

The Rich Tapestry of Heritage Learners of Hindi

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1. Introduction

During the last three decades, there has been a paradigm shift in the learner population of Hindi in the second language classrooms of American universities. Until the early 1980s, there were only traditional learners of Hindi with little or no prior exposure to Hindi or Indian culture. A typical Hindi learner used to be a graduate student who learned Hindi for research purposes. Today, however, the majority of the Hindi learners are undergraduates who come from Indian families with a prior exposure to Hindi or another Indian language. Their reasons for learning Hindi, which are very different from the traditional learners, include language requirement, travel to India, Hindi films, family, business, and gaining literacy skills.¹

The traditional learners of Hindi form a homogeneous group because they are mostly “true” beginners and do not have any prior exposure to Hindi. The heritage learner group, on the other hand, is quite complex because of the significant diversity among their home language backgrounds and degrees of prior exposure to Hindi and its culture. In order to make effective pedagogic decisions, such as articulating multi-year program goals, setting course objectives, choosing methodology, materials & assessment modes, it is imperative for us to understand who our learners are.

In this article, first we will define the term “heritage learner of Hindi” in section 2 because the current definitions of the term are too narrow for our purpose. In section 3, we will take a closer look at the various types and sub-types of Hindi learners based on their language backgrounds. Section 4 will categorize the heritage learners based on their prior proficiency levels in Hindi. Section 5 covers some key curricular issues and curricular models that are being practiced at different American universities to accommodate mixed-ability learners of Hindi. Some effective strategies reported by experienced teachers for handling mixed-ability classes are reported in section 6. The last section points out important implications of this paper on heritage language theory in general and Hindi pedagogy in particular.

2. A Definition of Heritage Learner of Hindi

Before discussing various types and sub-types of Hindi learners we must define who is a

heritage learner of Hindi.² The popular and widely used definition of a heritage learner by Valdés, given below, is too narrow for Hindi. It does not allow us to differentiate between the rate and route of learning between traditional learners and those students who come from Indian families where an Indian language other than Hindi is spoken at home.

A heritage learner is “a student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language.” (Valdés, 2001:38)

According to the above definition, Hindi learners from Gujarati or Punjabi families are not heritage learners because they are not raised in Hindi speaking homes. However, we know that as compared to the non-South Asian learners, students from Gujarati, Punjabi or other Indian families have a definite advantage in acquiring Hindi because Hindi language and its culture is familiar to non-Hindi speaking Indian-American students. Their home languages share many structures, sounds, vocabularies and discourse features with Hindi. The research on the topic of “India as a linguistic area”³ has shown that there are many similarities between all Indian languages, including Indo-Aryan (Hindi, Gujarati, etc.) and Dravidian (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada) languages because of their long co-existence in the same geographic area. My classroom experience also supports that students who come from non-Hindi speaking Indian families (both from Indo-Aryan and Dravidian) develop their listening and oral communicative skills in Hindi much faster than the traditional learners because of their prior knowledge about Indian thought pattern, culture, areal linguistic features (e.g., word-order, dative subjects, retroflex sounds) and shared vocabularies borrowed from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English.

Moreover, all learners of Hindi from Indian families have some prior exposure to Hindi through films and their local communities. Hindi film songs are popular among most Indian immigrants; they sing and dance to their tunes at weddings and “*des*” cultural events, even at college cultural shows. Although Hindi is never spoken to non-Hindi learners at home, it is certainly spoken around them in the community. Their parents may use Hindi with Hindi-speaking friends or with those who do not speak their language or much English. Please note that most immigrant parents from India (even those who are from non-Hindi regions) know some Hindi either through their schools, TV, movies, or travel within India. Hindi is the official language of India, and it is the lingua franca used on the streets of most urban centers in India today.

Hindi and non-Hindi learners from Indian families living in the US have a strong sense of shared Indian ethnicity because of the common religious and cultural activities in their local

Indian communities. Hindi films, commonly known as Bollywood films, are watched in many Indian homes in America. Furthermore, many second generation Indian-Americans have a strong Indian identity, as opposed to the regional identities that their parents had.⁴ Second-generation children of Indian immigrants mostly identify themselves as Indian-Americans and not as Punjabi-Americans or South-Indian Americans. For them, India is their heritage-land, and Hindi is the dominant national language of that land.

So, in order to include the non-Hindi speaking Indian-American students in our pedagogic definition of a heritage learner of Hindi, we need to broaden the definition of a heritage learner. Our definition must go beyond “home connection” or “family connection” as the defining factors; it must include cultural⁵ and “heritage-land” factors also. Below is the proposed definition of a heritage learner of Hindi that should allow teachers and administrators to distinguish between the Hindi learners based on their prior exposure to the target language, culture and country, irrespective of the home factor. Once we determine who is a heritage learner of Hindi, it will be easier to predict their needs and socio-linguistic strengths & weaknesses.⁶

Pedagogic Definition of a Heritage-Learner of Hindi

A heritage learner of Hindi is a student whose family may speak Hindi or another Indian language at home. The student may or may not be able to speak or understand Hindi but is familiar with Hindi language and its culture through his or her connection with the heritage land.

3. Typology of Hindi Learners

This section discusses the ratio of different types and sub-types of Hindi learners based on the data I collected from five American universities in 1998. The statistics are based on 126 responses to a survey questionnaire. The respondents were enrolled in the beginning level Hindi classes at Columbia University, New York University, the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and the University of Pennsylvania. Even though the data is about nine years old, it's still valuable because the ratio & types of students have not changed much since the late 90s.

3.1. The ratio of Heritage⁷ and Non-heritage Learners

There are two main categories of Hindi learners: heritage and non-heritage. According to my 1988 data, the ratio of heritage and non-heritage learners was and is still approximately 4 to 1. To be exact, there were 81% heritage learners and only 19% non-heritage learners as can be

seen in its visual representation in Figure 1 below.

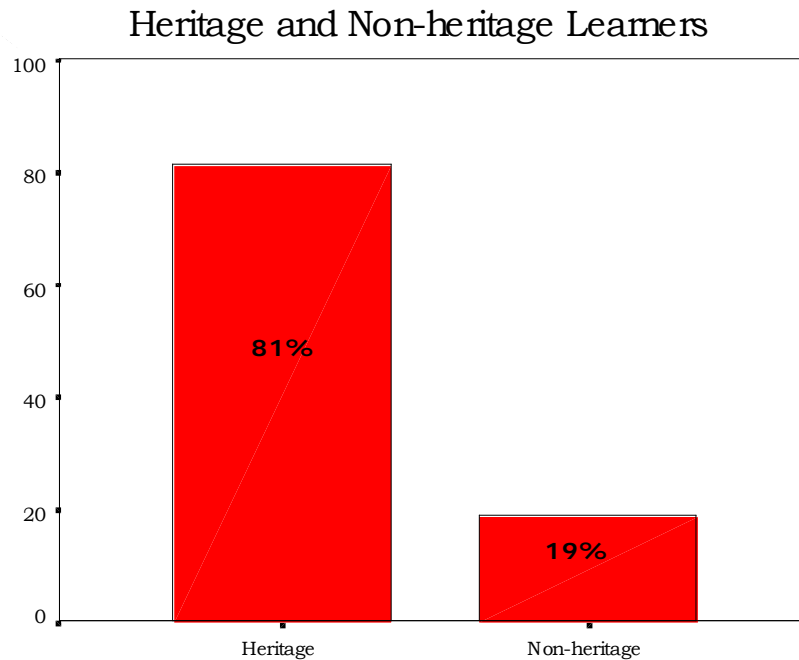


Figure 1

The wide gap between the heritage and non-heritage populations is generally an accurate representation of most Hindi programs in the country today. In some urban institutions, located in areas where there is a heavy concentration of South Asians, there are even up to 90 percent heritage students. The big shift in Hindi enrollments between the 70s and 90s was quite significant, especially when there were practically no heritage students during the 70s. This paradigmatic shift has had important implications for Hindi pedagogy.

3.2. The ratio between Ancestral and Associate Heritage Learners

The category of heritage learners of Hindi can be further subdivided into two – Ancestral and Associate - on the basis of students' home language as shown in Figure 2.

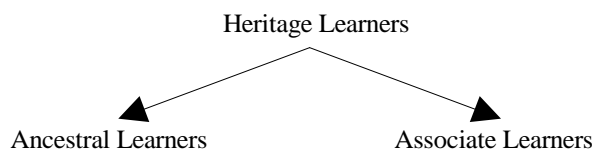


Figure 2

Ancestral heritage learners are those who come from Hindi speaking families where at least one or both parents and grandparents speak Hindi. Associate learners are those whose parent(s) or grandparent(s) speak an Indian language *other* than Hindi at home; perhaps Gujarati, Bengali or Tamil. Instead of using the terms Ancestral and Associate here, we could use the terms Hindi and non-Hindi for our purpose. However, we will use the generic labels, Ancestral and Associate, so that other heritage languages such as Chinese (with Mandarin and Cantonese) may also benefit from this framework of classification.

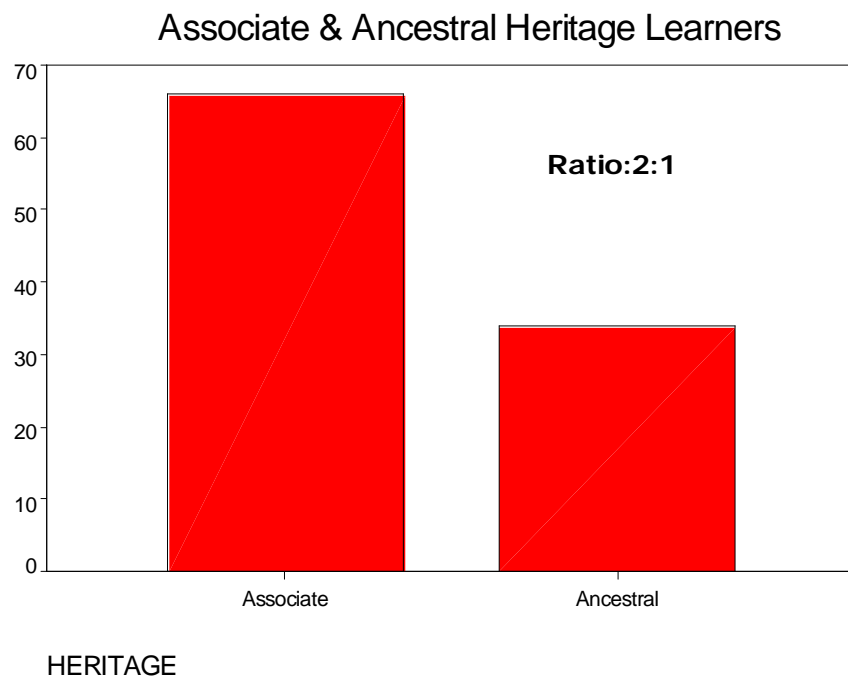


Figure 3

Figure 3 shows that Associate-heritage is a significant group as their ratio to Ancestral is 2:1. In my data, Associate learners constitute 54 percent of the total population of all Hindi learners (including heritage and non-heritage), and there are only 27 percent ancestral heritage learners. These numbers are important for making pedagogic decisions because the amount of exposure and the conditions of learning Hindi are different for Ancestral and Associate learners. As compared to Ancestral learners, Associate learners get a limited opportunity to listen to and speak Hindi at home or in the community. Most of their exposure to Hindi is through family friends and Hindi movies. They rarely get a chance to speak Hindi actively at home. This means that teachers must create ample appropriate activities to provide output opportunities for Associate learners in particular.

The 2:1 ratio between Associate and Ancestral learners is also noteworthy because it dispels the common notion of many educators who think the primary reason of heritage learners for learning Hindi is to communicate with their monolingual grandparents. The grandparent factor certainly doesn't exist in the case of Associate learners. From my conversations with Associate-learners, I learned that they are primarily interested in Hindi for reasons of travel, movies, business, and for nurturing their Indian identity.

3.3 Ratio between Cognate and Non-cognate Associate Learners

The category of Associate-learners is further subdivided into Cognate and Non-cognate learners based on the genetic relationship of their home language with the target language, as shown in Figure 4 below.

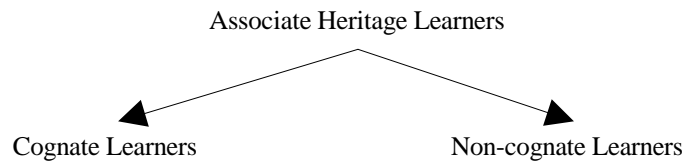


Figure 4

Cognate learners are those whose home language is genetically related to Hindi, and Non-cognate learners are the ones whose home language is genetically unrelated to Hindi. In our data, the following cognate languages were reported: Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Bengali, and Kashmiri, which are Indo-Aryan languages. The non-cognate languages reported in the data were Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam, which are from the Dravidian language family. Because of the common origin of Hindi and other Indic languages, as pointed out before, there are numerous cognates and structural similarities between them. The number of cognates and structural similarities in Hindi and the Dravidian languages, however, are relatively limited, as they belong to different language families.

The ratio between Cognate and Non-cognate Associate-heritage learners is 4:1, as shown in Figure 5 below. There are 81% cognate learners and only 19% non-cognate learners in the entire Associate category.

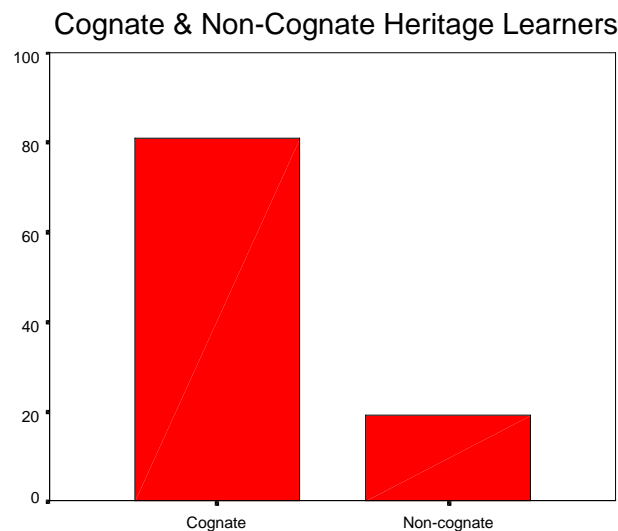


Figure 5

The awareness about the ratio between Cognate and Non-cognate categories is important for making pedagogic choices in terms of materials and exercises. As compared to the non-cognate learners, cognate learners are able to transfer a lot more structures and words from their home languages. There may be some false friends between Hindi and their home languages (e.g., the use of the postposition *ne* is different in Hindi, Gujarati and Punjabi), but overall features of negative transfer are limited in the case of Cognate learners.

3.3. All Types of Heritage Learners

Figure 6 below shows the distribution of all types of heritage learners – Ancestral, Associate, Cognate and Non-cognate.

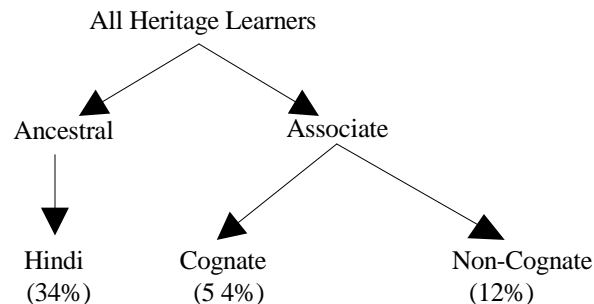


Figure 6

As shown above, of the total number of heritage learners of Hindi, there are 54% cognate

learners, 34% ancestral or Hindi learners, and only 12% non-cognate learners. These percentages show that the Cognate learners are in majority in the heritage group.

We can find out more about the Cognate category by looking at the following list that shows a breakdown of the home languages of all Hindi learners, heritage plus non-heritage, reported in the survey:

LEARNERS' HOME LANGUAGES

Gujarati	37
Hindi	29
English	21
Punjabi	7
Urdu	6
Tamil	4
Telugu	4
Marathi	4
Malayalam	4
Bengali	3
Sindhi	2
Konkani	2
Persian	1
Hebrew	1
Korean	1
Total:	126

In the above list, we see that the maximum number of heritage students of Hindi came from Gujarati (37 students) speaking families. The Gujarati learners outnumber even Hindi-

speaking learners (29 students)! After Gujarati, the next highest group in the Cognate category is Punjabi (only 7 students). The numbers of Punjabi students turned out to be quite small in the data, which is contrary to my expectations. The reason for this could be that Punjabi students might have reported Hindi as their home language. This is, in fact, quite plausible because many Punjabi families settled outside Punjab speak Hindi with their children, and have a split mother-tongue identity

3.4. All Learners of Hindi – Heritage & Non-heritage

The distribution of all types and sub-types of Hindi learners can be seen in Figures 7 and 8 below:

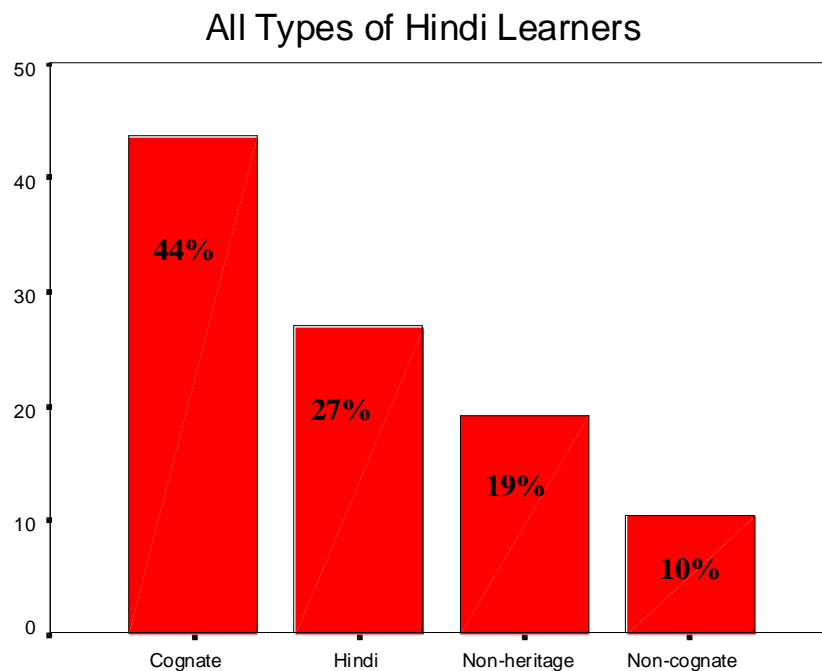


Figure 7

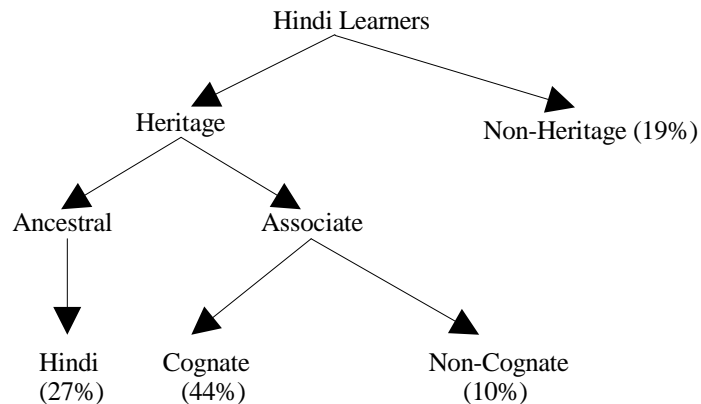


Figure 8

3.5. Summary

Based on the data presented in section 3, we can make the following summary statements about the language background profiles of Hindi learners in the second language classrooms of American universities:

- Approximately 80% of all Hindi learners are heritage learners.
- Only about one-third of the heritage learners come from Hindi-speaking families.
- The Majority of heritage learners come from families where another Indo-Aryan language is spoken.
- The highest number of heritage learners from the Indo-Aryan group comes from Gujarati families.
- The number of heritage learners who come from families where a Dravidian language is spoken is very small (about 10%).

4. Major Proficiency Profiles of Heritage Learners of Hindi

We can divide the heritage learners of Hindi who enroll for entry-level Hindi classes into 4 major categories based on their prior proficiency profiles in Hindi.

1. Zero-beginners (ZB)
2. Advanced-beginners (AB)
3. Near-Natives (NN)
4. Natives (N)

Here are the level descriptions for each of the proficiency profiles:

Zero-Beginners (ZB): They have little prior exposure to Hindi and have almost no functional ability in oral or literacy skills. They may be able to understand a few high frequency phrases or words but cannot maintain any meaningful conversation.

Advanced-Beginner (AB): They have some prior exposure to Hindi at home or in the community. They can understand everyday simple conversations and a film plot when strongly supported by context. They may speak some conversational Hindi but their speech is often ungrammatical and has skeletal sentences.

Near-Natives (NN): They can understand and speak Hindi fluently in informal domains. However, they lack consistent control of low frequency structures (e.g., passive, causative) and grammar features that have a low functional load (e.g., oblique forms of nouns, ergative marker “*ne*”). They may recognize some letters of Hindi script but cannot read Hindi texts for meaning.

Natives (N): They can understand conversational Hindi and speak it fluently and accurately, but only in informal domains. They do not have formal (High Hindi) vocabulary so they have trouble in understanding and speaking Hindi used in formal contexts, such as interviews, lectures and news. They may recognize some characters of Devanagari but often cannot read any text for meaning.

5. Curricular Issues & Curricular Models

5.1. Curricular issues

The majority of the heritage learners who enroll in entry level Hindi courses in American universities are either ZBs or ABs. However, there are some NNs, and occasionally some Ns who want to acquire literacy skills and knowledge of Hindi grammar. It is a huge pedagogic challenge to have ZBs, ABS, NNs and Ns in the same class, whose oral and listening proficiencies range from zero to advanced levels. This challenge grows even bigger when there are beginner non-heritage learners in the same class as well.⁸

This vast diversity in the language profiles of Hindi learners raises the following important curricular questions:

1. Should there be separate tracks for HLs (heritage learners) and NHLs (non-heritage learners)?

2. Should there be separate tracks for ZBs and ABs?

In order to find out answers to the above questions, I interviewed ten experienced Hindi instructors of American universities in 2005. In the summary of their responses below we find two major points of views. Some teachers voiced strongly in favor of separate tracks, whereas others either didn't want it or didn't think it was an important issue.

Summary of Teachers' Responses

Responses to question #1 - Separate tracks for HLs and NHLs?

1. "We don't need two tracks because they [heritage and non-heritage learners] learn from each other. Moreover, they are not very different when it comes to grammar and literacy skills."
2. "I wish we had two separate tracks, but I'm not unhappy. I've adjusted my curriculum and the way I teach and assess them. Occasionally some students grumble, but overall everyone is happy."
3. "We certainly need two separate tracks. My non-heritage students are intimidated by heritage students who speak very fast in Hindi. On the other hand my heritage students get bored and drop out if my pace is slow. Mostly, I end up teaching another class outside the class during my office hours."

Responses to question #2 - Separate tracks for ZBs and ABs?

1. "We don't need separate tracks because ABs really don't know the real language. All they know is some 'kitchen' language."
2. "We need separate tracks because ABs can progress at twice the rate of ZBs because of their prior knowledge of the target language & culture. Also, because the linguistic needs and learning styles of ABs and ZBs are different, it prevents both groups from achieving their full potential."

5.2 Curricular Models

Now we explore the curricular models being practiced at various institutions to see if there are separate tracks based on heritage or proficiency factors. In my 2005 survey, I gathered from the responses of ten different universities in the country that there are three main curricular models in practice. These are:

Model-1: Separate Curriculum and Separate Classes

Under this model, “true” beginners (ZBs & non-heritage learners [NHLs]) and other students with a prior exposure to Hindi (ABs & NNs)⁹ are placed in separate classes, and they have separate curriculum also. A visual representation of this model can be seen in Figure 9 below.

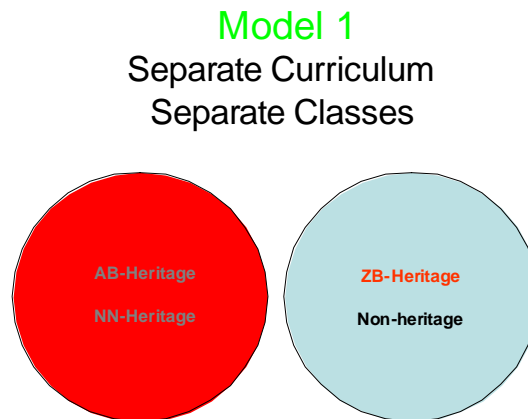


Figure 9

Model-2: Shared Curriculum and a Separate Section

In this model, “true” beginners (ZBs & NHLs) and others (ABs & NNs) enroll for the same course and they have a shared curriculum. The two groups are together for movies and their language projects, but they are in different sections for all other activities. A visual representation of this can be seen in Figure 10 below.

Model 2
Shared Curriculum
Separate Section

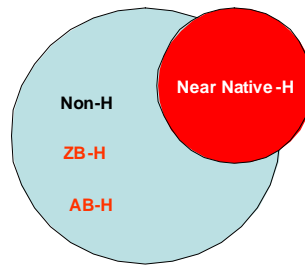


Figure 10

Model-3: Same Curriculum and Same Classroom

Under this model, “true” beginners and all other learners are placed in the same classroom, and they also have the same curriculum. In other words, ZBs, NHLs, ABs, and NNs, whose proficiencies may range from Novice through Advanced-Low, are in the same course. See Figure 11 below for a visual representation of this model.

Model 3
Same Curriculum &
Same Classroom

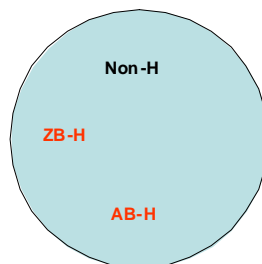


Figure 11

5.2 What curricular model is being practiced where?

Now, let's see the frequency of each of these models in the ten universities that I surveyed. According to the Table 1 below, Model-1 is being practiced only at the University of Pennsylvania and Model-2 is being practiced only at New York University. Model-3 is the most popular one as 8 out of the 10 universities in the survey are practicing it.¹⁰

Survey Result-2005

University	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3
Penn	☺		
NYU		☺	
Yale			☺
Rice			☺
Texas			☺
Emory			☺
Harvard			☺
Berkeley			☺
Columbia			☺
Syracuse			☺

Table 1

The question is: Why Model-3 is so popular, especially when there is so much awareness about learner-centeredness and heritage language education?¹¹ Also, why should “true beginners” and near-natives be placed in the same classroom when they are so far apart in their language development stages and language needs?¹² Below are some of the reasons that were offered by the teachers who do not have separate tracks for “true” beginners (ZBs & NHLs) and others.

5.3. Reasons for not having separate tracks:

- Lack of faculty resources
- Insufficient enrollments
- Uneven enrollments at different proficiency levels
- Focus on shared language needs - grammar and literacy
- Extra work for the coordinator

The above reasons may be valid, but are hard to justify if the focus is on the learner and

learning. This raises the question regarding what strategies are being used by teachers to manage vastly mixed-ability classes under Model-3? In other words, how is this model working? Before we get into the strategies, I would like to present how the University of Pennsylvania's Hindi program has articulated its two-track curriculum for accommodating the learning needs and styles of "true" beginners and others.

5.4. The University of Pennsylvania's four-year curriculum

Penn's Model for Hindi

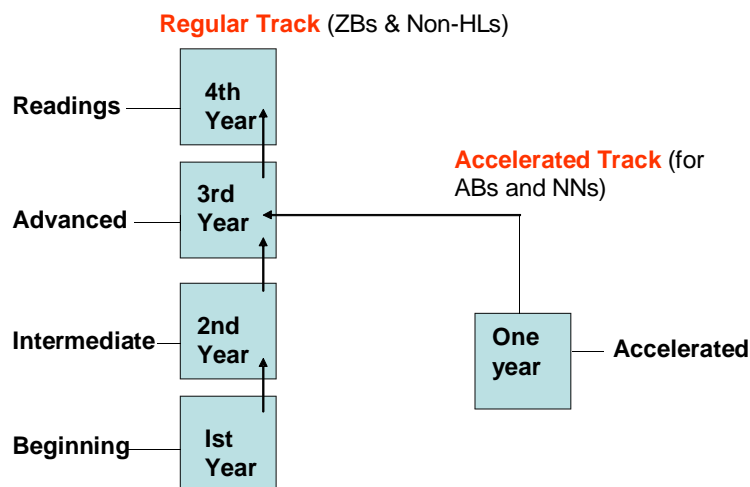


Figure 12

The University of Pennsylvania is the only institution in the country to my knowledge which created two tracks for separating "true" beginners from others in the early 90s. "True" beginners were placed in the regular or traditional track, and others were placed in the Accelerated track. The accelerated track is a year-long sequence; in one year students learn the equivalent of two years at the regular track. The class can move at a fast pace because most of the students already have a passive knowledge of the basic language and its culture. After completing one year of Accelerated Hindi successfully, students then join the regular track at the 3rd year level. This model has been quite successful at Penn. ABs are particularly happy with this model because their prior knowledge of the language & culture is not ignored, but rather it is nurtured through appropriate content and methodology.

6. Effective Strategies for Teaching Mixed-Ability Classes

6.1. Strategies for Model 3 teaching

Returning to the question raised in section 5.3, why is the curricular Model 3 working well for so many teachers? It's surprising that the teachers have figured out strategies to manage classes that have students who have no knowledge of the target language and those who can even tell stories and understand some humor. What are these successful strategies? In order to discover some effective strategies, I talked to the instructors who were/are using this curricular model.

Here is a summary of the effective strategies that were reported to me by the teachers who use Model-3:

1. **Open-ended tasks** – Teachers create open-ended tasks so that students can respond according to their own language ability. Examples: Tell me something about your last vacation; what are your plans for the upcoming holidays?
2. **Small group activities** – Teachers create small group activities involving 2 or 3 students in role-plays, interviews, etc. Grouping non-heritage and heritage students or students with lower proficiency with higher proficiency promotes peer learning.
3. **Experiential learning tasks** – Students do language projects that involve interaction with Hindi speakers at home, in the school, or community. Example: Find out about the cross cultural experiences of the international students who have come from India on your college campus.
4. **Adaptable assessment** – Students are assessed on their individual progress based on their own performance.¹³
5. **Student portfolios** – Students are asked to maintain portfolios of their work to keep track of their own language development.
6. **Common course goals** – Course goals are articulated around shared linguistic needs of all learners, such as literacy skills, formal language, and explicit knowledge of the Hindi grammar.
7. **Equitable top-down and bottom-up approaches** – Both, top-down and bottom-up approaches are used in order to cater to the learning styles of both heritage and non-heritage learners.

8. **Supplementary materials** – Supplementary reading or listening materials are assigned to challenge the students who have a higher level of language competence.
9. **Individualized assignments** – In order to help students individualize their learning, different assignments are given to different students depending on their interest and the skill levels.
10. **Computer-mediated tasks** – Computer-mediated exercises and tasks work as smart tutorials for remedial and advanced language training purposes. Examples: online grammar exercises, chats, and threaded discussions.

The strategies listed above should be useful for all language teachers following any curricular model of instruction. There are individual learner differences, and students have different strengths and weaknesses in terms of their prior exposure to Hindi language and its culture.

6.2. Important caveats based on SLA research

Although the above listed strategies are effective, I would like to point out that there are some important caveats based on SLA research that we need to pay attention to. These are:

- The language input provided by peers during small group activities should be **comprehensible** (Krashen 1985).
- All learners must get plenty of opportunities for “**comprehensible output**,” not just “comprehensible input” (Swain 1985).
- Class activities should be set up in a manner that helps generate real **information-gap** between conversation partners for promoting communication and negotiation of meaning (Doughty & Pica 1986, Pica 1991).
- Portfolios should be regularly assessed for tracking interlanguage and preventing **fossilization** (Selinker 1972, Long 1988, Washburn 1992).
- Class activities and projects should be organized in a manner that keep “**affective filter**” down and promote acquisition. (Krashen 1985)
- **Meta-cognitive** development of all learners, including native speakers, is important for making them independent and life-long learners (Lever 2000).

7. Theoretical & Practical Implications

The study of heritage learners of Hindi furthers the research on heritage learner education. It

demonstrates that there can be different levels of diversity among heritage learners. There may be differences in terms of their prior proficiency profiles of the target language or their home languages. Thus far, the heritage literature (at least that I'm familiar with) points out that heritage learners may have a "family" (parents, grandparents or ancestors) or cultural connection with the target language. The case of Hindi, however, brings out another connection that may define a heritage learner. It is the "heritage-land" connection. In the case of Hindi, the heritage-land link nurtures the Indian identity of non-Hindi speaking heritage students in particular. Non-Hindi heritage learners visit their home-land (i.e., India), not just their hometowns, and they want to learn the official language of India (i.e., Hindi) which is also the lingua franca.

On the practical side, awareness about the ratios of different types of Hindi learners discussed in sections 2 & 3 serve as a useful guide for the teachers and program directors who grapple with placement, curriculum and assessment related issues. The categorization and descriptions of major proficiency profiles of heritage learners, discussed in section 4, should be helpful in identifying the strengths, weaknesses and needs of the various learners. The curricular issues and models of curriculum, discussed in section 5, are important in articulating the focus of instruction and selection of methodology & materials. The effective strategies for teaching mixed-ability learners, discussed in section 6, are of high value to all language teachers for promoting peer-learning, active community connections, alternative ways of assessment, individualized learning and technology based tutorials.

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- ¹ For more on what motivates heritage learners to study their heritage languages, see Cho et al (1997); Kuntz (1993); Van Deusen-Scholl (2003).
- ² According to Wiley (2001), the definition of a heritage learner is important because it helps “to shape the status of the learners.”
- ³ Emeneau (1956) was the first one who wrote on the subject of areal features among Indian languages, but a lot has been published on this subject since then. For information on various shared features among Indian languages, please see Emeneau (1956, 1974); Masica (1976, 1991); Subbaro (1984); Jhungare (1985); Krishnamurti (1986); Verma and Mohanan (1990); Abbi (1992); Cardona & Jain (2007).
- ⁴ See Tse (1998) for more on ethnic identity and its implications for heritage language development.
- ⁵ For more on cultural identity of heritage learners, see Lee (2000).
- ⁶ For more on pedagogic and non-pedagogic definitions of heritage learners, see Draper & Hicks (2000), Fishman (2001), Wiley (2001), Carreira (2004), and Kagan (2005).
- ⁷ From now on whenever we use the term heritage learners of Hindi, it will include all Hindi and non-Hindi learners who come from families where Hindi or another Indian language is spoken at home.
- ⁸ See Gambhir, V. 1995 for a discussion on learning routes of “true” beginners and “false” beginners of Hindi.
- ⁹ We are going to exclude the NS category from our discussion here because of their small numbers.
- ¹⁰ Mazzocco (1996) reports that in their Five College Self Instructional Language Programs, heritage and non-heritage learners are separated in terms of the order in which material is covered, but in the exam everyone is tested over the same material.
- ¹¹ According to the University of California’s Guidelines on Heritage Language Instruction, there should be separate classes for heritage and non-heritage learners. See http://uccllt.ucdavis.edu/Heritage_Language_Guidelines.pdf.
- ¹² See Moag (1995), Gambhir, S. (2001) and Kono & McGinnis (2001) on challenges faced by the educators and administrators of heritage learners in higher education.
- ¹³ See Ekbatani & Pierson (2000) on the subject of relationship between the language learner and language assessment processes.