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1 Social and affective factors in home language maintenance and development: Setting the scene

We are delighted to have this volume included in the series *Handbooks of Applied Linguistics*. As a field, applied linguistics investigates language-related real-world issues – particularly those concerning language use, language acquisition and learning, and language teaching – and works towards describing and explaining these processes and suggesting ways to enhance them. It approaches these issues from an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing not only on linguistics but also on neighbouring disciplines such as education, psychology, and sociology. Each of the earlier volumes in the handbook series presents an overview of their chosen field, identifies the most important traditions, their research findings, and gaps in current research, and provides perspectives for future research directions. So too does this volume.

Couched in one of the main branches of applied linguistics research – bilingualism (which in our understanding includes notions of multilingualism and plurilingualism) – this volume focuses on social and affective factors in home language maintenance and development. Bilingualism research has extensively explored linguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, and educational practices and outcomes. Yet the social and affective perspectives that impact on home language maintenance and development have remained somewhat less researched, a gap that is addressed in this handbook.

This is the first volume that brings together the different strands of research into social and affective factors of home language maintenance and development. Contributors from around the world present a rich harvest of research paradigms and perspectives, providing a comprehensive and constructive overview of the state-of-the-art in this flourishing field.

1 Delimiting the field

First, what do we mean by "the field"? What do we mean by "social and affective factors in home language maintenance and development"? The components of this notion are themselves ambiguous or complex, and so require some clarification. This requirement applies to language – "language maintenance", "home language(s)", "language development" – as well as to factors – "social factors" and "affective factors". In clarifying the meaning of these terms as used in this volume, we also delimit the field of research with which the volume is concerned. Let us begin

with "language maintenance" as the first real-world issue which this handbook directs towards, before we turn to the second, "language development".

Mesthrie and Leap (2000: 253) define "language maintenance" as "the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language". As this definition indicates, language maintenance is about *language use*, illuminated here from a sociolinguistic perspective rather than a purely linguistic one, as the notion of "competition from a [...] more powerful language" conveys. In the context of this volume, the more powerful language is typically the language spoken by the majority in society, while the language being "maintained" is a minority or home language. Continued use of the language being "maintained" is by such definition not a given. Rather, it is an assertion of this language, by its users, in a social fabric that relegates the language to "minority" status.

The notion "minority language", in contrast to "majority language", is often used to refer to the language that needs to assert itself, as the very notion itself makes the power imbalance explicit. Yet, whilst we recognise the wide-spread use of "minority language" in bilingualism discourses, as editors of this volume we have chosen to instead refer to these languages as "home languages". Connaughton-Crean and Ó Duibhir (2017: 23) define "home languages" as "languages spoken or used in the home or community but which are not the majority language in the society". As we discuss in the following chapter exploring terminological issues (Eisenchlas and Schalley this vol.), "home language" presents as a relatively neutral term that does not take a stance in regards to, e.g., underlying ideologies or how much societal influence the speaker community may have. While it may be seen as referring to only a restricted usage domain (the "home"), more important for this handbook is, however, that it embraces the contexts where language use is negotiated, which is what concerns the authors in their contributions here. We refer the reader to our chapter for more in-depth discussions of terms.

Secondly, this handbook investigates social and affective factors in "language development", i.e. the development of new linguistic knowledge in all its breadth and hence of *language acquisition*, and/or *language learning*, of the home language. Language development focuses on the processes as much as the outcomes of these processes, and the conditions under which they take place. In line with this handbook's main scope and objectives, the chapters consider these processes, conditions and outcomes particularly in terms of social and affective factors that come into play – in "informal" contexts (such as within the family), "semi-formal" contexts (such as within the community) or "formal" contexts (such as in educational institutions like the school). Whenever instructional learning comes into the picture, *language teaching* and approaches to teaching more generally are inevitably drawn into the discussion. The handbook thus addresses all four major areas of applied linguistics introduced at the beginning of this chapter – use, acquisition, learning, and teaching of language – in relation to home language(s) of bilingual speakers.

As the title conveys, this handbook's lens focuses upon the social and affective factors at play in home language use. "Social factors" are socio-environmental conditions that shape home language maintenance and development as we explore here. These factors include economic, cultural, legal and political constraints and expectations, and societal norms and language ideologies guiding "what a broader community sees as appropriate and expected linguistic practice" (Albury this vol). "Affective factors" are psycho-social conditions that impact on home language maintenance and development. They include individuals' emotions and perspectives on identity, culture and tradition, and impact beliefs and attitudes (cf. Curdt-Christiansen and Huang this vol.). They point to individuals' dispositions and tendencies to react favourably or unfavourably towards particular entities or events (see Sarnoff 1970; Eagly and Chaiken 1993; Albury this vol.).

The overall guiding concern of this handbook is thus not language maintenance and development from a linguistic viewpoint, but the push and pull factors that influence people's affects, behaviours and stances in relation to home language maintenance and development, and what effects these factors have.

2 Three levels of analysis: Macro, meso and micro

As we discussed in the previous section, the factors under consideration here are generally socio-environmental or psycho-social. They are closely related to the society as a whole (the macro level), or to individuals in their direct social contexts (the micro level), and in both cases uncover what impacts on speakers' decisions and efforts when it comes to home language maintenance and development.

Research in the field can thus be roughly organised into these two levels of analysis. Studies at the macro level are often necessarily at a high level of theoretical abstraction and focus on social systems at a large scale (e.g., nationally or globally). Studies at the micro level focus on individuals as members of small social units (such as families and their language policies and practices). A third level of analysis – the meso level – sits amidst the macro and micro levels. It constitutes the grey area in between (Hult 2010), and can be seen as the level of analysis concentrating on community initiatives and efforts in relation to home language maintenance and development. As later discussion makes clear, studies at the meso level reach across a few research foci, but the field still lacks systematic study and coverage of this level (Juvonen et al. this vol.).

We use these three levels of analysis as the organising frame of this handbook. We acknowledge, however, that sociolinguistic reality is more fluid than what this frame may suggest. Although the levels may appear to be discrete, they interact and impact on one another. Neither can they be interpreted as a simple continuum,

since the meso level is not a necessary transition point between the micro and the macro levels. For instance, families at the micro level may feel pressures from the macro level (e.g., through educational policies), but may not respond to these pressures by forming a meso level community and taking joint action. On the other hand, macro level policy planners may listen to micro level families' voices directly, without being lobbied by meso level communities. We thus need to be mindful that all levels of analysis are interwoven, and that any representation of real-world complexity can be only a simplified one.

3 Handbook structure and content

The main body of this handbook is structured along the lines of the three levels of analysis explained above. An introductory section discussing terminological and methodological issues and challenges precedes the main body. The handbook is therefore divided into the following four parts: 1 – Terminologies and methodologies; 2 – Bilingual speakers and their families; 3 – Grassroot initiatives; and 4 – The role of society.

Part 1 provides readers with a foundation to the field of study. Parts 2, 3, and 4 each survey perspectives from the three levels of analysis: the micro level (the bilingual individual as part of a family) in part 2; the meso level (the bilingual individual as a member of a speech community) in part 3; and the macro level (the bilingual individual as a member of society) in part 4. Parts 2 and 4 are further subdivided into two topic areas, as outlined below. From here we explain each part and topic area and the kinds of issues discussed in each, thus providing an overview of the contributions to the handbook.

3.1 The basics: Terminologies and methodologies

Part 1, as the handbook's foundation, gives centre stage to terminologies and methodologies. Because the terms used for maintained language(s) are contentious, in chapter 2 we review and distinguish these near-synonyms, including "minority language", "mother tongue", "heritage language", and "home language", and critically evaluate the concepts underlying these terms. We have restricted our discussion to the terms that are of most relevance to this handbook. We compare and contrast the terms on several dimensions, and – as may be expected – conclude that neither a one-size-fits-all term nor a "best" term is workable here, due to the multifaceted nature of the field (see also Wiley 2014). However, through this discussion we explain clearly the reasons for choosing "home language" as the most appropriate umbrella term for this handbook, identifying the term's relative neutrality on social and

affective factors in language maintenance and development, while still highlighting social and affective factors as important.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of methodological issues encountered in the field, and explores research aims and foci, research designs and participant populations across this field of research. Juvonen et al. (this vol.) seek to present "a birds-eye view, bringing together, critiquing, and contrasting methodological considerations" across the three levels of analysis in this handbook. The authors discuss pitfalls they have identified for research in the field, including a lack of generalisability of research results, restricted research coverage, limited reporting on the data sets obtained, and a lack of procedural information on data analysis. The authors also discuss some of the field's challenges, including ethical considerations, data management, and the dissemination of research findings. The chapter concludes with an outlook to future developments in the field. The chapter is not intended as a step-by-step guide on how to do research, but rather as providing a snapshot of the current methodological state-of-the-art.

3.2 The micro level: Bilingual speakers and their families

Equipped with the foundational background from part 1, part 2 of the handbook moves to the first level of analysis, the micro level. Here the focus is on the bilingual individual, as member of a family or of other close social groups. The chapters in this part are subsumed under two topic areas. The first topic area illustrates the self-conceptions of bilingual speakers and their affective reactions, casting the spotlight on the affective domain. The second topic area addresses why and how families maintain and develop the home language, placing its chapters squarely within the research field of family language policy.

3.2.1 Self-conceptions and affective reactions

This topic area illuminates a number of affective domains and speakers' reactions to their social experiences. These include the subjective well-being of bilinguals (chapter 4), anxiety as a negative emotion in home language maintenance and development (chapter 5), and the formation of identity (chapter 6). Marking the transition to family language policy research, chapter 7 turns to intergenerational relations and the intergenerational transmission of home language(s).

Chapter 4 directs our attention to the subjective well-being of children and their parents living in bilingual settings. In this chapter, De Houwer (this vol.) reviews empirical studies and shows that young children's well-being is put at risk if their home language is disregarded in early care and they receive no support in learning the societal language. Moreover, the studies show that not speaking the

home language has negative effects on family relations, and that a well-developed dual language proficiency is central to both children's and parents' well-being, and hence is conducive to Harmonious Bilingualism.

In contrast, in chapter 5, Sevinç's survey of emotional reactions and psychological dimensions of home language maintenance (or language shift) examines predominantly negative emotions, identifying how bilinguals may, for instance, give up plans to maintain their home language after experiencing negative emotions such as anxiety, shame, or guilt. Exploring a relatively under-studied field, this chapter focuses "specifically on anxiety as a negative emotion in transnational contexts, and its causes and effects" (Sevinç this vol.), to deepen an understanding of the affective challenges bilingual speakers and families experience in their daily lives.

Chapter 6 moves to concepts of self in relationship to others, as constructed through interaction. Tseng's discussion of identity and home language maintenance draws on research from a range of minority language contexts, and addresses key areas of language socialisation and learning. This discussion shows that the relationship between language and identity is "indexical, interactive, and constructed at multiple intersecting scalar levels" (Tseng this vol.), and highlights the importance of identity for home language maintenance. The chapter also ventures into the school as a site of identity negotiations, where social and linguistic hegemonies related to national identities and ideologies may be reproduced. Insights from indigenous communities, and a brief discussion of globalisation and transnationalism conclude the chapter.

Matters of identity also play a role in intergenerational relations, which are not only crucial for transmitting and maintaining languages, but are also laden with affect (as Sevinç identifies in chapter 5). They are the focus of chapter 7, in which Purkarthofer problematises the notions of generation and of language. She posits:

> When talking about languages being passed on, or using terms like language transmission or maintenance, languages are not seen as objects to be handled but as processes requiring active participation from all generations involved. (Purkarthofer this vol.)

The chapter discusses studies of language practices and policies that affect and are negotiated by members of at least two different generations, including some that highlight intergenerational challenges. Hence, while not focussing directly on family language policy, the chapter provides a welcome transition between the two topic areas in this part of the handbook.

3.2.2 Family language policy

The second topic area at the micro level deals with family language policy, which entails the "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home" (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008: 907) as well as the "implicitly and

covertly" implemented practices (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 352). Family language policy research is a burgeoning field of inquiry so the handbook looks into its past, present, and future, focusing on theoretical concepts and research to date (chapter 8), factors influencing the language policies of families (chapter 9), strategies and practices employed by families (chapter 10), the role of child agency in families' practices (chapter 11), and future prospects and visions for the field (chapter 12).

Chapter 8 traces the field of family language policy back to its roots in the early 20th century. Here Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (this vol.) document five phases of the development of the field. They then overview scholarship published since the landmark article of King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008), pointing out the diversity of populations and languages studied. The authors also raise theoretical issues such as the complexity of the notion of family across time and space, and the sociolinguistics of globalisation. Overall, the chapter provides a thorough introduction to the field of family language policy, aspects of which are examined in depth in the chapters that follow it.

In chapter 9, Curdt-Christiansen and Huang present a model that illustrates how internal factors such as emotions, identity, and parental impact beliefs, and external factors such as language status and socio-economic and socio-political realities impact on family language policy. Basing their discussion on empirical studies, they show "how family language policy as a dynamic socio-cultural practice is shaped by both linguistic and non-linguistic forces in different types of families, geopolitical contexts, and macro level policies" (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang this vol.). They also suggest directions for future research into emerging factors that have not, or have only rarely, been taken up, such as the development of new technologies.

While Curdt-Christiansen and Huang focus on what impacts on family language policy, Schwartz turns to the effects of family language policy in chapter 10, and discusses strategies and practices in home language maintenance and development. She considers strategies as part of family language management and hence of (mainly parents') attempts to regulate language use, and home language practices "as the actual routine use of languages in the family regardless of the beliefs or management strategies" (Schwartz this vol.) employed by family members, in line with Spolsky's (2004) definition of language practices. After overviewing early concepts and pioneering contributions, the chapter turns to an analysis of recent studies as the basis for an explicit discussion of home language strategies and practices as currently understood in the field.

The actual use of languages in the family is not determined exclusively by parents, though. Child agency plays an important role in home language maintenance and development, as Smith-Christmas discusses in chapter 11. This chapter explains how research on child agency has evolved over time, arguing that the concept of child agency has come to fruition in family language policy research only recently; previously the child had been seen as merely the "linguistic product" of parents' language maintenance efforts. Smith-Christmas (this vol.) proposes a framework encompassing four

intersectional dimensions – compliancy, linguistic competencies, linguistic norms, and power dynamics – to conceptualise how children exert their agency and thus influence family language policy.

The last chapter on family language policy, still at the micro level, is chapter 12 by Palviainen. Taking the current state of research on family language policy as her point of departure, Palviainen (this vol.) explores future research directions in this field. In particular, she asks who constitutes a family and argues that the family needs to be seen as a dynamic and fluid system. She outlines three major topics that need more recognition in the field, namely children's perspectives, (non-linguistic) emotions, and today's mobile digital contexts in which families find themselves. The chapter concludes with practical recommendations on how these perspectives can be implemented in future research, theoretically and methodologically.

3.3 The meso level: Grassroot initiatives for home language maintenance

Part 3 of the handbook widens the perspective to bilingual speakers as members of speech communities. As section 2 indicates, the meso level constitutes the grey area between the micro and macro levels. Here speakers take action – for instance, in response to socio-environmental conditions and hence macro level pressures they encounter – by way of pooling their micro level resources, such as time and knowledge. Consequently, joint action in the form of community or grassroots initiatives directed at home language maintenance and development are in the focus of this part of the volume. Nevertheless, two issues make it difficult to clearly identify efforts at the meso level: (1) what counts as joint action (in contrast to individual reactions) is not clear-cut; and (2) because initiatives are often not driven through official organisations, it remains unclear how the "communities" are delimited and who can and should represent these communities in research (see Juvonen et al. this vol.). Consequently, the meso level has not been researched as systematically and comprehensively as the other levels.

The contributions to this handbook reflect these circumstances. They address rather different topics that have drawn researchers' attention at this level: social media and the use of technology (chapter 13), grassroots language planning in the era of mobility and the Internet (chapter 14), community language schools (chapter 15), and drivers of home language maintenance and development in indigenous communities (chapter 16). These chapters nevertheless exemplify a continuum, from a rather dispersed ad hoc pooling of resources (chapter 13) to joint action of tight-knit communities (chapter 16).

Chapter 13 signals the transition in discussion from micro level family language policy to the meso level. Here Little (this vol.) discusses social media and the use of technology in home language maintenance. Still focussing very much on the family

context, Little points out that social media have the power to connect home language speakers to family (in the wider sense) and to virtual language communities more generally, and that the language of social media may influence children's sense of belonging. Little critically evaluates the tension between motivational advantages and developmental affordances of social media and technology in home language development. She advocates for using technology to actively participate in and interact with the wider community, thus drawing on the community as role models for home language use.

Hatoss (this vol.) further extends and develops the idea of virtual connectedness across physical boundaries in chapter 14. Recognising that linguistic resources are drawn and distributed with the help of the Internet, she explores grassroots language planning from a translocal and transnational perspective. The chapter discusses international examples, with a case study from the context of the South Sudanese Australian community, as illustration of bottom-up joint initiatives with little or no involvement of official authorities. It shows that translocal approaches can provide more equitable access to home languages, and argues that these findings call for reconceptualising grassroots planning theoretically and in practice, based on sociolinguistic theories of mobility.

Moving on to more established activities, Nordstrom (this vol.) reports on "community language schools" in chapter 15. Also known as "ethnic", "supplementary", and "heritage" schools, these are one of the best known and reported initiatives. Many were set in motion by parents, and are good examples of meso level communities' efforts to enhance children's target language maintenance and development, and foster a sense of identity and belonging to the parents' community of origin. These schools can provide spaces where children can explore, contest, and negotiate their flexible and multicultural identities, sometimes questioning the identities imposed upon them by mainstream schools' monoglossic language ideologies. This chapter discusses the challenges and opportunities these schools afford children, families, and communities.

While previous chapters in part 3 focus on migrant communities, Mayer et al. (this vol.) take us to minoritised indigenous languages across the globe in chapter 16. They adopt Ruiz' conceptualisation of language as a resource, right, or problem as framework for their discussion and in light of this review a diversity of family language planning and community based activities developed to maintain, transmit and in some instances revitalise indigenous languages. They then focus on a case study based on Peruvian Amazonian and Andean indigenous languages, comparing the linguistic situation across urban and rural contexts. Their study identifies factors conducive to indigenous language maintenance, and concludes with a sober note about the challenges that these languages face. Mayer et al.'s study in this chapter already touches on, and thus establishes links to, the handbook's next topic area of social justice and inclusiveness.

3.4 The macro level: The role of society in home language maintenance and development

The final part of the handbook, part 4, takes the widest perspective, viewing bilingual speakers as members of society at large. As we pointed out in section 1, economic, cultural, legal and political constraints and expectations, as well as societal norms and language ideologies of the broader community, impact on home language maintenance and development at this level. The chapters in part 4 investigate these sources of impact in two topic areas. The first topic area maintains a broad outlook on society as a whole, discussing social justice and inclusiveness from a number of different angles. The second topic area engages specifically with language learning and teaching, which are amongst this handbook's major areas of interest (see section 1), bringing to the fore issues related to home language maintenance and development that arise in the formal educational context.

3.4.1 Social justice and inclusiveness

As this topic area maintains a broad perspective across society as a whole, each chapter centres around a particular topic in the field. These topics are language policy and planning for language maintenance (chapter 17), language attitudes and ideologies on linguistic diversity (chapter 18), social justice and inclusiveness though implementing linguistic human rights in education (chapter 19), and myths and models of disabilities and home language maintenance and development (chapter 20).

Liddicoat (this vol.) provides an overview of language policy and planning for home language maintenance in chapter 17, a topic traditionally deemed to be situated at the macro level. He contends that "[l]anguage maintenance takes place in a context that is shaped by the ideologies (Albury this vol.) and language practices of a wider society and these constitute the policy context in which decisions are made about maintaining a language or shifting to another." He examines both macro level language policies, which predominantly shape the context for language maintenance or shift, and meso level language policies, which can provide resources and social environments for language learning and language use that may not otherwise be available to the actors. While Mayer et al. (chapter 16, this vol.) can thus be seen as a contribution at the meso level that also touches on macro level aspects, Liddicoat's chapter is a macro level contribution that also takes the meso level into account. Both contributions are thus situated at the interface between these two levels of analysis.

Chapter 18 delves more into what lies behind language policies. Here Albury moves the spotlight to language attitudes and ideologies, as two of the main factors impacting on home language maintenance and development. He argues that a home language has "a greater chance of ongoing vitality – and indeed transmission – if it is prized and valued by society more broadly" (Albury this vol.). Drawing on

examples from around the world, he delineates very clearly the theoretical constructs of ideologies and attitudes, and explores the importance of research into language ideologies and attitudes in the context of home language research.

In chapter 19, Annamalai and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas draw heavily on studies of both language policy and planning, and language ideologies and attitudes. They discuss the choice of language in education in relation to choosing a medium of instruction and to acquiring further language competence. Traditionally, they argue, speakers of home languages have not been "privileged historically, politically and economically" (Annamalai and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas this vol.) and need special legal and government support at the local, national and international levels. They set out existing international covenants that could provide the scaffolding for national and local policies, and evaluate multilingual education models. They advocate for equity in education, and for trying to reach social justice through linguistic human rights.

The latter is also addressed by Cheatham and Lim (this vol.) in chapter 20, where they explore myths and models of disabilities in the context of home language maintenance and development. They focus specifically on emergent bilingual students diagnosed with learning disabilities, which is the most commonly diagnosed disability for emergent bilingual students in the US context under discussion in this chapter. After introducing the medical model of disability, which is, in connection with deficit discourse, prevalent in schools, the authors advance the social model of disability as an alternative, thereby also advocating for equity in education. They contend that this approach holds promise for emergent bilingual students with and without a disability diagnosis.

3.4.2 Formal education and home language maintenance

The previous topic area has illuminated aspects of education from a social justice and inclusion perspective, mainly that of bilingual students. The handbook's last topic area shifts from learning to teaching, and explores perspectives on formal education systems and their representatives, the teachers. First, it overviews models of formal education and home language teaching across countries (chapter 21), followed by a discussion of teachers' beliefs and attitudes, i.e., their dispositions and tendencies to react favourably or unfavourably towards home language maintenance (chapter 22). The handbook concludes with a practical perspective in chapter 23, addressing how home language maintenance may be managed and supported in the mainstream classroom.

In chapter 21, Yağmur presents models of formal education and home language teaching across mainly European countries. He too takes up the topic of policies, beginning with an outline of policy perspectives on home language education across four main forms of formal education: pluralistic, civic, assimilationist, and

ethnist. He then critically evaluates the policy differences of primary and secondary schools in relation to home languages along nine parameters: target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, minimal enrolment, curricular status, funding, teaching materials, and teacher qualifications. Following this, he assesses the status of the various models on this basis. The chapter concludes with the sobering note that "only after full social acceptance of 'immigrant' groups, it will be possible to incorporate their languages in school programs as part of school curriculum" (Yağmur this vol.).

This indicates that social acceptance has a crucial role to play. How do teachers position themselves in this regard? In chapter 22, Mary and Young (this vol.) shed light on the importance of teachers' attitudes and beliefs about children's home languages and the impact these have on practiced language policies, classroom practices more generally, and students' bilingual identities. They also explore some factors potentially contributing to teachers' beliefs and attitudes. These include teachers' prior experience with linguistic and cultural diversity both inside and outside of school, their knowledge gained through teacher education, their own language experiences and ethnic background, and the impact of societal language ideologies on their beliefs. The authors conclude with recommendations for teacher education programs.

Paulsrud highlights the aspect of classroom practices even more in chapter 23. In this final chapter of the handbook, she engages with the question of how home language maintenance may be managed and supported in the mainstream classroom. She introduces ideological and implementational spaces, and translanguaging, as two related theoretical key concepts. She builds on these while discussing selected studies, with a focus on the role of the teacher in the mainstream classroom, and on classroom practices where she argues for a transformative translanguaging stance. Paulsrud concludes this chapter with a positive outlook, declaring her ambition "to take a step away from the deficit perspectives often associated with management of students with other home languages than the majority school language" (Paulsrud this vol.) and instead consider how innovative strategies in classroom management can support students' linguistic diversity.

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