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## 2. RECENT RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

**MaryEllen García**

From its beginnings to the present, research in the field of language maintenance and shift has advocated the preservation of ethnic minority and immigrant languages. This review of current published literature, which continues that advocacy, focuses on a narrow time frame (approximately 1998–2002) in order to provide broad, worldwide coverage of different language contact situations. The discussion largely excludes questions of language policy and planning, but includes studies that use traditional as well as newer methodologies to illuminate how educational institutions, the media, ethnic language literacy, family relationships, and friendship networks—to name the more significant factors in maintenance—can be employed to encourage maintenance and language revitalization. After considering recent theoretical and critical works, this review surveys various countries in which research within ethnic and minority language communities illuminates language maintenance, or shift, or revitalization for that group. Current research suggests that use of the ethnic language in the family and friendship networks and its transgenerational transmission are still of crucial importance, as are the conditions in the greater society that provide support for its linguistic viability as a means of communication within and outside the immediate community.

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The resurgence of interest in and research into language maintenance and shift in recent years marks the realization that, as the world shrinks through the increasing frequency of air travel, satellite communications, and near-instant information flow via the World Wide Web, the world is rich in cultures and languages that need to be preserved. The reasons to seek their preservation are many and varied, but among the important ones are group needs for an ethnic identity, and the fact that the language itself provides a direct way to connect with their heritage. Additionally, ethnic language preservation serves practical ends, such as the need for nations to improve international communication in an ever-shrinking, linguistically diverse world. This realization is underscored by the fact that *lingua francas* such as English, an undisputed giant, are threatening to displace—if they have not already done so—immigrant or minority languages in countries where it or others like it serve as the societally dominant language.

It is noteworthy that in the face of that threat, groups of concerned professionals—linguists, educators, policymakers, and the like—are doing what they



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can to counter language shift.[1] Not the least of these concerned professionals are those who research the reasons for language shift and who hope to foster language maintenance by studies which shed light on how and why such efforts work or fail. This review discusses research published within a relatively brief time span (1998-2002) regarding language maintenance strategies, efforts, outcomes, and evaluations of national, regional and local language maintenance situations in order to illuminate the range of proactive investigation at the time of this writing.

In her new textbook on the topic of language contact, Thompson (2001) states the typical language contact situation known all over the world: "Intense pressure from a dominant group most often leads to bilingualism among subordinate groups who speak other languages, and this asymmetrical bilingualism very often results, sooner or later, in language shift. . ." (2001, p. 9).

In the same introductory chapter, she points out one possible result of language shift, i.e., the complete disappearance of one of the languages, whose speakers prior to that may undergo language attrition — "the loss of vocabulary and simplification of structure without any compensating additions in the form of borrowings or newly created structure" (p. 12). Another result of contact, stability, is often a temporary stage in an immigrant group's coexistence with a dominant culture and language. Thompson's text deals primarily with linguistic change in the face of contact, and should be consulted for excellent summaries and references to other research that deals with language contact, including language death, language attrition, endangered languages, multilingualism, and language policy, none of which will be dealt with here.

## Methodologies for Language Maintenance Research

In the past, the primary methods of investigating language maintenance, shift, or stability depended on the training of the investigator, usually following the methodology common in a single academic discipline. Anthropological linguists usually studied small, non-European communities by participant observation, i.e., living with the group within the group's own communities, learning their language, and following their cultural practices. In the event of contact between indigenous languages and cultures and those of an 'outgroup,' linguistic acculturation or assimilation might be the outcome. One discussion of such outcomes is presented in Dozier (1964), which considers Spanish language contact with the Yaqui and Tewa native American groups. Sociologists who studied language, creating a field called the sociology of language, commonly used data readily available from large-scale surveys done at regular intervals, such as national censuses. Their analyses usually consist of interpretation of quantitative questionnaire data, used to identify macro-societal trends which revealed changing patterns in home-language claiming over time and changing language use due to recent immigration to an area. One example of such research is that of Veltman (1979), who used data from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education released by the U.S. Bureau of the Census to analyze the language shift patterns of various linguistic minority groups in New England: French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

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Because information about language use from the general census is limited, other surveys, sometimes administered by government agencies but also by the researchers themselves, have also been used. Such smaller-scale surveys often use language questionnaires administered to either targeted or random samples of the population of interest. Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1982), for example, used a two-person interview team ethnically matched to respondents to sample 10% of the homes in Martineztown—a barrio of Albuquerque, New Mexico—in 1975. Their survey questionnaire elicited information regarding family demographics and Spanish and English proficiency and use for all household members and the respondent's attitudes toward the two languages. Their methods allowed them to look more closely at the factors that indicated language shift to English for this community.

Returning to the current state of the art, Fishman, an early proponent of pro-active language maintenance research, most vividly defines the challenge given to the field near the end of the twentieth century. In his 1991 volume, he openly raises a clarion call to reverse language shift (RLS) by making efforts to retain ethnic languages at the level of family and community:

Indeed, for RLS to "take hold" these "lower levels" constituting face-to-face, small-scale social life must be pursued in their own right and focused upon directly, rather than merely being thought of as obvious and inevitably by-products of "higher level" (more complex, more encompassing, more power-related) processes and institutions (1991, p. 4).

He maintains that the efforts to maintain ethnic languages—and thus reverse language shift—"must . . . derive from a single, integrated theory of language-in-society processes that places intergenerational mother tongue transmission at the very center" (1991, p. 6). Making his point more precisely, Fishman (2000b) identifies the most important point of intergenerational language transfer as the use of the ethnic language at home by women of child-bearing age to their children, because the family and community are critical to its maintenance. It is clear that the family unit and the home domain will remain important in language maintenance efforts and research. What are some other research areas and trends that will be fruitful for the future?

In the past six years since Volume 17 of the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* addressed multilingualism (Grabe, 1997), there has been an overwhelming amount of new research that not only attempts to explain reasons for maintenance and shift to the language of the dominant society, as defined in terms of prestige, political, or economic criteria, but also explores how educational institutions, the media, ethnic language literacy, family relationships, and friendship networks can be employed to encourage maintenance and language revitalization. While traditional methods such as sociological surveys are still used, they may examine specific questions targeted at ethnic linguistic communities in a specific locale, and may be administered alone or in combination with other methods, e.g.,

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group interviews, information regarding schooling practices, historical research, or ethnographic observation within the community.

Also, the beginning of the twenty-first century heralds several newer methodologies. One of the newer trends to emerge is a network analysis approach, again solely or in combination with others, that emerges from the work of Milroy (1987) on language and social networks. Network analysis is applied at the micro-societal level to individuals defined in terms of an ethnic language and their in-group or/and out-group social contacts. Another new dimension of language maintenance/shift research is that which considers language ideology as motivation or explanation for the societal outcomes of language contact. Similar questions in the past were examined in terms of language attitudes or language and identity; both are still included as factors in research where ideology is not the primary focus.

In fact, the field of language maintance/shift has grown tremendously in the past decade or so since Fishman advocated the reversal of language shift. This review article cannot hope to be comprehensive of the impressive body of knowledge amassed since then, or in even the last five years. Rather, after considering recent theoretical and critical works, it will consider various countries in which research within ethnic communities illuminates language maintenance or shift for that group.

## New Theoretical Approaches

Social network theory has been one of the major new approaches to the study of language maintenance and shift in recent years. In a recent issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, de Bot and Stoessel (2002) explain that it makes possible a more fine-grained analysis than enumeration of larger societal factors. They underscore Milroy's point that a fundamental postulate of social network analysis is that an individual's personal communities (that is, social networks) provide them a framework for solving the problems that arise on a day-to-day basis. Further, a person's social networks affect the vitality of the community language and its likelihood to succumb to language shift. Articles that deal with social network theory and specific language-maintenance/shift situations in this issue include those by Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens (2002) on New Zealand (discussed later), and Stoessel (2002), the latter noteworthy for its careful exploration of the concept of social networks and the refinement of methodology by means of a small-scale study of ten immigrant women in the United States.

Another comprehensive review of social network analysis theory is given in Graham (2000), who proposes it as a sociolinguistic research tool that has proven fruitful for a number of recent studies. In the same volume, Russell (2000) proposes the grid or group model as a comparative tool to evaluate ethnolinguistic vitality. The model involves plotting the relative importance of group membership on one axis and the degree of hierarchical constraint in social roles on another, resulting in a two-dimensional matrix. The four environment types—individualistic, collective, corporate, and bureaucratic—are then sketched, along with the attitudes of each type toward change and the ethnic language that prove important for ethnic language

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maintenance or shift. A subtlely different approach is that proposed by Davis (1999) who suggests an ethnographic approach to language policy and planning. She uses examples of indigenous language maintenance, loss, and revival to reconceptualize the field of language planning as crucially responsive to political considerations, ethnographic research results, and community needs.

With regard to language ideology, the work of Canagarajah (2000) is both illuminating and disturbing. The author suggests that speakers from the periphery in India, i.e., Tamil speakers, are at once accommodating and distancing with regard to the use of English, representing as it does the cultural domination of the English. During the colonial period, one needed only to learn the English language well enough to obtain jobs where it was required, distancing oneself from the social values and interactional norms indicative of competence in English. This is called the strategy of "discursive approximation," a method for teaching English in Hindu oriented schools via Hindu texts. The article goes on to discuss how, after independence, English-educated speakers gained power, and the society moved to a class-based, market-oriented one; however, this status quo was rejected by a local elite as a strategy of accommodation. With regard to this review, the role that language ideology plays in language maintenance and shift should be seriously considered as contextualized in the social context in which it emerges.

Language ideology is a new way of accounting for attitudes for one's ethnic language vis-à-vis the societally dominant language. King (2000) suggests that conflicting ideologies with respect to Quichua and Spanish, the societally dominant language in the southern Ecuadorian Andes, set the stage for how this ideology affects efforts and behaviors regarding language maintenance. There is also a felt need to create social structures and order, which constitute important factors in language maintenance and shift as one's linguistic resources are used to aid in the complex, dynamic process of fitting into the changing world. To this end, Wei (2000) discusses the importance of the individual's consideration of their relationships with one another and society at large, especially in terms of language and identity, values, and personal goals. Here, again, the importance of close-knit social networks is emphasized in order to maintain the ethnic language in the face of a societally dominant language and culture, and to reverse language shift.

Yet another approach to language maintenance discusses the parallels between linguisic diversity and biological diversity, arguing the self-destructive nature of current trends towards linguistic homogenization (Maffi, 2000). Maffi advocates that linguists promote linguistic diversity as much as possible. Considerations of ethnicity and gender are incorporated in another paper, Winter and Pauwels (2000), on the topic of language and identity, language choice, and language maintenance in Australia. This paper discusses past and present research regarding gender and language contact and provides directions for future research via an examination of current discourses of identity of Greek-heritage women living in Melbourne, Australia.

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Although language loss is not within the purview of this review, it is important to mention at this juncture the work of de Bot (2000), who looks at the deterioration of native-language skills in migrant language contact situations. Work such as this can document, via experimental procedures, a relationship between language loss and language processing, which together point to a dependency on the frequency of language use, another fruitful area for investigation once language shift in an ethnic community is underway.

Not to be overlooked is a revisiting of the notion of community in ethnic language maintenance studies, just as relevant now as when Fishman discussed it in his pioneering work on language loyalty in the 1960s. Tosi (1998) presents a thought-provoking essay discussing the importance of the community, described, after Doughty and Doughty (1974), as a group of people living in geographical proximity and who share a sense of "usness" (p. 325). The description of an ethnic community takes on additional characteristics, such as common social purposes, sharing the same beliefs, interaction between diverse sections of the community, and participation in ethnic organizations. Also examined are de-ethnicization, the mechanisms of language transmission, and contrasts between older and more recent patterns of immigration in Europe. The chapter makes a point of not recommending a "one-solution-fits-all" approach to ethnic language education, and suggests criteria to evaluate the use and currency of the ethnic language in an urban environment. Paulston (2000) also considers major social variables that affect language maintenance and shift in a penetrating discussion that synthesizes the factors involved. Included in her considerations for language shift are economic incentives for same, the nature of the contact situation, and the status of the mother tongue in the contact environment. She suggests that ethnic movements alone cannot halt language shift, although they may moderate it.

**Language Maintenance and Education**

The public school atmosphere for immigrant languages has not historically been one that has favored maintenance of the ethnic home language(s) of its students. In fact, anecdotal evidence as well as formal studies document that speaking the ethnic home language at school—whether in the classroom or outdoors on the playground—was often cause for physical punishment or other negative sanctions. Some private schools also encouraged monolingualism in the societally dominant language, thereby producing a crisis of identity for the bilingual child (see Rodríguez, 1982, among others). However, without overt instruction, the development of speaking and literacy skills in the immigrant language has usually been severely limited and even curtailed entirely. Children of immigrants have often been blamed for not having learned 'their own' language, yet the inaccessability of a formal dialect of their ethnic language as either a medium or topic of instruction in their schooling has been ignored by their critics. Even when monolingual first-generation parents speak the ethnic language at home, and bilingual second-generation parents diligently attempt to do so, second- and third-generation children are exposed to the societally dominant language by older siblings and playmates. When coupled with schooling that pays no attention to teaching reading and writing

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in the ethnic home language, resultant exposure to that language is minimal and productive skills in the language are severely limited.

On the other side of the coin, ethnic language instruction is sometimes provided by school programs, both public and private. Programs that intend to teach school subject matter in the child's mother tongue, in addition to reading and writing in the ethnic home language, allow the child not to fall behind age-mates in learning curriculum content while developing home language literacy skills that will transfer to another language as they are ready to do so. Additionally, the private sector has sometimes provided ethnic language programs either after school or on Saturdays for the specific purpose of reinforcing the home language and culture. However, schooling alone cannot provide the many contact hours needed to develop or maintain productive skills in a language. While school-based programs can provide valuable linguistic input in the home language, schooling alone is not the answer to ethnic home language maintenance (see also Baker, this volume). In keeping with Fishman's emphasis, the home and community must also crucially be involved in the effort to retain the ethnic language.

Intervention efforts in terms of public and private schooling are seen as ways to reinforce and supplement language input in the home and community. Studies which address the effects of schooling on language maintenance are numerous; only a few are mentioned here. Warner (1999) describes various programs for the maintenance of Hawaiian, such as the *Kula Kaiapuni Hawa'i*, a total immersion program in Hawaiian for K-12 students; elementary and intermediate language courses offered in universities and community colleges; and the *Ke A'a Makalei* project, promoting the native language and culture outside of formal education venues. Fillmore (2000) presents a case study of a Chinese-American family in discussing the trade-offs between English language learning and ethnic language loss, which can have negative effects on the individual and the family via loss of ethnic identity and culture. By way of conclusion, the article suggests that educators and parents attend to the maintenance of the home language, identity, and culture for children while they are also learning English and American ways. Francis (2000) studied the impact of Spanish language literacy materials on the learning of the indigenous Nahuatl in a school in Central Mexico, specifically, in the states of Tlaxcala and Puebla. After observational research into classrooms that used both Spanish and Nahuatl, the latter largely an oral tradition, the value of the indigenous language for reading and writing was questioned.

Language attitudes affect language maintenance. Smolicz, Nical, and Secombe (2000) compared the educational practices and policies with levels of language maintenance in Australia and the Phillipines, based on interviews with non-Tagalog-speaking secondary school students and their parents in the Philippines and in the Filipino community in Australia. While they found positive attitudes toward speaking the ethnic languages locally, there were also less than positive attitudes toward literacy activities in them on the whole, with a preference for English in these functions. Sandor (2000) reported a study of Csango youths from the Hungarian-speaking regions of Romania in the 1990s. Although the majority of Csangos are

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today monolingual in Romanian, some still are able to speak the original Hungarian dialect and were likely subjects for its renewal. However, an attempt to revitalize the dialect by taking them to Transylvania and Hungary to learn Hungarian yielded poor results due to lack of sufficient consideration of the current linguistic and cultural situation of these youths.

Sneddon (2000) used interviews, recordings, observations, and educational achievement, in investigating language use and literacy practices of 36 primary-school aged children (ages 3.5–11) from a Gujarati and Urdu-speaking Muslim community in northeast London. Exploring the childrens' language experiences in the family, community, and school, the study relates these to their educational achievements. The study suggests that access to ethnic culture and leisure activities for children made for better storytellers in both the home language and English, although it did not have an important effect on their overall literacy skills. One of the more unusual approaches to the study of language maintenance is that of Dagenais and Berron (2001), who examined the language practices of three immigrant families of South Asian ancestry who live in Canada and chose French immersion education for their children. They used inter- and intra-generational data to present the families' reasons for wanting to maintain their own ethnic language and for schooling their children in a French immersion program. While their own language maintenance strategies varied from family to family, their positive view of multilingualism in general suggests awareness of its importance for their children.

This foregoing survey of research considering the impact of schooling practices on language maintenance, while by no means exhaustive, serves to indicate that much is being done in the area, with disparate results and outcomes.

## Country-Specific Research on Language Maintenance

The balance of this review considers research in different countries on a selective basis. The omission of any study or country does not reflect on the quality of omitted research, but rather on the abundance of studies that make genuine contributions to the field now available for review.

### The United States

At the risk of seeming ethnocentric, this review begins with an examination of studies conducted within the United States, a democracy in which equality is upheld as an ideal and whose ideologies include tolerance of differences across groups. Although the country has a long tradition of accepting immigrants from many cultural and linguistic backgrounds, its citizens believe that English is the rightful language of the country. All too often, this has resulted in language shift for these immigrants, who abandon their ethnic language and become monolingual in English in three or four generations. The current resurgence of activism in the field of language maintenance is exemplified by a newly organized biennial conference, "Heritage Languages in America: Building on Our National Resources,"[2] in which issues of heritage language teaching, research, and policy are discussed. In 1999, the

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sponsoring groups launched an initiative to overcome the neglect of heritage languages in the United States, identifying their major goal as helping the U.S. educational system develop the country's heritage language resources in order to educate future citizens who can function professionally in English and other languages.

Other efforts towards ethnic language preservation include proactive research by a wide variety of authors. In an essay in a recent volume on the multilingualism of New York City (García & Fishman 1997), García (1997) sets out to document and describe New York's multilingualism, today and in the past in order to claim for New York its rightful title as "the most multilingual city in the world," by means of anecdotes, census data, and historical evidence. However, even in this enviable polyglot mixture, García laments the fact that "temporary transitional bilingual education programs . . . abound" (p. 43), and notes that English language monolingualism appears to be the goal of schooling in New York City and the rest of the nation. Among the languages with individual chapters in the book are: Irish, German, Yiddish, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, Haitian Creole, English Caribbean Creole, and Spanish, the latter to be discussed here later. The essays, which primarily document the history and language use of these groups in the area, warrant individual attention by those whose languages of interest are represented.

Spanish. The absorption of other languages by the English-speaking hegemony of the United States is not new, but it is interesting how many language groups repeat the same pattern in study after study regardless of research method. One language group with a long-standing presence in this country is the Spanish, who established a settlement in St. Augustine, Florida in the sixteenth century and explored and colonized New Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The largest groups of Spanish speakers currently residing in the United States are Mexican-origin (Mexican American or Chicano), Puerto Rican, and Cuban, although immigration to specific urban and rural areas may also include populations from other countries. Using data from the 1990 census for the southwestern states (i.e., Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas) Bills, Hudson, and Hernández-Chávez (2000) examine the relationship between Spanish home language claiming and proficiency in English for a primarily Mexican-origin population. Their conclusion, based on an interpretation of cross-generational data for the estimated 12 million Hispanics living in these states, is that "economic status is a strong determinant of language maintenance and language shift: the higher the economic status, the higher the proficiency in English and the less extensively is Spanish likely to be used" (p. 25). While they strongly suggest that rates of shift vary from one subpopulation to the next, their results indicate that language shift to English is ongoing among the more affluent and English-using segments of the population. A closely related conclusion by these same authors (Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, & Bills, 1995) is that, "The higher the educational level of the Spanish origin population in any given county, the lower the loyalty and retention rates for Spanish are likely to be" (p. 182), and, "to the extent that they gain more open access to quality education, to political power, and to economic prosperity, they will do so, it seems, at the price of the maintenance of Spanish, even in the home

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domain" (p. 182). This research also shows that geographic distance from the Mexican border is another factor affecting language shift.

It appears from census-based research that considerations of language proficiency and use can predict the language maintenance or shift for Mexican Americans. In a slightly different approach with a Hispanic group in California, Rivera Mills (2001), considered the effect of acculturation and communicative need on the process of language shift. Using a sample of 50 subjects representing three generation groups, she performed interviews, did some home observation, and used three scales to measure language proficiency, language use, and acculturation. She determined that, in this northern California town, there was a tendency for using only English in many localities (domains) as early as the first generation. Her data was not encouraging for Spanish maintenance in view of the fact that, by the third generation, only 10% used Spanish as the only home language. Her results showed that acculturation correlated negatively with Spanish language use, similar to the census-based findings discussed earlier.

The type of study appears to be an important parameter against which to evaluate findings in particular communities. For example, in a study of twenty-six second-generation "Nuyoricans," García and Cuevas (1995) found that level of education correlated well with Spanish language ability because the professionals in their sample with the most education were working as blingual teachers, bilingual social workers, or bilingual secretaries. The fact that these subjects—as well as those less well-educated—used their Spanish in a close-knit community with a high density of Nuyorican residents meant that they would be able to transmit it to a subsequent generation. However, in a more recent treatment of Spanish in New York—which includes other generations, ethnic groups, and neighborhoods—Zentella states, "New Yorkers who are used to hearing Spanish all around them remain incredulous when told that the language is being lost at a rapid rate," (1997, p. 181). She uses census figures to show the increased use of English in the home domain across all ethnic groups, and notes that code-switching, or having merely a receptive competence in Spanish may be considered being bilingual. Zentella concludes, "Only a nation-wide commitment to making multiculturalism less of a slogan and more of a reality will avert language loss among Spanish speakers and others, and enable us to extend the benefits of bilingualism to all" (1997, p. 195).

The sociolinguistic dynamics on the island of Puerto Rico itself, however, are much more conducive to the maintenance of Spanish in all societal domains, despite a long-standing imposition of English-language legislation and ideologies. Vélez (2000) attributes this to the development of an ideology of Hispanicity and the strong Spanish-speaking networks in the densely-populated island. Clampitt-Dunlap (2000) identifies the long-standing advocacy of the Spanish language by Puerto Rican intellectuals and the close association of Spanish with Puerto Rican ethnocultural identity as the principal factors favoring language maintenance.

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A research focus on ethnic language literacy yields results that advocates of multilingualism and multilingual literacy would be eager to apply to bilingual

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schooling. In one outstanding study, Tse (2001) focuses on the conditions that contributed to literacy development in young adults from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. She notes that studies of language maintenance in second-generation speakers who have resisted pressures to abandon the native language have been relatively few, and attempts to fill this gap by examining the individual language histories of ten individuals—three men and seven women—from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in southern California. The study examines the backgrounds of university-age students of Cantonese, Japanese, and Spanish-language heritage speakers, using survey data, personal interviews, and measures of ethnic language reading ability. Based on her results, "home language literacy appears to be best promoted when home, community, and school work in concert to reverse the stigma of non-English languages and to provide students with the necessary social, cultural, language, and literacy experiences" (p. 702). However, she points out that many native bilinguals are not likely to develop these home language reading skills, for various reasons, and calls on schools to provide the requisite resources and legitimacy to aid this cause. In a related vein, Pucci (2000) investigated the development and maintenance of Spanish language literacy in a working class community of Salvadoran immigrants in Los Angeles. She discovered that the community valued literacy in Spanish, continued to engage in literacy events, and sought out printed materials in Spanish. National identity and Spanish language literacy were closely tied to each other, although no long-term projections were offered.

French. With regard to French in the United States, recent research on Cajun by Sexton (2000) indicates that, rather than a drastic decline in its use in the nineteenth century in southwest Louisinana, the bilingualism in Cajun and English was related to class, sex, and place of residence, falling into disuse in the 1970s primarily in urban areas such as New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Another contribution by Natsis (1999) chronicles the linguistic and cultural revival of Cajun-French communities in southern Louisiana, including a renaissance in the state after World War II, initiatives by the state that recognize French as an official language, and promotion of bilingual education and French immersion programs, all of which have had some degree of success. An interesting article by Valdman (2001) discusses the French language in North America and the Caribbean, with attention to local varieties, their linguistic categorization, revitalization efforts, and French government programs to assist language maintenance of French in its more formal variety.

Asian languages. Korean language maintenance in the United States is examined in Cho and Krashen (2000) by means of a survey of 114 young adults with a mean length of U.S. residence of 19 years. The results suggest that Korean language input, reading, television watching, and visits to Korea are significant predictors of Korean-language proficiency, while enrollment in Korean language courses showed only a weak correlation. Young and Tran (1999) examined a large urban Vietnamese community in California, using survey data from 106 parents to determine language use. Although parents encouraged the maintenance of Vietnamese, children tended to speak either English only amongst themselves (20%)

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or both languages (33%), indicating a shift to English in the second generation. Another study, by Nguyen, Shin, and Krashen (2001), considered issues of language maintenance and shift in a Vietnamese population in the Central Valley of California. Surveying a total of 588 students in grades 1–8, largely second-generation, they found positive attitudes toward Vietnamese and retention of verbal fluency in home contexts, although the beginnings of language shift were indicated by limited literacy in the language and use of English at home with siblings. Luo and Wiseman (2000) studied a total of 245 first- and second-generation Chinese American children to examine familial and peer influences on their ethnic language maintenance. The influence of Chinese-speaking peers, followed by English-speaking peer influence, were the most important factors in their ethnic language retention.

Canada

The multilingualism and language policies of Canada and the United States are treated comprehensively in a recent volume edited by Ricento and Burnaby (1998). In addition to overviews of the differences in their linguistic situations and language policies, also discussed are the indigenous languages of the two countries, the legal implications of their respective official language policies, a discussion of educational perspectives, and a penetrating look at how such policies function in practice. With regard to French, Beaujot (1998) indicates that, as the result of various factors, the proportion of the Canadian population that speaks it has remained stable from 1951 to 1991, measuring 32 percent in each year (p. 75); also, an increasing number of Canadians know French as a second language, although in Quebec the percentage of French mother tongue (83%) was the highest in a century. Beaujot explains that in provinces other than Quebec, the anglophone society predominates, and in Quebec, the francophone sector is dominant (1998, p. 79). Cartwright (1998) in the same volume synthesizes work on language shift in Ontario to show that "about half" (p. 294) of the francophone population there has shifted to English.

Veltman (1998) examines the general features of language shift in Canada and the United States, then evaluates "in a summarized manner the impact that language policies have had on language shift and retention" (1998, p. 301). His conclusion is, unfortunately, that, "The need to learn English and become English-speaking is so strong that policies designed to preserve or protect minority languages may be expected to have little or no effect" (p. 313). Another excellent volume on Canada, edited by Edwards (1998), provides a comprehensive treatment of the linguistic situation there. It includes chapters on aboriginal languages, French, Canadian English, and a province-by-province approach to the minority language situation. Various contributors appear to reach the same conclusion as Veltman regarding language shift, namely that the population will become more English-speaking in the face of increased ethnic diversity and multiculturalism (e.g., Berry, 1998; Castonguay, 1998).

While issues of the maintenance and shift of French speakers in Canada are still ongoing, these issues in other Canadian language communities are, perhaps, now

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more urgent. In a study of Maltese speakers in Ontario and British Columbia, U Malta (2001) shows that most second generation respondents do not use Maltese in many domains, and few first-generation speakers promote its use at home. This rapid language shift to English appears to be ongoing despite the fact that most respondents claim it to be important to pass along to their children. A study of five Japanese immigrant families residing in Toronto, Ontario is reported by Sakamoto (2001), who identifies family bonding as the most important reason for language maintenance. Other factors include the availability of school programs, access to technology and resources, availability of ethnic language caregivers, informed teachers, and visits to the home country, among others.

France

An unusual new book from Blanchet, Breton, and Schiffman (1999) surveys the regional languages of France, including Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Corsican, Occitan, and Provençal. Among its articles is a part memoir, part essay by Blanchet (1999) who recalls learning Provençal from family members and from reading in the language. He advocates studying language vitality from inside the community and private life. Language shift is documented for Basque by Oyharcabal (1999) based on responses to a 1996 survey, largely of self-reported linguistic ability, by adult residents of the Basque country. The percentage of active Basque speakers has declined in those born after 1960. Contributing factors were seen to be urban orientation, diminished vitality of the interior of the region, and migration. Another noteworthy article in this collection is by Walter (1999), who discusses the linguistic fate and survival or decline of the many languages and dialects spoken in France, such as Basque, Breton, Flemish, Alsatian, Corsican, Catalan, Oc, Oil, and Francoprovençal. A similar article in French (Walter, 2001) expands the discussion to the French spoken outside of France. Language shift for Breton is also discussed in Moal (2000), who considers the effect of the broadcast media as a link to bridge generational and linguistic gaps in Breton language maintenance. Maintenance in this community is in jeopardy, its speakers having gone to a quarter of a million, largely aging, of a current total population of approximately four million.

The British Isles

Two types of studies are included in this section: languages of long-standing in Great Britain languages spoken by recent immigrants. The Irish language revival is examined by O Laoire (2000a), who examines the requirements for accountability in Irish language pedagogy, urging that a more realistic focus be adopted in order to achieve sound language learning in the classroom. This author also enters the debate about Irish Gaelic in the mass media (O Laoire, 2000b), concluding that increased programming may give the minority language greater status and may encourage proficient and less proficient speakers to revive language skills. Also addressing the influence of the media in the revitalization of Gaelic in Ireland is Cotter (1999), who completed an in-depth study of how Raidió na Life has helped to preserve Gaelic and expand its use. Another perspective on the situation of Irish is given by Richardson (2000), who surveys the positive contribution of various ethnic language events and

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artifacts—such as Irish language schools, media usage, festivals and theatrical performances, and books in Irish for young people—to the revival of the language. Scots Gaelic also is on the decline. In view of the fact that language and cultural identity are necessary for the survival of the community, K. Smith (2000) examines its status in terms of European law, and argues that the legal status of Gaelic must be addressed soon by the Scottish and UK governments in order to preserve both. Sutherland (2000) surveys the Celtic languages in the United Kingdom today, considering governmental language policies, including Celtic in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, and the schooling of the Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish Gaelic in the United Kingdom, identifying reasons for minority language maintenance or death in that context. R. Smith (2000) reports the results of an ethnographic study of Gaelic speakers living in Canada and Scotland, which provides intriguing results through evaluating levels of oral proficiency and affinity to Gaelic roles.

Ethnic languages in immigrant communities within Great Britain also have been studied in recent years. One of these studies concerns the language of the Greek Cypriot community, which is one of the largest and most closely knit. Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) examined it through questionnaires completed by 274 students between the ages of 12 and 18 in greater London. Questions included those dealing with family and ethnic background, language abilities, domains of language use, reasons for studying Greek, ethnic identity, and reasons for possibly wanting to return to the homeland. Another project (Raschka, Wei, & Lee, 2002) studied L1 maintenance in an English-language L2 environment, with Chinese as the L1 and English as the L2 in Tynsdale, England. Using data from 34 children and their families, this study shows that those children who had a "good" command of Chinese used Chinese to their elders, but would use English to elders if the children's command of Chinese was "poor." What proved important to the children's maintenance of Chinese was their use of it as a home language with their elders, while the use of English or a mixed English/Chinese code with their peers led to language shift. Along with social maturity came the alignment with peer-oriented rather than parent-oriented social networks. "Social-group pressure from within these peer-oriented networks encourages accommodation and conformity to the group norms to the extent that the dominant peer language (English or a mixed code) increasingly becomes the preferred medium" (Raschka, Wei, & Lee, 2002, p. 23).

Spain

Basque is a language which has been in a unique situation ever since Castilla dominated the Iberian Peninsula after the Christian Reconquest, which had ended by 1300. Basque, or Euskera, as the language is called, is discussed by Urroz Barasoaín (2001) who describes their sociolinguistic situation in Navarre and positive attitudes regarding the maintenance of the language. An important outcome of this study is the call for the teaching of Basque as a school subject and as a language of instruction at the university level and in teacher education programs.

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Israel

While Judezmo has largely been lost in this locale, the cultural identity of the group is still strong. In an article that treats both Yiddish and Ladino, Fishman (2000a) considers the infrastructures of both communities in Israel, and reports that, while Yiddish is better-off than Ladino, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, and Judeo-Persian all need better support in the media, education, and government. The development of modern Yiddish is discussed in Kleine (2000), including the effects of language contact on the formation of a standard language. Efforts in the area of Yiddish instruction and related academic instruction are discussed as possible ways to retard the disappearance of the language on everyday life. The maintenance of Russian in Israel is treated by Naiditch (2000) primarily with respect to the linguistic adaptations made by Russian speakers, including loanwords, morphological adaptations, and discourse markers from Hebrew.

New Zealand

As mentioned earlier, one of the central methodologies in language maintenance and shift has been to examine the effect of social networks on the retention or gradual loss of ethnic languages. One such study, Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens (2002), examines the language of Dutch immigrants to New Zealand, and how "language use in these migrant networks relates to language shift and language processing" (p. 28). Results showed that those with more first language contacts had a better chance of maintaining the ethnic language than those with fewer L1 contacts (p. 29). Further, those with more L1 contacts in familial and friendship networks had a greater maintenance of the ethnic language (L1) than did those with fewer contacts in that sphere. Moreover, personal, one-on-one ties to the ethnic homeland, usually relatives, was a good predictor of ethnic language maintenance, whereas absence or limitations in this area led to changes in this and less maintenance of the ethnic language.

Australia

In yet another language contact situation with English as the superordinate language, Clyne and Kipp (1999) examine four languages in contact with English in Australia: Spanish, Arabic, Cantonese, and Mandarin. In addition to the self-report language question on the census (i.e., Does this person regularly use a language other than English at home?) the authors conducted focus-group interviews to determine in-group and out-group language preferences. It was found that people under 35—which, to some extent, coincided with the second generation—preferred to speak mostly English to their peer- and generational groups, while those over 35 preferred to use the ethnic, or community, language amongst themselves.

Too wide a net?

This treatment of as many recent studies in this field as possible has resulted in the omission of some language families and countries for lack of space, which is

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no reflection on the quality and timeliness of the research. In a feeble attempt to fill in some of these gaps, I shall mention a few of these additional areas: South African languages, which have been researched by de Klerk (2001, 2000) and Moyo (2000) (see also Kamwangamalu, this volume), and German in South Africa (de Kadt 2000); Iran and the Iranian community in the United States (Modarresi, 2001); multilingualism in India (Annamalai, 2001); Brazil (Mello, 2001); the Balkans (Ozolins, 1999; Romanov, 2000); Scandanavia: Finnish, Tornedalen Finnish, Sami (Lapp), Yiddish, and Romani in Sweden (Lainio, 2000); Finnish in Sweden and Norway (Huss, 2000); Judeo-Spanish of Sephardic Jews in Salonika, Greece (Weis, 2000); Sami (Lapp) in Norway, Sweden, and Finland (Jahr, 2000); Icelandic in Iceland (Wiechers, 2000); Moluccan in the Netherlands (Florey & Van Engelenhoven, 2001); Chechen in Jordan (Dweik, 2000); Komi-Zyrian (a Uralic language) in northeast European Russia (Leinonen, 2000); Karelian in a Russian village (Pyoli, 1999); German in the Czech Republic (Nekvapil, 2001); and Kristang, a creole used by the Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca in Malaysia (David & Faridah, 1999).

## Conclusion

The examination of recent research trends in language maintenance worldwide has been a daunting task in view of the amount of activity in the field. The many different approaches to such research outlined in the introduction underscore the multifaceted nature of the factors that contribute to language maintenance and shift, the necessity of providing resources for ethnic language education and literacy, and the importance of political advocacy and governmental support to ensure the longevity of minority languages. Unfortunately, it is still rare to find research describing immigrant communities that exhibit stable bingualism beyond the third generation. It is clear that use of the ethnic language in the family and friendship networks and its transgenerational transmission are still of crucial importance, as are the conditions in the greater society that provide support for it not only as a marker of cultural and ethnic identity, but also for its continued viability as a means of communication both within and outside of the immediate ethnic community.

## Notes

1. The second national Heritage Languages in America conference, organized by the Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Foreign Language Center, was held in October of 2002. It brought together language researchers, language teachers, and other language professionals concerned with preserving and maintaining these languages for future generations and as a resource for the nation.

2. Papers from the first such conference are available in Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis (2001). Information about ongoing efforts related to the Heritage Language Initiative can be found at http://www.cal.org/heritage/.

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