Developing and Maintaining Vital, Sustainable Heritage Languages in the United States

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UCLA
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Presenters

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- Framework - Joseph LoBianco, University of Melbourne, j.lobianco@unimelb.edu.au
- Spanish - Kim Potowski, University of Illinois, Chicago, kimpotow@uic.edu
- Chinese - Shuhan Wang, National Foreign Language Center, swang@nflc.org
- German - Renate Ludanyi, Western Connecticut State University, tludanyi@snet.net
- Russian - Olga Kagan, UCLA, okagan@humnet.ucla.edu
- Discussion - Donna Christian, Center for Applied Linguistics, dchristian@cal.org
What insights into effective language development can we gain 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) ~
~ Foster 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 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.
References


Spanish in the United States

Kim Potowski
University of Illinois, Chicago
Spanish in the U.S.

Numerically largest LOTE (2007); 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 U.S.

Yet intergenerational transmission is not regularly occurring beyond the $3^{rd}$ generation.

Without continued immigration, the language would probably cease to be spoken in most domains.
Focus: Education

- Professional development for teachers → Capacity

- What Spanish-speaking heritage learners tell about growing up bilingual in the U.S. → Opportunity and Desire
Professional Development for Teachers

- “Relatively” healthy presence of SNS courses
  - 18% of surveyed colleges in 1997 (Ingold, Rivers, Tesser, & Ashby, 2002)
  - 8% of surveyed high schools in 2008 (Rhodes & Pufahl 2010).
- Teachers are receiving little, if any, professional preparation (Potowski & Carreira 2004) ← Assumption that foreign language teaching methods are sufficient.
- There is no
  - Heritage methods textbook
  - Standards for teacher preparation
  - State-sponsored certification or endorsement of SNS teachers
  - National language standards for heritage learners
Needed: Inclusion in the State System

- Top-down; pushes universities to incorporate heritage issues in methods courses, and principals to require it of new hires

- Similar trend requiring ESL and special education coursework for mainstream K-8 teachers

- Not easy: Illinois State Board of Education
Opportunity and Desire

Many factors affect language maintenance. Of great significance are experiences during childhood ethnolinguistic socialization.

- What are students’ 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 those experiences tell us about the linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996) of the United States and what it means to grow up bilingual here?
Insights From Students’ “Linguistic Autobiographies”

- Utilizing linguistic autobiography (Aparicio 1997), currently analyzing written compositions high school and college students
- Reflect on three (3) specific experiences related to Spanish or English while growing up in the U.S.
- Currently 22 college essays from Chicago; another 200 are being collected from high schools and postsecondary institutions in 15 different states
- [http://potowski.org/autobiografia](http://potowski.org/autobiografia)
Emerging Themes

- Examples pertaining to LoBianco’s framework: Opportunity, Desire
  - 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 (2004); Fishman (2001)
A Final Note About “Desire”

Speaking **well**, people **understand each other**

“Advice from the North American Academy of the Spanish language to improve your Spanish”
Lack of Respect for U.S. Spanish

- “Anglicisms are unnecessary; used because they’re fashionable, due to lack of knowledge or pedantry.”
- “English application should never be translated as aplicación.”
- “The Spanish word X does not have the same meaning as the English word Y.” → In monolingual Spanish, maybe not.
- P. 16: “The dictionary of the Royal Language Academy does not presently include baipás, but the next one will.” → No underlying logic.
Should we remain silent?

- How much influence does this type of publication have?
- Similar to debate about the term “Spanglish”: [www.potowski.org/debate-spanglish](http://www.potowski.org/debate-spanglish)
- “Campaign for U.S. Spanish” à la Bill Santiago
Developing & Maintaining Vital, Sustainable Heritage Languages in the US: The Chinese Case

Shuhan C. Wang, Ph.D.
Deputy Director
National Foreign Language Center
University of Maryland

First International Conference on Heritage/Community Languages

February 20, 2010
1. Explain conceptual framework

2. Describe the Chinese case in the US

3. Analyze the Chinese case in terms of Lo Bianco’s & Grin’s framework of Capacity, Opportunity, Desire
An Ecological and Sociolinguistic Framework for a Non-Dominant Language

- Macro and micro environments
- Evolution (growth/eradication) of the target language in the host environment
- Effects of positive/negative efforts

(Hornberger 2003; Wang, 2007 & 2008)
“…we adopt an ecological view of HLLs identity. Specifically, we view HLLs as individuals with familial or ancestral ties to a language other than English who exert their agency in determining if they are HLLs of that language. We take into consideration their wider group’s social, economic, and political positioning the United States.” (p. 6)

Architecture of the Language Field
Brecht & Walton, 1995; Wang, 2009

Government

Formal education System

Home government

Heritage communities

Private providers

NGOs

Online Multimedia

Learners
# Chinese Language in the US

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal Education System (Top-down)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Lang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Lang</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual Ed/ English Language Learners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√ (1968 Bilingual Ed Act)</td>
<td>√ (1974 Lau vs Nicholas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home/Community (Bottom-up)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Lang (and community schools)</td>
<td>(√)</td>
<td>(√)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1968 Immigration Act)</td>
<td>(1968 Immigration Act)</td>
<td>(CSAUS; NCACLS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Language</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Post 2004: Major Players Promoting Chinese

U.S. Government
—Federal Government (NSLI)

State and Municipal Efforts
-- OH, OK, MN, UT, NC, Chicago, LA

Chinese Government

NGOs
(Online & Multimedia)
Effects of Efforts to Promote the Chinese Language and HLLs

Capacity?
Opportunity?
Desire?
The Chinese Language Has Developed *Multiple Identities*

In post-2004, Chinese is a language of

- Chinese immigrants/home/heritage community
- Economic competitiveness
- A ticket to the China Express
- The future
- National security
- Global issues
- Global phenomenon
- Resentment from other world languages
If Chinese Were Stores: Marketability of Chinese

- Home Language: No market value (in schools)
- Heritage Language: Neighborhood mom and pop shops
- Foreign Language:
  - Prior to 2000: Neiman Marcus—only for elites
  - After 2004/05: Costco—an upscale wholesaler

Adapted from H. Tonkins, personal communication, 2000
The very notion of “heritage language” becomes fluid, evolving, and speech-community bound.

A “heritage language” may have different varieties.
What kind of Chinese is it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese global varieties</th>
<th>Chinese in the world</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese in the home country varieties</td>
<td>HLLs vs Native speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Double bind identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional; e.g., China, Taiwan, HK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese as a FL/WL varieties</td>
<td>Interlanguage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Majority perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ownership of the L &amp; C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese school/Local ethnic varieties</td>
<td>Children’s own hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese-American hybrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familial varieties</td>
<td>Intergenerational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intimately acquired</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Opportunity: Domains, Settings, and Contexts for Using the Language

Economic
- Professional domains
- Reward

Political
- Purpose, context, and interactant
- Ideological and identity

Social
- Assimilative pressure to English
- Interpersonal communication skills

Educational
- Chinese heritage school: literacy
- Formal WL classes

Familial
- Basic interpersonal communication skills; Limited registers & content
Desire: Framing Language and Culture As Capital

Human Capital:
A basic skill; educational & economic benefits

Social Capital:
Tool of engagement; trust; social networks; “one of us”

Cultural Capital:
Intergenerational; inheritance; identity formation; cultural knowledge & competency
Concluding Thoughts

- As Chinese is becoming a global language, the capacity, opportunity, and desire for learning and using Chinese have increased. The distinction between Chinese as a HL and WL been blurred for HLLs.

- As the analysis of the Chinese case has shown, HLLs are best served when they understand that language development is complex but their efforts will be rewarded.

- We also have to consider how to expand and enhance HLLs’ capacity, opportunity, and desire to learn and use the language as their HL continues to evolve.

- There are macro-level implications for policy and practice.
Thank you

谢谢

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http://www.startalk.umd.edu
German

Renate Ludanyi
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(See separate slides)
Russian in the United States: Capacity, Opportunity, Desire, Expectations

Olga E. Kagan
National Heritage Language Resource Center
UCLA Heritage/Community language Conference
February 2010
Outline

- **Capacity**: Who are Russian speakers in U.S.?
- **Opportunity**: Is it possible for RHLLs to maintain Russian?
- **Desire**: Do Russians in the U.S. have a desire to maintain Russian?
- **Expectations**: Do they act upon the desire?
A Comment

“After I took the (Russian HL) class I can now speak to my mother and grandmother, and we have something to talk about.”

A Russian HLL
Four Waves of Immigration From the Former Soviet Union: 20th-21st Centuries

- 1917-1930
- After WWII
- Early 1970s-1980s
- 1989- present (Post Soviet)
Capacity at Present

- Data from the 2007-2008 Community Estimates
  - 850,000 Russian speakers in the U.S.
  - Question to explore: Do people from former Soviet republics declare themselves to be Russian speakers?
Russian-Speaking Immigrants: Education Levels (U.S. Census 2000)

- Came mostly from large cities
- High school diploma 92%
- Higher education 51%
D. Andrews

The third wave:

“a sophisticated and cosmopolitan group of immigrants, appreciative of their rich cultural heritage who are consciously adapting to life in a radically different society” (1998:55)

NHLRC HL SURVEY

- Started January 2007
- Ongoing
- N= 1,751
- Objectives:
  1) Create a profile of HLLs across languages and by language
  2) Propose a curriculum design for HLLs
2009 Survey Results

WWW.NHLRC.UCLA.EDU
Russian Responses: $N = 212$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University of California</th>
<th>26.7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Russian Heritage Language Learners

Biographical Data and Language Use
If you were not born in the U.S., how old were you when you arrived in this country?

- Doesn't apply, I was born in the U.S.
- Younger than 2
- 2-5 years old
- 6-10 years old
- 11-13 years old
- 14-18 years old
- Older than 18
What language do you speak most of the time?

- English
- My HL language
- A combination of English and my HL
- Other (please specify)
What language(s) do you speak at home with your parents/family?

- English
- My HL language
- A combination of English and my HL
- Other (please specify)
What language did you use most at the following periods in your life?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>HL</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-12 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18+ years old</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Opportunity: Maintaining/Improving Russian

- Home maintenance
- Attending community/church schools
- K-12
- College
Russian HLLs: Levels of Proficiency

GROUP 1: Completed/almost completed high school in the former S.U.

GROUP 2: Attended/completed junior high

GROUP 3: Attended/completed elementary school

GROUP 4: Emigrated at a pre-school age or were born outside of the former S.U.
1.5/2 Generation of Russian Speakers

- 72% Speak Russian exclusively until age five
- After age five speak more English than Russian
- Still, 43% speak Russian at home
- Fewer than 5% travel to a Russian-speaking country regularly
- Many gain literacy late (in college)
## Did your parents or other family member read to you in the HL when you were a young child? If so, what did they read? (Check as many as apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My parents never read to me in the HL</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calendar</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s books</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comic books</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flyers</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters from relatives</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsletters</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious literature</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you studied your heritage language at community/church school?
Desire

1. How do RHLLs feel about Russian?

2. Why do Russian HLLs take Russian classes?
### What are your general attitudes about your HL? (check as many as apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At times I feel embarrassed.</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's an important part of who I am.</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it useful.</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has been a barrier to learning English.</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has made school more challenging.</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has made school more enjoyable.</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has made school less challenging.</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has made school less enjoyable.</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has helped me make friends.</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has made it more difficult to make friends.</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's a valuable skill.</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's a necessary skill.</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer Options</td>
<td>Response Percent</td>
<td>Response Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To fulfill a language requirement.</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To learn about my cultural and linguistic roots.</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To communicate better with family and friends in the</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To communicate better with family and friends abroad.</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To prepare for travel in my country of origin</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a future career or job.</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because it is easy for me</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Does your family want you to maintain your HL?
Do you intend to teach your children your HL?

- Yes
- No
In the past six months which of the following did you do in Russian?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listened to radio</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched TV</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched a movie or DVD</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listened to music</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written an email or letter</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken on the phone</td>
<td>91.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited a website</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read a book or short story</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read a newspaper</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a community or church event</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you read your HL, how many minutes a week do you spend reading in that language outside of school?

- I never read in my HL
- Less than 15 minutes a week
- 15 – 30 minutes
- About an hour
- 1-2 hours
- More than two hours
- Other (please specify)
Conclusions

- Capacity: Russian emigration is fairly new and large

- Opportunity: home /a few church/Saturday schools/college

- Desire:
  - Families want their children to maintain Russian
  - Children want to communicate better with family and understand their cultural and linguistic roots

- Acting upon desire: Is Russian as a HL going to survive beyond the 2nd generation?
For Features of Emigré Russian

- *Heritage Language Journal*, Volume 6, Number 1, Spring 2008:
  Special Issue on Russian as a Heritage Language

http://www.heritagelanguages.org/
Discussion

Donna Christian
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Discussion

- Powerful framework for
  - Describing heritage language situations and prospects for sustaining languages; helping us compare and contrast while respecting the richness and complexities of individual contexts
  - Motivating action to address barriers to sustaining languages and points of opportunity with both policy and practice

- How can the framework support policy and practice analysis?