Critical Components of Heritage Language Programs

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What insights into effective language development can we learn from language revival efforts?

Joseph LoBianco
University of Melbourne
Context
UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, International Day for the World’s Indigenous People (7/23/09), spoke of “the silent crisis confronting many of the world’s languages.” Between 50% and 70% of the world’s languages are endangered (estimates vary).

Reality
Joshua Fishman observed in the mid 1970s that “schools are unreliable allies of language maintenance, frequently and appreciably leading to language shift.”

Practice
Attempts to overcome this crisis, “reversing language shift,” include schools and teachers and also whole communities in their daily practices of communication.
Why Reversing Language Loss Is Difficult

i. Language shift is a late-order indicator of cultural loss, when a rival identity is already established in the new language.

ii. Language maintenance is often in competition with the replacing language, which usually has greater economic opportunity and is seen as more “modern” and “contemporary.”

iii. Stable maintenance of minority languages requires social and institutional differentiation for the minority group.

iv. Minority language functions require constant reinforcement.

v. Schools are institutions of the dominant nation, state, and economy.

(Fishman, 2001. Can threatened languages be saved?)
Recovery of a potentially lost community language requires more than just teaching it in schools. Action is needed on three fronts simultaneously:

~ Increase young people’s linguistic ability or capacity (C) ~
~ Create and reward opportunities for use of the language (O) ~
~ Roster positive desire to use the language (D) ~

Language revival can occur, and increased use of the language can be fostered, when capacity, opportunity, and desire are present.
Capacity

Capacity is needed for language revival, because more proficient speakers tend to use the language more than those with less proficiency.

Capacity is nurtured in 2 ways:
Informally through processes of intimacy (in homes and families and other intimate relationships)
Formally through processes of instruction (in the education system with teachers and lecturers)

Intimacy and instruction are often sufficient to produce proficiency in and some use of a language. However, on its own, capacity is insufficient to lead to frequent use of a language or to a minority language being revived.

We also need Opportunity and Desire.
Opportunity

Opportunities to use a language accompany capacity as a key aim. Opportunities occur in domains, social and other settings in which the use of the language is expected and natural. This can be fostered through social and economic arrangements.

Without domains in which use of the language is expected, no amount of formal instruction or informal learning in intimacy will result in language revival.

Even when we foster opportunities for use in domains in which it is expected that the language will flourish, speakers still need to have the Desire to use the language.
Desire

Desire to use the language must be nurtured alongside its learning (fostering capacity through intimacy or instruction) and provision of opportunities, supported by social and economic environments.

To convert capacity and opportunity into actual language use, language teaching and revival need to cultivate and foster desire -- identification with and investment in use of the language.

Taken together, capacity, opportunity, and desire have been shown to convert learning of a language into practical use of the language.
Spanish in the United States

Kim Potowski

University of Illinois, Chicago
Spanish in the United States

Numerically largest LOTE; continuing immigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking/Language</th>
<th># of speakers</th>
<th>% change 1990 to 2000</th>
<th>% change 2000 to 2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Spanish</td>
<td>34,547,077</td>
<td>+62%</td>
<td>+23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chinese</td>
<td>2,464,572</td>
<td>+53%</td>
<td>+22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tagalog</td>
<td>1,480,429</td>
<td>+45%</td>
<td>+21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. French</td>
<td>1,355,805</td>
<td>-3%</td>
<td>-18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vietnamese</td>
<td>1,207,004</td>
<td>+99%</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. German</td>
<td>1,104,354</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Korean</td>
<td>1,062,337</td>
<td>+43%</td>
<td>+19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Russian</td>
<td>851,174</td>
<td>+191%</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Italian</td>
<td>798,801</td>
<td>-23%</td>
<td>-21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Arabic</td>
<td>767,319</td>
<td>+73%</td>
<td>+25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Portuguese</td>
<td>687,126</td>
<td>+31%</td>
<td>+22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Polish</td>
<td>638,059</td>
<td>-8%</td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. is currently the 5th largest Spanish-speaking nation in the world, having more Spanish speakers than any other nation except Mexico, Colombia, Spain, and Argentina (CIA 2008).
Spanish in the United States

- Yet intergenerational transmission is **not** occurring beyond the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation.

- Without continued immigration, Spanish would probably cease to be spoken in most domains.
Spanish Language Maintenance

Among factors affecting the maintenance of Spanish among younger heritage speakers, of great significance are the experiences they have during their childhood -- ethnolinguistic socialization.

- What are their **earliest and most significant recollections** of learning and using Spanish and English?

- As young adults, how do they understand the **larger social meanings** of those past experiences?

- What do these experiences tell us about the **linguistic culture** (Schiffman, 1996) of the United States and what it means to grow up bilingual?
Insights from Students’ “Linguistic Autobiographies”

- Utilizing the methodology of the *linguistic autobiography* (Aparicio, 1997), currently analyzing written compositions of over 200 high school and college students in 15 different states who reflect on concrete experiences of growing up speaking Spanish and English in the United States.

- LoBianco’s framework:
  - The ways in which *homelands* regard the way Spanish is spoken by people raised in the U.S., and the ways in which U.S. Latinos accept/resist criticism.
  - Local *discourses* about Spanish by the hegemonic majority.
  - *Schooling*
Linguistic Autobiography

- Aparicio (1997)

- Reflect on three (3) concrete experiences related to Spanish or English while growing up in the U.S.

- Currently 22 college essays from Chicago; another 500 are being collected from high schools and postsecondary institutions across the U.S.

- [http://potowski.org/autobiografia](http://potowski.org/autobiografia)
Emerging Themes

- Examples pertaining to LoBianco’s framework:
  - The ways in which homelands regard the way Spanish is spoken by people raised in the U.S., and the ways in which U.S. Latinos accept/resist criticism.
  - Local discourses about Spanish by the hegemonic majority
  - Schooling
Conclusion

How can we strengthen the degree of intergenerational transmission of Spanish in the U.S.?

- Parents
- Schools
- Monolingual peers

See Caldas (2006); Fishman (2001)
Passing Forward the Heritage Language:
The Case of Hindi & Urdu in the U.S.

Sureendra Gambhir
University of Pennsylvania
Importance of Hindi and Urdu as Critical Languages

- After Chinese and English, Hindi and Urdu have the third largest population of speakers in the world (approximately 600 million).
In Diasporic Contexts, HL Communities Need Three Critical Components

- **Capacity Development** (ability to use it)
- **Opportunities** for learning/using HL
- **Desire** to learn/maintain/use/advance HL
Golden Period for Heritage Language Advancement in the United States

- Federal support - first time, large investment
- STARTALK programs, study abroad fellowships
- Fit between millions of HL speakers and national needs
- Large number of Hindi and Urdu speakers in the first generation (320,000 Hindi + 260,000 Urdu = 580,000)
- Opportunities to introduce Hindi and Urdu in K-12 curriculum
- Existence of Hindi and Urdu in 93 colleges and universities with a total enrollment of 2,683 (2006)
- High level of research interest in Hindi and Urdu
- Proliferation in broadcast media and multimedia
Current Resources for Advancement of Heritage Languages

- Weekend schools
- Increasing number of public schools
- Multi-media resources (text, audio, video)
- Broadcast media (radio, local and satellite TV)
- Internet
Community Heritage Hindi and Urdu Schools in the United States

- Hindi – estimated number 150
- Urdu – estimated number 10
Two Challenges for Hindi/Urdu

- Desire to learn, maintain, and improve proficiency in HL
- Capacity development in HL
Domains for Language Use

- Language learning and maintenance are need-based.
- Where are the domains for language use in diasporic contexts?
Hindi/Urdu Survival in Other Countries of Indian Diaspora?

- Guyana in South America
- Suriname in South America
- Trinidad in the Caribbean Sea
- Fiji in Pacific Ocean
- Mauritius in India Ocean
Parents in the U.S. Interested in Passing on Hindi/Urdu to the Next Generation

- Genuinely interested: 10%
- Claim interested but are able to pass on only oral interpretive skills in limited domains of language use (children more responsible): 70%
- ??: 20%
## Life Expectancy of Languages in Diaspora
(with reference to the 70%)

### Most Rapid Language Loss Scenario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Ability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td>Speaking + Listening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>Listening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Generation</td>
<td>No Listening/No Speaking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Develop parents’ and children’s desire to develop proficiency in the heritage language.

Create opportunities and develop proficiency (capacity) along with ongoing efforts to build motivation/desire.
Comprehensive Policy Required at the Federal and State Levels

Policy or policies that

- Provide funding for creating opportunities
- Provide significant incentives for acquiring high-level proficiency in foreign/heritage languages
- Connect high-level proficiency with the economy by demanding high-level proficiency for jobs in various sectors
- Make high-level proficiency in a foreign language mandatory in academia
Native American Languages

Endangered Language Revitalization
Erin Haynes,
University of California, Berkeley
Over 300 languages were spoken in North America before contact with Europeans. Approximately 175 languages are spoken today. Languages come from dozens of completely different language families. Most are now endangered, predicted to not survive the turn of the century.
North America Language Families

History of Linguistic Suppression

- 19th century policy of assimilation
- Enforced boarding school attendance
  - Parents often forced to give up their children
  - Purpose: Break transmission of languages and cultures between generations
- Strict English-only policies, enforced by harsh corporal punishment
- See Child (1998) and Adams (1995) for further information
Current Policies: Positive

- Native American Language Act (1990)
  - Forbids restrictions on public use of Native American languages, including use in public schools
  - Permits exceptions to teacher certification requirements for Native American language teachers
  - Encourages use of Native American languages as medium of instruction in schools

- Esther Martinez Native Languages Preservation Act (2006)
  - Grants money for language revitalization purposes
Current Policies: Negative

- No Child Left Behind Act (2002)
  - Does not forbid the use of Native American languages in schools
  - However, language instruction is highly discouraged, because it is not reflected in high-stakes AYP exams (see Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006)

- English-Only Movements (e.g., AZ Proposition 203, CA Proposition 227)
Capacity

- Challenges
  - Professional development and credentialing for language teachers
  - Home language capacity development to avoid the "threatened language as a second language" situation described by Fishman (2001)

- Examples
  - American Indian Language Development Institute
  - Language apprenticeships
Opportunity

- **Greatest challenge**
  - Creating domains of use with small numbers of fluent speakers

- **Examples**
  - Language summer camps (see Pease-PrettyOnTop, n.d.; Blum-Martinez, 2000)
  - Immersion schools (Tsehootsooi Diné Bi'olta‘)
  - Higher education (e.g., Hawai’i)
Desire

- Heritage languages generally have tremendous social and cultural importance to Native American people.

  “I am really worried that if we lose our language we won’t be able to think in the Arapaho way. If we lose our language, we will lose our ceremonies and ourselves, because our life is our language, and it is our language that makes us strong.”

  Stephen Greymorning (1999, p. 6)
Desire

The effect of outside attitudes

“More often than not, the LWC [language of wider communication] is reserved for public and powerful subjects and functions, the indigenous local language for private, community-based functions. This asymmetry is easily perceived by children, whose motivation for learning the languages is affected by the perceived status associated with them.” (Ruiz, 1995, p. 77)
Desire

Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, central Oregon
Survey of 118 9th-12th graders who attend high school off-reservation
High school population: 40% Caucasian, 35% Native American, 25% Hispanic

Findings
- Significant effect of the perception of how teachers and peers feel about the tribal languages on desire to learn the language
- No significant effect of previous language instruction or current community involvement on desire to learn the language
Conclusion

Capacity

Increased vocabulary, registers, etc.

Opportunity

Increased motivation

Desire

Expanded contexts
References


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