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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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An undergraduate honors thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

in

University Honors

and

Speech and Hearing Sciences

Thesis Advisor

Dr. Carolyn Quam

Preface

This review was created with the intent to support the research experiences of undergraduate students while also contributing to research on heritage-language maintenance. This uniquely developed research culminates a multi-year-long student-led project, in which shared contributions from student researchers have taken place over multiple academic years, as well as over the course of a global pandemic. Previous student researchers worked with Dr. Carolyn Quam to develop the methodology of the following scoping review. The current thesis is a direct reflection of the research conducted by prior students, building and expanding on the data collected over several academic years and updating the version of the study reported in a prior thesis by Loeung (2023). Thus, this thesis takes the form of an article co-written by Leoung (2023), the present thesis student (Trujillo), and the faculty mentor (Quam). The longer-term goal is to submit the manuscript to an academic journal. Several of the student researchers (including the present author) have had direct personal experience with the topic of heritage language maintenance. Many of the students engaging in this topic came from multi-cultural and multi-lingual backgrounds themselves, where differing factors impacted whether or not the student's own families maintained their heritage languages. The student researchers' lived experiences directly informed the work and are reflected in the recommendations for future research.

Abstract

This scoping review of qualitative research examines effects of language status, community advice to parents, and parents' beliefs on heritage-language maintenance within a U.S. context. The review was guided by three research questions: 1. What is the nature of the relationship between a heritage language's (HL) status in society and language maintenance across generations? 2. How does information parents receive from community members (e.g., health professionals, teachers, friends, and family) influence their beliefs about the HL? 3. How do parents' beliefs about the impact of a HL on academic or career success influence HL transmission? Through a rigorous data extraction and screening process, performed in accordance with JBI methodology, twenty-nine articles were identified and included in the review. After qualitative content analysis was completed, four relevant overarching themes (and nine subthemes) were identified. Findings indicated that parents often desired to pass their HL to their children, especially to maintain family coherence. However, not all of them felt empowered to do so due to limited resources and support. Throughout the dataset, a variety of individual- and community-level factors were reported to affect HL maintenance. 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.

Introduction

In the U.S. there are about 381 languages spoken (Xia, 2016), creating a symphony of linguistic diversity. Heritage languages (HLs) are defined in this study as the language someone was exposed to in the home and has some proficiency in (Valdés, 2001). HLs are seldom retained beyond three generations (Grenoble, 2021), as immigrant families assimilate into the dominant culture and into an English-dominant environment, the music of their mother tongue fading into the past. According to the American Community Survey, 78 percent of the U.S. population speaks English exclusively at home. Nationwide, there was a 14% increase in the number of non-English languages spoken in homes from 2010 to 2019 (Dietrich & Hernandez, 2022). Worldwide, it is estimated that one language dies every 40 days (with the death of the last remaining speaker), with predictions that this rate of language loss will continue to increase in the next century (Simons, 2019). Loss of language means loss of culture, since a HL is intimately connected to culture, benefiting multiple aspects of life—social, cognitive, and personal (Mim, 2023).

Both immigrant populations and culturally and linguistically minoritized groups experience *language shift* over generations—defined as one language being replaced by another over time at the community level—due to many factors including assimilation into the mainstream culture (Grenoble, 2021). For immigrant groups in the U.S., over three generations, 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 is fluent in the HL, followed by the second generation whose fluency is diminished (but they are 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 HL (Grenoble, 2021; Jia, 2006; Shifrina-Piljovin, 2019). Given the cultural benefits of maintaining HLs, it is

vital to understand the factors that lead to language shift and identify supports for HL maintenance.

This scoping review seeks to map out current research on HL maintenance in the U.S. In particular, we focus on effects of three factors on HL maintenance: a language's status in society; advice to parents from the community (e.g., health providers, educators, friends, family); and parents' beliefs. We hope this review will inform policy makers, HL researchers, and HL speakers of the many factors that promote or discourage HL maintenance. In the following sections, we provide an operational definition of HLs, then outline the varying experiences of HL speakers as they navigate the English-dominant landscape in the U.S. Finally, we present a brief discussion of the three factors that may impact HL maintenance and loss, which form the foundation for this study.

Operational Definition of Heritage Languages

A myriad of definitions for a HL exist, from a minoritized language within a culture, to an ethnic language that one identifies with. Both immigrant and indigenous languages are often encompassed within the term, and it is broadly applied to any language that is marginalized (Tesser et al., 2003). This study employes Valdés's (2001) definition of an HL and HL speaker. Valdés defines a HL speaker who lives in the U.S. as one who is "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 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). There are several categories of language minoritization, including but not limited to: immigrants coming from countries with different majority

languages—some of whom may have spoken a minority language or dialect even in their country of origin; Deaf families who sign; and indigenous communities who have been impacted by cultural and linguistic genocide from colonizers or occupying groups. 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). By utilizing the broad definition from Valdés (2001), we intend to capture the complex and varied relationships HL speakers have with their HLs in terms of proficiency, cultural relevance, and relation to the dominant culture.

Navigating an English-Dominant Landscape

Throughout U.S. history, assimilation has been promoted or forced by governing institutions and educational systems, as well as through negative perceptions toward immigrants. Pressure to assimilate has been aggravated by the changing political landscape. One prominent and devastating example is Japanese Internment during World War II, when people of Japanese descent—including U.S. citizens—were imprisoned in camps, their loyalty to the U.S. under suspicion after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Mae Yanagi Ferral, a Japanese American growing up during this period, shared a poignant anecdote about the impact of internment on her access to Japanese as her family HL: "It's sad that we had that language 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). Author Jamie Ford drew on personal stories like Ferral's in writing the novel Hotel on the Corner of Bitter and Sweet, a portrait of Chinese- and Japanese American families navigating racial tensions and hostilities while making difficult choices about their cultural practices and language use. Ford's novel describes a Chinese-

speaking family in which the parents have limited English proficiency yet establish a family language policy in which their son is required to speak in English in the home—contributing to cross-generational alienation and miscommunications. Such stories echo throughout U.S. history, with many children being compelled by their parents and community to exclusively speak English, since it was—and remains—the language of prestige in the U.S. 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.

While HL loss over generations is normalized in the U.S. and often viewed as inevitable, many exemplary programs seek to not only revitalize languages, but also cultures (Briggs-Cloud, n.d.; Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project, n.d.). For example, faced with the dire prediction that their language would go extinct by 2040, a group of Maskoke people sought to revitalize their language and raise new fluent speakers by first returning to their ancestral homeland, from which their ancestors had been forcibly relocated. After a decade of perseverance, they obtained 600 acres of their ancestral homeland within what is now federally designated as the state of Alabama, USA in January of 2018. Using a holistic approach, they designed and founded Ekvn-Yefolecv—a sustainable ecovillage; Ekvn-Yefolecv has a double meaning of both 'Returning to the earth' and 'Returning to our homelands' (Ekvn-Yefolecv, 2021). At Ekvn-Yefolecv, Maskoke people not only speak their language exclusively, but are rediscovering their traditional lifeways 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 simultaneously (Briggs-Cloud, n.d.). While the radical approach of the Maskoke people might not be feasible for every HL group, their example of holistic community

involvement and perseverance may motivate other innovative approaches to language maintenance.

Another exemplary indigenous-language program is the Little Cherokee Seeds immersion program within the Cherokee Nation (BARK Reporter, 2022). This program aims to help infants develop the Cherokee language as native speakers, with Cherokee as a first language, rather than a secondary language. To this end, the language-immersion schooling begins in infancy (contrasting with most language-immersion programs, which are implemented in the public schools starting in kindergarten). Parents are participants in the program, and the curriculum incorporates not just Cherokee language but seasonal Cherokee traditions like weaving, pottery, beading, and cooking (YouTube, 2023). These inspiring language-revitalization projects demonstrate that it is possible to shift the pattern of language loss and find creative ways to regain not only lost language skills, but also cultural connections.

Another minorized linguistic community in the U.S. is the Deaf community. Deaf and hard-of-hearing parents face many barriers as they try to pass on American Sign Language (ASL) to their children (Mitchiner, 2012). Some parents choose to raise their deaf children bilingually—with both oral English and ASL (Mitchiner & Sass-Lehrer, 2011). The current study views ASL as an HL because, for instance, for families with Deaf parents or parents who were themselves CODAs (children of a Deaf adult), ASL is a family's HL. For deaf children born to hearing parents, ASL can still be viewed as a HL belonging to a community of which the child is a member.

The conceptualization of ASL as a HL is a complex and nuanced topic. On one hand, members of the Deaf community or those with deaf family members trying to pass on ASL as a HL may have somewhat different experiences than families with HLs associated with particular

national origins. On the other hand, the positionality of ASL as a minoritized language in the English-dominant U.S. is likely to result in many common experiences with other minoritized language communities. Many scholars argue that the exclusive focus in the medical space on oralism and English language development, facilitated by the technological advancements of cochlear implants, has perpetuated linguistic genocide of ASL (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003). Cochlear implants have been at the center of some controversy for the past two decades. Researchers have pointed to the variability in both age of cochlear implantation and in cochlear-implant outcomes as reasons to prioritize early access to ASL. Deaf community members have expressed concern for decades about how Deaf children's roles in their communities may change after receiving tools like cochlear implants or hearing aids (Mitchiner & Sass-Lehrer, 2011). Mitchiner (2015) reported that Deaf parents have "expressed the desire for their children to have more choices and opportunities to have access to both languages in ASL and English" (p. 52). The shift away from strictly oralism and towards speech-sign bilingualism is an important step in promoting linguistic development and HL maintenance for deaf children.

Factors Impacting HL Maintenance

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, e.g., enhancing career opportunities, to more personal factors, such as promoting communication between family members (Nesteruk, 2010). From a socioeconomic perspective, more opportunities may be available to bilinguals within the global economy (Mim, 2023). The ability to speak more than one language also has been argued to improve aspects of executive functioning (Bialystok, 2017; Grundy & Timmer, 2017), with some studies even

showing that bilingualism may mitigate symptoms of Alzheimer's (Kroll & Dussias, 2017). It is important to note, however, that there is continued debate among scholars on the degree to which the literature indicates a bilingual advantage in executive function relative to monolinguals (Lehtonen et al., 2018; Lowe et al., 2021; Nichols et al., 2020). Other benefits of bilingualism are connection with one's culture, family, and the shaping of aspects of identity that are tied to language (Oh & Fuligni, 2010). Leeman (2015) discusses the role of language in forming one's identity, noting the ethnic and cultural connections that are often associated with the HL. A strong motivation to maintain HLs is to preserve familial bonds, especially if family members live outside of the U.S. (Kang, 2013; Wu, 2005).

Though the benefits of HL maintenance are well documented, there are many challenges in maintaining an HL. Promoting maintenance of a language requires understanding the varying factors that impact the retention or loss of the HL in the first place. First, pervasive myths about multilingualism, which persist in the dominant culture, can influence HL speakers' beliefs (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. This idea is especially pervasive in the context of children with developmental disabilities, particularly those affecting speech and language (Blanc, 2019; Hampton et al., 2017; Yu, 2013). Research does not support claims that bilingual input is overly confusing to children with speech and language delays or disabilities. In fact, a recent study demonstrated that bilingual autistic children performed better on false belief and theory of mind tasks than their monolingual autistic peers (Peristeri et al., 2021). Yet some professionals still hold subtractive views of bilingualism, believing that bilingualism confuses children with developmental disabilities, or that multiple languages compete with each other. Professionals may offer advice

to parents to choose one language—typically English, but more rarely the HL—in the home with their child (Blanc, 2019). Parents are likely to view health, medical, or educational providers as experts, even if they have minimal to no training in language development. When such providers give advice to parents based on subtractive views of bilingualism, this advice can have negative impacts on families. Advice based on subtractive views may perpetuate negative stigma and shift parents' own views and/or their family language policies, creating difficulties in parent-child communication (Yu, 2013).

In addition to myths, there are other challenges preventing HL maintenance, such as racism based on language use (linguicism; DeGraff, 2019). 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. Some argue that perception of an HL may be linked to HL maintenance or loss (Lin, 2014; Winsler et al., 2014), and HL speakers' own attitudes may contribute to challenges in maintenance as the pressure to assimilate into the dominant culture pervades many experiences (Shifrina-Piljovin, 2019). Anderson (2023) highlights that "use of a [minoritized] language and [family language policy] efforts tied to multilingualism can be related to the construction of racial identities" (p. 80). The connection between race and language plays a major role in the potential family language policy, or unique set of rules for language use of a family or parent, as a result of racism and stigma that exists surrounding both people of color and minoritized languages. Anderson points out how, similar to how bilingual individuals are often stereotyped by individuals from the majority culture (e.g., non-Spanish speakers), bidialectal individuals are often stereotyped (e.g., when members of majority culture expect a racially or ethnically minoritized individual to speak their ancestral language). Anderson (2023) also discusses how U.S. Latinx individuals are often

socially expected to speak Spanish fluently (or at least understand it) and may be criticized by Spanish-speaking individuals or family members (those from their own culture or heritage background) for not being able to speak the language.

With different complex challenges to HL maintenance, such as racism, misinformation, and myths, interacting with tangible benefits to HL maintenance, like cultural identity, sense of belonging, and family connections, it is vital to understand the interplay of factors that both promote and discourage HL maintenance across generations.

The Current Study

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

Since HL maintenance is a complex process, with influences from individuals as well as society, it is vital to understand the impacts of different variables, collating what has already been studied and examining where there is need for further research. We hope that by examining current research on HL maintenance in the U.S., this review can inform future policies, practices, and research, as well as empower HL speakers as they navigate their own language journeys.

One notable way in which heritage-language communities are centered as stakeholders in this work is by engaging student co-authors whose families emigrated to the U.S. within the last 3 generations. Student co-authors and research assistants have been involved in the project from

its inception to its dissemination. Engaging student co-authors creates exceptional training opportunities and helps diversify the voices that are represented in the research community (Summer et al, 2023), which promotes Research Justice (Jolivétte, 2015).

Research Questions

Three research questions were developed to guide the study of maintenance of HLs within the U.S.:

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 about 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?

Our research questions were developed with the understanding that there is interplay among factors that influence HL maintenance within a culture (He, 2010). That is, the factors are likely to have a cascading effect, with a language's status influencing community-wide beliefs, which shape advice given to parents, which in turn influence parents' beliefs, which—by shaping family language policies and practices—affect the degree to which an HL is transmitted to the next generation. Figure 1 illustrates these interconnected relationships. In addition to affecting each other, these factors may have individual impacts on HL maintenance. For instance, language status may directly affect maintenance, e.g., because the minoritized status of the HL reduces children's exposure to it outside the home, or because educational and health-care

systems are designed in a way that discourages HL use and promotes English. There also may be additional links between factors, such as language status directly affecting parents' beliefs by causing parents to internalize negative views of the HL. This could be contrasted with community advice affecting parent beliefs, in which parents might internalize advice from family members or professionals that multiple languages will confuse children. By identifying and exploring effects of this cascade of factors—language status, community advice, and parents' beliefs—on HL maintenance, the article aims to identify productive avenues for future research on the topic of HL communities and HL maintenance.

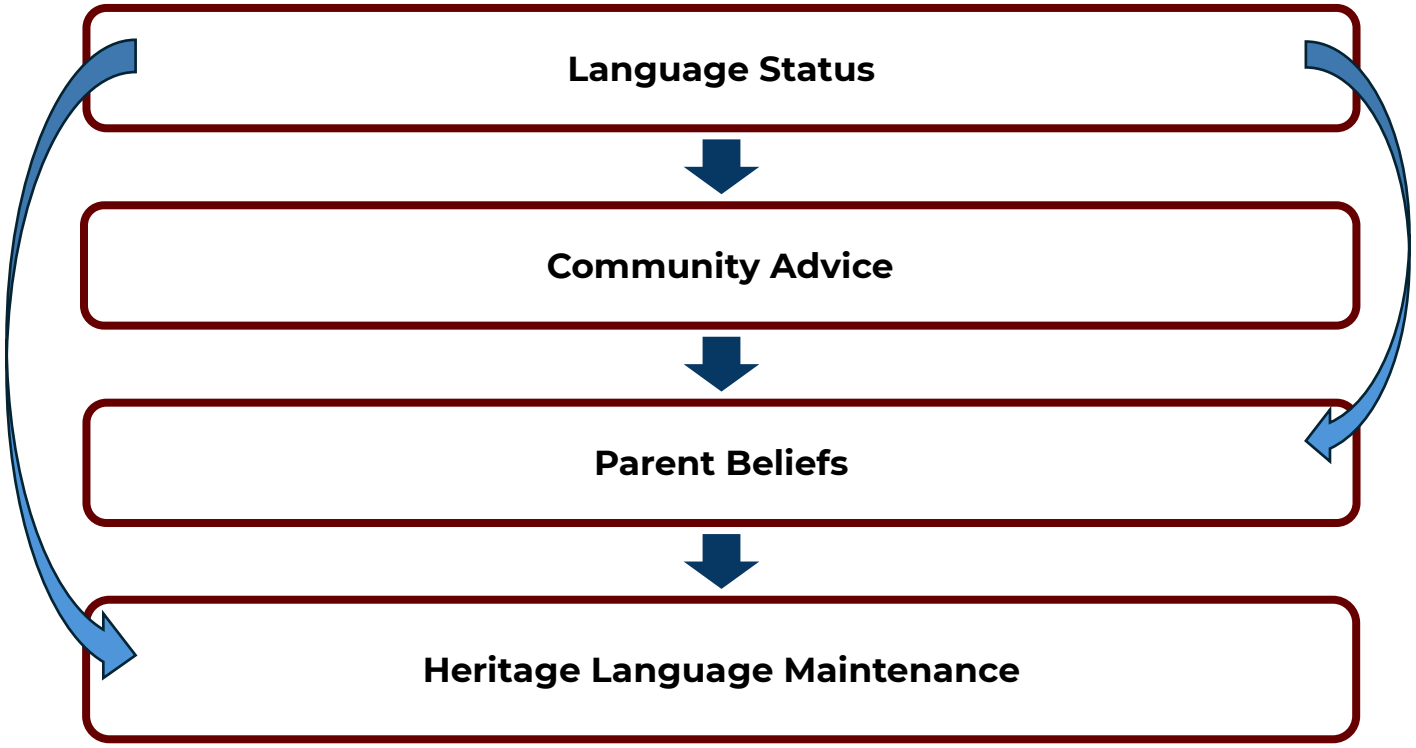

Figure 1. Cascade of factors impacting HL maintenance. Arrows indicate how each factor is interconnected with the following factors, and how the individual factors relate to each other and to HL maintenance.

Methods

The current review aims to identify factors impacting HL maintenance in the U.S. emerging from recent literature. Protocols for the review were established by the research team to maintain a consistent and rigorous approach in accordance with the Johanna Briggs Institute (JBI) methodology (Peters et al., 2020, 2022; Tricco et al., 2018). This team was composed of an undergraduate honors student in Psychology, an undergraduate honors student in Speech & Hearing Sciences, and the faculty advisor. Throughout the process, extensive documentation was kept, ensuring continuity when there were transitions in the personnel. (Additional students and colleagues are listed in the Acknowledgements who informed or aided in the development of the project, e.g., helping with database searches or article screenings, but did not code articles.)

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 and O'Malley (2005). A scoping-review framework was applied rather than a systematic-review framework. Systematic reviews are better suited to "questions addressing the feasibility, appropriateness, meaningfulness or effectiveness of a certain treatment or practice," whereas scoping reviews are more suited to answering broad questions, mapping the extent of the literature and identifying gaps (Munn et al., 2018, p. 3). Thus, scoping-review methodology aligned well with the objectives of the current study of collating the existing literature to identify factors impacting HL maintenance and identify gaps in research evidence.

Study selection process

Three rounds of database searches were conducted between February 28, 2020, and August 28, 2023. The second and third rounds were intended to catch articles published since the initial search. 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 all newer articles were found. The third database search overlapped with the second, and included studies that were published in 2021 through August of 2023.

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 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 languages.

A total of 6,997 results were identified across all database searches, with 4,545 unique values after duplicates were removed. The title and abstract of each article was then screened to determine whether it should be retained in 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 English-language 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, bilingual, or 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 in or after 2005

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 U.S. and Canada were excluded);
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. 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 194 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 29 articles met the inclusion criteria and so 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).

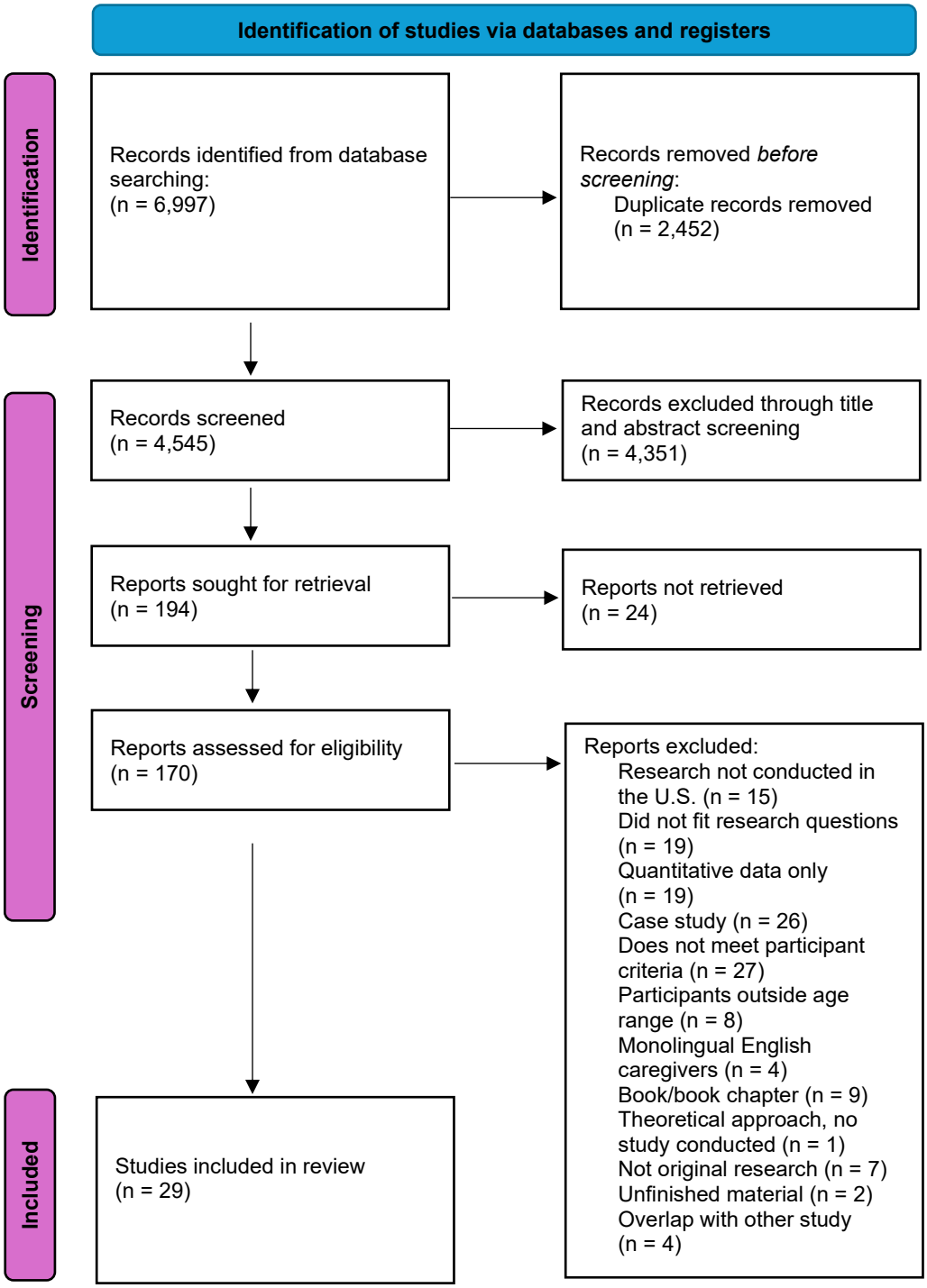

Figure 2. PRISMA-ScR flowchart. *Adapted From:* Page MJ, McKenzie JE, Bossuyt PM, Boutron I, Hoffmann TC, Mulrow CD, et al. The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. BMJ 2021;372:n71. doi: 10.1136/bmj.n71

Data Extraction

Data extraction was performed under the JBI guidance and advised by Pollock et al.'s (2022) best practices for analysis and data extraction in the bounds 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. The chart is organized to fit the JBI methodology, with each individual category outlined following their definitions (see Appendix B for category descriptions.) For each of the 29 articles, the following were extracted and included in the chart: (a) the author and date of publication, (b) study design, (c) participants and setting, (d) heritage language(s), (e) sensory difference, or neurodivergence (if applicable), (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 D).

Qualitative Coding Procedures

Qualitative coding was performed to elucidate patterns and gaps within the literature on HL maintenance. Qualitative coding is well suited to illuminate personal discourses often connected with HL maintenance. 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 applied in an iterative fashion. Deductive coding is the process of defining a set of codes based on the research questions, before analyzing qualitative data. Inductive coding is the process of allowing a code set to emerge from the analysis itself. Inductive coding can also be referred to as 'bottom-up' coding, as this method draws the preliminary code set from the patterns in the data, assigning codes accordingly and drawing theoretical insights from them; following this process, the codes are further refined. The two student researchers began the coding procedures with a bottom-up approach as the initial pilot coding was performed to develop a code set. Then, this set of codes was applied to the dataset in a deductive process. The initial bottom-up pilot coding was completed using one article from the identified 29 papers (Yu, 2013). The two student authors completed inductive coding individually and compared and synthesized results. An initial code set was developed from these codes which was reviewed by a third author. The codes were then compared to the research questions to provide further clarity and ensure alignment with the research objectives. We also applied a temporary code for ambiguous cases we wished to discuss as a group. These processes produced a total of 12 codes which were retained. These are depicted in Appendix C.

Prior to coding the dataset, reliability coding was performed on three articles to assess the efficacy of the procedure, reduce overlap between the codes, and ensure that codes could be unambiguously applied to the data. The process for reliability coding was informed by Campbell et al. (2013)'s method for unitizing codes. 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. At the time reliability coding was conducted, there were four team members on the research project, but

only three researchers continued on to code the full dataset. The results were compared between coders to determine the percentage of interrater reliability for each article, and any discrepancies were resolved before moving to the next round of reliability coding. We met our pre-established criterion of 70% interrater reliability amongst the coding team in the third article, which was calculated across the three coders in pairs (e.g. coder 1 + coder 2, coder 2 + coder 3, and coder 1 + coder 3). Once the criterion was met, we moved into the qualitative-coding phase, 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, mostly centered around clarifying definitions of 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 as a group to determine which code they best matched. For studies which included quantitative measures that were retained, the researchers only coded the qualitative portions of these papers. In an article where both parents and children were interviewed, only the parent interviews were coded, because the research questions focused on parents' experiences and beliefs.

This review will examine the results of the retrieved material, which is split between grey literature (n = 12) and journal articles (n = 17). In total, 28 papers and one conference paper were coded qualitatively and will be discussed.

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). For this study, qualitative content analysis was crucial to examine concepts and themes within the dataset and to identify gaps more clearly in the research. The analyses of this study follow a similar framework to that of Papoudi et al. (2021), where a coding scheme was used to identify themes in the data that related to the research questions. The following steps were used in the analysis process: preparation, organization, and presentation (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Pollock et al., 2022).

To begin the preparation stage, the researchers familiarized themselves with the dataset, to understand the concepts discussed. Following this, a coding framework was created, and procedures were established as described in the previous sections during the organization stage. Then, the team of three researchers coded the articles in Taguette (Rampin et al., 2021) and two researchers exported the codes as Excel files (Microsoft, 2018) to organize the data by themes and subthemes during the presentation stage. Results organized by theme and subtheme will be discussed in detail in the following sections along with individual findings from each article, as highlighted in the data-extraction chart.

Results

The 29 articles encompassed many heritage languages, including Albanian, American Sign Language, Arabic, Cantonese, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, Fujianese, German, Haitian Creole, Hungarian, Korean, Mandarin, Persian, Portuguese, Somali, Spanish, Swiss German, Telugu (South Indian), Turkish, Urdu, and Zapotec. Over half of the articles included Spanish, Chinese, or Korean in their studies, sometimes alongside other languages (for more information on languages used, see Appendix D). The studies employed a range of methodologies, such as ethnographies and phenomenological research, multiple-case studies, and mixed-method studies. Data collection took place in a variety of environments, and employed interviews (e.g., phenomenological, ethnographic, semi-structured), surveys, questionnaires, community/neighborhood observation, and even family dinner talk. More details on the individual studies can be found in the Data Extraction Chart (see Appendix D).

Table 2 details how the dataset was split between published journal articles (n = 17), dissertations/theses (n = 11), and conference papers (1).

Table 2. *Qualitative Characteristics of Dataset*

	Articles	Dissertations	Conference Paper	All Papers
Range of Years Published	2006 - 2022	2005 - 2021	2005	2005 - 2022
Total Papers	17	11	1	29

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). The current study focused on

analyzing the data from the parent and caregiver perspectives. One aspect to note is that the majority of parent participants were mothers (see Appendix D). The sample sizes in the papers ranged from as little as seven families to a participant pool of 101 Hungarian American parents (Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Appendix D illustrates the wide range of studies included using the data extraction chart.

The findings, further discussed in the following sections, reveal cascading effects of language status, advice from community members, and parental beliefs on HL maintenance. Four overarching themes were identified in the process of qualitative coding and qualitative content analysis of the papers included in the dataset. Table 3 outlines the coding data that was identified across the 29 coded articles. In the table, highlights are defined as individual sections of an article that were determined to address one of our research questions, as identified in Taguette (Rampin et al., 2021) and later extracted. The highlights are organized by the individual qualitative codes and the research question (RQ) to which each code pertained (e.g., RQ 1.1 responds to one specific component of RQ 1, and RQ 1.2 responds to another component in the same question). More information about the code set that was used can be found in Appendix C.

Table 3. *Number of Highlights for Each Qualitative Code*

Qualitative Code	Number of Highlights
RQ 1.1 Language Status	23
RQ 1.2 Status Affects Maintenance	109
RQ 2.1 Information from Professionals	14
RQ 2.2 Professional impact	29
RQ 2.3 Information from Family/friends	5
RQ 2.4 Family/friend impact	9
RQ 3.1 Parent beliefs: positive	197
RQ 3.2 Parent beliefs: negative	29
RQ 3.3 Parent (language) choice	179
RQ 3.4 Language Proficiency and Practices	134
RQ 1,2,3 Language maintenance or loss	27
Total	755

The qualitative codes were helpful in defining four themes that were used to organize and analyze the data after coding was complete. The first three themes directly speak to our pre-determined research questions: (1) status of a language in society affects maintenance, (2) community advice impacts parents' beliefs and practices, and (3) parents' beliefs about the impact of the HL affect HL practices. The fourth theme arose from the data: (4) practical challenges to maintenance of the HL across generations. Subthemes, which were observed during the qualitative coding process, captured different aspects within each theme. Table 4 outlines the themes and subthemes that reflect the qualitative codes used (see Appendix C).

Table 4. *Themes and Sub-themes Used to Organize and Analyze Data*

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

Throughout the results section, all citations are to the 29 articles included in the review, unless specifically noted. In the text, patterns of results are not always tied directly to specific HLs, but citations can be cross-referenced with the Data Extraction Chart (see Appendix D) for more specific information.

Status of a Language in Society Affects Maintenance

English Dominance

The prevalence of English, both across the U.S. and within local communities, affected parents' ability to maintain their HL with their children. Throughout the dataset, English is recognized by parents not only as the dominant language in the U.S., but the language most associated with economic opportunity and prestige (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Yu, 2013, Li & Renn, 2018). The idea of English as a prerequisite to success recurred throughout the papers.

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 (Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013). Mitchiner (2015) describes this perception among parents from the Deaf community, who explained that they wanted 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 language experiences and impinges on HL maintenance. For example, Li and Renn (2018) report, "one parent… asserted that the biggest challenge in raising bilingual children is the pressure of the greater community. Because everything happens in English (school, work, visits to the store, etc.), it can be difficult to use Spanish" (p. 12).

Differences in language status emerge not only between HLs and English, but between a HL and the majority language of an individual's country of origin. Zang and 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; they acknowledged the higher status 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 fewer opportunities and motivation to use their HL (Blanc, 2022; Ijalba, 2016; Ikar, 2018; Jocelyn, 2022; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Li & Renn, 2018; Moeini Meybodi, 2014; Scott, 2011; Surrain, 2021; 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 began to receive English instruction and converse in English with their monolingual peers (Ijalba, 2016). English was even given precedence among children's peers in the context of school. As parents reported in Li and Renn (2018), once school started, "[parents] began to observe their children using less Spanish, confusing the two languages, becoming more reluctant to use Spanish, and becoming more focused on developing their English skills" (p. 12). Another study Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) discussed how as children matured, their 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 has a detrimental effect on HL maintenance.

Access to HL resources and support

In contrast to the negative effect that English dominance has on HL maintenance, community support of HLs emerged as a vital factor in parents' ability to pass their language to their children (Inan, 2021; Jocelyn, 2022; Morales, 2016; 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 (Inan, 2021; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Velazquez, 2008; Zhu et al., 2020). In contrast, in communities where there was minimal access to community support, parents felt less able to maintain the HL in the face of the dominant culture (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). Reese and Goldenberg (2006) contrast two Spanish-speaking communities: parents in a community with Spanish as the minority 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). A recent study of several families in the Rio Grande Valley (RGV) area of south Texas reported that all their participants from the RGV (6 families) passed on their HL to their children (Taliancich-Klinger and Gonzalez, 2019). This high rate of HL maintenance illustrates "the importance of having strong community support in passing down and maintaining an HL" (p. 11).

The status of a minoritized language is also indicated by the accessibility a HL speaker has to different kinds of HL spaces within 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 in it only within the home (Reese & Goldenberg, 2006). This choice of HL use exclusively within the home context is not limited to Spanish, as other HLs are reported to be used primarily in family settings, such as Korean (Kang, 2013) and Fujianese (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). One mother described her home as a "Korean island in a U.S. territory" (Kang, 2013, p. 334), emphasizing the minoritized status of her language and the challenges she faced in its maintenance. Parents who opt to reserve HL use for specific contexts may be unintentionally reiterating the message that the HL is less valued in society, contributing to language loss as children may feel embarrassed to speak their HL in public settings (Scott, 2011; 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, speech-language pathologists, and medical professionals—gave parents advice concerning language practices. This advice varied between support for maintaining the HL and promoting bilingualism (Blanc, 2022; Mitchiner, 2012; Surrain, 2021; Scott, 2011) to promoting English monolingualism (Mitchiner, 2012; Surrain, 2021; Ijalba, 2016; Jocelyn, 2022; Yu, 2013). Advice promoting bilingualism from professionals was reported in Blanc (2022), in which multiple parents shared positive experiences they had with school teachers, "we had a meeting with the ESL teachers who told us that we had to continue speaking to him in Spanish [at home] and they were going to be in charge of teaching him English," (p. 6) and "[the teacher] always encouraged me to speak Spanish at home and he would have English outside of the home" (p. 6). Teachers can play a vital role in promoting HL by providing support for HL speakers and promoting communication between the school and home environment.

Professional advice was often reported as being given to parents of children with disabilities (Blanc, 2022; Ijalba, 2016; Jocelyn, 2022; Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013). For example, Yu (2013) described the experiences of parents of autistic children[1] as they navigated choices about their child's language development. In this study the parents were willing to sacrifice their HL if they were told it would hinder their children's development. Similarly, Ijalba (2016) interviewed multiple Spanish-speaking mothers who had received advice from professionals about language practices to use with their children on the autism spectrum. Many parents were

[1] This review has chosen to use identity-first language (e.g., autistic children) and to avoid using person-first terms for autism (e.g., "children with autism"; Botha et al., 2021), in consideration of the diversity of preferences within the Disability community. (Note: Botha et al., 2021, was not included in the 29 articles for this review.)

told to choose only one language which was to be spoken at all times. Mothers felt pressure to choose English as the language to emphasize, even though many of the mothers did not feel they had the proficiency in English to do so. One family was advised to exclusively speak English within the home. However, the father, who was the primary caregiver, only spoke Spanish, so he was unable to communicate with his children in English. Since the mother worked, as a result of following the advice, the children had little exposure to language at all (Ijalba, 2016).

Across the dataset, some parents commented that advice from professionals was impractical or did not reflect their heritage culture. One parent expressed that, "her teacher told us it was best to communicate with her at home just in English because they were teaching in English at school. If we spoke English too, she could catch up better. We did not know if this was a good strategy or not, but we figured we could give it a try because there was no choice, you know?" (Yu, 2013). Parents felt pressure to make changes in their language practices when advice was received from a trusted professional, even if these changes would lead to negative consequences. Jocelyn (2022) highlights how one mother's pediatrician told her to choose only one language to use in the home, "to avoid confusion" (p. 75). As this mother spoke both English and Creole in the home, she stated that this recommendation was not feasible for her. In this instance, the mother showed resilience by rejecting the stigmatizing advice of the pediatrician and continuing to do what was best for her family, which was to use both languages in her home.

Throughout the dataset, a variety of professionals, especially teachers, were reported to give contradictory language advice to parents, leading to confusion (Blanc, 2022; Jocelyn, 2022; Yu, 2013). And parents of bilingual children shared how they had been given differing advice from one professional to another, which sometimes left parents feeling uncertain about what choices to make.

Advice from family and friends

Advice from friends or family members can impact the HL practices a parent implements with their children. For many, language and cultural connections create affirming communities where families could speak their HL together. For instance, Velazquez (2008) reported that, "for La Villita speakers it was very important both that their children and themselves be able to interact in Spanish with family and friends" (p. 116). Advice from trusted family or community members may lead parents to make or change decisions regarding their language practices in their homes. In a study by Ijalba (2016) on the experiences of Hispanic mothers of autistic children, some of the mothers received advice from family members about language practices. One mother was told by her husband and mother-in-law to seek language support later than the mother wanted to, due to the family members' beliefs regarding when the child would develop certain language abilities (Ijalba, 2016). Similar experiences and advice were reported throughout the dataset, with family members providing parents with varied perspectives on HL and language milestones.

Contradictory advice from family members, friends, and community members can be stressful or overwhelming for parents who are seeking guidance on issues related to family language policy. Mitchiner (2015) reported that sometimes disagreements arose among family members from the hearing and Deaf communities surrounding cochlear implantation. For example, a parent in the Deaf community received advice from her hearing mother advocating for cochlear implantation. However, the parent was frustrated by the recommendations she received from others in her Deaf community who had advised against the cochlear implant. Feelings of frustration and pressures as a result of too much, too little, or poor advice may result in heightened parental stress and in negative impacts on HL maintenance.

Parents' Beliefs About the HL Affect HL Practices

Positive beliefs toward HL

Parents play a vital role in their children's language acquisition, so parents' attitudes and beliefs about an HL may determine how and if it is transmitted to the next generation (Wu, 2005). Most parents in the studies reviewed 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 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 (Jia, 2006), career-based (Velazquez, 2008), culturally oriented (Ikar, 2018; Kang, 2013; Jia, 2006; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020), or all of these factors combined (Inan, 2021; Jocelyn, 2022; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Martins, 2006; Moeini Meybodi, 2014; Morales, 2016; Raimbekova, 2021; Seo, 2017; Scott, 2011; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

One belief parents held was that bilingualism contributes to academic opportunity. One study described a parent's advice to her children that 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 develop academic skills, 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 considered it important for the HL to be maintained in order to connect back to cultural roots and the home country where many family members were often still living (Dosch, 2021; Ikar, 2018; Kang,

2013; Jia, 2006; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Moeini Meybodi, 2014; Seo, 2017). For example, 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 (Inan, 2021; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019). Parents 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 (Moeini Meybodi, 2014; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020).

Identity was also tied to the HL—both personal and cultural. Parents in the Deaf community perceived ASL to be a part of them, saying that the language tied their community together and promoted self-esteem as well as identity development (Mitchiner, 2015). Other parents emphasized the importance of their HL in connecting to their roots in their family's country of origin. 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) described how their HL instilled a sense of pride and was a vital part of their ethnic and personal identity that they wished to impart to their children. Some parents wanted their children to speak the HL so they could gain or maintain citizenship in the family's country of origin in the future (Dosch, 2021).

Bilingualism and maintenance of the HL was recognized by the majority of parents as a doorway to a range of career opportunities (Scott, 2011). These perceived opportunities centered around job growth and advancement (Mitchiner, 2015; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019), navigation in a multicultural world (Mitchiner, 2015), and socioeconomic capital (Kang, 2013; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019; Zhu et al., 2020). Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe's (2009) paper on Chinese HL maintenance as well as Mitchiner's (2015) study of children of Deaf

parents mention parents' ideas that supporting both the HL and English may allow their children to become interpreters. 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 toward HL

Not all perspectives focused on the positive aspects of HL maintenance, as myths about 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 might lead to delays in language development or lead to confusion (Ijalba, 2016). Ijalba (2016) identified these concerns in relation to teaching the HL to autistic children. The mothers in the study believed that learning two languages might 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 a child with a disability, or who was neurodivergent, often thought it best to use just one language—whether that be English or the HL (Ijalba, 2016; Jocelyn, 2022; Scott, 2011; Yu, 2013). Yu (2013) reported a parent was teaching her son to be trilingual, but upon a diagnosis of autism spectrum disorder she decided to only speak English to him since he was late in talking. Another parent thought that bilingualism had exacerbated her daughter's speech difficulties (Surrain, 2021). Disabled children are at disproportionately higher risk of confronting barriers to HL maintenance, partly due to the language advice that is often given in the context of a child's diagnosis (Yu, 2018).[2] Though parent beliefs about disability and language development have real consequences on their language choices, it is important to note

[2] Note: Yu (2018) was not included in the 29 articles for this review.

the cascade of factors (see Figure 1) that likely shape these beliefs, such as advice from health professionals and community members.

Effects of Parent Beliefs on Language Choice

Parents' perceptions about their HL influenced their choices either to retain the HL or to switch to English. 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 linked the beliefs that parents and caregivers held about their HL to their family language policy. 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 (Lee & Gupta, 2020; Surrain, 2021; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019, Tigert, 2017). One mother explained her policy: Spanish was to be used at home and English was for school—relying on context (e.g., the home vs. school environment) to dictate and support language use (Surrain, 2021). On the other hand, some parents were concerned about pushing their children too much, worried that learning and speaking their HL could turn into just another chore. In Dosch (2021), one mother spoke about her naturalistic teaching style for her daughter stating, "I don't want to push too much, because I want her to enjoy [learning]" (p. 163).

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 overseeing their children's HL proficiency. Other strategies parents employed were reading to their children or exposing them to other media in their HL (Chen, 2021; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019), intentionally speaking to their children in

the HL (Chen, 2021; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Mitchiner, 2015; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020), pretending not to understand if their child spoke in English (Kang, 2013; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Tigert, 2017), 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).

Maintenance of the Heritage Language Across Generations

Practicalities of Maintenance

Parents described other factors that impacted their ability to maintain their HL, such as the impracticalities of the parent's own limited English language proficiency. Throughout the studies there were many instances of parent-child 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; Scott, 2011; Surrain, 2021; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020; Tigert, 2017). Within many of the families, children had stronger English proficiency than their parents (Ikar, 2018; Kang, 2013; Reese & Goldenberg, 2006; Zhu et al., 2020), and in some cases, parents reported that children preferred English (Inan, 2021; Moeini Meybodi, 2014; 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 (Ikar, 2018; Inan, 2021; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Moeini Meybodi, 2014; Szilagyi & Szecsi, 2020). These differences in language proficiency created barriers in communication as well as impacting relationship quality 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 time to support teaching the HL, to parents' self-consciousness about their own language 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; Tigert, 2017). Some parents felt they did not have the time or energy to support their children's HL after a long day at work (Dosch, 2021; 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 English development for children with barriers of access to English (e.g., Deaf children or children with communication disorders) and/or with neurodiverse profiles affecting language, such as autism, Down syndrome, or cerebral palsy (Mitchiner, 2015; Yu, 2013). English proficiency was also brought up during discussions about parents helping their children with their schoolwork (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Parents reported that children's attitudes about their HL also impacted maintenance, with many showing apathy toward the HL (Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019; Tigert, 2017; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). For children who attended HL schools or programs in addition to their other schooling, this sometimes led to frustration as they had less free time than their peers and often felt resentment toward having to have extra schoolwork (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Another aspect was the exposure to English through siblings, as many would converse in

English with each other, leading to younger siblings gaining English proficiency at an earlier age (Wu, 2005).

Discussion

The findings collated in this review suggest that a language's status in society, the advice community members give to parents about their HL, and parent beliefs about HL maintenance all influence whether and to what degree an HL is passed on to the next generation. Though over 20 languages were represented in the review, many similarities emerged across language groups (see Appendix D). Across the different language groups and studies represented, parents shared a desire to maintain a HL to gain access to opportunities, as well as an appreciation for the key role HL plays in maintaining family and parent-child relationships, and a need for resources and support for transmitting HL across generations. While, as would be expected, the vast majority were immigrant families (97% of articles), the review also captured the experiences of Deaf parents who use ASL as the home language. The high rate of immigrant populations emphasized within research on HL maintenance also illustrates the underrepresentation of indigenous languages within the HL literature. The underrepresentation of indigenous languages can be connected to the varying categories of language minoritization that continues to exist in the U.S. Minoritization for groups such as immigrants who may be coming from countries with majority languages other than English, immigrants who spoke a minority language even in their country of origin, and Deaf families who sign.

Based on this review of the literature, we propose a cascading model of contributors to HL maintenance, in which language status influences community advice to parents, community advice influences parents' beliefs, parents' beliefs shape family language policies, and family language policies in turn affect HL maintenance. This model captures the fact that HL

maintenance is not only cultivated or hindered by individual parents or families, but also by outside influences, such as the impacts of the dominant culture (language status) and of the parents' community (e.g., professionals, friends, and family). The cascade of effects is reflected throughout the dataset. For instance, a mother demonstrated how language status played a role in shaping the advice she received from a teacher: "her teacher told us it was best to communicate with her at home just in English because they were teaching in English at school. If we spoke English too, she could catch up better" (Yu, 2013). Such examples underscore the fact that language maintenance must be addressed with a multi-dimensional approach, since family language policies are shaped by the broader culture as well as by individuals exerting influence on families (Inan, 2021). The model also reflects the complex interrelationships between these factors, as, for example, language status, in addition to shaping advice to parents, can directly affect maintenance (as, e.g., when children hear English much more often outside the home than they hear the HL).

Future research should examine the effects of systems on HL maintenance as much as the effects of individual parents' attitudes toward HLs. Parents and individuals feel more empowered to support HL maintenance when they are provided with resources and support from the community. Nesturuk (2010) found that parents who had access to resources and support were more successful in raising their children to be bilingual.

In applied fields such as education and communication sciences and disorders (influenced also by work in developmental psychology), the idea of a "language gap" based on socioeconomic status or bilingualism can lead to harmful or subtractive views of language experiences in diverse communities (Avineri et al., 2015; Baugh, 2017). In forming programs and policies for HL maintenance and revitalization, a strengths-based perspective is vital—i.e.,

acknowledging the diverse experiences of HL speakers and supporting the multiplicity of language practices rather than perceiving "differences as deficits" (Quam & Roberts, 2023). Strengths-based approaches capture the unique experiences of HL speakers and have the potential to create new and distinct avenues for language revitalization and HL maintenance. 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

As with any effort, this scoping review has some limitations. The data are restricted to the studies included, many of which are unpublished theses and dissertations that may have a lower level of evidence than published journal articles. The current sample size of 29 articles, compared to other similar scoping reviews, is a relatively small dataset (Visonà & Plonksy, 2020). The included studies had relatively small sample sizes, with the average individual participant group size (not included the studies which counted family units as participants groups or studied broader community groups) being approximately 23 parents (for more details on participants see Appendix D). Participants were predominantly mothers (n = 183 mothers combined), who represented 81% of parents across the articles where parent gender was provided (n = 227 gendered parents combined), so the findings may not generalize to the experiences of fathers (see Appendix D). The studies often included participants with a high socioeconomic status and generally high rates of higher education amongst the participants, which is also likely to curtail generalizability.

The current review identified more published articles overall (n=17) than theses and dissertations (n=11). The dataset mainly focused on Spanish, Chinese, and Korean (see Appendix

D), which reflects the landscape of the U.S. as these are the more prevalent minoritized languages (Nagano, 2015). Still, there is an underrepresentation of indigenous languages and dialects within the dataset, as only one article focused on a language indigenous to the Americas (Morales, 2016) which was Zapotec, a language indigenous to what is now Mexico. We hope that future studies will diversify the language groups whose experiences are captured, with more representation of groups indigenous to land now occupied by the U.S. Other diverse language experiences should be further explored as well, such as experiences of the Deaf community and multilingual families whose children use or would benefit from access to augmentative and alternative communication methods (AAC; see van Dalen, 2019). Experiences of families who are speakers of minoritized dialects such as African American English, Chicano English, and others should be centered in work on HL maintenance, in recognition of the strong cultural and historic value and linguistic richness of these dialects, and to better understand how Black and other minoritized groups within the US navigate creating family language policy (Anderson, 2023).

In future research, studies with bigger sample sizes would capture broader experiences of HL speakers and offer a more nuanced discussion around minoritized languages. Better capturing diverse family structures, parents of different genders, and a broader range of socioeconomic status (using strengths-based approaches) would provide more generalizable results.

This review revealed a gap in work that sheds light on the link between HL maintenance and advice given to parents from family and friends. Though much of the literature describes the effects of beliefs and resources on HL maintenance, explicit advice from other family members or friends was scarcely reported within the coded articles. This can be seen in the small number of times this code was applied to the dataset (n = 5), compared to other codes, e.g., positive

beliefs (n = 197; see Table 3). The varying advice given to parents from professionals on family language choice led to confusion, frustration, and even to some parents choosing to follow advice from professionals that was likely to negatively impact the parent-child relationship. There is still a representation of stigmatized or subtractive views within the health professions impacting the advice given to parents with children diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder within bilingual households (Ijalba, 2016), and likely also for children with other disabilities affecting language. More research should focus on the quality of advice given to parents of disabled children across different health professions, with a special focus in communities where HLs may be especially under threat.

Conclusion

This review summarizes current research on HL maintenance in the U.S. and identifies factors that contribute to HL maintenance, highlighting gaps in need of further investigation. Database searches identified 29 articles for inclusion in this review. Qualitative coding was performed, followed by qualitative content analysis on the articles. The resulting data were then organized into themes and subthemes by extracting the data in a chart.

Findings indicated that while HL speakers often desired to pass their HL to their children, especially to maintain family coherence, parents faced many barriers in passing on their HL. Barriers included limited resources and support due to relatively lower language status within an English-dominant US culture; inconsistent or harmful advice from professionals, family members, and friends; and practical challenges such as minimal time to support HL practice or limited HL proficiency within the home. Based on the findings, we propose an informal model that captures cascading factors of language status, advice from the community, and parental

beliefs, which together impact family language policy and therefore HL transmission from one generation to the next.

This review highlights the need for positive systemic changes to promote HL maintenance for all HL communities. We hope the cascade of impacts on HL maintenance can be a useful model for future research and policy development, and a guide for communities and individuals to understand how HLs can be supported across generations. For example, with this cascade in mind, interventions could be designed to educate future and current health professionals, educators, and other community members about bilingualism and the value of HL maintenance. It could then be evaluated whether such trainings result in more helpful and evidence-based advice to parents; and whether this shift in advice further results in measurable positive impacts on parents' beliefs about the value of the HL and their feeling supported and encouraged to speak it with their children. Given the multifaceted contributors to HL maintenance, the community—educators, therapists, researchers, parents, and more—must collaborate to develop creative approaches to support and promote HL maintenance. Ultimately, approaching HL maintenance comprehensively and compassionately—through a community and strength-based perspective—may enhance the music of multiculturalism throughout the U.S., sustaining 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 follow the following instructions
B. Select 3 databases: Psycinfo, LLBA, and Proquest Dissertations & Theses
    a. 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)
    b. 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
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))
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*. **IMP:** 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 researches 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.
    a. 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
    a. 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

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Web of Science

A. Click advanced search, paste search string
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”
    2. “language attrition” AND “heritage language*” AND ((caregiver* beliefs) OR (parent* beliefs))
    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)
    a. If <50 results, click “share” “add to folder”
C. After all searches are run, click folder
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

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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 (needs to be done)
D. Determine n=number of results and n=number of non-duplicated results

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PLAN:

1. Run the searches
2. Save .CSV files, pull out duplicates, and check for reliability with partner
3. Pull out non-relevant articles
4. Read full text of identified and agreed upon relevant articles to screen for eligibility

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, race or ethnicity, relevant demographics (age, male, female, etc.) Setting: location of study (i.e., state, city, etc.)
Home Language(s)	Specify dialect(s)
Disability or neurodiversity	Clinical diagnosis (n/a if no disability reported)
Objective	(Start with "To...")
Theory or Conceptual Framework	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

Appendix C

Code Set Developed for Current Study

Qualitative Codes (Linked to Research Questions, RQs)	Description	Example
Language Status (RQ 1.1)	How HL relates to dominant language (English); Minority 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." (Yu, 2013)
Status Affects Maintenance (RQ 1.2)	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	"Today or yesterday, I don't remember, I spoke to a little boy who knows Chinese. I was starting talking Chinese, he was kind of responding in English, I was like: 'You don't know how to speak Chinese anymore?' He was like: 'I don't want to. I don't want because my friends are going to hear me talking Chinese and they will kill me'" (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).
Information from Professionals (RQ 2.1)	Information, opinions, or advice regarding language given to parents from professionals, when impact on language choice is not specified	"It was explicit when mothers were clearly advised by professionals that they should speak English with their children" (Iljalba, 2016)
Professional Impacts (RQ 2.2)	How information, opinions, or advice from professionals (i.e., speech-language pathologists, medical professionals, educators) impacts parental perceptions and beliefs toward HLs or 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." (Iljalba, 2016)
Information from Family and Friends (RQ 2.3)	Information, opinions, or advice given to parents from family and/or 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, you know, they at least need some basic knowledge of Chinese." (Zhu, 2020)
Family and Friends' Impacts (RQ 2.4)	How information, opinions, and/or advice from family and/or friends impacts parental perceptions and beliefs toward HLs or bilingualism (family or friends must give advice or say something, not just impact choices based on relationship)	"Family members and friends also encouraged her to use one language to avoid confusion. As a result, Emma began speaking solely in English." (Jocelyn, 2022)
Positive Beliefs (RQ 3.1)	A parent views an HL or bilingualism as resulting 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" (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009)

Negative Beliefs (RQ 3.2)	A parent views an HL or bilingualism as resulting in negative outcomes realized or perceived (e.g., subtractive, confuses child)	"There were three parents in the study who changed their language use in the home due to personal beliefs that multiple languages were causing language delays." (Jocelyn, 2022)
Parent Language Choice (RQ 3.3)	How parents and 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." (Yu, 2013)
Language Proficiency and Practices (RQ 3.4)	How language proficiency of parents, children, and/or other family members in either HL or English impacts communication and their experiences using HL or English; includes other family language practices (to be used **when choice is not mentioned**); may include other family members such as grandparents' use of HL, which may indirectly impact 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" (Yu, 2013)
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 or 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." (Yu, 2013)
Further Discussion Needed	A code for content that needs more discussion, for which there is uncertainty about which code applies. E.g., a concept that seems important but doesn't fit in codes (to be discussed later to reach a consensus). Only used in the initial rounds of coding. Ultimately, one of the other codes was applied.	

Appendix D
Data Extraction Chart

Study	Design	Sample and setting	Home language (s)	Sensory difference/ neurodiversity	Objective	Theory/ Conceptual Framework	Data collection	Outcome measures	Relevant key findings
Blanc (2022)	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 semi-structured 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.
Chen et al. (2018)	Longitudinal study	**Participants:** 258 Chinese American children of immigrant parents **Setting:**	Cantonese or Mandarin	n/a	To examine Chinese American children's language socialization processes (e.g. adult HL use at home, parental attitudes towards HL, child participation in HL classes or extracurricular activities)	Language socialization	Parent reports, behavioral observation, vocabulary and literacy tests	Family demographic characteristics and language socialization processes, children's Chinese literacy (i.e. character recognition), productive vocabulary, and	Chinese language use in the home and extra-curricular activities predicted the language proficiency of children.

								receptive vocabulary	
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)	Phenomenological interviews	**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	Unspecified	Three-part phenomenological interviews and thematic analysis	Thematic and narrative analysis	Stigmatization and social isolation were 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.

					bilingualism influenced their language choices				
Ikar (2018)	Grounded theory	**Participants:** 10 parents; first-generation Somali parents	Somali	n/a	To explore the attitudes and beliefs of first-generation Somali parents who sought to maintain their children's heritage language	Grounded theory	Semi-structured interviews	Open coding and identification of themes	Somali parents desired for their children to be bilingual and implemented strategies to support their children's bilingual development. English dominance was identified as a challenge to HL maintenance.
Inan (2021)	Mixed-methods	**Participants:** 52 Turkish parents and their children (ages 5-11) **Setting:**	Turkish	n/a	To understand parents' language and acculturation attitudes	Vygotsky's sociocultural theory; Berry's acculturation theory; grounded theory	Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative analysis	Younger children were more proficient in Turkish than older children. Active use of heritage language encouraged HL development and maintenance.
Jia (2006)	Ethnographic	**Participants:** 12 students (ages 8-11), 15 parents, 2 instructors **Setting:** San Ramon (Southwestern U.S.)	Mandarin	n/a	To investigate HL learning of Chinese American students and how parent and community factors	Language socialization	Participant observation in school and community, interviews of parents, teachers, children,	S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model (Hymes, 1974)	Parents and children both played an active role in the learning and maintenance of the HL through their perceptions and practices, with mothers

					contribute to language maintenance in schooling home contexts.		dinner table talk		playing an essential part.
Jocelyn (2022)	Phemenological interviews	**Participants: 17 families Setting: Florida, Georgia, Maryland, and New York**	Haitian Creole, French, Spanish	Speech language disabilities, (n = 2) diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder, and (n = 1) child was being evaluated by an occupational therapist due to fine motor/sensory challenges	To provide an understanding of the perspective of Haitian parents about their heritage language maintenance when they had a child with a communication disorder based on the data collected from phenomenological interviews.	Social constructivist interpretive framework	Semi-structured, 30–60-minute virtual one-on-one interviews	Inductive coding, and Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) program	Parents had community support and resources available in schools in their heritage language, but most of their children were monolingual. Language disorders played a large role in the decisions of the parents in whether or not they would pass on their HL. all parents held positive beliefs towards HL (Haitian Creole), but also expressed the many barriers in the way of maintaining the language. English dominance and concern of language delay or confusion impacted parents language choices.
Kang (2013)	Grounded theory	**Participants: 7 ethnic Korean**	Korean	n/a	To explore Korean	Grounded theory	Questionnaire,	Nested coding	Korean was perceived by

		Families **Setting: Midwestern America**			immigrant parents language ideologies and practices in their children's language development		interview, and observations of a mealtime, reading time, and play time		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 influencing the families' language policies.
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	Parents played an integral role in HL learning, serving as teachers and providing resources to support HL learning in their children.
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	Unspecified	Interviews	Qualitative data analysis	Parents desired for their children to be bilingual, but found challenges to bilingualism in the home, school, and community.

					learning children				
Martins (2006)	Mixed-methods	**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	Parents strongly supported the maintenance of Portuguese though there were discrepancies 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.
Mitchiner (2012)	Mixed-methods	**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	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.

Moeini 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	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.
Morales (2016)	Qualitative research design	**Participants:** 10 Spanish-English, Spanish/Zapoteco/ English families **Setting:** Western Los Angeles, California	Spanish, Zapoteco	n/a	To study how HL maintenance mitigates the impact of migration on Latin American-origin students outside of school	Theory of transnationalism	Parent and child interviews	Interview data; extraction of themes	HL maintenance was positively viewed as social and linguistic capital and as a means to facilitate and strengthen their children's intergenerational and transnational experiences
Raimbekova (2021)	Multi-case study	**Participants:** 13 parents **Setting:** Midwest	Arabic, Albanian, Cantonese, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Telugu (South	n/a	To understand international relocatees' perspectives on parental involvement practices for their children in early	Sociocultural historical perspective (Rogoff 2003; Moll et al., 2005)	Demographic questionnaire, researcher's journal, one-on-one, open-ended, semi-structured	Constant comparative analysis, coding	Parents were involved in their children's development based on cultural and educational backgrounds as well as lived experiences. All parents in the study desired to

			Indian), Urdu		learning and development		and focus group interviews		pass their home language to their children, wishing for their children to be both bilingual and bicultural.
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	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.
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, etic and emic themes	Mothers had multiple perspectives and strategies toward bilingualism.
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	Tripartite model of Family Language Policy	Survey, interviews	Grounded theory, Thematic analysis	Parental involvement was a significant factor in maintenance of the HL and family language policies were impacted by

					, 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				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.
Surrain (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	Mothers supported bilingualism and believed it was important but differed in beliefs about roles in maintenance within the home and community.
Surrain (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	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.

Szilagyi & Szecsi (2020)	Mixed-methods	**Participants:** 101 parents (males, n = 26, females n = 73, did not report gender n = 2) **Setting:** Throughout 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	Time spent in Hungary or in a Hungarian community were significant contributors to HL maintenance. Reasons for maintaining HL were proficiency, knowledge 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.
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	Unspecified	Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q), interview	Constant comparative analysis	Heritage language to helps to maintain heritage and familial tradition and contributes to professional advantage.

					the challenges they face in doing so				
Tigert (2017)	Ethnographic/ micro ethnographic	**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	Parents and teachers employed similar strategies for promoting maintenance of 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.
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	Parents in both communities valued Spanish and perceived it as contributing to success and opportunities. Mother's perceptions of the importance of Spanish appeared to influence the opportunities provided to children for developing the HL.
Wu (2005)	Qualitative methodology	**Participants:** 15 Chinese immigrant	Chinese	n/a	To understand	Sociolinguistics	Semi-structured	Coding, field notes,	Discrepancies were noted

		families (11 families from Taiwan, 3 from Mainland China, 1 from Hong Kong) **Setting:** Phoenix metro area in Arizona			experiences of Chinese parents and children in the U.S. and their development of bilingualism		interviews, observations	research logs	between parents' and children's perspectives on their HL. Findings indicated family life, social life, and children's individual characteristics affected HL maintenance.
Yu (2013)	Phenomenological	**Participants: 15 parents from 10 families (10 mothers, 5 fathers) with children (ages 3-8) Setting: California, one family in Massachusetts**	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	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	**Participants:** 20 parents (15 mothers, 5 fathers) and 18 children (ages 6-14) from 18 Chinese immigrant families **Setting:** 2 Chinese communities in Philadelphia	Mandarin, Fujianese	n/a	To understand the attitudes and behaviors of Chinese parents toward HL maintenance and their	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.

					second-generation children's attitudes and responses toward their HL				
Zhu et al. (2020)	Mixed-method	**Participants:** 10 families (6 parents, 4 grandparents); 30 children (ages 6 to 8) **Setting:** Mississippi	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.