have good knowledge of Icelandic society (Table 1).

Two of the parents teach in a nonformal HL group, two mothers coordinate language groups, two parents joined parent associations in their children's schools, and all of them have throughout the years followed family language policies.

Five parents are university educated, one is a registered student at the University of Iceland, and two have plans to pursue further education in near future. The majority of the parents actively seek information about bilingualism, mother tongues, and education of their children, and all of them actively support their children to study their HL. The sample is very specific in that the motivation of parents to maintain and develop their children HL is very high and they actively create opportunities for their children to study and use their heritage languages. Students' interest and linguistic abilities are strongly supported by high motivation of their parents. Selection of the sample was purposive, through contact with group coordinators of Móðurmál. One of the researchers has an insider view of the HL groups through her volunteer and professional involvement with Móðurmál.

Six semi-structured interviews with children were taken in Icelandic, two in children's HL, and one partially in English and in Icelandic. Interviews with parents were taken in Icelandic (3), English (3), and heritage language of the parent (2), one of them with an interpreter. In one case, the interview was taken both with a mother and a stepfather of the student. Interviews with students and parents were taken in their homes in order to increase the interviewees' comfort and feeling of security. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in the original language, and they were not translated as a whole, since the translation may cause a loss or change of concepts and thoughts. Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2013) and generic approach to coding (Lichtman 2013) were used to interpret the data. The process included two rounds of coding and search for themes that were further interpreted through the lens of theories of critical multiculturalism, second language studies, and HL education. The researcher's role in the interpretation of the data was active, in that the codes were both explicit, derived directly from the data, and implicit, derived both from underlying theories and researcher's knowledge framework. Braun and Clarke (2013) call such codes data derived and researcher derived (p. 207).

Table 1 Overview of the students in the study

	Female	Male	Born in Iceland	Speak very good Icelandic	Interview in Icelandic	Interview in English	Interview in HL	Both parents of foreign origin
Erag		x	x	x	x			x
Magnus		x	x	x	x			
Teó		x	x	x	x			
Tinni		x	x	x			x	
Jackson		x		x	x			x
Oliver		x	x	x	x			
Honza		x	x	x			x	
Martina	x		x	x	x			x
Safira	x		x		x		x	x
Ilona	x				x	x		x

The ethical issues of language, power, autonomy, and privacy were dealt with appropriately in interviews with students and parents (Kristinsson 2003; Tisdall et al. 2010). The consent form was written in understandable language and children cosigned the form with their parents. Interviews were taken in the students' homes in a friendly atmosphere. Most students and parents previously met the interviewer under other circumstances so the researcher role overlapped with an acquaintance and teacher role. In seven cases, parents were present during the interview with their children or within a hearing distance, which raised questions about securing students privacy. At the same time, parents' presence increased students' confidence. There were a few instances when students were confused or looked for the right word, but these issues were quickly solved. Two participants later verbalized their positive experience with the interview through their parents.

Information that could lead to identification of the students was removed, with the exception of their language. That, in Iceland, could be an issue if students belonged to very small language communities. Therefore, all participants were chosen with this aspect in mind and belonged to rather big minorities in Iceland. Some of them opted to choose their own pseudonyms, which led to some amusement during the interviews.

Findings

This chapter presents findings from the current research. The research looked for answers to the following research questions: How do plurilingual students develop their linguistic repertoire in compulsory schools and outside of them? How do parents of plurilingual students influence the development of their children's linguistic repertoire? How do students and their parents experience the stance of schools toward the linguistic repertoires of the students?

The results confirm that students who attend nonformal heritage language classes are well aware of the importance of their knowledge of all languages and that the parents take an active role in building up those attitudes. However, schools seldom work with the cultural and language backgrounds of their students in order to promote their knowledge of HL, Icelandic and other languages, and their overall academic achievement. The results further cast light on strategies that the parents of foreign origin have to assume in order to supplement the role of schools in the area of HL education.

The findings reveal that the plurilingual children appreciate knowledge and literacy in all their languages. They are aware of the importance of their HL in their own lives and have a good connection with the countries of their parents. They are also aware of other benefits of having good knowledge of more than one language and have various motivations to study them. At the same time, the students believe that Icelandic is very important, as Iceland is their country of residence and schooling. They see little or no connection between their knowledge of HL and their formal study in school. Sometimes the students get praise for their language knowledge in the school, but the schools fail to use the linguistic repertoire of the students to further their studies.

The parents have a myriad of strong motivations for teaching HL to both their own children and HL groups. They actively find versatile ways to promote their children's bilingual literacy and language awareness. To a great extent, they trust schools with teaching their children Icelandic, the school language, but they are aware of the fact that the schools are not ready to promote bilingual literacy and that they as parents have to assume the initiative in teaching the HL on both the communicative and academic level.

Parents and children have good relationships and seem to agree on the importance of languages and education. However, some parents were aware of lacking language support in the schools, and they were critical of various aspects of their children's school study, in particular little demands, lack of consistency of the support, little communication of teachers with homes, and lack of knowledge about HL languages among class teachers.

Students

The plurilingual children in this study appreciate knowledge and literacy in all their languages, their HL, the school language (Icelandic), English (compulsory from 3rd or 4th grade), Danish (compulsory from 7th grade), Spanish, French, Norwegian, German, Thai, Polish, Czech, Albanian, Portuguese, and Lithuanian. They learn languages actively both for school (grades) and personal (family, travel, future jobs) purposes. They learn from listening to TV, talking on Skype, and through contact with family members, using technology, such as ipads and language applications. They do not see language learning as a chore, but rather a pleasant activity, and traveling to home countries and on holiday sparks their interest in languages even more. Since parents, their role models, traveled to Iceland, the students find it feasible to move to other countries in the future to live and work there, even though only one of them seriously considers moving back to mother's home country in near future. Learning languages is further enhanced by belonging to the language communities in Iceland (HL class; during classes and outside-of-class activities) and by various connections with the country of origin and the feeling of belonging to families abroad (grandmother, step-sister, cousins). The students have both internal and external reasons for learning languages.

> I need to use it (Albanian – REP). Very much. I need to use it in the daily life and also when I go places where people speak Albanian, like now in summer when we go on holiday. (Erag)

The respondents are literate in both their HL and Icelandic; in one case, the HL is stronger than Icelandic, and in one case, literacy in the HL is much higher than in Icelandic. Half of the students estimate that their Icelandic knowledge is stronger than their HL, especially reading and writing.

The students see little or no connection between their knowledge of HL and their formal study in school. Some are never asked by teachers about their country of

origin and none of their class teachers work with HL languages systematically. However, there is one exception:

> Then there is the French teacher who speaks with me about Portuguese because French can be very similar to Portuguese. (Teó)

One class teacher is "very curious" about the country of origin, and all teachers are aware of the plurilingualism of their students. One plurilingual student attends HL classes organized by the authorities and recognized by the school system, but, his parents wonder, he cannot get the same recognition for such classes in another HL of his, even though it is taught by a professional language teacher. Some students would like to establish the link between their home and school languages.

> I would like to use them (my languages – REP) more in the school. (Oliver)

All students enjoy going to school. All students but one have good friends in the school and outside of the school; they socialize in sport activities outside of the school and in breaks. Four of them report, though, that they do not have Icelandic friends and that they would like to have more friends. Five of them do not have an opportunity to speak their HL in the school, as there is no other student who speaks their language. One student uses his HL with a student who speaks another Slavic language, but only in the breaks.

Although the academic Icelandic becomes increasingly problematic during the mid-level of compulsory school, the younger students (5th grade) report no lack of knowledge and skills in understanding, talking, reading, and writing.

> I find it much more fun to read in Icelandic than in Lithuanian. (Martina)

The older students say they "dislike" Icelandic, they have to choose lighter reading books, they do not understand difficult words in textbooks, and sometimes it is difficult to write Icelandic. Two students in the 5th grade are receiving extra classes in Icelandic as a second language at the time of the interview, and three in the 7th grade received such help in the beginning of their compulsory schooling, variously by being pulled out of the class or longer presence in a special department. They report that it helped them a lot to learn Icelandic and some stress that they enjoyed it. However, these same students have no or very few Icelandic-speaking friends.

> Sometimes nobody plays with me and I feel sad. (Ilona)

All of the students show metacognitive knowledge of languages, i.e., knowledge about languages. They can compare languages that they speak to some extent, for example, similarity of letter, words, grammatical categories, and humor. The student who has very strong knowledge of HL says that knowledge of his HL helps him study

Icelandic and that he understands better when his mother explains the learning material in Czech to him.

All participating students have positive self-image. They describe themselves as good students, good sportsmen, and good language learners. They see the linguistic repertoire as a strong point and are unafraid to ask for help in the school if they need it. They see bright futures ahead, and they want to become famous professionals (footballers, architects, teachers), surrounded by family and friends. They can imagine living in another country, moving for professional and other reasons.

Parents

The majority of parents in the study were university educated, pursuing their further education, in one case planning to seek further education. One parent with elementary education had no plans to further her education. The parents trusted schools with teaching their children Icelandic, but through comparing schools and school systems in their countries of origin, they showed various degrees of criticism regarding the content and amount of study material, teaching methods, discipline, lacking presence of international languages in the schools, and communication with homes (Table 2).

> Here everybody goes at his own tempo, someone is on page 20 and someone else on page 50. Maybe they have done everything incorrectly but nobody goes over their work. Instead, they queue at the teacher's desk to ask individual questions. What waste of time! (Eva)

The parents supported children's learning in various ways, from moral support to regular hours spent with homework in the evenings. All of the parents in the study brought their children to study their HL in HL groups.

Communication with compulsory schools and the class teachers was criticized by most parents. It was too scarce, only when something negative happens or once in a semester at a short parent meeting. The communication was impersonal because it is only via email, and it was sometimes tense because teachers knew about dissatisfaction of the parents.

> It irritates me because the teacher wrote on a sheet of paper and I saw it 'Parents understand Icelandic poorly', period. . . . I never ever ask for interpreter. . . It really gets on my nerves. . . The old teacher was more open to us.

Parents felt lack of support and understanding of teachers about bilingualism and HL; in two cases, parents had negative experience with teachers' attitudes toward language use (heritage language and English) of the students. One parent was not allowed by the teacher to borrow and bring textbooks home when she wanted to go over the study material with her son in their HL, and other three parents reported explicitly negative experiences in communication with class teachers. However, one parent gave examples of explicitly positive communication about reading in HL.

All parents wanted to have positive relationships with their children's teachers, and they wrapped their deep-rooted criticism into politeness and positive

Table 2 Overview of the parents in the study

	Female	Male	Live in Iceland > 10 years	Speak good Icelandic	Language of interview	University education	In parent association	HL teachers	HL group coordinators
Eva	x		x		HL			x	
Lucia	x		x	x	English		x		x
Paula	x		x	x	Icelandic	x			x
Valon		x	x	x	English	x	x	x	
Edita	x		x	x	Icelandic				
Nisa	x		x		HL with an Interpreter				
Filipina	x			x	Icelandic	x			
Helena	x				English	x			

communication. The parents all assumed the initiative in teaching the HL to their children, both on communicative and academic level. Some of them were aware of research which stipulated that academic skills could be transferred between languages or at least they had the knowledge that strong base in HL enabled their children to learn new languages faster and easier. Parents wanted to secure good education for their children; they were thinking about children's futures (in Iceland or elsewhere) and the quality of education of their children. Some of them made great effort to learn about how the school system works, to establish contact with teachers, join parent associations, and actively seek meetings with teachers and help from school.

> I always try to take part in Icelandic society and parents' society in school. I was in one year in you know foreldrafelag (parents' association – REP). And I try to be always when is something because of my kids of course.

Communication in HL with their children was the only thinkable way for parents. Their motivation was intrinsic, emotional, and also based on knowledge about languages. It was very strong and they made huge effort to secure children's access to their HL. They drove their children to HL classes on Saturdays, traveled with the children to their countries of origin, initiated communication with schools, and collected books in HL. In two cases, the parents taught the HL classes and two of them coordinated the HL programs.

Conclusion and Discussion

The original purpose of the chapter was threefold. Firstly, the chapter was to cast light on the development of plurilingual students' development of their linguistic repertoires in the schools. Secondly, the paper explored how parents of plurilingual children influenced the development of their children's linguistic repertoire. Thirdly, the chapter researched the experience of students and their parents of foreign origin with communication with Icelandic teachers and schools and the level of cooperation in enhancing student's HL education and their linguistic repertoires.

The value of this research is in giving voice to children and parents and in showing their positive attitudes toward the schools, their children's education, and their HL. The research uncovered serious discrepancies between children's needs to develop their HL and the vague interest of school teachers in their backgrounds. In none of the observed cases, teachers and schools built systematically on the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the students (Gay 2000), albeit they sometimes praised the knowledge of languages of their students. Discrepancies also appear between the research that states that bilingual literacy promotes academic success (Cummins 2000; Potowski 2013; Thomas and Collier 2003) and the minimal role that schools assume in this area. The parents' associations supplement schools' lacking policies to aim at active bilingualism, because they strongly believe that the children need realistic opportunities to benefit from their linguistic repertoire in the school settings.

The national and local policies stress the importance of homeschool cooperation (Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið 2013), building on students' cultural heritage and achieving the ultimate goal of active bilingualism (Skóla- og frístundasvið 2014). However, even the highly motivated parents face difficulties in communicating their concerns to teachers and schools, and the students who attend heritage language classes outside of school experience a striking lack of connection between their language study in school and outside of school.

The ten students who have highly motivated parents and who attend nonformal HL classes appreciate their knowledge of languages, and they share this view with their parents. They feel fairly successful in schools and have strong self-image and bright future plans. However, their cultural and linguistic heritage is not being regarded as a resource and built upon in the schools. Parents refer to problematic communication with schools and little power in helping their children improve their academic achievement and achievement in the school language, which is Icelandic.

This research shows that there is a discrepancy between the school policies, research, and the expectations of parents toward the schools on one side and the school practices linked with previous knowledge and linguistic repertoire of the children on the other side. This discrepancy opens a window of opportunity, the educational potential of increased cooperation with parents and for improving students' academic success. Implications for general population of parents of foreign origin and their children are serious. The highly motivated, well-educated parents and the linguistically well-equipped children observe and experience little bridging and connection between their backgrounds and the school setting. Consequently, the question arises if general population of parents of foreign origin and children who do not receive any regular HL instruction do at all connect their cultural and language background within the school setting and if they have a chance of activating their backgrounds toward achieving better academic success. The sample of both children and parents was interested in education and aware of its importance for children's futures. The majority of parents had very good knowledge of languages and communication skills, and they could communicate with schools directly. The question remains, how parents and teachers can build bridges and have successful communication, if they do not share a common language and they do not actively seek new ways of communication. The implications suggest that there is a lot of space for improvement of the communication and pedagogical practice.

The limitations of the study are primarily in its scope and duration. However, the study will be further extended by the researchers within a larger project, and further research with students, parents, teachers, and HL teachers will be pursued. There is almost no research in the area of HL education in Iceland and it is much needed, with the improvement of the academic and social achievement of all students as a guiding light. A small study of this format can only point to some possibilities for the Icelandic school system, and it would clearly be worthwhile extending the study to cover more geographical areas, a greater variety of schools, other age groups, etc. However, the implications for teachers and school leaders need not wait for such evidence to be generated. This study highlights the need for improved

communication between parents and schools which would also lead to better use of linguistic resources of the students and their parents.

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Building Empowering Multilingual Learning Communities in Icelandic Schools

Hanna Ragnarsdóttir

Abstract

Linguistic and cultural diversity of preschools and compulsory school children and their families in Iceland has been steadily growing over the past few years, and currently around 11% of all preschool children and 7.6% of all compulsory school students have heritage languages other than Icelandic (Statistics Iceland. (2015a). Children in pre-primary institutions having another mother tongue than Icelandic 1998–2014 (Internet). Available from http://px.hagstofa.is/pxen/pxweb/en/Samfelag/Samfelag__skolamal__1_leikskolastig__0_lsNemendur/SKO01103.px/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=ff370e55-3955-4013-b760-49b3ec5d0fb8; Statistics Iceland. (2015b). Pupils in compulsory schools having another mother tongue than Icelandic 1998–2014 (Internet). Available from http://px.hagstofa.is/pxen/pxweb/en/Samfelag/Samfelag__skolamal__2_grunnskolastig__0_gsNemendur/SKO02103.px/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=ff370e55-3955-4013-b760-49b3ec5d0fb8). Although educational policies and curriculum guides in Iceland emphasize equity and inclusion, multilingual and heritage language issues have generally not been addressed thoroughly in these policies (see, e.g., Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. (2011). *The Icelandic national curriculum guides (Internet)*. Reykjavík: Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. Available from http://eng.menntamalaraduneyti.is/publications/curriculum/; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. (2014). *White paper on education reform (Internet)*. Reykjavík: Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. Available from http://www.menntamalaraduneyti.is/menntamal/hvitbok/). The aim of the study was to explore innovative and empowering educational practices and processes of building multilingual learning communities with parents and children in Icelandic preschools and compulsory schools.

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The theoretical framework of the study includes critical approaches to education (May, S., and Sleeter, C. E. (2010). Introduction. Critical multiculturalism. Theory and praxis. In S. May and C. E. Sleeter (Eds.), *Critical multiculturalism: Theory and praxis*. New York: Routledge; Nieto, S. (2010). *The light in their eyes. Creating multicultural learning communities* (10th anniversary ed.). New York: Teachers College Press; Trifonas, P. P. (2003). Introduction. Pedagogies of difference. Locating otherness. In P. P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social change*. New York: Routledge) and multilingual education for social justice (Chumak-Horbatsch, R. (2012). *Linguistically appropriate practice: A guide for working with young immigrant children*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Cummins, J., and Early, M. (2011). Introduction. In J. Cummins & M. Early (Eds.), *Identity texts. The collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools*. London: Trentham books/IOE Press; García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan; Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2009). Multilingual education for global justice. Issues, approaches, opportunities. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, & M. Panda (Eds.), *Social justice through multilingual education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters; Trifonas, P. P., and Aravossitas, T. (2014). Introduction. In P. P. Trifonas and T. Aravossitas (Eds.), *Rethinking heritage language education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Methods included narratives and interviews with principals, teachers, and parents who have taken part in developing educational partnerships in three preschools and three compulsory schools as well as interviews with students in the compulsory schools and observations.

Findings from the study indicate that the development of empowering multilingual learning communities in the schools in the study has generally been successful and highly evaluated by parents. However, there are a number of challenges, such as educating and including all staff, ensuring succession, reaching out to parents and communities, and funding.

Keywords

Multilingualism • Empowering educational practices • Preschools • Compulsory schools • Iceland

Contents

Introduction

Icelandic society has seen growing immigration in the past 20 years. In preschools and compulsory schools, linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity of children, students, and their families has been inreasing over the past years, and currently 11% of all preschool children and 7.6% of all compulsory school students have heritage languages other than Icelandic (Statistics Iceland 2015a, b). The ratio of immigrant children differs from one school to another, reaching up to 80% in some preschools in the capital, Reykjavík (Reykjavíkurborg, Skóla- og frístundasvið 2015). However, school communities all over Iceland are generally becoming increasingly diverse, and classes or divisions where students and children speak many heritage languages are common. This relatively new reality brings new opportunities and challenges to the educational system in Iceland. Many schools have responded by developing interesting initiatives to create multilingual learning communities with diverse families and their children and to ensure their active participation in the everyday school activities.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture issues national curriculum guides for preschools, compulsory schools, and upper secondary schools (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture 2011) which contain the frame and conditions for learning based on the principles of existing laws, regulations, and international conventions. Six fundamental pillars have been developed within this frame, and they form the essence of the educational policy. These are *literacy, sustainability, health and welfare, democracy and human rights, equality, and creativity.* They include the working methods, the content, and the learning environment at every school level and form important continuity in the Icelandic educational system. Municipalities develop their own educational policies for preschools and compulsory schools based on existing laws, regulations, and the national curriculum guides for these school levels.

The aim of the study was to explore innovative and empowering educational practices and processes of building multilingual learning communities with parents and children in Icelandic preschools and compulsory schools. The article draws on data from three preschools and three compulsory schools in Iceland, some of which participated in the Nordic research project *Learning Spaces for Inclusion and Social Justice: Success Stories from Immigrant Students and School Communities in Four Nordic Countries.* The objective of the project was to draw lessons from success stories of individual immigrant students and whole school communities at different levels that have succeeded in developing learning contexts that are equitable and socially just (Ragnarsdóttir 2015). Learning spaces refer to school communities as well as other learning environments and practices than schools, which may be important or instrumental for the young immigrants' participation and success. In the project, students' success is defined as social as well as academic. By identifying success stories and good practices, the aim of the project was to provide guidelines for teaching and school reform based on these strategies.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Approaches to Education in Multilingual Settings

The main theoretical focus of this study is critical multiculturalism, multicultural education, and culturally responsive pedagogy (Banks 2010; Gay 2010; Nieto 2010). A second perspective is literature and theories on inclusive and empowering educational strategies for meeting cultural and linguistic diversity of children and families (Banks 2010; Brooker 2002; Cummins 2004; Gay 2010; May and Sleeter 2010; Noddings 2005a, b).

Critical multiculturalism is an important basis for this study as it critically addresses power relations within particular settings, within or between societies, communities, or schools, and ways to ensure equality, empowerment, and participation (Banks 2010; Nieto 2010; Parekh 2006). Critical multicultural approaches analyze the factors in societal structures or educational systems which cause and maintain unequal status and suggest reforms to counteract inequities (see May and Sleeter 2010; Nieto 2010; Parekh 2006). Parekh (2006) has claimed that each society needs to find its balance and ensure equal opportunities and access of individuals through active communication and agreements of groups without losing their coherence. The same challenges and opportunities apply to schools in diverse societies. Banks (2010) and Nieto (2010) claim that educational systems must critically address inequalities and ensure voice, dialogue, equality, empowerment, and social justice for their individual students and teachers.

While demographic changes in many countries and the diversification of societies and schools have started debates on various issues related to education and school development, research in many countries has revealed the marginalization of ethnic minority students and teachers in school systems. Educational policies and practices frequently exclude, devalue, or marginalize students from immigrant, minority, or nondominant language backgrounds and position them within a deficit framework, rather than acknowledging and affirming their strengths and abilities. In many cases, the majority language becomes the criteria by which student ability is measured, meaning that lack of majority language abilities is regarded as deficiency and results in labelling and categorization (Nieto 2010; Ragnarsdóttir 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas 2009). However, the benefits of bilingualism for individuals and societies have been discussed by many scholars (Chumak-Horbatsch 2012; Cummins 2014; García 2009; Ragnarsdóttir 2008; Ragnarsdóttir and Schmidt 2014).

Cummins (2004) has addressed the need for investing in social justice in educational communities and gaining understanding on how policy making, attitudes, beliefs, and expectations exclude some children while welcoming others. According to Cummins (2001), in order to create learning spaces that respond to the needs of linguistically and culturally diverse groups of children and families, schools need to consider how to implement socially just and inclusive practices that welcome diverse backgrounds and identities. Additionally, in order to develop inclusive practices, it is important to build on children's prior experiences and knowledge. Chumak-Horbatsch, who has focused on linguistically appropriate practices (2012), notes that, if not addressed, transition into a new school where the linguistic environment

and educational practices do not match the child's former experiences can have negative results for their language and literacy development. She argues that monolingual practices carried out in multilingual settings can silence immigrant children's voices with unforeseen and often serious consequences. In such conditions, children experience that their language has no meaning and that their way of speaking is less important and more primitive than that of the children speaking the majority language. According to Chumak-Horbatsch (2012), results from a study on educational practices with multilingual children suggest that inclusive linguistic practices are needed to enhance the learning of all children in linguistically and culturally diverse learning contexts. Inclusive practices focus on a daily basis on multilingual, multi-literate, and multicultural lives of children and provide language and literacy materials in the home languages while maintaining close cooperation with parents (Chumak-Horbatsch 2012).

Kenner and Ruby (2012) note that research with children growing up in bilingual or multilingual contexts shows they tend to experience their linguistic and cultural worlds as connected rather than separate and that "at home and at their weekend complementary schools, the children lived in 'simultaneous worlds', switching between languages both in speaking and writing, and producing texts that expressed their bilingual lives" (p. 2). They argue that mainstream schools rarely recognize the wealth of multilingual knowledge and experience which children and young people possess.

Cummins (2014, p. 1) argues that "mainstream educators must share in the responsibility to support students who speak a heritage language (HL) to maintain and further develop their linguistic abilities." He derives this argument from the premise that schools should teach the "whole child." Cummins (2014) further notes that "When educators choose to ignore the linguistic competencies that students bring to school, they are also choosing to be complicit with the societal power relations that devalue the linguistic and cultural capital of their students. In other words, they become part of a societal system that squanders the human capital represented by the plurilingual resources of students and communities." In a similar vein, Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014, p. xiii) note that "Education and heritage language (HL) is not just a new dimension in the areas of linguistic and/or pedagogic sciences; it is linked to the processes of identity negotiation and cultural inheritance, through language that passes from generation to generation as a tangible legacy of the past that looks forward to a future."

Inclusion, social justice, and equity are keywords in this study. According to Sapon-Shevin (2007), inclusion begins with the right of every child to be in the mainstream of education. Inclusion thus assumes that all children are full members, while perhaps with modifications, adaptations, and extensive support. Sapon-Shevin (2007) argues that an inclusive definition of inclusion goes far beyond students with disabilities and looks at the myriad ways that students differ from one to another: race, class, gender, ethnicity, family background, sexual orientation, language, abilities, size, religion, and so on. Equality is often mistakenly associated with social justice in the way difference is treated. According to the equality perspective, individuals and groups should be treated according to need; that is, they should be

treated equitably. Treating individuals equitably rather than equally provides the potential of counteracting existing unjust differences. Those advocating for critical social justice seek a world that is fair and equitable, for everyone, not a world where everyone gets the same to reach the same goals (Ryan and Rottmann 2007).

Culturally responsive teaching is an approach which adapts to individual students' needs. It entails using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to, meaningful, and effective for them (Gay 2010). Teachers implementing culturally responsive teaching believe in their students and emphasize the development of all their strengths. They have a whole child approach rather than focusing on a limited ability of the child or deficits. They do not blame the children for the shortages of the educational system. These teachers aim to develop a community of culturally diverse learners who celebrate and affirm each other and work collaboratively for their mutual success, where empowerment replaces powerlessness (Gay 2010). In such contexts, care is also important. Noddings (2005b) claims that a caring relationship is one where both the cared for and the carer contribute. In the case of the youngest students, this relationship could be seen to extend to the parents, emphasizing the importance of good communication and cooperation between home and preschool. It also has wider societal implications because: "To care means to respond to needs, and needs do not stop (or start) at the schoolroom door" (Noddings 2005a, p. Xxii).

Many advocates of multilingual education offer further perspectives for equity-based critical approaches to schooling in increasingly diverse contexts (Skutnabb-Kangas 2009; Trifonas 2003). These approaches question how and why certain privileged groups dominate at the expense of peoples from immigrant, minority, and indigenous backgrounds. Models of multilingual education not only question the linguistic discrimination that prevails in many societies; they also suggest alternatives to the normalization of oppressive and exclusionary practices. Many scholars argue that a meaningful multilingual pedagogy needs to be both critical and creative. Gounari (2014, p. 254) notes that the "tendency is either to reduce language to a simple code of communication or, in the best case scenario, to connect it with culture and identity and tie it with struggles for social justice and equality." She continues with arguing that "both perspectives do not even begin to capture the complicated net of geographical, social, cultural and political economy layers that language constitutes and articulates upon." Gounari emphasizes the need for developing a "radical pedagogy that makes languages other than English not just relevant, but also necessary for all students."

García (2009) notes that "Meaningful bilingual pedagogy revolves around the issue of *equity* – equity for the students, their languages, and their cultures and communities. This means that the teacher ensures that all students, regardless of language backgrounds or proficiency, participate equally."

Translanguaging has been discussed widely in recent years and is, according to García and Wei (2014, p. 23) "the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities." The notion of translanguaging highlights two concepts that are fundamental to education, but that have hitherto been under-explored dimensions

of multilingualism, namely, creativity and criticality (García and Wei 2014). Creativity is the ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of behavior, including the use of language. It is about pushing and breaking the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging. Criticality refers to the ability to use available evidence appropriately, systematically, and insightfully, to inform considered views of cultural, social, political, and linguistic phenomena, to question and problematize received wisdom, and to express views adequately through reasoned responses to situations (pp. 66–67). These two concepts are intrinsically linked.

In their edited volume *Identity texts: The collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools,* Cummins and Early (2011) elaborate on creative ways of working with students in multilingual settings. The volume reports on "products of students" creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher" where they invest their identities in the creation of so-called identity texts "which can be written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light" (p. 3).

To summarize, many scholars consider it essential to apply a holistic and caring-centered approach to learning in multicultural societies and to create learning spaces which empower linguistically and culturally diverse groups of children and implement social justice and inclusion.

Method

The article draws on data from three preschools and three compulsory schools in different areas of Iceland, some of which participated in the Nordic research project *Learning Spaces for Inclusion and Social Justice: Success Stories from Immigrant Students and School Communities in Four Nordic Countries.* The objective of the project was to draw lessons from success stories of individual immigrant students and whole school communities at different levels that have succeeded in developing learning contexts that are equitable and socially just (Ragnarsdóttir 2015). In the *Learning Spaces* project, case studies were conducted in schools at pre-, compulsory, and upper secondary levels in urban and rural contexts in Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (a total of 27 schools). Sampling was purposive in that all schools have succeeded in implementing social justice and creating inclusive learning spaces for all students. All schools had relatively high numbers of immigrant children or students. Internal and external evaluations and assessment of school authorities were used when selecting the schools in the project, and additionally, indicators such as average grades, test scores, and drop-out rates were used for selecting schools at the compulsory and upper secondary levels. National curriculum guides, laws, and regulations on education in each of the four countries were analyzed, in addition to school policies and curricula developed in each school. Analysis took place concurrently through the research period using qualitative procedures of content analysis, coding, and constant comparison.

The article draws on data, interviews, narratives, and observations from one preschool and three compulsory schools which participated in the *Learning Spaces* project. Data is also derived from presentations, narratives, and in-depth information from two preschools which introduced their practices in a conference for practitioners in Icelandic schools which the Icelandic *Learning Spaces* research team organized. All participants have given written consent.

In the *Learning Spaces* project, data was collected through semi-structured interviews with principals, teachers, students, and parents of immigrant backgrounds as well as observations. The languages of the interviews, either Icelandic or English, were chosen by the participants, and some of the interviews were in both languages. The duration of each interview was on average one hour. Semi-structured interviews were chosen to elicit the views of the participants as clearly and accurately as possible (Flick 2006; Kvale 2007). This allowed the researchers to organize the contents of the interviews while at the same time giving the participants opportunities for open discussions. Based on an interview framework, the principals and teachers were asked to describe their practices. Through a narrative account of their professional experiences, they were invited to tell their professional stories concerning their practices (Clandinin and Connelly 2000). The parents were invited to share their experiences of the preschools. The narrative descriptions generated by this approach provided the researchers with an understanding of the representations of the educational settings. In addition, observations took place in the preschools and field notes, photographs, and videos were collected for analysis. The researchers visited the schools several times in order to observe various activities (Ragnarsdóttir 2015).

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Data was analyzed through the qualitative procedures of content analysis, coding, and constant comparison of data. The transcripts were read and reread by the researchers and analysis was collaborative and thematic through discussions. Excerpts from the interviews below which were in Icelandic have been translated into English by the author.

Findings

This chapter introduces findings from research in the three preschools and three compulsory schools in the study and highlights innovative and creative practices where heritage language use and developments are encouraged and supported.

Preschool Practices

The three preschools (P1, P2, P3) in the study all emphasize inclusive and empowering practices for all children and their families. The languages and cultures of the children are in focus and considered as important resources. Multiple creative measures and practices are employed to create an inclusive and welcoming atmosphere in the preschools. The preschools are located in different areas of Iceland. Around 25–80% of children in the preschools have other heritage languages than the

majority language, Icelandic. The preschools have emphasized heritage language support as well as Icelandic as a second langue. A variety of innovative practices and projects have been developed in the schools to support heritage language teaching, to promote democratic participation within the preschools and to foster preschool–parent collaboration. Some examples of these are presented below.

P1 is located in the capital area. Around 80% of the children have other heritage languages than Icelandic. One practice in the preschool is called *language in a bag* which includes practical guidance for parents about language development and support at home. The preschool puts card games, pictures, and books as well as guidelines for parents (translated into nine languages) in a bag, and this is sent home to the parents. The parents also get a diary to write messages to the preschool.

Another practice is the *living word walls*. iPads are used to show pictures and an Icelandic word for each of these pictures. The child can push a button to hear the word spoken and can contribute with the word in their own heritage language. iPads are also used for other purposes such as creating picture books, stories, and songs. The children can record their own languages, create stories, and sing songs.

Bilingual teachers assist in building bridges from Icelandic to the children's heritage languages and vice versa. They provide support for the children in their heritage languages and Icelandic around the work and vocabulary in Icelandic being used each time so that the children have a deeper understanding.

The children are encouraged to use their heritage languages in the preschool with other children, parents, and teachers. The preschool emphasizes that all languages should be met without prejudice or fear of being excluded from the conversation. The children are free to speak and communicate in their heritage languages, but encouraged to also explain in Icelandic to the children and staff what they are saying. The principal describes this in the following way: "We ask, what are you talking about? And then we communicate back in correct Icelandic (the triangle is created)." She describes how they have noticed that the children then reflect this reaction when a child speaking another language approaches them or when a child is more fluent in Icelandic will communicate and support its friends who are not as fluent in Icelandic. The children are thus supported in communicating across languages while supporting both heritage languages and Icelandic.

Interpreters are also used to support children who feel insecure. The interpreter steps in and bridges the gap between the context, children, and parents. They represent the children's voices and this has been a successful method, not least with the older children who are starting preschool and do not speak a word in Icelandic.

P2 is located in the capital area. Around 50% of the children have other heritage languages than Icelandic and altogether 20 languages are spoken in the school. A multicultural policy is being developed where home and school cultures are interwoven and where emphasis is on the children's heritage languages as a bridge to Icelandic. The main emphases are on Icelandic as a second language, emergent literacy, and heritage language support for all children. Cooperation with parents, particularly concerning language development in heritage languages and Icelandic as a second language, is considered very important and is emphasized. Communication books are used for bilingual and multilingual children to explain to the

parents their children's activities in the preschool. The children are photographed during various activities and the pictures put in the book. The children bring the books home and the parents are encouraged to discuss the pictures with their children in their heritage languages. The parents are also encouraged to put pictures from home in the book. The use of the books has been very successful. In addition to presenting the children's activities in the preschools, the books include information about ongoing activities and themes and songs. The children are provided with tools to explain to the teachers some activities at home, which also provide the teachers with information about the children's home cultures and interests. In the oldest age group division, the books are created with the children and have drawn their attention to letters and writing, in addition to strengthening their self-awareness.

Language development is part of all preschool activities. Pictorial methods are used to support language development, for example, by drawing lyrics or stories and using artifacts or puppets and drama. Documentation is employed in order to discover what kind of language supports each child needs, making individual language support more strategic and purposeful. Based on this documentation, children can partly be divided into small groups with language support adapted to their needs.

The children in P2 have taken part in a festival of children's cultures in their community. After watching a recent film about prejudice, especially made for children, they were encouraged to discuss ways of welcoming children who were starting preschool and could not speak Icelandic. Persona doll methods (Brown 2001, 2008) were used to create a persona doll who had recently moved to Iceland from another country and was learning Icelandic. The children discussed how the doll called Paul was feeling and how they could welcome him. The children expressed many ideas and finally created art objects to welcome new children to their preschool. These included jigsaw puzzles, a language tree, and lyrics expressed in drawings.

P2 and P3 have shown interest in implementing the so-called LAP (linguistically appropriate practice), a method developed by Chumak-Horbatsch (2012). The focus is on making all languages in the preschool visible and creating opportunities to build on all children's heritage languages.

In P3, which is located outside the capital area, around 25% of the children have other heritage languages than Icelandic and ten heritage languages are spoken. The preschool has actively developed multicultural educational practices in recent years in cooperation with parents. It is now implementing the LAP method, the aims of which are to support the children's heritage languages and to make all languages visible and respected, in cooperation with the parents; to support the bridging between the children's heritage languages and Icelandic, thus increasing their fluency in both or all languages; to support active bilingualism in cooperation with parents in order to strengthen the families; and to prepare them to become active members of society. Parents contribute to the project by translating various words related to preschool practices and spaces into their heritage languages in order to make these visible in the preschool. The parents also bring pictures and music, translate, and read for the children. They bring the alphabets of their heritage

languages and numerals from one to ten to make these visible in all divisions of the preschool. The project has been successful and the parents have been very active. The plan is to develop a handbook for the teachers describing the project, aims, and methods. The LAP project has opened discussion about active bilingualism and increased teachers' and parents' knowledge about diversity in the community and the importance of bilingualism.

P3 has also developed a method with so-called *story bags*. The project began in 2013 and the aim of the project was to welcome the parents and strenghten the cooperation with parents. A special theme was diversity. The project is organized in groups where parents get together and choose a children's book. The books have been diverse, but books chosen generally have a positive focus, for example, dealing with friendship, being diverse, fairy tales, and such. The parents are responsible for decorating the bag and creating its content, at least four card games, dolls, toys, costumes, and other related artifacts. The story is recited and recorded and a CD is included in the bag. Each parent chooses an activity based on his or her talents. The aim is that the parents cooperate and create together. The activities take place after school hours and childminders are provided. Teachers support the parents during the activities and the project is organized by the community. The children have the story bags for a week at a time. The activities included in the bag support learning through play, language development in heritage languages and Icelandic through books and recitals, as well as supporting quality education for parents and their children. The teachers also use the story bags in their practices with the children.

Voices of Principals, Teachers, and Parents in Preschools

This chapter provides insights into views and experiences of principals, teachers, and parents in the three preschools and sheds light on the effects of the inclusive and empowering practices.

One mother explained how the preschool valued and built on the children's cultural background and how important she considered these activities to be for herself and the children. First, she described a project carried out with the big group of Polish speaking children in the preschool where parents were included:

> Everyone brought something from his or her city and some story and read a book, there was always something and she did the program for the Polish people, most of us are from Poland here in this preschool and it was wonderful just wow, … I was not thinking about this and the kids were very much into this, just mommy tell me about Warsaw, where you are from and we will do something and we will sing the Polish song and the story and everything and the show and it was wonderful yes!

In most of the interviews with parents, teachers, and principals, issues of communication and language were addressed several times. One recurring theme in all the interviews with parents was the language and literacy learning of their children,

both in regard to learning Icelandic and the home language. Parents described how important it was for them and their children that the preschools valued and built on their children's knowledge and background in the home language and how helpful bilingual teachers were in that respect. A mother describing her son's preschool and the bilingual teacher said:

> One of the reasons why it's going so well in school, because when we came here and she (the teacher) started to speak our language, he felt like, ok that's the same song, and it's so great . . . if she wants to cool him down she just can tell him in our language so nobody else will understand and he knows that nobody else will understand, it's just for him.

The importance for the child of having a bilingual teacher is clear in this quote. But parents also mentioned the importance of their children learning good Icelandic and drew attention to the importance of active bilingualism. Parents described how the teachers and principals had informed them of the importance of the home language, for example, this mother who said:

> I think it is very important . . . most important it is the mother language because . . . if she wants to learn Icelandic she must know mother language.

The principals and teachers discussed this as well and gave examples of successful practices with language and communication. Observations in the preschools confirmed a variety of such practices. A teacher explained how they sought to discuss with parents the importance of building on the home language while learning a second language and how parents could support the linguistic development of their children:

> We try to encourage parents, you know, speak your mother language, read in your mother language, you know if they succeed in their mother language they will learn Icelandic.

Such encouragement was also described by some of the parents who confirmed how much they appreciated this care.

One of the principals has a clear vision of creating a multilingual community in her school guided by values of equity and social justice and developing educational partnerships with the parents. She emphasizes reaching out to the community through an open-door policy for parents and preschool facilities are available for meetings and heritage language learning after preschool hours. Personal communication is emphasized on a daily basis, and formalities in relationships between the preschool and parents have deliberately been reduced in order to facilitate stronger educational partnerships with parents. The principal is bilingual and has an understanding of what it means to be a recent immigrant in Iceland. She explains her view on communicating with immigrant parents:

> . . . I am bilingual myself but it is increasingly Icelandic we use, I feel they do not have to speak Icelandic perfectly, and the staff is really emphasizing this, we have had a number of courses about prejudice and you know, how we meet people in the middle or half-way and show patience . . ..

Compulsory School Practices

The three compulsory schools (C1, C2, C3) all emphasize building bridges between home and school cultures not only to facilitate the integration of the immigrant students into the school community but also to enrich the schools by bringing in and building on the multiple resources which the children bring to the school settings, including their heritage languages. Various methods and empowering practices are used for this purpose, and the students' heritage languages are visible and actively used. Computers and iPads are used actively in the schools for facilitating access to resources and creative work in the students' heritage languages. Art is widely used to build on students' resources and help them express themselves in various ways. Bilingual teachers work in the schools and are active in teaching and supporting the students. Some examples of practices in the three schools are provided below.

C1 is situated outside the capital area. It has a student population of around 300 in grades 1–10. In C1 around 23% of the students have heritage languages other than Icelandic.

In C1 one of the teachers builds on the students' heritage languages in teaching about poetry. While teaching about the structure of poems, students were supposed to write poems about the seasons. The teacher discusses the process of writing a poem, starting by asking them about the seasons in their countries of origins and how they have managed to adapt to the seasons in Iceland. After a short discussion about this, she asks which poems or types of poems the students know. Next, she suggests that the students use words from their heritage languages if they lack a word which rhymes in Icelandic. In this way she creates a chance for the students to use their language resources while writing poems. The teacher also notes that teachers generally encourage students to write essays in their heritage languages and explains "To be able to learn our language well, they need to know their own heritage language, to be able to transfer."

She also notes:

> We need to let them see, let them flourish a little, to show the other children: These are my numerals and does anyone want to have to read it? I had to read your style of script, would you be able to read mine? As with the colors, to teach the children in class the colors in their languages and to write on the door good morning in the languages spoken in the classroom or have these visible somewhere in the classroom.

C2 is located in the capital area. It has around 500 students in grades 1–10, 27% of whom have other heritage languages than Icelandic.

C3 is situated in the capital area. It is a large school with around 700 students speaking 21 languages. 18 % of the student population have other heritage languages than Icelandic.

In a class in C3, students with other heritage languages than Icelandic are being taught about the digestive system. Their Icelandic levels differ. During the class, the teacher uses different ways of communicating about the topic. She talks about the digestive system and the names of the organs in a pictorial way. The students are

encouraged to find the terms in their heritage languages at the same time that they are learning these in Icelandic. She also encourages them to cooperate and use the computers if they think this will help them. The teacher encourages the students to use their heritage language as much as they want and need, no matter what method they are using to study. She explains her emphasis in the following way:

> We are learning about the human body, in the ninth grade, a good book and everything, but the text is a little difficult and you often have to learn this in your own language, because if one does not know it in one's own language, only in Icelandic, what is a gall bladder, then we don't really know what it means, . . . let's try to find it in your language. I don't know and you will find out, then we are trying to teach it in their language also.

Below is an example from a translingual event from teaching, when the teacher in C3, which has the same heritage language as some of the students, is building on their heritage language and Icelandic:

„Do you understand this?" Teachers asks Tomek. „and does it match with stomach?" Tomek nods his head.

„Good," says the teacher and walks towards the black board and writes the word *melting* (digestion). „Okay, then what is *meltingarvegur* (alimentary canal)? The teacher directs the question towards the Polish boys.

„*Proces trawienia* (digestion process)," answers Bartek.

„Not excatly," answers the teacher. „ *Meltingarvegur* (alimentary canal)*,* what is *vegur* (road, way)?"

„*Sciana* (wall)," answers Tomek.

„No," answers the teacher.

„*Scianka* (small wall)," asks Bartek.

„No, *veggur* sciana (wall). *Vegur*, like *Laugavegur, Reykjanesvegur.*"

„*To jest ulica* (gata)," says Tomek.

Voices of Principals, Teachers, and Students in Compulsory Schools

Examples from interviews reveal that the teachers aim to create learning spaces for social justice. One of the teachers in C2 says:

> My aim in teaching is of course that my students learn good Icelandic, but I want them also to be happy individuals and that they are happy in the future first and foremost, because I can help them now, I can make them feel secure, I can help their families, and I can do whatever I can to help them now. This is my main aim, to help them to be strong, satisfied individuals that can

speak Icelandic and that can do in the future whatever they want to do and not what they have to do because they are limited by the language fluency or their education and so on.

Another teacher in C3 notes that:

My aim is to get the group together, to talk with them, and to talk about tolerance, that we are all different and that we should welcome others. So I have a certain aim. . . You don't have to turn off my candle so that yours shines brighter. I discuss this with them often, that they should not exalt themselves over others.

Student voices also reflect how learning and social spaces are created in the schools. A student in C1 describes how the teachers support them in developing their social network:

Well, in the beginning, first day I simply went there and I didn't know which class I should go to. So I went, and then my teacher arrived, she took me, and then another teacher came to teach me Icelandic. They found a Pole and he told me everything. He showed me all the classrooms. And then during the break I went to the playground and I started playing football with Icelanders. And somehow slowly, a bit later I even tried to talk to them.

A teacher in C2 emphasizes that all students need to be able to communincate about their interests and flourish, irrespective of their background and heritage language:

Once in a week I organize what I call encyclopedia . . . this is just my invention but then I allow them to stay in the computer room and use the Internet and create a book about their interests. This is of course clever as everyone can participate, also the students who have recently arrived in the country. I am always looking for something which all students can participate in and then I let them find something in their heritage languages and I say: „Now the language does not matter, now we are looking at areas of interest." And then everyone is flourishing, no matter which languages they speak, but not restrained by Icelandic.

The teachers acknowledge that it is important for the students to gain a good vocabulary in Icelandic to be able to fully participate in school and society. The teachers realize that when learning Icelandic, it is useful to first start discussing the topics in the students' heritage languages. One of the teachers in C3 says:

We are not only teaching Icelandic. We need to teach natural science also. We look at the topic which is being taught, try to create a little simpler version and talk about it. It is also very important, for example if we are discussing health, to also speak in Portuguese if this is the student's heritage language. Ask what you do every day and then we see how good the student is in expressing himself in his heritage language. If he does not know any concepts in his heritage language about diet or protein rich food, how can I expect him to learn this in Icelandic? So, we first need to work in their heritage languages to fix this, and we need to have a little chat.

A teacher in C1 consciously uses the students' language resources to enable active social and academic participation of students who have not mastered Icelandic. She notes:

> Of course one needs to explain better for them [topics and assignments]. When Gabriella and Max arrived, and because Claudia is so clever in both languages, I asked her to explain in Polish . . . they did not know what they were supposed to do and I could not explain it to them in Icelandic or they did not understand. Then Claudia was allowed to explain for them what they should do. It went very well with her help, but it would not have worked otherwise.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore innovative and empowering educational practices and processes of building multilingual learning communities with parents and children in Icelandic preschools and compulsory schools. Creating an inclusive, just, and welcoming school community for all children and their families is a challenge for principals and teachers in Icelandic schools where diversity is growing rapidly.

The findings from this study and the examples provided indicate that when this challenge is met with an open mind and a capacity to develop culturally responsive practices and structures, all children and families benefit. The findings indicate that the schools are succeeding in creating multilingual learning communities where students and children are flourishing and where families feel welcome and included (Chumak-Horbatsch 2012). Observations and narratives reveal a number of empowering and inclusive linguistic practices where heritage languages are visible and actively supported to enhance the learning of all children (Chumak-Horbatsch 2012; Cummins and Early 2011). Creative and critical methods are used to enhance learning (García and Wei 2014).

Findings from interviews with teachers and principals and observations in the schools indicate that learning spaces have been created where the needs of all children are met and various educational practices and care are implemented to ensure a supportive educational and nurturing environment (Gay 2010; Noddings 2005a, b; Sapon-Shevin 2007). Successful practices with language and communication, building on children's and students' heritage languages, and educational partnerships with parents are emphasized in order to build mutual trust and support the linguistic development of their children. This has been observed in findings from other studies emphasizing the importance of building on linguistic and cultural experiences, identity, and knowledge of children and families with culturally responsive pedagogy and practices (Banks 2010; Brooker 2002; Chumak-Horbatsch 2012; Cummins 2001, 2004). The principals, teachers, and other staff in the schools emphasize democracy, equity, and diversity in their daily practices and communication. Findings from interviews with the parents in the preschools reveal their satisfaction with the educational partnership with the preschools and the personal daily communication.

Although the schools in the study have developed inclusive learning spaces for all children and multilingual learning communities, some challenges are visible in the schools. High numbers of students and children who have other heritage languages

than Icelandic can create demanding working environments, althouth rewarding. Individual teachers and principals in these schools tend to lead the development of practice, and knowledge is not equally spread among the teachers. Working under such pressure can cause the danger of burnout. There is a necessity of including and educating all staff and ensuring succession of knowledge and experiences in the schools (Ragnarsdóttir 2015).

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So Many Languages to Choose from: Heritage Languages and the African Diaspora

31

James Kigamwa

Abstract

This chapter highlights the difficulties inherent in defining heritage languages for immigrant Africans in the various African diasporas and provides key arguments in favor of coalescing efforts for immigrant heritage language development in the diaspora around a few African national languages, rather than the many indigenous African languages. It also provides key considerations, including the influence of language use in the immigrants' home countries, on diaspora language use, language competence, home language practice by families, assimilative narratives that oppose linguistic diversity, and the availability of linguistic resources, such as books, that would support heritage language development. Recommendations and possible solutions for surmounting some of these challenges are also provided.

Keywords

Heritage language • Bilingual • African immigrants • African diaspora • Postcolonial • Language policy

Contents

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Introduction

The continent of Africa is home to an estimated 2065 languages, which represent about one third of all of the languages spoken in the world today (Adegbija 1994; Grimes 2000; Batibo 2005). These languages are distributed between four major language groups of Afro Asiatic, which contains an estimated 371 languages; Nilo Sahara, which contains 196 languages; Niger Congo, which contains 1436 languages, of which at least 500 are of the Bantu group of languages; and Khoisan, which contains 35 languages (Heine and Nurse 2000). While some countries utilize only one or two languages, other countries, such as Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, use more than 400 indigenous languages. Indigenous languages in Africa seem to enjoy lower status than national languages and official languages, such as English and French, have the highest status as they are used in official correspondence and schools. National languages come second to official languages in status and function, and, in many countries, they are used as the languages of early instruction.

Linguistic policies and practices in Africa have resulted in an African population that falls within various diasporas, which makes it difficult to define what languages should be described as heritage languages. By tracing language policies from the colonial period into the postcolonial era, finding an agreed upon definition of African heritage languages is still somewhat difficult. Language use practices in home countries, coupled with challenges related to maintaining heritage language development against dominant languages in diasporan cultures, as well as assimilative narratives creates obvious challenges to maintenance of the heritage languages. Immigrant language use in the diasporas is influenced by multiple factors, some of which are predicated upon language status and use in home countries.

In seeking to determine what may define viable heritage languages in the diasporas, all indigenous languages warrant consideration as they are spoken in varying degrees by immigrants in the diasporas. Their utility in their home countries, although geographically removed from the Western countries, determines many aspects of the languages' capacities and possible usage in the diasporas, including the level of proficiency of their speakers when away from Africa. Home country status and utility prevents arbitrary ascription of a heritage language based on ancestry and highlights considerations about proficiency.

Even in cases where African immigrants are proficient in their indigenous languages, the ascription of those languages as heritage languages for possible use in the diasporas can be problematic when there are only few speakers or when the languages may not have been adequately developed. Changes in generational language use clearly portray a shift in the use of indigenous languages to a use of the dominant languages in the diasporas (Portes and Schauffler 1994; Portes and Hao 1998; Fishman 1991). Policies and practices that result in the strengthened use of and proficiency in indigenous languages would obviously translate into similar attitudes toward heritage languages abroad. On the other hand, diminished proficiencies in indigenous languages in home countries translate to immigrant populations that may not have native speakers' competence in these languages and are, therefore, not capable of preserving the languages or transmitting them to the children of immigrants in the diasporas.

With the shift in language use toward dominant languages, speakers of African languages in the diasporas must choose between more widely spoken languages, such as national languages (e.g., Swahili), and the less widely spoken ones (i.e., indigenous languages). This chapter argues that individuals who may consider maintaining a heritage language in the diasporas would do well to consider the more commonly spoken languages in Africa, since such languages have been developed and would likely have more speakers and more resources than the smaller languages, which are less developed and have fewer speakers.

Defining Heritage Languages for the African Diaspora

In Western countries, African immigrant languages are generally viewed as "other" languages and foreign languages and are always viewed against the backdrop of dominant languages that are widely used (Fishman 2001; Valdés 2001). In addition, in Western countries, terms such as immigrant languages, minority languages, ethnic languages, community languages, and home languages have been used to describe heritage languages (Baker and Jones 1998; Kelleher 2008). Within the US context, Valdés (2001) noted that heritage languages refer to "all non-English languages, including those spoken by Native American peoples" (p. 39). Heritage languages are also classified into three categories (Fishman 2001): immigrant, indigenous, and colonial. Joshua Fishman, a notable name in the field of heritage language development and intergenerational transmission of languages, distinguishes between the different languages that are spoken in the USA by noting that groups that are native to North America speak indigenous heritage languages. On the other hand, immigrant heritage languages are spoken by groups or individuals who immigrated to the USA after the country had gained independence. Colonial heritage languages include languages such as Dutch, Finish, French, German, Spanish, and Swedish, which were used by European colonizers of North America. Using this classification, languages spoken by immigrants from Africa would, therefore, be designated as immigrant heritage languages. As such, this chapter refers to indigenous languages from Africa that are spoken by African immigrants in the USA as immigrant heritage languages.

Brutt-Griffler and Makoni (2006) highlight an important consideration while designating heritage languages by asking whether the languages should be ascribed simply on the basis of ancestry or language proficiency. They note that, even in cases where adults may be speakers of a language, it may be the case that children in these households may not be able to comprehend the language. In such cases, should it be assumed that the children share a heritage language with their parents simply because they share their ancestry? The ascription of heritage languages by family in cases where the children do not speak the language of the family would render the language useless, especially for purposes of learning. However, bearing in mind the above concerns, one must consider whether proficiency in a language should be so critical as to, possibly, invalidate families and individuals' choices of what they decide to perceive as their ancestral languages. On the same note, and in exploring

the inherency of personal choice in heritage language ascription, Brutt-Griffler and Makoni (2006) argued that African immigrant languages might well be identified as heritage languages by African Americans in the USA who may be intent on tracing their roots to Africa.

Languages that are in use in Africa can be broadly categorized into three groups: official languages, national languages, and indigenous languages. Indigenous languages are also referred to as tribal or mother tongue languages or, in some cases, terms, ethnic, tribal, local, or vernacular languages (Cleghorn et al. 1989). In considering proficiency as a key factor in ascribing a heritage language, Valdes (2001) provided a framework for defining heritage languages that were based on competence as well as functionality and described different levels of abilities and functions of languages as usage is considered. Considering functionality and general competence could help us understand African languages in their home countries and help us narrow down what may be considered heritage languages in the diasporas.

Adult emigrants to Western countries from African countries during the post-colonial era have generally been competent speakers of at least one language in each of the three categories and can usually speak more than three languages fluently. In most African countries, colonial languages are not only taught as content subjects in schools, but they are also used as the media of instruction at all levels of learning from elementary school to the university level. National languages, on the other hand, have gained wide acceptance and usage within African nations and, as such, are used for early schooling instruction (Bunyi 1997; Muthwii and Kioko 2003). Of the three languages, indigenous languages are the most numerous and are spoken widely in local contexts; however, they generally have a lower status than national languages.

In many African countries, official languages are generally dominant languages in the countries that colonized the African states. It is logical to infer that these languages were used during the colonial era as vehicles of governmental administration, and since the colonial governments were in communication with their home country, the languages were used by the country colonizing the area and are designated by law as the languages to be used in official communications. They include languages such as Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese. These languages have been embedded into the national discourse to the extent that, in some countries, they may have replaced local languages in formal communication.

National languages, on the other hand, are local languages that are spoken widely within the nations and acknowledged as having the status of unifying different ethnic groups. Some examples include Swahili in Kenya, Berber in Algeria, Setswana in Botswana, Kirundi in Burundi, Kinyarwanda in Rwanda, Sangho in the Central African Republic, Amharic in Ethiopia, Sesotho in Lesotho, Malagasy in Madagascar, and Somali in Somalia. South Africa stands out with regard to designating national status to local languages and has 11 local languages selected as its official languages (Alexander 2003).

Unlike in the cases of Spanish and other immigrant languages such as Chinese that have large numbers of speakers, in the USA, African indigenous languages are numerous and, therefore, tend to have relatively few speakers per language in any

part of the world away from home. This situation of many languages with few speakers creates a complicated scenario for language development in the diasporas. Thus, pragmatic questions about linguistic utilitarianism and viability for designation as heritage languages and for possible transmission abound are difficult to surmount.

On the other hand, many first-generation immigrants from Africa have strongly developed competencies in the colonial languages. While the national languages seem to occupy a space in between the indigenous and official languages, it seems, therefore, logical to ascribe the status of immigrant African heritage languages since they have many speakers.

Considering National Languages

Since its inception in 1953, UNESCO has supported the use of children's home languages in early school instruction in Africa. Ongechi (2009) noted that, in Kenya, no clear policy exists regarding what languages should be used in this early instruction in peri-urban schools, and, as such, many schools have resorted to using Kiswahili at this stage. In cases where indigenous languages are used in early schooling, English, which is the official language of communication in Kenya, and Kiswahili, the national language, are taught as subjects. This loose implementation of the language of instruction also seems to be a general practice in many other African countries (Bamgbose 2009; Brock-Utne 2001).

In Kenya, as in many African countries, beginning in the fourth grade, language of instruction policies require that English be used as "the medium of instruction as well as the language in which national examinations are written except for examinations in Kiswahili" (Ongechi 2009, p. 144). In other African countries, similar policies have encouraged the use of similar status local languages. However, language educators generally agree that, learning content through the medium of a second language, that students are not fully proficient in, hinders achievement for the learners; and that, learning could be enhanced if undertaken through a student's first language or through both languages if possible.

Languages of instruction in African countries have a bearing on the development and maintenance of African immigrant heritage languages in the diasporas. With multiple languages to choose from, and with most countries not having clear policies and adequate resources for the development of their numerous languages, many African countries seem to shun the use and development of indigenous languages as the media of instruction. This persistence in the use of national and colonial languages in core curricular functions in elementary and higher education seems to relegate indigenous languages to the home domain (Okombo 1999; Kioko and Muthwii 2001; Ogechi 2003; Muthwii 2004). As such, indigenous languages in many African countries generally seem to lack a clear national or pedagogic role and are used almost exclusively for information communication and in some cases for adult basic literacy.

Such policies seek to accommodate both rural and urban areas as well as linguistic variations. Urban areas in Africa generally tend to have more heterogeneous linguistic populations, use the national languages more often for education, and speak the national languages more often in daily life than the rural areas. The rural areas, on the other hand, tend to utilize indigenous languages more than the national languages because they generally have more speakers of the languages; in some cases, they can afford to use the languages as media of instruction.

Unlike official languages, which are well developed, embedded in the education system, and used as administrative languages, African indigenous languages are numerous and can become points of tension as tribal communities view promotion and use of other communities' languages as a form of domination over them. Besides, indigenous languages generally do not confer much leverage for social mobility when compared to official languages. The use of indigenous languages in local education continues to be challenging, especially in communities that border each other, and one language does not have an adequate number of speakers to warrant the development of curriculum in that language, in which case, a related dialect or a different language that has an already existing curriculum is used. It may be helpful to also note that, in some cases, the teachers may not have instructional proficiency in the recommended languages of instruction. Such challenges lead to educators increasingly recommending the adoption of national languages, such as Swahili in Kenya. The increased use of national languages in schools that is only second in the use of official languages has therefore led to adult Africans who are fluent speakers, readers, and writers of the national languages.

By providing preferential consideration of national languages and positioning them to work alongside official languages, countries have developed these national languages. As such, eventually, a postcolonial populace will exist that will be expected to speak at least their national and official languages. National languages continue to be widely spoken in African countries, which make them more useful than indigenous languages for communication between different ethnic groups. However, in some cases, exceptions and contestations of the exclusive use of one language over others have led to linguistic challenges in some countries. For example, in Ethiopia, speakers of other widely used languages have called for the expansion of the official language to include more than Amharic, which is spoken as a first language by about one third of the population (Zahorik and Teshome 2009). However, some languages have more resources, which have been developed because of continued use in schools and other media.

National languages generally have multiple linguistic resources, including written texts, translations, recordings of music, and movies. In addition, some of these resources are readily available for access via the Internet. Languages such as Swahili, the national language of Kenya, have more digital resources available online than the other indigenous languages in Kenya, such as Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Kamba, or any other large indigenous language that is spoken in Kenya. Other resources for national languages include online dictionaries, of which it may be noteworthy to mention that *Google Translate* provides online translations for 13 African languages: Kiswahili, Hausa, Yoruba, Zulu, Igbo, Malagasy, Afrikaans,

Chichewa, Sesotho, Somali, Xhosa, Shona, and Amharic out of some 103 languages that are currently available for online translation via the application (Google 2016).

In considering the viable use of immigrant heritage languages in the diaspora that are spoken in Africa, taking stock of linguistic resources that support the learning of the languages is important. Although data on the number of languages that are already transcribed and have developed orthographies is not exhaustive, a consensus exists that there are many African languages that have not been codified and, thus, do not have an agreed upon, and standardized, orthography. The availability of linguistic resources, such as books and other multimodal supports, that are intended to scaffold heritage language development would strengthen the use of heritage languages in the diasporas. However, it can be presumed that languages that have many multimodal linguistic resources, including a presence of cultural music on YouTube, dictionaries, and audio recordings, would be easily supported for learning. National languages have the greatest number of linguistic resources that could support learning; thus, they are most suited for use as immigrant heritage languages.

Considering Linguistic Dominance

As languages are used almost predominantly in homes, immigrant languages generally lack high social status for purposes of intercultural exchanges in the diasporas. Being so numerous, it seems unrealistic to consider all of the languages in the diasporas for possible school instruction. With limited or no space afforded to immigrant languages, in schools or public domains, the languages are relegated almost entirely to home use and to communication between limited numbers of speakers in the diasporas. This problem is further compounded by the fact that adult African immigrants are usually able to fluently speak at least two other languages besides the dominant languages in the diasporas. Without the ability to confer upward social mobility, the immigrant languages are unable to muster any interest from nonspeakers and, sometimes, elicit little interest from their own speakers. Dominant languages in the diasporas, such as English, French, and German, tend to pervade their linguistic space and occupy literally all domains of language use. The languages are used almost exclusively in the media and school curriculum as well as in public and private communications. The only space that is left for speakers of immigrant languages is their homes and community events that bring together individuals who speak African languages.

Language shift, the gradual change in language use from ancestral languages to dominant languages, and linguistic assimilation spell out an almost inevitable end for heritage languages in the diasporas. Sociolinguists have observed that, within three generations, immigrants will shift from the use of their home languages to an exclusive use of dominant languages (Fishman 1991; Portes and Hao 1998; Portes and Schauffler 1994). This shift seems almost predictable especially for immigrant minorities, who are inclined to assimilate, as it has been noted that voluntary minorities tend to embrace an instrumental belief about schooling, and life in the diasporas as such a belief is understood to help them assimilate and "[get] ahead" in

their new domicile (Ogbu and Simons 1998, p. 156). In cases where recent immigrants may have to learn a new language, the use of their heritage languages tends to be diminished and leads to a general loss as well as a family or community shift in the use of their languages to dominant languages.

Considering Language Proficiency

The challenges of language choice and language shift in home countries have given rise to emergent linguistic profiles of African immigrants that may influence heritage language acquisition and maintenance in the diasporas. Effective immigrant language use at home is compromised any time a speaker of an immigrant language is not proficient, when an adult in a home speaks a different mother tongue language than another adult in the homes, or have varying proficiencies of their, would be, heritage language. With families that are made up of partners from different language groups, or even different countries, the development of immigrant heritage languages within the diasporas continues to be a challenge.

With limited and sometimes no space for immigrant heritage language use in domains other than the home, speakers who are intent on preserving and transmitting their heritage languages have got to consider the best way to strengthen home language use. While the use of heritage languages in the home domain may appear to be logical, and simple, it is universally recognized that children learn to speak their first languages at home; however, in reality, the dominant language may also occupy both the public and private domains of language such as the home. This may make learning an immigrant language at home, in the diasporas, not as straightforward or easy as it seems, because languages are learned easily in a supportive community of learners and a community of speakers will ensure that new speakers are socialized in the use of a new language.

By its definition, the diaspora is "a dispersion," and, therefore, generally, there will always be few speakers of a language in most places abroad. Yet having adequate numbers of speakers of a language does not necessarily assure that those individuals who want to learn would easily learn because, sometimes, the speakers of a language may not necessarily be proficient in the languages. A number of factors contribute to the competence of individuals in their heritage languages, including how well they speak and whether they formally learned how to write their languages. In many cases, speakers of immigrant languages may not have been taught the languages in their schools. Sometimes, adult speakers of a language in a household in the diasporas may be at varying proficiency levels. Since households depend almost entirely on the adult speakers of the language to model and transmit it to the children, any limitations in personal ability compromise the acquisition and learning of the heritage language at home. In cases where only one of the adults in the household is a speaker of the language, families are only left with the option to explore digital and multimedia resources for learning the language in the home. In cases where both adult members of a household are intent on transmitting a heritage language that they feel connected to by ancestry, and yet they may not have achieved

native speakers' competence in it, they are left with only the option to seek to be part of a community of speakers of the language in consideration. They are also left to hope that associations with speakers of the language would afford adequate access to the use and practice of the heritage language, in order to enable their children to learn the language. Therefore, low competence in a language intended to be transmitted would render the learning process challenging.

Language competence is the foundation of communication and language maintenance. While language competence may be viewed as a simple construct that individuals could self-report, Baker (2006) has argued that there exists an essential difference between language ability and its use among individuals. Fishman (1991) noted that, as individuals are rarely equally competent in the different languages that they speak, the notion of balanced bilingualism tends to be an idealized concept. Most bilinguals generally have varied abilities or competence in different languages, although they may be identified as speakers of more than one language and may even self-report bilingualism. While, to passive observers, bilinguals seem to be able to switch between languages, they may lack competence in one of the languages or may be progressing through a development of a second language, which may render them unable or even unwilling to use their heritage languages. For example, in a study of immigrant families in the USA, Kigamwa (2016) outlined the case of a family going through a process of trying to master English as new immigrants while trying to raise their children to be speakers of their indigenous language. This changing home environment affected the development of the heritage language for their children, especially the younger children who were raised in a home environment that was increasingly English dominant.

Although individual competence is an important factor in heritage language development and maintenance, sometimes, families have parents or adults who are at different levels of competence in a given language. In some cases, individuals with different competencies come together to form a family, in which case they are unable to fully engage in the use of a common heritage language in the home. In other scenarios, individuals may marry across different tribes or nationalities and, therefore, may find agreeing upon what should be their home language as difficult, because one spouse may not have developed a native speaker's competence in a common heritage language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976). While basic ability in a language may generally be acquired quickly, this ability cannot be compared to academically related language competence, which may take up to 8 years to develop (Baker 2006) and, therefore, may not be effective for intergenerational language transmission. This disparity in linguistic competence in the heritage language leads many families to settle for the use of a dominant language, such as French or English, in their home-based communication. Such decisions generally halt the ability of their children to learn their heritage languages or develop native speakers' competence in the families' heritage languages.

The variations and disparities in language competence among speakers of a language, therefore, stand out as a concern that could limit heritage language development. It is impossible for individuals to sustain, develop, or transmit languages in which they may not be fully competent.

In many cases, advocates of heritage languages have argued for the creation of social spaces that allow for the use of heritage languages. African languages are numerous and, in addition, the speakers of the languages tend to be multilingual. The need for clear home language practice and policies among speakers of the languages has not been fully explored. It has been argued that many families are not intentional about determining the languages that their children should learn. Further, studies have shown that many couples intend to continue to use language in the home in the same manner that they interacted with it prior to their marriage or having children. This unintentional planning creates a linguistic situation that does not promote the sustenance of immigrant heritage languages (Piller 2001).

Individuals and families emigrate under voluntary and involuntary circumstances. Sociolinguists have explored the role that language plays in conflict and some have alluded to the fact that individuals may shift their languages of choice in order to secure closure with difficult memories from the past. Sometimes, emigrants from a region that had conflict have made family decisions to diminish linguistic identities associated with their pasts in order to secure closure. Factors, such as tribal tensions, may contribute to an indecisive family language policy on the part of emigrants from regions of the world where they may have experienced conflict associated with their heritage language communities. Concerns around being identified as speakers of a certain language may make users of some languages uncomfortable in their use of the languages, especially while in the diasporas. In such cases, emigrants may choose not to speak their indigenous languages in order not to be identified with certain heritage communities for fear of being identified as being a specific ethnic group. While personal reasons may be attributed to individuals' reluctances to engage in linguistic discourses with other speakers of heritage languages, it is clear that limited interactions among the already few speakers of immigrant heritage languages have a strong bearing on heritage language development in diasporic scenarios. The aforementioned factors, therefore, position national languages as the more viable of immigrant heritage languages for consideration of language transmission when compared to the numerous indigenous languages that have fewer speakers in Africa and the diasporas.

Conclusion

With speakers of immigrant languages shifting their linguistic repertoire in favor of dominant languages, it can be expected that there will continue to be a decreasing number of speakers of African immigrant heritage languages in the diasporas. Although it has been noted that immigrants maintain the linguistic diversity in the USA (Fishman 1991), and in other Western countries, studies have shown that, by the third generation of a family, a shift has usually occurred from immigrant language use to the dominant language (Portes and Hao 1998). Therefore, the home continues to be the basic foundation for heritage language development, and, thus, the continued development of heritage languages can only be predicated upon home language usage. It could also be said that there really is no other domain for developing immigrant heritage languages from Africa in the diasporas. With

these factors in mind, it may be helpful for those individuals who would like to preserve and transmit their heritage languages to be intentional about their language use, especially in the home, and that they should also set realistic expectations of their children with respect to heritage language development. Seeking opportunities in which their children could engage in non-formal programs through which they could learn a heritage language may be critical. Parents would also do well to explore if there are any school-based programs that would support the development of their heritage languages. Another platform for additional access to the languages would be through digital media via tools, such as YouTube, that have music, movies, news, and conversations in the heritage languages. The resolve to preserve and transmit languages rests with adult speakers of the languages being intentional about the acquisition and development of the languages by their families.

Cross-References

▶ Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach
▶ Languages and Learning in South African Classrooms: Finding Common Ground with North/South Concerns for Linguistic Access, Equity, and Social Justice in Education
▶ The National Heritage Language Resource Center: A Locus of Activity in the Field of Heritage Languages in the USA

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Part VI

Ethnicity, Identity, and Ideologies

Twice a Foreigner in a Foreign Land: Dispute and Identity Assertion Among Expatriate Students in Germany, Based on Language and Origin

32

Thomas K. Babalis and Panagiota Kalakou

Abstract

This chapter explores some issues of intragroup dynamics related to the cultural identity negotiation among Greek and Greek-Pontian students, attending an exclusively Greek school in Germany. Moreover, this study is investigating various aspects of their individual and collective social representations to any ethnic stereotypes including Germans and foreign peers in the host country. The main reason for undertaking this study was due to the peculiarity of that particular student population attending an ethnically segregated minority school, as well as to its cultural diversity comparing to that of the Greek students who had been normally integrated in the official German educational system. A qualitative research method was chosen for the collection and analysis of the research data, which were drawn from the actual interpersonal interactions and discourse that took place within a particular focus group in the context of their members' living social reality at school. The results of this study highlight some important aspects of the student's social and cultural integration process both in school and in their social environment at large. In conclusion, students formulated specific cultural identity categorization criteria that were based on some linguistic judgments concerning dialect differentiations and stereotypes about peer's ethnic and geographical origin which contributed not only to the formation of particular psychosocial groups but also to the emergence of intragroup conflicts. Their educational and social adjustment was not associated with any particular ethno-cultural values or identity differences with native students, but with other significant barriers,

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such as the educational systems' rigidity and luck of support, as well as lack of parental knowledge and wise decision making concerning their attainment of a satisfactory – multiple or bicultural – identity development.

Contents

Introduction

The issue of integrating refugees' children into the educational and social environment of the multicultural societies of European Union is inextricably linked with the principles of democracy, human rights, as well as with the humanitarian education, having thus become a subject of scientific study and discussion for many decades now in the educational field (Ericson 2011; Retamal and Aedo-Richmond 1998). However, policies concerning immigrant population and education differ from country to country in European Union and each of them adopts different incorporation models of immigrant groups in its social system. Such models are those of assimilation, social differentiation and integration, or a combination of all of them (Georgogiannis 1985). Each one of the adopted models has its own advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, there is no policy without flaws due to the various ever-growing dynamics between ethnocentrism (an ideological fabrication of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and contemporary ideological trends of humanism and democracy which end up with different effects, contradictions, social tensions, and side effects (Kipouropoulou 2010), especially at a time of a widespread financial crisis (Babalis et al. 2014). Therefore, a balanced, intercultural integration model is generally accepted as contributing to the humanitarian acculturation not only of foreigners but also of other types of social minorities, as well as of all participants in a community as a whole as the emerging social conditions in developed countries lead to the need for people broadening up their way of perceiving cultural facts and social relationships among co-citizens and, at the same time, to limiting further the formation of stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination of various kinds (Androutsou and Askouni 2001; Damanakis 2007; Kanakidou and Papagianni 1998).

In accordance with the multicultural theory, it is necessary to find a golden section which would combine policies of foreign students' fair incorporation in the educational and social environment of a host country with the establishment, as a

recognized and arable value, of language and cultural equipment which they bring along, together with their right for self-determination and asserting one's own social identity (Cummins 1999; Damanakis 1989; Ericson 2011). In this frame, social status, family education, language, and identity are concepts highly interrelated and constitute an important vehicle for the meeting of both differing people and cultures: the culture which immigrant minorities actually bring along and that of the host country, which they need to share by pursuing equal participation in the community's social life (Babalis and Maniatis 2013). According to the Council of Europe's study related to the education and cultural growth of immigrants in European Union (Project No.7), the growth of multicultural education (ME) constitutes an important means for the expansion of cultural range, the promotion of social cohesiveness between citizens, and the provision of educational and social opportunities for all.

While multiculturalism expresses just a social reality, interculturalism is the target: it is perceived both as the starting point and the goal, which must and can be achieved in the context of this reality through the implementation of generous social and educational reforms based on scientific analysis as well as on realistic humanitarian principles and vision. School, as the formal institution of socialization and development (Babalis 2015), plays a decisive role in the education and preparation of future citizens by cultivating a pluralistic environment and creating through intercultural education (Markou 1989) what is needed for all children to develop beneficial life skills, which are described as intercultural ability (Fantini 2000; Govaris et al. 2010). Some examples of basic intercultural ability mentioned in the literature are critical thinking, open-mindedness and flexibility, empathy and self-esteem, sense of belonging to a larger community, social interest in getting to know each other, mutual respect and tolerance of differences, ability of dynamic management, and handling of emerging controversies and conflicts (Mantzaridou et al. 2008). Therefore, ME is not perceived as evolution of an assimilation policy for the incorporation of citizens or minority groups of another country, neither as a method of engraving cultural borders and reinforcing group peculiarities in the sense of a ghetto formation and biased categorization of individuals or groups who wish to become part of a multicultural society (Kanakidou and Papagianni 1998).

Historical Background of the Research Problem: The Case of Exclusively Greek Schools in Germany

The Greek migratory flow to Germany has been historically noticed for over half a century since 1958, due to the poverty caused by the catastrophes of the Second World War, followed by an equally detrimental civic war in Greece. Later, due to the political suppression of the "7 years' military junta" in the 1960s, 1.510 Greek refugees were forced to seek shelter in Germany, raising the Greek population by mid-1970s up to nearly half a million. Their initial intention was to return easier and quicker to their home country. However, from all those people, only 30% actually managed to return back to Greece (APE –MPE 2009). Today, the population of

Greeks in Germany exceeds 300,000, which has become one of the most permanent, though initially temporary, Greek Diaspora around the world. From those, 41% have been living more than 40 years in the country, while mix marriages are increasing, businesses of Greek interest are still expanding, and highly qualified scientists and other professionals are becoming continuously active, due to the mobility trend within the EU (Gregoropoulou 2012). Therefore, the meaning behind the idea of a temporary migration and fast repatriation, which had initially been held in both countries of interest, turned out to be a rationale of permanency, which caused great concerns among parents and educators in regard to their children's education and future in their attempt to find out for them better solutions regarding their social inclusion and academic development (Markou et al. 2011).

In the beginning, Greek children were obliged to study in consecutive programs of German (in the morning) and Greek (in the evening) education. These programs provided them with grades and graduation certificates, to be used for their admission in the Greek universities after passing state examinations with some favorable conditions for them. Since earlier times though, a great number of Greek immigrants in Germany had left their children back home near their grandparents for the completion of elementary school, assuming that in this way they would better ensure their children maintain their Greek identity and that they would have more chances to pursue post-secondary education studies (Dragona 2007). Parents' aspirations for their children getting a university degree had been traditionally a life goal for Greek families knowing that this was the most secure means of social mobility and economic survival. Similarly, a great number of low financial and educational status families that had to send their children to German schools felt that their chances of succeeding this goal were minimal, due to some aspects of the German educational system that was characterized as a highly – and early – tracked system as it obliged elementary school children to be "filtered" through test and vocational orientation mechanisms in order to be allocated to hierarchically ranked educational networks, thus depriving them of any chance in case they made significant progress later in their life, as it was the case with the majority of Greek minority students in Germany and in other countries (Vallet 2006). This was mainly the reason why some Greek parents and teachers fought for the formation and maintenance of "ethnic" schools in the host country. This actually opposed both the European policy spirit, after the Maastricht Treaty in 1991, and the German policy, with the exception of the state of Bavaria. In Germany, however, organized educational associations had been created (which had every reason to consider these double paid jobs as an additional occupational alternative) with the support of some parents who seemed not to have appreciated enough the important gains their children would enjoy through their attainment of a bicultural identity and their consequent smooth integration into the wider society (Erikson 1985). Thus, in 2006 the first strikes started in Berlin and expanded all over Germany with main petition not to repeal Greek schools and not to minimize jobs and wages of teachers. This is how many Greek families, mainly those of low social status, found an outlet in facing the rigid – and less favorable to

foreigners at that time – educational system of the host country. Unfortunately, they ended up to be self – trapped within the narrow boundaries of a purely "ethnic" school education, depriving their kids of the possibility of multiple educational alternatives and normal social adjustment. At this point it should also be mentioned that Greece failed to respond to the educational needs of these children, with the exception of outsourcing to the University of Crete, in 2000, the writing of special books for this particular student population. The dead end that these families faced was shown when many children started quitting their attendance at the exclusively Greek schools (a lot of them did not see any meaning in that, as they did not wish to return to Greece) without having the necessary equipment to continue their studies in German high schools, while some other students, who had been admitted to Greek universities, gave up their studies and returned to Germany unemployed (Gregoropoulou 2012).

By the beginning of the 1970s, two trends had been established in Germany: on one hand, the creation of some exclusively Greek schools and, on the other hand, the inclusion of Greek students in the German educational system, with the provision of special tutorials for them to learn their maternal language in inclusive or evening Greek language courses. Later, in 1981, the established exclusively Greek schools gained prestige stemming from the Greek and not the German legislation. According to a longitudinal research, which was carried out between 1986 and 1998, purely Greek schools in Germany evolved into an idiosyncratic, individual, parallel educational network. Around this network a kind of "parallel societies" was woven, which indeed supported and safeguarded its operation. However, according to a profound, recent research conducted in 2006–2007 (Markou et al. 2011), purely Greek schools in Germany are losing their efficiency with time, and they don't serve any more their objectives for which they were formed in the 1980s. In addition, a follow-up study of the course of action of their graduates, in a sample of 20,000 expatriates, who took the exams for their admission in Greek universities, showed that this institution benefited mostly the children of the Greek employees in Germany (80% success rate) and less those of the Greek immigrants (55% success rate). Most of the students, who succeeded in the exams, either prolonged their studies or graduated after many years of delay. Another indication of the low efficiency of this type of schools is that, during 2006–2007, only 16% of this Greek population continued their studies successfully in Germany, comparing with the rest of the Greek students who attended the German school system. Research findings as the above illustrate the limited qualifications or educational input of these children, in relation to those of Greek immigrants that used to live in some other countries. Although addressing the peoples' demand in education is a democratic and humanistic right, it is rather worrying that despite of the worsening vocational prospects of Greek students in the home country, in recent decades similar Greek language-speaking schools have sprung legally in Munich, Dusseldorf, and Stuttgart (along with giving paid private lessons which is a secret common to all) resulting in parents themselves narrowing down further their children's opportunities and surviving potential in our contemporary complex and highly demanding social environments.

Brief Description of the Research

Being a teacher in a problematic school environment such as the above in 2013, and having espoused the main principles of the critical theory as an emancipatory approach to education that emphasizes the role of the teacher as a researcher, a reflective practitioner, and an agent of change (Carr and Kemmis 2009; Glesne 1991), the second author in cooperation with the first one, who had the role of the critical academic partner, decided to carry out an ethnographic research of a similar philosophy, in a purely Greek school of Germany, named *The 5th Elementary School of Munich "Socrates"*. During that year, 130 Greek and Pontian students (coming from the formerly inhabited by Greeks area of Pontus in Western Turkey) were enrolled in this school. Its peculiarities were the main reason for undertaking this study, after having done a pilot investigation attempting to understand some important features of the school culture and some incidents of a behavioral nature in which two groups of students were involved. The study focused on small groups of students from two classes (third and fifth), as it seemed that those groups showed some intragroup conflicts and disputes. Thus, the students that participated in the specific study were chosen as a focused group from the student population of the above mentioned school classes.

In the context of this study, some aspects of the social representations of those students were investigated referring to their cultural reference group, the natives, their compatriots, the immigrants, and, especially, their fellow students that belonged to the same psychosocial group. Moreover, the dynamics that were developed in the heart of the selected groups were observed and analyzed with the method of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1994), as well as the ways that some of the groups' members were experiencing issues of social integration and exclusion from their close educational and social environment. Based on relevant bibliographic data in the field of social psychology, education, and psychology, the researchers believed that deeper understanding of those issues would be a necessary step before proceeding to the design and implementation of intercultural educational programs and counseling in order to address the needs of all students in such educational environments. Understanding more aspects of these students' identity self-awareness and ways of stereotypical thinking is thought as contributing to a better designing and application of appropriate and effective counseling action from the part of the teacher. Having in mind that the current study focused on some selected social groups' phenomenal meanings and actual interactions within the context of the specific community and the living world of school "reality," the ethnographic method was adopted as the most suitable approach to investigating emerging issues arising during the process of students' interpersonal transactions (Cohen et al. 2011), while the methods chosen for the collection of research data were participatory observation, students' pieces of free association sentence writing, "usual", everyday discussions among group members themselves, and interviews with the researchers in the role of tutors, along with notes and calendar keeping.

Research Results

The results of this study, which have been elicited from the students' talk, discourse, conflicts, and interactions within the field of their social school reality, showed:

1. Significant elements of students representing "the Others" in a clearly stereotypical way, especially when referring to Turks, Albanians, and, to a lower extent, to compatriots from Pontus.
2. A realistic sense of social identity (as belonging to a lower and culturally deprived social group in the margins of the Greek minority community) aspiring though to better educational attainment in spite of the numerous obstacles they were facing ahead. They were feeling more Greeks than Germans, although they were strongly critical about their own country of origin and they highly appreciated the host country's quality of life, organization, and career prospects. They wished they were becoming bilingual in the future and feel equal to the other, more competitive, and adjusted young people in this country, but at the same time, they were self-conscious about their differing mentality concerning matters of everyday social transactions. Their attitude toward this situation did not show anger or complain, but relatively low expectations from themselves. They also demonstrated high level of awareness about various obstacles and drawbacks they were going to face in the future concerning their social adjustment in the host country, where they really wanted to live in the future, although they were afraid that they would not be able to compete with fluent German-speaking students, even the ones of Greek origin that had already managed to do well in the German school. They were overwhelmed by their concerns about their eventual future linguistic handicap and poor educational competitiveness which resulted in them holding pessimistic expectations for their own future and career in Germany and in criticizing their parents for their decision to send them to the particular type of school. The words "entrapment" and "dead-end" were repeatedly found in their speech referring to the negative developments in the Greek economy and social crisis which "closed the door" to them by preventing them from going back home in the search of a secure and descent living. It was impressing indeed that children of this age were talking like "small sociologists" while describing aspects of their social reality!
3. Worth noticing dynamics that took place between the members of two psycho groups, who happened to be Greek–Pontians, and their mates, while the former complaining for not receiving fair treatment and unrestricted acceptance as a friend from the part of her companions.
4. Some interesting persuasive argumentation strategies that the Greek–Pontian students spontaneously employed for the defense of their ethnic identity as well as for their acceptance as valuable and equal partners in the group. In their verbal and nonverbal discourse, they made use of both complaining, emotional outbursts, as well as argumentative and assertive expressions. Their argumentation

included attempts to make an appeal to their peers' emotions, to their rationality and sense of justice, as well as to their ability to show some empathy and compassion toward them. They even tried to hide some facts of their family history in their attempt to persuade their fellow students that they had a common ethnic origin despite some differences in the dialects they were using at home. Linguistic peculiarities and the mere name of "Pontian" itself were causing troubles and stigma to them. Knowing though that they were victims of discrimination due to some unfair labels put on them, they were giving a great effort on their own to avoid being devalued and stigmatized in a dynamic attempt to minimize other students' impressions of them being the odd ones in their peers' groups, since their parents were not in a positon to support them in any satisfactory way.

5. On several occasions, for example, while students were stating their personal criteria concerning the conditions for accepting certain peers as members of their own group of friends, they described motives and criteria of psychological nature that are very near to the conceptual models of well-known, "classical" humanistic theories (Rogers 1951, 1961). More precisely, they referred to concepts found in the so-called Self-Theories (Erikson 1959; Maslow 1968; Mayer and Salovey 1997; Mead 1997; Rogers 1983), such as the need for the individuals to achieve a positive sense of belongingness and identity enhancement through social interactions, gaining some autonomy through playing, entertainment, understanding, acceptance, and support coming in difficult times from the part of true friends with whom they could share their childhood, secrets, and language codes in a unique way (Burleson 2009). From the sociopsychological perspective concerning phenomena in small groups, similar theories (e.g., Aberson et al. 2000; Hogg and Abrams 1990; Rubin and Hewstone 1998; Tajfel and Turner 1979) also adopt the idea that behind identification processes and other related phenomena in certain selected groups underlie motives of social recognition, enhancement, and development of positive self-esteem as well as of a worthy and recognizable personal identity that has a valued place in the community.

6. The main ideas behind these theories were confirmed by our findings as some of these psychological concepts were used by the participant students in their speech on several occasions, such as mentioning them in the list of their own major criteria when asked how they were making choices for the selection of their friends and building up tight bonds with them or in the course of their narrating about some experiences in the past when they felt rejected by strict teachers in some German school classes. Similar concepts were elicited from the qualitative data analysis of the students' discourse and interactions during the debates and group dynamics that were developing while trying to manage intragroup conflicts concerning issues of identity and social alienation, as well as during the group discussions that took place in the form of informal meetings mediated by the researcher.

7. Finally, another worth noticing finding was the beneficial contribution of the tutor's mere presence in the very scene of their interaction and debate (after them coming to trust her nonjudgmental but willing to listen attitude) during the

transformative process of reconciliation through conflict, negotiation, and closer acquaintance toward successful restoration of relationships among the members of the peer groups. This was an unplanned and unexpected outcome of the researcher's participation in the particular social events, which highlights a rather unconventional view of the ethnographic research positive effects. As the American researcher, B. Hoey (2008) points out, "*Good ethnography recognizes the transformative nature of fieldwork where as we search for answers to questions about people we may find ourselves in the stories of others. Ethnography should be acknowledged as a mutual product born of the intertwining of the lives of the ethnographer and his or her subjects*."

Discussion: Conclusion

In this small-scale case study which investigated perceptions, representations, and attitudes of some selected group of students related to some significant aspects of their social integration in the process of building their ethno-cultural and personal identities, we encountered some patterns of representation and behavior that could be approached and explained in multiple interdisciplinary ways. The results of this research identify important aspects of the dynamics of the social and cultural integration of these students both in school and in the wider social environment. The students have formulated clear criteria for the "We" and the "Others," which can be characterized as stereotypical and contribute not only to the formulation of friendly groups in school and out of it but to the development of dynamic interpersonal relationships as well. The negotiation of the ethno-cultural identity encounters, however, considerable barriers which are closely related to issues of social integration and development of a satisfactory multiple or bicultural identity. Therefore, these children live at the margins of the German society constituting part of a ghettoized group which gradually – through the educational process in this type of solely Greek language-speaking schools – is led to alienation, marginalization, and detachment from the wider society.

Despite the various changes in social norms and structures, the educational policy of both Greece and Germany remains rather unchanged which is considered problematic, since there is still growing a new generation migration wave of qualified young scientists who try to escape the detrimental effects of the recent global and Greek economic crisis. The students of Greek-speaking schools are continuously lacking intercultural opportunities of substantial cultural exchange, as their temporary interaction with Germans, mainly limited to children of their own age, is inadequate to initiate conditions and prerequisites for descent academic cultural and social encounter and interaction with locals. Therefore, quietly and steadily, the students of this category keep being filtered out by both the German and the Greek educational system, which assign to them full responsibility for their educational degradation although in reality, in the end of the day, that responsibility relies in society.

On the top of the problems encountered at the systemic level of society, similar phenomena of inclusion and exclusion tend to emerge within the small marginalized

groups themselves on the basis of various stereotypical models of thinking and acting resulting in a spontaneous formation of interior unequal relationships among members of a group perceived as "different" based on criteria of minor importance, like slight variations in language, geographical origin, or mere labeling. Blending multiple identities raises issues of stigma and marginalization as well as creation of subcategories not only between Greeks and Germans but also between Greeks and Pontians. Nevertheless, the latter didn't seem to passively endure the implications of discrimination, but they tend to employ various types of strategies and rhetoric in the attempt to assert the indisputability of their "Greekness." However, children of immigrants or minority populations at school are not only carriers of another culture but at the same time are boys and girls revealing the seal of social status to which they belong. In this way, the homogeneity which is visible at the surface of the subgroups hides the multiple social status of each ethnic group. From this point of view, basic inhered components of ME are not only concepts related to identity differentiation but also those of social inequality (Androutsou and Askouni 2001; Mantzaridou et al. 2008).

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Linguistic Foundations of Heritage Language Development from the Perspective of Romance Languages in Germany

33

Cristina Flores, Tanja Kupisch, and Esther Rinke

Abstract

This paper discusses the role of different factors determining the linguistic competence of heritage speakers (HSs) based on examples from speakers who speak a Romance language (French, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish) as heritage language (HL) and German as the environmental language. Since the relative amount of contact with the HL and the environmental language may vary during the acquisition process, the role of language dominance (in terms of relative language proficiency) is of particular interest for HL development. In addition to dominance (and related to it), cross-linguistic influence (CLI) may have an influence on the outcome of HL acquisition. Finally, quality and quantity of input also determine HL acquisition and will be discussed in connection with heritage language education.

Keywords

Romance heritage speakers • Language dominance • Cross-linguistic • The role of input

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Introduction

Germany's status as popular migration destination started a decade after the end of World War II, when manpower was needed during the so-called German "economic miracle." In order to make up for the need for low-skilled work in the industrial sector, the West German government signed several bilateral recruitment agreements mainly with Mediterranean countries, the first being Italy in 1955. The agreement with Spain was signed in 1960 and with Portugal in 1964. For the underprivileged social classes in Italy, Portugal, and Spain, immigration to Germany was a way to escape from extremely poor living conditions, from dictatorship regimes in the case of Portugal and Spain and from the colonial war between Portugal and its African colonies. As a result, almost 170,000 Portuguese, 600,000 Spanish and Italian laborers were employed in German factories between 1955 and 1975. Immigration from France also existed, but it has always been somewhat different. People from France also changed their country of residence to improve working or living conditions, but living standards were already very high in France compared to the other Romance language-speaking countries.

The term given by the German government to describe the first generation of immigrants, *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"), reveals a labor recruitment policy based on the idea of a limited period of migration and the subsequent return of the migrants to their homelands. In the late seventies, this return was encouraged by the German government with advantageous return conditions, which, however, only a small part of the migrants reclaimed. Since then, there has been a continued process of migration and remigration to/from Germany. With the recent economic crisis, southern European immigration to Germany increased once again, attracting also skilled employees and academics. Consequently, several generations of Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian migrants are living in Germany nowadays: from the third generation − in many cases residents with German nationality whose grandparents immigrated in the sixties − to first-generation migrants, who immigrated in the last

decade, often with children who had been born abroad. Immigration to Germany from these southern European countries, as well as from France, implies political, geographical, and cultural closeness between home and host country that is mostly absent in immigration flows in non-European contexts, as the US, for instance. This proximity and the multilingual policy that constitutes one basic principle of EU politics may foster an explicit endeavor to maintain the language of origin that is perhaps less present in non-EU migration contexts.

This paper focuses on the linguistic foundations of heritage language (HL) development from the perspective of Romance languages in Germany. More precisely, it addresses the linguistic development and competence of second (and third) generation of migrants, i.e., heritage speakers (HSs) with one language (French, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish) acquired as HL within the family context and the other language (German) as the environmental language. Many HSs are simultaneous bilinguals in the sense that they acquired both languages from birth (2L1). In other cases, contact with the environmental language starts later in early childhood, i.e., after the age of three years. These speakers may be best characterized as early L2 acquirers (eL2) of German. Typically, when the HL-speaking child enters the German school system (around the age of six years) the amount of exposure to the environmental language increases, with the effect that German becomes the preferred language in everyday life. Whether this situation leads to a "dominance shift" – where dominance is understood in terms of relative language proficiency – depends at least partially on the amount of contact with the HL. Section "The Role of Language Dominance" is concerned with the relations between language dominance, input and use, language preference as well as their consequences for HL development.

Another topic that will be discussed is potential cross-linguistic influence (CLI). Three types of CLI have been discussed in the literature: (a) acceleration, (b) delay, and (c) transfer. The first two refer to differences concerning the rate of acquisition with respect to monolinguals, the latter to "incorporation of a grammatical property into one language from the other" (Paradis and Genesee 1996: 3). Only transfer implies changes to the grammatical structure of a language and would therefore be the most plausible explanation for differences between the linguistic knowledge of adult bilingual and monolingual speakers. However, as will be shown in section "The Role of Cross-Linguistic Influence", the occurrence of transfer in 2L1 and eL2 bilingual speakers is much debated and it is unclear whether transfer in the sense defined above indeed occurs and under which conditions.

In addition to dominance and transfer, the bilingual speakers' quantitative and qualitative input has received a great deal of attention, specifically, the question whether reduced input will result in a grammar that differs from that of a monolingual speaker. These questions are discussed in section "The Role of Input and of Formal Education" along with the role of HL education.

Although this chapter is dedicated to Romance-German bilingualism in Germany, where a lot of research has been carried out during the past 30 years, it is obvious, given space limits, that the discussion cannot be exhaustive. At the same time, also

other groundbreaking studies that have focused on HLs outside of Germany will be mentioned.

The Role of Language Dominance

Definitions of Dominance

It seems fitting in a section on language dominance to start by defining the term. There are (at least) three different types of definitions: (i) proficiency-based, (ii) usage-based, and (iii) context-based. The three are related in ways to be specified further below. Herein, the proficiency-based definition will be adopted, since it is the most-widely used one. The notion of language dominance has been more intensively researched with respect to simultaneous bilinguals rather than HSs in a more general sense possibly because it is often taken for granted that HSs are initially dominant in their HL and, after school entry, become dominant in the majority language. Generally, the dominant language is referred to as the "stronger" and the language developing more slowly as the "weaker" language (Schlyter 1994).

In research on both child and adult bilinguals, the proficiency- or competence-based definition is fairly common. For bilingual children, for example, the dominant language has been described as the language "in which the bilingual is informally considered to be most proficient" (Genesee et al. 1995, among others). Dimensions relating to linguistic proficiency or competence include language production and processing, more specifically fluency, lexical diversity, morphosyntactic knowledge, length of utterances, parsing speed, and accuracy (Birdsong 2014: 3–4).

As an alternative to the proficiency dimension, dominance is sometimes defined in terms of the language that is used relatively more frequently, actively or passively. Frequency of use is equivalent to *input* in a broad sense, which can be measured in *quantitative* or in *qualitative* terms (cf. section "Conclusions"). Measurements are typically based on current language use, but there have also been proposals that take a longitudinal perspective (cumulative input, cf. Unsworth 2013). Usage-based dominance often correlates with proficiency-based dominance. For example, in a recent study, Lloyd-Smith et al. (2016) have calculated a usage-based dominance score for German-Turkish bilinguals, based on factors such as Turkish use with family members and friends, at home and at work, frequency and length of trips to Turkey and the modes of Turkish use (reading, writing, speaking, listening). The resulting "Turkish Use Score" mirrored how native-like their pronunciation was perceived to be. Speakers who used Turkish more sounded comparatively more native-like when speaking Turkish. Conversely, however, the amount of Turkish use was unrelated to how native-like the bilinguals sounded in German. In other words, using Turkish more often did not affect the speakers' German accent negatively, although it did affect their Turkish accent positively.

A third possibility is to define language dominance in terms of the language of the environment. Not surprisingly, many early bilinguals will end up being more proficient in the language of their national environment, i.e., the language they

will hear and use more often. Kupisch and colleagues have shown this in several studies by comparing simultaneous bilinguals with the same language combination in different countries, i.e., German-Italian speakers in *Germany* vs. German-Italian speakers in *Italy*. While the bilinguals performed monolingual-like in the majority language of their environment, there was a lot of variation in their performance in the minority language. This was the case for various phenomena including gender assignment and agreement (Bianchi 2013; Stöhr et al. 2012), adjective placement (Kupisch 2014), article use (Kupisch 2012), and perceived foreign accent (Kupisch et al. 2014). However, early bilinguals who *change* their country of residence will not necessarily become dominant in the language of their new environment. Kupisch and colleagues studied two groups of German-French bilinguals. One group had been born and raised in Germany and lived there as adults, while the other group had been born and raised in France but had moved to Germany as adults. It turned out that the speakers were more proficient in the language of their childhood environment. In other words, the German-French bilinguals from France were more proficient in French, even though some of them had been living in Germany for more than ten years. This was particularly evident when their accents in German and French were judged by native speakers of the respective languages (Kupisch and van de Weijer 2016).

The strong effect of the environmental language is also witnessed by some well-documented cases that report dominance shifts in bilingual children who changed their countries of residence when their parents moved abroad (Berman 1979; Leopold 1949). Flores (2015a) describes a dominance shift from German toward Portuguese within 13 months in Ana, a Portuguese-German bilingual child who grew up in Germany and moved to Portugal at the age of nine years. Five months after moving to Portugal, the girl showed first word retrieval difficulties and discursive inappropriate omissions. Thirteen months later even syntactic and morphological deficits were observed in the language that was no longer spoken in her daily life.

Although the majority language of the national environment often ends up being dominant, some bilingual children are more proficient in the HL during their early years. This is especially typical for children from homes where only the minority language is spoken, but it may also be the case for simultaneous bilinguals who hear two different languages at home, e.g., when they stay at home with their mothers and their mothers speak the minority language. For example, the four children in Kupisch (2007) were all exposed to both Italian and German at home, but between the ages of two and three they had different dominance profiles: two children were balanced, one was German-dominant and one was Italian-dominant.

The validity of the term language dominance has been previously questioned, for it seems to suggest that production and processing of one language, namely the "weaker" one, will always be "governed" or "determined" by the stronger language. Moreover, dominance is often measured with respect to a monolingual norm, i.e., the rules of a language as found in a prescriptive grammar, although many speakers of a language do not perform according to this norm, not even monolinguals (Dabrowska 2012). Even though this criticism is valid, determining language dominance can be

useful, as it may be an explanation for the occurrence or directionality of CLI (see below), or it may explain why a child lags behind monolinguals in language development, which can be important in a clinical context.

Measuring Dominance

In the literature on child bilinguals various criteria have been adopted to measure dominance. The most frequently used measure is the mean length of utterances (MLU), which can be based on words (MLUw) or on morphemes (MLUm). Another frequently used measurement is the portion of utterances in the target-language (i.e., the language of the interlocutor) compared to mixed utterances (i.e., utterances containing words from both languages) or utterances in the other (nontarget) language. Other criteria include the total number of utterances, lexical diversity (often based on nouns or verbs), the number of multilingual words, and the number of hesitations. These measurements are based on the assumption that in the dominant language, a child uses longer utterances, sticks to the language of the interlocutor, speaks more, has a larger vocabulary, and hesitates less.

The chosen measures will depend on the bilingual speaker's age, the language combination and how much time the researcher has. For example, an MLU is a good measure until age 3, but after that children's utterances can already be fairly long and there is not much increase so that the two languages will not differ. For children below age 2 or even below age 1;6, MLU and lexical diversity may not be ideal measures because the child is still in the one-word stage, there is little to no morphology (depending on the language) and the words cannot always be categorized in terms of language. For such young children, criteria based on phonological measures are more useful, e.g., the consonant inventory or the complexity of syllables (Ingram 2002). For adults, it is typical to use cloze tests, vocabulary tasks or self-assessments, which are less time-consuming both when testing and during the analysis.

Since not all languages are made equal, it is further necessary to take into account the nature of the languages being compared. For example, when comparing MLU in a language where compounding is common (e.g. German) and a language where compounding is uncommon (e.g. French), one might think about counting the components of German compounds as separate words. Since a German compound might translate into three words in French (Ge. *Waschmaschine* vs. Fr. *machine à laver* "washing machine"), the risk is that the German MLU turns out lower for reasons unrelated to MLU. Similar problems arise when comparing a language with null subjects (e.g., Italian) to a language with overt subjects (e.g., German) or when comparing article languages (e.g., the Romance languages) to article-less languages (e.g., Russian), because one language provides for more opportunities to produce words. Generally, a word-based MLU is preferable when comparing languages with rich morphology (e.g., Italian) to languages with less morphology (e.g., English), although it may not be possible to adjust measures in each individual case.

The ratio of mixed utterances has often been used as a dominance measure, especially in combination with MLU, the idea being that in their weaker language, children have to resort to their respective other language more often because of structural or lexical needs. The expectation is that mixing is unidirectional from the dominant to the weaker language. Children may even "borrow" functional structure from one language into the other language (Bernardini and Schlyter 2004; Gawlitzek-Maiwald and Tracy 1996) Bernardini and Schlyter 2004). Unidirectional transfer has also been demonstrated in the context of bilectal acquisition. Kupisch and Klaschik (forthcoming) studied gender marking in Standard Italian and Venetian children who grew in the Veneto area in Italy. These children were more likely to use Italian words in Venetian rather than the other way round, and the pattern was more evident in children with less dialect exposure compared to children with more dialect exposure. On the other hand, there are cases where mixing is not unidirectional from stronger to weaker language (see Cantone 2007; Yip and Matthews 2006).

Taken together, younger children may be initially dominant in their HL or in the language of the national community. Adult bilinguals tend to be dominant in the language of the environment. In the section "The Role of Cross-Linguistic Influence" we discuss whether language dominance has an influence on CLI.

The Role of Cross-Linguistic Influence

Types of Cross-Linguistic Influence

CLI has been much debated in the 1970s and 1980s with respect to the question whether the two languages of the bilingual speaker develop independently or dependently from each other. In this context, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) have proposed a three-phase model of bilingual language development: in the first phase, the two language systems are fused; in the second phase, children have separate lexicons but one syntax for both languages. In the third phase, the linguistic systems are separated. One central argument for the assumption of an initially fused linguistic system was that children combine lexical elements from both of their languages. Genesee (1989) and Meisel (1989) independently argued against this point of view. They emphasized that combinations of elements from both languages are also found in adult speech and are typically referred to as code-switching. Code-switching is a systematic process. Neither in adult nor in child bilinguals is it arbitrary. Paradis and Genesee (1996) proposed three possible manifestations of CLI: (a) acceleration, (b) delay, and (c) transfer, however, without finding any evidence of CLI in their own study.

Gawlitzek-Maiwald and Tracy (1996) defend that in cases where one language develops more slowly than the other, the child may compensate for the non-availability of certain linguistic means in the slower language by "importing" structures from the more advanced language (*Bilingual Bootstrapping Hypothesis*). According to the authors, Bilingual Bootstrapping means that "... something that has been acquired in language A fulfills a booster function for language B. In a weaker

version, we would expect at least a temporary pooling of resources" (Gawlitzek-Maiwald and Tracy 1996: 903). They observed that a German-English bilingual child, who is dominant in German, sometimes produces mixed utterances containing a German IP and an English VP. According to the authors, the availability of the German structure has a booster function for the syntactic development of the English grammar. Kupisch (2007) studied four German-Italian bilingual children, showing that three of them acquired articles faster compared to monolingual German children. Since Italian articles are generally acquired earlier by monolingual Italian children compared to monolingual German children, it is plausible to assume that these children profited from their exposure to Italian when acquiring German articles.

Müller and Hulk (2001) studied several bilingual children with a Germanic and a Romance language (Dutch-French, German-French, German-Italian). In their Romance languages, the children acquired clitic object pronouns somewhat more slowly compared to monolingual children, i.e., showing a delay.

In general, studies on child bilingualism have found more evidence for delay or acceleration than for transfer in the sense of Paradis and Genesee (1996). However, studies on adult bilinguals tend to attribute differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers to "transfer". This will be discussed in the section "Cross-linguistic Influence in Adult Heritage Speakers".

Factors Determining Cross-Linguistic Influence

Müller and Hulk (2001) proposed that CLI depends on two factors: first, the phenomenon under consideration is situated at the interface of syntax and pragmatics and second, language A has an ambiguous structure, i.e., a structure which can be interpreted in two possible ways, and language B offers evidence for one of these possible interpretations (partial structural overlap). In their data, influence into the Romance language occurred even if the Romance language was temporarily dominant, suggesting that language dominance does not play a prominent role. However, the children in their dataset were rather balanced when compared to other, more extreme cases of language imbalance, e.g., those discussed by Schlyter (1994).

Many researchers who were primarily interested in the conditions under which CLI takes place have considered language dominance as a potential factor that determines the direction of CLI. Yip and Matthews (2000, 2006) show that their Cantonese–English bilingual participants (aged 1–4 years) were dominant in Cantonese and CLI from Cantonese to English was visible in many areas of grammar, whereas influence of English on Cantonese was much more difficult to demonstrate (Yip and Matthews 2000). Serratrice et al. (2009) investigated Italian-English school age children (ages 6–11) with regard to their use of determiners in Italian and English, comparing bilinguals in Italy with bilinguals in the UK. The bilinguals in Italy performed comparatively more target-like in Italian, while the bilinguals in

England performed comparatively more target-like in English. Note that the authors took the language of the community to be dominant rather than measuring proficiency independently. Argyri and Sorace (2007) investigated eight-year-old English-Greek school-age children, comparing word-order patterns and pronoun use. CLI was primarily constrained by surface overlap between the two languages, i.e., structural similarities, which may be misinterpreted by the child. In this study, CLI was also constrained by language dominance, since it was manifested only in English-dominant children.

An interaction of several factors was also argued for by Kupisch (2007). As mentioned above, the author studied CLI in four German-Italian bilingual children who all grew up in Germany but differed in their dominance profiles. Positive CLI from Italian to German was found in the Italian-dominant child as well as in the balanced bilingual children, but not in the German-dominant child. The author argued that a positive influence from one language to another does *not* manifest itself if the potentially influencing language is the weaker language. These latter studies, as well as those demonstrating an impact of the language of the environment (see above), attribute an important role to the dominant language.

Dominance also plays a prominent role for CLI in the phonological development of bilingual children. However, other factors come into play as well. According to Kehoe et al. (2001), markedness and the relative complexity of phonological phenomena are relevant. The authors found that German-Spanish bilingual children showed a delay in their acquisition of voice onset time (VOT). They attributed this delay to the fact that both German and Spanish contain marked VOT values. Markedness was also relevant for CLI in the acquisition of more complex prosodic structures, such as syllables. Lleó (2002) argues for a delay in the bilingual acquisition of structures "in the sense that unmarked structures last longer and more complex structures are acquired later" (Lleó 2002: 308). This delay concerns, for instance, the target-like production of lexical items containing unfooted syllables (iambs and amphibrachic trisyllables) in the Spanish of Spanish-German bilingual children. However, the author also shows that the bilingual children overcome this delay within a few months and "about the end of the second year of age, bilinguals reach the same level of acquisition as that of monolinguals." (Lleó 2002: 308).

Acceleration was found, e.g., with respect to coda production in the Spanish of German-Spanish bilinguals. Specifically, the high frequency of codas in German had a positive influence on the acquisition of Spanish (Lleó et al. 2003). In addition to markedness and frequency, the probability of CLI seems to depend on the phonological phenomenon. It has been shown in several studies that CLI is more likely to occur with consonants than with vowels, which might be due to the complexity of the consonant system in comparison to vowels (Kehoe et al. 2004; Lleó and Rakow 2005, but see Kehoe 2002 for a delay in the acquisition of vowel length).

In summary, potential sources of cross-linguistic influence include at least language dominance, structural factors (overlap, ambiguity, complexity/markedness), and frequency of occurrence.

Cross-linguistic Influence in Adult Heritage Speakers

The debate of CLI is not restricted to developing child bilinguals but is also relevant for differences between adult monolingual and bilingual speakers. Montrul (2010) claims that transfer from the dominant environmental language to the HL is typical for HSs, and it is something that HSs have in common with adult second language (L2) learners. The author argues that "Because heritage language acquisition takes place in a bilingual environment, as heritage learners develop command of the majority language, they also make transfer errors." (Montrul 2010: 12)

One example for transfer is provided by Montrul and Ionin (2010) with respect to the use of Spanish articles by English-Spanish heritage bilinguals. The authors demonstrate that Spanish HSs show a preference for the specific interpretation of ambiguous articles whereas monolingual speakers of Spanish prefer the generic reading. The heritage bilinguals also accept bare plural nouns as generic subjects, although these are ungrammatical in Spanish (En. *Tigers eat meat.* vs. Sp. **Tigres comen carne.*). Although the authors explicitly talk about "transfer from the dominant language at the level of semantics" (Montrul and Ionin 2010: 450), they do not clarify what exactly is transferred from one language to the other and what exactly they mean by transfer (cf. the definition by Paradis and Genesee (1996) introduced above).

Kupisch (2012) shows the same effect with respect to German-Italian bilingual speakers, i.e., with a typologically similar language pair. However, in her study, transfer depends on language dominance: German-dominant speakers show CLI in their use of Italian articles, but Italian dominant HSs don't.

Dominance was also an important factor in Bianchi's (2013) study on gender assignment and agreement in Italian–German bilinguals. This study showed that only the German-dominant group of bilinguals differed substantially from the Italian monolinguals whereas the Italian-dominant group did not. With respect to CLI, the study further revealed that not all differences between the bilingual and the monolingual speakers could be explained on the basis of influence from German. The author observes that in some cases, "both groups of speakers performed better for words that have different genders in the two languages. In other words, language-internal factors such as the predictability of gender based on noun endings play a major role in successful gender assignment. Only when the noun ending fails to provide a clue for gender assignment do speakers potentially turn to the other language." (Bianchi 2013: 553). Thus, not all differences between adult monolingual and bilingual speakers can automatically be attributed to the influence of the other language. Similarly, with respect to the knowledge of clitics by German-Portuguese heritage bilinguals living in Germany, Rinke and Flores (2014) argue that not all differences between monolingual and HSs of European Portuguese (EP) can be captured in terms of transfer from German. European Portuguese does not allow strong pronouns in object position, whereas German does. Although the HSs accepted some strong pronouns as accusative objects in European Portuguese (EP), they accept strong dative pronouns more easily. This dative-accusative asymmetry is not found in German but it is also observed in the results of the monolingual

control speakers of EP. Interestingly, diachronic studies too show that dative pronouns are typically affected by diachronic change before accusative pronouns (Fischer and Rinke 2013). Thus, with respect to the use of strong pronominal objects, the HSs seem to follow universal linguistic tendencies, extending variation that also exists in the monolingual speech.

Similarly, Schmitz et al. (2016) found no evidence of CLI in their study on the realization of subjects in first- and second-generation Italian-German and Spanish-German immigrants and monolingual Italian and Spanish control groups. Although there are some differences between the bilingual and the monolingual groups, the authors conclude that subject use in all groups is determined by linguistic features (grammatical person) and not by speaker group.

Finally, linguistic properties that are acquired late in childhood are particularly challenging for HSs (in contrast to early structures, see Santos and Flores 2016). This has been shown by Kupisch (2012), for instance, with respect to article use in heritage Italian. Flores et al. (2016) too conclude with respect to the acquisition of mood in heritage Portuguese that "In HL development, these late-stabilized properties are precisely the most effected by reduced input. In the case of these structures, it is probably particularly relevant that this exposure does not decrease before the moment in which the relevant acquisition is expected to occur." (Flores et al. 2016: 31). The role of input is discussed in the following sections.

The Role of Input and of Formal Education

Amount of Input

One major outcome of the growing body of research in the field of HL development is the high degree of variation that characterizes HSs' proficiency. Among other factors, this variable performance of heritage bilinguals may be due to differences in exposure to the minority language, i.e., variation in the quantity and quality of contact with the HL, not only in childhood but also over the lifespan. In fact, the amount of exposure to the HL during the various phases of development may range from very restricted to very frequent, depending on the familiar and social constellation the HL-speaking child grows up in.

Several variables determine the amount of input that a speaker receives during childhood, e.g., the languages spoken by the caretakers, the number of siblings, the number of native speakers, and the nature and number of activities performed in this language (see Unsworth 2013, 2015, for an overview, and Bohman et al. 2010, for a case and cross-sectional study).

An influential variable is the language spoken at home. Bilingual parents may choose to use predominantly the HL in home communication or both, the HL and the majority language, or even a third language in the case of mixed marriages. As has been demonstrated by Flores et al. (2016), this choice often depends on the migration background of the parents. First-generation parents who migrate as adults (and often achieve low proficiency in the majority language) tend to stick to the language of

origin, while second-generation/bilingual parents use both languages when interacting with their children. In the former case, the HL child is primarily exposed to the HL in his/her early years and starts to acquire the majority language as an early L2, mostly when entering kindergarten (or school), thus, representing a case of successive language acquisition. In the latter case, the child grows up with simultaneous exposure to the HL and the majority language, which also means more limited contact with the HL from early on. Various studies focusing on the role of parental input have shown that the language constellation at home influences the development of the HL (Gathercole and Thomas 2009; Rodina and Westergaard 2015; Suchtelen 2014; Thomas et al. 2014; Unsworth 2013). Rodina and Westergaard (2015), for instance, show that in the acquisition of gender Norwegian–Russian bilingual children from households where the two parents speak the HL, Russian, outperform bilingual children from mixed households, who have less exposure to Russian. Flores et al. (2016) reach similar conclusions regarding the acquisition of the subjunctive mood in complement clauses by HL children of EP in Germany. The children who grew up speaking predominantly Portuguese at home used the subjunctive mood significantly earlier than children who were exposed to Portuguese and German from birth.

A question that is intrinsically linked to this observation is whether the developmental delay caused by reduced input in early childhood is overcome in adulthood. Opinions and results diverge with respect to this question. Many scholars argue that HL children with less input in early years catch up with dominant HL children in older years, so that early input differences are no longer visible in the performance of older children, adolescents, or adults (e.g., Gathercole and Thomas 2009). This is the case of the EP HL children analyzed by Flores et al. (2016), who show that the differences observed in the rate of acquisition of the subjunctive mood by children with different parental input are no longer visible in adolescence (See also Flores and Barbosa 2014, for similar conclusions related with the acquisition of clitic placement in EP). Similarly, the studies carried out by Kupisch (2012, 2014) on adult HSs of French who grew up with simultaneous exposure to the HL and German demonstrate that these speakers perform native-like in several domains of morphosyntax, thus showing no effects of reduced exposure to the HL in the long run. However, unlike in the other studies, these speakers were also exposed to their HL throughout their school years with the HL as the medium of instruction.

Not all studies come to such positive findings. Suchtelen (2014), for instance, who analyzed the dative constructions in adult HSs of Spanish in the Netherlands observes significant interindividual differences, which are related to their history of contact with Spanish during their childhood. Those speakers who grew up with only one Spanish-speaking parent or who had less contact with the HL in childhood do not show the same knowledge of dative constructions as HSs with frequent exposure to Spanish in their early years. Thomas et al. (2014), who found non monolingual-like performance in the plural constructions of Welsh minority speakers, argue that this long-lasting effect is related to the nature of the linguistic property, which needs a high amount of exposure in the critical years in order to be fully acquired, because of its opacity and complexity.

A sufficient amount of exposure seems to be particularly relevant regarding the phonetic/phonological competence of HSs. Rato et al. (2015) analyze the accent of EP HSs in Germany through foreign accent ratings, an intelligibility and a comprehensibility task, comparing them with monolingual EP speakers and German L2 learners of EP. The results reveal that overall HSs are perceived as having a monolingual-like EP accent, being clearly differentiated from L2 learners. In a subsequent study, Flores and Rato (2016) applied a more refined rating scale and characterized the speakers by several biographic variables, including their age of onset of acquisition (AoA) of German. A later AoA of German means a more extended period of high exposure to Portuguese in early stages of development. In this case, the results show a significant correlation between the AoA of German and the degree of perceived native accent in Portuguese, i.e., speakers who were born in Germany and grew up with both languages were less frequently rated as having a native Portuguese accent than the speakers who were immersed in the German environment only at ages 2–8. This finding is in line with the results of Kupisch et al. (2014) on Italian-German and French-German 2L1ers, who are not perceived as foreign accented in the majority language, while the degree of perceived foreignness in the HL depends significantly on the amount of contact with this language during childhood.

Type of Input

Not only quantity of exposure but also quality of exposure, i.e., the type of linguistic input provided by the minority language environment, influences HL development. In some cases, the second- and third-generation speakers are exposed to and acquire a variety that has already undergone some changes and is, thus, no longer identical to the language spoken in the country of origin, at least in some language domains. In Germany, this is likely to be the case of immigrant Turkish spoken within large Turkish communities (Kallmeyer and Keim 2003). For Romance communities this still needs to be systematically investigated by large-scale sociolinguistic studies. The corpus studies conducted so far on Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese immigrant speech (Di Venanzio et al. 2012, 2016; Flores et al. in press, respectively) analyze the spontaneous speech of first-generation immigrants and compare it with speech data of HSs of the same community and monolingual speakers in the country of origin. Results focused on the realization of object pronouns suggest that the speech of first-generation migrants does *not* provide linguistic input that already bears traces of language attrition or change.

Language use within immigrant communities is largely restricted to colloquial, oral registers, which display variation and nonstandard forms or even lack certain linguistic properties. This is accounted for by the *Missing Input Competence Divergence Hypothesis*, initially proposed by Pires and Rothman (2009), who argue that often HSs show lack of knowledge of certain linguistic structures because these are not in the input they receive. The authors discuss the case of inflected infinitives,

which occur mainly in standard Brazilian but not in the colloquial registers that HSs are exposed to. Dominant exposure to colloquial language registers and reduced contact with the standard norm, particularly with formal registers and written sources, is certainly a factor that shapes the linguistic competence of Romance HSs in Germany. The Portuguese HSs studied by Rinke and Flores (2014) and Flores and Rinke (2015) exhibit little knowledge of properties of the EP pronoun system that show variation in spoken registers and that need formal schooling in order to be fully mastered also by monolingual children. Furthermore, contact with the standard norm, through contact with various sources of input (e.g., media, school, public administration), constitutes a way of counterweighing linguistic variation present in the vernacular.

The Role of Heritage Language Instruction

An important source of HL input is the classroom setting: first, because it is a further source of contact with the HL and adds quantitatively to the contexts where the HL may be used apart from the family; second, because it constitutes a context that provides contact with the standard norm; third, because it enables explicit training of linguistic structures and enhances reading and writing skills. In Germany, HLs are mainly taught in extracurricular HL programs, which take place once or twice a week in the afternoon or on Saturdays. High-quality bilingual education programs, where the HL is an official school language together with German, are rare. Bylund and Díaz (2012) analyzed the effect of HL instruction on HSs language proficiency in similar extracurricular HL classes in Sweden and concluded that these courses have a positive effect on HL proficiency but noted also that these effects are not long-lasting. HSs who no longer attend HL classes are outperformed by HSs enrolled in these courses. This suggests that HL classes as an additional context where the HL is spoken foster HL use (see discussion in Di Venanzio et al. 2012) and may promote ethnic identity and positive attitudes toward the culture of origin (Melo-Pfeifer 2015). However, the extracurricular nature of these classes and the reduced course hours are insufficient to promote ample schooling and foster academic competences equal to the literacy skills developed in the majority language.

An example of more successful HL exposure are cases where the HL is not the target of instruction but the medium, as in the case of the HSs studied by Kupisch and colleagues (see Kupisch et al. 2014, for an overview). These speakers attended a French school in Hamburg, Germany. They performed monolingual-like with respect to various morphosyntactic properties and some aspects of pronunciation in both French and German (see also Kupisch and Rothman 2016).

The fact that instruction has a crucial role to play is witnessed by a series of studies by Kupisch and colleagues with simultaneous bilinguals speaking different language combinations, namely German-Italian and German-French. The German-French population attended French schools where French was the medium of instruction while the German-Italian speakers attended German schools and additional HL language classes during their childhood. As adults, the German-French

speakers were more monolingual-like in both languages (Kupisch and Rothman 2016). Thus, quality of exposure plays a crucial role.

Conclusions

Overall, linguistic research on Romance heritage speakers in Germany reveals the picture of a bilingual population with high proficiency in both dominant environmental language and HL, which often does not differ qualitatively from the native competence of monolingual speakers. This contrasts with the results of many studies on Romance HSs living in the USA (e.g., Montrul and colleagues). The source of the differences observed in both populations may reside in the amount of contact the speakers have with the HL. All studies on Romance HSs in Germany reviewed in this paper document frequent exposure to the HL from birth until adulthood, even if the societal language, German, is more present in the HSs' daily life. Not only language choice within immigrant families, but also geographical and cultural proximity to the countries of origin, along with attendance of HL classes may foster native-like proficiencies (Flores 2015b).

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Ideological Framing of Heritage Language Education in the United States

34

Jeff Bale

Abstract

In the United States, almost all formal federal language education policies are explicitly linked to national-security concerns, whether security is defined in geopolitical or economic terms. This holds as well for heritage language education policies. This chapter discusses applied linguistic scholarship and commentary on heritage language education policy and identifies three patterns in how the literature responds to this nexus of language policy and national security.

Keywords

Language policy • National security • Historiography • Language-as-resource • Language-as-right

Contents

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Introduction

Heritage language education as a distinct applied linguistic field developed in the United States roughly 20 years ago. A genealogy is developing that describes the origins of the field (e.g., Beaudrie and Fairclough 2012; Brinton et al. 2007; Peyton et al. 2001; Wiley et al. 2014). It acknowledges important early scholarship from the 1960s and 1970s, in particular the work of Joshua Fishman, on efforts by minoritized language groups to revive and/or maintain their languages. However, the emergence of heritage language education as its own area of inquiry is often linked to a series of conferences held between 1999 and 2002. These events led to field-defining publications (e.g., Peyton et al. 2001) and to the formation of the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages, an initiative to collate research, demographic information, and databases of extant heritage languages programs so as to support community- and school-based programs alike in expanding heritage language learning opportunities (see http://www.cal.org/what-we-do/projects/heritage-alliance).

From the outset, questions – at times, debates – emerged about the nature of the field. Which languages were to be included under the heritage language umbrella? For example, it is often acknowledged that the term *heritage language* was first used in Canada. In the Canadian context, the term typically refers to immigrant and refugee languages, although First Nations, Métis, and Inuit groups have advocated at times for heritage language policies to support Indigenous language education as well. Nevertheless, in Canada official language education (in French and English), Indigenous language education, and heritage language education are often viewed as separate projects. In defining the field in the United States, the same question was asked: what are the implications of using the term in reference to Indigenous languages and efforts to revitalize and sustain them? Similar questions were asked about which learners should be included as heritage learners. An early distinction was made between linguistic definitions (e.g., Valdés 2001) and socio-historical or psychological ones (e.g., Fishman 2001). The former understood heritage language learners as those who were raised in homes and/or communities in which the language was used and thus brought some proficiency with them to the language classroom. The latter understood heritage language learners as those who identified with the language based on membership in a specific minoritized or racialized group and thus had an affinity for the language irrespective of their proficiency in it. Finally, the appropriateness of the term *heritage language* was questioned as this new field emerged. Wiley (2001) raised concerns that the term was too oriented on past linguistic practice. He preferred *community language* as a term that would keep our focus on the contemporary practice of minoritized languages. García (2005) wondered as well what purchase this term *heritage language* gave us that existing terms, such as *bilingual education*, could not. Especially because the field emerged while voter initiatives in four US states sought to restrict bilingual education (three of them successfully), García noted the danger in scholars turning their intellectual and practical commitments away from bilingual education precisely when it was most under attack.

Each of these issues – which languages, which learners, and which terms – reveals important ideological assumptions about heritage languages, their place in the United States, and what strategies are deemed most effective for reviving and sustaining them. However, this contribution focuses on other ideological framings of heritage languages, specifically the rationales that scholars, practitioners, and policymakers have used to advocate for heritage language education. Consider the composition of the conferences that are understood to have shaped the field as it exists today. These events were spearheaded by academics. They also included practitioners, representatives of minoritized language groups, and employees of the national security state apparatus, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Defense. Even among the academics whose leadership established the field, some worked for universities or units thereof more directly connected to this national security state apparatus than the typical public university. By identifying these affiliations, my intent is not to malign anyone's contribution to establishing heritage language education as a discrete field of applied linguistic study. Rather, the point is to understand that the ideological juggernaut of US geopolitical and economic security was already present at and shaped the founding events of the field. This poses sharp questions for scholars and practitioners of heritage language education, namely: in whose name, on whose behalf, and to what ends should we expand programs in heritage language education?

This chapter analyzes three strands of applied linguistic scholarship and commentary that represent different ideological positions from which these questions have been answered. It uses the explicit connections between heritage language education policy and national security ideologies as a foil to highlight the differences among these strands. The analysis identifies important contributions that each ideological position has made to understanding heritage language education, as well as internal contradictions in each position and/or where future work is still needed.

Patterns of Scholarly Analysis (The remainder of the paper is an updated version of an excerpt from Bale (2014). It is reprinted with permission.)

Before discussing different patterns in scholarship on the ideological framing of heritage language education, it is important to acknowledge how little of it there is. One reason for this is that the fields of heritage language education and language planning and policy are still relatively new within applied linguistics. More important, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Bale 2014), policies supporting language education tend only to appear in relation to major geopolitical crises, which is to say that scholarly analysis of them also tends only to follow in their wake. This irregular rhythm has contributed to normalizing the policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education policies and US geopolitical and economic security, insofar as there has not been a consistent or extensive research agenda about them.

Bale (2014) presents a periodization of these policy connections, distinguishing between what I call first- and second-generation policies. First-generation policies began with the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958. Title VI of the NDEA set the pattern for this first era of policy-making, namely: supporting "area studies" generally and viewing language education as a subcomponent thereof. These early policies did not target people who would come to be known as "heritage language learners." Rather, they focused on programs for native English speakers to learn specific languages the government deemed necessary for its national security (understood until the 1980s almost exclusively in geopolitical terms). These first-generation policies were typically administered by the Department of Education (and its forerunner) and the Department of State. I mark the emergence of second-generation policies in 1991 with passage of the National Security Education Act. These policies support language education specifically, not as a secondary feature. While they do not always name "heritage language speakers," they are more explicit in targeting native or otherwise proficient speakers from specific minoritized language groups in the United States. They are typically administered by the national security state apparatus, including the Department of Defense, the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI). In some cases, these agencies subcontract to other entities to manage language education programs, as with STARTALK. It is formally a project of the ODNI, although fiscal management is provided by the NSA while intellectual and logistical leadership is provided by the National Foreign Language Center associated with the University of Maryland.

There does exist a historiography of first-generation policies such as NDEA and Fulbright-Hays (e.g., Clowse 1981; Ruther 1994; Urban 2010). These studies are essential reading for scholars of heritage language education, even if they do not treat either federal program as language policies per se. As such, I have not included them in this discussion. By contrast, there is little scholarship about second-generation policies. They may get mentioned in background discussions, but they are rarely the subject of the scholarship itself. As such, the discussion below includes both empirical studies and commentary about foreign and/or heritage language education policy in service of the "national interest." I have organized the discussion around three stances that this literature tends to adopt: technocratic, pragmatic, and critical.

Technocratic Approaches

The first of these analytical trends, technocratic approaches, reflects the normalization to which I referred above. Studies adopting this approach accept at face value – or outright endorse – the national security rationale behind such policies. Their focus is thus on the technical and logistical features of them. In some cases (e.g., Brecht and Rivers 2000; Lambert et al. 1984; O'Connell and Norwood 2007), these studies are federally funded or commissioned by a federal agency as part of the legislative review process to assess the impact of international education and language education policies over time. In other cases (e.g., O'Meara et al. 2001), this analysis takes

the form of proceedings from conferences organized to acknowledge important anniversaries and other benchmarks in the history of international education and language education policies.

The scope of these studies has been fairly similar, in that they include narrative histories of the policies in question, descriptive statistics on the number and type of programs, the number and (more recently) the demographic background of participating students, and the career paths they pursue after graduation. Their conclusions have been equally similar. They acknowledge the vital role that federal support has played in creating the cadre of language experts that does exist in the United States and then enumerate various recommendations to extend and deepen this impact. There are two features that distinguish these studies among all those included in this synthesis. On the one hand, they are among the few examples of empirical research on language education policies tied to the national interest. On the other, it is noticeable that none has questioned why their basic structure and conclusions are so similar over time. In other words, if the federal government has been in the business of supporting language education in service of the national interest for some 60 years and yet the recommendations for improving such policies have remained fairly consistent, it seems self-evident, then, that a different set of research questions is required in order to better *explain* – not just to *describe* – why these policies continue to fall short of their stated goals.

In addition to empirical studies, there are more explicit advocacy texts that take a technocratic stance to foreign and/or heritage language education policies tied to the national interest. These advocacy texts reflect the generational divide I described above. For example, Lambert (1986) made a compelling argument for a national foundation for international studies that could coordinate policy-making, program and curriculum development, and program evaluation to enhance the expertise that already existed by the mid-1980s. As with most first-generation policies, his argument sees language education as part of the broader project of international education. By contrast, more recent policy advocacy from this perspective (e.g., Edwards 2004; Brecht 2007; Brecht and Ingold 2002) has focused specifically on developing advanced proficiency in critical languages and the role that heritage speakers can play in achieving this goal. In some instances, this advocacy constitutes a strong endorsement of US geopolitical and economic interests. As Richard Brecht, the former executive director of the Center for the Advanced Study of Language at the University of Maryland clarified: "Our motivation is national security, not to improve education necessarily" (cited in Hebel 2002, p. A26).

Pragmatic Approaches

Another approach in scholarly inquiry and analysis takes a decidedly pragmatic stance toward the policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education and US geopolitical and economic interests. This pragmatism aims to reconcile the needs and ambitions of heritage language communities while operating under the assumption that national security concerns will inevitably play a central, if

not dominant, role in the policy-making process. Spolsky (2002), for example, drew on his extensive experiences working with the Navajo Nation to explore the connections between heritage languages and national security. He specifically contrasted the Navajo Code Talker program during World War II with the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP), a program to prepare military personnel with the requisite language skills for their pending service. Spolsky argued that advanced proficiency in critical languages is best achieved when people begin to learn the language at home, versus starting as true beginners in school. Spolsky, who identifies himself elsewhere as a "pragmatic liberal" (Spolsky 2004, p. ix), expanded on Haugen's ecological framework to identify three domains of language policy (viz., practice, ideology, and maintenance; see Spolsky (2004) for extensive discussion of this model). This ecological model per se is neither motivated by nor explicitly concerned with US geopolitical and economic security. However, he concluded by noting the potential efficacy of this model for addressing such concerns.

Arguably, the most developed – and most widely accepted – pragmatic model for understanding foreign and/or heritage language education policies is Ruiz's (1984, 2010) resource orientation to language and language policy. The resource orientation is one of three (along with language-as-problem and language-as-right), which taken together reflect underlying ideological assumptions about language and its place in society (Ruiz 1984). Insofar as the language-as-problem orientation facilitates (in)formal policies that restrict development of heritage and immigrant languages, the resource orientation is clearly beneficial in that it serves to reframe heritage language proficiency as an asset to cultivate, not a deficit to redress. However, the resource orientation is also premised on a critique of the language-as-right framework, namely that the latter leads to conflict. Because rights are typically defined in terms of "compliance," "enforcement," and "entitlement," they can "create an automatic resistance to whatever one is talking about" (p. 24). In this way, the resource orientation can work to recast heritage language practice as broadly beneficial, that is, of value to the heritage language community in maintaining and extending their linguistic practices and of value to English-only speakers in terms of broadening their linguistic repertoire.

This understanding of the resource orientation has been widely taken up in applied linguistics scholarship due to its social justice implications for resolving conflict between heritage-language and English-only communities. However, already in the original explication of this framework, Ruiz (1984) argued that the resource orientation also allows for defining heritage languages as a resource for meeting US geopolitical, military, and economic aims. More recently, Ruiz (2010) revisited the resource orientation in light of multiple critiques of his original thesis. In his discussion of the relationship between the rights and resource orientation, however, the links between the latter and national security concerns and the potential consequences thereof are not addressed. In short, the balance of his comments reaffirmed that language-as-resource will mean different things to different people.

McGroarty (2006) has made the most compelling argument that this ambiguity is, in fact, a benefit in the policy-making process. Because of the cyclical nature of

policy discussions as they "spike" (p. 4) into and out of public discourse, she argued that language policy advocates need to employ a number of rationales in order to be effective. Indeed:

> A logical implication for those who consider themselves pragmatists or political realists is that advocates for positive language-in-education policies must constantly articulate the value of bilingualism, and be able to do so in varied terms that respond to a protean environment of public discussion. (pp. 5–6)

From this perspective, then, articulating the need for language education policy as a function of US geopolitical and economic ambitions is one among these multiple rationales, even when the ultimate goal is expanded social bilingualism for its own sake.

Critical Approaches

As compelling as McGroarty's argument is, it reinforces the tension between political principle and pragmatism at the heart of the resource orientation, namely: if language is a resource, then to what ends and in whose interests? Further, can we employ language education to meet multiple ends and serve multiple interests at once, or do some interests in fact predominate (Ricento 2005)? The final trend in scholarly analysis to be discussed, namely critical approaches, interrogates this tension more explicitly. One type of analysis uses the concept of hegemony to explore the extent to which some policy interests in fact dominate the formation, implementation, and practice of foreign and/or heritage language education policy. For example, Ricento (2005) questioned not the resource metaphor itself, but rather how scholars, practitioners, and policymakers employ it. He challenged language education advocates to clarify "hegemonic ideologies associated with the roles of non-English languages in national life" (p. 350) in how they frame their advocacy. Petrovic (2005) linked his analysis of the resource metaphor to the conservative restoration of US power. With respect to language education, this neoconservative offensive centers on antibilingual education initiatives. Petrovic acknowledged that the resource approach hopes to counter these attacks on bilingual education. But because such an approach identifies with national economic and political needs, it bolsters the same ideological framework that it aims to challenge. Like Ricento, Scollon (2004) addressed his argument primarily to language policy scholars and advocates. Referencing the "paradox" that the "idea of one nation – one language – one culture is a mainstay of the hegemony of nation-state power" (p. 273), he noted the potential for language education scholarship and advocacy to be misused for extending that hegemonic power. He argued:

> Scholars and students of language who take a multiple and variable resource view of language and culture are most often those who also take a sociopolitical position of

opposition to the hegemony of the First World, its nation-state apparatuses, and its mono-lingual/monocultural view of human life. When their work begins to fall within the ever-searching spotlight of hegemonic attention, they are sometimes startled to discover that what can be used for the good of encouraging diversity, grassroots opposition, and genuine democracy can also be used for surveillance and hegemonic intervention. (p. 274)

The logical implication is that such "multiple and variable" resource views are inconsistent with the goals of "sociopolitical opposition."

Another critical approach in understanding the policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education and the national interest historicizes the question. Wiley (2007), for example, discussed the historical tension of language policies in the United States tacking between restrictive, tolerant, and promotional goals to reveal the ideological connotations of the term *heritage language*, and to question whether heritage speakers can in fact be called on to "resolve" the *foreign language* crisis for national security needs. He concluded:

Given the hegemony of the English monolingualist ideology and the fear of foreignness that dominate language policy debates in the US [historically], it is unlikely that the narrow focus on national security and "strategic" languages in the national interests will do much in the long term to promote the study of languages in the US. (p. 200)

Building on an empirical policy analysis of Title VI programs between 1958 and 1991 and their impact on Arabic language education (see Bale 2011b), Bale (2011c) synthesized classical Marxist theories of nationalism and imperialism to identify an inverse correlation between the status of the United States as a world power and the prospects for foreign and/or heritage language education. Namely, those moments in US history in which US imperialism has been ascendant and powerful correlate with those moments in which Anglo cultural and linguistic practices have been most sharply enforced to the exclusion of heritage, immigrant, and Indigenous language practices. Conversely, those historical moments in which US imperialism has suffered defeat or otherwise been pushed back from the world stage, social space has opened "at home" to extend the practice of and education in minoritized languages. The logical implications of this correlation is that language education policies that explicitly aim to bolster US geopolitical and economic power internationally have the paradoxical effect of contributing to the very material and ideological forces that constrict the social space required to develop and extend proficiency in non-English languages.

Bale (2011a, in press) applied this analysis to a case study of policy advocacy promoting Spanish language education between 1914 and 1945. Advocates were successful in soliciting public support for this campaign from high-ranking political figures such as three US presidents and various cabinet members (including a Secretary of the Treasury). Nevertheless, this advocacy is best characterized as informal insofar as high-school and university Spanish educators, school district administrators, representatives of the Pan American Union (forerunner of the Organization of American States), and various ambassadors worked outside the formal legislative process to increase access to Spanish language education and proficiency

in the language. Advocacy for Spanish language education took place in three main venues: in the official publications of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish (AATS, founded in 1917); in the media, such as a 1935 radio address on WNYC made by Lawrence Wilkins, founding president of AATS and the former director of modern language programs for New York City public schools; and in pedagogical materials, such as introductions to teaching methods textbooks that articulated rationales for the study of Spanish as a foreign language.

Bale (2011a, in press) analyzed three main features of this advocacy for Spanish. First, advocates explicitly justified the need for Spanish language education in terms of US economic interests in Latin America and its growing political influence in the region. Writing in the pages of the *Yale Review* in 1915, for example, Yale professor Frederick Luquiens (1915) noted that the war then underway among European powers provided new opportunities for US economic interests in the Western hemisphere. However, those opportunities would only be realized if more Americans spoke Spanish. He argued:

> There is a familiar rhyme about an old woman whose pig wouldn't jump over the stile until water quenched fire, and fire burned stick, and stick beat dog, and dog bit pig—whereupon all turned out as it should. In like manner we may achieve success in our South American trade through a series of agencies. It will come through machinery [of trade], markets, and money, which will come through public opinion, which will come through Spanish, which will come through our educators and our teachers of Spanish. Upon them rests the ultimate responsibility. (p. 711)

Rarely has the claim been more clearly made that language educators are directly implicated in bolstering US geopolitical and economic interests.

Second, because this campaign developed concurrent to the highpoint of Americanization education, advocates had to reckon with public opinion and formal policy that simultaneously favored English-only education and viewed heritage language maintenance at school as suspect, if not outright seditious (in the case of German). Spanish language advocates navigated this terrain by arguing that: (1) there should be no foreign language study in elementary school; (2) Americans are right to fear the inroads that German propaganda might make through German language study; and (3) that Spanish language study was in fact patriotic, as it supported US geopolitical and economic interests across Latin America (see Bale, under review). Finally, this campaign focused almost exclusively on the study of Spanish as a foreign language (i.e., designed for English-only students to acquire the language at school). Across some 30 years of advocacy, native speakers of Spanish living in the Unites States or its territories merited almost no mention at all. When they were mentioned, advocates argued that the primary goal for Spanish-speakers should be to master English first (see Bale 2011a).

Critical approaches to the policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education and the national interest are not without their own inconsistencies and contradictions. For example, in her critique of the historical intersection between foreign language research and economic, cultural, and national defense interests, Kramsch (2005) scrutinized how linguists have found themselves

entangled in such interests. As her analysis turned to the post-9/11 context, however, the argument shifts. Specifically:

> [Recent national policy initiatives regarding foreign language] are still under construction, but they do raise the relation of knowledge and power in applied linguistics. No one would deny that it is the prerogative of a nation state to rally the expertise of its scientists for its national defense. After all, linguists have always served the interests of their country in times of war and much good has come out of it both for the theory and practice of language learning and teaching. But the current appropriation of academic knowledge by state power in the name of a security problem that is as ill-defined as the current one runs the risk of redefining what it means for an applied linguist to "respond to real-world" problems. (p. 557)

There is a key contradiction at play here: how can we at once scrutinize "the current appropriation of academic knowledge by state power" if "no one would deny that it is the prerogative of a nation state to rally the expertise of its scientists for its national defense?" If such a right is undeniable, then on what basis can we evaluate what makes one appropriation of academic knowledge in the name of national defense reasonable and another risky?

A second example, Reagan (2002) relates more specifically to critical languages (although the author uses the term Less Commonly Taught Languages). The overall focus of the argument is on acknowledging the profound impact that race, class, and language variation have on language education. Nevertheless, as Reagan turned to the topic of critical languages, he invoked "the geopolitical aspect" of language education and argued that it is in society's interest to develop linguistic capacity "in the various national and regional languages that are used in areas of national political, economic, and strategic concern" (p. 42). Referencing the events of September 11, 2001, Reagan continued:

> *Our* need to understand others in the world provides another justification for studying the less commonly taught languages, since the languages themselves play an essential role in *our* ability to understand the speech communities that use them. (p. 42, researcher emphasis)

The sharpness of Reagan's earlier discussion dulls once the conversation turns to critical languages and national security. Now, it seems there exists a set of undifferentiated interests – *our* interests – at play. Because *our* is not defined, it is unclear whether the racial, class, and linguistic differences at the heart of Reagan's analysis are again subordinated to the dominant national identities and interests that he had criticized earlier.

Conclusion

Each of these three stances in the scholarship on foreign and/or heritage language education in service of the national interest presents its own set of theoretical or analytical inconsistencies that require further investigation. The most important issue, as alluded to above, is the need for a more consistent, empirical approach to

the question. I raise this point not to disregard the useful insights gleaned from commentary and policy advocacy, such as the semi-annual *Perspectives* section of *The Modern Language Journal*, which convened discussion on various aspects of language education policy and the national interest in some six issues between 2003 and 2009. Clearly, the geopolitical crises of September 11 and the two subsequent wars provided a key impetus to organize and sustain this discussion. However, the question arises whether such attention to foreign and/or heritage language education policy will again fade – or indeed, perhaps, already has – now that the advent of those geopolitical crises is more than a decade behind us. In much the same way that many technocratic studies have concluded that the United States requires stable and well-planned language education policies and programs, not ones that rise and fall in haste with the latest geopolitical crisis, my read of the scholarship on this policy connection is largely the same: we need to move beyond the tendency to engage in scholarly analysis of this policy connection only as it relates to the latest geopolitical crisis and instead evaluate it more consistently on its own terms. That is, we need an ongoing, empirical research agenda from various theoretical and methodological positions that can better test the efficacy and explain the consequences of policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education and the national interest.

One potentially fruitful avenue of research is comparative historical analysis of language education policies in the United States (see Wiley 1999, 2006). With respect to the specific case of heritage language education, García (2005) noted the implications of the term *heritage* in conceding the political defeat of *bilingual* education as a positive educational model. Although I share that concern, one potential benefit of this term is that it can be used to undermine the historically rigid boundaries between additive, often elite language education programs meant for English-only students on the one hand and those programs, often subtractive and compensatory, meant for immigrant children and the children of immigrants on the other. This blurring can be operationalized methodologically to design historical studies comparing, for example, the formal and informal policy advocacy on behalf of bilingual-bicultural education in the Southwestern United States in the 1950s and 1960s with similar advocacy on behalf of security-oriented foreign language educa- tion policies of the same period. The rich historiography of the former, typically conducted by trained historians in the field of Chicano Studies (e.g., Navarro 1995; San Miguel 2001; Trujillo 1998; Vargas 2005), has not yet been brought into systematic conversation with the (admittedly less rich) historiography of the latter. As one example of the potential of this comparison, consider the brief upsurge in elementary-level foreign language programs in the 1950s (Parker 1961). Advocates for security-oriented language education policies interpreted this trend as evidence that Americans understood their position in the world and the attendant need for foreign language competency. That interpretation has developed its own sort of common sense since then, but is worth comparing to the growing activism within Mexican-American and other heritage language communities for greater access to their own language and cultural practices at school that had its roots immediately before World War II and peaked in the late 1960s to early 1970s. Another generative

avenue of blurring the lines between various language education models would be to extend the development of ethnographic analysis of Native and immigrant language policy and practice (see McCarty 2011) by including such analysis of foreign and/or heritage language policies on a comparative basis. The potential benefit of such comparison, whether between historical cases or ethnographic accounts of contemporary ones, is empirically testing the efficacy of different orientations to language policy advocacy, whether they are the orientations developed by Ruiz (1984) or altogether new orientations generated by this comparative approach.

As the previous point suggests, there is also a dire need for interdisciplinary approaches to the policy connection between foreign and/or heritage language education and US geopolitical and economic interests. The fact that educational historiography has begun to raise sharp debates about features of the Americanization era that most applied linguistic policy research takes for granted is one small indication of this need. Another is a conspicuous detail about language policy advocacy in service of the national interest that has gone almost entirely unmentioned in the literature reviewed here. I would argue that one reason for the heightened and sustained controversy over the 2006 National Security Language Initiative (NSLI), the most recent round of language education policies tied to national security, is that a controversial Republican president proposed them in the wake of controversial wars he initiated. What has been lost in the extensive analysis of this and other security-oriented language policies is that in every case – *except for NSLI* – such policies have been sponsored by Democrats. This presents a complicated but key question: on what grounds is it more palatable for one political party to use US geopolitical and economic concerns to frame heritage language education versus another? The distinction between *soft* and *hard* geopolitics that has been theorized in critical approaches to international relations and political science (see Callinicos 2009; ten Brink 2014) can be helpful in understanding the complexity of the fact that although both parties at times take different approaches to enforcing and extending US power on the world stage, they are in fundamental agreement that the United States has the right and obligation to do so. In other words, drawing from other academic disciplines to develop clearer conceptions of the "national interest" within applied linguistic study of language policy helps us both to rethink dominant assumptions about the policy process and the stakeholders in it and to uncover new ways to frame policy advocacy in the first place.

While the previous points describe an empirical research agenda on heritage language education policy, the final point suggests a more normative project. As mentioned above, García (2005) has raised an important objection to the term *heritage* language insofar as it "signals a losing of ground for language minorities that was gained during the civil rights era" (p. 602). While this objection may seem focused on terminology, I read her point as raising a more fundamental concern with an ostensibly zero-sum approach that dominates contemporary language education policy: language education is *either* an economic and political resource to bolster the national interest *or* essential for the expression and extension of the rights of minoritized language communities. An important, if also normative, research agenda thus needs to recover rights-based policy advocacy from that highpoint of the civil

rights era and renew it in a context of a contemporary United States that is even more linguistically diverse than it was during that era. It needs to pose questions such as: Is it enough to advocate heritage language education policy using a variety of political and ideological rationales? What do rights mean in multilingual settings (that is, in settings where bilingual models are not possible)? What historical models do we have for rights-based advocacy and to what extent would they apply in future?

In sum, because the policy connections between foreign and/or heritage language education policy and the national interest have an almost 60 year history, there is both analytical room and a dire need for empirical assessments of this policy connection. Sustained historical, comparative, and interdisciplinary research that is willing to question in normative terms what indeed is pragmatic, logical, and realistic can help scholars to reconceptualize which language policies are needed to maintain and extend the sort of multilingual practice that policy advocates and applied linguistic policy scholars advocate.

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Transnational Hispanic Identity and Heritage Language Learning: A Canadian Perspective

35

Ivan Fernández

Abstract

Bonnie Norton (2013. *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.)*.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters) has placed the learner's identity as a key component of language learning. Heritage language learning (HLL) may be one of the most important domains for the confluence of identity and language learning. This intersection is particularly complex in the case of Spanish heritage language (SHL) teaching, since learners in this case not only have to contend with the identities of the different countries of origin and residence but also with a pan-ethnic layer, that of Hispanic/Latino identity. This study examines the role of this pan-Hispanic identity in SHL learning and how it might be useful to foster a wider sense of investment (Norton's term) in students by allowing them to develop a personal sense of identity that combines all these factors in strategic ways. Most studies of SHL learning have been based on US students, but here Canadian cases will be considered more in detail, since they highlight how identities change with specific local social conditions. It will be argued that the elements that promote this investment in US learners may not work in a Canadian context, where other aspects of Hispanic identity would have to be emphasized.

Keywords
Heritage language • Identity • Hispanic • Latino • Canada

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Transnational Hispanic Identity and Heritage Language Learning: A Canadian Perspective

In her pathbreaking study of immigrant women learning English in Canada, Norton (2013) shone a light on the key role that identity formations play in the language learning process. As she states, "it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self" (p. 45). What is more, those identities and the language that is used to create them are not neutral categories, but a site of struggle that is socially constructed, constrained, and disputed. A central component for language learning would be the notion of "investment," which extends the socially neutral concept of "motivation" (a constant quantity which does not change with time or social circumstance, an innate capacity of an individual which is not affected by the context of language practice) to include the often ambivalent and ever-changing relationship of the learners to the target language depending on the social and historical situation in which they speak it (p. 50). As an extension of this line of research, Norton and other scholars have incorporated the notion of "imagined communities" developed by Benedict Anderson to account for the creation and strength of national identities (Anderson 1991). Learners, as humans do in all kind of circumstances, use their imagination to establish a connection between themselves and other people in their social networks and beyond them (very possibly, with people they have never met). This process allows them to transcend their immediate circumstances and expand their own identities, a process for which language learning could be a prime example (Pavlenko and Norton 2007, p. 670). When a learner establishes ties with an imaginary community, what they are doing is in fact creating an imagined identity for themselves, rebuilding their sense of self in relationship to multiple and diverse groupings (Hornberger and Wang 2008, p. 7) that can allow them to transcend their current circumstances and conceive a wider range of possibilities for their future (Pavlenko and Norton 2007, p. 678).

The multiplicity and diversity of these groupings and reconfigurations of belonging can be a key asset to examine the language learning practices and investment positions of some groups, such as the growing number of second- and third-generation heritage language learners (HLLs) present nowadays, especially in countries that receive large numbers of immigrants (Guardado 2010, p. 331). As a matter

of fact, language preservation has been found to be the most important element in the maintenance of transnational ties and identities among descendants of immigrants to the USA (Rumbaut 2002). The transnational community is by necessity a type of imaginary community, since the individual will not be able to meet all its constituents; distance is indeed its defining feature, so the relationship can only exist in the learner's imagination (Norton 2013, p. 8). As Norton claims, "static categorizations need to be interrogated in the face of globalization" (p. 22), and few groups of language learners exemplify this situation better than HLLs. Imaginary identities and communities are particularly rich concepts to explore these individuals precisely because they are part of multiple communities (host country, family, immigrant group in the host country, country of origin, as well as various other intersecting categories such as class, race, gender, etc.). An illustrative example of the complexity in which different identity markers overlap and groupings are changed depending on specific situations is the young Dominican Americans who switch language varieties from African American Vernacular English (foregrounding solidarity with similarly racialized and marginalized African American peers) to Spanish, as a sign of group identity and differentiation from those peers, striving to uphold an identity based on language at odds with the phenotype-based categorization imposed upon them by US notions of race (Bailey 2000).

As the previous example shows, heritage learners of Spanish in countries such as the USA and Canada may constitute an especially fruitful group to consider when applying notions of imagined identities and investment. These individuals present an even richer set of possible categories of belonging. Their relationship is not just with a specific country of origin but also with crisscrossing and ill-defined racial groupings: Hispanics, even those with roots in the same country, are not racially and culturally homogeneous and often showcase hybrid identities which turn problematic for the traditionally more binary (Black/White) distinction of countries of settlement in the English tradition. Besides these, there is also an element that adds yet another overlapping layer of identity, namely, a form of pan-Hispanic identity which encompasses not just the Spanish-speaking immigrant population but the whole group of Spanish-speaking countries of origin, conceived as a transnational imagined community. The heterogeneity and complexity of this layer of identity makes it a key example of the process of creation of images of possibility for the self that transcend direct acts of engagement (Norton 2001, p. 163). The purpose of this essay is to examine how such an identity intersects with the process of Spanish heritage language (SHL) learning, focusing on the presence or absence of this identity in textbooks for North American SHL students, especially in the Canadian context. It is my contention that a judicious and critical engagement with pan-Hispanic identity can be a way for the instructor of a SHL class to access an imagined community which would allow students to engage and become more invested in the process (since the act of learning the language is already strengthening their belonging), but the very flexibility of Latino identity would at the same time allow for it to be adapted by each individual learner for their own needs and desires as they reorganize their sense of self and their position in the social sphere. The

multiple possibilities afforded by pan-Hispanic identity can prevent the imposition of a monolithic image of instructor expectations, which in turn should contribute to engagement and investment in the subject (p. 165). In order to examine this contention, one must first consider the complexity of Hispanic identity.

Latina/o-Hispanic Identities: A Problematic Category

Although generally acknowledged as an existing category, and repeatedly quoted in instances of self- and other-identification, pan-Hispanic identity is not easy to pin down. The common terms themselves (Latina/o and Hispanic) are distinct but sometimes used interchangeably. Some individuals will accept one but not the other (Flores 2004). "Hispanic" is seen as problematic by some, since it emphasizes the former metropolis as the site of identity, although from Spain there have been efforts to downplay that reproduction of the colonizer-colonized hierarchy by means of an emphasis on language as the key link (del Valle 2012). "Latino/Latina," on the other hand, has the advantage of reducing the role of the former colonial power and encompassing not just the former Spanish colonies but also Brazil. However, it is enmeshed in a problematic history: it had its origin in nineteenth-century French discourses and came to prominence as part of France's own colonial attempts in the region, as well as an ideological justification for the leadership of France at the head of the rest of the "Latin" (i.e., Romance-speaking) nations against a perceived Anglo-Germanic enemy (Mignolo 2005, pp. 77–80). It was taken up by elites in post-independence Latin America, since it justified the leadership of creoles (citizens of European descent), and it provided justification for their dominance over other social groups, especially those of indigenous and African descent (Mato 1998, pp. 607–608). The Spanish language became a key element in the construction of national identities for the newly independent republics of Latin America, in spite of its ties with the former colony. Its usage was pushed by local elites of European descent who wanted to eliminate linguistic variety for the sake of national identity-building, and in this process, Spanish also became a link of solidarity between these nations and the source of the idea of pan-Hispanism (Mar-Molinero 2006, pp. 15–16). Given that both "Latino" and "Hispanic" are terms in common use, even if they are somewhat flawed, this study will employ them indistinctly, although they are not exactly synonymous. An important fact to remember from this controversy is that a common language is always perceived as a key element in such an identity category, no matter what one names it (Bailey 2000; Carreira 2000).

Tammelleo (2011) summarizes the ideas of some contemporary thinkers on Hispanic identity. Jorge García places its origin in the encounter between Iberian colonists and indigenous people and claims that the term is useful to see the commonalities that join these diverse communities and which one might otherwise overlook. He emphasizes "mestizaje" (which originally referred to racial miscegenation, but eventually came to signify the commingling of diverse cultures and ethnic groups as the defining constituent of Latin American identity) as a key characteristic of this highly hybrid cultural community, and he prefers the term

"Hispanic." Linda Alcoff, on the other hand, eschews ontological definitions in favor of an identity constituted by the neocolonial confrontation with the USA, especially in the events surrounding the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), which ceded a large section of Mexican territory to the USA (California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado); the Spanish American War (1898), in which the former Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico (as well as the Philippines) became independent, but were subjected to a highly interventionist surveillance by the USA; or the creation of the state of Panama (1903) and the US sovereignty over its canal. Alcoff favors the term "Latino" and refers it to a relationship of opposition and discrimination by a colonial power that is still in operation (as opposed to the deceased Spanish empire). Angelo Corlett, for his part, is more concerned with specific political and administrative action for Hispanics in the USA (affirmative action, reparations, etc.) and therefore presents a gradual model of Latinity comprised of several characteristics, the most important and only necessary one being genealogical descent. Other (nonessential) markers would be a degree of language command, respect for Latino culture, and self- and other-identification as Latino. Tammalleo will go on to elaborate a more complex historical account partly based on these ones, which includes a colonial Hispanic identity present in the days of domination by Spain, a national Hispanic identity developed by the new independent nations, and a Latino/Latina identity which he circumscribes exclusively to Hispanics living in the USA. As with Alcoff, Tammalleo locates this identity in the opposition to and experience of discrimination and in the fact of Latinos being interpellated by the dominant culture as a single, homogeneous group, whether it be for discriminatory or for commercial and economic processes. This identity retains a large part of its diversity despite being treated as monolithic by the hegemony.

Tammalleo establishes a firm division between the identity experience of Latinos in the USA and of Latin Americans in Spanish-speaking cultures, but this fact overlooks a good amount of commonalities and especially misses the fact that at least a part of it is experienced as similar by individuals inside and outside the USA. This is one of the main points in Mato (1998), who describes Latinos as an "imagined transnational community" (p. 600) which encompasses individuals across the continent. Mato emphasizes the notion of identity-making as social construction, an active process, a constant struggle which in this case involves both the market forces that want to promote their products to this enormous population, and the individuals in the community that see the usefulness of a strategic essentialism in order to promote their social and political aims (p. 602). A transnational Latino identity, however, is also strengthened by the relatively recent phenomenon of a "consciousness of globalization" (p. 603), aided by large population movements as well as modern telecommunications and travel, which allow for an extended contact with the country of origin and among different national groups (Mar-Molinero 2006, p. 17).

A further complicating factor is the inclusion of Spain and Spaniards in this identity constellation. The original formulations of Hispanic/Latino identity would deny it, since they were attempting to create a culture in opposition to the former colonial power, but as time went on, these positions became more fuzzy. There have

been attempts from Spain to foster such a pan-Hispanic identity as a form of recovering diplomatic influence and opening priority spaces for commerce, and in recent years, cultural institutions such as the *Real Academia Española* (Spanish Language Academy) and the *Instituto Cervantes* (tasked with the spread of the Spanish language and culture abroad by teaching, developing language teaching materials, and providing teacher certification) have emphasized a stance of fraternity and equality among all Spanish speakers based on affect rather than political imposition or old attitudes of Peninsular superiority. José del Valle (2006, 2012) calls it *hispanofonía* ("hispanophony"), but again, it is not free from trouble, since it goes hand in hand with economic expansion by Spanish corporations, as well as a commodification of the language as an economic resource, a process in which Spain wants to position itself as the leading nation.

Identity in SHL in the USA and Canada

Given the much larger size of the Spanish-speaking population and the historical roots of a large number of them in the territory, most scholarly studies of SHL have focused on the USA: Peyton (2008) has a list of resources and basic bibliography; Beaudrie and Fairclough (2012) have a recent collection on this topic; Parra (2014) provides a useful "where to start" approach to designing HL courses from an ecological model perspective. Identity was a central concern of many of these programs, since they started in the 1960s and 1970s in the context of civil rights mobilizations by Latino activists (particularly Puerto Ricans in New York and Chicanos in the Southwest) and the flourishing of ethnic studies programs in US universities. As such, the early SHL courses had a large emphasis on inclusion and representation of marginalized groups, as well as instilling pride in the student's roots and identity (Leeman and Martinez 2007). Given this consciousness-raising intention, early iterations of US Hispanic studies stressed the commonalities between their target population and Latin America, fostering a sense of pan-Hispanic identity (p. 41), and Spanish was promoted as a key link of solidarity among US Latinos themselves and with the rest of Latin Americans. Given the distribution of specific populations in the USA, many of these programs were also focused on the national group that was more dominant in each region (Puerto Ricans in New York, Mexican Americans in California and the Southwest, Cubans in Florida, etc.) and tried to cater to these more specific identities and language varieties.

Although this early emphasis on identity has somewhat abated in favor of a more commodified view of the language as an instrument for professional betterment, US SHL students still find this approach highly appealing, as shown in the surveys carried out by Beaudrie et al. (2009) among students of the extensive SHL program at the University of Arizona. These students expressed the need for a more culturally relevant curriculum that established connections between the classroom and their homes and communities, but they also claimed to have gained a new sense of identity and understanding of their background through the classes (p. 167). The program strove to provide this cultural awareness and make connections with the

multi-faceted and heterogeneous nature of US Latino culture while at the same time value and respect the student's own cultural background. It is notable that self-identification as Hispanic rose as the program advanced, while identification as "Other" went down in the more advanced courses, indicating that SHL teaching may contribute to foster a sense of pan-Hispanic identity among the students (pp. 164–165).

As a contrast to US-centered SHL studies, it will be instructive to turn to the less studied case of Canada, which presents quite a different context for SHL and pan-Hispanic identity. The specific case of Toronto provides a good example of these differences, as seen in the cultural geography study by Veronis (2007). First, it must be noted that Hispanics are a relatively recent immigrant group in Canada. Second, the Hispanic population in Canada is marked by an enormous diversity. Unlike the USA, where a large majority is of Mexican origin and some groups dominate specific geographical areas, in Canada Hispanics encompass most of the Latin American nationalities, with no clear dominant group (this diversification is also beginning to change the landscape of US Latino identity, Aparicio 1993). Third, Hispanics in Canada are noticeable as a group in large Canadian cities, but constitute a relatively small immigrant group among many others (Veronis 2007, p. 460). In the USA, on the other hand, Hispanics are by far the largest immigrant population in most locations.

All these circumstances conspire to create a sense of what has been termed an "orphan community" (Veronis 2007, p. 455), with a diminished sense of integration in Canadian society and limited cohesion as a group. Veronis employs the notion of "imaginary space" (related to imaginary community) to analyze the attempts by members of the Toronto Hispanic community to demarcate an area as a specific Latin American neighborhood, an act that would give visibility and body to the community and bring its status to par with other immigrant groups, which possess such spaces (Chinatown, Corso Italia, Portugal Village, etc.). The very diversity of the community, divided by country of origin, has been an obstacle to achieve this aim. Varonis notes that notions of hybridity and fluid identities, although celebrated in academic writing inflected by poststructuralist ideas, can be problematic for immigrant collectives, since they make it difficult to articulate a common voice and to exercise political action (p. 458). In this case, the construction of imaginary geographies, such as a *barrio latino* or a *casa de cultura*, would constitute a case of strategic essentialism in which the marginalized group employs the perceptions of the hegemonic society to reify their identity and present themselves as a group who must be paid attention to. Part of this strategic essentialism would indeed be the fostering of pan-Hispanic commonalities based on an essentializing label recognized by the state, while at the same time maintaining internal diversity (p. 461). It must be noted that since the publication of this article (2007), no Hispanic neighborhood has emerged in Toronto, but the efforts to foster an "imaginary geography" of pan-Hispanic identity have continued with events such as the annual Salsa on St. Clair festival, now in its 12th edition, which bills itself as a celebration of Latin culture. In the case of Canadian SHL students, the adoption of a Latino/Hispanic identity (while at the same time not losing other specific identities, based on country

or region of origin, race, etc.) might similarly prove fruitful, as a way to position themselves in recognizable ways in front of Canadian society: a vital part of the multicultural tapestry that is celebrated (at least, in theory) in the ideology of the country. Yet another benefit for Canadian SHL students would be enlarging of the community in which they can practice their language skills while at the same time maintaining a sense of identity, since the lack of a visible, vibrant local community has been seen as contributing to language attrition for Hispanic immigrants in Canada (Duff 2008, p. 81).

Indeed, a key difference with the USA is the adoption in Canada of multiculturalism as official policy in the 1970s. In spite of its flaws (a certain stereotyped essencialization of the Other, or a tendency for superficial approaches of the "foods and festivals" type), the policy and stance of multiculturalism allows immigrant groups to position themselves as key elements in Canadian diversity and gives them grounds from which to advance their struggles for belonging (Veronis 2007, p. 463). In the USA, while overt racism against Hispanics has greatly abated, discriminatory attitudes toward the language have continued in less direct ways, such as the "English-only" movement and the curtailment of bilingual education programs (Beaudrie et al. 2009, p. 158). Indeed, in the post 9/11 context, language may have increased its status as a symbol of allegiance to the country and to a monolithic American identity (Hornberger and Wang 2008, p. 22). On the other hand, the pluralistic Canadian approach is often contrasted to the US model of covertly enforced assimilation described in the "melting pot" metaphor (Duff 2008, p. 72). One of the identity spaces opened by Canadian multiculturalism is the additional view of the heritage language not as a holdover from the past, but as an element in a multilingual and cosmopolitan self in which individuals position themselves as embodiments of that new multicultural Canadian identity. These are the conclusions of a study on the language ideology and preservation practices of three Hispanic families in Vancouver (Guardado 2010). Of special interest in this research is the notion of "third culture kids," which claims that individuals growing up in two or more cultural groups develop an identity which is not just a mixture of them, but a composite greater than the sum of its parts. The Hispanic/Latino label might provide one of the elements for building a complex, hybrid identity in which different aspects are additive and enriching instead of having to erase one of them for the purpose of assimilation. Thus, young SHL learners in Canada might mobilize their identity as a multi-faceted combination of various transnational communities based on pan-Hispanic identity, country of origin, and race (one of the parents in the study is a Guatemalan Maya) as well as present the combination of those communities as a multilingual, cosmopolitan subject that in its diversity fits the ideals of Canadian multiculturalism. In this sense, SHL would not be just a function of preserving links to the past but to bridge a gap between the local/individual and the global perspective, a function for which a transnational pan-Hispanic identity is very well suited. A caveat of this study is that all the families were educated, middle-class professionals; there is a entrenched tendency to consider multilingualism enriching and positive for higher-class individuals, but detrimental and a deficiency for underprivileged immigrant learners who need to integrate in the national fabric (Pavlenko 2006,

pp. 182–183; Ortega 1999, pp. 246, 248, 256; Lo Bianco 2008, p. 54). This perception of second language study as an elite endeavor might pose problems for the general applicability of the conclusions.

SHL Textbooks and Latino Identity

More often than not, the key structuring element in an SHL course will be the textbook. In order to examine how different approaches to identity are embodied in a course, this section will focus on textbooks as carriers of this type of language ideology. From a Canadian perspective, this attempt is problematic, since the market is dominated by US-based publishers who create books with the demographic of the US Hispanic population in mind. What one must consider is how those US points of view can be adapted to the Canadian context or which aspects of the textbook must be discarded in instruction in favor of other materials. In order to consider this, a summary of the study of SHL textbooks carried out by Leeman and Martinez (2007) from a US perspective will be offered, followed by an analysis of the presence of Hispanic identity discourses in *La lengua que heredamos* (Marqués 2011), a textbook that has been in use for a number of years in a SHL course at the University of Toronto.

Leeman and Martinez (2007) divide the field of SHL in two historical sections, before and after 1990. Earlier textbooks, in keeping with the relationship of the field to civil rights, empowerment, and social justice movements, emphasize identity and relationships to the community, which is often focused on specific groups (e.g., New York Puerto Ricans, Southwest Chicanos, etc.). There is a focus on community membership and elevation of local knowledge as valuable. However, this narrower focus does not exclude links with pan-Hispanic identities, present in expressions of ownership and inheritance in the titles and prefaces of the books. This approach does not forestall a certain limiting perspective of the emphasis on community knowledge: in the interest of identity-building, Spanish is relegated to a local and domestic atmosphere and appears to be erased from the public sphere (p. 49).

The trends toward globalization and commodification of education, together with a growing hostility in the USA toward minority rights movements and affirmative action, affected the point of view of later SHL texts, which start to construct cultural and linguistic diversity not as a mark of identity and empowerment but as an economically advantageous resource, especially relevant in view of the growing purchasing power of US Hispanics, as well as trade between the USA and Latin America. More recent textbooks emphasize Spanish not as grounded in the local community but as valuable world language. The target audience also reflects the growing diversity of the US Hispanic population, with pan-Latino identity overshadowing more specific subgroups. In presenting Spanish as a marketable resource, these textbooks present a neutral, generally understandable Spanish that conforms more to the monolingual norms of the main Spanish-speaking countries (i.e., the locus of authority is outside the USA), devaluing the practices of the local community and the Spanish dialect spoken by the learner's family, perhaps considered

inadequate because of class prejudices (Train 2007; Valdes 1998; Villa 2002), or some students' hybrid, creolized versions of the language, perceived as deficient (Carreira 2000; del Valle 2006; Leeman and Martínez 2007). In summary, by presenting Spanish as a commodity, these textbooks move away from notions of ownership and local communities toward an idealized standard that is meant to represent the commercially useful variety of the language. While this type of discourse favors notions of pan-Hispanism (this homogenizing view is after all the perspective of corporations that want to trade with Spanish speakers), it may contribute to a perception of foreignness of the language for some of the learners, since the value of the language is predicated on its economic potential rather than the learner's heritage, while at the same time it may cause a sort of alienation, since the underprivileged version of Spanish language which many students may be more familiar with and which indeed may form the core of their affective relationship with the language is erased or implicitly presented as inferior (Train 2007, p. 224). A positive development may be the clear movement of Spanish to the public sphere.

Originally published in 1986, and now in its 7th edition, *La lengua que heredamos: Curso de español para bilingües* (LLQH) might be seen as a bridge between those two periods. The title makes reference to the inheritance notions of earlier textbooks, but the subtitle avoids specific subgroup identity and addresses itself generally to "bilinguals." The preface continues in this vein, claiming to be designed for "students of Hispanic background" who "want to improve their formal knowledge of the language" (Marqués 2011, p. v). While there are no specific references to Spanish as a commodity, the text moves away from identity-based claims of relevance and focuses instead on the most formal registers (especially in writing) of an imagined pan-Hispanic variety of the language. In spite of this, the preface claims that the book "does not dismiss nonstandard varieties as useless and undesirable," but one is hard-pressed to find examples. The teaching approach prioritizes the development of discrete skills, specially on reading, writing, and vocabulary. Indeed, identity does not appear in the preface until the second page, in a section dealing with the included reading materials, which are the main (only?) source to "introduce them to the rich variety of the Hispanic world and to stir pride in their heritage" (p. vi). Several items are noteworthy in this statement: the perspective of identity is clearly that of pan-Hispanism rather than specific US Latinos; identity is seen as secondary (it's only dealt with via the readings, and only indirectly; these readings are only presented as an introduction to the issue, which the book does not treat directly otherwise); the third person plural offers a distancing effect, the preface is enunciated for the instructor rather than the students, and this instructor is considered to be separate from the students and their identity-making processes.

The emphasis on formal language and the scant presentation of cultural and identity-related materials were not lost on the University of Arizona students who used this textbook in an intermediate writing course and dismissed it generally as "just a grammar book" (Beaudrie et al. 2009, p. 170). The book devotes a chapter to each Spanish-speaking country, but the theme is limited to some readings that deal with cultural, economic, geographical, or historical facts about the country, sometimes containing brief literary excerpts. It is notable that the third chapter (after a

preliminary one and one devoted to Hispanic groups in the USA) focuses on Spain, which would therefore be considered part of that global Hispanic identity. The reading fragment is an extract from *Don Quixote*, which may in itself signal the attitude toward Spain in the place of a global Hispanic identity: its main value is bringing the prestige of a classic literary text in the Western Canon, but it does not seem to be considered an active partner in contemporary exchanges. This contribution could also help combat notions of inadequacy toward Spanish, seen as a low-prestige language by part of the US population. A similar value could be attributed to the introductory reading on the history of the language, which emphasizes its roots in Latin and the presence of the Roman Empire in Spain.

The general pan-Hispanic attitude of the text is also present in the chapter on Hispanic groups in the USA. A list of US-based Hispanic celebrities categorizes them by country of origin, even if they were born in the USA, signaling that the national origins are the ultimate criterion of identity and implicitly dismissing the notion of US Latino identity as a distinct reality from those other markers based on a monocultural nation-state. Interestingly, Spaniards living in the USA are present in the list, placing them in the same position as US-born Hispanics. The reading in this chapter reiterates these notions by presenting the US Hispanic population as a series of discrete groups with no attempt at establishing a common identity and with no reference to earlier historical conditions that established this presence. The only common element one can discern in the presentation is a discourse presenting these immigrants as hardworking and tenacious; indeed the only sentence in which Hispanics are represented as a unity claims that "the Hispanic population keeps growing, working hard and striving to prove that most of them come to this country to work, to progress through their effort, and to achieve a better future for their children" ("la población hispana sigue creciendo laboriosa y empeñada en probar que la mayoría viene a este país a trabajar, a crear con el fruto de su esfuerzo y a obtener una mejor vida para sus hijos" LLQH, p. 23, my translation). In this case, a global Hispanic identity is seen as the result of discrimination and stereotyping by the majority population of the country, and the manifestation of that identity is an attempt to prove those stereotypes false while at the same time adhering to a narrative of struggle and perseverance in line with idealized discourses of US identity (the "American dream," the pioneer spirit, the individual pursuit of prosperity and happiness, etc.). This mode of identity formation is in consonance with Linda Alcoff's contention of Latino identity being born of the neocolonial confrontation with the hegemonic power of the USA, but is resolved in an attempt of integration instead of a political response.

As was mentioned, LLQH falls somewhere in between the early wave of SHL textbooks (focused on identity raising and civil rights) and the later one (with a commodification of the language and labor market principles at its core). The same reading on Hispanic groups that was just mentioned adds a reference to the growing numbers of Hispanic-led companies and business leaders, including the subject of another reading in the chapter, Mexican-American entrepreneur woman Linda Alvarado (LLQH, pp. 26–28). While reiterating tropes of an "American dream" story by means of effort and perseverance, these stories of business leaders bridge

the gap between identity politics and language commodification by showing the economic success that is open to Hispanics. Indeed, she is described as a source of pride and an example to be followed by the Hispanic community (p. 28). A similar case is the reading in the chapter on Mexico, which features businessman Carlos Slim, ranked at that time as the richest man in the world (pp. 72–75). The focus on a Mexican corporate magnate is probably meant as an antidote to general stereotypes in the USA that associate Mexicans with low-skilled, poorly educated workers and illegal immigrants. The text again stresses his work ethic, business acumen, as well as moral and family values (in line with ideals of US identity) but only glosses over his Lebanese roots, a fact which could be an interesting reminder of the diversity of the Hispanic community, even in the countries of origin.

In sum, LLQH is mainly concerned with promoting the command of a formal variety of Spanish, useful in business, academic, and media contexts, but quite distant from the communities of speakers it is aimed at. This linguistic target is based on an idealized monolingual norm which fails to address other forms of expression by heritage speakers. Identity is presented in very limited ways, always as a secondary concern, and often in a contradictory way: the existence of a US Hispanic identity (the preferred term here, perhaps because it has less of a political connotation than Latino) is acknowledged only indirectly and mainly in respect of the interpellation of US culture and society (especially based on disparaging stereotypes). Principally, Hispanic identity is shown as residing in the country of genealogical origin and appearing as a discrete set of groups with little in common beyond the language.

Conclusion: SHL Identity from a Canadian Perspective

The approaches and textbooks that dominate SHL are (understandably) dominated by a US perspective, but in spite of the transnational nature of the Hispanic/Latino community, the same approaches may not be optimal in the case of Canadian SHL. As Veronis (2007) shows, a strategic adherence to the discourse of pan-ethnic Hispanic/Latino identity may be very useful in the space of Canadian multiculturalism, since the discrete national groups that conform it lack visibility and would be too small to exercise political influence. This might be true even in the case of the USA, with much larger and more developed communities (Carreira 2000, p. 424), but it is fundamental in the more diluted Canadian context. Several principles generally attached to Hispanic identity might provide a higher measure of investment for Canadian SHL students, with language itself being a key element of that strategic essentialism (Blackledge et al. 2008). The notion of "Latino" being born in a social and political confrontation with the US hegemonic power and the prejudices of its society might have a certain purchase, given that a good number of Spanish-speaking immigrants moved to Canada as a result of the dictatorial regimes of the 1970s in the Southern Cone and the civil wars of the 1980s in Central America,

events which happened with the complicity or even direct support of the USA (Veronis 2007, p. 460). However, Latino Canadians lack the experience of living in the very country that created the conditions of their displacement, as well as the deep historical roots of some of the US populations, which in some cases have endured this internal colonialism since the nineteenth century, so this form of identity formation will be more limited than the more common political grievances of US Latinos.

The bulk of Hispanic immigrants arrived after multiculturalism became an official policy and a commonly recognized stance in Canada. This social context is very different from the USA, in which integration into the established values of society is more stressed and mistrust toward recent arrivals is much higher. As a result, approaches to pan-Hispanic identity which promote US-centric notions of success (the "American dream" stories in LLQH) will be far less relevant for Canadian SHL students. On the other hand, incorporating Hispanic identity into the ideal of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism should be much more fruitful, as seen in the practices of the families studied by Guardado (2010). Indeed, the hybrid nature and wide diversity of Hispanic identity, as embodied in the notion of *mestizaje* (Tammelleo 2011, p. 537) should be able to provide a good set of opportunities for each individual student to articulate their own form of belonging in various interrelated areas of identity (pan-ethnic Hispanic/Latino, community of origin, race, Canadianness, second-generation immigrant, etc.). The very flexibility of this imagined community makes it a prime candidate for investment by the learner, who must be conceived "as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton 2013, p. 50). As Norton claims, speakers are constantly reorganizing their sense of identity and their relationship to the social world in their process of language learning. Hispanic identity, and its interface with Canadian ideals of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, offers a rich set of opportunities and multiple possibilities for SHL learners to articulate a personal and individual sense of identity that includes elements of their heritage, the host culture, and their own unique situation, in a way that, as the "third culture kids" described by Guardado (2010, p. 332), becomes more than a sum of its parts.

The goals of HL teaching are several, and learners themselves are also in different positions: the category can be applied to newly arrived immigrants of different ages, as well as to second- and third-generation students with widely varying levels of proficiency in the language, even before taking individual interests into account. Guadalupe Valdés has identified four main goals that can be applied generally: "the acquisition of a standard dialect, the expansion of bilingual range, the transfer of reading and writing abilities across languages, and the maintenance of immigrant language" (Valdés 1995, p. 308). Another goal should be added: valuing the student's own varieties of the language, which almost never coincide with the prestige dialect often viewed as the ultimate learning goal, so that local and family identities can also be strengthened, thus promoting intergenerational solidarity and language transmission, as well as a critical analysis of the relationship of linguistic

and social hierarchies (Leeman 2005; Train 2007; Villa 2002). A critical engagement with pan-Hispanic identity should be useful in promoting some of these goals. The variety and multiplicity of Latino identity, especially in terms of linguistic variation, can come a long way in promoting both pride and interest in each learner's own linguistic heritage, as well as awareness and knowledge of the categories of dialect, sociolect, and register, which in turn will be useful when helping students acquire usage of the standard variety while becoming aware of the importance of context when choosing a specific register; issues of power and hierarchy will be represented in the linguistic choices and their consequences, which can open a fruitful critical reflection. G. A. Martínez (2003) presents a case for the use of critical dialect awareness in the HL classroom, as well as suggestions of specific activities for that purpose.

Throughout this paper, the usefulness of pan-Hispanic identity has been presented as a tool to increase the investment of SHL students, but always with the caveat that this usage must be critical. In order to sidestep the danger of a monolithic identity being imposed on students (which would certainly be detrimental for their personal investment), as well as a superficial approach to this complex, continuously evolving construct, its presence in the classroom must be undertaken precisely by examining its own central contradictions and the heterogeneity at its core (Duff 2008, p. 87). Latino identity, like all other types of imagined community, is an artificial construct, but such artificiality can become a force for individual agency and personal identity-building. A productive way to do it would be to present it to SHL learners in the context of the ideology of *mestizaje,* from which they themselves can take elements and adapt them to their own personal circumstances, as well as add to it in its continuous process of construction. An engagement with pan-Hispanism which emphasizes its historical qualities of miscegenation and hybridity would also allow SHL students to sidestep demands of binary identification with either the dominant or the heritage culture, allowing for individual combinations and fluid changes depending on time and social context (Hornberger and Wang 2008, pp. 13, 18), and reflect the actual multiplicity of practices and complex networks in which these speakers engage (del Valle 2006, p. 28). This perspective should go hand in hand with a consideration of the validity of different varieties of the language, including the student's own, which have their basis on the pluricentric nature of Spanish linguistic norms (Garrido 2010). Such an approach might increase investment in the language and thus alleviate the linguistic attrition often present in heritage language children and adolescents (Duff and Duanduan 2014, p. 46). As Aparicio (1993, p. 192) suggests, the very concept of Hispanic identity can be the goal of the class (consciousness-raising) and the method of inquiry that is used to reach that goal. The very ideas of "language" as well as "heritage" are social constructs (Blackledge et al. 2008), and they often present significant conflicts and contradictions, but that does not diminish their usefulness in the key process of identity formation by the language student, especially when they are presented as tools for the learner to resist reification into other-imposed categories (Norton 2013, p. 22).

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Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine from a historical and comparative perspective issues of identity, language, and language policy in the Diaspora. The Greek communities, in regard to selected countries and over time, until the 1950s, and in part until the beginning of the twentieth century, are taken as an example.

The first section of this paper "Diaspora, Language, Identity" following conceptual clarifications, introduces the reader to the Greek Diaspora, so that the analyses that follow can be comprehensible. The first section also attempts to provide answers to the following fundamental questions: *(a) Can the Diaspora exist without a Reference Center?* and *(b) Can identity exist without language?*

The second section "Language and Language Policies" examines ways in which to best *address languages of origin* (languages of ethnic groups) from the dominant group. For this reason, the section is divided into three subsections each of which provides a different way to address languages of origin that include: *language as an "obstacle" language as a "difference"* and finally, *language as a "resource".*

The third section "Language as Self-Value and Socialization Factor" approaches the subject from a pedagogical perspective, discussing the *socialization role* of the ethnic language. The paper recapitulates with an overall discussion and some conclusions.

The analyses are principally driven at a *macro level* (comparisons between language policies of countries) and attempt to provide a theoretical perspective and interpret empirical data.

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The *mid-level* analyses aim is to approach the issue from the perspective of ethnic communities, whereas the *individual level* analyses concern the *socialization role* of the language of origin.

Contents

Introduction

The analyses below are based on the experience and empirical research knowledge acquired by the author, following a 40-year engagement with the Greek language education in the Diaspora.

Specifically, the investigations that took place during the time period 1997–2014 in regard of the project *Greek Education Abroad* (program *Paideia Omgenon*, www.uoc.gr/diaspora) are essentially the foundation of this paper. The aim of the project – funded by the *European Union* and the *Greek Ministry of Education* and implemented by the "Centre for Intercultural and Migration Studies" *(EDIAMME*, www.ediamme.edc.uoc.gr) – was (i) the development of materials concerning teaching Greek as both, a Second and Foreign Language in the Diaspora, (ii) Teacher – training and (iii) Educational programs for students learning Greek, irrespective of their ethnic origin.

The content of this paper is drawn from various countries that differ among them, and Greek Diaspora that mainly involve the time period from 1950 until today.

Therefore, the analyses that follow are of a historical and comparative nature. The historical-comparative methodological approach is solid, as the term "Diaspora" refers to an already formed and also of a historical depth condition and not an insubstantial state of population movements (migration).

However, due to the differences among countries, but also because of the different historical development of the Greek communities in these countries, certain methodological issues arise. Hence, to avoid methodological complications, the examples of this paper are only drawn from the Greek "Migration

Diaspora" (not the historical) and in particular from countries (Australia, Canada, USA, and Germany) that can be compared, at least in terms of the Greek immigration to the previously mentioned counties, following 1950. Examples from other countries are only occasionally drawn.

On the other hand, the previously mentioned countries belong to the so-called *western capitalist, cultural example* and their immigration and education policies are, therefore, more or less affected by the movements of the Western world. Hence, a comparative approach is from this point of view, also possible.

Diaspora, Language, Identity

The Modern Greek Diaspora includes two categories of Communities. The first involves the Communities that were mainly created during the time period of the Ottoman ruling, in the areas surrounding the Ottoman Empire, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. These communities were created by Greek merchants (commercial Communities) or by Greek refugees. These communities also make up the *Historical Diaspora*, which exist to date, especially in Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan. Today remains from commercial communities exist only in Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt.

The second category (*Migration Diaspora*) involves the immigrant Communities that were created from the late nineteenth century until the 1970s, in the context of labor migration. Such flourishing communities are currently operating in many countries in all five continents. The first country in population is the USA with Australia, Germany, and Canada following. These communities, especially those in countries within the European Union, are enriched from 2010 onward with new members due to the current economic crisis in Greece, resulting in a new migration wave.

Diaspora With or Without a Center?

The relationship of each Diaspora with the Center (country of origin) is the subject of discussion among academics, in the sense that in the relative bibliography two vital stances are discussed.

According to the first, the Diaspora cannot exist without reference, possibly orientation to a notional or real Center. In contrast, the second posits that the Diaspora becomes autonomous and can exist with or without reference to a Center (Cohen 1997; Dufoix 2008; Sheffer 2003).

These two positions, at first glance, may seem opposing, but in fact they are not. That is because the Diaspora can be autonomous and nondependent to the Center in certain aspects (e.g., economic, political) while interconnected, and possibly dependent, in terms of other aspects (e.g., social, cultural, religious).The Greek language education in the Diaspora, for example, heavily depends on the Greek State for the development, production, and distribution of educational material. The relationship between members

of the Diaspora and their place of origin can only be emotional or symbolic. However, the emotional relationship can last in time, as it does not require a rational basis.

On a theoretical perspective, the fundamental assumption of this paper is that a connection between the Diaspora and the Center exists, that is, to the least an *emotional-symbolic* one. Because if there is no relationship whatsoever, then the historical memory is either completely lost or it has collapsed to the point it no longer plays any role in the socialization and identity building process of new generations. Therefore, there is no point in discussing the Diaspora, ethnic identity or even linguistic heritage.

Within this rationality, *by the term Diaspora we mean the geographical distribution of ethnic groups that are disconnected, but not alienated, from their reference group, or their ethnic stem, that live as ethnic groups within a culturally different society, and are driven between two reference groups and two cultural systems. Therefore, their identities are formed under particular conditions.*

From an empirical perspective, the relevant historical and sociological studies show that the Greek Diaspora in its historical path, always referred to a Center (Damanakis et al. 2004; Chasiotis 1993).

Identity With or Without a Language?

In terms of the construction of identity, research shows that the structuring of ethnocultural identity (Greekness) as well as the contents that the subjects apply to their identity varies (Damanakis 2007). That is, there are many manifestations of ethnocultural identity in the Diaspora. According to one manifestation, ethnic identity is possible without the language. At least, this is what is supported by youth from Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, and Uzbekistan, but also from the USA, in the Papalexopoulou (2013 and 2015) surveys, who identified themselves as Greeks, but did not speak Greek.

This way of self-determination, and the subsequent expression of ethnicity, is understandable, because the social-cultural identity of the member of the Diaspora is something broader than mere ethnocultural identity. Besides, the subject already has a language, that of the country of residency, through which thoughts and feelings can be expressed.

The proponents of bilingualism would argue that a person who speaks two languages possesses two means of expression and thought and is therefore, richer and more broad-minded. Thus, the cultivation of both languages is beneficial, primarily for the individual itself (Baker 2001; Cummins 2001).

This pedagogical argument is confirmed by the very subjects themselves, based on relevant research. The youth from the above-mentioned countries did not equate their Greek identity with their ability to speak Greek. However, they felt that not being able to speak the Greek language was a vital obstacle that essentially, interfered in their recognition process by the "Others," and in this sense, a deficit. The youth even expressed their intention to compensate this deficit.

In other words, in the case of self-determination, the language of origin does not seem to be necessary. However, the linguistic criterion plays an important role; in regard to the way in which the Others identify an individual, especially when the Others meet this criterion themselves.

Language and Its "Adjectival Complements"

In national states, the language appears usually in the singular because the national ideology dictates, "one country, one nation, one language". In opposition, in modern multicultural societies, the language appears in the plural and with many "adjectival complements." For example, in German and in English one would reply the following illustrative terms concerning the languages of moving populations (immigrants, refugees, relocating compatriots, etc.).

Deutsch:Gastarbeitersprachen,Migrantensprachen,Ausländersprachen,   Muttersprachen, Heimsprachen,Herkunftssprachen,Übersiedlersprachen, Flüchtlingssprachen.

English: Migrant languages, Foreign languages, Ethnic languages, Community languages, Languages of origin, Languages other than English, Trade languages, Heritage languages, International languages.

In reference to the above terms, that usually derive from administration and politics, the standpoint of scientists should be added that involve, first language, second language, foreign language, with which terms this paper does not deal with.

Each of the above administrative-political terms refers to different situations and to different systems of government for immigrants and their languages. The terms used in Germany, mainly in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s – *Gastarbeitersprachen, Migrantensprachen, Ausländersprachen* – fundamentally made reference to the working and social status of immigrants, under certain conditions that the country of residence has set. Specifically, this was the case for the visiting workers (*Gastarbeiter*), who would at some point return to their country of origin. In addition, the idea of repatriation was cultivated by Germans, under the so-called *"policy of interchanging" (Rotationspolitik)*, that is, the replacement of old with new workforce (generally every five years).

In opposition, the term *Übersiedlersprachen* refers to languages (Russian-German) of ethnic German populations, who moved from the former Soviet Union to Germany, and immediately became citizens and enjoyed the privileges of German citizenship. A similar phenomenon is observed around the same time period (1980s 1990s) in Greece and Israel, in regard to repatriates from the former Soviet Union (see Otto Beneke Stiftung 1999).

During the 1960s and 1970s, the educational and legal status of migrant languages is consistent with one another and directly connected to the possibility of the individual's planning to repatriate. Even the teaching of the "mother tongue" (*Muttersprache*) is associated with the return of individuals and legitimized and

not only in Germany, but in other European countries of the former EEC (European Economic Community) as well.

For example, the "Council Directive of 25 July 1977 on the education of the children of migrant workers" offered provision for teaching the *mother tongue* and culture of origin to children of immigrants, "with a view principally to facilitating their possible reintegration into the member State of origin".

Under this line of thought, during the 1970s and 1980s, the Greek Communities in Germany demanded the creation of Greek Schools or Greek classes from the German authorities with repatriation as a main argument. It was a silly political argument, because by reversing it, it could be argued that children that didn't repatriate would not need to be taught their family language.

The transition from the political arguments to the educational – that is, the teaching of language for the sake of a child's development – and the use of neutral terms such as *Herkunftssprache* (language of origin) took time and never led to the consolidation of teaching the languages of children with an immigrant background. In fact, today (2016) former immigrants and their languages come in second place, because the principal problem of Germany and the European Union in general is now the refugee issue.

Similar developments are found in other countries, such as Australia and Canada. In the frame of the "white Australian policy," languages different from English, *Migrant languages, Foreign languages, Ethnic languages*, are oppressed and in some cases forbidden. The above terms directly refer to the status of immigrants and were replaced in the mid-1970s with the term "community languages" that according to Cline (1991, 3) referred to all the languages spoken within the broader Australian community, but were *other than English.* However, because the term *community languages* refers to immigrant communities, governmental and political texts of the time, typically used the unbiased term "Languages other than English" *(LOTE)*, so as to avoid any misunderstandings.

The transition from the terms *foreign languages, ethnic languages* to the terms *community languages* and *Languages other than English*, essentially marks the transition from the *White Australian policy*, to a *multicultural policy* where ethnic languages ensure a status within the Australian education system. This policy favored the Greek language and it included it in the nine "*key languages*" that were taught in public education and were available to any student.

In the 1990s, but particularly in the new century, the Australian Governments shifted their interest in the direction of Asian economies and the direct connection of languages with trade and the economy. That is, the focus of attention, in regard to language policies, shifted from Community languages or *Languages other than English* to commercially important languages (*trade languages*).

However, *trade languages* did not include the Greek language, and hence well-organized Australian Greek communities fought a great political battle to include their language in the new (national) *Australian Curriculum* (ACARA 2011). Nonetheless, the state of the Greek language in Australia continues to be precarious, even though it is spoken by some hundred thousand individuals.

A similar progress was observed in Canada in the mid-1990s. Cummins (Cummins 2014a, b) and Aravositas (2016) highlight that the transition from the Heritage Languages program to the International Languages program basically took place mainly for political reasons and intended to achieve two goals. On the one hand, "The term was changed to 'International Language' by the Ontario provincial government, reflecting misgivings amongst ethnocultural communities that the notion of 'heritage' entailed connotations of learning about past traditions rather than acquiring language skills that have significance for the overall educational and personal development of children.". On the other hand, "The term 'international languages' was intended to communicate that, in an era of globalization, these languages were highly relevant to business and cultural exchanges and had economic as well as 'heritage' value" (Cummins 2014b, 2).

The above discussion leads to the following conclusions. To begin with, the adjectival complements of languages of ethnic groups ascend from the dominant group. Ethnic groups have no reason to give their language an adjectival complement. That is, especially given the fact that the language of origin, that children are taught in various forms of educational settings (within or outside mainstream education of the country of residence) is the one spoken and written in the country of origin and not some "hybrid" language.

The process of conveying adjectival complements to immigrant languages is a form of addressing *linguistic diversity* and is the reason it comes from outside. Furthermore, diversity does not come from the subject itself, because it cannot define itself as something other than itself. The classification as diverse is attributed to the subject from the Other. That is, it is a result of the way the Other determines the subject. Of course, the subject itself can in turn consider the Other as diverse as well. In this sense, diversity stems for the subject itself. Next to self-determination, the way Others determine the subject is important to the subject itself, because (i) it is part of its interaction with the Other and (ii) it assists the subject to become conscious of itself and build its identity.

The relevant attributed adjectival complements, more or less, indicate the status of ethnic languages and refer to the language policies of the dominant group. The same language policies vary from time period to time period and from country to country, making the comparison between them difficult, but not impossible.

Language and Language Policies

The focus of discussion in this chapter concerns the following question: *How do host countries deal with immigrant languages and languages of ethnic groups in general?*

Basically, this is the reason the discussion initially refers to the language policies of host countries and secondarily to those of ethnic *collective bodies* and makes a short reference to the policies of countries of origin.

What's more, it should be emphasized that the *collective bodies* (organized communities, church, parents' associations, cultural associations, etc.) of each ethnic group only represent part of their potential members. Individuals or families who may be aware of their origin, but have chosen complete detachment from the collective activities of their own ethnic group, are not embodied in collective bodies and consequently in this paper.

Additionally, concerning languages of *ethnic groups* the term *language of origin* is used hereinafter. Following the same line of thought, the terms *heritage languages* and *ethnic languages* are used.

The three subsections that follow refer to three ways of addressing or in other words dealing with *linguistic diversity* and *diversity* in general, in societies of the so-called Western world. Furthermore, so as to better grasp or comprehend, this *typology* is summed up in Table 1.

The three section typology of Table 1 is based on the assumption that each respective educational policy comes to serve specific socioeconomic and political needs and, therefore, corresponds to the broader concept and requirements of each time period. The sequence of time periods and educational policies is not necessarily linear, particularly the second and third time periods overlap. However, each time period is characterized by a prevailing trend.

Language as "Obstacle"

Dealing with the language of origin as an "obstacle/barrier" is typically associated with an assimilative logic, according to which the relevant language of origin can act as a barrier both on a collective and individual manner. Specifically, in terms of a collective manner, this means that multilingualism (*as linguistic diversity*) interferes or even threatens the linguistic homogeneity (*linguistic identity*) of the host society.

In terms of an individual manner, this means the language of origin is not "functional" in the new sociocultural environment, and thus in combination with the non-possession of the host language it can impede the rapid and successful integration of the individual into the new educational and social environment.

The approach of the *language of origin as obstacle/barrier* dominated until the 1970s and could be summarized as follows: (i) non-possession of the *host language* is an obstacle to the subjects' rapid and successful integration in the host country's system; (ii) insistence on the cultivation and preservation of the *language of origin* also can inhibit the rapid and successful integration in the host country. Hence, the belief of the time period under discussion was basically to discard the *language of origin* and focus on the *host language*.

In general, the cultural capital of individuals with an immigrant background is treated as "non-functional," and therefore, as "deficient" *(Deficit hypothesis)*. Students of an immigrant background compared with "locals" primarily portray language deficits, the elimination of which is attempted through transitional-compensatory educational measures. These measures aim at the rapid integration of students in "regular classes" and occur in all countries with various names such as:

Table 1 Typology of addressing language diversity

Theoretical approach	Identity	Language	Language policy
Language as "obstacle" "Deficit hypothesis" *The era of homogeneity*	The identity of the Other as a divergence that threatens homogeneity	The language of the ethno linguistic Other is not only viewed as foreign, but also as an obstacle to his/her integration into mainstream education	Assimilative –monolingual policy in order to acquire linguistic homogeneity and national homogeneity in general. Transitional compensatory measures
Language as difference "Difference hypothesis" or "Hypothesis of cultural enrichment" *The era of pluralism*	The identity of the Others as diversity that can be simply tolerated or accepted. The Other as both a threat and challenge / opportunity Cultures of Others as enrichment elements of the host society or simply as elements that are tolerated and can exist in parallel	The language of the Other as one of the many languages of society that can be spoken and cultivated in separate forms of education or mainstream education. Language enrichment of mainstream education	Multilingual, multicultural/ intercultural education. Strong and weak models of bilingual education. Pedagogy of Multiplicity
Language as resource/ capital "Resource hypothesis" *The era of globalism and individualization*	The identity of the Other as cultural capital that can be exploited economically The right of the individual to difference and differentiation and the subsequent individual risk	The language of the Other as a reserve for the host society, and as an inherited capital for himself. Ethnic languages as commercial value and financial asset of the Country of residence, but also as utilizable capital for the ethnolinguistic Others themselves	Pluralistic education in society of multiple options and risks. Cultural enrichment, and hierarchy and promotion of languages, depending on their commercial value (trade languages)

Vorbereitungsklassen in Germany, *full/part-time language classes*, *reception classes* in England, *Classes d 'initiation, Cours de rattrapage integre* in France, and *internationale schakelklas* in Holland (Boos-Nünning et al. 1983, 120,167,234). Under this line of thought, the use of the language of origin also has a transitory nature and serves integration.

Essentially, the educational policy that obeys to the logic of the *Deficit hypothesis* is characterized by a double transitivity. On the one hand, *transitional compensatory measures*, until the child masters the host language to such an extent that it can be integrated into "regular classes." And on the other, the transitional use of the *language of origin*, until the child can join "regular classes."

The transitional compensatory measures are not necessarily negative. On the contrary, the first phase of children's integration process in the host country's education system is deemed necessary, which is the reason they exist to date. However, complications arise when they are put in the service of assimilation and monolingualism and contribute to the reproduction of what Gogolin (2008) calls "monolingual habitus" of the school.

Despite the differences between countries, addressing the cultural issues of ethnic groups as deficient and their languages as possible obstacles in their process of integration into the host society and the resulting consequences for educational policies they appear in all the above cited countries – usually at different time periods and of course with another name.

In the United States the *"melting pot policy"* is adhered to until the mid-1960s (Civil Right Act 1964, Elementary and Secondary Education Act 1965, Bilingual Education Act 1968). Australia followed the "*white Australia policy*" until the mid-1970s, so during the Whitlam government it was replaced by the "*Multicultural Education Policy*" (Racial Discrimination Act 1975, Clyne 1991, 12ff and 213ff). In Canada, until the 1970s, the educational policy for migrant children was in essence, assimilative. Canada has two official languages, and after 1950 the demographic composition of its population radically changed, that is, in 1971 when the "multiculturalism policy" was introduced (Library of Parliament 2013).

In the Federal Republic of Germany during the 1960s and 1970s, the doctrine *Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland* (Germany is not a host country) dominated and the logic of the "double strategy" that basically supported both assimilative and separate educational models. The teaching of the "mother tongue" – as it was then called – was optional, and supported only in five of the then total eleven federal provinces (Damanakis 1983).

The reaction of organized Greek communities to the educational policies of these countries included two aspects. On the one hand, it involved the acceptance of assimilative policies (mainly in areas outside urban centers with a limited number of individuals of Greek origin). On the other hand, it involved the establishment and operation of "Greek Day Schools." All in all, the most common form of Greek language education, that is, afternoon *Greek Language Courses* (Afternoon Schools).

In the United States (Chicago), the "Greek Community School Socrates" was already established in 1908, which was renamed in 1917 to *"Greek-American-School Socrates"* (Spiridakis 1987, 73ff; Sellountou 2008). Today, adapted to the new conditions, it operates as a bilingual school with the name *Hellenic American Socrates Day School* (www.hellenicamericanacademy.org).

In Canada (Montreal), the Greek *Plato School* was founded in 1909 and the *Socrates* school in 1925. In 1931 they were merged with the name "Anglo-Greek-School Socrates." It continued its operation this way until 1972, when it became a trilingual school (with French as the predominant language) and was renamed "École Pimaire Socrates" (Constantinides 2001; Georgiou 2008).

In Australia, afternoon Greek Language Courses operated until 1970 while in Melbourne, in 1972, the first Day School "St. John's Greek Orthodox College" was established (Tamis 2005, 137).

In Germany, in the 1960s, purely *Greek Schools* in Bavaria were established as well as in the state of North Rhine Westphalia, in the 1980s. In addition, *Greek Language Courses* were in operation since the mid-1960s in all German provinces (Damanakis 2003).

The purpose of both, the *Day Schools* and the *Afternoon Schools*, was to continue the teaching and cultivation of the Greek language and culture to future generations.

Language as Difference

In the USA, in the mid-1960s, in Canada and Australia in the1970s, a shift from the *deficit hypothesis* and assimilative educational policies takes place to that of the *hypothesis of difference* and multiple policies.

In Europe, the debate on the necessity of political change began a decade later with more initiative taken on behalf of scientists rather than politicians. It was directly connected to the discussion of "human rights" and the broader social demand for "equality of opportunity" and encouraged through the funding of pilot training programs by the Commission of EEC. In Germany, as milestone for the new discussion can be viewed the Book of Boos-Nünning, Hohmann, Reich, Wittek: *Aufnahmeunterricht, Muttersprachunterricht, Interkultureller Uterricht* (Boos-Nünning et al. 1983) that resulted from the comparative evaluation of four pilot programs of the Commission in four European countries (Belgium, Netherlands, France, and United Kingdom) and in which next to "host education" (*Aufnahmeunterricht*) and "teaching of the mother tongue" (*Muttersprachlicher Unterricht*) "intercultural education" (*Interkultureller Unterricht*) is added, that appeals to all students. In the UK, *The Swann Report: Education for All* (1965) was released two years later.

Assimilative policies led migrant children, in many countries, to marginalization (not only European ones), and social exclusions, rather than the intended assimilation and homogenization. Hence, it was deemed necessary to abandon the *Deficit hypothesis* and to adopt a more holistic approach; one that would no longer consider the cultural capital of immigrant children as "deviant" and "deficient," but simply as "different," *Difference hypothesis*. The ethnocultural Other has the right to be different and this *difference* must be respected, recognized, and accepted by the majority. Of course, this request for the "recognition of difference" leads to numerous interpretations. This is the reason various forms of *management of difference*, and hence, various *educational policies* are discussed.

Although educational policies of countries differ, they are basically governed by a common philosophy: to shift from the *logic of homogeneity* to the *logic of multiplicity*. The spirit of multiplicity governing educational policies more that of the

USA, Canada and Australia, and less of Europe, not only provides the languages of origin space for growth but also initiates new forms of education. In the case of the Greek language for example, the following developments are observed in the countries that follow.

In the case of the USA two things took place. Bilingual schools (English-Greek) are increasing and educational material for teaching the Greek language and culture is being created for the first time, under the funding of the federal government or/and the state governments (see Damanakis 1994). However, the most important development is the creation of bilingual *Charter Schools* and the consequent inclusion of the Greek language in the American public school system and not just as a school subject but most importantly as a medium of instruction for other subjects (see for example, *Archimedean Schools*, www.archimedean.org).

In Canada, the afternoon Greek Language Courses (*afternoon schools*) significantly strengthened through programs such as, for example, *the Heritage-language-programs* in Ontario or the *Programme d'enseignement des langues d' origine* (PELO) in Quebec (Cummins 2014a). What's more, the trilingual (French-Greek-English) *Day Schools* in Montreal, particularly flourished (Constantinides 2001; Georgiou 2008).

In Australia, the *LOTE-Programs* (Language other than English) began to be implemented under the "National Policy on Languages" (Lo Bianco 1987) and provided the opportunity for ethnic languages, especially for the nine "key languages" to join public schools. At the same time, afternoon *Greek Language Courses* increased (Tamis 2001). Furthermore, a significant increase of bilingual *Day Schools* was observed. The bilingual school of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne, the "Alphington Grammar School," founded in 1989, best expresses the spirit of the Australian multicultural policy. Children from thirty different nations attend this school and central elements of its philosophy involve *cultural diversity* and the *teaching of Greek* to all students (www.alphington.vic.edu.au).

In Germany, despite the transition attempt from the *Deficit hypothesis* to the *Difference hypothesis*, or in other terms from the "Pedagogy for Foreigners" (Ausländer-pädagogik) to "Intercultural Education" (*Interkulturelle Pädagogik*), there have not been particularly important changes in educational policy and practice. The decisions of the "Conference of Ministers of Education" (*Kultusministerkonferenz, KMK*) recommendations (*Empfehlungen*) involved more need for "dialogue without prejudice," "tolerance and solidarity" rather than specific guidelines for educational policies.

However, the recommendations of May 1976 (KMK- Empfehlung, 24. Mai 1976) that were updated in 2013 introduced a pluralistic approach to issues that involve the education of migrant children. Also, the recommendation dated 25/10/996, "intercultural dimension" was introduced that basically involved all students, without exception, while in 2015 the KMK agreed with Migrant Organizations to a common paper on cultural pluralism (In reference to the KMK decisions, see: https://www.kmk.org/dokumentation-und-statistik/beschluesse-und-veroeffentlichungen/bildung-schule/allgemeine-bildung.html#c1317. Migration/Integration).

In Germany, the new forms of Greek language education that developed during the 1980s and 1990s are the purely *Greek Schools* that were funded by the Greek

state, and the bilingual "State Euro-Schools of Berlin" (Staatliche Europaschulen Berlin), funded by Berlin (http://bildungsserver.berlin-brandenburg.de/themen/internationales/europa-und-schule/europaschulen).

The acceptance of the de facto multicultural situation has led all the above cited countries, to educational pluralism, over the last three-four decades of the last century. As part of this educational pluralism and acceptance, or at least tolerance, of linguistic diversity, ethnic languages found their place in society and in education. This is a very important development that could be characterized as a *paradigm shift*.

Language as Resource (Reserve/ Capital)

The pluralism of the previous time period continues to exist in the new time period, but with newly added elements. The first one concerns the *commercial value* of ethnic languages. The second one is of general interest and relates to the *individualization* and to *risk* (Beck 1986; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1993, 1994, 2002).

According to Clyne (1991, 231), in the 1990s "the term 'business language', often synonymous with Japanese, is now often contrasted with 'community language'." However, the direct connection of ethnic languages with *trade languages* and dealing with ethnic language based on their commercial importance was highlighted in 2010 during the debate for the new *Australian Curriculum*, as already mentioned in section 1 (ACARA 2011).

In section 1 it was also noted that in Canada, the transition from the *Heritage Languages* program to the *International Languages* program aimed, among other things, to highlight the economic value of *Heritage Language* for Canadian society itself.

Also, at the robust and confrontational debate that started at the end of 2015 in Germany, due to the refugee issue, one of the strong arguments of the supporters of the so-called *Willkommenkultur*" (welcome-culture) is that Germany as an export country would benefit from the cultural/linguistic capital of refugees.

This socioeconomic approach would essentially, under other circumstances, be a repetition of the theory of the "human capital" (Schultz 1961, 1968). At his point, "intelligence reserve" (especially linguistic reserve) of ethnic groups should be exploited, for the sake of the host society. The "Resource Hypothesis" can be reflected upon two *perspectives*, that of the *dominant group* and that of *ethnic groups*.

In the first case, the language section of the language capital of the ethnic groups is regarded as an utilizable resource to benefit the host community. It should be emphasized that this capital was always a potential resource, because the mere existence of immigrant languages is a de facto capital and element of enrichment for the host society.

The new element brought forward by the *Resource hypothesis* is that, on the one hand addressing the ethnic language as a *resource*, and the other focusing on its *commercial importance* in a globalized economic environment. Addressing ethnic

languages as a *resource* indicates their integration into the socioeconomic being of the host society and theoretically their indirect protection from possible exclusions. On the other hand, however, based on the judgment of the ruling elite the *criterion of commercial value* inevitably leads to the neglect of languages that lack *commercial value*. This in practice means that under the *Hypothesis of cultural enrichment* the languages spoken by a visible ethnic group are able to integrate into mainstream education as an enriching element. In the context of the *Resource hypothesis*, the integration of noncommercial languages is very difficult or impossible – a typical example is Greek in Australia. In this sense, the *Resource hypothesis* is a step behind the *Hypothesis of cultural enrichment*, as it focuses on the economic/commercial dimension.

In contrast to the above manifestation of the *Resource hypothesis*, the second manifestation (*perspective of ethnic groups*) is related to the request for recognition and provision of opportunities to utilize *cultural capital* from the ethnic groups themselves. In other words, the ethnocultural capital in general, and in particular the language of ethnic groups, is not only approached as a *reserve* for the system, but primarily as an *inherited cultural capital*, as an *inherited language* for the same ethnic subjects (at this point the term heritage language literally matches).

The pedagogical issue that arises once again through the second manifestation of the *Resource hypothesis* essentially is a repetition or continuation of the discussion of the previous time period, concerning the establishment of sociocultural domains in the host country that would exploit and cultivate languages of origin.

Furthermore, the opposing view – i.e. the risk of the creation of "parallel societies," the compartmentalization of society and disruption of social cohesion-is once again discussed. The opposing views are gaining ground in Europe, because of the refugee issue (discussion of "parallel societies" see Heitmeyer et al. 1997).

The second and most important element of the new period involves *multiple opportunities* that are offered to the subject. The subject is obliged to choose between opportunities and is fully responsible of the *risk* of success or failure (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1993, 179 ff).

Furthermore, it is important to note that each subject is solely responsible for the way in which cultural capital is handled, and whether language of origin would be chosen in future educational paths – that is a component of ethnic identity and emotionally important – or select another language that allows access to markets. Also, the subject is the sole dependent on his/her decision. This element is discussed in more detail in the last chapter.

Language as Self-Value and Socialization Factor

The pedagogical approach to language is not included in the above discussion. That is, in the sense that ethnic languages were not interconnected and was not discussed in relation to socialization and the development of the subject. This chapter comes to fill this gap.

If we accept Taylor's (1992) position, that each culture has its own *authenticity* and based on this factor, it has the right to recognition and respect, then, we can straightforwardly conclude that every language as a product and a vehicle of culture has its own value and should be acceptable as such.

The theoretical assumption of language as self-value acquires a specific content and meaning, when its role in the individual's socialization process is considered.

The fact that the *ethnic language* is already declining in the second generation can lead – and based on experience leads – to the challenge of its socialization role. An argument of this sort is essentially based on a tacit assumption concerning the *frequency and quality of the use of the ethnic language.* Specifically, it is assumed that, an occasional/symptomatic and possibly in a mixed code form use of the ethnic language does not play any socialization role or at least does not play an important role.

Such an assumption, besides the theoretical difficulties, is contradicted by experience. Empirical surveys in the context of the project "Greek Education Abroad" showed that the ethnocultural identity (Greekness), of students of Greek origin appears in many forms and may be solely based on one "cultural" and "language minimum" with solely a symbolic character (*symbolic ethnicity*) (see Damanakis 2007, 2010 and Papalexopoulou 2013, 2015).

Indicative for the initially unrecognizable Greek cultural capital of the group of students that have a *symbolic ethnicity* and do not speak the *ethnic language* (Greek) are the following authentic phrases of primary education students:

> We went to church and <u>κοιν</u>ώνησα.

> I went to my γι<u>αγι</u>ά house.

The verb *κοινωνώ* (receive Communion) symbolizes another religious world and does not mean that the child actually took communion. It refers to other factual elements, in another church community with different religious codes, but also a different language code. On the other hand, the *γιαγιά* (grandmother) is not the Oma or the grandmother. The *γιαγιά* (grandmother) is associated with social and cultural roles that are not necessarily included in the sociocultural context of the dominants' group country of residence. This can explain the reason students of Greek origin in Russia talk about their own grandmother actually use the word *γιαγιά*, whereas when they talk about a grandmother in general they use the word *бáбушка* (Damanakis 2007, 165).

In educational practice, the following phenomenon is observed. Students of Greek descent, without knowledge of Greek, and foreigners attend the same Greek language course and are treated as a linguistically homogeneous group. In reality, however, there are differences between them, at least in regard to the way in which they perceive language. For students of Greek origin, the Greek language is the connecting component of their identity and a distinctive feature of their community, while this is not the case for foreigners.

The difference in the way in which students of Greek origin and other students perceive the Greek language is related to the different *cultural perceptions* of the two groups. This differentiation is highly significant not only for the subject itself but also for the teaching of the Greek language, as perceiving is associated with affectivity, attitudes, and generally with the subjectivity of the individual. For example, the majority of Greek students in a relevant investigation in Belgium and France replied that they felt that Greek is their "native" language and French their "foreign" language, even though they know and use French more. This fact calls for an emotional interpretation (see Damanakis 1997, 139 ff).

The *cultural* and *linguistic minimum* underlying symbolic ethnicity is generally of an emotional character and in this sense it is particularly important for the socialization of the individual and the construction of his/her identity. The ethnic language, even when it has receded and does not constitute a domestic communication code, continues to play a socialization role, as it is part of the cultural tradition of the family and the community.

Therefore, from the pedagogical point of view, it is necessary to provide opportunities so that the individual can cultivate his/her language and culture of origin to the extent that he/she desires. Ultimately, it is also a question of democracy to provide opportunities to the individual, so that it can develop and utilize all of its potential cultural capital.

Discussion, Conclusions and Perspectives

The Greek Diaspora was undertaken as an example for the discussion of issues relating to identity, language, and language policies, because this example enables a historical-comparative approach. This approach in turn can enlighten aspects that can be difficultly enlightened in a context of a cross-sectional study, that involves only one country and one ethnic group.

Through the typology of Table 1 the connection of education policies, for ethnic groups to the general immigration policy of each country, but also to the overall socio-economic, political, and cultural spirit of each era was attempted.

Addressing ethnic language, as an obstacle/barrier until the 1960s in the USA, in the 1970s in Canada and Australia, and the 1980s in Europe, is consistent with a more assimilative immigration policy that aims to maintain cultural homogeneity. The identity of the socially, economically, politically, and culturally dominant group (more precisely, the national identity) is the rule and any deviation from this regularity is considered as discrepancy and is not accepted.

The concepts that dominate in the first time period (according to Table 1) are those of *similarity*, *homogeneity*, and *identity*. The concepts of *difference* and *diversity* have not yet acquired a conceptual status. Even the progressive request of the era for "equality of opportunity" does not allow space for difference. The compensatory measures (reception classes, accelerated courses of the host language) fundamentally disregard the *difference* and aim at *integration* and *homogenization*.

Assimilative policies, in combination with the ever-growing demand of ethnic groups for recognition and acceptance, led to dead ends and led politicians to find political solutions that would correspond to the de facto existing cultural pluralism, and scientists in search of new conceptual tools. The establishment of the concepts *difference* and *diversity*, alongside the concepts of *similarity* and *identity*, is equivalent to a shift of a pedagogical paradigm. Furthermore, *intercultural education*, if it does not replace it, at least enriches national education. Linguistic difference, and in general *diversity*, finds its place in the host society and the educational system.

In the *era of pluralism* equal opportunities is pursued, when difference is respected. Indeed, the different cultural capital of students with an immigrant background is now dealt as a factor that could contribute to the equalization of opportunities. The adoption of *multicultural education* – or according to European terms of *intercultural education* – led to plural education systems of host countries and to their linguistic and cultural enrichment. The *hypothesis of cultural enrichment* remains, timely and advanced to date, because it allows the ethnic subject room to maintain and cultivate its difference within the main stream.

Every attempt for instrumentalization of the language and culture of ethnic groups from the dominant group is equivalent to retreat from the *difference hypothesis* and *cultural enrichment.* Such a retreat, however, seems to be ongoing, because in the new century, the peak of *globalization* and *individualization* everything is subordinated to the spirit of the free market and are evaluated based on their commercial value. This is basically the reason language is approached as a *commercial value*.

Most importantly, however, an element of the new time period seems to be what Beck terms individualization. *Individualization* means, first the disintegration (*Auflösung*) of life forms of the industrial society, and secondly their reintegration or replacement (*Ablösung*) with other forms in which, however, the subjects themselves have to construct, direct, and assemble their personal biography (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1993, 179 and 1994, 13).

Pluralization, that was launched during the second time period – according to Table 1–, continues to exist in the third time period. In the era of *globalism*, and the society of *risk* and *individualization* the opportunities are, at least theoretically, multiple and the setting for action is of broad range. The subject is called upon to choose among opportunities, and be exclusively responsible, to set the framework and "assemble" its own unique biography.

If in the situation of the *individual subject* the *collective subject* is placed, then *individualization* for the *collective ethnic subjects* means that each ethnic group should, in the context of a new pluralism, without positive discrimination and above all without financial support make its own choices and create its own conditions for the preservation and cultivation of language and culture.

The modern pluralistic society provides multiple forms of education (e.g. bilingual multiethnic schools, ethnically homogeneous bilingual/trilingual schools, church schools, Charter Schools, integrated courses for teaching languages of origin, afternoon schools, and of course, main stream education) from which groups and individuals can use, but at their own risk.

An indicative example is the Charter Schools of the USA. Every ethnic group has the right to establish and operate a Charter School, and to enhance to the public, and binding for all School Curriculum, a second component that would refer to its own language. However, this component should be funded by the group itself and not by the state. The involvement of the private sector in public education and even more to the policy of providing opportunities to ethnic groups, so that they are enabled to set up their own private schools, is consistent with a more general trend of the retreat of state institutions and privatization of education.

Furthermore, the sustaining and cultivation of the ethnic language, with the initiative and responsibility of the same ethnic group, is also displayed in the first time period, the *era of homogeneity*. There is, however, a significant difference between the first and third time period. In the first time period, the sustaining and cultivation of the ethnic language, with the responsibility of the ethnic group itself, takes place in absence of or against the will of the dominant group. In contrast, in the third time period, the dominant ethnic group provides opportunities of cultivating the ethnic language, within or outside mainstream education, with the anticipation to benefit from this process. This utilitarian language policy applies, for example, to both the *Charter Schools* in the USA and to *Trade Languages* in Australia. In the first case, the dominant group anticipates the enrichment and upgrading of its ailing public education. In the second case, the dominant group anticipates the targeted utilization of its language resources.

From the above noted, one could argue that this would be a legitimate and useful language policy for both sides. And indeed, the new time period, especially individualization has two sides. Individualization can act as a risk and an opportunity, in a collective and individual level.

The shift of responsibility to the subject, in conjunction with the hierarchy of languages according to their commercial value – that is, the basis of access to markets provided by the respective language – poses the risk for marginalization of the noncommercial languages. It also places the family and the individual in a dilemma. That is, to choose between their own noncommercial language of origin and another language that allows access to market opportunities. However, the dilemma is not a new one. What is new, is the decline of state institutions and the transfer of responsibility solely on the subject and always in the spirit of individualization.

However, the shift of responsibility to the subject is, at the same time, an opportunity. Because subjects, individually and collectively have the ability to take advantage of the opportunities given to them and utilize new technologies, so as to develop initiatives, to create structures of language support, and to construct their own linguistic and cultural profile. The new era and above all technologies provide, especially to diasporic populations, unique opportunities to create *transnational cultural networks* to promote their language and culture.

For example, during globalization the already globalized Greek Diaspora has the opportunity to restructure and to build on the existing *local* and *inter-local* (in the same country) *cultural networks*, but also to expand them into *hyper-local*, *transnational* (networks between countries) so that they can function as cultural bearers and culture

promoters. It can also make its own cultural choices to create its own language profile and to display the Greek language worldwide: as a language vehicle of thousands of years of civilizations, in which works of global interest have been written, as one of the languages spoken in many organized communities worldwide. In short, to highlight the Greek language, as a language that may not be commercial, but sustains its own contemporary value and holds a historic status in Western culture.

The era of globalization and individualization is thus both a risk and an opportunity.

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Language and Ethnicity

37

Michail Vitopoulos

Abstract

In this chapter, the multifaceted phenomena of cultural ethnic identity and of linguistic shifts, as they pertain to "Greeks" in North America, in general, and in Canada, in particular, will be traced. Emphasis will be placed on the issue of the possibility of shift reversal, which will allow us to discern: first, the similarities and differences existing between the North American and the "Greek" reality, second, the nature and the scope of past reversals facilitating governmental/nongovernmental interventions, and third, the evaluation of the effectiveness of strategies for dealing with cultural and linguistic shift both in Greece and what we call "abroad."

Contents

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Introduction

Concerns with individual and collective ethnic identity are ubiquitous in our times. In fact, in the present era of globalization, ethnic identity and ethnic difference appear to be the common denominators of a multitude of vexed problems (social, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic) in some parts of the world, e.g., Europe. In this chapter, I will attempt to trace and relate the multifaceted phenomena of cultural ethnic identity with those of linguistic shifts as they pertain to "Greeks" in North America in general and in Canada in particular. Emphasis will be placed on the issue of the possibility of shift reversal which will allow us to better understand and evaluate governmental and nongovernmental strategies and efforts to deal with the "shift." Our effort will be based on the works of J. A. Fishman (1990, 1991, 1999, 2000) and of C. Baker (1998, 2002) regarding the linguistic aspects and on the works of M. Castells (1997) and D. Corson (1993) for the relations between education and the state.

National Consciousness and Language Extinction

Greece, as a nation with almost half its people living outside the border of its present states, has a vital interest in the preservation of this people's "Hellenic consciousness." Equally vital has become the maintenance of the national identity within the metropolis itself, in view of the significant population changes being experienced recently with the incorporation of almost 2 million immigrants. These considerations bring into focus two important issues, namely, the issue of "Hellenic consciousness" and that of language. National consciousness is a protean issue. Some believe that it is the product of material conditions, while others see it as a creation of the imaginary, and still some more think that only DNA analysis will give a definitive solution to the problem of its existence. Be that as it may, I tend to partially agree with a modified version of A. Chua's view that, *at present*, national consciousness "does not turn on biology but on subjective perceptions which are the product of prevailing ideologies" constructed by power elites and mass media (Chua 2004). On the other hand, the language issue necessitates a further explanation. Using an extreme version of a metaphor, one could say that "living" languages, and there are more than 6000 spoken on our planet, look a lot like living organisms. For instance, much like it happens in humans; they are born, develop, struggle, dominate and get dominated, become sick, sometimes survive, and sometimes even commit suicide. In Greece, a country that has significantly more deaths than births every year, the native speakers of the language diminish every year. In addition, since as I have already mentioned, half of the people of Greek descent live outside of the present-day Greek state; the speakers of the Greek language also diminish but at a faster rate. An example will suffice and bring us to the heart of the discussion. During the second half of the 1980s, the parochial schools of the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto had almost 5000 students; today this number has decreased by at least 70%. In any case, statistics are not necessary to validate the fact that the

number of speakers of modern Greek abroad diminishes far more rapidly than the number of speakers within the borders of the Greek state; our individual experiences suffice to prove the point.

Diminution of the number of speakers of a language means that the language is in danger of *eventual* extinction. I stress the word *eventual* because we are not yet faced with the ultimate threat; however, time is ruthless, and given the existing conditions of "mild indifference" that predominate, time works against us with tremendous speed.

Some may not believe that the modern Greek language is endangered. Greek, they may think or say, "is the most beautiful and rich language in the world, and if our children do not speak it, it is because it is a difficult language." In response to this, two atavistic myths have to be dispelled. First, all languages in the world are beautiful and capable of expressing equally well whatever meaning under one condition, namely, that the meaning to be expressed has a cultural grounding which creates the need to express it in the specific language. Second, all languages are equally "easy" or "difficult" because fundamentally, they perform the same functions. Some correspond to more simple, or more complicated, cultural groundings and develop accordingly.

Ethnicity, Culture, and Relinguification

The relation between language and culture, according to J. A Fishman (1991), can be made clear in terms of three links:

> "A language indexes its culture. A language and its attendant culture grow up in harmony for long periods of history and thus, the language that has grown up round a culture best expresses that culture. The vocabulary, the idioms, the metaphors, are the ones that best explain that culture at a cognitive and emotive level."

Language symbolizes its culture. For instance, speaking English often symbolizes money, modernity, affluence, and achievement, while speaking French symbolizes aristocracy and high culture. Finally, culture is partly created by its language, but the relation between the two is not isomorphic because they grow in related but different rhythms. For instance, a saying or a figure of speech in one language requires a long explanation in another language (e.g., "Aera" or "Melina" in Greek).

The anisomorphic nature of the relationship between language and culture is the reason that what we call *national identification*, or *heritage*, can be preserved, for some time and in some form, even though the members of the social group do not speak the language of the nationality they identify with (e.g., Greek-Canadians or Greek-Americans). However, when with time the "national" group loses its language and acquires the dominant language of the host nation as the main means of expression in everyday life, then the group is literally "plugged" into a different ethnocutural grounding and in consequence feels the national identity or heritage in a different way. For instance, the Greek-Canadian who does not speak Greek feels

"Greek" in a different way from the Greek that is a native speaker of Greek and has lived all his life within the Greek state.

In the final analysis, it is a question of time. It is estimated that it usually takes three generations before the Greek-Canadian becomes, simply, a Canadian of Greek descent. Even what Castells (1997) calls "resistance identity formation" cannot put a stop to what J. A Fishman (1991) aptly termed "relinguification." As he put it, "relinguification leads to re-ethnification," and this is so because language provides "the linkage between the private and the public sphere, and between the past and the present." The processes involved are included in the term "cultural and linguistic shift" coined by the great sociolinguist J.A. Fishman (1990).

There are, of course, other factors which play a role in the development of the shift, for instance, the attitude of the host nation toward immigrant institutions and the efforts for preservation of ethnicity by the country of origin and, above all, religion. Nevertheless, the end result remains the same, relinguification leads to re-ethnification, and because of this, it is important to understand that cultural and linguistic shifts are powerful worldwide phenomena which cannot be confronted with haphazard interventions.

In order to focus our discussion on somewhat more practical matters, it should be emphasized that the cultural and linguistic shifts are felt in their effects and have direct, recognizable consequences in the everyday lives of those who sustain them. For instance, the diminution of participation of young Greek-Canadians in the activities of ethnic cultural organizations and the shrinking of the student population in the "Greek" parochial schools are symptoms directly reflecting the fact that the ethnic group is undergoing a cultural and linguistic shift which cannot be arrested with voluntaristic, uncoordinated, and superficial interventions. There cannot be a doubt that both, the institutions of the "Greeks" in the diaspora and the institutions of the Greek metropolis, fail to understand and control this phenomenon. The tragic element in this juncture is that most Greek institutions in the "citadel," as well as the Greek public in general, show the same lack of understanding when it comes to trying to cope with the recent influx of immigrants to Greece. Ghettoizing and suppressive measures taken, slowly but surely, undermine the future of the Greek society itself. Other nationalities, when confronted with similar problems, opted for actions which were proven salutary for themselves. For instance, Catalan nationalists decided to define as a Catalan "Whoever lived and worked in Catalunya and wanted be a Catalan." The sign of "wanting to be" was *speaking the language* or even "trying to speak the language." After all we should not forget the pride felt when the Attedocumbo brothers, wrapped in the Greek flag, were celebrating their draft into the NBA and when Eliadis was winning the Olympic medals.

Responses to Linguistic Shift

There are three possible ways of responding to an immigrant influx: (a) to adopt a *defensive* policy and use the institutions and mechanism of the state in order to exclude immigrants from the process of assimilation, (b) to adopt an *aggressive*

policy and attempt the cultural and sociopolitical assimilation of the immigrants, and (c) to adopt a *semi-defensive* policy of refusing to assimilate and do nothing about the shrinkage of the national identity that the immigrant influx implies.

The third way is the worst. As Castells (1997) warns us, a state in this situation is a candidate fundamentalist state. All it needs is a charismatic extreme nationalist leader able to mobilize atavistic feelings in the crowds and transform them into a powerful sociopolitical force capable of conquering state power creating, in so doing, a strong nationalistic or a "national-religious" identity. How susceptible to this type of development is the Greek state is shown by the recent altercations experienced by the actions of the "Golden Dawn."

What is the reason cultural and linguistic shifts occur? Well, whenever two languages come into contact through immigration, the language of the host state becomes dominant (economically, politically, and socially) simply because, for reasons of survival, the newcomer has to be "plugged" to the host country's system of production. Of necessity, the newcomer has to internalize life roles which always function against the preservation of the immigrant's native tongue. Slowly, the dominant language causes the exclusion of the dominated languages from a series of social and interpersonal functions and finally, with the arrival of children, replaces the dominated language in the home of the "assimilated" newcomer. Pidginization is the first phase of this assimilation.

Contrary to what seems probable, the worst enemy of the minority language is not the adoption of what we have called "defensive policy," because it leads to the formation of "resistance identity," but the adoption of the "aggressive policy" which leads to slow but certain assimilation.

It is time to deal with the "overwhelming question" which hopefully will not lead to a "tedious argument" as T.S. Elliot would have it: Is there a hope to reverse the shift? The answer is K. Mourselas' notorious "almost" (Mourselas 1996).

To begin with, I tend to believe that in the relevant literature, there are only four cases of almost successful reversal of cultural and linguistic shift, namely, the Maori, the Israeli, the Catalan, and the Quebecois. However, in all those cases, the minorities have had pockets of homogenous populations; I believe that without them, even a partial reversal is not possible. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the existence of pockets of homogenous population is necessary but not a sufficient condition for partial reversal. More importantly, when it comes to minority ethnic groups like the Greeks in North America, the only realistic target is a "partial" reversal or, to be exact, a "partial arrest" of the shift in its present state.

J. A Fishman (1990, 1991, 1999, 2000) has created the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale which allows us to diagnose and determine the degree of endangerment of the threatened minority language. Baker (1998, 2002) says that this scale provides us with a guide in order to understand how strong the disruption sustained by the minority language is, much like the Richter scale gives us a measure of the intensity of earthquakes. It consists of eight stages; the higher the stage, the greater the endangerment of the minority language in the host country. The use of this scale allows us to avoid wasteful errors which are bound to occur if an earlier stage is focused upon when measures of a higher state need to be considered (Table 1).

Table 1 J. A Fishman's (1990, 1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages

Stage 8	Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction
Stage 7	Minority language used for older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language in the younger generation
Stage 6	Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community. Need to support the family in intergenerational continuity (e.g., provision of minority language nursery schools)
Stage 5	Literacy in the minority language. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support
Stage 4	Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community
Stage 3	Use of the minority language in less specialized work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers
Stage 2	Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language
Stage 1	Some use of minority language available in higher education, central government, and national media

J. A Fishman's scale, as is always the case with typologies, should not be seen as a photographic depiction of reality. It is no more than a thought structure which facilitates the identification of the internal areas of the stage of the shift, so as to enable us to improve the effectiveness of the attempts of "reversing" operations. Naturally, reality is much more complicated and overdetermines both the selection of "targets" and of the means to achieve them.

The efforts of "reversing" the shift that various minorities attempt are different and to a great extent reflect the level of awareness of the situation by the originating country. For instance, Italy has tried to slow down the pace of the shift by giving Italian-Canadian immigrants the right to elect and to be elected in the Italian national parliamentary elections. Israel, on the other hand, has adopted a more effective strategy. It established the "birthright" and achieved the massive participation of Jewish-Canadian youth in a temporary repatriation which forges unbreakable ties with the metropolis. Greece seems to be somewhat behind in that every good-intentioned effort when activated becomes bureaucratized, politically partisan, and almost by definition ineffective. By and large the Greek metropolis' efforts to preserve the national consciousness are restricted to the acceptance of the host nation's "generosity" and "positive attitude" (e.g., state-offered and state-controlled programs).

Conclusion/Future Directions

In conclusion, let us emphasize the warning that J. A Fishman (1991) has given us: "The road to societal language death is paved with good intentions called 'positive attitudes." One-dimensional solutions should be rethought. Schools and teachers are

not the solution to the problem of re-ethnification. Their role is not negligible, but it is only contributory because they come into the life of immigrant children very late and do not have the power that other institutions of the host country have (e.g., daycare, mass media).

What then is to be done? Three things as a start:

1. An identification of the existing situation (i.e., ethnic associations, schools, programs, number of students) and an exact diagnosis of the stage of the shift
2. Establishment of the final target and of a long-term strategy
3. Agreement on the tactics, operations, and, of course, efficient coordination of at least the major efforts

Cross-References

▶ Heritage Language, Identity, and Education in Europe: Evidence from the UK
▶ Identity, Language, and Language Policies in the Diaspora: Historical-Comparative Approach
▶ Linguistic Foundations of Heritage Language Development from the Perspective of Romance Languages in Germany

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Heritage Language, Identity, and Education in Europe: Evidence from the UK

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Margherita Di Salvo

Abstract

Heritage language education has received increased attention in recent years by scholars of various disciplines: science, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy, and linguistics. This renewed interest in the subject includes also studies on heritage language learning in relation to identity.

In the last few years, there have been many quantitative studies and a great deal of qualitative research on the subject. This chapter is on the line of qualitative research, taking the constructivist approach to identity still strong even in the most recent sociolinguistic research. The aim of this work is to test whether it is possible to apply the hermeneutic models generated and applied to the study of heritage language in North America to a European context, like that of some Italian communities in England. The intent is to verify to what extent some of the theoretical models developed for very different areas of research are applicable to the European context. This is in order to provide food for thought at the theoretical level and to rethink the way in which support is provided for the teaching of the Italian language to the descendants of Italian migrants in England and Europe.

The research deals with the Italian communities in Bedford, Cambridge, and Peterborough, which on a sociological level are very different and therefore provide the opportunity to investigate, also from a sociolinguistic perspective, the relationship between the heritage language and identity and the related effects on the level of the transmission of the Italian language and its dialects.

Keywords

Heritage language • Identity • Italian diaspora

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Introduction: Key Terms and Perspectives of Analysis in Europe

Although heritage language is a subject that has enjoyed a renewed interest in the last few years, scholars with various theoretical views find it hard to agree on the definition itself of the subject of their studies. In fact, as noted by many, there is no agreement on what the term "heritage language" (hereby HL) actually means, and consequently the "heritage language speaker/learner" type needs to be defined every time (Doerr and Lee 2013, 7).

This lack of agreement is due to both motivations of a scientific nature and to political-institutional reasons. On a scientific level, the definition of HL is influenced by the scholars' theoretical approach to the extent that the importance of the sociolinguistic and contextual variables is definitive only for those who adopt a sociolinguistic interpretative paradigm while it is not relevant for those who hold a view linked to the internal dimension of language. In fact, if with the former approach, which can be described as the variationist approach, the main parameter to define HL is the biography of the speaker and their family, with the experimental approach, it is possible to identify HL users on the basis of their language competence and their acquisition modes, as, among others, in Polinsky (2011, 1) who states:

> Heritage languages are spoken by early bilinguals [. . .] whose L1 (home language) is severely restricted because of insufficient input. [. . .] they can understand the home language and may speak it to some degree but feel more at ease in the dominant language of their society.

In variationist sociolinguistics, therefore, heritage languages are defined by their linguistic autobiography and by how the language is spoken and independent of proficiency in the majority language (Nagy 2015). Instead, in the structuralist paradigm, the internal dynamics of a language are the object of analysis. The different perspectives are reflected in the different identification of the object of study and in the methodological choices. On one side there are the sociolinguists, who usually focus their attention on the role played by identity in HL maintenance and transmission and on the sociocultural variables which can determine its study and acquisition; with the experimental approach, instead, incomplete language acquisition is the main assumption, and the focus is on the internal language dynamics of loss and erosion (language loss and attrition; Montrul 2016).

From a political-institutional point of view, HL definitions on either side of the Atlantic reflect the different language and cultural policy of the United States, Canada, and Europe. The HL category is widespread in the new continent, albeit with non-negligible differences between the United States and Canada, but not so in Europe where various descriptive categories like minority, regional, or ancestral languages are associated with cultural heritage languages. This is not just a mere difference in terminology since the repercussions of such a discrepancy are evident in the respective language policies which, as Guijarro-Fuentes and Schmitz noted (2015, 240), echo in the scientific research:

> While there is a high degree of variability in the observed HS competencies in the USA and Canada, the studies of HS in European countries show more homogeneity in the HS due to a stronger cultural closeness and argue more often against incomplete acquisition. Another reason might lie in different language policies in the countries mentioned which might favor a tendency to indeed produce different types of heritage speakers . . ..

Aside from the terminological discrepancy, the definitions of heritage languages conceived in the North-American context can be applied to the European context and, in particular, to migrated European languages. In fact, if, as in Valdes (2000, 1), the HL speaker is defined as a bilingual person "raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language," it is evident that this definition perfectly describes also those migrants resident in Europe, who once left maintain at home their language of origin, limiting the use of the language spoken in the country to which they migrated to interactions outside their home. It is, in fact, characteristic of all migration contexts (regardless of the continent of residence), the contrast between the private domain (the home), a stronghold of the language transmitted within the family, and society, which imposes its language (on this see also Fishman (2001,69) at different levels, according to the policy adopted. It follows, therefore, that the following definition can be extended to the migrations to either side of the Atlantic: HL is a language spoken by the children of migrants or by those who immigrated to a country.

This is the context of many Italian migrants, both in the United States and in Canada but also in Europe, though the living conditions and the sociolinguistic repertoires of Italian migrants on either side of the ocean show differences brought on by the effect of some variables dependent on the context of origin (the Italian region the migrants left from, whether they came from a big city or a small village, their level of education, their age at the time of migration) and by a number of factors related to the country of immigration (its language and cultural policy, the distance from Italy and the relationship kept with the country of origin, the social visibility of the Italian community, the structure of the Italian community with particular reference to the number of Italians in it, their distribution over a given territory, the socioeconomic level achieved).

The first group of variables has influenced the migrants' competence in Italian and dialect ("dialect" is not to be understood in its English meaning, that is, a diatopic variation of a certain standard; it refers instead to the many varieties,

which, just like the Italian language, originated from spoken Latin) insofar as the migrants who left many years ago had a greater competence in their dialect than those who left in more recent years. In fact, as it is well known, the language history of post-unification and contemporary Italy is characterized by an increase in italophony to the detriment of dialectophony, which instead influenced the first decades of the language history of a united Italy, decades which coincided with the great migrations from Europe (De Mauro 1963). In fact, those who left between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century had far less competence in Italian than those who migrated in the second half of the twentieth century. As De Mauro demonstrated (1963, 2014), from the unification of Italy (1861) to nowadays, the Italian language has spread gradually, with effects on the national linguistic repertoire characterized, at least up to the first years of the twentieth century, by a dominant dialectophony and a limited competence in Italian. Starting from the second half of the last century, competence in Italian increased, thanks to some extra linguistic factors (the spread of mass media, the migration from the countryside to the cities, the migration from the poor regions of the Italian South to the more industrialized regions of the North and mass media).

On the other hand, the ways in which the language spoken in the country of immigration is learned as well as the transmission of the varieties the migrants brought with them are certainly influenced by the variables related to the country of settlement (Bettoni 2008). In fact, it is one thing to talk about the Italian communities in Canada and the United States, consisting mainly of migrants who, partly due to the distance from their motherland and the difficulties (often financial) of returning to their country of origin on a regular basis, have gradually cut the umbilical cord which connected them with the areas they left, and it is another thing to talk about the European communities who, thanks also to a greater freedom of movement promoted by affordable costs and today's low-cost flights, continue to keep physical, financial, and symbolic links with Italy. These migrants, especially, often have a house in Italy, a contributing factor to today's increased frequency of transnational commuting (Miranda 1996). Therefore, what sets apart the Italian migration to the American continent from European migration is the presence of a different bond with the motherland. To this it must be added the seniority of the former, which started at the end of the nineteenth century, and its effects on the spread of dialect and Italian in relation to the different competences of migrants from various migration waves. Given the same waves of migration, the Italians who migrated within Europe managed to keep much closer ties than those who migrated further afield, ties strengthened through returns, telephone calls, and more frequent contacts all together.

The consequences at language level of such differences do not affect the presence, or lack thereof, of first-, second-, or third-generation speakers who retain Italian and dialects as their HLs, more or less maintaining it within their family and their ethnic network. Nor do they affect the language policy to support the Italian language, managed at central level by the Italian government. Instead they affect the opportunity given to the generations born in Europe, the product of more recent migrations, to maintain the Italian language through ad hoc strategies of language policy. These

strategies take into account not only new migrations which, in Europe as elsewhere, take with them the Italian language but also the descendants of earlier migration waves, the third and fourth generations, who, possibly not only in Europe, have a strong desire to regain the language of their country of origin.

In this chapter, we will provide an analysis of the status of the Italian language and dialects as HLs within a European context starting from a specific case study: that of the Italian communities in England[1]. The choice of England as a starting point is determined by the fact that the Italian communities settled there have been the subject of systematic studies[2] which allow us to understand the uses of the Italian language from an ethnic language to an international language and to observe, through the various generations and migration waves, the communicative and linguistic needs of the Italians and critically review the ways in which the Italian language policy has dealt with them.

The History of Italians in England

Historically speaking the Italian migration to the UK can be divided into three main waves: the first wave consisted of cultural and commercial élites, who migrated to England from the Middle Ages till the nineteenth century. Antonio Panizzi, Giuseppe Mazzini, Ugo Foscolo, and other Italian writers and politicians chose London as the destination for their exile[3].

The second wave coincides with the mass migration at the end of nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century. In fact, even though during these years Italian migration was primarily to transoceanic destinations, a good number of migrants chose European destinations and, among them, England. Their main destinations were the major cities, where a growing number of musicians, artisans, and ice-cream makers converged.

Finally the third migration wave started after the end of the Second World War following bilateral agreements between the British Ministry of Labour and the Italian

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[1]Some contexts of Italian migration in Europe have been researched very little. For some European countries, in particular, there are some studies relating to one single interpretative paradigm, which relate to a specific time, such as those on the Italian presence in Germany carried out by Auer and Di Luzio (Auer 1995; Di Luzio 1984) from a sociolinguistic perspective and focusing exclusively on contact dynamics (code switching, code mixing); in other cases, such as the Italian communities in Spain, Portugal, and France as well as in Northern European countries (Sweden, Denmark, Holland), there are no substantial studies).

[2](with England, it is possible to research the dynamics concerning the development of the Italian language, its transmission, and its hold throughout the various generations, thanks to a large, diverse bibliography which covers all aspects by which the subject can be analyzed: the educational and didactical aspect (Tosi 1986, 1993), the sociolinguistic interpretation of the variations of the process of contact and transmission (Di Salvo 2012), as well as the competence and the use of the English language in the second and third generation (Guzzo 2014) and the linguistic loss (Sorace 2004))

[3](For Bedford see Tosi 1993; Sponza 2005, 2012; Guzzo 2014; Di Salvo 2011; for Peterborough see Tubito and King 1996; Cereste and Bagnoli 2001)

government. The former believed that immigrants could compensate for the lack of local labor, while the latter hoped that emigration could be the relief valve needed to reduce overpopulation in many poor areas, especially in Southern Italy, and improve the living conditions of those who would remain. Within this third wave, the first contingent of Italian migrants arrived in England in June 1951. They were voluntary migrants recruited for the local brick industry; they arrived in Bedford, Peterborough, and, in smaller numbers, in Bletchley, Loughborough, and Nottingham.

Between the 1950s and the 1960s, Italians kept arriving in large numbers. In those years some 10,000 Italians arrived in Bedford, creating the largest Italian community outside of London. Peterborough counted about 6,000 Italians so in just a few years Bedford and Peterborough became two of the largest Italian communities in the UK.

The birth of the Italian community in Cambridge also dates back to the end of the Second World War. However it followed only in part the process described for the industrial cites of the South of England. In Cambridge the Italians arrived initially through official recruitment protocols but were not placed in local factories. Some went to work on the many farms outside the city center, and others instead were employed as waiters, butlers, and cooks at the service of wealthy families. In the first case, the emigration affected exclusively the men, who later asked their wives and fiancées to join them. In the second case, instead, many Italian girls left on their own and were only later joined by their husbands.

In both cases, starting from the 1960s, chain migrations gradually replaced the official recruitment system. Such social processes contributed to the arrival in English cities of immigrants from specific areas, such as the provinces of Avellino, Agrigento, and Foggia. This type of migration affected mainly the communities in Bedford and Peterborough, creating a much closer nit social network than that of the Italians in Cambridge. Because of this, the makeup of the Italian communities in England is rather varied, despite some similarity in the migration dynamics.

More recent flows of migrants with different social-biographical characteristics have joined the initial core. Bedford and Peterborough saw mainly migrants with a low level of education who followed the same migration process and settled in their host society in the same way as those who had preceded them. They were mainly poorly educated men and women from Southern Italy; they had been called by family and friends to England where they were mainly employed as factory workers.

Contrarily in Cambridge the more recent migration scenario is more varied. After an intermediate phase (from end of 1970s but particularly in the 1980s), when the Italians found employment mostly in the personal service industry (barbers, hairdressers) and in catering, today the professions taken up by the new immigrants are much more varied ranging from IT to freelancing, from shop employees to professions in the health and medical sector (doctors, nurses, biologist, etc.).

The three communities hereby described differ also with regard to the maintenance of their Italian identity. In Bedford and Peterborough, the Italians keep alive a strong sense of belonging to the motherland. This is thanks to their living and working conditions and the joint action of the Italian Church, the consulate, and associations like the First Generation Club in Bedford and "The Fleet" in Peterborough, which are the main meeting centers for the community.

The Italian identity here is well rooted also in the generations after the first, as Siria Guzzo's (2014) studies demonstrated. In fact, even though members of the third generation claim not to speak Italian, they have said they retain their Italian identity showing how language is not necessarily used as a marker of identity (as similarly argued by De Fina 2012 in the US context), although it can become one in various stages of life.

Finally, life in the Italian community in Cambridge is very different from that in its neighboring communities: noticeably in Cambridge there are no dedicated meeting places, and no events intended to reinforce links of reciprocal solidarity and favoring the maintenance and transmission of the Italian identity are organized. On a language level, the consequences of the lack of a solid social network translate into a faster shift toward the English language and a marginal use of the dialect (Di Salvo 2012).

Therefore within the same country of immigration, there are different communities with different levels of ethnolinguistic vitality: however these also have many points in common among which can be found the immigrants' language repertoire and biography.

Language Use and Needs of the Italian Migrants to England: Generations and Migration Waves Compared

The language repertoires of the Italian immigrants in England differ not only (and not to so extensively) according to the generation of migration but also to the time of migration and level of education. This affects, first of all, the migrants' competence in Italian and dialect which, as mentioned before, varies firstly in relation to the time of migration since very few migrants spoke Italian especially in the decades after the unification of Italy (1861). De Mauro (1963), in fact, notes that in 1861 only 2.5% of the national population had competence in this variety which means that during the post-unification migration, those who left spoke mainly dialect. Those, instead, who left after the end of the Second World War had a higher competence in Italian, which, related to various external factors (birthplace, level of education, etc.), coexists at various degrees with the dialect also. In the newer migration waves, particularly those of the so-called brain drain, the dualism between Italian and dialect inevitably favors the former.

Consequently, the language repertoires of migrants from various migration waves are strongly diversified as the two patterns formulated by Barbara Turchetta (2005) show (Tables 1 and 2):

These two patterns, which are also applicable to the Italians in England, show the changes in the ways in which the language is transmitted and in the competence of this variety among the various generations. Considering that, within the English and European context, the third generations, that is, the result of postwar migration, coexist with the children of the new migrants, it emerges how the demand for Italian can be diversified starting from different subjects. In the first case, in particular, adults and young people of the second and third generation rediscover Italian,

Table 1 Language transmission process starting from a migrant with a low level of education

First generation	Second generation	Third generation
L1 regional Italian/dialect	Language of the host community (dominant in virtually all its varieties)	L1 of the host community (dominant in virtually all its varieties)
L2 language of the host community (at jargon stage or as interlanguage, often fossilized)	L2 regional Italian/dialect (at jargon stage or simplified, often fossilized)	L2 (possible) standard Italian acquired outside the family context
		L3 crystallized residues of regional Italian/dialect

From Turchetta 2005

Table 2 Language transmission process starting from a migrant with a medium-high level of education

First generation	Second generation	Third generation
L1 Italian (dominant over its variants, from standard Italian to regional Italian)	L1 language of the host community	L1 language of the host community
L2 language of the host community being acquired (and subsequently dominant over the various varieties)	Possible cases of stable bilingualism with L2 extended to domains which range from informal use (family, friends) to formal use (workplace, training)	L2 Italian limited to educated varieties or to extended competence acquired through guided language learning

From Turchetta 2005

expressing a desire to regain an Italian identity which is perceived as under threat; in the second case, however, it's the new migrants who request support in order to guarantee their children the maintenance of the Italian language, thus re-living in some way all the difficulties encountered by those who preceded them in their migration experience.

This is clear from the migrants' evidence collected in the three Italian communities in England, all examples of trends that can be extended to other European contexts.

The first generation, which left in the context of the bilateral agreements between Great Britain and Italy and began to arrive in England in the 1950s, spoke a local dialect – usually learned as a first language – and some Italian. During the migration years, this rather uncertain Italian was practiced outside the home to communicate with migrants from other Italian regions, whose dialects were often very different from one another. Migration for these people represented therefore a push toward the Italian language rather than the English language, at least in Bedford and Peterborough. In industrial cities with a closed or enclosed Italian community, the migrants encountered many difficulties with the English learning process which they never fully accomplished, not only for structural reasons but also for symbolic reasons. The exclusively Italian social network (for the first generation) present also in the workplace where interpreters and intermediaries interacted with the English bosses

undoubtedly discouraged socialization and integration with English people regarded, on a symbolic level, as culturally distant; moreover, the myth of return was another contributory factor to the language and cultural distance with the English. Living in England for the migrants was simply a way to put aside money which would allow them a decent life when they would eventually return to Italy (Di Salvo 2012).

The scenario changes with the second generation which represents a bridge between the Italian and italophone family environment and the society in the country of immigration. Only with the schooling of their children, which marks the passage from labor migration intended as temporary in view of a (much longed for) return to Italy to settlement migration, inevitably final, does migrants start making an effort to learn the English language. Raffaella, for example, recalls: "poi mi sono migliorata quando i miei bambini sono andati a scuola allora io mi sforzava e cchiù a parla con loro che a parlare" ("then I started to improve, when the children went to school I then made more of an effort to speak with them than just speak in general").

But the results are different, and to this day in Bedford and in Peterborough especially, it is not unusual to meet immigrants who, after almost 60 years in England, still have no competence in English and rely totally on their children to communicate with the people in their community of residence:

R   ma voi avete imparato l'inglese?
X   poco/perché lavoràvamo tutti assieme italiani
R   e vi siete pentito o no?
X   no pentito no/qualche cosa capisco io//pi i fatti miei . . . quello che . . . quello
     che non capisco/chiamo i miei figli/i nipoti/e m' 'i porto assieme/e. . .. mi fanno
     interprete

R   *did you learn English?*
X   *a little/because us Italians used to work all together*
R   *do you regret it?*
X   *no/I don't regret it/I understand a few words/on my own . . . what I . . . what I
     can't understand/I call my children/my grandchildren/and I take them with
     me/and . . . they act as my interpreters*

Thus the second generation helped the first generation socializing in their English environment. In Bedford and in Peterborough more than in Cambridge (Di Salvo 2012), they did not lose their Italian, or rather their dialect, which for them was a HL spoken exclusively at home and not in the host community where the use of this variety was relegated to interactions with peers from the same cultural background but even then only when they meant to keep the content of their conversation hidden from any English person present.

The biggest issue for this generation was the relationship between Italian and dialect. Not knowing the language situation in Italy and having learned dialect at home, many suffered when, on their temporary or permanent return to Italy, they discovered that they spoke a local variety with less prestige than Italian. Unaware of the differences between the two Romance varieties, many migrants were convinced they were speaking Italian when in fact they spoke dialect. Lina's

case is representative of many. Lina, an Italian hairdresser in Cambridge, returned to Italy with her parents when she was 18 years old dreaming of going to university there. However, when she arrived she discovered that her "Italian" was in fact a dialect. This plunged her into severe depression worsened by the difficulties she encountered in interactions outside her family context since she had not returned to her parents' hometown but gone instead to Florence. In order to help her through this very difficult phase, her parents decided to move back to England. By now it was too late, too late to go to university and too late to make her dreams come true (details of Lina's story as well as the linguistic character-istics of her competence in Italian, dialect, and English are summarized in Di Salvo (2014)).

The fate of other second generation Italians living in more cohesive communities than that found in Cambridge was different. In cities such as Bedford and Peterbor-ough, for example, the Italian government offered Italian language courses, almost always held on Saturdays or in the evening. If the first generation considered it very important for their children to follow an Italian course of study, particularly in view of a much longed for return, the children second generation did not welcome these courses very much, partly because they were held at night or on Saturdays when their English friends would be enjoying their free time and partly for their desire to be like everyone else and forget even that heritage language which in some ways made them different:

R   nun cë stevë po o consolatë na scolë?
D   sì/cë stevë/però ... non era a livellë: proprië no... tu per esempjë/na giornata/nu bambino ... che c'avevë ottë/nov annë/adda fa tutt a scolë inglese/... dalle otto alla matina alle cinque/po dopo delle cinque/facevë a scolë italianë ì/... dicë # chillë ormajë nun së mparavë njentë
R   vui ... tu si jutë a scuolë italianë? e comm'era?/pësantë?
D   ormajë erë stance/chill # a chell'orarjë/nu bambinë e diecë/undëc'annë/sa... quannë së së fannë e sejë e settë a serë/che të vuò mparà chiù?

R   *wasn't there an Italian school at the consulate?*
D   *yes/there was/but it wasn't very good...for example, you/one day/an eight year old boy.../nine years old/had to go to the English school/... from 8 am to 5 pm/then after 5 pm/he would go to the Italian school/... I tell you that child could no longer learn anything after all that*
R   *you...did you go to the Italian school? How was it? Was it tough?*
D   *by then you were so tired/one/at that time/a ten year old child)/an eleven year old/do you know ... when it's six, seven o'clock/what more can you learn?*

P   [...] per un bambino/cioè un ragazzino/vuole essere uguale agli altri/non vuole essere differente/e questa era una piccola cosa diverso che ero rispetto agli altri/ [...]/quindi/quell'età logicamente/cioè logicamente/nella mia testa/non volevo mangiare all'italiana/non volevo parlare italiano/non volevo andare in Italia/ cioè avevo questo... questo/questa antipatia cioè verso l'italiano/per quel po' di tempo/non volevo andare alle scuole/alla scuola italiana/dopo... dopo la

scuola/poi niente/undici/dodici anni/ho iniziato a. . . capire. . . a voler capire un po' meglio/le mie radici/cioè quando andavo spesso in Italia/poi fatta amicizia con parenti/amici dei miei vari cugini

P   *[. . .] a child/I mean a kid/wants to be like all others/he does not want to be different/and this was a small thing which made me different form all the others/[. . .]/so/at that age logically/I mean naturally/in my head/I didn't want to eat Italian/I didn't want to speak Italian/I didn't want to go to Italy/I had this . . . this/this dislike for Italian/during that time/I didn't want to go to school/to the Italian school/later . . . after school/then nothing/eleven/twelve years old/I started . . . to understand . . . to want to understand Italian a bit better/my roots/that is when I was going to Italy often/then I made friends with my relatives/and friends of my various cousins*

The second example is particularly interesting. It is taken from an interview with Peter, a barman and second generation Italian living in Cambridge. His desire to be like everyone else is evident in his choice to take on an English name and rejection of his Italian name, Pasquale, and in his decision not to attend the Italian school and to forget that language and those sounds which had become almost a stigma. Only when he grew up did he change his mind. He enrolled in an Italian school and learned Italian. However he did not pass it on to his first two children, now adults themselves, but he did so, albeit only partially, with his third son, still a child.

Peter's story backs up what Leeman (2015, 100) maintains:

HL learners seek to (re)claim their ethnic identity through language study, reflecting the predominance of ideologies that conceive ethno-cultural identity as embodied in language.

As Norton also suggested, "learning a new language involves taking on new ways of being." As Peter's case demonstrates, this can be extended to the study of heritage language which can be picked up at an adult age in an attempt to regain one's own cultural identity.

This behavior is common also among third-generation speakers: Michele (first generation), one of many examples, tells how his granddaughter (third generation) went to Italy to work as a babysitter in order to learn Italian, following a very common trend which occurred not only in England.

The scenario is very different and socioculturally diversified when it comes to the new migrants, those who left Italy in recent years. Those with a high level of education (degree, master's, PhD) arrive in England already proficient in English which allows them to attend job interviews and obtain high-level positions. Those, instead, with poor schooling, re-live the linguistic difficulties experienced by those who preceded them in earlier decades. However, worthy of note is the different attitude of these new migrants in relation to the transmission of the Italian language. Regardless of social class and level of education, they all want to pass on the Italian

language to their children, to the extent that, where the language training on offer is not fully satisfactory, they are prepared to overcome it using their own means and initiative. In Cambridge a few Italian parents belonging to the new migration wave of professionals independently organized playground sessions which take place every Monday afternoon to give their children the opportunity to keep up their Italian; in fact to take part, one must speak Italian. This experience does not fully satisfy those who prefer a more "traditional" teaching approach intended not simply to reach a competence in Italian but rather to obtain certification and access to further education:

P   sì/e ma quello ti sto dicendo e . . . c'hanno una . . . una buona padronanza perché anche il # . . . la scuola italiana la fanno proprio con # tramite l'insegnante mandata tramite ambasciata/quindi loro avranno un riconoscimento
R   ufficiale
P   ufficiale/tipo scuola elementare italiana proprio capito?
R   ma anche perchè se tornate in Italia o no?
P   ma/mai/ormai non vedo ragione

P   *yes/it is what I'm telling you ... they have a good command of the language because the . . . the Italian school they do it with 7 through a teacher sent by the Embassy/so they will have recognition*
R   *official*
P   *official/really/like an Italian Primary School, do you understand?*
R   *but in case you are going back to Italy or not so much?*
P   *bah/never/I no longer see any reason to*

   The need for formal schooling is also felt by those who complain that, unlike other "international" languages like French and Spanish, Italian is not a language option offered at school. Parents who registered their children at school can often only choose French or Spanish as a second language, not Italian.
   However, the playground experience, the result of the effort of a few young mothers, is extremely interesting not only because it is indicative of the desire of younger parents to keep the Italian language alive in the next generation but also because it signals the Italian family's dissatisfaction with the traditional language policy devised for the children of immigrants. Moreover, since the playground is also open to children from other ethnic backgrounds whose parents see learning Italian as culturally important, the playground also becomes evidence of the transition of the Italian language from an ethnic language to an international language, that is, a language learned not only by Italian descendants who study it to reinforce a bond, albeit often only symbolic, with the country of their parents and grandparents, but also, more and more frequently, for other reasons. Although the status of the Italian language can only be partially compared to that of the languages of the big economic powers and to that of languages used for decades as a lingua franca (see Turchetta's reservations 2005), earlier investigations, starting

with Baldelli (1986) and De Mauro and Vedovelli (2002), documented an increasing interest in Italian which seems to be ever freer from ethnic motivation. In fact only a few years ago, Giovanardi and Trifone stated that (2012, 29) "as a result of new models and needs progressively replacing the traditional attachment to one's roots" (my translation), only 10.4% of the students attending Italian language courses run by the Italian Institutes of Culture decided to study the language for personal and family reasons and for the Impact of the made in Haly De Mouro and Vedovelli (2002). The former is a wide category which includes the following possibilities: the presence of an Italian partner, a family of Italian origin, or the desire to reunite with relatives in Italy. Therefore, there are routes and choices leading to the study of the Italian language which are different depending on cultural background, communicative needs, or expectations, but are not always taken into account by the Italian language policy.

The Teaching of Italian Abroad from the Past to the Future: What Are the Choices for Heritage Language Education?

Nowadays the teaching of Italian abroad is regulated by law 401 of the 22nd of December 1990, in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs taking the role of coordinator intends to "promote the dissemination of the Italian language and culture . . . in collaboration with other State Administrations" (on the notion of heritage language education (HLE), see Leeman (2015), Leeman and King (2015), Trifonas and Avaronassitas (2014), Cho (2014), Wong and Chao (2010), and Wu et al. (2014)). This law outlines the rules which regulate the Italian Institutes of Culture (IIC), to which the following tasks are assigned:

(a) Dissemination of information on Italian cultural life, also through "initiatives, cultural events, exhibitions," "development of the Italian communities abroad in order to favour both their integration into the host country and the cultural relationship with the country of origin" (my translation)
(b) Promotion of activities "which support the Italian language abroad, engaging also the cooperation of Italian teachers working at universities in the host country and of the Italian universities which carry out specific educational and scientific activities related" to such functions

Moreover, this law highlights the bodies recruited for this "institutional" educational training for Italian abroad:

• Italian Institutes of Culture (IICs)
• Committees of the Dante Alighieri Society, a body formed in 1889 (and a charitable trust since 1893) with the aim of protecting and disseminating the Italian language and culture throughout the world

- Italian schools, which according to estimates by De Mauro and Vedovelli (2002) in 2000 comprised 80% foreign students
- A few dozen Italian departments in foreign schools
- Foreign universities

With the implementation of these rules, however, a gap emerged between the positive intentions of the law and the difficulty in bringing together public institutes with users who differ not only in their motivations but also in the type of courses they require. Firstly, there are logistic and economic reasons: the institutes assigned to the dissemination and promotion of the Italian language and culture, which in recent years have seen their budget reduced, are mainly in the big cities, often physically far away from the immigrant communities as in London (although not in Bedford or Peterborough). This is reflected in the type of attendance which seems to involve more and more non-Italian users who are interested in learning Italian for economic or cultural reasons. Research carried out at global level (so as to give a picture of the macro trends at play) first by the team coordinated by De Mauro and Vedovelli (2002) and later by Giovanardi and Trifone (2012) confirm that Italian language courses appear to be increasingly aimed at users of non-Italian origin. This gives the impression that the rule which regulates the Italian courses abroad is today increasingly detached from the social, cultural, and linguistic complexity of each Italian community abroad. For example, as the 2012 research by Giovanardi and Trifone showed, it does not take into account the growing number of migrant children for whom very few courses have been and still are available. On the other hand, courses on the "*made in Italy*" or Italian cooking courses which attract almost exclusively users with different motivations for their approach to Italian are proliferating. In a scenario where the fate of Italian as an international language is increasingly connected to the cultural elites of non-Italian origin, the needs of the descendants of immigrants seem to be neglected. This is also supported by recent studies of the European context which highlighted how, even when courses for these users are available, they do not take into account the fact that third- and fourth-generation users have no link what so ever with Italy and are used to the teaching methods of the community of residence which are often very different from those used in the Italian courses. This gap between teaching methodologies is crucial as it can penalize third- and fourth-generation migrants in their Italian learning experience. Moreover, with the diversification of demand caused by the change in the migration flows involving a growing number of migrant children (Caritas 2016), the courses must cope with the presence of migrants from different generations and with different profiles. On one side there are newly arrived children or the children of young couples recently arrived in the country of immigration; on the other, third and fourth generations of much older immigration schooled using the methodology of the local community and with no recollection of Italy. They are different users not only because of biographical factors but also in terms of identity as, particularly with the third and fourth generations, choosing Italian is, and remains, an act of identity – an identity which must be respected and valued, the result of a strong desire to reconnect with the homeland of

one's parents and grandparents, just as in the case of Michele's granddaughter, discussed earlier. To quote De Mauro and Vedovelli (2002, 144):

> .... this element in itself should encourage cultural agencies to put in place strategies for educational courses specifically aimed at these groups of prospective users, who, in the current general conditions of economic crisis, might be willing to invest resources and energy in their language training. [. . .] if Italian is not ready to step up and represent an educational opportunity, it runs the risk of losing even more ground in the language market. (*my translation*)

HL speakers therefore are a resource for the dissemination of Italian and its consolidation as an international language. The role of the migrants and of the language policy seem therefore crucial, especially in times of crisis.

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Part VII

Preserving and Revitalizing Heritage Languages

Critical Approaches to Heritage Language Learning: From Linguistic Survival to Resistance and Action

Maite Correa

Abstract

Critical pedagogy is an approach to education (introduced by Freire in the early 1970s and developed by Giroux and others more recently) that is mainly preoccupied with social injustice and oppression both in and out of the classroom. First, this chapter will provide a general overview of the current state of critical pedagogy applied to heritage language (HL) learning (Beaudrie and Ducar, Heritage Language Journal 2:1–19, 2005; Correa, Foreign Language Annals 44:308–320, 2011a; Foreign Language Annals 38:35–45, 2011; Martínez, Heritage Language Journal 1 [np], 2003; Potowski, *Fundamentos de la enseñanza del español a hispanohablantes en los EE. UU.* Madrid: Arco Libros, 2005; Con todos: Using learning communities to promote intellectual and social engagement in the Spanish curriculum. In M. Lacorte & J. Leeman (Eds.), *Español en Estados Unidos y otros contextos de contacto: sociolingüística, ideología y pedagogía* (pp. 369–396). Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2009) and an in-depth analysis of critical language awareness in the HL classroom (Leeman, Foreign Language Annals 38:35–45, 2005). This will be followed by an analysis of how this approach can assist teachers develop and implement a culture-sensitive pedagogy that is not only relevant but also appropriate for the ethnic identity stage (Tse, Ethnic identity formation and its implications for heritage language development. In S. Krashen, L. Tse, & J. McQuillan (Eds.), *Heritage language development* (pp. 15–29). Culver City: Language Education Associates, 1998) in which HL learners find themselves at different points in their academic journey. The chapter will conclude with suggestions and guidelines for implementing a critical

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pedagogical component in heritage language courses, including sample materials and activities that can be tailored to the specific needs of each classroom.

Contents

Introduction: Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is an educational philosophy introduced by Freire in the early 1970s whose main objective is to offer an alternative to what he labeled the *banking model of education* (Freire 1983). In this banking model, the learner is seen as a depository of information and the teacher is seen as the knowledge bearer who poses the questions. Critical pedagogues affirm that this teacher-centered approach not only supports inequality by perpetuating dominance in the classroom but that it also prevents students from being "true partners in the process of inquiry" (Faltis 1990, p. 119). As Freire (2005) said:

> In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence – but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher. (p. 72)

Along the same lines as critical pedagogy, social constructivism is a philosophy that also claims that knowledge is not a mere unidirectional transmission of information, but a process that is socially and actively constructed from learners' experiences (Vygotsky 1978). A major concern of constructivist teaching regarding traditional educational models involving passive learning – the banking model of education – is the potential mismatch between instructor expectations and student performance. What is salient to the instructor may not necessarily be so

to the learner, and as a consequence, the meanings students make may not be the ones the instructor had in mind. In order to avoid this misconstruction of meaning, social constructivism calls for productive and collaborative dialogue between learners and instructor.

The following are a number of reasons why social constructivism can and should be integrated into language education. Although Williams and Burden (1997, pp. 204–208) propose them as being specific to that educational philosophy, due to their similarities regarding the role of both the student and the teacher, it looks reasonable to extend their validity to critical pedagogies and heritage language (HL) education as well:

(a) Learners learn what is meaningful to them. Educators cannot predict what each individual will learn or how that person's linguistic system will develop based only on the input provided.
(b) Learners learn in ways that are meaningful to them, not how the instructor intends them to learn.
(c) Learners learn better if they feel in control of what they are learning. Instructors should encourage students to set their own goals and feel responsible for their own learning.
(d) Learning is closely linked to how people feel about themselves. If learners feel positive about themselves, then they will be more likely to set more optimistic learning goals.
(e) The instructor has a significant role as mediator in the language classroom. The instructor is vital in fostering the right climate for learning to take place and for confidence to develop.

This chapter will provide a general overview of the current state of critical pedagogy and social constructivism applied to HL learning (Beaudrie and Ducar 2005; Correa 2011a; Potowski 2005), including the notion of *critical language awareness* in the HL classroom (Leeman 2005; Martinez 2003; Martinez and Schwartz 2012). This will be followed by a discussion of how this approach can assist teachers to develop and implement a culture-sensitive pedagogy that is relevant and conducive to ethnic identity development. Later, the notion of a reflective teacher will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with suggestions and guidelines for implementing a critical pedagogical component in heritage language courses.

Recommendations for HL Language Learning and Teaching

The main difference between foreign language (FL) and HL learners is that while the former start their language classroom experience from zero, the latter begin with some degree of bilingualism. This variability in the degree of bilingualism exhibited by HL learners depends on a number of factors, namely, amount of exposure to the

HL during childhood, age of arrival (if foreign-born), or access to bilingual education (Valdés 1995). Due to their previous naturalistic aural exposure to language, HL learners typically display less experience with Spanish literacy skills and metalinguistic knowledge than FL learners (Carreira 2003; Correa 2011b, 2014; Montrul and Bowles 2008; Potowski 2005; Valdés 1995), but they also bring conversational skills and a vast array of valuable linguistic and cultural experience that their FL counterparts lack. It is precisely this diversity in terms of cultural and linguistic knowledge that makes a critical pedagogical approach, which values the learner as a knowledge bearer, not only appropriate but also highly powerful for this population.

In spite of this potential, HL education faces a major obstacle in institutions across the USA: while *foreign* languages are seen as resources, *ethnic* languages are treated as problems (Ruiz 1990) which sadly implies that the same language enjoys a different social status depending on the learner/speaker (FL or HL). The popular view that is held not only by outsiders but also by many language instructors and many students themselves – mainly due to that lack of metalinguistic awareness and linguistic deviation from the prestigious variety – is that the varieties that HL learners already speak are *deficient* and in need of *urgent fixing*. This linguistic stigmatization often results in HL learners feeling that they do not belong in the classroom and perpetuating the idea that their HL is more of a hindrance than an advantage to them (Beaudrie and Ducar 2005; Gutiérrez 1997; Villa 2002). Our task, then, is to take an approach to language variation that "debunk[s] this persistent societal myth and reconstruct[s] students' language ideologies so as to give both FLs and HLs and their learners an equal status" (Beaudrie and Ducar 2005, p. 3). Beaudrie (2015) proposes the following classification of classroom approaches to heritage language variation (starting with more traditional to more modern approaches):

(a) Eradication approach: teach the standard variety and eradicate nonprestige forms.
(b) Expansion approach: develop learner's competence by focusing on the standard/ academic form of the language. Learner's varieties are not valued or acknowledged.
(c) Appreciation approach: make students aware of dialectical differences. Language diversity is valued.
(d) Appropriateness-based approach: add the standard variety to the learner's repertoire. Appropriate contexts for using different varieties are taught.
(e) Critical approach: the learner's variety is central to instruction. Standard forms are also taught, but students are made aware of the social and political functions of different language varieties.

In contrast to the approaches (a) through (d), critical pedagogy's objective is not to prevent students from learning and/or using any variety (be it the vernacular or the so-called *standard*). Quite on the contrary, its mission is to promote an understanding of the relationship between language hierarchies, linguistic variation, and social/ political ideologies as well as the implications of this relationship *(critical language*
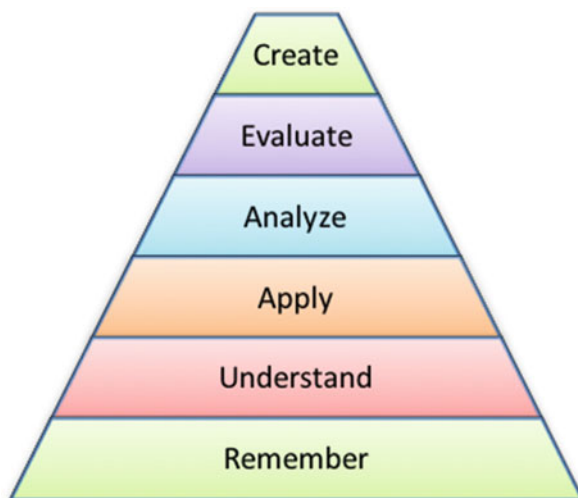
awareness) (Leeman 2005; Martinez 2003; Martinez and Schwartz 2012). This approach is in clear contrast with the appropriateness-based approach in that, instead of the instructor talking about what is or is not appropriate and when, students are exposed to a wide array of varieties used in the real world and they can see for themselves that variation as a real, natural phenomenon.

Not surprisingly, the top domains in Anderson et al.'s (2001) revised taxonomy of Bloom (Fig. 1) coincide with the main goals of critical pedagogies: Analysis, evaluation, and creation are skills that need to be stimulated in order to enhance democratization and foster critical thinking in (and outside of) the classroom. As writing is one of the best ways to sort out one's thinking and to discover oneself, it is of paramount importance that students are equipped with the appropriate rhetorical skills and strategies that they will need to connect their ideas and deliver them in an efficient manner and in a variety of contexts. Of course, this sophisticated language should not be confused with *standard,* since the latter is "ideologically constructed by [a] process [that involves] the codification and institutionalization of the dominant linguistic and cultural norms of the educated native speaker" (Train 2002, p. 2), but it is *not* by any means the only variety that can deliver complex messages efficiently. HL learners should be encouraged to gradually develop the language sophistication they need for successful written communication and made aware that writing is a complex, self-regulated process that requires constant analysis and revision.

Due to their reliance on aural cues, HL learners have a strong tendency to write in the same way that they speak (Chevalier 2004; Loewen 2008), which might become a serious literacy issue for languages with different writing systems (Pyun and Lee-Smith 2011). Given that reading is key for helping students improve their writing (Loewen 2008), the HL classroom should become a place where students

have access to all kinds of genres and styles. Naturally, written material (in electronic or paper format) should not be restricted to only standard varieties; instead, an effort should be made to include a wide assortment of authentic materials that reinforce the idea that language diversity is valued and encouraged in the classroom.

The HL classroom should not only be a site of language maintenance and revitalization (linguistic survival) but also a site of linguistic discovery. Although it is key for HL learners to learn that all varieties are linguistically valid and recognize the social, political, and ideological parameters in making choices between varieties, it is more significant that they be able to determine it by themselves. For this reason, it is reasonable to include a component in the classroom where language is not only seen as a delivery tool but also as an object of study. HL learners often encounter problems with grammatical terminology, simple grammatical analysis, and/or simple grammatical items on demand (Bowles 2011; Correa 2011b, 2014; Montrul and Ionin 2012; Potowski et al. 2012; Samaniego and Pino 2000; Valdés 1995), so it is vital that they discover the many advantages of metalanguage and metalinguistic awareness through form-focused instruction. In fact, learning about language not only serves as a way of improving literacy and communication skills, but it also provides tools for reflection, awareness, and empowerment (Correa 2010; Potowski 2005).

Although the use of English is still taboo in many language classrooms, there has been a tendency in recent years to see the many benefits of using it when appropriate (Cook 2001; Cummins 2007). In the case of HL teaching in the USA, not allowing the use of English in the classroom is as unnatural and counterproductive as not letting them speak at all. In fact, in order for them to feel comfortable (especially in beginning levels), the use of both English and the HL should be not only expected but also stimulated. The idea of *linguistic contamination* should be questioned and students should be encouraged to use their inner voice in whatever language they feel more comfortable (Tomlinson 2014). In the case of students who may be transactional interpreters (language brokers) for their families, this would be an opportunity for them to see that flexibility between both languages is a powerful device that can be effectively exploited to accomplish a range of social functions, including identity construction.

Last but not least, students' goals should be sought and fully taken into account when developing a language curriculum. For example, Carreira (2003) noted that HL learners' motivations shift as their proficiency in Spanish develops: students at the lowest levels of competence are moved by personal reasons, "such as connecting with family members" (p. 52), whereas students with high proficiency want to learn academic or professional uses of Spanish. In order to satisfy students' present and future wants, then, teachers and learners need to systematically negotiate class goals and objectives, taking into account that these might change as students advance their careers.

Another reason to negotiate learning objectives with students is that critical pedagogy is not confined to the limits of the classroom. The general expectation is that, sooner or later, the HL and the FL tracks will merge together (in content or advanced language courses). At this point, the linguistic expectations on the part of

the teacher, who more than likely will not have any training in (HL) pedagogy, will be the same kind that FL teachers have for FL learners. HL learners, then, will be expected to have mastered academic and standard varieties and "pass undetected among 'real' [. . .] majors" (Valdés 1997, p. 12). HL learners will then have to make a decision: should they use a variety of their choosing or should they conform to the variety that the teacher expects? Students should be able to use their sociolinguistic knowledge on dialect variation to be able to critically defend the variety they choose and avoid what Krashen (1998) calls *language shyness* (avoidance of interaction with other speakers as a result of the embarrassment of being corrected or ridiculed). Martinez (2003) said:

> If our students walk into the class saying *haiga* and walk out saying *haya*, there has been, in my estimation, no value added. However, if they walk in saying *haiga* and walk out saying either *haya* or *haiga* **and** having the ability to defend their use of *haiga* if and when **they** see fit, then there has been value added. It is critical that we strive to allow students to develop this type of sociolinguistic sophistication in our endeavors as SHL educators. (np)

However, it is vital to take into account that it is common for many HL learners to end up acquiring a job within their own community (Potowski 2005). Retaining their variety, then, is not only a right they should have and exercise but also a strategic decision in preparation for a successful career.

Recommendations for Culture and Identity Development in the HL Classroom

The goals of HL education are not only linguistic in nature. In fact, multiculturalism is an essential component that cannot be overlooked. Culture is a complex system of behavior, values, beliefs, products, and traditions that is quite challenging to describe and delimit. For the purposes of this chapter, culture is defined as "the way in which the People understand and express their world and how the People understand themselves in their relation to their world" (Freire and Macedo 2013, p. 60), and it is conceptualized as comprising the following four dimensions (Adaskou et al. 1990, pp. 3–4):

(a) Aesthetic sense: Culture with a *capital C* (media, cinema, music, and literature)
(b) Sociological sense: Culture with a *small c* (organization and nature of family, home life, interpersonal relations, customs, etc.).
(c) Semantic sense: The conceptual system that conditions all our perceptions and thought processes (time/space relations, emotional states).
(d) Pragmatic or sociolinguistic sense: Background knowledge, social skills, para-linguistic skills that make successful communication possible.

This multi and inter-dimensionality can make integrating culture in the language classroom an intimidating and overwhelming task. However, culture is also a

primary component of language learning, and it should not be avoided or relegated to a secondary role in any language classroom. On the contrary, culture should be perceived as the backbone around which language activities are built. One of the most distinctive characteristics of language classrooms is that the range of topics that can be introduced or discussed is practically infinite, which makes the classroom a site of intellectual hospitality, critical engagement, and empowerment. As a consequence, a symbiosis of culture and language occurs: in-depth discussions demand sophisticated language for successful articulation and sophisticated language feeds more elaborated arguments.

The previous section questioned the legitimacy of building heritage language programs around *desirable* and *nondesirable* language varieties. Likewise, a critical pedagogical approach to culture does not seek to promote one culture over another but to increase the awareness of different cultures and engage in critical intercultural reflections along the four dimensions previously discussed.

It is not surprising that educational paradigms that propagate a worldview that perpetuates existing power relationships alienate HL students. In fact, when the culture – or dimension of culture – that the students bring with them is negated, ignored, or deemed as less important than others, they get the message that they do not belong and that their culture is not worthy of study. Critical pedagogy places students' cultural and linguistic experiences at the center of the curriculum and considers that the knowledge that they bring to the classroom is as much or even more valuable than the one that can be found in textbooks. Since human beings, by nature, are curious, creative, and observant creatures, an elitist pedagogy that does not recognize or nourish those abilities would prevent students from developing themselves both individually and as a group. Instead, providing an environment that is culturally sensitive and open, not only addresses their necessities but also provides a space where everybody (including the instructors) will learn from each other (or co-construct knowledge):

> There are no unified subjects here, only students whose voices and experiences intermingle with the weight of particular histories that will not fit into the master narrative of a monolithic culture. Such borderlands should be seen as sites for both critical analysis and as a potential source of experimentation, creativity, and possibility. (Giroux 1991, p. 63)

There is a wealth of research examining the relationship between construction of ethnic that identity, heritage language proficiency, and community membership that suggests: (1) students who emphasize their in-group speech style by attaining group membership are likely to maintain or enhance their HL identity (Chinen and Tucker 2005); (2) those who develop their HL have a strong ethnic identity and have greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners (Cho 2000); and (3) HL proficiency is related to strength of bicultural identification (Lee 2002). However, students whose identity has been historically negated cannot be expected to automatically embrace it. Based on ethnic minorities' (EMs) attitudes toward the heritage and majority languages, Tse (1998) proposed a four-stage model of ethnic development:

(a) *Unawareness:* a short period before EMs attend school or leave their ethnic surrounding in which they are not aware of their status as a minority.
(b) *Ethnic ambivalence/evasion:* ambivalent or negative feelings toward the ethnic identity and preference to identify with the dominant culture instead.
(c) *Ethnic emergence:* the time in which EMs begin exploring their ethnic identity and sometimes embrace their own heritage.
(d) *Ethnic identity incorporation*: the stage where EMs resolve many of their ethnic identity conflicts and accept themselves as an ethnic minority.

Although Tse (1998) notes that not all ethnic minorities go through all four stages, she predicted that HL acquisition will not occur satisfactorily as long as the learner is in the second stage (Ethnic Ambivalence/Evasion). Thus, the HL classroom should be a space where learners feel safe enough to achieve the *ethnic identity incorporation* stage.

The Critical Teacher

In order to successfully implement the previously proposed HL classroom within a critical curriculum, a *critical* teacher is needed. In the fourth letter to "those who dare to teach," Freire (2008) described the key attributes of a progressive (critical) teacher. He starts with humility, because humility is vital for teachers to understand that they do not know everything and to enable them to listen without being condescending. Another important virtue is tolerance, but not of the hypocritical type, or that acquiesces the *intolerable*; instead, one that teaches how "to learn from and respect the different" (p. 210). Although humility and tolerance are sine qua non traits required for critical pedagogues, when it comes to decision making Freire is very clear: even though it is not always easy, not being able to make decisions about teaching is a major deficiency that will be rightfully perceived as a moral weakness or professional incompetence. Obviously, decisiveness must not be confused with authoritarianism or injustice, and he recommends discussing problems with students and making decisions in a confident, competent, clear, and ethical manner.

Similarly, Wu et al. (2011) affirmed that one of the main personal objectives for a critical teacher is to develop her or his own professional identity by sharing authority and co-constructing knowledge with the students. However, it must not be forgotten that the teacher is still a powerful figure in the HL classroom, and as such, what s/he says can empower or disempower students. It is for this reason that, in addition to very specific pedagogical, linguistic, and sociological knowledge, critical teachers need to be able to empathize with students in such a way that the classroom becomes a place "that thinks, that participates, that creates, that speaks, that loves, that guesses, that passionately embraces and says yes to life. It is not a [place] that quiets down and quits" (Freire 2008, p. 212).

A great deal of the critical teacher's effort should go into conducting self-assessments and shifting her or his instructional practices based on those assessments. Sometimes, what an instructor believes is the best approach or objective for

the class turns out to be the best approach or objective for only a subset of the students in the class. As a consequence, changes have to be made in order to accommodate the rest. This cannot be accomplished unless the teacher is (1) aware of how the class is progressing and (2) prepared and willing to make any changes that might make the classroom experience more productive for all students. Being open to change and self-improvement is essential for the development of a teacher's professional identity and for HL students' success.

Materials and Activities

Given that HL instructors must adjust the course to the students and not the students to the course, it is essential that they take into account the topics that arise in the HL classroom. Informal surveys and diagnostic assessments at the beginning, middle, and end of the course are an easy and cost-effective way for instructors to gather information about their students' needs, interests, sociolinguistic background, and linguistic strengths/weaknesses. These surveys are also an excellent tool for students to discover their evolving beliefs in relation to their cultural and linguistic background. Additionally, giving them several times during the semester may also help elucidate whether students' motivations to study the language shifts as they continue language study, as suggested by Felix (2009). Diagnostic assessments, on the other hand, should help the instructor decide on the successes and failures of the methodology and content of the course and make the appropriate modifications.

Because they are written for nonnative speakers, foreign language textbooks are considered too simple and/or inappropriate for HL students (Campbell and Rosenthal 2000). It is important for HL learners to use materials that are not only authentic but also culturally and linguistically relevant. For example, if most Arabic students are from a Lebanese background, using materials that are used with students of Saudi Arabian descent would be simply inappropriate. For this reason, it might be a better idea to gather a compilation of authentic materials that come from a variety of places, such as the community where most of the students might come from, popular media consumed by them, and other materials from other cultures/communities. The reason why a wide variety of resources (in terms of both linguistic varieties and registers) is advisable is twofold: (1) using local materials lets the student know that her or his culture is as worthy of study as any other and (2) including other materials contributes to increasing their ability to interact with speakers of other varieties by expanding their intercultural and linguistic competence.

Materials must also be challenging and meaningful. It has been noted that forcing HL learners to do meaningless tasks, such as conjugating verbal paradigms or talking about insignificant topics, turns them off to studying their language (Lynch 2003; Samaniego and Pino 2000). Conversely, by providing them with challenging topics and tasks, HL instructors can ensure not only that they stay focused but also that they become aware of the skills that need work in order to be able to express their ideas successfully. For example, respectfully contrasting the views that

different cultures or communities hold on controversial topics is a powerful way to enhance critical multiculturalism and to integrate the four dimensions of culture discussed previously.

   Since the goal is to begin where students are, rather than where the instructor thinks they should be, the most appropriate approach to grammar would be a pragmatic, reactive one. As the thoughts students wish to communicate become more intricate, a more sophisticated language (not necessarily standard) will be expected to become essential. Thus, the critical instructor should assess both what students already know and what they can learn and provide them with the grammatical and discursive tools that will allow them to accomplish that task.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This chapter proposes a critical approach to HL teaching that aims to reverse the trend toward language loss and empower the student to critically reflect on the social and economic issues surrounding linguistic and cultural discrimination. In order to fight the perpetuation of hegemonic ideologies of oppression that privilege the powerful groups in society, critical pedagogies call for a reexamination of the biases about language, social class, power, and equity that underlie language use (Reagan and Osborn 2001) and provide learners with tools that enable them to confront all kinds of linguistic subordination. Also, by combating the traditional silencing of these students' voices and promoting their empowerment (Leeman 2005, p. 41), this approach contributes to the rescuing of their history and culture. This approach, which sees the classroom as a site of intellectual hospitality, critical engagement, and empowerment, empowers HL learners to: (1) reverse the trend toward language loss and prevent *language shyness*, (2) develop intercultural competence, (3) critically reflect on the social and economic issues behind linguistic choices and attitudes, and (4) move the student to a sense of self-determination and individual agency plus action.

Cross-References

▶ Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Modeling Teachers' Professional Learning to Advance Plurilingualism
▶ Heritage Language Learners in Mixed University Classes: Language Skills, Attitudes, and Implications for Curriculum Development
▶ Heritage Language, Identity, and Education in Europe: Evidence from the UK
▶ Professional Development of Heritage Language Instructors: Profiles, Needs, and Course Evaluation
▶ The National Heritage Language Resource Center: A Locus of Activity in the Field of Heritage Languages in the USA
▶ Twice a Foreigner in a Foreign Land: Dispute and Identity Assertion Among Expatriate Students in Germany, Based on Language and Origin

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Sustainability of French Heritage Language Education in the United States

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Abstract

Throughout the controversial history of bilingualism and the preservation of heritage languages (HL) in the United States, French has often enjoyed a privileged status, particularly because French has long been the second most commonly studied foreign language in schools and universities. However, access to these classes is often difficult for speakers of French as HL, especially in a country which over more than two centuries has often experienced nativist reactions to speakers of Language Other Than English. Through recent initiatives, such as the creation of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, or the French Heritage Language Program in New York, Florida, and Maine, speakers of French as HL have had increased opportunities to ensure transmission of French to new generations. However, the sustainability of French HL education in the United States remains a challenging endeavor, strongly linked to larger contexts of globalization, national education, and immigration policies, as well as to the ability of local communities to support and maintain French as HL. Most recently, the needs of new immigrants from Francophone countries have

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converged with those of long standing communities of French descent to open new opportunities. The combined efforts of multiple partners within a larger context of increased awareness of the benefits of multilingualism has given new impetus to the sustainability of French HL education in the United States.

Contents

Introduction

The United States has a rich history of 300 years of heritage languages (HL) spoken by multitudes of immigrants from abroad as well as by Native Americans (Fishman 2001). French HL speakers in the United States have included remarkably diverse communities, ranging from early settlers, both Catholic and Protestant (Huguenot) refugees from eighteenth century France, Acadians and Quebecois immigrants in the seventeenth and early twentieth century, more recently French speakers from the Francophone nations of West Africa and the Caribbean, as well as European expatriates (Ross and Jaumont 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). They range geographically from the historic French communities in Louisiana and New England to the major urban centers in Miami, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago where immigrant communities have settled just as European expatriates have done, creating critical masses of French HL speakers among the school-aged populations (Ross et al. n.d.).

However, despite the rich diversity of languages spoken by the millions of immigrants who have settled in the United States over the past 300 years, and despite a highly decentralized educational system that lacks a unified national language policy, the United States remains an overwhelmingly English-speaking nation, even among recent immigrants who most often lose their home languages within a relatively brief three generations (Fishman 1966; Rumbaut 2009; Suarez-Orozco 2001; Rumbaut 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

The pattern of language shift and loss was first explored in Joshua Fishman's 1966 seminal work on the survival of minority languages in the United States,

Language Loyalty in the United States. This loss over successive generations has not only been a passive phenomenon, marked by a presumed disinterest in the transmission of HL to future generations or a supposed avoidance by younger generations of learning their HL (Fishman 1991). The difficulties faced by HL speakers in transmitting their languages to their children also reflects an active and aggressive nativist tradition, sometimes under the guise of promoting national unity through English Only policies, sometimes even less transparently racist in nature (Crawford 1992).

As Ofelia Garcia (2014) has pointed out, "It is impossible to separate issues of language education practices from those of power, ideology, and the stakeholders involved – the community, parents, students and teachers, and pedagogical practices." Thus, a review of French HL education in the United States must consider not only the status of French HL education itself, but also larger context of how Languages Other Than English (LOTE) are sustained in a country that is, perhaps more than most, monolingual, as well as how pedagogical practices can serve to foster or to hinder the development of HL learning. As Ruben Rumbaut (2009) has noted, the United States is a country where, for three centuries and despite receiving multitudes of immigrants, "language homogeneity come to be seen as the bedrock of national identity [whereby] immigrants were not only expected to speak English, but to speak English *only* as a prerequisite of social acceptance and integrations." This extremely strong pressure for linguistic assimilation in the United States, which practically extinguishes almost all HLs within the three generations of immigration, has resulted in a rate of mother tongue shift towards monolingualism in the United States that surpassed all other countries (Lieberson et al. 1975).

However, while bilingual education and support for HL learning remains a complex and contested issue in some parts of the United States (notably California, Arizona, and Massachusetts where state laws made bilingual education illegal), the larger changing geopolitical context has begun to alter this historical pattern of language loss, especially since the beginning of the twenty-first century. There has been a marked increase in recent arrivals continuing to value retention of their languages at home and a growing awareness of the advantages of bilingualism on cognitive development (Brinton et al. 2008; Carreira and Kagan 2011; Carreira et al. 2009; Hornberger and Wang 2008). In the case of the French language, the French Ministry of Foreign affairs and its main cultural agency, the Institut Français, have also increased the support and promotion of French language learning in general, and French HL learning in particular, in the United States. This support reaches both French second language learners, as well as both Francophones and French expatriates, and has been especially important for Francophone immigrants in the United States in ensuring the development of new programs and methodologies for French HL speakers.

Similarly, the United States State Department and Education Department have increasingly recognized the need for developing greater linguistic resources, especially in the face of national security threats since September 11, 2001. The creation of the National Heritage Language Resource Center at UCLA, with the launching of

the scholarly Heritage Language Journal, sponsoring conferences and research initiatives, have all combined to help create and sustain new pedagogies across HL communities, benefitting French HL speakers as well as others. Even some of the traditional, historical centers of French speakers in Maine and Louisiana, which often struggled in the past against aggressive anti-French repression, more recently have become fertile grounds for sustainable French HL education in the United States.

French HL Education and the Global Context for Sustainability

Garcia's assessment of multilingual education in the United States is especially relevant to the French HL communities, placing HL learning in the context of larger issues of power and ideology, an examination of the role of a growing number of stakeholders among parents, students, and teachers, as well as the development of pedagogies and practices that can sustain HL programs. Two important geopolitical prerequisites for the success of French HL programs in the United States are the status of French itself in the USA and in the world in general, and the expanding numbers of French speakers globally (estimated to reach over 750 million by 2050) many of whom are apt to migrate. Reaching critical mass as numbers of French-speaking immigrants and expatriate families find common ground in urban centers has been the key to the development of the French Bilingual revolution in New York (Jaumont and Ross 2012), and has also helped spark interest among families in other cities.

In Francophone communities in urban centers, parents have become the builders of educational opportunities for their children in French. Cooperation among multiple partners with diverse socioeconomic profiles, varied racial or ethnic backgrounds, government agencies, and parent associations, who are all motivated by advantages of bilingual education tailored to Francophones, has been critical to the success and sustainability of these programs. Parent associations have been particularly helpful in sustaining bilingual programs, sparking community interest at large, and finding the government aid necessary for the success of innovative programs in public schools.

The expansion of HL research has been driven by current geopolitical situations, characterized by large-scale immigration and a growing number of minority language speakers at all levels of schooling, as well as national security concerns that have heightened awareness of the value of heritage speakers' linguistic abilities in the United States. While French is not among the "critical languages" designated by the US government for intensive development, it has nonetheless benefitted from expanded research into the educational, social, and emotional values of developing the linguistic capacities of heritage speakers. Additionally, French continues to enjoy a privileged status in the United States, where over nine million citizens claim French ancestry (US Census Bureau 2015b) and where French is the second most commonly studied language in schools and universities.

Under the support of initiatives such as the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) and the French Heritage Language Program (FHLP) in New York, Florida, and Maine, speakers of French as HL have had opportunities to ensure transmission of French to their children and to provide educational and career opportunities that benefit their future. Incorporating French HL education programs into public schools as dual language or immersion programs has also helped increase the sustainability of HL learning for a broad range of communities, sometimes joining together the needs of new immigrants with those of long standing communities of French descent, as well as reaching American monolingual children whose families have put a value added on developing fluency in French. This principle has been particularly well illustrated in Francophone communities in Boston, Washington DC, San Francisco, Miami, and New York, where parents have become the builders of educational opportunities for their children in French. In New York, parents of these students include European and Canadian expatriates in Manhattan and in the western part of Brooklyn, West Africans in Harlem and in the Bronx, Haitians in eastern Queens and Brooklyn, and North Africans in western Queens. The ethnic and sociocultural diversity of the Francophone community of New York has enhanced the unique position of French HL learning, which also has a broad appeal to monolingual English speakers in search of bilingual opportunities for their children.

From California to Florida, from Utah to Minnesota, new practices and pedagogies in French-language education in the United States has been on the rise for the past 10 years. The number of French-English bilingual programs in public schools has increased dramatically thanks to French and American families who believe in the benefits of bilingualism, along with the support of local governments in favor of this type of education. Additionally, French HL programs have benefitted from investments by other governments and nongovernmental agencies, including the French Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs, governments of Quebec and Canada, and the Organization International of Francophonie, whose direct and indirect support through exchanges of expertise and instructors have helped facilitate the development of programs.

Opportunities to incorporate HL learning within a broader context of educational opportunities, whether shared with English speakers who hope to develop bilingualism or with English language learners whose French capacities serve to help in the acquisition of new competencies, have opened the possibility for sustainability that can endure beyond an initial influx of French speakers in a community. When combined with long established school-based academic programs, such as the College Board's Advanced Placement French program, HL classes can become an integral part of a school's mission. Within such programs, HL speakers can continue to develop their linguistic capacities beyond the goals of typical "transitional" bilingual programs (Valdes 2001; Montrul 2015). Students in HL programs are able to reinforce their bilingualism instead of abandoning their home language to learn a new one as they enter the country. Moreover, HL programs provide students with a sense of global identity by giving value and

meaning to their home language in an institutional context (Leeman 2015; Peyton et al. 2001; Scontras et al. 2015).

The Stakeholders: French HL Communities in a Diverse and Expanding Landscape

In addition to the geopolitical prerequisites discussed above (the status of French and the expanding presence of French speakers in the United States), an additional important component in the success and sustainability of French HL programs is the extensive support of the French government itself for such initiatives as France continues to promote the French language abroad as a significant World Language, spoken by millions on all continents, and an official language of diplomacy in most international organizations including the United Nations.

Additionally, French is the fifth most commonly spoken home language in the United States, after English, Spanish, Chinese, and Tagalog (US Census Bureau 2015a), which explains the strong presence of Francophone communities across the country, especially in regions with a historically French-speaking population (Louisiana and New England) and major urban centers with growing Francophone immigration (Valdman 2010). Except for small groups of French expatriates living in the New York area or other major cities like San Francisco, Boston, Chicago, and Miami, most Francophone communities are more diverse, having been continuously renewed by a flow of immigrants from French-speaking countries in Africa. The Haitian diaspora in Boston, the New York area, and South Florida currently totals nearly a million people and represents a significant number of Francophones, many of whom also speak Haitian Creole.

Similarly, several waves of immigrants from Africa have brought more Francophones to the United States, many from countries where French has been the primary language of instruction (Senegal, Mali, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast, for example), even while many also speak other languages at home. In 2015, the "American Community Survey" reports that over 1.3 million people in the United States speak French at home, and the actual number of French speakers is undoubtedly much higher. There are over 700,000 Haitian Creole speakers in the USA, of whom an estimated 20% also speak French fluently (Zephyr 2004). The concentration of Francophones in major urban centers such as Houston, Los Angeles, Washington DC, and Boston is also noteworthy. Given the significant presence of French as an international language, it is expected that the number of Francophones in the United States will continue to grow through immigration.

As noted above, Francophone communities in the United States have diverse historical and geographic origins. Some Francophone communities trace their lineage as far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These early settlers and refugees from Europe and Canada, most notably the Acadians of Maine, as well as the Creoles, Cajuns, and Native Americans in Louisiana, passed their language down through several generations. Others immigrated more recently, mainly from France, Haiti, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, and other African countries. Lately, these multiethnic

communities have begun to work together in order to develop language training and economic prospects encouraging the transmission of French to new generations of speakers in order to ensure the long-term vitality of the French language in the United States (Ross and Jaumont 2013).

Successive waves of French immigrants from seventeenth century Huguenot settlers through Catholic royalists and the refugees from the French Revolution, and later Alsatians, Bretons, and Corsicans who arrived in the nineteenth century, established French schools, churches, and institutions in their new country. However, over time, these communities demonstrated the shift from French to English observed by Fishman and others (1966); even as French continued to grow in popularity in academic settings, these French communities lived in a separate world isolated from opportunities and in some cases subject to legislative prohibitions and even acts of violence, such as the anti-French Klu Klux Klan's attacks in Lewiston and elsewhere in Maine.

Recent French and Francophone immigrants to the United States have increasingly sought to maintain cultural and emotional ties to the French language in ways earlier generations could not have imagined. A survey of high school students in the New York-based FHLP noted the impact of the use of digital communications, social media, and telecommunications in increasing the opportunities and motivation for these students to continue using their French language skills as they remain in contact with family and friends overseas (Ducrey 2016). Many also listen to music in French, citing major French-speaking artists such as Maitre Gims and La Fouine among their favorite artists.

French HL parents are also making considerable efforts to ensure that French continues to be spoken within the family, schools, cultural centers, community centers, and local organizations through education suitable for formal French standards. Among FHLP students in New York, 70% participating in the 2016 social impact assessment mentioned that their parents told them it was very important for them to keep up their French. Franco-American communities long-established in New England, and particularly the Cajuns and Houma of Louisiana, have begun to revitalize the French language after years of neglect due to prolonged discrimination. In Maine, a recent influx of French-speaking Africans has provided unexpected support for the French language in the region. Meanwhile, French parents within expatriate communities have created bilingual programs and promote French after-school instruction in public schools in urban centers like New York, Boston, and San Francisco. The role played by Francophone immigrants from West Africa and Haiti has been particularly important in schools, churches, and community centers in New York and Miami, making it possible for children within these communities to maintain and develop their French language skills.

The French population of the United States has increased by 35% over the past 15 years. French expatriates come from diverse backgrounds. Not long ago, expatriation was synonymous with the wealthy households of French professionals positioned abroad by French corporations. Their daily expenses – housing, the schooling of their children – were paid for by their employer. The new generation of expatriates is younger and less likely to return to France. Many are also unable to

afford the costs of some of the 45 or more French private schools which follow the French national curriculum, and so have worked to create programs that focus on the French language within the context of US public schools.

Sustaining French HL learning via immersion and dual language programs has thus become an effective means of creating opportunities for French-speaking families to ensure that their children maintain and develop their linguistic competencies in French. A key component for success for HL programs is raising awareness about how valuable knowing French can be in the USA, something the FHLP has achieved in NYC. When asked why they thought French was useful to know in the USA, 23% of students responded because it helps/helped them learn English, 23% more claimed it would help them get a job, and another 15% answered it would allow them to take AP French and receive college credits. The awareness of the very pragmatic benefits of knowing French is instrumental in advocating for heritage language learning among the student population, school administration, and external partners (Ducrey 2016).

The fact that dual language programs also increasingly appeal to English-speaking families as a means of more effectively helping their children acquire a second language also has become an effective argument within public school systems for creating programs that serve HL speakers even when their numbers are small. However, these opportunities are not without challenges. In many cases program initiators have to build strong cases to convince local school authorities that French immersion classes can be beneficial to both French-speaking and non-French speaking students. In Louisiana, for example, some of the most historically French-speaking parishes remain resistant to the idea of French immersion classrooms. More than a few hurdles stand in the way of additional French immersion classes. Certain school districts are more difficult to convince than others, and because each state and sometimes each city or town has its own education department and/or board of education, many decisions, especially concerning curriculum design and teacher certification, are above all political ones. Sometimes the ability to open and sustain programs are essentially legislative decisions that can be cumbersome, especially concerning contested issues such as curriculum design, international partnerships, and both the certification and recruitment of teachers from other countries whose competencies in French are valuable assets to heritage language immersion and dual language programs. In the Miami-Dade district in Florida, for example, teachers lacking Florida certification are not allowed in classrooms, even though fully qualified within the rigorous French national education ministry, and so it has been difficult to recruit native French speakers to teach heritage speakers.

Sustaining HL Education Through Legislation: The Case of Louisiana

Louisiana exemplifies the state-led model of revitalization and sustainability of French as a heritage language, where the state legislature enables school districts to create immersion programs. Such initiatives can facilitate recruitment of bilingual

teachers, help accelerate the creation of curricula, and normalize foreign/second language development standards across the state. The states of Utah and Georgia are also good examples in their support of dual language initiatives. Beyond the economic benefits of teaching a second language to their students, these states have seen a means to accelerate learning, to keep students from dropping out of school, to increase academic outcomes, and to close the achievement gap.

Louisiana was one of the first states to embrace French dual language education. As a former French colony on the North American continent, Louisiana shares a rich cultural heritage with France, Canada, the Caribbean, and Africa, and, initially during the early years of statehood, was technically bilingual with French being de facto the official second language. However, in 1921, the Louisiana Constitution imposed English as the mandatory language of education in the public schools of Louisiana. French, along with other heritage languages (Creole, Spanish, German, and Native American languages) were deemed "foreign languages" and taught only as such. This forced assimilation into English coupled with segregation into separate schools for White, Black, and Native American Francophones and Creolophones resulted in the fracturing of these HL communities and subsequent continued erosion of both language skills and community identity. French HL speakers no longer passed on their vernacular heritage language(s) to their children, leading to full language shift to English throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

Social stigmatization of French and Creole speakers led to the further decline of the French language until 1968 when a state agency, the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, (CODOFIL) was created to "preserve" and promote the French language. French was reintroduced into elementary schools throughout Louisiana, exposing thousands of schoolchildren to the language in a classroom setting for the first time. However, while the initial efforts of CODOFIL were embraced by some, many heritage language speakers reacted negatively, shocked that international teachers were brought into Louisiana schools and that their children and grandchildren were being taught "Parisian French," as opposed to local vernacular. This perception of "difference" remains an obstacle to the expansion of immersion learning environments in many parishes today.

CODOFIL's purpose is to represent and meet the cultural and educational needs of all of Louisiana's French and Creole language populations. Its mission is to support the development of French immersion programs in schools across the state, as well as to generate greater sociocultural economic development opportunities for Louisiana's diverse French- and Creole-speaking people. From 405 students in 1991 to nearly 5000 students in 30 schools in 2016, Louisiana has the largest number of French immersion programs and students in the entire country. The state offers French language immersion programs in nine parishes, where almost 200 teachers from all over the French-speaking world use French to teach content area concepts and skills. French immersion in this context typically begins in Kindergarten and runs through eighth grade. In 2016, Lafayette High School in Lafayette, Louisiana became the first secondary school to achieve state certification for its immersion program.

CODOFIL originally consisted of a chairman and an advisory committee, all appointed by the governor of Louisiana. Today it is administered by a president, an executive director, and a board of as many as 23 nonpaid members. In addition to the governor, various Louisiana organizations nominate and select board members, who serve for a term of 4 years. Through its legislature, Louisiana seeks to promote linguistic proficiency and cultural literacy in one or more languages, in addition to English, and to publicly recognize the achievement of these skills through the creation of a Seal of Biliteracy for all students in Louisiana, and in particular French speakers. This is done with the belief that the study of world languages and heritage language in particular contributes to a student's cognitive development, to the State's economy, and to national security. Legislation in this context furthers the sustainability of heritage language education with the purpose of providing recognition and sustainability. It is also central to providing returns on investments to the State's economy, as this excerpt confirms:

> The benefits to employers in having staff fluent in more than one language are clear and include access to an expanded market, allowing business owners to better serve their customers' needs, and the sparking of new marketing ideas that better target a particular audience and open a channel of communication with customers... The maintenance and promotion of Louisiana's heritage languages among its youth contributes to the vibrancy of the state's culture and supports its unique place in the United States and the world. (House Bill No. 1016 Regular Session, 2014 by Representative Pierre and Senator Thompson)

Recent Louisiana legislation relative to the French language is as follows:

2010	CODOFIL mission	Act 679 of the 2010 regular session of Louisiana Legislature provides for the restructuring of the agency by authorizing CODOFIL to "preserve, promote, and develop Louisiana's 7 French and Creole culture, heritage, and language." It also gave CODOFIL specific mandates relative to: (1) tourism and economic development efforts in French; (2) relationships with other Francophone regions, provinces, and countries; (3) support of elementary and secondary French immersion programs; (4) development of a model French immersion program; (5) increasing the number of French immersion programs, specifically in the parishes of the "Acadiana" region; and (6) development of a "French friendly" label to identify festivals, businesses, etc. that provide service in French
2011	Louisiana French Services Program	Act 106 of the 2011 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature provides for the identification of state employees who speak French in order to provide to services to Louisiana and international francophones
2011	State-certified immersion schools	Act 212 of the 2011 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature provides for the certification of foreign language immersion programs as a means to provide statewide standards

(continued)

2012	**Official language of CODOFIL**	Act 202 of the 2012 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature provides for French to be the official working language of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana. It also provides for CODOFIL to be known as "Agence des affaires francophones" in French and "Francophone Affairs Agency" in English
2012	**International high school resolution**	Act 851 of the 2012 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature calls for the creation of an exploratory committee relative to the establishment of an international foreign language immersion school at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette
2013	**Immersion Choice Act 1.0**	Act 361 of the 2013 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature mandates that local educational authorities provide a foreign language immersion program when the parents of at least 25 kindergarten-aged children petition the Louisiana Department of Education for such a program
2014	**Immersion Choice Act 2.0**	Act 196 of the 2014 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature reinforces the 2013 Immersion Choice Act by stating that local educational authorities cannot deny access to foreign language immersion programs provided that all of the requirements outlined in Act 361 of the 2013 regular session are met
2014	**Seal of Biliteracy**	Act 99 of the 2014 regular session of the Louisiana Legislature provides for a seal of biliteracy to be affixed the diplomas or transcripts of graduating seniors who meet certain academic eligibility criteria relative to language proficiency

Through its legislation the State of Louisiana offers an exemplary case of educational sustainability, which has benefited French heritage language education. Despite these legislative and educational efforts, much work remains to be done in Louisiana to expand French language opportunities at the university level, where it is difficult to find subject matter taught in French that would prepare students to enter a bilingual workforce. As of this writing, there are no municipal, parochial, or state positions where French is a required language. French-language employment opportunities are equally undeveloped in the private sector. Beyond the educational successes of these model bilingual programs, the real barometer for success will be the social, professional, and economic valorization of Louisiana's heritage French speakers and "new Francophones" in the years to come.

Sustainability of French Heritage Language Education in the Context of New England

Legislative efforts similar to those in Louisiana have been less successful in New England, another historically French-speaking region of the United States, which at one time included over a million French-speaking immigrants from Canada in

addition to prior waves of Franco-American immigration dating back to the expulsion of the Acadians in the eighteenth century. In the 1970s a Council for the Development of French in New England (CODOFINE) was created along the same lines of CODOFIL, with the goal of institutionalizing French HL education in the North East. CODOFINE's mission was to organize and coordinate educational and cultural activities in agreement with French-speaking cultural centers and communities. The goal was to expand the use of French in all sectors and multiply the number of bilingual education programs in order to meet the needs of local French heritage speakers. However, CODOFINE did not succeed as it was not able to find a common ground among already-existing cultural organizations, and unlike CODOFIL, it did not receive direct state support or sufficient political support from individuals who might have been able to provide support (Quintal 1990). Nevertheless, today there are several initiatives at revitalization of French in Maine, including public school programs with French Heritage Language classes and language revitalization efforts in several communities.

French language instruction began and flourished in New England's French-Canadian communities long before the concept of "French as a heritage language" ever emerged. In the nineteenth century, when waves of French-Canadians began migrating into river-powered textile factory cities, French Catholic orders established churches and schools to serve their parishioners. Instruction in these Catholic schools was often in French for half of the day and in English the other half, and eighth grade graduates emerged truly bilingual.

The use of French as the language of instruction was banned in Maine by a 1919 law, and interest in maintaining the French language and Franco-American heritage declined later under economic impact of the Depression and World War II. French language in schools was revived during the bilingual education movement that swept the nation in the early 1970s, with the production of children's materials, for example, *La Bonne Aventure*, a French-English bilingual educational television series designed "to expose the Franco American child to simple elements of his/her culture" (Maine Public Broadcasting Network 1974). During the 1980s Federal funds supported, among other programs, the Maine Department of Education Title VII Office, a bilingual teacher training program, and the National Materials Development Center for Bilingual Education in Bedford, New Hampshire. The St. John Valley of Maine had its own award-winning French immersion program in the public schools, which operated in the 1980s and 1990s.

With 30% of its population claiming French ancestry today, Maine could justifiably call French an official "heritage language," although French heritage language and bilingual education programs are few (Maine Department of Education 2011). An informal survey suggests that there are signs today of increased interest in French-Canadian and Franco-American history and culture and French language learning and practice, although, in themselves, these initiatives may not come under the banner of French heritage language education. Will recent actions and projects contribute to sustainable French heritage language education? The bilingual programs of the past were created and sustained with Federal funding, state support, and a cadre of experienced professional teacher trainers and curriculum experts.

A sampling of current initiatives shows a difference in nature, purpose, and type of support from those programs dating from the 1970s to the 1990s. In their own ways these new programs have taken hold and show promise of sustainability into the future.

In 2002, l'Ecole Française du Maine, an immersion school, opened with an expressed hope of encouraging cultural heritage transmission from Maine's Franco-Americans to their grandchildren. Starting in 2003, community showings of the documentary film *Réveil - Waking Up French* galvanized action around French language and heritage, and French reacquisition classes began in Waterville and Lewiston, Maine and spread to Woonsocket, Rhode Island; many classes continue today (Levine 2003). In 2005, presenters at national teachers' conferences began to speak of teaching French as a heritage language. By 2011, the Maine Legislature had passed LD 77: "A Resolve Directing the Department of Education To Create a Resource Guide to Maine History Developed in Cooperation with Franco-American Specialists," and this guide now exists online (Maine Department of Education, n.d.).

As budget cuts in 2009 forced the cancellation of French programs in the Augusta, Maine public elementary schools, parents, including a University of Maine-Augusta professor, responded by creating weekend and afterschool French language programs. By 2010, and with the help of the FHLP based in New York, a Maine team began to develop the Maine French Heritage Language Program (MFHLP). This after-school program, taught entirely in French, has a focus on Maine and New England French-Canadian and Franco-American culture as a starting place from which to explore the whole Francophone world. As such, the MFHLP may be the only established truly French HL program in Northern New England. Classes began in January 2012 and continue now in both Augusta, under the auspices of the Augusta Recreation Program, and in Auburn, sponsored by Lewiston's Franco Center. Funding for the MFHLP has come from FACE, Le Centre de la Francophonie des Amériques, the Maine Humanities Council, Le Club Calumet, private foundations, fund-raising, and nominal tuition fees. Teacher training, regular communication with families, active participation of Cultural Associates drawn from the local Franco-American and Francophone communities, local college apprentices, and a well-developed curriculum are hallmarks of the MFHLP.

In the St. John Valley, since the World Acadian Congress of 2014, there is increased pride in Acadian identity, language, and culture, and more people speak French openly. However, there are no longer any French elementary programs, and at other levels, French instruction has been reduced because of funding restrictions. Still, a summer 2016 oral history program sponsored by the Maine Acadian Heritage Council will pair high school students with elders to record and archive traditional activities, such as arts, cooking, and healing.

While there are no French HL programs in Vermont at present, the music scene might be the best place to find interest in French-Canadian heritage. And a 2014 Middlebury Interactive project combined French language with place-based education, bringing young students closer to their Franco-American communities. In New Hampshire, the Franco-American Center based in Manchester offers French classes to both adults and children, although the teaching is not specific heritage language

pedagogy. A new *Bienvenue au New Hampshire* initiative delivers workshops to frontline tourism providers all over the state. The workshops include information about French-Canadian immigration to New England (and New Hampshire specifically) in order to demonstrate the natural connection the region has to Québec and encourage friendly relations with New Hampshire's neighbors to the north.

In the past, in Maine and New England, the Catholic Church provided instruction in French; later, Federal and State government programs, in concert with experts in bilingual education, delivered French education to a population of children who still heard and perhaps spoke French in their homes. Today, when home use of French is found almost exclusively among recent immigrant families, support for French seems to be coming from a greater variety of sources and perhaps increasingly from the "ground up." The MFHLP, for example, is sustainable because its leaders are both a part of their communities and able to reach out to local, state, federal, and international funders. Ongoing partnerships with diverse groups such as parents, public schools, local institutions, volunteers, and individual contributors create a solid base for sustainability. The program's Cultural Associates – culture- and language-bearers – and their desire to retain and share their language and heritage play an integral part in the teaching and learning exchange, whether they were born in the "Petit Canadas" of Augusta or Lewiston, or have moved into the area from Madagascar, Djibouti, Haiti, or Congo. And finally, the continued sharing of resources, the core principles, structure, materials, curriculum, and teacher training programs, will all contribute to a healthy and long-lasting French HL program for Maine.

Sustainability Through Public-Private Partnerships in New York

In New York City, the FHLP has been working closely with the Internationals Network for Public Schools (INPS), which includes 15 public high schools for new immigrants. All of their students are English Language Learners with up to 30% originating from French-speaking West Africa and Haiti. Many of these schools were looking for ways to offer these students home language support in order to facilitate their integration at school and into their new environment. In 2005, the FHLP started offering free project-based language and culture classes in French after school, 2 hours a week, helping Francophone students maintain their French, improve literacy in the home language, and build strong academic skills that could reinforce their learning of English and their understanding of other subjects at school. Relying entirely on volunteer participation, the first classes were met with success but also faced many challenges.

The FHLP's sustainability lies in its ability to incentivize students and schools: The program's strategy was to create rewards for both students and their schools by highlighting the role that French could potentially play building academic success. The first step was to have schools recognize the quality of the French classes by allowing students to take the Advanced Placement French examination. Sixty-four percent of students in the NYC chapter have either taken the test or are interested in

doing so – a case in point of the program's success to both coordinate with schools to set up the examination and in raising awareness of its importance. Tellingly, at the International High School of Lafayette – in one of the schools where the program is administered – the success of AP French was the inspiration for setting up several other AP classes for Chinese, Spanish, Italian, and even US History. More importantly, the FHLP was able to convince principals to participate financially in the program, either by adding more hours of instruction or integrating the classes into the in-school curriculum, by demonstrating that students in these classes could attain a sufficiently high level in French to earn college credit through Advanced Placement tests. College credits are of interest to students, especially students from an underprivileged background, because they place value on academic achievement and can potentially reduce the cost of higher education, much like a scholarship. It is also a strong incentive for schools, as it develops their college readiness capacity and can boost their performance index report with the local educational authorities.

Despite their many years of working with ELLs, few of the schools had ever considered offering any AP exams, which are often seen as too difficult for these students. AP exams also stand to contradict the INPS's educational model based on heterogeneity and collaboration in which stronger students help out weaker students in a given subject. Allowing a tenth grader to take AP Math entails letting that student drop out of math class for the rest of his high school years after passing the test, consequently creating a two-tiered system distinguishing between stronger and weaker student in AP subjects. If this may be true for subjects like Math and Geography, it is certainly not the case for foreign languages because there are no language classes in schools from the INPS. Therefore, AP French is a win-win for schools who stay in line with the educational guidelines and for ELL students who easily get official recognition for a skill they excel at.

Capitalizing on the enthusiasm generated by college credits, the FHLP developed a similarly innovative model by partnering with LaGuardia Community College through the City University of New York's College Now Program. Two years ago, the French department at LaGuardia Community College approached the FHLP to see how they could reinforce enrollment in their French course by attracting French heritage students in High Schools. The mission of College Now is to offer college-level courses to high school students, making it possible for them to earn credits before enrolling in a higher education institution. Both the FHLP and LaGuardia were convinced that French heritage students could benefit from such a program. In the spring of 2014, the FHLP and LaGuardia combined their resources to offer an FHLP afterschool class in a Brooklyn high school with an on-site College Now extension directly run and financed by the LaGuardia French Department. The French College Now Course was offered to students at the school free of charge, augmenting the existing 2-h FHLP afterschool class with a 3-h College Now course. All students registered in the course had to follow both programs in order to gain credits. The pilot project was met with outstanding success, and all participating students earned college credits. The class was renewed in the spring of 2015 and increased its capacity by including FHLP students from another partner high school in Manhattan.

Alternatively, high school credits provide equally valuable means to sustain HL classes. Certain schools from the INPS voiced interest in exploring-connections between native language projects and service-learning projects that are compulsory for 12th graders. Regarding the latter, students are asked to create a product catering to local communities – for instance, they might organize a workshop in a nearby elementary school around a health issue they learned about in class. In past years, service-learning projects have doubled up as native language projects: Students were invited to conceive of an educational tool for their own immigrant community both in English and in their native language.

Other schools such as the IHS at Lafayette and Claremont IHS require 12th graders to produce a native language portfolio as part of core assignments. Students work on these portfolios for several months with teacher assistance. A program such as the FHLP can offer additional support to students working on portfolios in French, which in turn allows the program to directly impact – and boost – grades among French heritage language speakers. Similarly, in late May, the students from the program at Crotona IHS were invited to give a presentation about their home countries to elementary school children at PS58 in Brooklyn who were studying Africa. For the upcoming school year, Crotona IHS is looking to implement community service as part of the core requirements for 11th graders, making this type of intervention eligible for school credits. These strategies allow the program to contribute to increasing students' grade point average and attain higher sustainability by becoming integral to core curriculum.

Offering credits – whether college or high school – has proven to be a very effective strategy to sustain the teaching of French and other foreign languages in American public high school and also offers higher education institutions like LaGuardia Community College an original avenue to attract more students into their foreign language departments. Heritage language programs stand to gain further sustainability by becoming integral to core high school requirements.

Conclusion

In multiple contexts, French heritage language learning has begun to be sustained in the United States public school systems. This has taken many forms, but where most successful, these programs have benefitted from the support of strong parent associations as well as support from other governmental and nongovernmental agencies, including the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the governments of Quebec and Canada, and private foundations. In some area of the country, especially Louisiana, legislation has helped ensure that French heritage learning is sustained.

Dual language, heritage language, and immersion programs could be expanded to other schools in the district and state. However, there is a severe shortage of qualified teachers. Indeed, the requirements for teaching a dual-language program are difficult to attain – fluency in both languages and relevant local credentials – and this needs to be taken into account before expansion. Teacher development can be improved,

although teacher collaboration on a national scale does not exist. Access to French resources can also be improved.

The sustainability of French heritage language education is the fruit of multiple partners, with much of its success relying on a solid tripartite partnership – strong commitment from the education leadership, qualified teachers who understand the needs of heritage speakers, and ceaseless involvement from the parents at all levels, generating the larger community's interest and governmental support necessary to sustain the effort. While the FHLP, created in 2005, especially supports underserved French speakers, efforts to sustain French heritage language learning have drawn on the resources and experience of generations of French public and private school programs. In what we have characterized as "New York's French Bilingual Revolution" (Ross and Jaumont 2012), the presence of a large and diverse Francophone population in New York City has facilitated the incorporation of heritage-speaker oriented French programs into public and charter school programs, while extending the mission of afterschool programs to include heritage language education. While institutional support from the French government and private foundations has served as a key catalyst in the heritage-language revival, their roles may become less necessary once these programs have been successfully sustained.

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Barriers in d/Deaf Pedagogy in the North Eastern States in India

41

Melissa G. Wallang

Abstract

Despite the linguistic research that has already been initiated in India, sign language and deaf education in the north eastern part of India has largely remain unknown. This chapter provides a glimpse into the situation of deaf education and sign language in this area. Despite the innumerable number of studies on sign language and the deaf community, sign language is still perceived as a universal language invented by the hearing, a tool to overcome the communication barriers of the deaf. Several studies have discussed the challenges faced by deaf communities around the world, and they are no different from the deaf communities in the north east region. This chapter examines the language barriers in education within the context of north east India and how they impact the lives of the d/Deaf individuals in the larger society. One of the major concerns of educational policy today is to include children of any disability into general schools. However, the required pedagogical modifications or adaptations are far from being implemented within them. The idea of "inclusive education for all" is actually a paradox because despite the noble motives of the policy makers, the gap between academic research and education persists; the majority of the deaf (especially the Deaf) are still being discriminated against and the negative attitude towards sign language continues. Within the context of one of the most diverse regions of India, a multilingual education model that can accommodate sign language as an equal with other spoken languages can truly minimize the barriers of education for the Deaf. Language is a phenomenon that needs to be understood beyond what we know in terms of sound, and such a view of language acquisition process can curtail the hegemony of speech over sign language. Hence, this chapter emphasizes that it is only within the arena of education itself that change can have a

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widespread impact, perhaps in the form of an improved version of "inclusive education."

Contents

Introduction

Deafness is a term that has eluded any fixed definition by any entity because within the term "deaf" lies a diversity of meanings that suit only the views of people defining it. A hearing person might see it as a disability where one cannot hear and therefore cannot speak, whereas to a Deaf person, "deafness" is just a normal way of life devoid of sound. In the larger society, however, it is the "voice" carried by the spoken word that is heard above the silent words of the Deaf.

Thus, the various definitions of deafness have created more barriers than bridges and have colored the perspective of the hearing people towards the Deaf. When seen as a "disability," it inevitably follows that a deaf person must be in want of rehabilitation, social security, and support from the government and society at large.

The World Health Organization, (WHO factsheet, March, 2015) describes a person who cannot hear within a hearing threshold of 25 dB (decibel) in both ears as a case of hearing loss. A person who cannot hear from 26 to 40 dB have slight/mild case of hearing loss; moderate ranges from 41 to 60 dB, severe from 61 to 80 dB, and over 81 dB is considered as profound hearing loss. "*Hard of hearing*" as outlined by the WHO (Factsheet, 2005) refers to people with hearing loss ranging from mild to severe. They generally communicate through spoken language and can benefit from hearing aids, cochlear implants, and other assistive devices as well as captioning. The conceptual framework on "disability" (by the WHO 2016) is understood in the context of the interaction between a person's ability to function and his/her environment. The environment includes not only the physical barriers that hinder a person with disability (PWD) in his daily life but also the attitudes he encounters in society. In this context, numerous policies related to disability address such barriers.

The majority of deaf people, however, are those of profound or total deafness; who are not exposed to spoken language at all. To them, the world is different from how hearing people or the people with mild hearing loss perceive. They learn about their world through all their senses apart from sound. This has led to the natural evolution of a way to understand that world and express meaning – sign language. The human brain rewires itself to enable the body to function in much the same way as any language process. In fact, research has shown that sign language has linguistic properties like any spoken language. Our brain is equipped with the tools to learn, understand, and express the same things as any human being can with or without spoken words. Beethoven, for instance, can make beautiful sense of the different sounds despite being postlingually deaf. (The term refers to the acquisition of hearing loss at later stage, where one had an exposure to spoken language.)

The terms such as "deaf and dumb" or "deaf-mute" are still commonly used in Indian society in various public platforms such as the media and online social networks. The Rehabilitation Council of India Act (1992) defines the term hearing impaired "hearing handicap" as deafness with "hearing impairment of 70 decibels and above in the better ear or total loss of hearing in both ears" (p. 2). (Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs (1992): (No. 34 of 1992).) "*Hearing handicap*" is a common term that implies the need of certain rehabilitation measures.

The phrase "deaf and dumb" is a misleading term as the ability to hear depends on his/her degree of hearing loss. Deaf people can produce speech depending on the degree of hearing loss and some exposure to spoken languages (Crystal 1997). Lane (2005) points out that "the English terms 'deaf' and 'hearing impaired' are commonly used to designate a much larger and more heterogeneous group than the members of the Deaf-World" (p. 1). Despite the diverse nature of deafness several literatures on deafness and deaf education have made use of the term *hearing impairment* to cover a larger group of deafness.

The much used umbrella term "hearing impairment" hints of a similar perspective and has become the dominant outlook of the hearing community. This largely benefits the deaf who fall within the category of "mild hearing loss" (those who can hear up to 40 dB). They can still function as "normal" individuals who can hear with the help of hearing aids and avail of reservations in jobs, scholarships, transport, etc.

The term *Deaf* (with an uppercase "D") refers to a group of deaf people whose first language is sign language having their own specific and unique culture and a community of their own (Johnston 1989). It is used by those deaf individuals who identify and affirm themselves as a distinct linguistic-cultural community. Padden (Padden 1999) in her review of Baynton's *Forbidden Signs* points out that before 1960 definitions focused on deafness as an affliction of the senses, but today definitions also refer to deafness as it expresses itself in the cultures and societies of deaf people. The prominence of one or the other type of definition, or even a mix of the two, is a matter of cultural construction. Baynton explains, deafness is not simply a condition of the senses, it is also a way of life including of course the use of sign language (120).

Hence, the term "Deaf" has a sociocultural element which differs from the medical definitions, where the use of sign language marks the users of the language as a linguistic entity. This term is closely associated with the deaf community and the deaf associations, deaf clubs, etc. They use this term to accentuate their own identity as a unique culture coexisting with other cultures in a modern society.

Demographics of Deafness in the North East Region

There is no uniform data available across India regarding the population of deaf persons. "In 1970 Taylor and Taylor estimated the Deaf population in India as two million (1970). In the 1981 census (Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare 1981), the 'hearing disabled' of age 5 and above was estimated at 6,315,761. 'Hearing disabled' was defined to include those with complete hearing loss to moderate hearing loss. Gopinath (1998) estimated the 1991 Deaf population at 7,770,753 by extrapolating from the 1981 census. Neither the 1991 nor the 2001 census included 'disabilities' as a category, so a current estimate must be based on the ratio of Deaf to the total population of India which was estimated to be 1.08 billion" (quoted in Johnson and Johnson 2005, p. 8). Other data reveal that over 25,000 children are born deaf every year across the 3.28 million km^2 of India. (Information from the International Deaf Children's Society- India (IDCS)). Deshmukh (Deshmukh 2002) in his study wrote that "there are about 13 million deaf persons in South Asian countries and almost three-fourth live in rural areas where proper facilities for health care, education, training and employment are scarce"(173).

The North East (NE) region comprises of eight states, these are Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim. It is commonly known as the land of the seven sisters with one brother (Sikkim). Sikkim is geographically located near West Bengal; neighbouring Darjeeling but falls under the administrative jurisdiction of the NE region.

As per the General 2011, the NE region is home to 122 languages, with Arunachal Pradesh having the highest number 90 languages. Amongst the 122 languages, 4 come in the category of scheduled languages (48th report from the National Commissions for Linguistic Minorities). English is the official language in Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Sikkim except in the states of Assam and Tripura. In Assam, Assamese and English are the official languages of the state. Although all the tribal languages have the same equal status as a language, only 27 tribal languages have found a place in the school curriculum in their respective states.

As per the Census of India (2001), the total number of individuals with hearing loss in the NE states was estimated to be 78,356. As per the Census data on Disabled Population (2011) the total number of persons identified as having "hearing loss" in the NE states is 1,64,280, with Assam having the highest number among the eight states. In view of the size of the deaf population in India, the deaf education in NE states must be understood within the context of the larger hearing community and its

struggle to coexist in a pluralistic society (Ministry of Home Affairs [Internet]). The Deaf native signers although maybe smaller in number should qualify for the status of a "minority" group.

The Deaf Community and Their Struggle

Literatures in deaf studies showed a strong assertion of the Deaf identity as a linguistic community. To them, "deafness" is not simply a "disability." The deaf community rejects the idea that they are disabled and asserts that they are members of a linguistic community (Stokoe 1970; Meadow 1972; Charrow and Wilbur 1975; Markowitz and Woodward 1978; Groce 1985; Padden and Humphries 1988; Lane 1995, Lane 2002, Lane 2005; Grosjean 2001; Senghas and Monaghan 2002 and several others).

The main barrier in Deaf pedagogy is the inability of hearing people to fathom a language of a different modality. Most educators fail to see that language can function beyond speech modalities. Just because a language is not written or documented, does it cease to be a language? Most of the minor/tribal languages in NE region are similar in that respect, but they are still accepted as minority languages in India. Lane (2005) brings out an ethical perspective which points towards the notion of a deaf community being seen as a linguistic minority, since it exhibits the inherent properties of an ethnic group. Therefore, to view deafness as a "disability" is an unethical and unsuitable social construction that affects the lives of many deaf individuals, particularly the "Deaf" group.

There are major events in the history of deaf community around the world like in Gallaudet University in March 1988 where deaf people came together to fight for recognition and acceptance. Another example is the Deaf Way conference held in Washington 1989 which for the first time focused on the language, history, and culture of the deaf people. These major events have been based largely on sociolinguistic issues (Lawson 1981).

There is a constant demand for "access" to and the right to use their language in every sphere of their lives. Many governments have had to ensure these rights, starting with education. Many international laws that exist, such as *the United Nation Standard Rules of 1993, the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education* (UNESCO 1994), and the *United Nation Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCRPD, UN 2007), clearly spell out the significance of the right to language (Humphries et al. 2013). The CRPD (UN 2007) which is represented by a delegation from the World Deaf Federation paved the way for the struggle of sign language for recognition (Batterbury 2014).

Such legislation on disability also encompasses the struggle for sign language to be treated as a language minority and the struggle for a sign bilingual education. Batterbury (2014) pointed out that UNCRPD could be a way of eradicating sign language from the context of disability. Therefore, we need to examine the constitutional safeguards and constitutional provisions for minority languages in India. Can sign language come under the umbrella of *minority languages*?

The Indian deaf community comprises of individuals who are "d/Deaf," hard of hearing, and hearing children of deaf parents. (They are known as CODA which means children of Deaf adults.) It includes deaf people from different sociocultural backgrounds and is not determined by geographical boundaries. Despite the multilingual and multicultural nature of India, the common feature that binds them as members of the deaf community is their use of sign language.

The manner in which one uses the term d/Deaf or "hearing impaired" is a matter of how much one understands deafness. National statistics used the term "disability in hearing" in such documents as the National Sample Survey, the population census, the District information system of education (DISE), etc. Documents which include the curriculum framework for education at both the national and state level also make use of the term "hearing impairment." Policy statements are the only means through which the deaf community can have equal access into mainstream community and empower themselves.

Article 29(1 & 2) of the Indian constitution clearly provides protection for Indian citizens to preserve their language, their script, their culture, and the right to access education in their own language, whether they belong to the minority or majority sections of the society. If sign language comes under the definition of "language" as defined in the UNCRPD, then sign language can be included as a minority language in the context of India.

Pandharipande (2002) pointed out that tribal minority languages carry minimal function in several domains (apart from the speech communities they belong to). Sign language, however, does not carry any functional role in mainstream education or in any societal domain apart from its own community (such as in a deaf family, deaf schools and institutes, associations, and exclusive religious gatherings). Hence, even if sign language is recognized as equal to any spoken language, it still needs to operate and function in several domains in society in order to act as a support system or machinery that will manufacture its own growth and sustenance.

Unfortunately, the dearth of linguistic research in the country, the gap between linguistic research and deaf education (special or inclusive education), and the notion of deafness as a "disability," has continued to dominate policy matters and educational goals. Although the stigmatization of deafness as a disability may benefit the deaf community in terms of basic facilities, it continues to undercut the argument that sign language users are a "linguistic" minority.

Sign Language in the NE Region

In the NE Region, 70% of India's spoken languages, i.e., 220 languages as per the 2001 Census and 122 languages as per the 2011 census, are found. The most striking feature of NE states is its linguistic situation. Here are some examples: *Hindi* has become the lingua-franca in Arunachal Pradesh in spite of having its own tribal languages and *Hindi* being a language which is distant from the area. Similarly, regardless of the prevalence of 17 tribal languages in Nagaland, a creolized language called *Nagamese* is the lingua-franca amongst the tribes. Further, Bengali is the

official language of Tripura along with *Kokborok* which is one of the prominent tribal languages of the state. Although English plays a dominant role in the state of Sikkim, yet, Nepali is the main lingua-franca in the state. In Mizoram, the tribal language, Mizo is the official language of the state along with English. In Manipur, *Meiteilon* is predominantly the language of the nontribals, yet it is the "linking" language amongst all the different tribes inhabiting the state. There are 33 different languages in Manipur and 5 are recognized by the state government. Meghalaya, widely known as the "Scotland of the East," has two main dominant languages *Khasi*, an Austro-Asiatic language, and *Garo*, a Tibeto-Burman language. Although both languages are the Associate official languages of the state, English is the dominant official medium in the field of education, administration, and the media.

The Deaf people coexist with these varied linguistic communities who are themselves struggling to empower their own languages and fighting for linguistic survival in the globalized world. It is therefore premature to even consider any sign language in the NE states as a heritage language at this juncture, as more investigation is still needed.

Attempts to study sign language and the deaf community in India started in the late 1970s by Vasishta et al. (1978) and Vasishta et al. (1985, 1987). Other studies on Indian Sign Language (ISL) were also carried out by Jepson (1991a, b); Cross (1977); Culshaw (1983); Zeshan (2000); and Zeshan et al. (2005). Sinhas (2012) also studied the grammar of ISL in detail. Wallang (2005, 2010, 2014) has also attempted to analyze the situation of deaf education in NE region with the main focus in Shillong (the capital city of Meghalaya) and document the language used by the community in the form of a Multi-media dictionary of Shillong sign language (ShSL). Besides these researches, Sign language has received little attention in India, and most of the research in the field of linguistics and language has focused only on spoken languages. Special emphasis has been given to languages categorized as minor/tribal languages through government projects and schemes under different nomenclatures to preserve and protect these "endangered" languages. The People's Linguistic Survey of India (Devy 2012), whose major focus was on documenting languages of indigenous and minority communities, has begun to document ISL. However, it does not provide any details regarding the number of sign languages operating in India and only discusses the possibilities of variations of ISL across the country. It can only be assumed that different varieties of sign language exist in the NE states. In this regard, linguistic observation is limited only to variations at the lexical level.

In Arunachal Pradesh, homesigns and the local variety of sign language also emerged amongst the deaf children, despite the influence of speech and the oral method of teaching in schools. In the Deaf Biblical Society, a residential school in Nagaland, the American Sign Language (ASL) was introduced by a Reverend Waling the founder of the school who had learnt the language from an American deaf signer, Bruce Swalbe, at Bengaluru in India. Teachers in the school have also been trained in ASL. Although d/Deaf individuals from the state of Nagaland claim to use ASL alone, there are evidences of their own signs that relate to their religion, tradition, culture, food habits, and so on.

In the state of Mizoram, besides the influence of Indian Sign Language (ISL), it also has its own regional variety of signs that are similar to ASL. In fact, the social welfare department of Mizoram has documented the language in a glossary format (Rehabilitation Spastic Society 2004).

Teachers from the government schools in Tripura do not have exposure to any type of sign language though teachers claim to use ISL. They have their own locally devised sign language introduced by the Deaf children themselves and this can be found in Ferrando Speech and Hearing Centre (FSHC) which is one of the residential schools.

A few teachers from the only government school in Sikkim known as the Special School for the Deaf, Social Justice Empowerment, have been trained in basic level of ISL. A deaf teacher (a native signer) is also one of the teachers teaching in the school. He was educated in Darjeeling and thus, his language may be a variety of Kolkata. In Manipur, the government school teachers have a lesser exposure to ISL (NERIE-NCERT 2006) despite having a Deaf teacher in their midst. The Deaf teacher communicates in sign language fluently and naturally with the d/Deaf students in the school and the effects of this needs further investigation.

In Meghalaya, the deaf community consists of a small group of children who are either prelingually or postlingually deaf. (The term refers to hearing loss since birth, with no input of spoken language.) The sign language in Meghalaya, ShSL, has emerged from a group of children in special schools. Deaf individuals and children have remained isolated from each other, and there are no records of a deaf community prior to the development of these special schools. The social conditions within which ShSL has emerged is similar to the case of Nicaraguan Sign Language (Senghas and Kegl 1994 quoted in Wallang 2014, 2015). These children find a sense of oneness in the residential schools rather than in their homes. This sense of belonging comes from the one common behavior which they share amongst them – their language. The school binds them into a unique cultural group.

Sign languages are often used by the Deaf community in platforms such as residential schools, deaf associations, deaf clubs, etc. Since the natural sign language used in such places offer constant access to the language users, the shared sign language may be considered as "heritage language." Compton (2014) also notes that "the fulcrum of heritage in this light is a familial tie to the language irrespective of an individual proficiency in that language. Considering the dominance of oral education, the inordinate focus on English, and the method of "total communication" used in schools, any "heritage sign languages" of the NE states that may exist will be strongly influenced by the prominent borrowing from major sign languages use in metropolitan cities and ASL.

ShSL comprises of three different varieties of ISL – Kolkata, Mumbai, and New Delhi (Wallang 2007). It has emerged from a group of deaf individuals who were residing in the residential schools (FSCH and SCHH). BSL fingerspelling was initially introduced in these schools but today the Coimbatore variety is being used in the School and Centre for the Hearing Handicapped (SCHH) and the Mumbai variety in FSHC (Wallang 2014). In the case of Assam, however, the sign language used by the deaf signers is largely influence by the dominant sign langauges – the Kolkata variety and the New Delhi variety of ISL.

Nevertheless, the spoken languages of this NE region have no influence nor any kind of relationship to the signs. For example, in Shillong, the word *Jainsem* in Khasi indicates a woman's cultural attire. Within the signing community, the word is defined according to how it is exactly worn rather than as it is defined in English, as two pieces of various types of material pinned across a woman's shoulders. To the Deaf community, this sign JAINSEM also serves as a symbol for the Khasi community.

It is very difficult to determine the nature of sign language operating in the deaf community in different areas of NE states or to determine the time of their emergence. "There are no records except for the incidence of the deafness in high iodine deficiency belt across the Himalayas and sub montane regions. The incidence of deafness in the Naga hills of Assam a century ago was reportedly eight times higher than the census average for India, with some villages where every second person [was] either deaf or dumb, or 'insane'" (Allen 1905, 37, qtd in Miles 2001). Compton (2014) notes that the number of speakers or signers of any language is difficult to determine because one must decide where to draw boundaries between language varieties at the same time decide who counts as a language user of the language. Compton 2014 in her paper considers ASL as a heritage language of deaf, hard-of hearing, and hearing people in the United States".

With the exception of Shillong Sign Language (ShSL), all the sign languages that emerge within the hearing communities of the NE region are not studied or documented. When discussing the sign languages operating in the NE states, it is apt to begin from the residential schools. Deaf children in the NE states (mostly from hearing families) are typically confined to residential or special schools rather than mainstream schools. These children use sign language daily amongst themselves. A Deaf child in a hearing family is not exposed to the natural sign language and communicates with his/her family using gestures and homesigns. Such children acquire and learn the natural sign language through interactions with adult signers within the school environment.

The children residing in the hills and valleys of the interior areas are also significant to the discussion of d/Deaf children in the NE states. Such Deaf children face a serious communication gap with both the village hearing community (dialect speakers) and the deaf community in the urban areas, and thus they remain largely isolated. The local languages, English language, and even Sign language are foreign to such a group. There is hardly any access to information because of the difficult terrain of these areas. The majority of them are not enrolled in schools and usually drop out from school before the end of the primary level. Sometimes, parents cannot send their children to schools because their area does not even have roads connecting with other villages.

Hence, the topographical nature of the NE states is one of the major hindrances of accessing information for many sections of the "disabled," particularly those living in such interior areas. "Regarding accessibility for persons with other kinds of disabilities such as sign language accessibility for persons with hearing disabilities or braille accessibility for persons with vision disabilities, no information could be identified" (Deepak 2016, p. 44). Thus, community awareness programs in such

areas are needed to promote better access to information and knowledge for such individuals.

All over the world, residential schools serve as important platforms in transmitting deaf culture and language. They naturally provide d/Deaf students a rich and comprehensible language environment where young Deaf students can strengthen the bond between themselves. Rarely can it be said that such a space is available in higher education, religious institutions, or any work place.

Most of the students either complete school successfully or drop out; either way, they become isolated from each other. Their identity as d/Deaf ceases to exist within the larger society as they explore their options in life. Those who go for higher education are usually those with mild cases of hearing loss who can associate with the hearing world and only a few are members of the deaf community. Those who have profound hearing loss are usually associated with skill-based education such as diploma courses in electricals, ear-mould technology, agriculture, carpentry, and other vocations which are accessible through deaf clubs and the cross-disability associations.

Sign languages are typically influenced or even dominated by other sign languages such as the Indian Sign Language (ISL), the American Sign Language (ASL), and the British Sign Language (BSL) which have a larger vocabulary and are easily accessible through different types of multimedia devices. For instance, ASL has predominated the areas of religion and education in a residential school in Nagaland, a state in the NE region, since it already has all the religious terminologies and vast educational resources. Although all languages tend to borrow from the more dominant languages, the phenomenon is amplified in sign language because of the absence of any documentation.

Sign languages in this region need serious linguistic documentation, and it is reasonable to state that local varieties may be endangered or might have been completely submerged under the influence of ISL and ASL through various means as can be observed in ShSL. Influences are mainly through interactions with native signers from different parts of the country and the world and other socioeducational activities. However, lexical varieties of the prevailing sign languages in this region can be observed as having their own cultural and regional uniqueness.

Attempts to bring sign language to school education in India has largely focused on the development of sign language dictionaries, corpus development, glosarries, instructional materials in CD-Rom format, etc. to strengthen ISL. Considering the language and cultural variations across India and within the NE region itself it matters how these dictionaries are documented and by whom. The most popular or the most accessible form of these will permeate and even dominate the sign languages of smaller deaf communities through various levels of education. This is one of the major reasons for the existing variations of sign language use even in a single state, wherein one special schools would use one variety while another school would use a different variety, for example, ShSL. The teachers in these schools view such existing variations as a hindrance that complicates the integration of sign language in school settings, whereas such variations offer a range of opportunities for lexical expansion in that particular sign language.

Although documentation of sign languages is crucial for understanding their grammar, yet the dictionaries that emerge will not eliminate pedagogical barriers. Like any language, sign language develops out of social interactions within a particular community having its own specific and unique sociolinguistic environment. A dictionary will give precision to language use, but they are inadequate to meet the demands of pedagogical instruction. Had it been adequate, then it would have been quite easy to acquire and learn English considering the colossal publications of bilingual English dictionaries in India.

Educational Barriers for Sign Languages in the NE Region

Given the general attitude of the hearing people who are in power, deafness continues to be seen as a "disability" which requires some kind of assistance to integrate the d/Deaf with the larger society. The majority of the hearing populace still look at sign language as a universal language invented by the hearing to aid the deaf. This myth is still being propagated today largely because of a dearth of research and awareness efforts. Thus, a philosophy of integration and inclusion took precedence over the educational policies of the government. This philosophy has as its basic premise the notion that people suffering from "hearing impairment" are disabled and as per the Disability Rights Movement, basic human rights to individuals with any kind of disabilities has to be ensured.

"Deafness," however, is not a single category that can be put under one term, but a diverse phenomenon that requires different kinds of interventions. The term includes a large group of people – those having mild, hard of hearing, severe, and profound hearing loss; further, they can be differentiated in terms of exposure to spoken language, i.e., preligually deaf and postlingually deaf. There are other categories beyond the major ones mentioned which define other forms of deafness as well.

In Meghalaya, children with profound cases of deafness outnumber the other categories of deafness. Those with mild cases of hearing loss are able to cope in mainstream/regular schools but the ones with profound cases of hearing loss generally cannot. Children with "progressive" hearing loss (larger in number) are initially placed in the regular schools in the local community, but they gradually shift to the special schools or they drop-out from school as their hearing worsens. In reality, only the ones with mild cases of hearing loss can be found to be thriving in the schools because with the help of hearing aids, they are able to hear and speak and thus they require minimal adjustment in the classroom. On the other hand, the majority of the Deaf are those with profound hearing loss, and they are ones who are submerged and marginalized. It is a grave injustice to force people who can see in a soundless environment to understand concepts in the same manner as hearing children who learn by connecting sounds to what they see in their environment. Such profoundly deaf students do not do well in general schools and usually drop-out because of the lack of trained teachers who have the expertise to accommodate them. Such children are mostly found in special schools.

The Indian government has tried to incorporate a philosophy of "inclusion" in schools everywhere in order to integrate the deaf children into mainstream society. Although the intention is noble, the reality is far from ideal. It is still quite rare to find prelingually deaf children in inclusive schools despite the efforts to enhance enrollment of children with special needs. There is minimal enrolment of "hard of hearing" children in mainstream/inclusive schools since there has hardly been any change to cater to the special needs of the deaf children. Speech still remains the medium of instruction for such children and a few adjustments and modifications have been made in the classrooms. Children with mild hearing loss require the use of hearing aids, appropriate seating arrangement to facilitate lip-reading, etc. Teachers also need to adjust and adapt their teaching methods by speaking clearly and loudly and providing more visual and concrete examples, etc. Hard of hearing children can still use the mother tongue/local language and learn to speak a second language (English). Since most of the Hard of hearing children have hearing parents, they are neither exposed nor involved in any sociocultural activity of deaf community. This may be due to the stigmatization of deafness as a "disability."

Morgan points out about sign language in India, "Of the special education programmes that do exist, the overwhelming majority do not provide an education that is fully accessible to the deaf pupils, as few use sign language effectively in the classrooms – not the least because deaf schools rarely have any teachers who are full signers (i.e., themselves Deaf). Deaf who leave school are thus almost invariably far behind their grade level in all academic subjects, and also often lacking in basic literacy. This educational gap is further exacerbated by the fact that there are few or no higher educational opportunities in India for Deaf persons. Access to institutes of higher learning is, for example, limited by the fact that whereas Indian universities without exception admit only students who have passed twelfth standard, almost no deaf school provides education beyond tenth standard."

Most "Deaf" children cannot be accommodated in mainstream/regular schools because of a dearth of sign language resources for teachers and students, a dearth of professional interpreters, absence of integration of sign language in teacher–training programs (special education or general degrees), minimal number of expertise in sign language, etc. Since most of the mainstream schools are not equipped to accommodate Deaf children, majority of the government personnel involved in reaching out to such children (severe and profound cases) recommend parents (of deaf children) to place their children in special schools.

Nature of Deaf Education

Teachers in the residential schools make use of the oral approach, gestures, homesigns, etc. to communicate with deaf children and those teaching in special schools (managed by the nongovernmental agencies) use English as the medium of instruction. Educational institutions are confused about which sign language to use and teachers even take to inventing their own signs to bridge the communication gap with the students.

In some schools, sign language is prohibited by speech therapists and teachers who believe in the "Oral method" or "Oralism." There have also been studies on the achievements of deaf children under the oral approach, a number of which indicate that deaf children leave school with minimum reading skills and poor speech intelligibility, despite training in this area (Conrad 1979). Van Cleve and Crouch (1989) wrote about the 1880 Milan congress where sign language was abandoned in favor of the oral approach. The *Times* produced an enthusiastic report projecting "oralism" to be a miracle of modern pedagogy. It made sensational headlines and reassured society of the positive progress made by educators in overcoming problems of disability. The *Times* reporters, however, did not understand the diversity of deafness. Similarly, in the context of India and the NE region, children rarely complete their school education, and very few enter higher education, with the exception of the hard of hearing children.

A decade ago, special schools in the NE region were greatly influenced by the oral method of teaching d/Deaf children along with fingerspelling. Teachers were of the opinion that children should learn "Signed English" as this would help children get a better understanding of the rules and structures of spoken and written English. Although it was only a direct translation of English words into hand movements and gestures, it was misperceived as a "sign language." In truth, a teacher cannot modulate language communication effectively in the classroom without a sign language interpreter. The absence of such important facilitators from the classroom has hindered much of the academic participation from the "Deaf" students. This has contributed to the popular opinion that sign language is a language with "no grammar," "no vocabulary," "no function words," and so on and so forth.

Stokoe (1970, 1980) in his study of ASL described the use of sign language as a diglossic situation following Ferguson's model (1959). Stokoe defined the public or H variety of ASL as the Manually Coded English (MCE) and the domestic or L variety as ASL. The H variety is learnt in school, and the L variety is learnt at home. The H variety is "Signed English" where the structure of English is simply coded or translated word-by-word into manual signing. The sentence structure remains the same. No facial expression is incorporated in signed English. Iconic gestures that accompany speech (in reference to Emmorey's 1999) are also incorporated in this system of communication. Since most of the d/Deaf children have hearing parents, the L variety operates only amongst the native signers in residential schools. It is neither recognized as a language nor is it used officially as the medium of communication and teaching.

Although the hard work and the sacrifices that the teachers make for their deaf students are laudable, they are not properly trained in deaf education. There are no special educators trained in sign language in government schools of most of the NE states. At most, they may have been trained only with the basic skills of using sign language. Training and capacity building with regards to sign language or any area of disability fall under the purview or jurisdiction of the Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI). The educational functionaries at the state and district level, however, cater only to the needs of general education (regular schools) and rarely provide training in any area of disability. Most of the special educators trained by RCI are

employed by the nongovernment organizations and special schools. The existent training given by the state and district functionaries has never gone beyond the point where teachers begin to learn how sign languages works, and the data collected reflects the absence any special educators in government schools.

Hence, this has unconsciously perpetuated a negative attitude towards sign language and its culture. With the increasingly low academic achievements of Deaf children, the trend moved towards the adoption of a total communication approach to enhance linguistic input in the schools. Total communication method uses speech, lip reading, gestures, teaching aids, hearing aids, and so on in order to rehabilitate and integrate the deaf student into mainstream society.

Its successes, however, has only been with deaf people who have mild hearing loss (especially those who are postlingually deaf). It is completely incompatible and absurd to use this method with the larger majority of Deaf people who have profound hearing loss. It is akin to mental, emotional, and sometimes even physical torture that is inflicted on blameless children and adults alike. Yet, this is the prominent method in deaf schools today.

Again, this attitude stems from the lack of genuine interest or desire on the part of the hearing community to truly understand the condition of being deaf. In the past, any deformity in the human body is considered a curse from God. Similarly, Deafness became stigmatized in a similar vein, not so much as the "inability to hear" but rather the "inability to speak." It never occurred to the hearing community that the immediate effect of deafness to any human being is only the inability to speak a common language, which is not so different from a foreigner speaking a language no one understands. This utility-centric view of language which recognises only those languages that can be commonly used for a certain purpose shuns out any other peculiar mode of communication that hinders it.

Thus, deaf education is not seen as an area of language pedagogy but an area of disability; not as a first or second language but rather a tool or an aid to educate them on the conventional knowledge, skills, and ways of functioning in society. In effect, to eke out a living doing manual or written work which does not bring any attention to one's inability to speak the language or to speak at all. In other words, to live in the shadows of a dominant hearing community that is too self-involved to accommodate another "people" in the same status or as having the same opportunities.

Deaf and Inclusive Education

A medical model of deafness has always permeated the school system in India. Special schools become platforms to prepare children for integration into the larger sections of the society. Children are trained to adapt and function accordingly with a view of eventually helping them join regular schools. The paradigm shift from "special education" to "inclusive education"(IE) in the government outlook has affected national education policies and approaches to now work towards developing models of inclusion (to be discuss in later section) and ensure that "All" children are included in regular/mainstream schools. The National Curriculum (2005) on

school education looks to any disadvantages in education arising from any inequal-
ities of gender, caste, language, culture, religion, or disabilities. Although many
teaching-learning materials of educational organizations reflect an awareness of the
diversity of hearing loss and the necessity for different teaching approaches, the
ground reality shows a strong negligence of the importance of Sign language in
education.

The majority of the schools in India, especially in the NE region, are still not
using sign language as a medium of instruction and have no provision of interpreters.
Even special schools are not equipped with trained teachers in sign language.
Consequently, "Deaf" children in mainstream schools purporting IE are even more
marginalized as their basic need for a natural sign language communication system
in the classroom is ignored.

In order to effectively remove the barriers for a person with hearing loss the
government must make special provisions in classrooms such as providing special
services and early intervention programs, auditory training, interpreters, captioning,
etc. To ensure successful inclusion of these children in education, schools have to be
modified and redesigned to meet the physical and academic needs of such children
(see UNESCO 2015).

When d/Deaf children are taught along with other hearing children in the same
"inclusive" classroom, they encounter several difficulties because of the language
barrier. There is minimal academic participation in actual classroom situations as
they are often isolated, neglected, or side-lined. In most cases, deaf children are
exasperated because they fail to lip-read, to speak, to write or rewrite grammatically
correct sentences in the official language of the school. Most teachers are of the
opinion that deaf children have "no language" and hence have tried to invent their
own signs (gesture-like hand movements) or incorporate foreign signs (ASL) in their
teaching. It is disheartening to find that teacher training courses (such as B.Ed. or
even B.Ed. in Hearing impairment) completely ignore sign language, let alone
consider it as significant to their training. Most of the teachers teaching deaf children
in India have no knowledge of sign language, and in most cases it is not accepted or
even allowed to be used.

Today, education, particularly, school education infers education for "All" elim-
inating factors such as gender, race, caste, class, religion, ethnic identity, disability,
and any other discernment. However, many of the teachers' modules, instructional
materials, etc. fail to address the problems of language education for the d/Deaf
exclusively. In fact, sign language is mentioned at a very insubstantial level just so
that all the sections of disability are covered. This is similar to adding just a pinch of
salt to a meal that requires much more and will therefore fail to impact the overall
taste. As the central government is pressing only for more enrolment, "IE" has come
to mean merely the "quantity" of inclusion rather than "quality" of education for
many stakeholders in education.

"Disability, like ethnicity, is a social construct, not a fact of life, although it is a
property of such constructs that they appear misleadingly to be a fact of life" (Lane
2005, p. 6). Several teaching methods and strategies such as the use of supportive/
assistive devices have been developed and incorporated into education with a view

to overcome communication barriers (within the conceptual framework of disability as per the factsheet outlined by the WHO, 2005). In such a backdrop, the philosophy of inclusive education aims at minimizing and eliminating all kinds of barriers regardless of what terms or definitions are adopted for deafness. The goal is to include "All" children in schools.

An excerpt from an interview with a Deaf Indian expert (Madan Vasishta), who has been working in the USA for 48 years, is as follows: "Deafness is a communicational barrier. As a parent you make sure that your child gets the best education that is possible. Hence, a deaf child will be included only if teacher is a fluent signer and the students can sign fluently. The majority of deaf children who cannot speak clearly and cannot lip-read or hear even with the help of hearing aids, being in a general education classroom is only physical inclusion. Educationally they are not fully or even partially included."

There is a dearth of research on the number of Deaf children enrolled in inclusive schools, but there are enough statistics (in the national census or DISE) to show those under the category of "hearing impairment" (which hints at disability). The eagerness of policy makers to ensure the rights of PWD in education has overshadowed the true diverse nature of deafness. "Deaf" or to be more precise individuals with profound cases of hearing loss use Sign language as their mother tongue or first language. "The mother tongue is an aspect of the soul of a people. It is their achievement par excellence. Language is the surest way for individuals to safeguard or recover the authenticity they inherited from their ancestors as well as to hand it on to generations yet unborn" (Fishman 1989, p. 276 quoted in Lane 2005).

Eliminating Barriers

Regardless of the barriers faced by d/Deaf children in school education, it is the very arena where barriers can be "eliminated." IE aims at eliminating barriers through mainstreaming deaf children into the general/regular schools but these schools are ill-equipped to accommodate such learners in their classrooms. Therefore, the problem is not IE but the absence of an appropriate support system, in terms of availability of manpower (interpreters and special educators), resource teaching learning materials, etc. Inclusive schools still rely on the expertise of special schools to handle the more severe cases. Effective implementation of IE, with the existing system well in-place, can pave the way for successful inclusion of the Deaf, and a tolerable and inclusive society where "language" does not become a barrier, but rather something which offers access into a different world and a different culture.

Cawthon (2001) and Powers (2002) reported on the practices of deaf education and inclusion in the UK, where the adoption of a Whole school approach (every teacher, staff, and others working in the school are sensitized and given the responsibility to ensure support services to deaf children) and the use of an interpreter has increased comprehension levels dramatically. Successful "inclusion" requires an effective communicative environment with access to formal curriculum through flexible assessment of the child. Powers (2002) further points out that a teacher

(regular or special educator) must have the required skills and positive attitude to teach with an active involvement of the parents in the deaf community. Physical infrastructure needs to be modified to support d/Deaf children in IE settings, for example, the use of Visual fire alarms, calling bell, announcements through visual mode, noise reduction through carpeting or acoustic tiles, and so on.

In India, especially in the NE egion, education for the d/Deaf stops at the Secondary or Higher secondary level. Naturally, they would want to pursue higher education, but the few who have tried have faced major problems accessing it. Institutions at the higher level can rarely provide teachers who are trained in sign language, let alone equip themselves with the appropriate social service skills to handle such students. This blatant neglect of sign language in most spheres of their lives has deprived them of further academic achievement and undermined not only their right to education and work but also their right to life and personal liberty. This indifference has led to the continued increase in deaf illiteracy and subsequent lack of employment.

Apart from the potential IE has to break barriers in the larger society, there is also a need to understand the process of language acquisition for the Deaf (profound deafness). The area of language acquisition does not fall under the purview of spoken languages alone. Sign language acquisition also takes place in a natural way as is evident by hearing children acquiring sign language from deaf parents naturally. This blurs the differences between speech and sign language and proves that sign language is as natural as spoken language; it also gives deeper insights into the workings of human languages in general. Language acquisition studies Petitto, 1993, however, rarely consider d/Deaf children while churning out acquisition theories. These tenets of language acquisition are blindly followed and applied in deaf education.

Unlike the hearing children, the Deaf do not get any linguistic input or develop a linguistic system in their homes. They learn their first language, i.e., sign language, only when they are exposed to deaf signers, usually in residential schools. Moreover, they are expected to learn a second language whose sound pattern they cannot hear. English is a second language that comes to them only in print and yet with the help of various techniques they are able to read and write in it.

On this basis, the Sign/bilingual education (Gregory 1996) recognizes sign language as the first language of the d/Deaf and the culture that comes along with it. It tries to give equal emphasis to sign language and spoken language in a manner that is consistent with the "interdependence theory" (Jim Cummins) that proposes that the learner already brings along with him or her age appropriate language (receptive and expressive) skills in his first language (Mayer and Wells 1996) which he uses to learn other languages. In other words, it is possible to teach Deaf children a second language using their knowledge of the first language.

It is vital for the d/Deaf students to have a genuine grasp of sign language right from the preprimary level, so that they can have a strong foundation for learning of English. The Linguistic Interdependence model has several complexities in explaining reading achievements of deaf children in bilingual education programs. However, despite the introduction of bilingual education programs, the reading

skills of deaf children do not seem to have improved significantly (Hermans et al. 2008).

It would be interesting to investigate the possibility of learning and mastering a second language simply through the visual representation or orthography of English. A comparative analysis of language acquisition between sign and spoken language would broaden the perspective of sign language. The process of bridging their native language and the written form of English requires more research in the field of Second Language Acquisition.

In our society there are rare cases of hearing children having deaf parents. The only case found so far is a one and a half year old hearing child, Panbornashua, whose parents are both prelingually Deaf. Their main medium of communication with their child is Sign language, but he is also exposed to spoken language since they live in the same compound as the father's parents. Spending most of his time with his mother, Panbornashua acquires more sign vocabulary than spoken in this bilingual-bimodal linguistic environment. At present he can articulate 40–60 signs with hand movements which are not well-formed similar to "baby talk." Comparatively, he knows spoken words in a manner. It is also interesting to note that he would sign to his parents if he hears the doorbell or let them know of noisy vehicles passing by the house. This case testifies that language acquisition takes place naturally despite the nature and modality of the language a child is exposed to. Further research is still required in this area.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Is it possible for a Deaf/prelingually deaf person to learn English (a second language) in the absence of hearing, without any phonological knowledge of how the second language even sounds like? If so, how does a human brain adapt to such a condition? To put it in another way, is it possible to master the use and function of a second language simply through the written form only? Neither Indian Sign Language nor the sign languages (in NE region) share any common phonological similarity with English.

Within the backdrop of a new philosophy – "IE" – misconceptions about sign language and the deaf community abound across educational programs and policies. In the context of overcoming barriers within an inclusive setup, two major paradigm shifts are needed in the common perspective towards deafness – the shift from "Total communication method" to a "Sign bilingual program" and from "Disability" to a "Linguistic Entity."

In other words, if the d/Deaf are recognized as a linguistic minority, it will necessitate the development of bilingual reading/supplementary materials, such as sign language primers for young children and so on. Sign language would be made an integral part not only of the school curriculum but also a compulsory part of teacher training courses. Teaching manuals/instructional materials can be developed for teacher training programs, and sign language should be introduced in preservice

and in-service programs for teachers. Similarly, parents/caretakers should also be trained in sign language.

The d/Deaf themselves need to learn how their own language works as they are greatly driven by the idea that their language is inadequate. Most are not even consciously aware that their language has an underlying grammar that is no different than any spoken language. It is often the case that they modify their signs to accommodate the needs of the hearing individuals. Hence, it is imperative that the d/Deaf signers receive formal education in their language in order to understand that the signs they produce are not simply spontaneous idiosyncratic hand gestures but they follow a systematic rule.

Thus, an in-depth understanding of sign language grammar and how it functions needs to be rendered in the planning and preparation of teaching and learning materials for the d/Deaf students. A policy document and guidelines for regulation of sign bilingual in education is the need of the hour. Sign Language should be brought within the framework of relevant national language policies. A local and national network of sign language interpreters should be developed in order to provide support services to school education. Until more educational institutions have interpreters of sign language in the classrooms, the socioeconomic condition of the d/Deaf will remain the same or worsen.

In the context of IE, integration of information and communication technology for easy access to other languages such as English, etc. can be developed. The use of sign language in "total communication" methods in IE settings need no longer be tied to the notion that it is only a "medium of instruction" that is used as a tool to fill the communication gap in the classroom. Instead, sign languages should be treated in the same way as any other mother tongue/home language in Indian education. The mother tongue or the "home language" at the primary level of education has been known to confer cognitive advantages to young learners, so why not sign language?

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Revitalizing Indigenous Languages: A Call for Community Action to Address Systemic Discrimination

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Abstract

The challenges that indigenous communities face around the world in terms of preserving their heritage language seem unsurmountable. Of the 4000 indigenous languages worldwide, 2465 are on the brink of extinction. A legacy of evidence-based research on bilingual education has demonstrated the cultural and psychological benefits of having skills in one's heritage language. Thus, in terms of formal education, the curriculum should maximize instruction in as many subjects as possible through the heritage language. However, in most indigenous communities, the language of instruction is that of the dominant culture. Given the overwhelming evidence-based research on bilingual education and that so few indigenous communities receive the needed resources to adopt their own two-way bilingualism program, the educational system that indigenous communities receive can be characterized as nothing short of systemic discrimination. We argue further that formal school-based bilingual programs continue to be colonialist and therefore must be complemented by genuine community involvement. We introduce a novel use for survey methods designed to enlist the expertise of all community members toward the shared goal of promoting the heritage language.

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Today, in what may, or may not be, a truly post-colonialist era, indigenous communities around the world are desperately struggling to revitalize their heritage language. There are approximately 4000 indigenous languages worldwide and 2465 of these languages are under serious threat (DESA 2009). Indeed, one indigenous language is erased every 2 weeks (Al Jazeera 2016), and 600 have already disappeared in the last century (UNPFII 2008).

In Canada, there are 60 distinct indigenous languages (Statistics Canada 2012), but only 3 have any chance of survival: Cree, Ojibway, and Inuktitut (Norris 2007; Statistics Canada 2012). Tragically, some languages, such as Delaware and Tuscarora, have only eight speakers remaining (OLBI 2016). These statistics are reinforced by the 2011 Canadian census, where it was reported that 83% of Canada's indigenous peoples are unable to hold a conversation in their own language. This may be a 2% increase from the previous census (2006), but the indigenous population has increased by a full 20% (Statistics Canada 2012).

Worldwide, indigenous communities are motivated to revitalize their cultures and languages to symbolize their broader desire for identity and self-determination. Land claims negotiations, constitutional amendments, public apologies, and educational reforms are but a few examples of the efforts being undertaken to address the concerns of indigenous peoples (DESA 2009). For example, in Canada, the decolonization of education has allowed some indigenous schools to adopt a new educational philosophy centered on indigenous identity (Taylor and de la Sablonnière 2014). Specifically, this decolonization process has helped forge a modified curriculum in indigenous schools that is more culturally relevant, and some schools even use the heritage language as the language of instruction in the early grades.

Regardless of the tangible efforts being made to rekindle and revitalize indigenous cultures and languages, the current statistics on the state of indigenous languages demonstrate that the practices in place today are failing to stem the tide of

indigenous language loss. It is crucial, therefore, that we examine these different initiatives to understand why their implementation has not led to more success.

One initiative that is promising in terms of heritage language revitalization is bilingual education. Today, many bilingual programs are in place throughout the world in an attempt to preserve heritage languages that are at risk of disappearance (Baker 2011). However, these programs fail to consider the context in which they are applied. A long legacy of assimilationist policies that forced indigenous people to study in the dominant language has forged a great divide between indigenous communities and the school (de la Sablonnière et al. 2011; Taylor and de la Sablonnière 2014). This divide has made it difficult to implement revitalization efforts that require full cooperation between the school and the wider community.

We first argue, in the present chapter, that the life and death struggle engaged by indigenous peoples to revitalize their heritage language is because of its central role in defining the cultural identity of indigenous peoples. We then focus on the one evidence-based strategy for heritage language revitalization that shows some promise: bilingual education. Our review of the advantages of bilingual education will lead us to conclude that not implementing bilingual education in every indigenous community is nothing less than systemic discrimination. Finally, we point to some pivotal weaknesses to revitalizing indigenous languages through bilingual education alone and suggest a community-based approach that seeks to engage the entire community in the language revitalization process.

The Importance of the Heritage Language for Indigenous Cultural Identity

Heritage languages are important for indigenous groups as they are a central feature of their cultural identity. Cultural identity is comprised of those elements that are shared among members of a group (Taylor 1997, 2002). Since speaking the same language as other members of one's group is a shared characteristic, it is a valuable public resource and marker in terms of defining the essence of a group's culture. Furthermore, as language is a vehicle for communicating vital information, it plays a key role in sharing the events and elements that are specific to the group. This is especially true of indigenous communities who rely heavily on their spoken language to communicate and transmit traditional knowledge and customary laws from one generation to the next (UNPFII 2008).

Some researchers have argued that the importance of cultural identity extends beyond sharing a common culture that is distinct from other groups. These researchers have underlined that cultural identity is important to individual group members since it allows them to define not only their group identity, but their own personal identity as well (Usborne and Taylor 2010). Taylor (1997, 2002) argues that cultural identity is part of the foundations of one's personal identity since individuals build some of their personal identity through their perceptions of where they are from. By setting codes, morals, standards, and

values, cultural identity helps individual group members guide their own behavior and establish their own personal values according to principles that have been tested and approved by their cultural group (UNPFII 2008).

Heritage Language Skills: A Gateway to Collective and Personal Well-Being

The most resounding positive impact that cultural identity has on individuals is its power to affect the way that people feel about themselves and about other members of their group. Researchers (Usborne and Taylor 2010; Wright and Taylor 1995) have found that the more people know their own culture, the better they feel about themselves and the more favorable they are toward other group members.

In one particular experiment (Wright and Taylor 1995), the role of language as a manifestation of cultural identity was studied in relation to personal and collective well-being. The research was conducted in Nunavik, where the Inuit of arctic Québec reside. The Inuit of Nunavik negotiated a unique political agreement in 1975. The resulting "James Bay agreement" provided Inuit some authority over their own education. This agreement is noteworthy because the Inuit, from that point on, controlled their own school board which marked the beginning of a decolonization process aimed at reclaiming Inuit culture and language. By the same token, this meant that the mission of the new school board was daunting: promote and revitalize Inuit culture and Inuktitut while assuring that the students would be prepared to participate, if they so choose, in a world dominated by French and English.

To answer this daunting task, the school board began offering parents the possibility of sending their children to school in either of three languages: Inuktitut, French, or English. At the time of the experiment, French and English were available to students from Kindergarten all the way through to the end of high school, while education in Inuktitut was only available from Kindergarten to Grade 3.

Although education in Inuktitut was limited, for the 4 years where education in Inuktitut was available, there emerged the perfect scientific setting to study the consequences of learning in one's heritage language. Indeed, all the children in each of the three language programs – French, English, and Inuktitut – had similar characteristics, most of them Inuit originating from Nunavik and studying at the same school. In other words, the constraints in terms of controlling key social variables that are normally found in research conducted in natural contexts were not present in the context of this isolated Inuit community.

The consequences of choosing between being educated in one's heritage language (Inuktitut) compared to a dominant language (French or English) were evaluated in relation to two levels of the well-being of Inuit Children: personal well-being (self-esteem) and collective well-being (collective esteem).

The results of the multi-year experiment pointed to a clear advantage for the Inuit children in the Inuktitut program in terms of their personal well-being. Indeed, the

results demonstrated that the personal well-being of the children studying in Inuktitut increased between the beginning and the end of Kindergarten. Comparatively, for the children that were studying in French and English, there was no positive change noted in their personal well-being. Personal well-being was evaluated by showing a set of nine photographs to the children; four of the pictures were of the ingroup (other Inuit children), and four of the pictures were of the outgroup. The ninth picture was a picture of the participating student her or him-self. The participating children were given different attributes, such as smart and nice, and were asked to classify all of the pictures in two piles, those that represented the attributes and those that did not. Personal well-being was measured by the number of times the child placed his or her own picture in the pile representing the positive attribute in comparison to the number of times the young students placed their picture in the pile representing the negative attributes.

Two measures of collective well-being were employed. First, the number of ingroup photos (Inuit) that were categorized as representing the positive attributes compared to the negative attributes was measured. Second, the children being tested had to choose the photographs of the children they would like to befriend. The number of ingroup photos chosen were counted and compared to the number of outgroup photos that the children selected as potential friends. Results demonstrated that the Inuit children with Inuktitut as the language of instruction showed a clear preference for other Inuit children. However, the Inuit children in the French or English language programs chose more often the photographs of "white" children. This latter finding is telling in that even among young Inuit students, those in the French or English language program had already internalized a view that their own group was less desirable than members of society's dominant groups.

Overall then, these compelling results show that children who study in their own heritage language have healthier levels of personal and collective well-being compared to the indigenous students who study in dominant languages and not their own indigenous language.

Indigenous Language Programs: Their Impact on Dominant Language Learning

The psychological benefits of being taught in the heritage language seem clear, but what are the implications for students' heritage language development? A carefully controlled experiment (Taylor and Wright 2002) involving a battery of tests in all three languages (Inuktitut, French, and English) revealed that Inuit children schooled in their heritage language make striking gains in Inuktitut, compared to those in the French or English language program. This finding is not surprising since, unlike Inuit students in the French or English language programs, those in the Inuktitut program had all of their classes in Inuktitut by a trained Inuit teacher thereby facilitating the acquisition of their heritage language. The more challenging question

is, then, did Inuit students schooled in their heritage language suffer in terms of their mastery of English and French? This is a crucial question since indigenous parents, while passionate about their children learning the heritage language, very much want their children to be able to participate fully in modern society, should they so choose. Community development requires communication with nonindigenous people from outside the community so as to build the economy and import the necessary tools to maximize community autonomy. Also importantly, speaking the dominant language is vital to negotiating with nonindigenous government officials about self-determination.

Research seeking to address whether learning in the heritage language hinders or enhances the learning of a dominant language has led to an unequivocal conclusion: using the heritage language as the medium of instruction will not hinder language proficiency in a dominant language, but will indeed foster proficiency in the dominant language. Many programs of research have documented the effect of language transference (see Cummins 1983; Lindholm-Leary 2001; Rolstad et al. 2005; Thomas and Collier 1997) such that those who have strong heritage language skills will become more proficient in the dominant language.

Strong Grounding in the Heritage Language Transfers to Dominant Languages

The transference of heritage language skills to a dominant language has been demonstrated frequently but the research of Usborne et al. (2009) is noteworthy because it addressed the language transference issue in an indigenous community. The research distinguishes itself on two fronts. First, the research was conducted over a 12-year period, with yearly in-depth measures of language proficiency in three languages, Inuktitut, French, and English. This longitudinal setting was notable as it allowed the authors to map the evolution of language abilities in the three languages as well as evaluate the effects of language performance in Inuktitut and its possible transference to French and English. Second, the research was conducted in an indigenous community context, a context where language loss is significant (McCarty 2003), diminishing the chances of uncovering an effect of heritage language skills transference, as the other languages were already a force in the communities.

The research was conducted in a remote indigenous community such that rigorous controls could be maintained. The Inuit students in this study were taught solely in Inuktitut from Kindergarten to Grade 3, after which they chose whether to continue the rest of their schooling in one of two dominant languages, English or French. The students' proficiency in all three languages was measured from Grades 3 to 6, each year, toward the end of the school year. Students' language proficiency was assessed through five measures: (1) identifying colors, (2) identifying numbers, (3) identifying body parts, (4) naming the letters of the alphabet, and (5) filling in words in a list of sentences. All five measures were assessed in Inuktitut, English,

and French. For the task where children were asked to name letters of the alphabet, in Inuktitut, children had to name Inuit syllabics.

The first main finding was that baseline proficiency in Inuktitut at Grade 3 predicted how well a student would perform in English or French in subsequent years. That is, the level at which the student performed in Inuktitut in Grade 3 transferred to English and French in the years that followed. If a student was good in Inuktitut in Grade 3, then the chances were that he or she would become a good speaker of English or French. Comparatively, if the student's skills in Inuktitut were weak in Grade 3, the trend was that he or she would have relatively weak skills in English or French later on.

The second main finding, as might be expected, was that age and grade level significantly predicted participant's second language development. That is, as the students grew older and entered the higher grades, they became more fluent in English and French. However, this positive developmental trajectory was not in evidence for the heritage language, Inuktitut. As the students aged, their ability and fluency in Inuktitut did not increase and indeed remained constant. Thus, once immersion in Inuktitut is terminated at the end of Grade 3 and students began being taught almost exclusively in either French or English, the students' fluency in Inuktitut stagnated. This result is of particular importance as it indicates that once immersion in the indigenous language is terminated, it arrests further development in the very language that is at risk. Beyond Grade 4, the focus is instruction in the dominant language making it virtually certain that proficiency gains will continue to be made in the dominant language. The heritage language, unfortunately, loses the momentum gained from 4 years of immersion.

Increasing Heritage Language Skills Through Bilingual Education

The evidence thus far indicates clearly that fluency in the heritage language is not only an asset in terms of helping individuals define their own personal identity but also a source of well-being. These results provide the concrete evidence necessary for developing policies designed to preserve, promote, and teach indigenous languages. Indigenous people would be positioned to define their collective and personal identity and reap the downstream benefits. Equally important, these benefits would not be at the expense of learning other dominant languages.

The decolonization of indigenous education, coupled with the recognized importance of preserving indigenous languages, has led nonindigenous governments around the world to take action in order to promote indigenous languages in schools. This is particularly the case in Australia, Canada, the United States, and Bolivia, to cite a few examples, where an increasing number of schools in indigenous communities are teaching some early grades in the indigenous language, the first step toward bilingual education.

The school, then, by implementing some form of bilingual education, may well support the indigenous language with the hope that it can be preserved, grow, and be passed down from generation to generation. It is by no means more important than

speaking the indigenous language in the home, but at least teaching in the indigenous language at school assures that all children in the community will have an equal opportunity to be exposed to their heritage language and by extension their culture.

The hard evidence arising from numerous studies on bilingual education (Baker 2011) leads to the clear conclusion that bilingual education offers students the opportunity to become fluent in both a dominant language and the heritage language. The benefits of bilingual education have been documented in a wide variety of contexts, including the bilingual programs of the Navajo in the United States and of the indigenous peoples of Australia (Hinton 1998; Hornberger 2005), as well as the Welsh language programs in Wales (Baker 2011; Baker and Jones 2000).

Beyond assuring that heritage language skills are preserved, empirical research also demonstrates that bilingual education has positive outcomes in terms of academic achievement generally. Indeed, better proficiency in the heritage language is associated with better skills in a second language (Calderon and Carreron 2000; Collier 1992; Cummins 1981; Dolson and Mayer 1992; Ramirez et al. 1991, Wright and Taylor 1995) in mathematics and in social studies (Calderon and Minaya-Rowe 2003; Cloud et al. 2000; de Jong 2004).

Although bilingual education generally has been associated with gains in terms of heritage language skills, the models used to implement bilingual education can differ greatly. The models differ mainly in terms of what grade levels and what proportion of instruction are allocated to the heritage language. Hence, even if it is tempting to argue that any form of bilingual education can be beneficial, being aware of the different forms that bilingual programs can take allows educators to make informed choices in terms of the grade level and proportion allocated to the heritage language since these are certain to impact the students in the chosen program.

Transitional Bilingualism Versus Two-Way Bilingualism

Bilingual education of minority and dominant languages takes a variety of forms, but these can be categorized for the sake of simplicity into two main forms: transitional bilingualism and two-way bilingualism (Baker 2011; Cazabon et al. 1998; de la Sablonnière et al. 2011; Murphy 2014).

In a transitional bilingual model, the heritage language is used as a language of instruction in the early grades and only on a temporary basis. That is, the heritage language is used at the beginning of the student's educational processes, but the dominant language is slowly introduced into the curriculum. As the education process progresses, the dominant language becomes increasingly more important than the heritage language until it replaces completely any teaching in the heritage language. The real aim of a transitional program is to have the student functioning fully in the dominant language as quickly as possible. That is why transitional programs are most often applied when immigrants or refugees who speak a minority language are attempting to integrate into their new society.

Comparatively, in a two-way bilingualism model, the heritage language and the dominant language are taught in the same proportion. That is, the heritage language

takes just as much time and importance in the curriculum at all grade levels as the dominant language. There is no objective of replacing the heritage language with the dominant language in the curriculum over time.

The two models reflect two very different motivations that are crucial for the heritage language. Most transitional bilingualism programs capitalize on the heritage language in the early grades so that the young student can navigate the curriculum until they are proficient enough to function in the dominant language, at which time the heritage language is abandoned as the language of instruction. Two-way bilingualism is designed to respect the heritage language and dominant language relatively equally. Because of language transference, it is deemed possible to promote both the heritage language and the dominant language at the same time. A growing body of evidence supports the conclusion that two-way bilingualism is the model that maximizes the chances of students becoming equally proficient in their heritage language and in the dominant language (Baker 2011; Lindholm-Leary 2001; Murphy 2014).

In a series of studies, Lindholm-Leary (2001) evaluated the efficacy of two-way bilingual programs in contrast with transitional bilingual programs and English-only programs. These studies spanned across 18 schools and included 4854 students of Spanish origin. A number of important findings emerged. First, students in two-way bilingual programs where Spanish was the language of instruction 80% or more of the time scored just as well on English proficiency tests as those students in English-only programs, or in the two-way programs that taught in Spanish 50% of the time. Second, the more education in Spanish that students received, the better they were in Spanish. Third, students enrolled in two-way bilingual programs outperformed students in transitional bilingual programs in English proficiency tests by Grade 6.

In a context of language revitalization that confronts indigenous peoples around the world, the gains in knowledge that a two-way bilingualism model offers is sufficient evidence to promote two-way bilingualism programs as the model in terms of teaching both the dominant language and the heritage language.

Bilingual Education and Systemic Discrimination

The tsunami of empirical evidence pointing to the benefits of bilingual education, especially two-way programs, should be enough to mobilize policy makers to do anything in their power to support bilingual programs in indigenous communities. The reality is that bilingual programs are not the norm and are still treated as special innovations in a few selected communities. And even in these special cases, the programs tend to resemble transitional programs where immersion in the indigenous language is limited to the first few years of school. Nowhere is there any serious attempt to initiate any form of two-way bilingualism.

The lack of commitment to bilingual education is especially troubling given the colonialist historical context of systemic discrimination that is the lived experience of indigenous peoples around the world. In the colonial past, systemic discrimination was obvious. For example, the main goal of residential schools in Canada in the early

1900s was to "kill the Indian in the child" (Prime Minister of Canada 2008). To attend residential schools, children were removed from their families, at the risk of severe punishment if they did not obey the governmental policy. In the schools, children were mistreated if they spoke their heritage language. It is these brutal assimilationist policies that led to the majority of indigenous languages to now confront imminent extinction.

Today's systemic discrimination is more subtle but is still felt by indigenous peoples in educational institutions throughout the world. On the surface, there is the appearance of international support for indigenous education. There are declarations supporting the universal right to education for indigenous peoples, and it is specifically noted in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008). Notwithstanding such declarations, most governments around the world favor politics that are to the detriment of the education of indigenous peoples. A recent report on the state of indigenous languages published by the Department of Economics and Social Affairs of the United Nations (2009) declared that "In most countries, indigenous children have low school enrolments, poor school performance, low literacy rates, high dropout rates, and lag behind other groups in terms of academic achievements nationally" (p. 132). The document goes further and links the cause of poor academic performance directly to systemic discrimination. "Illiteracy, which is prevalent in indigenous communities, is a direct result of educational exclusion in the form of poor access, low funding, culturally and linguistically inadequate education and ill-equipped instructors" (p. 132). High illiteracy rates are prominent around the world in indigenous communities. Some communities in Australia, for example, report illiteracy rates as high as 93%.

As the accumulation of empirical evidence clearly indicates, implementing bilingual programs in indigenous schools is at least a partial solution to the challenge of indigenous language revitalization. The proven effectiveness of bilingual programs demands political action and a commitment to implement what is in the best interests of indigenous students and the future of the heritage language. Not to implement bilingual education in every indigenous community is not pursuing what is in the best interest of indigenous students: and that is nothing short of systemic discrimination (see Wright and Taylor 2010).

Bilingual Education Alone Is Not Enough

Even a program whose merits have been empirically tested and replicated many times, such as bilingual education, can still be itself caught up in an invisible perpetuation of systemic discrimination. Bilingual education, for all its successes, is implemented in, and by, the very institution that most symbolizes a legacy of colonialism: the formal school. Not only is the school usually the largest and most prominent building in most indigenous communities, it is the institution that implemented colonialist policies and completely alienated most indigenous adult

community members. Thus, while students may well benefit from a bilingual curriculum, their parents and grandparents are not only nonparticipants in the process, but they feel alienated from the entire experience of formal education, including bilingual education.

Clearly then, bilingual education programs alone will not suffice. It will be crucial to have the entire community's support in the language revitalization process. But mobilizing the entire community is a major challenge given the legacy of colonialism. Effective language revitalization requires harnessing the unique language, and cultural knowledge and expertise, of community members, especially elders. Community members are desperately needed, then, to serve as a counterpoint to the formal education provided by bilingual education to ensure that language and culture are revitalized for the next generation.

The issue of language and culture revitalization is near and dear to the hearts of indigenous community members. But to date mobilizing community members has proven to be extremely difficult. At first glance, community reticence may seem difficult to understand. Why has there not been complete engagement by all community members on any of the substantial challenges that indigenous communities face? The issue of language and culture has not stimulated full community engagement, but neither has other critical challenges been responded to, be they issues of health, family violence, substance abuse, or suicide.

The issue of language revitalization may well provide insights into the seeming lack of community engagement. While young indigenous students feel comfortable in a formal school setting, everyone else in the community feels alienated from the school. Community members have little or no positive experiences with formal education and feel belittled even having to speak with a teacher about their child.

As language revitalization is an issue that is community based, where its success lies in the mobilization of the entire community, school-based bilingual programs must be complemented with other initiatives in order to reach each and every community member.

Toward Full Community Participation in Language Revitalization

Language revitalization won't work if only some community members take part in the venture. Language revitalization is a truly collective challenge that requires a truly collective solution. A process is needed whereby every single community member can be consulted in a nonthreatening manner and where the focus would be less on the magnitude of the challenge and more on any positive language-related norms and attitudes that are shared by all community members.

To meet this objective, attempts are being made to initiate programs that involve community members at all levels from the definition of the language issue in the community, to the methodology, to the feedback process that aims to be inclusive. One specific approach involves developing a survey research whose aim is to solicit

the opinions of each and every community member about revitalizing the indigenous language (Taylor and de la Sablonnière 2013, 2014). The actual questions are designed by community members and elders who are committed to the revitalization process. The survey research procedure is unique in two important ways.

First, it is important that the survey research be completed by every community member above the age of 16. Clearly, to achieve such a high level of participation from literally all members of the community is a daunting task. In our experience achieving a 100% completion rate, when most surveys aim for a 10% representative sample, requires a dedicated cadre of community members who are totally committed to revitalizing the indigenous language. That to date several communities in Canada have reached completion rates approaching 100% is especially impressive since community members who complete the survey research are not paid nor provided with store vouchers for their participation.

Second, unlike traditional surveys, some questions included in the survey are especially designed to focus on shared positive and constructive attitudes toward language revitalization. An example of such an item might be, "Our indigenous language is important to us" where ratings are made on an 11-point scale ranging from (0) definitely no to (10) definitely yes. For these special positively formulated questions, it is almost certain that most community members will respond "definitely yes" (10). Regardless of the varying responses to the majority of the items in the survey, the special items assure that the results will reveal a positive consensus about the importance of the indigenous language. It is that community consensus that can serve as a springboard for community action. And, this is precisely why it is so crucial to have the survey research completed by every community member.

Once the survey results, demonstrating a positive consensus on the importance of language revitalization, have been analyzed, the stage is set for the next critical step. This next step involves presenting and sharing the positive results from the survey, not in the form of a formal meeting at the school, but rather by conducting visits to each and every home in the community. During the visit, members of the community will learn that not only they but everyone else in the community has the same concern about the state of their indigenous language. Each community member visited will now confront a dilemma: everybody is worried about the fate of their indigenous language, but nobody is taking any concerted action. They will learn that even though very few people act according to the aspirations of the community, community members still believe that language revitalization is important and should be a priority for the community.

This dilemma will be discussed during home visits, and each community member will be asked to elaborate realistic actions that they personally might take to promote their indigenous language. The home visits will conclude by thanking the community member for the concrete action they propose to take, however small. Then, the community member will be advised that they will be revisited in a few months to review the actions taken and set future goals.

This novel survey community-based technique brings the issue of language revitalization outside of the school and directly into the community. Indeed, it assures that everyone in the community is consulted about language revitalization.

Using such an approach has the potential to break the barriers of systemic discrimination and returns power to the community to collectively act on issues that the community defines as a priority.

Conclusion

Language revitalization is a daunting challenge faced by indigenous communities around the world. Enumerable studies have underlined the importance and benefits for people to have strong skills in their heritage language. Evidence-based research has demonstrated that bilingual education is key in transmitting heritage language skills to younger generations, thereby assuring that genuine language revitalization is possible. However, research on bilingual education has failed to consider contexts such as those of indigenous communities, where harsh policies in the past forced indigenous people to assimilate to the dominant culture. And, formal schooling has played a central role in enacting these policies. These colonial attitudes have created a psychological divide between community members and the school. Hence, implementing bilingual education is challenging, as those who have the best knowledge of the heritage language are often those that lived through colonial assimilationist policies and no longer trust the school as an institution. In such circumstances, language revitalization must be complemented by strategies other than bilingual education in order to maximize the chances that all members of the community become involved in the language revitalization process. Community-based initiatives need to take a variety of forms. By way of example, we briefly described a unique application of survey research. The key to our example, and initiatives that communities design in the future, is that the approach is genuinely community based in all its phases and is especially focused on bridging the community/school psychological divide that language revitalization so desperately needs to be successful.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Approaches to Heritage Language Learning: From Linguistic Survival to Resistance and Action
▶ Heritage Language, Identity, and Education in Europe: Evidence from the UK
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Revitalization of the Bora Language

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Andrés Napurí

Abstract

The Bora language is spoken by nearly 2000 people, members of an indigenous group that was persecuted and exploited during the Amazon rubber boom. They began learning Spanish early in the twentieth century, while leaving Bora behind. During 2015, after the formalization of the Bora alphabet, the Bora communities that live by the Ampiyacu, Yaguasyacu, and Amazon rivers started to teach their language again. This has resulted into a new pride among the Bora speakers leading them to the production of new texts in their native language and the construction of their indigenous identity. At the same time, as they discuss what graphemes should be used in their alphabet, they reveal ideologies about how their language should be written and what is actually a language for them. On the one hand, they respect the Spanish tradition for some consonants, like <c>; but, on the other hand, they prefer new graphemes that reveal their indigenous status, like the <ɨ> vowel.

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Introduction

Peru is a country with a strong colonial heritage. For more than three centuries, it was ruled by the Spanish Crown and formed part of an extensive chain of metal extraction, which has been inherited to date. As a result of this colonization, Peru grew as a state with strong extractive logic. Both the Andes and the Amazon have been perceived, since the formation of the Republic, as a source of trade goods, from which Lima, the capital, benefited.

Today these bonds are maintained. For its part, the Andes is linked to large mining companies. An important part of the national macroeconomics is held through good relations that the State and these companies have. Also, the Amazon was an important source for rubber extraction during the first decades of the last century (Chirif 2014). It is only during this period that the populations of these areas were mentioned and talked about. Before, it was just inexistent: only jungle and animals. Today, illegal gold mining and drug trafficking murder indigenous communities and generate serious problems of pollution and corruption in these areas.

As a result of this colonization, Spanish became the dominant language in Peruvian territory. It began as a language of evangelization, but eventually became the only legitimate language for any kind of formal process. As interest in the Amazon was quite late – let's say the early twentieth century – the greatest hispanization processes were conducted in the Andes. In fact, there was very little interest in integrating the Amazon subject in political debates: they were not mentioned in government plans, and neither were major State infrastructure investments made in this territory.

The recent literature about linguistic planning urges that the orthographic practices are necessary in discussions about linguistic ideologies among speakers (Jaffe et al. 2012). Within this framework, the review and analysis of the educational reforms that standardize languages without a written tradition are important, as in the case of the native languages of Peru (Napurí 2016). These practices are substantially involved in creating cultural identities as it is shown in the case of Bora speakers.

As Fishman (1977) stated, the considerations toward what kind of alphabet should constitute their language are far from being rational; rather, they relate to questions about who we are or what kind of tradition do we follow. Despite the fact that there are rational or scientific arguments, it is clear that social pressure exerts over them (Fishman 1977). This means then that the issues related to writing and orthography of a language represent ideological and identity discourses.

This chapter draws on a case study research with Bora speakers living in the basins of the Momón, Ampiyacu, and Yaguasyacu rivers. To pursue this investigation, two existing proposals for writing the Bora language will be reviewed: the first one was elaborated by Wesley Thiesen (1996), who worked for the Summer Institute

of Linguistics (SIL); and the second was conducted by Jorge Gasché and Manuel Ruíz-Mibeco – Ruíz-Mibeco is a Bora speaker and leader of a Bora community (1998) – while they worked for the Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana (FORMABIAP). Later, in coordination with the Ministry of Education (MINEDU) and the indigenous communities, a new Bora alphabet proposal was elaborated with consensus of the Bora communities. The discussions, which were held during the sessions of these workshops, will be organized in two central themes. First, it will be shown what attitudes do Bora speakers manifest in relation to writing and their concept of civilization as well as how they consider their writing should reflect their identity as an indigenous community.

About the Bora Language and Workshops

Bora is a Witotoan language (Aschmann 1993; Aikhenvald 2012). It has a very complex phonology and tone system. Today, this language is spoken among 2000–3000 people. At the time of European contact, the Bora were reported to number 25,000. However, their population declined radically as a result of abuses suffered during the rubber boom that started in 1886 (Steward 1948). Nowadays, due to modern health care, the population is increasing but also dispersing. Some have settled along the Amazon upstream from Pebas, like the Momón river which is 200 km away. The Bora language has not been researched except for some studies of phonology and grammar (Thiesen 1996; Thiesen and Weber 2012).

Today, there are few monolingual Bora speakers. All Bora children can talk Spanish as their first language (L1), but there are some communities where they can also learn Bora as a mother tongue, for example, Ancón Colonia, Brillo Nuevo, and other Yaguasyacu river communities. Hopefully, the Bora language may survive a few more generations, since there is still a wide range of people from different ages speaking it. Besides, they have recently been working hard to teach their language at school.

There are virtually no Bora textbooks for schools in their communities. The majority of them come from the early years of the bilingual education program and are now deteriorated (Chirif 2014; Napurí 2016). Added to this, there are also bureaucratic problems, for example, Bora teachers trained in bilingual education have been assigned to administrative positions or to schools in non-Bora communities. Also, the children are now exposed to much more Spanish before entering school, so teaching them to read and talk Spanish is favored by parents. At first sight, the number of people identified with the Bora language and culture is declining because of the hegemonic Spanish culture through contact with Spanish speakers, the educational system, marriage with non-Bora people, and so forth.

This research collects the testimonies that were conducted over several workshops between Bora speakers and the MINEDU. The first workshop was held during Peruvian summer in the city of Iquitos, capital of Loreto region, Peru. In this workshop the Bora communities elected the representatives who were going to

participate in the normalization process of their alphabet. In total, there were eight communities: San Andrés, communities of the Momón river (Pebas, Betania, Pucaurquillo, and Estirón del Cusco), communities of the Ampiyacu river (Brillo Nuevo, Nuevo Perú, and Ancón Colonia), and communities located on the banks of the Yaguasyacu river. The Momón river is located an hour from the city of Iquitos. Actually, the Bora speakers as members of the San Andrés community are not perceived positively by the members of other communities. The Ampiyacu river is 200 km away from the city of Iquitos. However, the trip down the Amazon takes about 20 h. The Pebas district is located in the same crossing of the two rivers. The Yaguasyacu river feeds the Ampiyacu and is located after a 3-hour trip in a small boat called *peque peque* from Pebas.

The second workshop was held from 2 to 5 May 2014. The work for data collection in each of the communities took place during July and August of the same year. The third workshop was held from 6 to 10 November 2014 in the district of Pebas. In this workshop, the consensus alphabet was developed, and each community pledged to consult with all their members. The validation from all Bora speakers was presented during the fourth and last workshop from 7 to 9 May 2015 in Iquitos in which the consolidation of the consensus alphabet was ratified. The Bora communities just needed the MINEDU's ministerial resolution to confirm this provision. This resolution was finally announced during a conference held from 11 to 13 June 2015 in the Bora community of Pucaurquillo on the banks of the Ampiyacu river.

Indigenous Identity, Linguistic Colonization, and Alphabets

The construction of the indigenous identity, like every identity, dialogues between the project of the *self* and the social and collective identity. The researchers must recognize that identity must be understood in postmodern terms – as fluid, fragmentary, and contingent; they should believe that identity must be understood and constituted in discourse (Benwell and Stoke 2010) as well. The construction of Bora speakers' identity – during the discussions about their new alphabet – shows a clear example of such affirmation.

Similarly, it should be noted that the disappearance of a language goes hand in hand with the presence of another new language increasingly comprising more spaces (Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus 2013). In this case, as Bora stopped being spoken, Spanish became the colonizing language of the region. Indeed, many of the people that attended these workshops as community leaders witnessed the disappearance of their mother tongue due to the presence of a new and foreign one that was to be employed with the State authorities.

As a matter of fact, bilingual education programs had a clear transitional purpose. Even though the indigenous language was certainly being taught, it was vital that the speakers learned to handle Spanish. Granted, this bias is collected in the alphabets

Table 1 The consonants of Thiesen's alphabet (Thiesen 1996)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Palatal	Velar	Labialized velar	Glottal
Plosive	p \<b\>	t \<d\>		k \<g\>	kʷ \<w\>	ʔ \<h\>
Aspirated plosive	pʰ \<p\>	tʰ \<t\>		kʰ \<c/k\>		
Affricate	ts \<ds\>		t͡ʃ\<ll\>			
Aspirated affricate	t͡sʰ \<ts\>		t͡ʃʰ \<ch\>			
Fricative	β \<v\>			x \<j\>		
Nasal	m \<m\>	n \<n\>	ɲ \<ñ\>			
Tap		ɾ \<r\>				
Approximant		j \<y\>				

Table 2 The vowels of Thiesen's alphabet (Thiesen 1996)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i \<i\>	ɨ \<ɨ\>	ɯ \<u\>
Mid	ɛ \<e\>		o \<o\>
Open		a \<a\>	

posited by Thiesen (1996) (Table 1) and Gashé and Ruiz-Mibeco (1998). Further-more, these programs have also contributed to the shared perception among speakers of the spellings the official Bora alphabet should possess.

The alphabet proposed by Wesley Thiesen (1996) (Table 2) was developed in accordance with the language policies of Juan Velasco Alvarado's dictatorship. As implied before, the alphabet exhibits a transitional bias in the selection of some spelling so as to impede conflicts with the Spanish language.

One important characteristic present in this alphabet is that the use of the letters \<c\> or \<k\> depends on the following vowel, similarly to some Spanish writing rules. Likewise, the use of several graphemes used by the Spanish alphabet was proposed with the purpose of familiarizing the indigenous with these characters: \<p\>, \<t\>, and \<ts\> digraph for aspirated phonemes. Perhaps most striking is the presence of graphemes that correspond to voiced consonants in Spanish, \<b\>, \<d\>, and \<g\>, for sounds that are voiceless in Bora.

This alphabet proposal has a very strong reception among Bora speakers due to the fact that Wesley Thiesen also worked several years with them, almost four decades. In fact, as a member of SIL, he and Eva Thiesen lived among the Ampiyacu river Bora communities. They supported the primary school formation as well as the religious education of the indigenous. Indeed, the Bora-translated Bible passages that exist are a proof of the Thiesen's work.

The proposal of Jorge Gashé and Manuel Ruiz-Mibeco is also supported by several years of working among the indigenous communities. However, it neither exhibits the extended backing nor the tradition written in biblical texts.

Table 3 The consonants of Gasché and Ruiz-Mibeco's alphabet (Gasché and Ruiz Mibeco 1998)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Palatal	Velar	Labialized velar	Glottal
Plosive	p <b>	t <d>		k <g>	kʷ <w>	ʔ <h>
Aspirated plosive	pʰ <p>	tʰ <t>		kʰ <k>		
Affricate	ts <s>		t͡ʃ <ll>			
Aspirated affricate	ts͡ʰ <z>		t͡ʃʰ <ch>			
Fricative	β <v>			x <j>		
Nasal	m <m>	n <n>	ɲ <ñ>			
Tap		ɾ <r>				
Approximant		j <y>				

Unlike Thiesen (1996), the work of Gasché and Ruiz-Mibeco (1998) (Table 3) proposes that the <k> grapheme be only used with all the Bora vowels. In addition, it opts for the use of <s> and <z> graphemes for different affricate phonemes. It is an alphabet that takes many graphemes from the original proposal by Thiesen (1996); however, it decides not to imitate the orthography rules of the colonizing language. In that same spirit, Thiesen proposes different graphemes for the aforementioned affricates, since by his criterion there should not be any confusion because of the fact that Bora does not present palatal fricative sounds (Gasché and Ruiz-Mibco 1998). For vowels, the same proposal as in the previous alphabet is maintained.

Nowadays, the linguistic revitalization programs aim to correspond the expectations of speech communities (O'Laoire 2008). As well as the indigenous language is valued, the provision of spaces that can be shared with future generations is also sought. In fact, the interests of indigenous leaders point in that direction: in the need to document and record material in the native language for children to have access to this valuable information (MINEDU 2013). The projection of indigenous identity, then, is confronted with the existing political tension with the Spanish language and, at the same time, with the desire to establish a space for the language to be expressed. Similarly, the performance of this indigenous identity is also linked to other present identities, for example, the identification as a civilized subject and the same relationship with the dominant language. These considerations were relevant when establishing the consensual alphabet for the Bora language.

To sustain these statements, I will focus on the analysis of some fragments that were presented along the workshops. They reveal some ideologies about how Bora identity is constructed. On the one hand, the Bora speakers present themselves as civilized individuals and want their alphabet to resemble the Spanish one. On the other hand, Bora speakers wish to retain elements of their indigenous identity as they remove the normalizing discourse since they insist on using graphemes with a strong Bora tradition. Finally, they distance themselves from other river communities, like the Ocaina and Witoto, who also live in the basins of the Ampiyacu and Yaguasyacu rivers.

The Spanish Influence in Bora's Writing System

At this point it is important to put into context how Amazonian cultures are seen in Peru. Peru, to some extent, is known for its Andean cultures. With the arrival of the Spaniards, an important contact between Western societies and large societies in the Americas was generated. Throughout the viceroyalty, dialogue was always established between Spanish and Andean cultures, like Puquina, Aymara, or Quechua. In fact, the writing system of the Andean languages was discussed during the Third Council of Lima (1582–1583) (Zavala et al. 2014).

In the specialized literature, it is argued that the Amazon today is the *other* subject within the Peruvian national discourse (Espinosa 2009). They are always found relegated in the representation of Peruvian citizenship. An example of this is the highlighting of the contact between Spain and Andean societies, like the Inca and the Moche, in Peruvian educational materials. Likewise, there is a clearer curriculum about terrorism in Peru in the 1970s, which was also very important in the Andes. Despite the fact that the genocide in Peruvian history accounted for the rubber boom, this is not taught in schools nowadays. Two hundred years after the first writing of Quechua, only in 1975, the State began to discuss how indigenous languages should be written during the dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado. The approach was transitional and it is revealed by the selection of the graphemes of the alphabets.

For instance, in Spanish, the phoneme velar occlusive /k/ has three forms of representation: <c>, for vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/; <qu>, for vowels /e/ and /i/; and <k>, which is used in all the vowels, but mostly to loans from other languages. The Bora language also has the velar occlusive phoneme /k/. Gasché and Ruíz-Mibeco (1998) proposed it to be written only with <k>; however, there is a greater affinity for the writing proposed by Thiesen (1996). He raises <c> for /a/, /o/, and /u/ and <k> to /i/, /ɨ/, and /e/. Thiesen writing was intended as a transitional script into Spanish. So by the time the Bora speakers learn Spanish, they would be familiarized with the orthographic rules. The Bora speakers are well aware of the use of these letters in Spanish and insist that their alphabet must show that difference. Here are some examples to illustrate this case.

Among the discussions while selecting these graphemes, several Bora speakers pointed out that the presence of <c> was important to give the language an official status. In the midst of their interventions, the use of official language – referring to a language that exhibits institutional support (Sp. "idioma," the use of the word "lengua" does not reveal the support of the State) – was frequently heard.

- "El bora también es idioma." (Bora is also an official language.)
- "Nuestra lengua también es idioma." (Our language is also an official language.)
- "Muurá bóóra idyé tsáne ihjyu." (Our Bora is also an official language.)
- "Múúhá ihjyu téhdure tsáné ihjyu." (Our language is an official language.)

In light of that statement, then, it was argued that the Bora alphabet should have had the same value as the Spanish one. In the workshops' logic, if Spanish presents

those two letters, Bora should present them as well, since both languages are of equal worth.

- *Si el castellano tiene esas letras, "¿por qué el bora no las puede tener?"*
- *Muurá añúmúnáaju téguhñájíma ɨjkyánáa, ¿ɨveekí tsá bóóra téénema íjkyáítyuróne?*
  If Spanish has these letters, why can the Bora language not have them?

The speakers said that if the Bora language does not differentiate between <c> and <k>, it might confuse students. In many cases, they emphasize the student already knows Spanish, so if he starts typing without that difference, it would, in fact, be a problem. They also emphasize a discourse on the lack. In other words, if the Spanish has these letters, the Bora language can also differentiate the graphemes without any difficulty.

Even if the comparison with the Spanish was constant, the tradition was very important to them. Another widespread position in favor of the use of the two letters was to evoke the work already done by "el antiguo" (Sp. "the old one"), Wesley Thiesen. It was noted that there were already written works with both graphemes, and it was best to continue that written tradition. The most frequent examples were some biblical passages as the bilingual dictionary developed by the married couple (Thiesen and Thiesen 1998). The simplification of these two graphemes by <k>, as suggested by Gasché and Ruiz-Mibeco, did not get good reception when consenting these consonants.

We Are Also Indigenous

Although the Bora speakers consider that there are letters that need to be equal to Spanish, they claim that they need their own graphemes so they emphasize the need to use the letter <ɨ> for the upper middle vowel /ɨ/. This sound is quite common among Amazonian languages. However, not all of them have chosen to write the small dash, because it is difficult to write it on some systems. This is why some languages of the Panoan linguistic family normalized the same sound /ɨ/ with the grapheme <e> with an umlaut <ë>. Consider the simple example of the language Kakataibo taken from Zariquiey (2014).

On how to represent this vowel, in any case, an alternative was accepted. It is important to note that the letter <ɨ> does not always match the same sound between the Amazonian languages that do use it. Even in other languages in the area, that letter <ɨ> is used to represent the high not rounded and back phoneme /ɯ/, as in the Witoto language. It is important to notice that this language is also the only linguistic relative who has the Bora. Both are the languages of the Witotoan family (Aikhenvald 2012).

Despite the fact that the sound it represents is very different between these two indigenous populations, Bora speakers do not perceive it as a problem and insist on using it. For many, this letter, different from other letters of the Spanish alphabet, is a

very important element of identity (Sabba 2009, 2012). On the contrary, the Bora speakers, and several Amazonian people, insist that this letter should appear as an alternative to the system of the National Registry of Identification and Civil Status (RENIEC). This management could take more than 5 years.

Faced with the possibility of writing that same phoneme with another grapheme, all members of the Bora community had a very clear stance: there was no other possibility for a different representation. For many of them, this representation is closely linked to the representation of their identity and culture (Jones and Ogilvie 2013).

- *Este es nuestro alfabeto. Siempre hemos tenido esas letras*. ("This is our alphabet. We always had these letters.")
- *Íñe múúhá ihjyú caatúguhñájɨ. Ɨhdétújucópe téguhñájɨma muha me íjkyane*. ("This is our letters. We always had them.")
- *Nadie escribe así, así nada se ha escrito*. ("No one writes this way. Nothing was written like this.")
- *Tsá múha ehdu cáátúnutúine, tsáhápe ɨɨná ehdu cáátúnúmeítyúine*. ("No man writes with this (letters). Nothing was written like this.")

Even though this type of writing presents technical problems for bureaucratization of the alphabet, this was not considered to be a valid criterion during workshop discussions. Rather, some members of the indigenous communities indicated that for them it seemed ridiculous that the civil registration system could consider graphemes such as <ê>, <è>, or <ë>, but not graphemes that have a much more extended use among the Amazonian languages of Peru, as in the case of the <ɨ> grapheme. This also reinforces the otherness toward the Amazonian indigenous, as computer systems are more likely to go hand in hand with European writing than with the writings of the local languages.

In these same discussions, workers from the Ministry of Education recognized that this bureaucratic problem is no reason for a change in the writing of this vowel. Indeed, the unity of representatives of all Bora communities on this issue was highlighted, as they revealed a fairly strong consensus as a speaking community.

Rather, this space was also utilized to make precisions as to how to write this vowel in different information technologies. Even though the vast majority of participants do not have access to the Internet or to a computer – there is only Internet access and electricity in three communities from 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. – it was very important for them to clarify what alternatives do exist for the drawing of this grapheme with a conventional keyboard. They even requested training in the use of new information technologies.

This positioning went hand in hand with a strong affirmation of their indigenous identity. As soon as the limitations of the computer system became clear, the distance and the constant abandonment sensation between members of indigenous communities and State representatives were strengthened. In that sense, today the *other* in Peru is the Amazon subject, because of the absence of their voice in official discourse (Espinosa 2009).

The interest for being able to utilize new media also goes hand in hand with the need to record and document different oral traditions. In fact, one of the main workshop concerns among ministry workers was how to ensure that the first alphabet-consensus publications told stories of indigenous communities and not pedagogical instructions or school manuals. The institutionalization of the indigenous language Bora – for Bora speakers – also involves not only translating indigenous stories. They demand that their language is also the language of the Creator. So strong is this position that the alphabet made official for the Bora language was the same as proposed by Thiesen (1996) given the importance of the already written tradition and the general support of his. The only change made in the writing system was the use of grapheme <k> for all diphthongs with <y> regardless of the following vowel. Partly because during the workshops, it was revealed that while Bora speakers were familiar with the use of <k> and <c> according to the following vowel, writing <c> or <k> with the approximant generated many doubts among community members. Therefore, it was decided to simplify the writing only with <k> in such cases.

Language Policies in Peru and Its Current Proposals

These tensions that this chapter has just narrated have been addressed by the Peruvian State. To a large extent, the Ministry of Education recognizes that Peru is a diverse country that should be recognized and accepted as such (MINEDU 2013). This must reflect, for them, in efforts to try to unify the country. At first, hispanization of the population was opted for; however, since the policies of intercultural bilingual education, the MINEDU wants to reverse this situation and has set as a priority the attention to rural areas of the country and students with native culture and language.

Thus, in principle, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country is assumed and seeks to confront the dehumanizing discrimination that afflicts most Peruvians. It is important to point out, however, that only during a brief period in the 1960s, at the time of changes that the government of dictator Juan Velasco Alvarado promoted, the State raised questions about the civilizing character of the school and the need for a new kind of education that would recognize the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country (Ministerio de Cultura 2014).

Thus, in 1972, the institutionalization of bilingual education with the enactment of the National Policy of Bilingual Education (ELBW) began. Its third guideline states that "Bilingual education is directed to avoid the imposition of a unique model of culture and to foster the dynamic appreciation of cultural diversity in terms of equality" (MINEDU 2013). These policies led to the first studies carried out in Amazonian languages and were supported by the Peruvian State under the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Regarding the issue of languages, the politics in 1972 raised the need to vary the intensity of the instrumental use of the native language and Spanish as well as the

methodological procedures related to them, according to the linguistic characteristics of the speakers and their expectations. However, even though the pioneering nature of this policy was recognized internationally, it had the limitation of primarily referring to the population of indigenous language; meaning it does not address the Spanish-speaking population (Hickey 2013). In addition, it argued that people should learn in their native language, but finally had to master Spanish in order to integrate into society (MINEDU 2013).

Part of this educational policy requires rapid documentation of indigenous languages of Peru. To do this, priorities such as the development of official alphabets, grammar, and teaching materials for primary education were established. In fact, until year 2014, only Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish had official alphabets. This means that their languages could be implemented without major bureaucratic restrictions, decrees, or legal proceedings. Hence, the commitment of the ministry is the bureaucratization of languages, since no language policies could continue higher if not all have their alphabets with equal value.

In reality, the basis of language policies is to have alphabets that are accepted by the speakers. They need to have a script in each of the native languages so that civil documentation could be written up, e.g., identity documents, deeds, birth certificates, other certificates, and so on. Also, a consensus writing or script in a native language will avoid, for example, that the names of users present more than one form of writing, which can generate a number of problems. Similarly, unified alphabetic writing will allow that laws that relate to the problems of these populations are written in their own languages, so that its concepts can be understood by the speakers uniquely affected.

Conclusion

This chapter wanted to show how the Bora alphabet consensus has been handled. This research also wanted to prove that the identity of these people is constructed in discourse (Jaffe 2015). In this case, there are two important issues to highlight. On the one hand, the Bora require some correspondence with Spanish, because they do not believe their alphabet should be worthless. Therefore, it cannot have less graphemes than the dominant language. Moreover, this discussion highlights how there are elements of the alphabet that refer to their identity as indigenous subjects. These elements are nonnegotiable.

It is important to recognize that the *other* Amazon subject is consistent with the discrimination suffered by Amazonian populations in contemporary Peru. In turn, it is worth noting that the absence of the Peruvian State has meant that there is a strong imbalance in relation to advances in language policies between Andean and Amazonian populations. Finally, the very absence of the State has caused a gap between the needs of the Ministry of Education to manage linguistic diversity and the demands of indigenous populations. This is reflected in the bureaucratization of languages; although it is received, it is not considered an urgent job. Rather, the

Amazonian communities require their stories be published in their languages as official texts, because they want greater recognition by the State. Likewise, the presence of evangelizers in the 1960s has meant that today, the Bora populations require that Christian elements are taken into account as part of their linguistic agenda.

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Revitalizing Malacca Portuguese Creole

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Stefanie Pillai, Adriana Phillip, and Wen-Yi Soh

Abstract

This chapter discusses a revitalization project of the heritage language of Portuguese-Eurasians in Malaysia, Malacca Portuguese Creole, which is popularly known as *Papiá Cristang*. The chapter begins with a brief introduction of the Creole and of its history and current status. With the decline in the use of the Creole even in the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca, awareness of the need to revitalize this endangered language has increased. However, such awareness does not necessarily lead to concrete actions to keep the Creole alive. The chapter discusses the motivations behind revitalization efforts, including internal ones, such as the desire to restore and reconstruct their heritage in relation to peoplehood as well as relationships, and external ones like socioeconomic reasons. Motivations and underlying identity alignment drive language revitalization and play a role both in the reactions toward language revitalization efforts and the goal of language revitalization. Additionally, the perceptions of the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian community toward these efforts are examined. The focus is on a revitalization project, *Beng Prende Portugues Malaká* (*Papiá Cristang*), which is based on a collaboration between a research team and representatives from the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Association. Using this project as an

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example, the elements involved in producing a teaching and learning resource are explained.

Contents

Introduction

The term heritage language is generally understood to be a home language that is different from the dominant language in a particular context. This home language may be the language of a community that moved to a particular location some time ago (e.g., Tamils in Malaysia), or they may have recently done so. Such communities are usually in the minority in the location in which they now live. It could also be the language of indigenous or Creole communities. However, the degree of fluency in the home language may vary as the younger generation attends schools where the medium of instruction is a dominant language, such as English or, in the case of Malaysia, Malay. In some cases, as in the case of the vast majority of Eurasians of Portuguese descent in Malaysia (e.g., Pillai and Khan 2011) and Singapore (Leimgruber 2013), the heritage language has been replaced by English. In such instances, the heritage language is one that was spoken by their parents or grandparents. With the language not being used as a home language, and not being taught in school or in other platforms, there is a danger of it dying out. This threat of language endangerment requires a rethinking of a heritage language as "...the vehicle whereby the cultural memory of entire peoples is transmitted over time from place to place, from community to community, and from generation to generation" (Trifonas and Aravossitas 2014: xiii).

The heritage language that is discussed in this chapter, Malacca Portuguese Creole, also popularly known as *Papiá Cristang* or just *Cristang* is spoken in Malacca, Malaysia, where a large number of Malaysians of Portuguese heritage reside. The official language in Malaysia is Malay, with English as a compulsory subject in national primary and secondary school, and is widely used in business, media, and private education. Mandarin and Tamil are also widely used by those of Chinese and Tamil ethnicity, and there are Chinese- and Tamil-medium national

primary schools. In addition, there are local television programs, dedicated radio stations, and local newspapers in Chinese and Tamil. Other languages that are spoken in Malaysia include other Chinese languages like Cantonese and Hokkien, geographical Malay dialects, and the main indigenous languages of the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak (e.g., Iban and Kadazan). In such a multilingual setting, many indigenous and minority languages struggle to survive, and this includes Malacca Portuguese Creole. This is despite the provision in the Malaysian Constitution that "no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language" (Federal Constitution Malaysia, Article 152). The main challenges of teaching indigenous and minority languages, including Malacca Portuguese Creole, in the mainstream education system are the absence of an orthographic system, a lack of teaching and learning materials, a small number of students and a lack or nonexistence of trained teachers in that language.

Malacca Portuguese Creole

The Portuguese conquest of Malacca began in 1511 and lasted for 130 years. Malacca Portuguese Creole developed from this contact situation between Portuguese speakers and speakers of local languages. The vocabulary of Malacca Portuguese Creole is largely derived from Portuguese, along with contributions from Malay and several other languages, while its grammar and phonology display considerable influence from Malay. The following are some phrases in the Creole:

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Yo  sa          nomi Anne.
My (possessive) name Anne.
"My name is Anne."


Eli  tá         fiká na Malaká.
She (progressive) lives in Malacca.
"She lives in Malacca."


Gerard  gostá  cumi  cumiria  sa      Portugues.
Gerard  likes  to eat  food  (possessive) Portuguese.
"Gerard likes to eat Portuguese food."


(Note that there is no gender marker for the third person pronoun eli).
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Hancock (2009: 297–8) explains that together with the Portuguese Creoles spoken in Singapore and Macau, and previously in Tugu, Indonesia, "the dialect spoken in Malacca belongs to the Malayo-Portuguese subgroup of the Lusoasian (Portuguese lexifier) creoles, and is perhaps the most conservative of its existing members, having been out of contact with metropolitan Portuguese …."

The Creole is most often referred to in publications and by many speakers as *Papiá Cristang* or as *Cristang*. The term *Cristang* stems from the Portuguese word *Cristão* meaning Christian (Baxter 2005: 12). Some community members from the Portuguese Settlement, and elsewhere in Malacca, as shown in the following extracts, are against the use of the term *Cristang* as it refers to Christianity and instead feel that the language should be called Portuguese to reflect its roots:

> *Cai podi isti palabra ki nos ta papiá falá Cristang?*
> How can this word that we (progressive) speak say Cristang?
> How can we say that that we are speaking is Cristang? (from Pillai 2013)

> Why the Malays doesn't [sic] call us kaum Cristang? Why why the government said kaum Portugis? Because we are Portuguese. They never change because we have the history.
> (=Why don't the Malays refer to us as the Cristang race? Why does the government say the Portuguese race? Because we are Portuguese. They haven't changed [the way they refer to us] because we have a history.) (Pillai et al. 2015a: 75)

However, the term *Cristang* generally refers to the name of the language and the people (Baxter 1988, 2005, 2012; O'Neill 2008; Hancock 2009). The original referent, the Catholic faith or Christianity, is the one that appears to be least used today. *Cristang* is a popular term even among people of Portuguese-Eurasian ancestry in Malacca (Pillai et al. 2015a) and elsewhere in Malaysia and Singapore (e.g., Nunis 2015; Scully and Zuzarte 2004). In fact, Baxter (2016) shows that the use of the term *Cristang* was used in early documents by Hugo Schuchardt in 1884:

> "In Malacca, they don't refer to the language spoken here as Portuguese, they refer to it as Christian language (língua Kristang). If one asks anyone if they speak Portuguese they will reply 'no, I speak [the] Kristang language.' (Baxter 2016)

Dwindling Use of Malacca Portuguese Creole

By the time of the British presence in Malacca and other parts of Peninsular Malaya, the number of people claiming Portuguese ancestry had begun to dwindle. The 1827 census (Dickinson 1940, cited in Baxter 1988: 8) records that "[t]he inhabitants that come next under consideration are the Siranies or native Portuguese," and "these are remains of the once large population of Malacca who are now dwindled to no more than 2, 289 souls". The period of British colonization made English the language of choice, and as previously mentioned, many Portuguese-Eurasians shifted from the use of the Creole to English (Pillai and Khan 2011).

The Creole today is estimated to be spoken fluently by only about half of the residents at the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca. The Settlement has approximately 800–1000 residents who are largely Roman Catholics. It was established as a settlement for people of Portuguese descent on the coast of Malacca in the early 1930s by two Catholic priests. The grouping of Malacca Portuguese Creole speakers

in one area has been among the key factors contributing to the survival of the language. However, the use of the Creole has been dwindling among younger speakers in the Settlement (e.g., David and Mohammad Noor 1999; Sudesh 2000). English is fast replacing the use of the Creole at home with the more fluent speakers being the older generation, as this extract from Pillai et al. (2015a) suggests:

> My mom and my grandparent, they will always will speak in Cristang but most of the time we answer in English. Because certain words we don't know how to speak in Cristang so we answer in English.
>   (=My mom and my grandparents always speak to me in Cristang but most of the time we reply in English, because there are certain words that we do not know in Cristang, so we answer in English.)

As pointed out in Pillai et al. (2014), "(a)lthough there is a general sense of MPC being an ethnic and cultural identity marker for the Portuguese Eurasians, this is not translated into the transmission of the language in the family domain." As might be expected, it is more common to find the Creole being used in families where older speakers (parents or grandparents) still live in the same house or nearby, and with the passing of the older generation, the use of the Creole at home is unlikely to continue. Other factors that contribute to the decline in the use of the Creole include fluency, language status, core domain loss, and intermarriage with other ethnic groups (Baxter 2012). The declining number of speakers has led to the Creole being categorized as one of the endangered languages in Malaysia in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010).

Motivations for Revitalization Efforts of Malacca Portuguese Creole

Previous studies have shown that community members, especially those living in the Portuguese Settlement and Malacca, are aware of the declining use of the Creole and the need to keep it alive, as the following extracts exemplify:

> . . . I don't want it to die. . .why should it die? It have to be there forever because we are born a Cristang might as well be until the last a Cristang (= I don't want our language to die so I will keep on speaking Portuguese until my last breath [laughs] and I will pass it on to my grandchildren too. . . because I don't want it to die. . . why should it die? It has to be there forever because we are born Cristangs, we might as well die as Cristangs). (Pillai et al. 2015b: 77)

> Mm, so I think it's time that we do something about it. If not, the language will just die off. We are getting older, huh, if we die with what we have, with our knowledge and not uh. . . giving the knowledge to the young ones then the language will just die off. (=So I think that it's time we do something about it. If we don't, the language will just die off. We are getting older. If we die with the knowledge we have, and not pass on the know edge to the younger ones, the language will just die off). (Soh 2015: 120)

However, such awareness may not be translated into concrete actions to save the language from disappearing. For example, an examination of family language policies in the Portuguese Settlement showed that most families used a mixture of the Creole and English and did not always expect their children or grandchildren to respond in the Creole (Pillai et al. 2014) as espoused in the following extract from Pillai et al. (2014: 81):

> I'm not so good in Kristang because at home only my mom speak to me in Kristang but my dad my brothers and sisters all speak to me in English (=I am not so fluent in Kristang because at home, only my mom speaks to me in Kristang but my dad, my brothers and sisters speak to me in English)

Soh (2015) presents some of the motivations for language revitalization efforts among the Portuguese-Eurasian community in Malacca. Soh's (2015) study shows that in general, the motivations of revitalizing Malacca Portuguese Creole revolve around how language revitalization is seen as a way for group members to connect or reconnect with their Creole-speaking heritage. She found that a combination of internal and external motivations has led to the rise of awareness about their Portuguese-Eurasian heritage. This, in turn, has led to the rise of awareness on matters related to heritage, ownership, and language revitalization. In fact as recent as 2016, a forum, "Of Kristang and Malacca Portuguese," was held at the Portuguese Settlement, attended by about 14 people of Portuguese-Eurasian descent, both residents and nonresidents of the Portuguese Settlement, and a couple of non-Malaysians to discuss the name of the language.

The Malacca-Portuguese community members interviewed by Soh (2015) expressed interrelated rather than distinct motivations about why they have initiated or participated in language revitalization efforts. The first motivation that has spearheaded efforts to revitalize the Creole is the perception of language revitalization as a means of channeling their inner feelings and needs. Motivations can change over time as inner feelings and needs interact with personal interest. One instance is how a sense of responsibility to do something, in this case getting involved in language revitalization efforts of Malacca Portuguese Creole and transmitting the Creole to the younger generation, rises from concerns about the future of the Creole as speakers get older.

The second motivation, according to Soh (2015), stems from seeing language revitalization as restoring and reconstructing: (i) their heritage in relation to peoplehood (i.e., the larger sense of being Malacca Portuguese Creole-speaking group members) and communities of practice (i.e., the networks one socializes using the Creole) and (ii) relationships. The third motivation that Soh (2015) found is the trigger to take control and reclaim the ownership, not only of a heritage language but also of other elements of heritage, such as culture and ceremonies, and of the community and place in which the heritage, people, and livelihood interact.

The fourth motivation gives a glimpse on the potential of language revitalization in giving the Creole a role in the livelihood of the community and, by extension, the present socioeconomic system. The rapid development and land reclamation close to

the Portuguese Settlement pose a threat to the economic sustenance of this community. Currently, the many restaurants at the Settlement attract local and foreign tourists. The Settlement in itself is a tourist attraction as it represents a part of Malacca's history in terms of the people and their language and culture. Festivals unique to the Settlement, such as *Festa San Pedro* (the Feast of Saint Peter) and *Intrudu* (locally known as Water Day and held on the Sunday preceding the beginning of Lent) as well as Christmas, attract not just visitors but people of Portuguese-Eurasian descent from all over Malaysia and abroad. The maintenance of the Creole and the cultural practices of the community are all part of the ecology that can deflect threats to the displacement of the community from the Settlement in the name of development and help to sustain their economic ventures. This resonates with what Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014: xiii) say about heritage languages:

> . . .HLs have an important role to play to ensure the balance between coherence and pluralism in societies that have started to realize that diversity is not a disadvantage but an advantage, not exclusively for social but also for economic reasons.

In addition, community-external factors increase the motivation to continue language revitalization efforts when works are well received within or outside the Portuguese Settlement and recognized in academic platforms such as conferences. Apart from receiving recognition, funding is clearly crucial to sustaining language revitalization. The realization that the world is interested in their heritage and development has evoked positive feelings toward their efforts and added value and recognitions for this heritage language. However, as evidenced from posts on social media, there is a certain amount of resentment among a few community members about academics and researchers representing the language at national and international platforms, such as in publications and presentations, rather than the community members themselves.

In language contact situations set in a multilingual context, such as is the case of Malacca in Malaysia, it is useful to also look beyond such observable motivations: the extent of aligning with a self that identifies with a Creole-speaking heritage. Motivations and underlying identity alignment drive language revitalization and play a role both in the reactions toward language revitalization efforts and the ultimate goal of language revitalization: the continued use and relevance of Malacca Portuguese Creole as heritage and identity. The next section looks at the perception toward language revitalization efforts of Malacca Portuguese Creole.

The Perception of Language Revitalization Efforts of Malacca Portuguese Creole

As the fairly recent Malacca Portuguese Creole language revitalization efforts were not suitable for a longitudinal evaluation, Soh (2015) looked at language revitalization efforts from the recipients' perspective. Generally, the community members she interviewed welcomed language revitalization efforts and recognized the positive

effects brought upon by language revitalization efforts. However, some of the views toward language revitalization suggest a sense of reservation toward participating in it and, hence, indicated a mismatch between positive perceptions of language revitalization and actual participation.

Soh (2015) found that community members who were not involved in revitalization efforts reported that they were not aware of or knew little about such revitalization efforts. Only a handful had come across materials published perhaps because the target audience was not those from the Portuguese Settlement. Most of them, however, have seen the Creole written down in booklets made for cultural activities or used on social media like Facebook. Only four out of 33 community members interviewed by Soh (2015) said that they have participated in such efforts; one having attended language classes conducted in 2011–2012, while the other three having attended language classes conducted in 2013. The age range of these four research participants was 10–19 years. A few group members had participated in activities, organized or carried out by foreign or nonresidents, such as the production of cultural- and language-related documentaries.

Soh (2015) found that the community members interviewed welcomed attempts to revitalize the Creole. However, there appeared to be some reservation about who was working on such efforts and what it was being used for. Soh (2015) and Pillai et al. (2015a) reported that there was a general feeling that information on the language has been elicited from the Portuguese Settlement but that this has not benefited the residents directly. Many of the people Soh (2015) interviewed said that they had never seen or do not have access to previously published materials, such as the Kristang-English dictionary by Baxter and de Silva (2004) and the various books by Marbeck (1995, 2004a, b, 2011a, b).

The lack of awareness, access, and even resistance to previously produced materials appears to stem from the lack of involvement of representatives of the community in the Portuguese Settlement and Malacca in general (Pillai et al. 2014, 2015a; Soh 2015). The perception that researchers generally "grab and go" and do not contribute back to the community, or even bother to provide copies of materials to the community, adds to these negative perceptions of revitalization efforts. Thus, a more viable approach that engages the community as collaborators in revitalization and documentation efforts is needed. One example of a model of such an approach is the collaboration between researchers at the University of Malaya and the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Association (MPEA). Based on this approach, thus far, a compact disc of Catholic prayers in the Creole (MPEA 2014) and a learning resource (Singho et al. 2016) have been produced.

The *Beng Prende Portugues Malaká* (*Papiá Cristang*) Project

Thus far, work on Malacca Portuguese Creole has focused on academic descriptions of its grammar, sociolinguistic studies on language shift or maintenance, ethnographic and cultural studies, as well as narratives and translated verses and songs (see Pillai et al. 2014; Soh 2015). Currently, teachers teaching the Creole in the

Settlement have to use their own resources and reference materials. These tend to be limited to phrase books and dictionaries, as well as to limited materials handed down by older speakers. Thus, there was a need for a more comprehensive teaching and learning resource for the Creole. Such a resource can aid the teaching and learning of the Creole both within and outside the Settlement. It also acts as a resource for self-learning, aimed at anyone who wants to learn the Creole.

The community engagement approach in the *Beng Prende Portugues Malaká* (*Papiá Cristang*) (hereafter, BPPM) project combined the resources of researchers from the University of Malaya and Malacca Portuguese Creole speakers. The research team comprising researchers, a Portuguese language teacher, and a Malacca Portuguese Creole speaker shared the following:

  (i) Previous work and research findings on Malacca Portuguese Creole
 (ii) Knowledge of language learning material development
(iii) Funding for the revitalization projects

The heritage language community, represented by MPEA, provided support in terms of norms of language use, variation in the use of the Creole (e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary), and input on cultural practices and traditions (e.g., festivals, folktales, songs). All but one of these representatives resided in the Settlement and a couple of them were also members of the Village Development Committee. They could, therefore, obtain and verify information on the use of the Creole from others in the Portuguese Settlement, especially from older speakers within the community. The community representatives also provided language samples and recordings for the project. The project comprised several elements as illustrated in Fig. 1.

The project involved a series of workshops at the Portuguese Settlement. These workshops are important as they opened a channel of communication between the research team and the heritage language team to discuss the content, organization, and presentation of BPPM and to discuss and verify elements of the language, such as spelling conventions, pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structures. These discussions provided a space for the exchange of knowledge from both parties. One of the decisions that had to be made was the development of the content that could cater to the target audience, children to adults, in terms of themes, context, and typical language use in particular contexts. Like many other language learning materials, basic topics, such as greetings, self-introductions, time, and directions, were included. Culture-specific themes like traditional food, festivals, and celebrations were included as well. The target level of fluency in the Creole was another issue that was discussed, and the output of the project was set at a basic level of A2 based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001: 24)

As previously mentioned in this section, the research team brought their knowledge in linguistics and language education to the table, while members of the community as native speakers of MPC offered their language skills and cultural knowledge. The language teachers from both teams contributed ideas on themes and related language components for them. The heritage language speakers, as the language experts, helped to provide relevant cultural content for these themes.
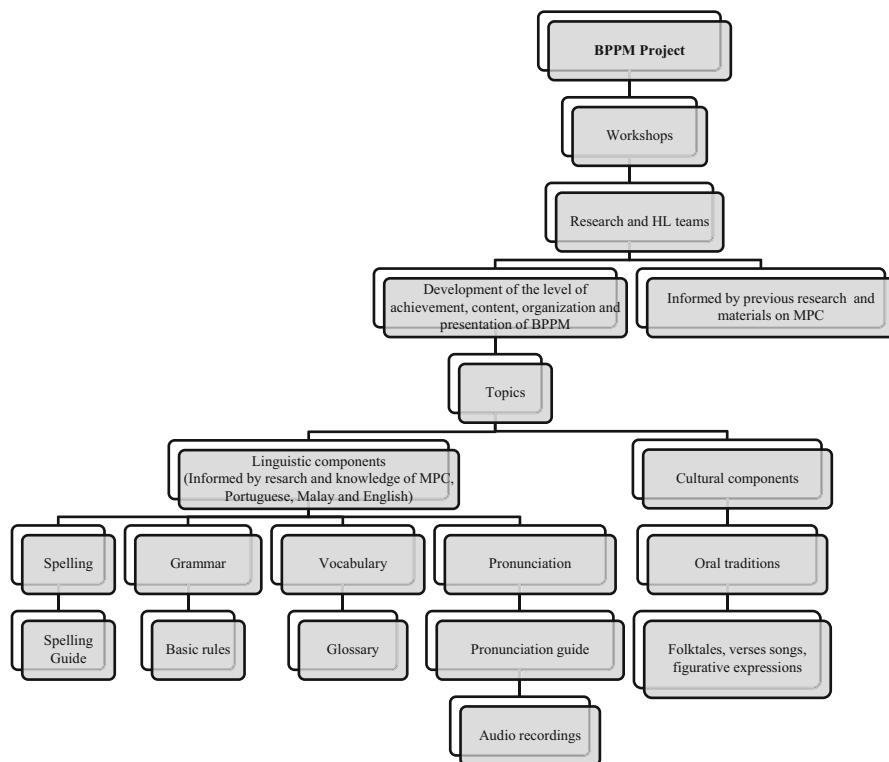
Fig. 1 Components of *Beng Prende Portugues Malaká* (*Papiá Cristang*) project (*BPPM* Beng Prende Portugues Malaká, *HL* heritage language, *MPC* Malacca Portuguese Creole)

In language learning, language features usually become the focus of study and acquisition. However, particularly with a heritage language, where the cultural component is intertwined with language, attempts should be made to include the latter into language learning resources such as BPPM. As Trifonas and Aravossitas (2014: xiii) point out, "(e)ducation in heritage language (HL) is not just a dimension in the areas of linguistic and cultural inheritance; it is linked to the process identity negotiation and cultural inheritance, through language that passes from generation to generation as a tangible legacy of the past that looks forward to a future". The cultural facet of the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian community was incorporated into the learning resource material. A variety of contexts were used to present the language for the various themes. These included songs, conversations, folktales, and recipes (see example in Fig. 2). Relevant images illustrating the content and themes were also incorporated, drawing learners' attention to the practices, lifestyle, and beliefs of the people. Thus, while learners study the language, they also learn about the culture and people. The inclusion of the cultural aspect may help form a closer interpersonal relationship between the target audience (learners of the language) and the source community (Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian people).

Fig. 2 Sample from the output of the BPPM project featuring a recipe for a typical Portuguese-Eurasian dish

Consulting with other speakers of the Creole in the Settlement helped the teams verify both language and cultural elements as well as variation in vocabulary and pronunciation.

Additionally, for the purpose of confirming the pronunciation of words for the glossary in the resource material, audio recordings were carried out. In order to help learners with the pronunciation of the words, these recordings were subsequently phonetically transcribed. Audio documentation is not only helpful in the understanding of the sound system of the Creole; it is also useful in the development of an orthographic system. An example of audio recording of MPC vocabulary is included as an electronic supplementary material in this chapter.

Revisiting the Orthography of Malacca Portuguese Creole

A teaching and learning resource requires its contents to be put forth in a written form. This, then, brought about an issue: how are these words currently represented

in the written form? Malacca Portuguese Creole, like many other creoles, does not have standardized orthography, and therefore, it varies according to the writer. Baxter and de Silva (2004) used Malay as a basis for their spelling system. With the intention of developing a spelling system, both teams debated and contrasted the different ways words are spelled by various writers. Furthermore, comparison was made between the orthographic systems of Malay and standard Portuguese, two of the languages that came into contact which influenced the Creole. The general consensus was there needs to be an orthographic system and spelling conventions that reflect their Portuguese identity.

Following discussions about the orthographic system, a phonemic orthography was adopted in the output of BPPM. The graphemes correspond to the phonemes of the Creole to a high degree, meaning the orthographic system is rather consistent with the phonemic representations. Hence, learners can predict the spelling of a word as exemplified in Table 1.

If we take the word *skola* (school) as an example, the phonemes /s/, /k/, /ɔ/, /l/, and /ə/ are represented by the letters *s*, *k*, *o*, *l*, and *a*, respectively. This indicates that the spelling is rather regular. Learners do not require great knowledge of the language to comprehend the written word. Given that the Creole exists within a multilingual context with Malay and English as the dominant languages, the pronunciation and spelling systems of these languages were also taken as references where applicable as shown in Table 2. References and comparisons to Portuguese were also discussed during the workshops to enable more informed decisions to be made about the orthography of Malacca Portuguese Creole.

From Table 2, it can be observed that like Malay, it only employs the ⟨s⟩ grapheme to represent the /s/ sound as opposed to Portuguese, whereby this one grapheme represents three distinctive sounds, i.e., /s/, /z/, and /ʃ/. The /z/ sound in MPC is represented by a separate grapheme ⟨z⟩, for instance, *ca<u>z</u>a* (house). This is similar to Malay and English, where the grapheme ⟨z⟩ represents the /z/ sound as in the word *la<u>z</u>at* (delicious). The following instance shows the similarities between MPC and Portuguese. Both orthographies use digraphs to represent single sounds. For example, the pair ⟨ch⟩ is used to represent the /ʧ/. Malay, in this case, however, does not use a digraph to represent the same sound. Instead, it uses the grapheme ⟨c⟩ to represent the /ʧ/ sound. In MPC and Portuguese, the grapheme ⟨c⟩ is employed to represent the /k/ sound.

The Creole has a smaller phoneme inventory compared to Portuguese (Pillai et al. 2015b), but decisions about how to represent, for example, the vowels in the Creole had to be made. Malacca Portuguese Creole has eight vowels, and they are represented by seven graphemes. In order to distinguish the /e/ and /ɛ/ vowel pair, different graphemes were used, i.e., ⟨e⟩ and ⟨é⟩, respectively. The e-acute is, hence, used for the more open vowel. For the same purpose, the word-final position /a/ and /ə/ sounds were represented by different letters, the regular ⟨a⟩ for the word-final /ə/ sound and the a-acute ⟨á⟩ for the word-final position /a/ sound. From here, we can see that there is a similarity to standard Portuguese, in that both of these languages make use of diacritics to make a distinction between the qualities of vowels. Malay, in contrast, does not use diacritics in its orthography as there is no need to discern the

Table 1 Examples of orthography in Malacca Portuguese Creole

Grapheme	Phonetic transcription	Example
⟨skola⟩	/sklɔə/	skola *(school)*
⟨chuma⟩	/ʧumə/	chuma *(like, similar to)*

Table 2 Orthography of MPC, Portuguese, and Malay

Grapheme	Language	Phoneme	Example
⟨s⟩	MPC	/s/	skola *(school)*
	Portuguese	/s/ /z/ /ʃ/	sair *(to leave)* casa *(home)* escola *(school)*
	Malay	/s/	sama *(same)*
⟨ch⟩	MPC	/ʧ/	chuma *(like, similar to)*
	Portuguese	/ʧ/	chuva *(rain)*
⟨c⟩	Malay	/ʧ/	cepat *(fast, quick)*

differences between the /e, ɛ/ vowel pair (the /ɛ/ sound does not exist in Standard Malay), and the word-final position ⟨a⟩ grapheme usually represents the phoneme /ə/. Table 3 shows the vowels found in the Creole.

The orthography adopted in this resource material is not meant to be prescriptive. The acceptance of one single standard may take more time, and it needs an extended and in-depth discussion with the members of the community at a larger scale. Still, this spelling system is developed based on the input from the research and representative of the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Association in the BPPM project. It is a system that contains features of both the lexifier language and local language. With this, perhaps learners will gain some kind of understanding of the languages that influenced MPC. A spelling and pronunciation guide is provided in the BPPM resource as illustrated in Figs. 3 and 4.

Conclusion

Overall, engaging the community to participate in revitalization efforts leads to knowledge sharing. This kind of opportunity permits the Malacca Portuguese Creole speakers to learn more what is happening to the language, its current status as well as its future and potential for development. This project of producing a resource for the learning of the Creole enabled the participating heritage language speakers to obtain knowledge in language documentation and pedagogy, whereas researchers gained a better understanding of and greater appreciation for the language. The resource is being used to teach children the Creole in the Portuguese Settlement. It will also

Table 3 The vowels and their representation in Malacca Portuguese Creole

Vowel	Representation	Examples
/i/	⟨i⟩	**i**rmang *(sibling)*
/ɛ/	⟨é⟩	cr**é**nsa *(child)*
/e/	⟨e⟩	faz**e** *(to do, to make)*
/ə/	⟨e⟩, ⟨a⟩	s**e**man**a** *(week)* Note: Both the ⟨e⟩ and ⟨a⟩ here have the same pronunciation
/a/	⟨a⟩, ⟨á⟩ Note: A-acute ⟨á⟩ is used in word-final position Regular ⟨a⟩ is used in other positions	**a**bu**á** *(to fly)* Note: Both the ⟨a⟩ and ⟨á⟩ here have the same pronunciation. Only the word-final position /a/ sound is accented
/u/	⟨u⟩	t**u**d**u** *(all, entire, whole)*
/ɔ/	⟨o⟩	n**o**mi *(name)*
/o/	⟨o⟩	b**o**ng *(good, well)*

Spelling Guide

> **a**

- The regular 'a' at the end of words is used to represent a sound similar to the first vowel of the word '**a**board' in English.

  Note: Nouns tend to end with a regular 'a'.

  chum**a**
  di**a**
  nungk**a**

> **á**

- The accented 'á' at the end of words represents a sound like the vowel in the word 'c**a**r' in English, but it is relatively shorter. It is similar to the 'a' sound of the Malay word 'b**a**tu' (stone).

  Note: Verbs tend to end with an accented 'á'.

  bringk**á**
  ol**á**
  papi**á**

Fig. 3 Spelling guide for Malacca Portuguese Creole from the BPPM project

Pronunciation Guide

Vowels

IPA Symbols	English / Malay (M)	Papiá Cristang
/i/	bus**y**	**i**rmang
/e/	**ai**d	faz**e**
		Note: The sound in Papiá Cristang is relatively shorter.
/ɛ/	b**e**t	cr**é**nsa
/ə/	**a**board	s**e**man**a** agor**a**
/a/	b**a**tu (M)	bringk**á**
/u/	k**utu** (M)	t**u**d**u**

Fig. 4 Pronunciation guide for Malacca Portuguese Creole from the BPPM project

appeal to older Portuguese-Eurasians who may have spoken or were exposed to the language when they were growing up but no longer use it.

What is needed now is to gauge the community's and users' reactions and evaluation of the resource so that it may be improved. The follow-up to the project would be to work on supplementary materials that can be linked to the book such as the recordings of the words in the glossary and an online support for self-learners.

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Preserving Heritage Languages Through Schooling in India

Mani Bhasin Kalra

Abstract

India is a multicultural and a multilingual society with multiple religions, castes that vary across its length and breadth. Generally in almost all states, especially the metros the three language formula of Government of India, is followed in schools, which means children learn two or more languages, besides the language of instruction. In some cities like Mumbai, Delhi etc the students are exposed to as many as four languages. Hindi and English however remain the dominant languages. In many cases home language is still different from the school language inspite of the fact that policies in Education emphasise early education in mother tongue or the regional language. Articles 29 and 30 of the Indian Constitution, too under 'Cultural and Educational Rights', protects the interests of the minorities.

The direction given under article 351 of the Indian Constitution for the development of Hindi Language is that "It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language to develop it so that it may serve as medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages".

In India, there are a large number of languages that are endangered and some that are slowly becoming extinct. These are the languages that need to be protected and preserved. So, what then are the strategies for Language Preservation and Protection in India? What role can Education and other agencies both

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Governmental and Non governmental play in the preservation and promotion of Languages? What is the best way forward for a country like India? Can Multi-lingualism be considered a potential asset for an individual, schools and society at large? This paper tries to describe the language status in India with specific reference to school education and the policy perspective.

Contents

Introduction

India is home to a large number and also a large variety of languages. Language is an important part of any society, because it basically enables people to communicate and express themselves. Language is an important attribute of a population and has great relevance and significance in a plurilingual and pluriethnic land like India. The

2001 Census of India reports 122 languages within India's 28 states and 7 union territories, 1635 mother tongues, as well as 1957 unclassified "other" mother tongues. There are about 780 languages reported in the country, (Lalmalsawma 2013). According to a survey, which was conducted by Bhasha Research and Publication Centre about "220 Indian languages have disappeared in the last 50 years, and that another 150 could vanish in the next half century as speakers die and their children fail to learn their ancestral tongues." (Lalmalsawma 2013). According to him "Languages cannot be preserved by making dictionaries or grammars. Languages live if people who speak the languages continue to live." We therefore need to look after the well-being of the people who use these languages. Death of a language means the loss of linguistic history, human values, culture, verbal art, and oral literature represented by the language concerned. A child that cannot speak the native language cannot for any reason value the culture and embrace the values, norms, and practices in the culture. It is a collective responsibility of everyone to do our part in safeguarding and protecting our language from extinction (Mary Kim Haokip 2009).

In the India, Hindi and English are the dominant languages. These are however not "official" languages but are used in daily use like, for communication, in schools and colleges as languages for learning and other such purposes.

The Policy

According to the Indian Constitution, "the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals." It further states that, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used.

Gujarat State High Court, a court in the State of Gujarat in India, has observed that though majority of people in India have accepted Hindi as a national language, there was nothing on record to suggest that any provision has been made or order issued declaring Hindi as a national language of the country. The court observed, "Normally, in India, majority of the people have accepted Hindi as a national language and many people speak Hindi and write in Devanagari script but there is nothing on record to suggest that any provision has been made or order issued declaring Hindi as a national language of the country." The court said that the Constituent Assembly while discussing the Language Formula noticed the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights, which recommended the formula as per which, "Hindustani, written either in Devanagari or the Persian script at the option of the citizen, shall, as the national language, be the first official language of the Union. English shall be the second official language for such period as the Union may, by law, determine." However, in the constitution, Hindi was declared as an official language and not a national language.

Indian Education

According to NCF 2005, "English in India is a global language in a multilingual country (22 languages recognized by the Constitution, 1652 mother tongues, over 3000 dialects) multilingual context. (no monolingual state, diglossic situations, language continuity, language preservation, language protectionism, etc.)" It has been seen that many parents across India are forsaking educating their kids in their mother tongue in favor of English. Inspite of various researches and also warnings that support that a child's cognitive development is affected by early schooling in an unfamiliar language, there has been an increase in English-medium education in India. According to Rampal, a Professor of Education, "a study in Delhi showed that students who began learning in Hindi for the first 5 years in a school that taught language well showed the ability later to think independently and write creatively in both Hindi and English." van Riezen (2015) studied the states where Home Language is different from School Language (%) and found that in many states a large percentage of students were attending schools where the school language was different from the home language! (Table 1)

According to Van Riezen (2015) in MLE and India, the government of Uttarakhand has decided to have the two major vernacular languages of the state, Kumauni and Gharwali, taught at all the primary schools. A research was carried out in 72 blocks across the 24 districts of the state, covering 216 villages. During the survey, researchers interacted with schoolchildren, their parents, teachers, and village leaders. Over 3000 kids were profiled during the survey. It was found that mother tongue of over 96% of rural population, including school kids, was tribal or regional languages. While 33% of the children interviewed spoke Santhali at home, 17.5% spoke Khortha, 9.5% Kurukh, 8.2% Nagpuri, 7.6% used Mundari, 6.7% Sadri, and 5.6% used Ho. Only 4% rural families spoke Hindi at home. Ninety two percent of the teachers use Hindi to interact with students in schools. Over 90% of the teachers indicated that they can speak tribal or regional language of that area. But since instruction in mother tongue is not mandatory they chose to instruct in Hindi. Over 78% of the teachers felt that children faced problems in learning because of the language gap of home and school. "A quarter of all rural children attend primary schools where the medium of instruction is different from their home language," according to the study.

The tea state Assam has six prevalent languages in their region: Assamiya, Odiya, Bodo, Bengali, English, and lastly Hindi. There are three common examination boards: SEBA: State Education Board of Assam; CBSE: Central Board of Secondary Education; and ICSE: Indian Certificate of Secondary Education. The students here know at least six languages because Assamiya, Odiya, and Bengali have same concepts; apart from this in most of the schools English is the medium of instruction and Hindi is just a subject that school starts in 1st grade, Hindi is a foreign language for them. There are some "Jatiya Vidyalayas" under SEBA board which strictly follows their local language medium only. Hindi cannot ideally enjoy more importance than the indigenous languages in the concerned regions, but that does not mean Hindi is unacceptable. That the status of Hindi is definitely declining in Assam is a fact.

Table 1 Home language is different from school language

State	Home language is different from school language (%)
Nagaland	100
Chhattisgarh	99
Manipur	98
Arunachal Pradesh	96
Jammu & Kashmir	95
Himachal Pradesh	89
Rajasthan	77
Uttarkhand	67
Jharkhand	61
Bihar	53
Meghalaya	48
Assam	48
Mizoram	37
Tripura	34
Andhra Pradesh	31
Haryana	22
Karnataka	19
Punjab	19
Maharashtra	14
Orissa	8
West Bengal	8
Tamil Nadu	8
Uttar Pradesh	6
Madhya Pradesh	3
Kerala	2
Gujarat	1
Daman & Diu	0
Puducherry	0
Average	41

Source: Annual status of education report-ASER report 2011

Another state Meghalaya has five prevalent languages: Khasi, Garo, Jaintia, English, and Hindi. These languages were derived based on the tribes formations. Language Khasi came from the tribe "khasiya," which is now known as East Khasi Hills, language Garo from the Garo tribe, now known as Garo Hills, and language Jainti from Jaintiya tribe, now known as Jaintia Hills. English is used as the common language while Hindi is still the foreign language for people living in this area. The government of Meghalaya has three boards: MBOSE: Meghalaya board of school education; CBSE: central board of secondary education; and ICSE: Indian school of certificate examination. Under CBSE board Hindi is an optional subject in 8th and 9th grade, but under MBOSE Hindi is not even being given an optional subject status.

The Three-Language Formula

We have seen earlier that in India English is the most sought after and is also used widely by a large number of people. English is the language of the Library, is used mainly for communication in formal meetings, and of course the major language using which individuals can access information from, such as the Internet. Other languages as a result have been marginalized, which are mainly spoken at home or in their own communities. These languages that are either their mother tongue or their regional language are often not used as official languages. Most of the times people are able to speak their mother tongue or regional language but may not be able to read and write it!

The three-language formula evolved as a consensus in 1961 at a meeting of the chief ministers of different States. The three-language formula was later modified by the Kothari Commission (1964–66). This formula suggests

National Policy of Education (NPE) in 1986 and we see its revised version in the Program of Action of 1992. The NPE-1986 (www.education.nic.in/NatPol.asp) "had largely supported the language related provisions made in 1968. The Education Policy of 1968 (www.languageinindia.com) had examined the question of the development of languages in some detail; its essential provisions, it was believed, could hardly be improved upon and were as relevant today as before. Such a position avoids several complex issues and assumes that nothing has happened in the field of languages since 1960. Even the 1968 policy was rather uneven in its implementation."

The 1968 policy states:

The First language to be studied must be the mother tongue or the regional language.
The Second language
  – In Hindi speaking States, the second language will be some other modern Indian language or English, and
  – In non-Hindi speaking States, the second language will be Hindi or English.
The Third language
  – In Hindi speaking States, the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language, and
  – In non-Hindi speaking States, the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language.

It was suggested that the medium of instruction at the primary stage should be the mother tongue.

The spirit of the three-language formula thus provides Hindi, English, and Indian languages, preferably a south Indian language for the Hindi-speaking States, and a regional language, Hindi, and English for the non-Hindi-speaking States. But this formula has been observed more in the breach than in the observance. The Hindi-speaking States operate largely with Hindi, English, and Sanskrit, whereas the non-Hindi-speaking States, particularly Tamil Nadu, operate through a two-language

formula, that is, Tamil and English. Still, many States such as Orissa, West Bengal, and Maharashtra among others implemented the formula.

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF 2005) describes India as "A Linguistic Giant" and states that "our language scenario has tempted researchers to call India variously as a 'sociolinguistic area,' 'a linguistic giant,' and a 'language laboratory'." The multilingual and pluricultural nature of our society makes it clear that we need more than one language for "national cohesion," "cultural integration," and "social area mobility." Different languages have different roles to play; they are complementary. The imagery of "salad bowl" is appropriate: each language has its characteristic features and contributes to the richness of the overall pattern.

It further states that, "India is a country in which the Indo European family of languages is spoken mostly in north and central India. Of this group, 54 languages constitute 3/4 of the Indian population. About 1/4 of languages i.e., 20 belong to South India of Dravidian family. In Assam 20 languages are spoken. In northeast India 98 languages are spoken, even though its population density is much less than that of other states of the country. In total therefore, in the North East 118 languages are spoken. In this context, the role of Hindi and English becomes very important."

The NCF 2005 gives a fresh impetus to language education:

1. A renewed attempt should be made to implement the three language formula.
2. Children's mother tongues, including tribal languages, should be considered as the best medium of instruction.
3. Proficiency in multiple languages including English should be encouraged in children.
4. Reading should be emphasized throughout the primary classes.

Therefore, "With each State having one dominant language, there is bound to develop a certain amount of ethnocentric attitude and linguistic chauvinism. This not only hampers the free movement of people and ideas but also imposes restrictions on creativity, innovation, and diffusion and retards the modernisation of the society. Now that we also know of the positive relationship between multilingualism, cognitive growth, and educational achievement, there is every need to promote multilingual education in schools." (National Focus Group on Teaching of Indian Languages 2006)

According to Articles 29 and 30 of the Indian Constitution, under "Cultural and Educational Rights," it is stated that

Article 29: Protection of interests of minorities.

1. Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script, or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.
2. No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language, or any of them.

and

Article 30: Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.

1. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.
2. (a) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of any educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause (1), the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause.
3. The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

Endangered Languages

There are about 197 listed languages of India that are classified as vulnerable or endangered (Moseley 2010). These are the languages that need to be protected and preserved. If a language is at the edge of being endangered, it means she is losing her speakers. It is therefore important and necessary to preserve language by preventing it from becoming extinct.

The Government of India (2014) has initiated a Scheme known as "Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages of India." Under this Scheme, the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysore, works on protection, preservation, and documentation of all the mother tongues/languages of India spoken by less than 10,000 people.

Higher Education

The University Grants Commission (UGC) 2014 too has developed Guidelines for providing assistance for establishment of Centre of Endangered Languages in Central Universities. Approval has been accorded to nine Central Universities for Establishment of Centres for Endangered Languages.

With so many languages and dialects in India, only few languages, which are the language of the respective states, seem to follow the rules needed to preserve these languages. These are preserved also in other states where there are schools that offer the language to the linguistic minority students in addition to or in place of the language of the state. There are however certain languages that do not belong to a particular state, as the "state language," and require strategies to protect them, for example, tribal communities that have its own set of traditional practices and beliefs and also languages. Keeping the protection of such languages in mind the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) is set to initiate a

mega project to document nearly 500 endangered languages in India, each spoken by less than 10,000 people.

Strategies for Language Preservation and Protection

Formally Introducing the Languages in the Curriculum

Ensuring the teaching of the national languages in the educational institutions would be one of the ways of preserving language diversity and thereby languages and the associated cultures. New faculties may be opened for teachers to learn about their language and learn the ways of how to teach it at schools. Bilingual or multilingual education programs that teach children to read and write in their first language and the regional language can be promoted. Courses in the minority language in state run schools as well as privately managed schools can be offered, especially in areas where the linguistic minority groups live.

In India, today a disconnect between the school and the community is seen in a large number of areas. Local persons who know the minority languages may be invited as resource persons for students as well as teachers for sharing their knowledge of learning the language and the culture. There is a need to prepare educators and other school personnel to make connections between schools, families, and communities. Researches need to be conducted on the ways in which cultural minority parents interact with their children and the languages that they use to communicate with each other. A language can never be preserved without the knowledge of the associated culture and also the people speaking it. Since most of endangered languages are now only spoken, there needs to be a written knowledge and education for protecting these languages. A language to survive needs to be understood, spoke, and written. Schools of Languages that teach such languages need to be promoted and supported financially.

Using the Internet and Social Media

With the help of the Internet, one can raise awareness about the reasons of why a language is nearing extinction and how the language could be preserved. Internet can be used to translate, catalog, store, and provide information about the language. There may be online discussion forums on why languages are nearing extinction and the importance of languages in our lives. As a result effective strategies for language preservation and also restoration may be identified and applied.

Using Print and Electronic Media

Using print and electronic media to promote the awareness about endangered languages will be an effective method to preserve and protect the languages.

In fact, awareness strategies should be adopted for preservation of all languages so that they do not reach the status of an "endangered language." Media broadcasters may introduce TV-series in the languages that are endangered today and are at the brink of extinction. Multimedia centers and community radios run by local people in the language of the natives needs to be encouraged today. This will help rural and remote villages and tribal areas to communicate and share information with the rest of the world. This will of course also enable them to know about the latest developments around the word, the benefit of which is not able to reach these communities. Promoting local authors will go a long way in this direction.

Occupational and Professional Edge

Importantly, to preserve a language, appropriate training programs to enable people to become language teachers, linguists, translators, and researchers need to be initiated. Traditional occupations of people speaking the lesser known, endangered languages may be studied and promoted to ensure the propagation about the culture and as a result the languages spoken by the people of that culture. Traditional occupations of people speaking the endangered languages must be supported financially by the Governments and NGO's.

Research and Publications for Dissemination

Surveys need to be conducted in this direction on a war footing. For dissemination of information it is necessary that researches, books, pamphlets, articles, letters, and the like can help spread awareness about issues related to languages. Researches often lie in libraries without the rest of the world being aware of them; there is therefore a need to use the Internet, media, and other sources to disseminate them, even to a lay person. People speaking the languages that are fast disappearing may be involved in writing literature for schools and other institutions and in creating dictionaries that may be more effective than those produced by linguists sitting in urban areas. Micro level studies by the researchers from institutions that support, preserve, and protect the endangered languages need to work in the areas without disturbing or intruding into the lives of people speaking the languages.

Preservation of Cultures

Many languages under pressure are losing oral literature and words related to culture, especially, food items, dress and ornaments, rituals, flora, and fauna. But globalization is not the cause of language death, according to the CIIL. The need of the hour is promoting these languages through campaigns and in a mission mode. If a culture does not survive or its people, the language spoke by them dies a natural death.

Government Policies

There is an increasing need to revive old occupations and create more job opportunities for that specific language and also for the people speaking that language which is an important duty of the government. Government policies need to be more focussed to work in an edge in favor of preservation, protection, and revival of languages.

Translations of Literature and Other Works in Other Languages

The need for translations of languages such as Manipuri, Bhojpuri, Assamese, Bengali, and other state languages especially from the North Eastern states needs to be addressed in order to understand the culture of that area, understand the folk, music, food, etc. There is a need for translation of literature in Hindi, and English may be translated to other state or regional languages.

Efforts in Protection and Preservation of Languages in India

People's Linguistic Survey of India

The People's Linguistic Survey of India is a right based movement for carrying out a nation wide survey to identify, document, and understand the state of Indian languages, especially languages of fragile nomadic, coastal, island, and forest communities.

The PLSI is carried out by scholars, writers, and activists in partnership with members of different speech communities.

The main objectives of the PLSI are:

- To provide an overview of the living languages of India as "they are" by 2011–2012.
- To create an action network of members committed to sustainable development, irrespective of diverse social and cultural contexts, and of community custodians of life enhancing systems and traditions.
- To build bridges among diverse language communities, and thereby to strengthen the foundations of multilingual, multicultural Indian society.
- To create closer links between the government and speech communities and to bring the universal developmental strategies of the government in harmony with ecologically and culturally diverse communities.
- To develop teaching material and capability for promoting education in mother tongue.
- To provide a baseline for any future survey of India's linguistic and cultural composition.

- To arrest extinction of linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity, nurtured by speech communities over generation, and to protect one of the few surviving bastions of linguistic diversity in the world in the interest of human security and survival.

According to the People's Linguistic Survey of India (PLSI), "Over the last 50 years, the world's Hindi-speaking population has increased from 260 million to 420 million. Over the same period, the English speaking population has gone from 320 million to 480 million. These figures indicate only those who say English is their mother tongue. It does not include those who speak English for professional use as a second language," according to Ganesh Devy, Professor and Chair at PLSI.

Pratham

Pratham. 2012–2013. Language Support for Young Children in Assam

In an effort to explore literacy and learning levels within the multilingual context in Assam, ASER Centre along with Pratham set up the Language Support for Young Children programme in Kokhrajar district in 2010. The objective of this project was to provide specialized language learning support to children in primary schools (Std 1–4). The project provided home language and bilingual support to children, in order to introduce them to Assamese and helped them to develop their competence in reading, writing, and oral language skills to successfully engage with the school curriculum. Language support was provided via volunteers from the community who were trained by Pratham. Classroom activities in the last year included oral language development, reading, writing, Math, producing TLM.

Pratham 2015–2017. Assessment for Multilingual Education

Read India has been conducting learning camps for children in the West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand who speak a tribal language other than Hindi. Classrooms comprise children speaking 2–3 different languages. Home and community support in learning Hindi is scarce. The Read India camps focus on creating smooth learning trajectories and various models like community libraries for these children. Pedagogical and instructional strategies are also being devised around this problem.

Pratham. 2013–2015. Same Language Subtitling (SLS) Study – Baseline Assessment

Planet Read (www.planetread.org) has used Same Language Subtitling (SLS) to improve adult literacy in the past. The current study is to evaluate whether SLS can improve literacy particularly in children. ASER Centre is conducting the baseline and end line of the SLS study as per the requirements stated by Planet Read.

The objective of the study is to evaluate the impact of SLS exposure on the reading skills of children, aged 6–14, who are not fluent readers. The program has

been rolled out in four districts of rural Maharashtra. The impact will be compared with outcomes in Gujarat (two districts of Gujarat which have the same learning level as in Maharashtra were chosen) with no SLS telecast.

Governmental Efforts for Classical Languages of India

Sanskrit has now become a minority language as there are only 14,000 speakers left across the country of over one million. As a result, "some writers and preachers of Sanskrit language have started highlighting the importance of Sanskrit language. Sanskrit commission was set up in 1957 which pointed out that Sanskrit is one of the greatest languages of the world and it is classical language not only for India but for also for Asia." (Goswami 2012) In 1994, however, the Supreme Court of India declared that Sanskrit should be the part of school curriculum but even now the condition of Sanskrit is degrading in schools and universities. For Sanskrit, there is a special status mentioned in article 351, whereby Sanskrit was given a position of the primary source language for many languages including Hindi. Thus, it is important to save this language.

Current Classical Languages

The government declared Tamil as a classical language in 2004 while it declared Sanskrit as a classical language in 2005. These two languages are undoubtedly parental sources for many languages belonging to the Indo-European family and the Dravidian family of linguistic groups. Later, the government declared Kannada and Telugu (in 2008) as classical languages of India. In 2013, Malayalam was also given status of classical language. In 2014, Odiya was also given the status of Classical language. With this the following six languages are included in the list of Classical Languages: Tamil (since 2004), Sanskrit (since 2005), Telugu (since 2008), Kannada (Since 2008), Malayalam (since 2013), and Odiya (since 2014).

Union Minister for Culture recently announced that the Ministry had decided to grant the classical language status to Malayalam which is spoken by over 30 million people belonging to the family of Dravidian languages; Malayalam has a rich heritage of perhaps more than 2300 years. Indian government initiated a scheme to protect and preserve endangered Indian languages spoken by less than 10,000 people. Languages include (as per UNSECO) Aimol, spoken in Manipur; Baghati spoken in Himachal Pradesh; Nihali spoken in Maharashtra; Toto in west Bengal; and Toda in Tamil Nadu, among others.

Constitutional Rights and Safeguards Provided to the Minorities in India

Many articles of the Constitution providing rights to the minorities clearly point out to only one direction: "that of a multi-religious, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-racial Indian society, interwoven into an innate unity by the common thread of national integration and communal harmony."

School Education

The NCF, 2005, talks about three language formula. It says that "Languages also provide a bank of memories and symbols inherited from one's fellow speakers and created in one's own lifetime."

Moreover, it states that "Multilingualism is constitutive of the identity of a child and is a typical feature of the Indian linguistic landscape. It must be used as a resource, classroom strategy and a goal by a creative language teacher. This is not only the best use of a resource readily available, but also a way of ensuring that every child feels secure and accepted, and that no one is left behind on account of his/her linguistic background."

The linguistic diversity of India has made it unique in itself as several linguistic and sociolinguistic features are shared across languages that bear witness to the fact that different languages and cultures coexisted in India, enriching each other for centuries.

Classical languages in India such as Latin, Arabic, Persian, Tamil, and Sanskrit are rich in their inflectional grammatical structure and aesthetic value. They illuminate our lives as many languages borrow words from them.

The three-language formula is a strategic attempt to address the challenges and opportunities of the linguistic situation in India as well as launching pad for learning more languages. The three- language formula includes:

Home/First language(s) or Mother-tongue education including tribal languages.
Second-language Acquisition.
Learning to Read and Write.

The NCF, 2005, gives certain guidelines to achieve the aim of using the three-language formula as an attempt to address the challenges and opportunities of the linguistic situation in India. These are as follows:

- Language teaching needs to be multilingual and use the multilingual classroom as a resource.
- Home language(s) of children should be the medium of learning in schools.
- Primary school education must still be covered through the home language(s).
- In the non-Hindi-speaking states, children learn Hindi and for Hindi speaking states, children learn a language not spoken in their area.
- Sanskrit, one of the classical languages may also be studied as a Modern Indian Language (MIL) in addition to other languages.
- At later stages in schooling, study of classical languages and foreign languages like French, Germany, and Spanish etc. may be introduced.

English Language in India

According to NCF, 2005, "English is now a matter of political response to people's aspirations rather than an academic or feasibility issue, and people's choices about the level of its introduction in the curriculum will have to be

respected, with the proviso that we do not extend downwards the very system that has failed to deliver."

Moreover, NCF, 2005, states that "English language does not stand alone, as the aim of English teaching is to create multilingual(s), those who can enrich all our language; this has been an abiding national vision. English needs to be taught along with other Indian languages in different states of India, where children's other languages strengthen English teaching and learning; and in 'English-medium' schools, where other Indian languages need to be valorised to reduce the perceived hegemony of English."

Also, the need is to bridge the gap between "English as subject" and "English as medium" by teaching English in relation to other subjects. For this, a language across the curriculum of particular relevance to the primary education should be used, and later all teaching should be in a sense language teaching. Thus, a common school system can help to bride this gap as it does not make a distinction between "teaching a language" and "using a language as a medium of instruction."

Thus, the use of multilingual approach in the schools from the very outset will help to counter the possible ill effects like loss of one's own languages and burden of language sheer incomprehension.

Central Institute of Indian Languages

CIIL has Materials Production group that has so far produced nearly 240 teaching and learning materials, besides creating supplementary teaching materials like Nursery Rhymes, Pictorial Glossaries, Language Games, Cultural Vocabulary, Recall Vocabulary, and Common Vocabulary in various Indian languages. The Group also conducts Orientation Programs to key resource persons and language teachers. It also extends consultancy in matters of curriculum development and material preparation for language education.

- Advices and Assists Central as well as State Governments in the matters of language.
- Contributes to the development of all Indian Languages by creating content and corpus.
- Protects and Documents Minor, Minority, and Tribal Languages.
- Promotes Linguistic harmony by teaching 15 Indian languages to nonnative learners.

Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages of India

Union Government has initiated a Scheme known as "Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages of India." It was announced by the Union Human Resource Development Minister.

- As part of this Scheme, all the mother tongues/languages of India spoken by less than 10,000 people will be considered as they will be protected, preserved, and documented by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysore.
- Technology will play key role in the preservation of endangered languages and it will be an integral part of it.
- Dictionaries and basic grammars in all the endangered languages/mother tongues are prepared in digital format. In addition, talking dictionaries in the endangered languages/mother tongues will be prepared with the help of technology.
- The cultural and ethnolinguistic aspects of the languages/mother tongues and indigenous knowledge system of the communities will be video-graphed and stored electronically for archival and retrieval purposes.
- A digital map with linguistic/cultural words with actual pronunciation for accounting variation in speech is also part of the scheme.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) also prepares guidelines in order to provide assistance for establishment of Centre of Endangered Languages in Central Universities. In this regard, UGC has accorded approval to nine Central Universities to establish these centers and allocated Rs.50.00 crores.

Conclusion

Indian multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon. It dates back historically to ancient time. Multilingualism as we are aware is the act of using, or promoting the use of, multiple languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers.

The Karnataka State runs primary schools in eight languages. The secondary schools in West Bengal give their students the option to choose from 14 languages. Tamilnadu teaches only Tamil and English, and Gujarat follows it with Gujarati and Hindi. Many Hindi states substitute Sanskrit, a classical language for a modern Indian language. There are 500 Central Schools with the bilingual medium consisting of English and Hindi. There is also a compulsory language, Sanskrit, in addition. There are 500 Navodaya Vidyalayas where some competence in English and Hindi is imparted simultaneously. But the students who graduate from these schools go to the English medium colleges, because there is no college in the country that offers a bilingual medium of instruction. The Indian education system blocks multilingualism as one moves into higher education (Asha Education 2015).

Multilingualism is therefore a need of the hour and should therefore be looked at as an advantage offered to us rather than a problem that will ensure and help its people to understand the cultural differences leading to different norms to be observed in interpersonal relations in society thereby teaching them to live harmoniously with other.

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