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Effects of Language Status, Community Advice, and Parent Beliefs on Heritage Language Maintenance in the U.S.: A Scoping Review

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Effects of Language Status, Community Advice, and Parent Beliefs on Heritage Language
Maintenance in the U.S.: A Scoping Review

by

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EFFECTS OF LANGUAGE STATUS, COMMUNITY ADVICE, AND PARENT BELIEFS

In the U.S. there are about 381 languages spoken (Xia, 2016), creating a symphony of linguistic diversity. However, these languages are seldom retained beyond three generations (Grenoble, 2021), as immigrant families assimilate into the dominant culture, the music of their mother tongue fading into the past. Heritage languages—defined in this study as the language someone was exposed to in the home and has some proficiency in (Valdés, 2001)—are being lost while English has continued to dominate language experiences. According to the American Community Survey, 78 percent of the U.S. population speak English exclusively at home (Dietrich & Hernandez, 2022). Worldwide, it is estimated that one language dies every 40 days, with predictions that this rate of language loss will continue to increase in the next century (Simons, 2019). This loss may impact more than just language proficiency, since a heritage language is intimately connected to culture, benefiting multiple aspects of life—social, cognitive, and personal (Mim, 2023). Thus, it is vital to understand the factors that lead to language shift and identify supports for heritage language maintenance.

Throughout generations there is a pattern of language shift—defined as how a language is replaced by another over time at the community level—due to many factors including assimilation into the mainstream culture (Grenoble, 2021). In fact, previous studies have shown that over three generations in the U.S., there is a gradual decline in language proficiency. Fishman first identified this pattern among immigrants to the U.S. in 1964, demonstrating that the first generation will be fluent, followed by the second generation whose fluency is diminished, (i.e., are still bilingual and able to converse). By the third generation, there is a significant loss, such that the dominant language is the individual's first language and they have limited-to-no fluency in their heritage language (Grenoble, 2021; Jia, 2006; Shifrina-Piljovin, 2019).

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This scoping review seeks to map out current research impacting heritage language (HL) maintenance in the U.S. to examine how three factors—a language’s status in society, parents’ beliefs, and advice to parents from the community (e.g., professionals, educators, friends, family)—affect HL maintenance. By providing this outline we also hope to inform policy makers, HL researchers, and HL speakers of the many factors and challenges of maintaining an HL. In the following sections, we first define an HL and HL speaker to provide a foundation for examining HL maintenance. Then, we identify both the benefits and challenges HL speakers face as they navigate the English-dominant landscape in the U.S. Finally, we present a brief discussion of three factors that may impact HL maintenance and loss, which form the foundation for this study.

Defining Heritage Languages

A myriad of definitions for a heritage language exist, from studies describing an HL as a minoritized language within a culture to an ethnic language that one identifies with. Often both immigrant as well as indigenous languages are encompassed within the term, and it is often broadly applied to any language that is marginalized (Tesser et al., 2003). This study employs Valdés’ definition of an HL and HL speaker, describing the HL as a language spoken in the home other than English. Valdés depicts HL speakers who live in the U.S. as those who are “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken” and “speaks or at least understands the language” in addition to English. (Valdés, 2001). This validates both the speaker’s minoritized cultural identity through their “historical and personal” connection to the HL while encompassing varying levels of HL proficiency (Tesser et al., 2003). Though the profile of an HL speaker has multiple facets, a commonality lies in their exposure to both the HL and the majority language (Montrul, 2010). So, by utilizing this broad definition we encompass the unique

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position of an HL in terms of proficiency, cultural relevance, and relation to the dominant culture.

Background of HL Maintenance

Throughout American history, assimilation has been encouraged and fostered not only by governing institutions and the educational system, but also through negative perceptions toward immigrants. Pressure to assimilate has also been aggravated by the political landscape such as during WWII and the Japanese Internment when many people of Japanese descent living in the United States were imprisoned in camps as they were held under suspicion after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. As a Japanese-American growing up during this period, Mae Yanagi Ferral shared a poignant anecdote about her experience to the author Jamie Ford, who wrote *Hotel on the Corner of Bitter and Sweet*, a book containing a similar story to Mae's own, reflecting the racial tensions and challenging circumstances for families as they had to make difficult choices about their cultural practices and language. The book describes how some parents would have their children speak only English in the hopes of lessening the discrimination the children experienced. Mae vividly portrays the reality of this enforced loss. She said, concerning her HL, "It's sad that we had that language [Japanese] in our family and we lost it. We were not encouraged to speak Japanese. For me, it was about being different. And being different was not what our parents wanted us to deal with" (Ford, J., 2009, p. 286). Mae's story is echoed by many others throughout history, with children being compelled by their parents and community to exclusively speak English, since it was—and remains—the language of prestige. This results in HL loss. For some, losing their HL may simply be perceived as part of "becoming American," but for others it represents a loss of culture, communication, connection, and identity.

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Nevertheless, there are many exemplary programs that seek to not only revitalize languages, but also cultures (Briggs-Cloud, n.d.; *Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project*, n.d.). For example, when faced with the dire prediction that their language would go extinct by 2040, a group of the Maskoke People in the U.S. sought to revitalize their language and raise new fluent speakers by returning to their ancestral homeland from where they had been forcibly relocated. So, after a decade of perseverance they obtained 600 acres in Alabama in January of 2018. This led to a holistic approach in which Ekvv-Yefolecv—a sustainable ecovillage in Alabama—was formed. There, Maskoke People not only speak their language exclusively, but also rediscovered their way of life as they “incorporate sustainability technologies that provide a good quality of living while demonstrating reverence for Earth and all living beings,” reclaiming their cultural way of life and their language (Briggs-Cloud, n.d.). This inspiring project demonstrates that it is possible to shift the pattern of language loss and find creative ways to regain not only lost communication, but also cultural connections.

Though the radical approach of the Maskoke People is not feasible for every HL group as there are varying backgrounds that are less homogenous or have a different cultural history/orientation, their example of community involvement and perseverance may motivate other innovative approaches to language maintenance. However, a step toward maintenance of a language must involve an understanding of what factors impact the retention or loss of the HL in the first place, identifying both supports and potential challenges.

Benefits and Challenges to Maintaining the HL

Being bilingual confers a plethora of benefits—cognitive, social, and personal—affecting many aspects and all stages of life (Kroll & Dussias, 2017; Mim, 2023). These may range from socioeconomic capital in the form of further career opportunities to more personal factors, such

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as communication between family members (Nesteruk, 2010). From a socioeconomic perspective, more opportunities may be available within the global economy (Mim, 2023). The ability to speak more than one language also has been found to increase cognitive ability (Bialystok, 2017; Grundy & Timmer, 2017), with some studies even showing that bilingualism may mitigate symptoms of Alzheimer's (Kroll & Dussias, 2017), though there is a continued debate among scholars on whether the bilingual advantage actually exists (Lehtonen et al., 2018; Nichols et al., 2020). Connection with one's culture, family, and the shaping of identity are also tied into language (Oh & Fuligni, 2010). Leeman (2015) discusses the role of language in forming one's identity, noting the ethnic or cultural connections that are often associated with the HL. In fact, the reason many maintain their heritage language is to preserve familial bonds, especially if family members live outside of the U.S. (Kang, 2013; Wu, 2005).

Though these benefits of HL maintenance are well documented, there are still many challenges in maintaining an HL, and pervasive myths about multilingualism remain (Kroll & Dussias, 2017; Yu, 2013). For example, there is a lingering assumption that learning another language will confuse children, especially early in life when they are first developing language abilities, and this idea also persists in the context of children with a speech or developmental disability (Blanc, 2019; Hampton et al., 2017; Yu, 2013). Research does not support these claims, and in fact, a recent study demonstrated that bilingual children with autism performed better on false belief and theory of mind tasks than their monolingual peers with autism (Peristeri et al., 2021). Yet some professionals still hold subtractive views of bilingualism—i.e., believing that bilingualism reduces proficiency in both languages by confusing a child—and offer advice for parents to choose one language, typically English, or to only use the HL in the home with their child (Blanc, 2019). However, this may lead to difficulties in parent-child communication and

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presents a problematic perspective of bilingualism—not considering how this may influence the family’s ability to communicate with each other or their ability to support their children in learning English.

In addition to myths, there are other challenges preventing HL maintenance such as racism based on language use (linguicism; DeGraff, 2019). Also, when the HL is not spoken by the majority, it is sometimes repressed or looked down upon in schools and communities (Blanc, 2019; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), which can impact maintenance. Since parental perception of an HL is a high predictor of HL maintenance or loss (Lin, 2014; Winsler et al., 2014), HL speakers’ own attitudes may even contribute to challenges in maintenance as the pressure to assimilate into the dominant culture pervades many experiences, with the heritage language being less valued as a result (Shifrina-Piljovin, 2019). Thus, it is vital to understand the existing perceptions of heritage languages and examine factors that may impact their maintenance and loss.

Current Study

The current study seeks to examine three factors that influence HL maintenance within the U.S. Specifically, it investigates how a language’s status in society, parental perceptions of HLs, and advice from community members to parents affect HL maintenance across generations. Though multiple studies have investigated these issues, to our knowledge no review has been conducted that evaluated these interconnected aspects—language status, parental beliefs, and community advice—of HL maintenance within a U.S. context.

Since HL maintenance is a multi-tiered endeavor, with impacts from individuals as well as society, it is vital to understand the impacts/influences within each level, collating what has already been studied and examining where there is still need for more research. We hope that by

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examining the current research of HL maintenance in the U.S., this review may be used to inform future policies and practices, specifically impacting those involved in HL research, HL policy makers, and HL speakers by mapping out the existing literature and identifying gaps.

Research Questions

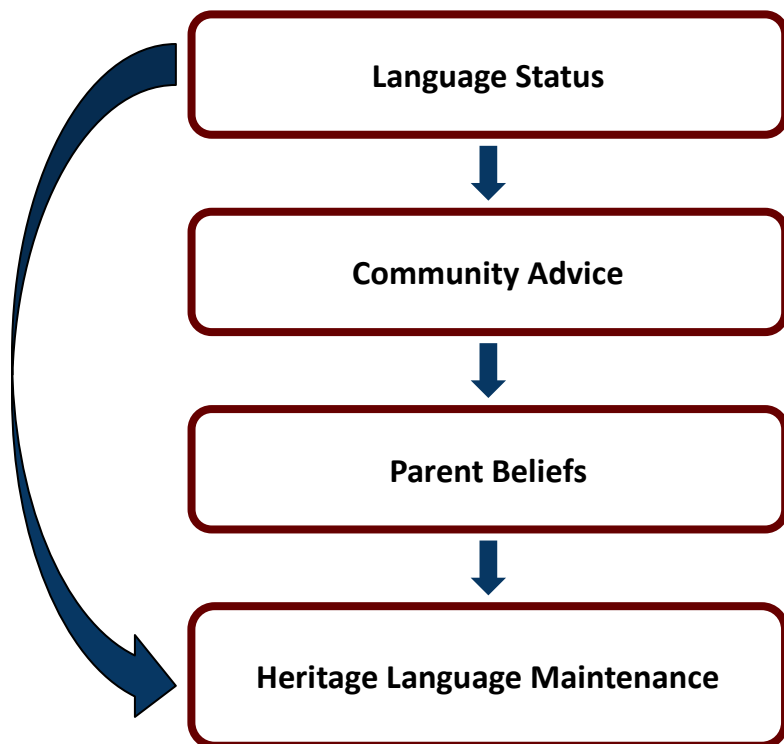
To examine the maintenance of HLs within the U.S., three research questions were developed to guide the study:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between a heritage language's status in society and language maintenance across generations?
2. To what extent does the information parents receive from community members (e.g., health professionals, teachers, friends, and family members) influence their beliefs in passing their heritage language to their children?
3. How do parents' beliefs about the impact of a heritage language on academic, social, and career success influence the degree to which they pass this language to their children?

These questions were posited with the understanding that there is interplay among factors that influence HL maintenance within a culture (He, 2010). That is, these factors have a cascading effect, with a language's status influencing community-wide beliefs, which in turn influence advice given to parents, which influence parents' beliefs, which then influence how and if an HL is maintained. In addition to affecting each other they may individually have an impact on maintenance (e.g., language status directly influencing maintenance), demonstrating the interconnectedness of societal impacts. Figure 1 illustrates these relationships.

Figure 1. *Cascade of factors impacting HL maintenance*

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By identifying and exploring this cascade of factors—language status, community advice, and parents’ beliefs—toward HL maintenance, we hope to provide a perspective of HL maintenance that acknowledges the roles both of the community and individual.

Methods

As stated, the current review aims to identify factors impacting HL maintenance in the U.S. based on recent literature. Protocols for the review were established by a team of researchers in the Child Language Learning Center lab (CLLC) prior to the research to maintain a consistent and systematic approach in accordance with the Johanna Briggs Institute (JBI) methodology (Peters et al., 2020, 2022; Tricco et al., 2018). This team was composed of current members of the CLLC lab—an undergraduate student in Psychology, an undergraduate student in the Speech & Hearing Sciences, as well as three senior researchers (including the CLLC lab director who was involved for the duration of the project). Previous lab members also contributed to this review, though they did not remain on the project due to the nature of being

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on a degree program. Throughout the process, extensive documentation was kept, ensuring continuity when there were transitions in the personnel. (Additional students are listed in the Acknowledgements.)

Scoping review framework

This scoping review was performed under the guidance of the JBI methodology (Peters et al., 2020, 2022; Tricco et al., 2018) and the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis extension for Scoping Reviews (PRISMA-ScR; Moher et al., 2009), as well as guidelines set forth by Arksey & O'Malley (2005). A scoping-review framework was used rather than a systematic-review framework since the former is more suited to answering broad questions, mapping the extent of the literature and identifying gaps, whereas the latter is better suited to “questions addressing the feasibility, appropriateness, meaningfulness or effectiveness of a certain treatment or practice” (Munn et al., 2018, p. 3). Thus, scoping review methodology aligned well with the objectives of the current study, that is, to identify factors impacting HL maintenance by collating and identifying gaps in the existing literature.

Study selection process

The search process was conducted over two periods of time, from February 28, 2020 to March 24, 2020 and again from July 29, 2022 to August 15, 2022 (with the second round of searches intended to catch articles published since the first round). In the first search, studies were included if they were published between 2005 and when the search was conducted in 2020. The second database search overlapped slightly with the first, including studies published in 2020 to 2021 to ensure that any recent articles were obtained. Searches were completed in the following databases: *EBSCOhost*, *PsycINFO*, *Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts*, *Google Scholar*, *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses A&I*, and *Web of Science*. The search strings

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were curated for each database to best align with the research questions using the following keywords in varying combinations (See Appendix A for full database searches): bilingual*, multilingual*, heritage language*, caregiver*/parent* beliefs, caregiver*/parent* attitudes, language status, language maintenance, language attrition, early childhood, multiple language*.

A total of 6,218 results were identified across both database searches, with 3,890 unique values after duplicates were removed. The titles and abstracts of the results were then screened for retention for the review. Screening was accomplished using the study criteria that were developed prior to the searches as outlined in the following sections.

Inclusion criteria. Articles were included if they:

1. Were published in a peer-reviewed, English-language journal or were grey literature (unpublished Master's theses and doctoral dissertations and conference papers);
2. Were original studies;
3. Included families who speak a home language other than English (whether they are monolingual in that language or bilingual/multilingual) living in the United States with children aged 0-18;
4. Reported outcome measures related to 1 or more of the 3 research questions;
5. Reported outcomes with qualitative measures (some studies also included quantitative measures and were retained);
6. Were published between 2005 and 2021

Exclusion criteria. Articles were excluded if they:

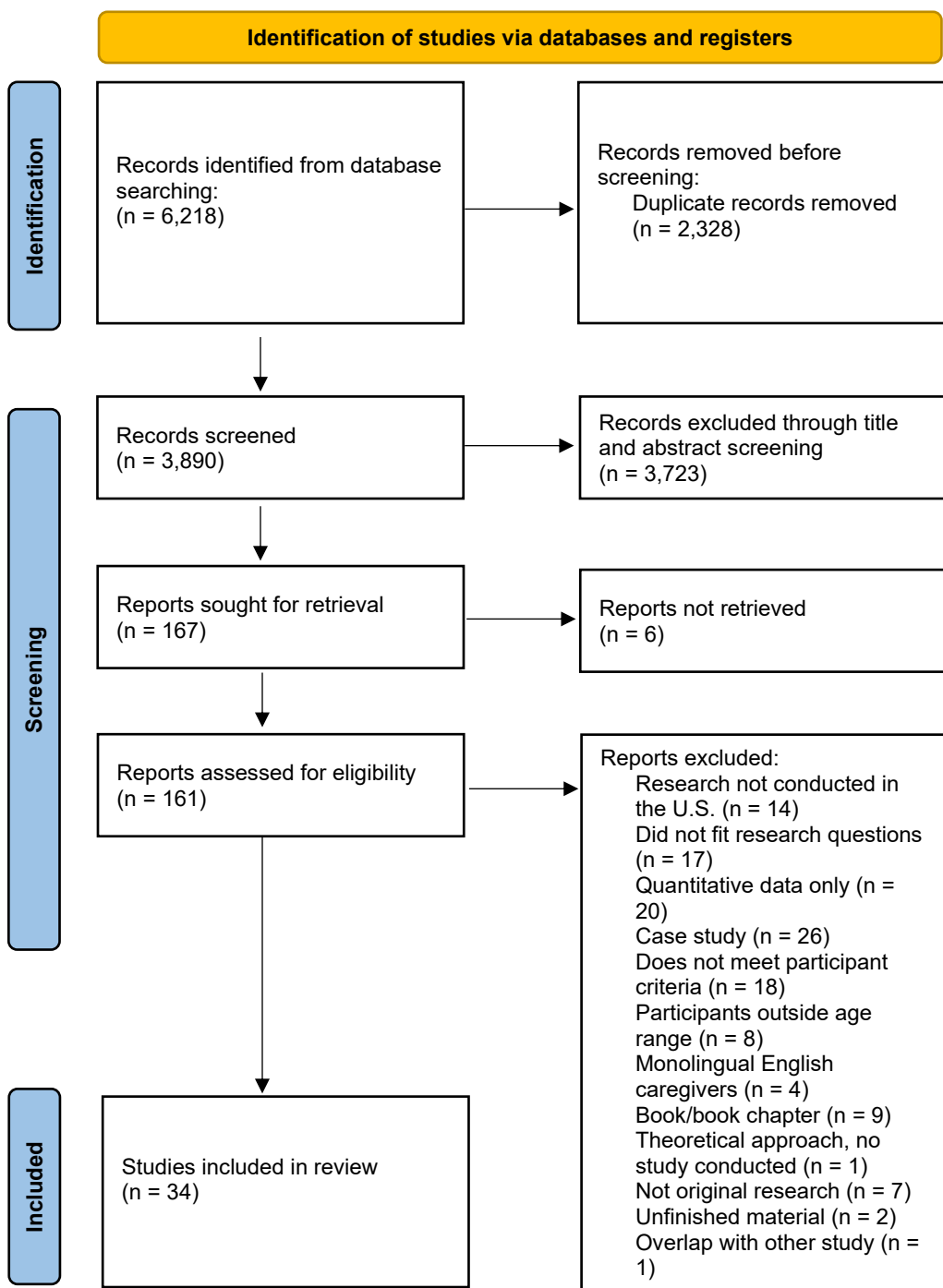
1. Were not written in English;
2. Included populations outside of the United States (e.g., studies that included families from both the US and Canada were excluded);

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3. The full text was unavailable or behind a paywall not accessible from our (fairly extensive) university library database;
4. Included only monolingual English parents;
5. Were reviews of other studies;
6. Were single case studies;
7. Reported only quantitative measures;
8. Included less than 10 individual participants or 5 families;
9. The data focused only on the language development of bilingual or multilingual adults (not their children);
10. Did not report the children's ages, so their status as under 18 could not be confirmed;
11. Focused solely on a theoretical approach, (i.e., did not report original data);
12. Did not answer at least 1 of the research questions

After these criteria were applied to the abstracts and titles, the 161 articles that were retained from this initial screening were retrieved in full text and read to determine their inclusion or exclusion from the study, following the same criteria outlined above. In all, a total of 34 articles were retained and included in this review.

The screening process is illustrated in Figure 2 through the PRISMA-ScR flowchart found below (Moher et al., 2009).

Figure 2. *PRISMA-ScR* flowchart

Data Extraction

Data extraction was performed under the JBI guidance and advised by the work of Pollock et al. (2022) who discussed best practices for analysis and data extraction in the bounds

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of a scoping review. The process involved a data extraction chart, inductive/deductive coding, and qualitative content analysis of the data. Each step is outlined in the following sections.

Data extraction chart

A data extraction chart was created to summarize the dataset and provide an outline of the studies included in this review. This chart was patterned and expanded from the JBI methodology with each category defined (See Appendix B for category descriptions). For each of the 34 articles, (a) the author and date of publication, (b) study design, (c) participants and setting, (d) heritage language, (e) children's disability or neurodivergence, (f) study objective, (g) theory/conceptual framework of the study, (h) data collection measures, (i) outcomes, and (j) findings in line with the research questions were extracted and included in the chart (See Appendix B). The results from this chart were analyzed and are further described in the findings.

Qualitative coding

Qualitative coding was performed to better understand the discourses and gaps within the research of HL maintenance on a more intimate level. Specifically, coding provides data that may speak to a lack of research on a particular factor or highlight one that is emphasized within the literature based on the themes that arise.

For the coding process, we used Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS) through Taguette—a free, open-source software platform designed for qualitative research (Rampin & Rampin, 2021). Within this software, the researchers coded the data based on an iterative process developed specifically for this study. Both inductive and deductive approaches were used, beginning with a bottom-up approach as pilot coding was performed to develop a code set. Then, this set of codes was applied to the dataset in a deductive process. Pilot coding was completed using a select article, where two researchers completed open coding individually and compared

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and synthesized results. An initial code set was developed from these codes which was reviewed by a third researcher. The codes were then compared to the research questions to provide further clarity and ensure alignment with the research objectives. Any codes that fell outside of the realm of the research questions were eliminated, except for the code “proficiency and practices” as it captured many other factors impacting language experiences of parents as well as a code for sections we wished to discuss, leaving a total of 12 codes which were retained. These are depicted in Appendix A.

Prior to coding the dataset, reliability coding was performed on three articles to assess the efficacy of the codes and procedure. The process for reliability coding was inspired by (Campbell et al., 2013), whose method for unitizing codes was followed. That is, one researcher coded a selected document, then bracketed the coded text while removing the codes. The article was then distributed to the other researchers to code the bracketed sections independently and results were compared. Four researchers from the CLLC lab followed this process and the results were compared between coders to determine the percentage of interrater reliability. We met our criterion of 70% interrater reliability in the third round and any discrepancies in the coding were further discussed and resolved.

Minor adjustments were made to the codes and process based on the results of the reliability coding—which were mostly centered around clarifications in defining the codes to prevent overlap—again reflecting the iterative process of coding. After making the adjustments informed by the reliability process, the researchers proceeded to code the dataset, tagging anything that they were uncertain of for further discussion. These instances were then compiled and assessed to determine which code they best matched.

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Due to a time constraint and the extensive dataset, only a portion of the coded data from the retrieved material was included in this review. It was determined by the researchers that only the data coded from the peer-reviewed journal articles would be analyzed in this review—with the plan to analyze the remaining data in the future—since there was a relatively even split between the grey literature ($n = 18$) and the journal articles ($n = 16$). In total, 12 journal articles were coded and analyzed as well as one conference paper.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is used to understand a phenomenon and its context within text through “the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns,” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278) and may be used to assess a variety of resources—e.g., written text, verbal interviews, or pictures.

Content analysis is suggested by the JBI as the preferred methodology if further analysis beyond basic descriptive analysis is deemed necessary (Pollock et al., 2022). Within this study, the researchers decided that performing qualitative content analysis was crucial to further examine the concepts within the dataset and to more clearly identify where gaps in the research existed by assessing the themes. The analyses of this study follow a similar framework to that of (Papoudi et al., 2021), where a coding scheme was used and themes identified according to the data that relate to the research questions. The following steps were used in analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Pollock et al., 2022): preparation, organization, and presentation.

To begin, the researchers familiarized themselves with the dataset, to gain an understanding of the concepts discussed. Following this, a coding framework was created, and procedures established as described in the previous sections. Then, the team of four researchers coded the articles in Taguette and one researcher exported the codes as excel files to identify

themes and subthemes. These will be discussed in detail in the following sections along with findings from the data extraction chart.

Results

A total of 34 articles were retained through the database searches, with many heritage languages studied, including Albanian, American Sign Language, Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Cantonese, Creole, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, Fujianese, German, Hungarian, Mandarin, Portuguese, Persian, Russian, Somali, Spanish, Swedish, Telugu, Turkish, Urdu, and Zapotec. However, the majority of articles included either Spanish or Chinese. The studies employed a range of methodologies, such as ethnographies and phenomenological research, multiple-case studies, as well as mixed-method studies. Data collection was accomplished using a variety of methods, including a range of interview types (i.e., phenomenological, ethnographic, semi-structured), surveys, questionnaires, community/neighborhood or classroom observation, and even family dinner talk. Surprisingly, there was a roughly even split between published journal articles ($n = 16$) and dissertations/theses ($n = 17$), suggesting interest in heritage language maintenance from recent academics. This burgeoning interest in HL research was also reflected in the publication dates, as close to half of the studies ($n = 16$) in the dataset were disseminated within the last five years.

Concerning participant demographics, a range of participants were included in the studies, with mothers, fathers, and children involved in addition to other community members (i.e., teachers, grandparents, or even whole communities). However, the majority of participants were mothers. The sample sizes in the papers ranged from as little as five families to a participant pool of 101 (Szilagyí & Szecsi, 2020). The data extraction chart illustrates the wide range of studies included (See Appendix B).

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The findings are further discussed in the following sections, examining the research surrounding cascading effects of language status, advice from community members, and parental beliefs on HL maintenance. A total of four themes were identified from the process of qualitative coding and qualitative content analysis of the 12 journal articles: (1) status of a language in society affects maintenance, (2) parents' beliefs about the impact of the heritage language affect family language practices, (3) community advice impacts parents' beliefs and practices, (4) other factors affecting maintenance of the heritage language across generations. Overall, these themes reflected the research question categories, with subthemes that encompass the most prevalent findings within the dataset. Table 1 outlines the themes and subthemes that were identified in this process.

Table 1. *Themes and sub-themes identified*

Theme	Subtheme
1. Status of a language in society affects maintenance	a. English dominance b. Access to HL resources and support
2. Parents' beliefs about the impact of the heritage language affect family language practices	a. Positive beliefs toward HL b. Negative beliefs toward HL c. Effects of parent beliefs on language choice
3. Community advice impacts parents' beliefs and practices	a. Advice from professionals b. Advice from friends and family
4. Other factors affecting maintenance of the heritage language across generations	a. Practicalities of maintenance b. Challenges to maintenance

Status of a Language in Society Affects Maintenance

English Dominance

Throughout multiple articles, there was a common theme of a language's status affecting HL maintenance, focusing on the imbalance between the dominant and minoritized language.

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Generally, the prevalence of English affected the ability of parents to maintain their HL with their children, as English is recognized by parents not only as the dominant language, but the language associated with economic opportunity and prestige (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Yu, 2013). The idea of English as a prerequisite to success recurred throughout the papers as parents expressed hopes for their children to become fluent English speakers, believing that English proficiency would provide more economic opportunity or allow their children to fit in with mainstream culture (Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013). Mitchiner (2015) describes this perception among parents from the Deaf community who explain that they want their children to be able to speak English in order to avoid discriminative experiences and to have the opportunity to participate in the dominant U.S. society. In some studies this meant parents prioritized English language learning for their children over the HL (Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Wu, 2005; Yu, 2013).

Individual perspectives also reflected how a dominant language's status pervades HL maintenance and language experiences. For example, one mother involved in a multiple case study by Kaveh & Sandoval (2020), stated that if English was the dominant language, then that was her children's future. In a similar context, Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe (2009) report language status within Chinese dialects, with parents perceiving Mandarin as more prestigious than their native Fujianese dialect since Mandarin holds more power in China as the national language. Thus, these parents did not desire for their children to learn Fujianese, however, they acknowledged the value of Mandarin and preferred for their children to have proficiency in that dialect instead.

Parents across multiple studies noted that their children were exposed almost exclusively to English within school and in the general community, and thus had less opportunities and

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motivation to use their HL (Ijalba, 2016; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019) Entrance into school or daycare was the time when many parents felt that their children began to lose proficiency in their HL as they received English instruction and conversed in English with their monolingual peers (Ijalba, 2016; Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020). English was even given precedence among ethnic peers in the context of school. As one child explained in an interview excerpt from Zhang Slaughter-Defoe (2009), "...I spend most of my day in school, in school, we don't really speak Chinese. So I don't feel like it's necessary..." (p. 89). The same study reports how as they matured, children's language attitudes shifted from openness to apathy toward the HL, which was due in part to "linguistic and cultural conformity" endorsed within their education (p. 90). These findings indicate that the constant use and exposure to English without substantial support for the HL has a detrimental effect on HL maintenance.

Access to HL resources and support

In addition to English dominance within society, community support of HLs was also recognized as a vital factor in parents' ability to pass their language to their children (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019; Zhu et al., 2020). In communities where there was more access to HL resources, parents felt supported in teaching their children the HL (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Zhu et al., 2020). In contrast, in communities where there was minimal access to community support, parents felt less enabled to maintain the HL as the dominant culture prevailed (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Reese and Goldenberg (2006) contrast two Spanish-speaking communities: a community with Spanish as the minoritized language reported more language loss than a community where Spanish was prevalent. Interestingly, studies also mentioned geographic regions as a determinant of HL

support, since some regions had more HL speakers or a more vibrant HL community (for a particular HL) compared to others (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020).

The status of a minoritized language is also indicated by the contexts in which the HL is used in the community. As Reese and Goldenberg (2006) state, “In multilingual settings, decisions to make use of one language or another may depend as well on the perceived prestige, status, or desirability of one language over another” (p. 53). For example, since some HL speakers perceived Spanish as a “less prestigious” language in relation to English, many speakers chose to communicate exclusively in it within their homes (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006). This choice of HL use solely within the home context is not constrained to Spanish speakers only, as other papers report HL use predominately in familial settings, such as Korean and Fujianese (Kang, 2013; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). One mother even described her home as a “Korean island in a U.S. territory” (Kang, 2013, p. 334), emphasizing this minoritized status of a language and the challenges faced in its maintenance. Choosing to reserve HL use for specific contexts reiterates the message that the language is less valued in society and contributes to language loss as children may feel embarrassed to speak their HL in public settings (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Parents’ Beliefs About the Impact of the Heritage Language Affect Family Language Practices

Positive beliefs

Parents play a vital role in language acquisition and their attitudes and beliefs about an HL may determine how and if it is maintained (Wu, 2005). Most parents in the studies held positive beliefs toward their HL, perceiving it as a form of socioeconomic capital, a means of connection and communication with other family members, a form of identity, and a cultural

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cornerstone. The most common positive belief parents held about their HL was that it would help their children to have more opportunities available to them—whether academically focused, career-based, or culturally oriented (Kang, 2013; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

One belief parents held was that bilingualism contributes to academic opportunity. A study described a parent's advice to her children, saying that she reminds them that having multiple languages will help them later in life if they want to go to college and obtain a degree (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Still other parents believed the HL could help their children with skills at school, complementing the English language and promoting creativity through their linguistic development (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020).

Perceived social benefits of maintaining the HL include family cohesion and communication as well as connection to the home country and culture. Families placed importance on the maintenance of the HL as a tie to cultural roots and the home country where many family members were often still living (Kang, 2013; Lee & Gupta, 2020). To illustrate, Kang (2013) described families' desires to maintain the HL in case the opportunity arose to return to Korea for work or to visit relatives. Maintaining open communication lines between grandparents and other relatives was noted as another benefit of maintaining the HL (Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Taliencich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019). Parents further desired their children to maintain their HL to facilitate parent-child communication as some parents felt they could only express themselves adequately in their HL (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020).

Identity was also tied to the HL—both personal and cultural. Parents in the Deaf community perceived ASL as a part of them, saying that the language ties their community together and contributes to self-esteem as well as identity (Mitchiner, 2015). Other parents

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emphasized the importance of their HL in connecting to their cultural roots. Chinese parents in the study by Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) took pride in their language and culture, perceiving them as inseparable from each other. Hungarian parents (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020) and Spanish parents (Surrain, 2021) also described how their HL instilled a sense of pride and described how their language was a vital part of their ethnic and personal identity that they wished to impart to their children.

Bilingualism and maintenance of the HL is recognized by the majority of parents as a doorway to a range of career opportunities (Kang, 2013; Mitchiner, 2015; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019; Zhu et al., 2020). These perceived opportunities centered around job growth and advancement, navigation in a multicultural world, and socioeconomic capital. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe's (2009) paper on Chinese HL maintenance as well as Mitchiner's (2015) study of children in the Deaf community with cochlear implants mention parents' ideas that supporting both the HL and English may allow their children to become interpreters, while other parents simply stated that "you can work in more places" (Surrain, 2021, p. 1168). Overall, parents recognized that maintenance of the HL could bring both career success and flexibility in both the location and type of work.

Negative beliefs

Not all perspectives focused on the positive aspects of HL maintenance, as myths of bilingualism, fears of discrimination, and concerns about challenges persisted in some parents' experiences. Several studies reported parents' worries that learning the HL in addition to English may lead to delays in language development or lead to confusion (Ijalba, 2016; Kaveh & Sandoval, 2020; Yu, 2013). Ijalba (2016) identified these concerns in relation to teaching the HL to children with autism. The mothers in the study believed that learning two languages might

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confuse their children and further delay language development, so many opted to teach them English only. In fact, this was a prevalent belief, as parents who had children with a disability or who were neurodiverse often thought it best to use just one language in communicating with them—whether that be English or the HL (Ijalba, 2016; Yu, 2013). Yu (2013) reported a similar instance of this where a parent was teaching her son to be trilingual but upon a diagnosis of autism, she decided to only speak English to him since he was late in talking. Another parent even thought that bilingualism had exacerbated her daughter’s speech difficulties (Surrain, 2021). These concerns reduced the likeliness of maintaining the HL as parents had to make difficult language decisions.

Effects of Parent Beliefs on Language choice

Parents not only held perceptions about their HL, but also made choices either to retain the HL or to switch to English based on their attitudes toward the languages. One mother described her desire to teach her children Hungarian to have them enjoy the beauty of the language as she did (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Other studies also demonstrated a link between beliefs that informed a family’s language policy—a set of rules for language use. These rules were made as parents navigated various contexts and directed their children’s language use. Some parents would enforce HL use within the home and not allow their children to speak English there (Surrain, 2021; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019). For example, one mother explained her policy: Spanish was to be used at home and English was for school—relying on contextual factors (e.g., the home environment) to dictate language use (Surrain, 2021). In addition to strategies for language use, many parents chose to enroll their children in HL schools or programs to facilitate their HL learning. Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that certain parents would act as teachers, ordering textbooks or assigning homework in their HL, directly

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overseeing their children's HL proficiency. Other strategies parents employed were reading to their children or exposing them to other media in their HL (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Taliencich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019), intentionally speaking to their children in the HL (Mitchiner, 2015; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020), pretending not to understand if their child spoke in English (Kang, 2013; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), repeating a child's question in the HL (Kang, 2013), and directly instructing their children to communicate in the HL (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Surrain, 2021; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Community Advice Impacts Parents' Beliefs and Practices

Advice From Professionals

Across the studies, a range of professionals—e.g., educators, therapists, health providers, SLPs, and medical professionals—gave parents advice concerning language practices. This advice varied between support for maintaining the HL and promoting bilingualism to promoting English monolingualism (Ijalba, 2016; Mitchiner, 2015; Surrain, 2021; Yu, 2013). Within the articles, advice was mainly given in the context of informing parents of children with disabilities (Ijalba, 2016; Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013). For example, Yu (2013) described the experiences of parents of children with autism as they navigated choices about their child's language development. In this study as well as others, parents were willing to sacrifice their HL if they were told it would hinder their children's success, developmentally or otherwise. Similarly, Ijalba (2016) interviewed multiple Spanish-speaking mothers who had received advice from professionals about language practices to use with their children with autism. Many of them were told to choose only one language which was to be spoken at all times, even though many of the mothers did not feel they had the proficiency in English to do so. In particular, one family was advised to exclusively speak English within the home. However, the father, who was the primary

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caregiver, only spoke Spanish, so he was unable to communicate with his children in English and since the mother worked, the children had little exposure to language at all.

Advice from friends and family

Parents may seek or receive advice from friends or other family members about HL practices. In a study by Ijalba (2016) on the experiences of Hispanic mothers of children with autism, some of the mothers received advice from family members about what choices to make for their children pertaining to language development. In one family, the mother was told by her husband and mother-in-law to wait longer to seek support for her child's language delay, believing that her child would gain language abilities at a later time. Such advice was reportedly common among this group of participants, with varied perspectives on autism and language milestones that ultimately affected parents' choices to pass their HL to their children (Ijalba, 2016). In a different context, Mitchiner (2015) reported that sometimes disagreements arose among family members from the hearing and Deaf communities surrounding cochlear implantation, as it was perceived by some as a threat to preserving American Sign Language (ASL). For example, a parent in the Deaf community received advice from her mother that showed support for cochlear implantation. However, the parent also was advised by friends in the Deaf community who were against it, based on concerns for maintaining ASL. Thus, family and friends offered advice to parents surrounding the topics of language use and language development which influenced parents' beliefs and practices about maintaining their HL.

Other Factors Affecting Maintenance of the Heritage Language Across Generations

Practicalities of Maintenance

Parents described many other factors that impacted their ability to maintain a heritage language, including the parent's own language proficiency. Throughout the studies, many

instances of parent-child communication experiences were described, with relationships fraught with communication barriers (Ijalba, 2016). Some parents required their children to speak their HL in order to maintain communication as many of the parents explained that they were not as proficient in English as their children (Kang, 2013; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Surrain, 2021; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Within many of the families, there was a pattern of the children having more English proficiency than their parents (Kang, 2013; Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Zhu et al., 2020), and in some cases, preferring English (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This was a concern of many parents as they feared that their children would no longer be able to adequately communicate in the HL and the parents themselves could not communicate as well in English (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). These differences in language proficiency created barriers in communication as well as impacting relationships in the families.

Challenges to Maintenance

The topic of challenges in maintaining the HL was reported throughout the articles, ranging from the issue of limited resources to support teaching the HL, to parents' perceptions about their own proficiency. As many parents described, if there were limited resources and support available in the community, this was a barrier to maintaining the HL (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Some parents also felt they did not have the time or energy to support their children's HL after a long day at work (Zhu et al., 2020), especially if they were solely responsible for their child's language development (Ijalba, 2016). One unique challenge that parents identified throughout multiple studies was that they felt unable to support their children's English language learning. This was perceived as a barrier to communication between parents and children if the child was not proficient in the HL. The lack of proficiency in English was often mentioned in the same context as trying to support a child's monolingual

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English development for children with a disability (Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013) or in helping with schoolwork (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Children's attitudes about their HL also impacted maintenance, with many showing apathy toward the HL (Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Many similar responses were expressed by children throughout the studies as they showed a preference toward English, even using it more frequently than their HL among ethnic peers. Another aspect that contributed to children's perceptions in certain contexts was the fact that many of them attended HL schools or programs in addition to their other schooling. This led to frustration for the children as they had less free time than their peers and often felt resentment toward having to complete extra schoolwork (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Another aspect was the exposure to English through siblings as many of them would converse in English with each other, with younger siblings gaining English proficiency at an early age rather than developing proficiency in the HL (Wu, 2005).

Discussion

As this review has demonstrated, a language's status in society, parent beliefs about HL maintenance, and the advice community members give to parents about their HL all influence how and if an HL is maintained. Themes that were identified include the (1) status of a language in society affects maintenance, (2) parental beliefs about the impact of the heritage language affect family language practices, (3) community advice impacts parents' beliefs and practices, and (4) other factors affecting maintenance of the heritage language across generations, suggesting a multifaceted and interconnected range of factors impacting language maintenance in the U.S. A variety of language experiences were captured in the studies—with over 20 languages/dialects included—highlighting some similarities between language experiences such

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as a desire to maintain an HL based on opportunities, the importance of maintaining family coherence and parent-child relationships through language, and a need for resources and support for HL learning.

The cascade of factors that influence HL maintenance emphasize that HL maintenance is not only cultivated by the individual, but also by outside influences from multiple levels, including the family, the ethnic community, and the dominant culture. These aspects are important to consider as they imply that language maintenance must be addressed with a multi-dimensional approach, since language learning is facilitated by the culture as well as the individual (Inan, 2021). This has implications for future research and practices which should examine how systems (e.g., communities, schools, governing institutions) may impact HL maintenance as much as individual attitudes toward HLs. By shifting this perspective, parents and individuals may feel more empowered to support HL maintenance as they are provided with resources and support from the community.

While implementing this cooperative approach to HL maintenance, it is also important to consider the context of multiculturalism and the range of language experiences as there are varied perspectives and understandings of language acquisition. Among these is the idea of a “language gap” based on socioeconomic status and other factors, which can lead to deleterious perspectives of language experiences (Avineri et al., 2015; Baugh, 2017). So, in forming programs and policies for HL maintenance and revitalization, a strengths-based perspective is vital—i.e., acknowledging these diverse experiences and supporting the multiplicity of approaches rather than perceiving “differences as deficits” (Quam & Roberts, 2023). An aspect of having a strength-based focus may involve creative approaches to HL maintenance and revitalization. These may include using media to preserve or teach the HL, meeting in language

groups, or making a community effort to reclaim a way of life as well as a language (Briggs-Cloud, n.d.; Chiblow & Meighan, 2022; Te Wāhanga, 2019).

Limitations & Future Research

Limitations of this review consist in the fact that the data is restricted to the studies included, of which many were unpublished theses and dissertations that have a lower level of evidence than published journal articles. Yet, it is encouraging that there is interest in this topic from recent academics. The studies also had overwhelmingly small sample sizes, mainly focused on Spanish, Chinese, and Korean, which reflects the landscape of the U.S. as these are the more prevalent among minoritized languages (Nagano, 2015). Nevertheless, more diverse language experiences should be considered in future studies. Finally, the studies often included participants with a high socioeconomic status and were predominantly mothers, so the findings are restricted to this more homogenous group and may not be generalized to all HL experiences in a U.S. context.

With these limitations in mind, more research should focus on languages experiences of minoritized groups, such as indigenous peoples' language experiences, since they are an underrepresented group in heritage language research. Other diverse language experiences should be further explored as well, such as those of the Deaf community and other forms of alternate or augmented communication methods as families navigate a multilingual culture (see van Dalen, 2019).

As this review revealed, there is also a need to examine the link between heritage language maintenance and advice given to parents from family and friends. Though much of the literature describes the effects of relationships on HL maintenance and beliefs, explicit advice from other family members or friends was scarcely reported within the coded articles, though it

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is evident that parents do seek advice from others who are close to them and have these conversations (Inan, 2021).

Conclusion

Overall, this scoping review indicates that the cascading factors of language status, parental beliefs, and advice from the community impact the maintenance of heritage languages throughout generations. Database searches were completed with the inclusion of 34 articles in this review. By extracting the data in a chart as well as coding and performing qualitative content analysis on a subset of articles, this review outlined current HL research in the U.S. and identified factors that contributed to HL maintenance, highlighting aspects in need of further investigation. The findings indicated that parents often desired to pass their HL to their children, especially to maintain family coherence. However, not all of them felt enabled to do so as they had limited resources and support. In consideration of these and other findings, this review highlights the importance of maintaining HLs and counteracting the pervasiveness of language loss in order to preserve HLs. Since HL maintenance is a multifaceted issue, the community—educators, therapists, researchers, parents, and more—must collaborate to provide needed support in developing creative approaches and encouraging each other to maintain languages, and thus preserve a key aspect of culture. Ultimately, approaching HL maintenance comprehensively and compassionately—through a community and strength-based perspective—may enhance the music of multiculturalism throughout the U.S., encouraging cultural and linguistic diversity.

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Appendix A

Database Searches

ProQuest

- A. Create/login to your myresearch account. This will be VERY helpful to verify credibility of searches and the following instructions
- B. Select 3 databases: Psycinfo, LLBA, and Proquest Dissertations & Theses
1. You NEED to do this every time if you search during multiple sittings (i.e. if you run out of time and have to come to it later and log into your myresearch account)
 2. If you encounter an issue with the search strings that involve “OR” and have multiple parentheses, it might have done some weird stuff with your database. SO please check that you have selected all three above
 3. If you realize you ran a certain set of strings with the incorrect databases selected, you can go to your saved searches and click the search strings used to re-run searches based on the three databases
- C. Click basic search, then copy and paste these following strings:
1. ((Language maintenance) AND (heritage language*) AND ((caregiver* beliefs) OR (parent* beliefs)))
 2. ((multilingual*) AND (language maintenance) AND (parent* attitudes))
 3. ((language attrition) AND (heritage language*) AND ((caregiver* beliefs) OR (parent* beliefs)))
 4. ((multiple language) AND (heritage language*) AND (language maintenance))
 5. ((language status) and (heritage language*) AND (language maintenance))
 6. ((immigration status) AND (heritage language*) AND (language maintenance))

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7. ((bilingual*) AND (parent* beliefs) AND (language maintenance))
8. ((bilingual*) AND (parent* attitudes) AND (language maintenance))
9. ((language maintenance) AND (early childhood) AND (bilingual*))
10. ((bilingual*) AND (language maintenance) AND (heritage language*))

D. Before you mass select searches, change the items per page to “100”. Then, select however many items came in the search *if it’s more than 1,000 searches, only click 500 per XLS or CVS file export*. If you are running multiple searches in one sitting, please make sure that you have cleared all the selected searches from the last round of saved searches. You can tell if the number of items selected exceeds the number of searches found for each set of search strings.

E. After each search string is run, save the search string according to the number on the list above.

F: Once you have run and saved all the search strings, click the myresearch account to see all the search string saves.

i. Double check that all the appropriate databases were used during the searches via the saved search list.

G: Click all the searches and save the XLS or CSV files by clicking on the three dots (all save options), choose Microsoft Excel and copy the searches over to the sheets

i. *CLICK the deselect items when done after each XLS or CVS file download, it’ll save you a lot of time*

H. Compare search results with partner to ensure reliability

I. Determine n=number of results and n=number of non-duplicated results

Web of Science

A. Click advanced search, paste search string

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- B. Click on results
- C. Sort by relevance
 1. TS=(multiple language AND heritage language* AND language maintenance)
 2. TS=(language status and heritage language* AND language maintenance)
 3. TS=(immigration status AND heritage language* AND language maintenance)
 4. TS=(bilingual* AND parent* beliefs AND language maintenance)
 5. TS=(bilingual* AND parent* attitudes AND language maintenance)

D. Select ALL

E. Create Citation Report

F. Click “save to excel file”

EBSCO

- A. Click basic search, then type the following strings:
 1. multilingual* AND “language maintenance” AND “parent* attitudes” (only 1 relevant result)
 2. “language attrition” AND “heritage language*” AND ((caregiver* beliefs) OR (parent* beliefs)) (1 relevant result)
 3. bilingual* AND “parent* attitudes” AND “language maintenance”
 4. bilingual* AND "language maintenance" and "heritage language"

B. If >50 results, click page options, results per page: 50, click “share” “add to folder” for each set of 50 (1-50, 51-100, etc)

If <50 results, click “share” “add to folder”

C. After all searches are run, click folder

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D. Click “select all”, export, download CV

E. Compare search results with partner to ensure reliability

F. Determine n=number of results and n=number of non-duplicated results

Google Scholar

“AND” is assumed by Google Scholar (e.g. multilingual* AND bilingual* = multilingual* bilingual*)

A. Type the following search strings, then uncheck “include patents” and “include citations”

1. “Language maintenance” “heritage language*” beliefs” caregiver* OR parent*
2. multilingual* “language maintenance” “parent* attitudes”
3. "language attrition" beliefs parent* OR caregiver* "heritage language"
4. "multiple language*" "heritage language*" "language maintenance"
5. "language status" "heritage language*" "language maintenance"
6. "immigration status" "heritage language*" "language maintenance"
7. bilingual* “parent* attitudes” “language maintenance”
8. bilingual* "language maintenance" "heritage language" beliefs* caregiver* OR parent*

B. Click each star underneath search result to “save” (please save and export after each page), then click “my library”, select all, and “export CSV”

C. Compare search results with partner to ensure reliability

D. Determine n=number of results and n=number of non-duplicated results

PLAN:

1. Run the searches
2. Save .CSV files, pull out duplicates, and check for reliability with partner

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3. Check with search partner for reliability across searches
4. Pull out non-relevant articles
5. Read full text of identified and agreed upon relevant articles to screen for eligibility

Figure A1

Code set developed for study

Synthesized Codes	Description	Example
Language Status (RQ 1)	How HL relates to dominant language (English); Minoritized languages within a culture or region (e.g., a region may have a higher prevalence of Spanish speakers which would impact language status and use, may vary region by region)	English was a prestigious language and one with wide-reaching influence; the most ideal is if his teachers can speak and understand Chinese, that they can be bilingual, and at the same time also trained in special education. There are no programs like this.
Status affects maintenance (RQ1)	How a language's status in society affects its maintenance and/or other factors (i.e., parent beliefs, parent language choices); may include how a language's prevalence in the region or community impacts maintenance	lack of services available in Chinese was the reason many of the parents began speaking English with their children
Language Maintenance or Loss (RQ 1,2,3)	How a language is preserved over time and through generations or is lost (to be used if text does not mention status, beliefs, or community impact, such as neutral statements about maintaining/losing HL OR if text covers multiple factors of maintenance that cannot be broken down textually)	This was true for Julie, who said that her children's Chinese fluency decreased over time as the English fluency of everyone in the family increased; more than half reported that their children were becoming less fluent in Spanish or losing the capacity to speak it altogether.
Positive Beliefs (RQ 2)	How a parent views an HL such that it results in positive outcomes realized or perceived (e.g., additive, cultural identity, sociocultural capital)	Mandarin parents are convinced that their children growing up in a Chinese-speaking family are at an advantage in terms of language skills, compared with their English-speaking, monolingual peers.; Yeh-Ling also associated the use of Chinese with displays of intimacy and respect

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Negative Beliefs (RQ 2)	How a parent views an HL such that it results in negative outcomes realized or perceived (e.g., subtractive, confuses child)	none of the mothers perceived raising their children in a bilingual context to be ideal
Parent (Language) Choice (RQ2)	How parents/caregivers make decisions around language use and language interventions within and outside the home; may also apply to the relationship between beliefs and choice (e.g., Family Language Policy, codeswitching/language-mixing)	Each mother had to weigh for herself the array of constraints versus affordances of different language options to arrive at a way of communicating with her child that suited their family.
Language Proficiency and Practices (RQ 2)	How parent and/or child language proficiency impacts communication in their HL and their experiences using HL or English; includes other family language practices and use when choice is not mentioned (e.g., other family members such as grandparents use HL, which indirectly impacts child proficiency)	The first few years I was in the United States, I didn't know what the word was for "itchy." Later I learned it. You know, this is one example. It is mundane, but we don't know these terms when we're talking with our son. These are day-to-day things
Information from Professionals (RQ3)	Information given to parents from professionals when impact is not specified	Some of the professionals recommended speaking English exclusively, whereas others advised speaking English in addition to Chinese
Professional Impact (RQ3)	How advice from professionals (i.e., SLPs, medical professionals, educators) impacts parental perceptions and beliefs toward HLs/bilingualism and/or impacts their language choices	Mothers' misgivings toward bilingualism were linked to explicit or implicit professional practices associated with language. It was explicit when mothers were clearly advised by professionals that they should speak English with their children. It was implicit when mothers decided that they should speak English because professionals primarily communicated in English with their children.
Information from Family/friends (RQ3)	Information given to parents from family/friends when impact is not specified	[interview excerpt from grandmother] They need to communicate with family members other than their parents. When they visit China each year,

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		you know, they at least need some basic knowledge of Chinese.
Family/friend Impact (RQ3)	How advice from family/friends impacts parental perceptions and beliefs toward HLs/bilingualism (family/friends must give advice or say something, not just impact choices based on relationship)	Rosa was encouraged by other mothers in her social circle to enroll Jose in the bilingual program at his school, so she discussed it with him and applied [hypothetical example]
Further Discussion Needed	A code that needs more discussion, uncertainty where it belongs, concept that seems important but doesn't fit in codes (to be discussed later to reach a consensus)	

Appendix B**Data Extraction Tool**

Study	Reference style reporting: Author et al. (year)
Design	Describe study methodology (e.g., ethnographic, case study, etc.)
Sample and setting	Participants: # of participants*, ethnicity, relevant demographics (age, % male/female, etc.) *use numbers rather than words to denote number of participants Setting: Where (i.e., state, city, etc.)
Home language(s)	Specify dialect(s)
Child's disability, neurodiversity	Clinical diagnosis (n/a for no disability reported)
Objective	(Start with "To...")
Theory or Conceptual Framework (TBD)	Conceptual framework (e.g., Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, FLP) or unspecified
Data collection	(Interview, focus group, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, parallel questionnaires for parents and children, retrospective chart review, mixed methods (+ specify)...))
Outcome measures	e.g., web-based interview, questionnaire, etc.
Relevant key findings	One to two sentence summary of main findings

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Table 1B

Data Extraction Chart

Study	Design	Sample and setting	Home language(s)	Child's disability, neurodiversity	Objective	Theory or Conceptual Framework	Data collection	Outcome measures	Relevant key findings
Blanc (2019)	Qualitative study	Participants: 24 parents (23 mothers, 1 father) whose children are aged 8-14 Setting: Houston, Texas	Spanish	Speech/language disabilities	To examine the advice received by Spanish-English bilingual parents of children with or without a speech/language disability	Unspecified	Online questionnaire and phone interview	Qualitative analysis	Advice from professionals about language use was mixed, with some supporting bilingualism but only in specific contexts such as using English at school and using Spanish at home.
Dosch (2021)	Grounded theory	Participants: 7 families Setting: Fairbanks, Alaska	German, Mandarin, French, Czech, Swiss German, and Danish	n/a	To explore factors that influence bilingualism such as whether the place of residence affects HL maintenance and parents reports of their practices in raising bilingual children	Grounded theory	Socio-demographic questionnaire, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and focus groups	Themes extracted from data coding	Parents and children affect maintenance of the heritage language, while area of residence has no effect.
Ijalba (2016)	Qualitative study	Participants: 22 Hispanic immigrant mothers Setting: New York	Spanish	Autism	To examine the experiences of Hispanic mothers raising children with autism spectrum disorder by understanding their social environments, their cultural beliefs about autism/development, and how their perceptions of bilingualism influenced their language choices	Unspecified	Three-part phenomenological interviews and thematic analysis	Thematic and narrative analysis	Stigmatization and social isolation was reported (due to lack of awareness about autism in their social circles) as well as mothers' reluctance to speak Spanish with their children as they believed that exposure to two languages would increase their child's language difficulties.
Ikar (2018)	Grounded theory	Participants: 10 parents; first-generation Somali parents Setting: Midwestern U.S.	Somali	n/a	To explore the attitudes and beliefs of first-generation Somali parents who sought to maintain	Grounded theory	Semi-structured interviews	Open coding and identification of themes	Somali parents desired for their children to be bilingual and implemented

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Inan (2021)	Mixed method	<p>Participants: 52 Turkish parents and their children (ages 5-11) Setting: Ohio, Connecticut</p>	Turkish	n/a	<p>their children's heritage language</p> <p>To understand parents' language and acculturation attitudes</p>	<p>Vygotsky's sociocultural theory; Berry's acculturation theory; grounded theory</p>	Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative analysis	<p>strategies to support their children's bilingual development. English dominance was identified as a challenge to HL maintenance. Younger children were more proficient in Turkish than older children. Active use of heritage language encouraged HL development and maintenance. Parents and children both played an active role in the learning and maintenance of the HL through their perceptions and practices, with mothers playing an essential part. Korean was perceived by parents as socio-economic capital and important for communication. All parents expressed a strong desire to raise their children bilingually and to pass their native language to their children with familial obligations (e.g., a possible return to Korea to be close with the family) as one of the factors</p>
Jia (2006)	Ethnographic	<p>Participants: 12 students (ages 8-11), 15 parents, 2 instructors Setting: San Ramon (Southwestern U.S.)</p>	Mandarin	n/a	<p>To investigate HL learning of Chinese-American students and how parent and community factors contribute to language maintenance in schooling home contexts.</p>	Language socialization	Participant observation in school and community, interviews of parents, teachers, children, dinner table talk	S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model (Hymes, 1974)	<p>strategies to support their children's bilingual development. English dominance was identified as a challenge to HL maintenance. Younger children were more proficient in Turkish than older children. Active use of heritage language encouraged HL development and maintenance. Parents and children both played an active role in the learning and maintenance of the HL through their perceptions and practices, with mothers playing an essential part. Korean was perceived by parents as socio-economic capital and important for communication. All parents expressed a strong desire to raise their children bilingually and to pass their native language to their children with familial obligations (e.g., a possible return to Korea to be close with the family) as one of the factors</p>
Kang (2013)	Grounded theory	<p>Participants: 7 ethnic Korean Families Setting: Midwestern America</p>	Korean	n/a	<p>To explore Korean immigrant parents' language ideologies and practices in their children's language development</p>	Grounded theory	Questionnaire, interview, and observations of a mealtime, reading time, and play time	Nested coding	<p>strategies to support their children's bilingual development. English dominance was identified as a challenge to HL maintenance. Younger children were more proficient in Turkish than older children. Active use of heritage language encouraged HL development and maintenance. Parents and children both played an active role in the learning and maintenance of the HL through their perceptions and practices, with mothers playing an essential part. Korean was perceived by parents as socio-economic capital and important for communication. All parents expressed a strong desire to raise their children bilingually and to pass their native language to their children with familial obligations (e.g., a possible return to Korea to be close with the family) as one of the factors</p>

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Kaveh & Sandoval (2020)	Qualitative multiple case study	Participants: 8 immigrant families Setting: Massachusetts	Cape Verdean Creole, Mandarin, Portuguese, and Spanish	n/a	To examine the link between parents' language policies and educational policies	Family language policy; Language ideology	Demographic survey of parents, semi-structured parent interviews, and semi-structured child interviews	Thematic analysis	influencing the families' language policies. Parents beliefs toward their HL were positive but their practices showed a preference for English impacted by the educational system. Parents played an integral role in HL learning, serving as teachers and providing resources to support HL learning in their children. Parents desired for their children to be bilingual, but found challenges to bilingualism in the home, school, and community.
Lee & Gupta (2020)	Qualitative study	Participants: 40 parents (5 parents interviewed who have children aged 7-18) Setting: Virginia	Korean	n/a	To examine Korean immigrant parents' beliefs and practices in maintaining the Korean language	Unspecified	Open-ended questionnaires, semi-structured interviews	Thematic analysis	A dynamic relationship between beliefs and practices was observed and parents contributed to their children's HL maintenance through a wide variety of ways including home practices, parenting styles, and their own experiences. Parents strongly supported the maintenance of Portuguese though there were discrepancies
Li & Renn (2018)	Qualitative study	Participants: 10 parents / 10 Latino families Setting: rural Midwest	Spanish	n/a	To examine parents' home language and literacy practices with their English-language learning children	Unspecified	Interviews	Qualitative data analysis	
Lin (2014)	Multiple case study	Participants: 5 families Setting: Midwest community	Mandarin Chinese	n/a	To explore parents' home literacy practices in supporting bilingualism and the HL	Vygotsky's sociocultural theory	Interviews, home visits and informal observations, reflective field notes, collection of children's relevant literacy documents and artifacts along with weekly schedule checklist or parent audio or video recordings	Thematic analysis	
Martins (2006)	Mixed method	Participants: 69 parents school-age Portuguese-speaking children Setting: South Florida	Portuguese	n/a	To examine parents' attitudes and expectations of their children's bilingual development in English and Portuguese	Unspecified	Online questionnaire	Qualitative and quantitative measures	

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Mitchiner (2012)	Mixed method	Participants: 17 families Setting: U.S.	American Sign Language	Deaf	To understand Deaf families' attitudes, beliefs and practices of bilingual bimodalism in ASL and English	Unspecified	Survey and interview	Descriptive statistics on the demographic data and the percentages of varying opinions on belief statements about bilingualism and open coding with identification of themes	between their perceptions and practices, with parents having strategies to support speaking skills but not literacy in the HL which could be attributed to a lack of access to Portuguese media. Parents held positive beliefs toward bilingual bimodalism but perceived English as the language necessary for success and ASL as a cultural language. Nevertheless, they supported both languages in their children's language learning. Parents held positive attitudes toward Persian and used many strategies for maintenance such as keeping transnational ties, attending weekly cultural and religious events, providing Persian instruction, and controlling their children's language use at home. HL maintenance was positively viewed as social and linguistic capital and as a
Mocini Meybodi (2014)	Exploratory research case study design	Participants: 20 children (12 females and 8 males), 17 Iran-born parents (14 females and 3 males), and 11 Iranian Persian language teachers (all females) Setting: New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey	Persian	n/a	To identify Iranian parents' and children's attitudes and behaviors in maintaining Persian	Language acculturation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001)	In-depth interviews with parents, teachers, and children; survey for children	Interview data	
Morales (2016)	Qualitative research design	Participants: 10 Spanish-English, Spanish/Zapotecan/English families	Spanish, Zapotecan	n/a	To study how HL maintenance mitigates the impact of migration on Latin American-	Theory of transnationalism	Parent and child interviews	Interview data; extraction of themes	

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		Setting: Western Los Angeles, California			origin students outside of school				means to facilitate and strengthen their children's intergenerational and transnational experiences. Mothers were more concerned about communicating effectively with their children, prioritizing it over bilingualism. English proficiency was also valued by the mothers, especially concerning their children's education. Each of the mothers received advice from professionals in support of choosing one language. Language input, language status, language use, access to literacy, and community support all impacted bilingual ability, with language input being a key factor that both influences and is influenced by the other factors. Parents were involved in their children's development based on cultural and educational backgrounds as well as lived
Niles (2013)	Basic qualitative research design	Participants: 8 families Setting: Southeastern U.S.	Spanish	Autism	To investigate the language, social, and learning considerations and actions of Hispanic-American mothers of children with autism in language use and choice	Selective Acculturation aspect of Segmented Assimilation Theory	Semi-structured interviews, document review of individualized education plans (IEP)	Constant comparative analysis	
Pearson (2007)	Qualitative study	Participants: 25 babies Setting: U.S.	Spanish	n/a	To examine the circumstances in which children are most likely to become bilingual and identifies the 5 most influential factors	Unspecified	Language samples, standardized testing, MacArthur Communicative Development Inventories, surveys, and family visits	Description of factors promoting bilingualism	
Raimbekova (2021)	Multi-case study	Participants: 13 parents Setting: Midwestern U.S.	Arabic, Albanian, Cantonese, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Telugu (South	n/a	To understand international relocatees' perspectives on parental involvement practices for their children in early	Socio-cultural historical perspective (Rogoff 2003; Moll et al., 2005)	Demographic questionnaire, researcher's journal, one-on-one, open-ended, semi-structured and focus group interviews	Constant comparative analysis, coding	

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			Indian), Urdu		learning and development				experiences. All parents in the study desired to pass their home language to their children, wishing for their children to be both bilingual and bicultural. Parents stated that the primary reasons for maintaining their children's Spanish was to preserve family unity and communication as well as for cultural maintenance and identity. Mothers had multiple perspectives and strategies toward bilingualism. Parental involvement was a significant factor in maintenance of the HL and family language policies were impacted by parents' language beliefs, ideologies, proficiency, and expectations, and available resources. Children also were agents that affected FLP as well as contextual factors, indicating the dynamic influences on FLP.
Reese & Goldenberg (2006)	Ethnographic	Participants: 2 communities, 12 families Setting: Los Angeles, California	Spanish	n/a	To examine two different communities and the use of Spanish vs. English in each and the effects on children's heritage language maintenance/loss	Unspecified	Three home interviews per family, neighborhood observation and survey	Coding	
Scott (2011)	Multi-case study	Participants: 24 Mexican-American families Setting: California and Arizona	Spanish	n/a	To investigate how Mexican-American parents' beliefs and contextual factors impact language maintenance	Ecocultural Theory and Language Policy Theory	Field notes, participant observation, interviews	Coding, etc and emic themes	
Seo (2017)	Mixed method	Participants: 14 parents (Chinese or Korean American parents) Setting: Washington and California	Chinese, Korean	n/a	To understand the roles of parents, teachers, and children in HL maintenance, and the impact of the interconnection of context and environment on both a child's experiences and parents' practices/decisions of HL education for their children	Tripartite model of Family Language Policy	Survey, interviews	Grounded theory, Thematic analysis	

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Shifrina-Piljovin (2019)	Ethnography of communication	Participants: 5 families Setting: Brooklyn, New York	Russian	n/a	To explore language practices and perceptions of bilingualism, language shift, and HL maintenance in the Russian-American community	Unspecified	Structured interviews, questionnaire	Coding	Parents supported bilingualism and sought to maintain the language in their family. Differences in language ability occurred between generations, with the latter generation having less proficiency in the Russian language. Mothers supported bilingualism and believed it was important but differed in beliefs about roles in maintenance within the home and community. Parents showed support for bilingualism but were faced with challenges as use of Spanish fluctuated upon children's entry to preschool and was also affected by available supports and language preferences. Time spent in Hungary or in a Hungarian community were significant contributors to HL maintenance. Reasons for maintaining HL were proficiency, knowledge
Surrayn (2021) Spanish at home...	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 14 mothers (children aged 3-5yrs.) Setting: Small Northeastern city	Spanish	n/a	To examine mother's beliefs and practices toward bilingualism and barriers they face in acting on their beliefs	Family language policy	Semi-structured interviews	Etic coding, Thematic analysis	
Surrayn (2021) Dual language...	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 14 parents (Study 2), 35 parent-child dyads (Study 3) Setting: U.S.	Spanish	n/a	To investigate home language practices and parents' attitudes toward bilingualism	Family language policy	Survey data, in-depth qualitative interviews, home-based observations	Etic coding, Thematic analysis	
Szilagy & Szecsi (2020)	Mixed method	Participants: 101 parents (males, n = 26, females n = 73, did not report gender n = 2) Setting: U.S.	Hungarian	n/a	To explore Hungarian-American parents' perceptions of HL maintenance and the factors they perceive as impacting their children's learning and retention of Hungarian	Spolsky (2004, 2009)	Online survey questionnaire	Maximum Likelihood Component Factor Analysis with Direct Oblimin Rotation, linear multiple regression, inductive analysis	

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Taliancich-Klinger and Gonzalez (2019)	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 14 parents (12 mothers, 2 fathers) Setting: Texas	Spanish	n/a	To discover the reasons and variables that influence parents' decisions whether to pass an HL to their children and the challenges they face in doing so	Unspecified	Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q), interview	Constant comparative analysis	acquisition/life skills, cultural connection, parental relationships. According to parents, availability of opportunities, home use of HL, and presence of Hungarian schools and community were all factors that contributed to maintenance. Heritage language to helps to maintain heritage and familial tradition and contributes to professional advantage. Parents and teachers employed similar strategies for promoting maintenance of
Tigert (2017)	Ethnographic/microethnographic	Participants: 18 parents, 15 children, 3 HL teachers Setting: Eastern U.S.	Finnish	n/a	To understand how parents and teachers socialize children into language and literacy practices and how the learners impact this process	Language socialization; new literacy	Language and literacy measures, parent survey, classroom observation, home visits, artifact documentation, participant interviews	Coding and extraction of themes	Finnish language, such as enforcing HL-only policies. However, children often showed a preference for English while other contextual factors also limited the effects of parents' and teachers' efforts. Parents in both communities valued Spanish and perceived it as contributing to success and opportunities. Mother's
Velázquez (2008)	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 10 families Setting: El Paso, Texas and La Villita, Chicago	Spanish	n/a	To examine how a speaker's language choices are affected by their community's linguistic ecology	Unspecified	Questionnaire and semi-directed interview	Five tools specifically developed for study	

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Velázquez (2009)	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 5 two-parent, two-children, middle class households Setting: El Paso, Texas	Spanish	n/a	To investigate parental motivations, attitudes, and language practice-pattern of heritage language maintenance and transmission within two Mexican-American communities	Fishman's Reversing Language Shift theory (1991, 2000)	Home interview and participant observation	General analysis of interview data	perceptions of the importance of Spanish appeared to influence the opportunities provided to children for developing the HL. Parents valued Spanish differently with some perceiving it as an obstacle to English literacy. Parents often underestimated the resources as support needed for their children to attain their desired level of Spanish proficiency. Discrepancies were noted between parents' and children's perspectives on their HL. Findings indicated family life, social life, and children's individual characteristics affected HL maintenance. Chinese immigrant parents' attitudes, ideologies, and practices were influenced by English-only policy with multiple other factors impacting HL maintenance as well. Overall, parents had successful language
Wu (2005)	Qualitative methodology	Participants: 15 Chinese immigrant families (11 families from Taiwan, 3 from Mainland China, 1 from Hong Kong) Setting: Phoenix metro area in Arizona	Chinese	n/a	To understand experiences of Chinese parents and children in the U.S. and their development of bilingualism	Sociolinguistics	Semi-structured interviews, observations	Coding, field notes, research logs	
Xia (2016)	Mixed method	Participants: 55 Chinese immigrant parents, 5 families Setting: Southwest U.S.	Chinese	n/a	To examine Chinese immigrant parents' experiences, FLP, and language/biliteracy practices and attitudes	Spolsky (2004) FLP	Survey, interviews	Descriptive statistics and content analysis	

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Yu (2013)	Phenomenological	<p>Participants: 15 parents from 10 families (10 mothers, 5 fathers) with children (ages 3-8)</p> <p>Setting: California, one family in Massachusetts</p>	Mandarin Chinese	Autism	To explore the factors influencing mother's language choices and the impacts of those choices on their children with autism	Unspecified	In-depth phenomenological interviews	Thematic and narrative analysis	transmission strategies and played a vital role in their children's HL maintenance. Mothers believed that bilingualism exacerbated learning challenges, causing confusion for their children with autism, which was also reinforced by professionals. However, language practices were only sustainable if they fit with the family's communication patterns.
Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe (2009)	Ethnographic	<p>Participants: 20 parents (15 mothers, 5 fathers) and 18 children (ages 6-14) from 18 Chinese immigrant families</p> <p>Setting: 2 Chinese communities in Philadelphia</p>	Mandarin, Fujianese	n/a	To understand the attitudes and behaviors of Chinese parents toward HL maintenance and their second-generation children's attitudes and responses toward their HL	Unspecified	Ethnographic interviews, community observation	Coding, thematic analysis	Parents value the HL and work toward its maintenance but child attitudes toward the HL were resistant or apathetic.
Zhu et al. (2020)	Mixed method	<p>Participants: 10 families (6 parents, 4 grandparents); 30 children (ages 6 to 8)</p> <p>Setting: Mississippi</p>	Chinese	n/a	To examine Chinese parents and grandparents' attitudes and practices in encouraging HL maintenance in second-generation Chinese children and to identify the impact of community Chinese-language schools on their children	Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory	Survey, semi-structured interview, class observation, Youth Chinese Test (YCT)	Frequencies assessed in Nvivo, YCT test scores, quantitative analyses	Discrepancies existed between parent HL beliefs and practices but not grandparent HL beliefs and practices. Also, children's communicative need had more of an effect on HL maintenance than schooling or parent attitudes.