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# 5 Self, Identity and Motivation in the Development and Maintenance of German as a Heritage Language

Kimberly A. Noels

The development and maintenance of the linguistic and cultural competencies of members of minority ethnolinguistic groups is a topic of interest for scholars across many disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, education and psychology. This chapter takes a social psychological perspective to review some research on heritage language learners' (HLLs) and non-heritage language learners' (non-HLLs) motivation for learning German, primarily in the context of post-secondary language courses. More specifically, it draws from Self-Determination Theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2002) to argue that the more learners feel that the target language is important to their sense of self, the more motivated they will be to learn the language. German HLLs, because of their unique experience with the German community, are particularly likely to feel that German is integral to their sense of identity, although the strength of this identity may depend on the situational context.

## German in Canada

Contemporary German HLLs in Canada are largely descendants of immigrants who arrived during one of several waves of migration of German speakers that began in the latter half of the 1700s and continued until the 1960s. In the 1971 census, German was reported to be the most widely spoken non-official mother tongue in Canada. Since that time 'German's share of the allophone population has been steadily shrinking, from 19% in 1971 to 7% in 2006' (Statistics Canada, 2012), with the exception of a

slight rise in 2006 (possibly due to increases in the Hutterite and Mennonite communities [M. Prokop, personal communication, January 2013]). English, French, Punjabi, Chinese, Spanish and Italian speakers now outnumber German speakers; German is currently Canada's fifth most commonly spoken non-official mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2013). Not only is German declining, but also its speakers are aging: 65.4% are 45 years or older and only 18% are 24 years or younger (Statistics Canada, 2013). The 2011 census indicates that there are around 430,000 people who claim German as their mother tongue, of which 29% claim to use German most often and 27% claim to use it regularly at home. Although German speakers comprise a rather small percentage of the total Canadian population (approximately 1.2%), almost 10% of the population claims some German ancestry (Statistics Canada, 2008). One possible implication of these numbers is that many Canadians with a German-speaking background do not consider themselves speakers of the language, even though German may have been used by family members.

Although the German-Canadian population is declining, German language education remains available across Canada at most age levels.[1] In earlier years, options include community language classes, bilingual programming and German language courses in public schools. At the post-secondary level, German courses are available in all provinces; approximately 57% of Canadian universities offer at least basic German language courses, and of these, 66% offer undergraduate major or minor programs and 21% offer graduate studies programs. Many students are interested in learning German because they see it as an important international language that is useful for scientific, commercial and aesthetic reasons. Additionally, a not insignificant number of students desire to learn German to communicate with family members in Canada and overseas, to learn more about their cultural heritage and to pass the language on to their offspring.

## Motivation and Learning German

Early research on students' reasons for learning German was influenced by Gardner and Lambert's seminal work on language learning motivation (1972; see Gardner, 2010 for a review). In their framework, reasons for language learning were termed 'orientations', and these, along with positive attitudes and a desire to learn the language, could predict effortful engagement in learning, which in turn could predict linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. Gardner and Lambert (1972) claimed that a learner may have several orientations for learning a language, including instrumental orientations that reflect pragmatic benefits for learning the language



(e.g. getting course credit or a well-paying job), a desire to travel or a desire to control the target language community. The most intensively studied orientation was the integrative orientation, which refers to a desire to learn the language in order to have contact and possibly identify with people from other ethnolinguistic communities. Although many orientations could foster motivated engagement in learning, Gardner (2010) maintains that, because of its link with positive attitudes, the integrative orientation is a relatively consistent predictor of motivational intensity and, indirectly, proficiency.

With regard to learning German in the Canadian context, Bausenhart (1984) found that English-speaking and French-speaking university students in German classes reported integrative reasons for learning the language. Prokop (1975) found that if university students had positive attitudes toward German speakers, they were more likely to achieve higher grades in German than those who expressed instrumental reasons. Focusing more directly on HL students, Prokop (1974) compared monolingual English students and bilingual German-English students with a German background, and found that the groups endorsed both the integrative and the instrumental orientations; however, for both groups, greater endorsement of an integrative orientation was linked with better grades. In his examination of children in German language schools, Bausenhart (1971) found that pupils were more instrumentally than integratively oriented. He suggested that these children might not be integratively oriented because there was little opportunity for them to engage with German community members, who were widely dispersed across the urban area where these children lived.

Richard Clément and I (1989) examined the motivational orientations of university-level German learners following an approach taken by Clément and Kruidenier (1983). Clément and Kruidenier found that although four orientations were common to learners of French and English across a wide variety of Canadian contexts, the integrative orientation was only evident in specific contexts. The four orientations included a desire to travel to regions where the language was spoken, to develop friendships with speakers of the language, to increase their knowledge about the language and the culture, along with utilitarian reasons for learning the language (i.e. the instrumental orientation). In our study, we also found evidence that both HLLs and non-HLLs were learning German for travel, friendship, knowledge and instrumental reasons (Noels & Clément, 1989). An additional orientation, however, differentiated HLLs from non-HLLs. Termed an identity-influence orientation, it highlighted HLLs' desire to identify with and make friends with German-speaking Canadians, gain influence over the German-speaking community and understand the problems of German-speaking people in a predominantly English community. These reasons correlated

with the belief that knowing German would contribute to their success and better pay in business. Thus, this orientation was about HLLs' participation in and contribution to the German community. It seems reasonable that such a desire for a meaningful impact could be realized through a career in which German figured prominently.

The theme of identity evident in Noels and Clément's (1989) study also emerges in other theoretical formulations. Several scholars have argued that its notion of integrativeness, with its emphasis on contact and identification with a specific target group, might be recast into a somewhat broader framework in which the self serves as the central organizing concept (e.g. Edmondson, 2004). For instance, Norton (2000) argued that learners invest in developing their second language (L2) skills to the extent that their sense of self and their membership in desirable 'imagined communities'. Elsewhere, Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Self-System Model maintains that a person's vision of themselves in the future as a masterful user of the target language is an important predictor of motivated engagement and learning outcomes. Consistent with this focus on the self and identity, I suggest that the focus on intergroup relations highlighted in 'integrativeness' might be well complemented by a framework that underscores the importance of internalizing the target language as a central aspect of one's self-concept (Noels, 2001, 2009). A useful framework in this regard is SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2002).

SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985) maintains that people who engage in an activity such as learning German because they feel it is consistent with their other values and integral to their sense of self tend to be more engaged in that activity and experience more positive outcomes. However, his or her sense of self. Instead, they may recognize that learning German is relevant to their personal goals, although it is not integral to their identity (e.g. 'Learning German will help me when I visit with my relatives in Germany'; 'German is widely used in physics, and so knowing it will help me in my physics career'). Alternatively, some learners might feel that they ought to learn German as a result of the internalized norms of its importance (e.g. 'losing my German skills would be a waste'; 'I feel guilty not being able to speak with my grandmother') still others may face situational circumstances that reward or punish their engagement in language learning (e.g. program requirements and impending exams). These motivational orientations can be situated along a continuum describing the extent to which the decision to engage in the activity is regulated by self-determined reasons (termed 'integrated' and 'identified' regulations) or by the demands of internalized pressures or external circumstances (termed 'introjected' and 'external' regulations, respectively). Importantly, any one person can have multiple



reasons for learning a language, some of which might be more salient at different times.

The degree to which an activity is internalized into and regulated by the self is distinct from the notion of intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation refers to engagement in the activity because it resonates with an inherent tendency to explore novel situations and challenge one's capacities. A learner who describes aspects of learning German as invigorating and satisfying would be expressing the sentiment associated with intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is similar to the more internalized forms of extrinsic motivation described earlier, in terms of the degree of self-determination and positive outcomes.

Using the SDT framework, a survey of university-level learners of German found that both HLLs and non-HLLs strongly endorsed the position that they were learning German because they found it intrinsically interesting and enjoyable and because they identified personally important reasons for learning the language (see Figure 5.1; Noels, 2005; note: integrated regulation was not assessed in this study). Consistent with these quantitative findings, their responses to an open-ended question about why they were studying German often included themes relating to strong feelings of appreciation for the language and enjoyment the language, as well as reasons indicating a personal connection and investment in the language, as illustrated in the following quote:

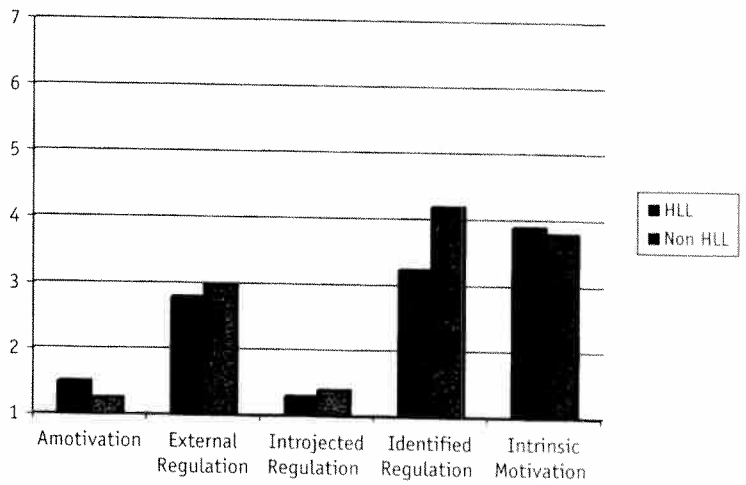


**Figure 5.1** Mean orientation endorsement as a function of learner group (Adapted from Noels, 2005)

> I needed one more elective credit so I thought I'd take something I enjoy and am good at. It will boost my grades a little. Also, my background (relatives) is German and I've been to Germany and loved it. I love the sound of the language. It's important not to be confined by not knowing more than one language. (HLL)

Not all reasons were so strongly positive. As indicated in the quotation, there were also practical constraints to be met (i.e. 'It will boost my grades a little'). Thus, the students also endorsed and expressed reasons for language learning that reflected external pressures to learn the language, such as completing a program requirement. Finally, there was very little endorsement of items and few written expressions of reasons reflecting a self-inflicted pressure that one 'ought to' learn the language, or explicit indications of amotivation.

The HLL and non-HLL groups differed only in the extent to which they were learning the language because it was personally meaningful, such that the HLLs more strongly endorsed this orientation. The significance of the language to their sense of self is corroborated by the findings that HLLs indicated a stronger German identification (but no difference in English identification) and a stronger integrative orientation toward the German community. Perhaps more importantly from an educator's perspective, the more strongly learners expressed self-determination reasons for learning German, the more likely they were to report that they engaged actively in learning German, they intended to study German after the current course was completed and they considered themselves as having strong German language skills.

## Identifying as a HLL

Given the evidence that the internalization of a language into the learner's self-concept is important for motivated engagement in language learning and linguistic outcomes, a further question concerns how identity should be defined. There are many approaches to studying identity and a myriad of aspects that can be assessed (for a review, see Ashmore *et al.*, 2004). A common theme in L2 acquisition research is that ethnolinguistic identity is constructed through social interactions, and hence it is a dynamic 'process of identifying or not identifying with a particular position in life and continually negotiating and modifying this position and attitudes toward it' (Val & Vinogradova, 2010). Consistent with this sociocultural position, I define ethnolinguistic identity as a feeling of belonging to one or more ethnolinguistic reference groups that is contextually variable, reflecting



power differentials between groups in contact and the situational dynamics of face-to-face interactions (Clément & Noels, 1992; see also Noels *et al.*, 2004).

Using a quantitative approach forwarded by Clément and Noels (1992), we can re-examine the data reported in the Noels (2005) study to understand situational variations in German learners' ethnolinguistic identity. In that study, German learners separate scales ranging from 1 to 5 to rate their identification with German and with English speakers across six situational domains (with family, with friends, at school, during leisure activities, at work and in the general public). When the identity indices were averaged across domains, both HLLs and non-HLLs indicated stronger English than German identity, although HLLs expressed greater German identity than did the non-HLLs.

An analysis of situational variations in identity reveals that patterns of identity are much more nuanced than this general index would suggest. As can be seen in Figure 5.2(a), for non-HLLs, English identity is much stronger than German identity, and it varies little across situations. By contrast, ratings of German identity, although relatively low across all domains, show some evidence of situational variability. Non-HLLs report stronger German

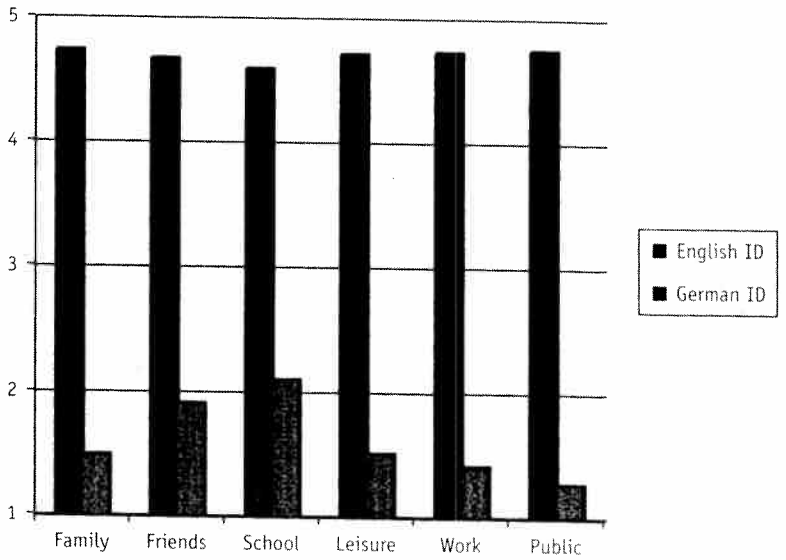


**Figure 5.2** (a) Mean identity as a function of reference group and situation for non-heritage learners of German. (b) Mean identity as a function of reference group and situation for heritage learners of German

identity when in school (where German is taught) and among friends (some of whom might be students from school) than the community, work, leisure and family domains. Thus, even among these relatively novice learners of German, we can see that their ethnolinguistic identity shifts toward that of their interlocutors' in situations where intercultural contact is more likely to take place.

This profile of situational variation in the identities of non-HLLs can be contrasted with that of HLLs. In their case, English identity was also stronger than German identity across all domains, but we can see a clear variation in this general pattern. German is strongest in the family domain, followed by the school domain and the friendship domain, and weakest in the leisure, work and community domains. In a complementary manner, English identity is weakest in the family domain (although this difference is only statistically significant in comparison with the work and community domains). Thus, when one interacts with at least some family members of German descent, we see that German identity is relatively strong, and approaches equivalence with English identity. Although weaker than in the family domain, German identity is relatively strong in other contexts where there is more opportunity for interactions with German speakers (i.e. with friends and at school). Although this is a small sample, these identity profiles are consistent with those of larger-scale studies of minority groups (e.g. Noels *et al.*, 2004, 2009).

These results suggest that global assessments of identity potentially misrepresent the identity experience of language learners. Had we only considered the general assessment, we might have concluded that German HLLs have a rather weak sense of German identity and seem to have assimilated into the Canadian mainstream. A situated perspective indicates that although this possibility might hold in more public domains (where it might be functional to adopt the cultural practices of the broader society), it is less descriptive of identity in more intimate domains. These findings corroborate the claims of several scholars that the self is dynamic, contextualized, and shaped and reshaped through social interaction (e.g. He, 2004, 2010). This snapshot of the average tendencies within this group encourages greater exploration of how HLLs and the people around them create a sense of themselves as speakers of German and members of the German community. This quantitative study could be complemented by ethnographic studies of language socialization or discourse/conversation analyses that delve more deeply into the process by which people negotiate identities across different social interactions.



## Significant others, identity and motivation

If the maintenance and development of German as a HL is valued in Canada, is imperative to explore how a sense that German is personally meaningful can be fostered in German HLLs. There are many accounts of the circumstances under which one might invest in learning a language and claim ownership of that language as a key aspect of the self. One important consideration is the extent to which the student feels that she/he has a sense of agency in the learning process (Norton, 2000; Benson, 2011). This theme of agency is taken up in SDT, which posits that there are three 'psychological needs' that must be filled to facilitate self-regulation (Ryan & Deci, 2002). Autonomy, or the sense that one has voluntarily chosen to engage in an activity because it is personally relevant, is regarded as the key to motivated learning and general well-being. A second need is competence, which refers to a feeling of confidence that one is 'effective in one's ongoing interactions with the social environment and experiencing opportunities to exercise and express one's capacities' (Ryan & Deci, 2002: 7). The need for competence is associated with seeking out 'optimal challenges' that can help a person to enhance their capabilities. Relatedness refers to the sense that one has an emotional connection or 'secure communion' with significant others, who return the feeling. These people might include the teacher and classmates in the language classroom, members of one's family, members of the target language community or any other individual or group who is relevant to the learner. Although these needs can be differentiated theoretically, practically they work in concert to promote well-being, personal growth and motivated engagement.

Some support for this claim in the context of learning German indicates that these three perceptions are associated with a more active engagement in language learning, the intention to continue German studies and a more intrinsic orientation (Noels, 2005). Moreover, HLLs were more likely to endorse these perceptions, and also have greater interaction with the German community, stronger self-evaluation of German competence and stronger German identification. These findings have been followed up with a larger questionnaire survey of German students enrolled in German courses across Canada that considered how family members, German teachers and members of the German community might affect students' self-determination (Noels & Saumure, 2013; see also Noels *et al.*, 2007). The results for non-HLLs indicated that all three fundamental needs were associated with a more self-determined motivational orientation, although autonomy was the strongest of these predictors. Although the teacher was perceived as the most important supporter of all three needs, family

members and members of the German community also fostered non-HLLs motivation by providing constructive feedback on their German and a sense of connectedness. The results for HLLs showed that a more self-determined orientation was associated with a sense of autonomy and, particularly, a strong feeling of connectedness with others. This support came primarily from the German community and the family; in comparison, the German teacher played virtually no role in supporting the motivation.

These results underscore the important differences in the learning contexts for non-HLLs and HLLs. For the foreign language student, it would seem evident that the language teacher would have the greatest influence. The teacher has considerable control over the learning process, from the design of the curriculum, to the choice of course materials and to the manner of evaluation; he/she is the most important provider of feedback to develop the learner's sense of competence; and he/she is likely the most important person with whom the student can establish a sense of connectedness with the German community and culture. By contrast, for HLLs, family and other members of the German community may figure more prominently in their social ecology. Especially in a university-level course with a duration of only a few months, the teacher's impact on student motivation may be modest in comparison. These results suggest that community-based curricula might offer a particularly effective teaching approach for HLLs (e.g. Carriera & Kagan, 2011), along with other opportunities to participate in German culture and communities, such as study abroad programs in German-speaking regions. Within the classroom, instructors might consider teaching conversational strategies, developing pragmatic skills and providing background information essential for initiating and sustaining interaction with German speakers, including family members and others who habitually address the student in English rather than German.

## Issues for Future Consideration

This review of the motivational aspects of German HLLs highlights a recurrent theme in much recent research on L2 learning, that of the central role of self and identity in language development. For both HLLs and non-HLLs, the more German was internalized into the learners' sense of self, the more engaged, persistent and confident the learners. HLLs have an advantage in that they have a distinctively strong connection to the language and culture, and it would seem reasonable to think that they would be particularly successful learners. Some limitations to the studies discussed here, as well as developments in the HLL area more generally, raise several issues that should be addressed in future research.



One limitation of this research is that it is solely focused on learners who are enrolled in formal language classes. Thus, most of the HLLs investigated are those who already have a sufficiently strong and positive connection with the German language and culture that they would invest their time, energy and money in the rather difficult process of language learning. To better understand how one's sense of self is relevant to learning and maintaining a HL and culture, it would be important to explore the issues raised here with those members of the German community who do not feel the need, desire or compunction to enroll in a language class.

Comparisons with L2 learners usefully reveal the distinct motivational and identity profile of HLLs, but comparisons with other HL groups would also be valuable. It is probably safe to say that the majority of research on HL is focused on Asian and Latino Americans, groups that have a strong and increasing vitality in the regions where they study. Given their different opportunities for interaction in public spheres, their potential influence in educational and political realms and their importance to the commerce in their region, the experience of these larger minority language groups might be expected to be substantially different from those of smaller groups. Indeed, scholarly definitions that emphasize the linguistic expertise of the HLL might focus concern on larger minority groups and divert attention from smaller minority groups that are equally deserving of consideration. Particularly in the Canadian context, where multiculturalism and HL maintenance are supported through governmental policies, it is important to use a broad scope to understand the diversity of HLL experiences, including minority groups with less widely spoken languages.

Comparisons across HL groups also provide insight into motivational dynamics that are culturally specific. For instance, Comanaru and Noels (2009) found that Chinese HLLs were similar to the German HLLs studied by Noels (2005) in their endorsement of self-determined reasons for learning the HL, but the two groups differed in that the German group reported levels of introjected regulation similar to those of non-HLLs, whereas the Chinese learners reported much. It is not altogether clear why Chinese speakers report a greater obligation to learn their HL. Perhaps because the Chinese community is large and growing relative to the German community, Chinese HL learners experience more interpersonal interactions in which it is expected that they will communicate effectively in their HL. There may be greater cohesiveness among members, along with a greater sense of commitment to the community. Alternatively, there may be cultural differences in motivational dynamics: a growing body of research indicates that European Americans tend to regard conformity to the wishes of others as undermining their autonomy, but Asian Americans students do not have

such strong negative sentiments about obliging the expectations of close others (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). Thus, comparisons of motivational and identity processes in culturally distinct groups could provide a much needed analysis of the role of cultural values in academic learning.

Further unpacking of the definition of a 'German HLL' would also be helpful. German-Canadians are not a homogeneous group; they originate from not only Germany, Austria and Switzerland, but also Russia, the former Austro-Hungarian empire, other parts of Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. In the face of this diversity, some maintain that developing a cohesive German-Canadian community and articulating a common German-Canadian identity is problematic (e.g. Hoerder, 1998 as cited by Prokop, 2007). Bassler (1998) argues that such difficulties are not insurmountable, since German-Canadians are not bound to identities framed in terms of their countries of origin, but can articulate identities that fit their Canadian experience, including recognition of the fact that German-Canadian identity is subject to regional variations and is changeable over time. His conceptualization of identity, with its emphasis on spatial and temporal dimensions, complements the situated conception of identity presented here. The importance of a temporal dimension is further underscored by Eubel's (2008) finding that advanced students express greater intrinsic motivation to learn German than lower-level students.

In addition to articulating what it means to be affiliated with an ethnolinguistic group, we need to further consider how language and identity figure into the definition of a 'heritage' learner. For some, a narrow definition focused on the linguistic proficiency and patterns of usage is sufficient, especially for linguistic analyses (e.g. Valdès, 2000; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). For others, a broader definition is preferred, including anyone who claims an ancestral connection to the language, whether the language is used in the home or not (e.g. Fishman, 2001; Kondo-Brown, 2005). Identification as a HLL is not isomorphic with HL exposure, use and proficiency, or ancestral background. For instance, in the research described earlier, I found that although the classification of German students as HLLs according to whether one or both of their parents had a 'German-speaking background' showed good correspondence with the response to the question 'Would you consider yourself a heritage language learner (that is, is German a part of your cultural background)?', it was not perfect: 13.8% of those whose parents had a German background did not consider themselves to be a HLL. As observed by Dressler (2010), not all people who could be designated as a German HLL on the basis of their ethnolinguistic background assume this identity whole-heartedly. There is a variety of reasons for their reluctance, including a lack of exposure in the home, a perceived lack of ability, dialect



differences between the school and home and, for some, concerns of stigmatization (Prokop, 2007).

In a complementary manner, we need to consider the experience of people who do not claim a German ancestral background, but who nonetheless have considerable familiarity with German. For example, Dressler (2010) points out that Canadian bilingual programs include children who do not claim German ancestry, but who are linguistically proficient due to an extended stay abroad. Likewise, adult learners may have lived in German-speaking countries and/or have romantic partners or spouses who speak German. For instance, in one of our studies a participant checked a box to indicate that she did not have a HL background, but penciled in 'not mine, but my husband is German'. She elaborated more fully when asked to describe her reasons for learning German:

> I study German because my husband is German. It is part of my children's heritage – my husband's parents immigrated to Canada – many relatives are still in Germany. I want to better understand their culture and also the language so we can converse. Also my son attends German Saturday school and we can learn together this way.

These learners' familiarity with German ways of being and sense of German as a part of themselves is unlike that of many other L2 learners. However, Dressler notes that although some might feel some affiliation with the German culture and/or community, they may not be perceived to have the linguistic expertise or the proper 'inheritance' that would confer on them the status of HLL by members of the German community. As arguments for the creation of HL-focused classes are mounted, one might wonder how such learners might also be accommodated in a way that recognizes not only their linguistic capacities but also their ownership of the language and their distinctive experience with the culture and the community.

## Conclusion

Over the last decade, L2 acquisition research has increasingly emphasized the important role of the self and identity in the development of linguistic and cultural competencies. This chapter further underscores the importance of this theme by articulating how SDT can usefully frame the issues of internalization, agency and motivation in German HL learning. Additionally, it offers a situated approach to understanding the dynamics of HL identity. It is hoped that this perspective, along with other discussions of identity,

can help elucidate what He (2010) terms 'the heart of heritage', thereby complementing the contributions of other disciplines to the understanding of the unique linguistic, pedagogical, social and psychological dynamics of HL learning.

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## Notes

(1) Although precise numbers are difficult to determine, options in earlier years include community language classes, bilingual programming and German language courses in public schools.

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# 6 Learning Chinese as a Heritage Language

Patricia A. Duff and Duanduan Li

Heritage language (HL) learning, teaching and research have been important areas of applied linguistics in Canada since 1971, when a national multicultural policy was implemented (Jedwab, 2000; Pendakur, 1990). Canadian HL education research soon began to examine the experiences of children from a variety of HL backgrounds learning their HLs through educational programs and not simply at home (see reviews in Ashworth, 1988; Benyon & Toohey, 1991; Cummins, 1983, 1991, 1992, 1993; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Danesi *et al.*, 1993; Duff, 2008).[1] These studies also examined teachers' and parents' satisfaction with bilingual (HL) programs, HL students' participation, attitudes, levels of HL and English proficiency, academic achievement and feelings of self-esteem, cultural identity and intra-family communication. The research also benefited from earlier Canadian scholarship on ethnolinguistic identity and vitality in relation to language learning, retention and attitudes (see Duff, 2012a).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been considerable interest in Canada and internationally in processes, outcomes and educational structures supporting HL learners both in and out of school and over their lifespan (e.g. Brinton *et al.*, 2008; Hornberger, 2005; Wiley & Valdés, 2000). The research agenda has also expanded from studies based on social and cognitive psychology, to more sociocultural, post-structural and critical approaches to language learning (see Swain & Deters, 2007), as well as linguistic analyses of intriguing differences between HL and non-HL learners' grammars (e.g. Montrul, 2010). Studies have also examined HL or first language (L1) loss to a greater extent and not just the challenges and rewards of (re)learning a HL (e.g. Kouritzen, 1999). Currently, a prominent theme in HL research worldwide is connected with identity and language learning, retention (or resilience) and language loss (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; He, 2008, 2010; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Leung *et al.*, 1997; Liu & Lo Bianco, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2011).

Figure 2a.
Mean identity as a function of reference group and situation for non-heritage learners of German

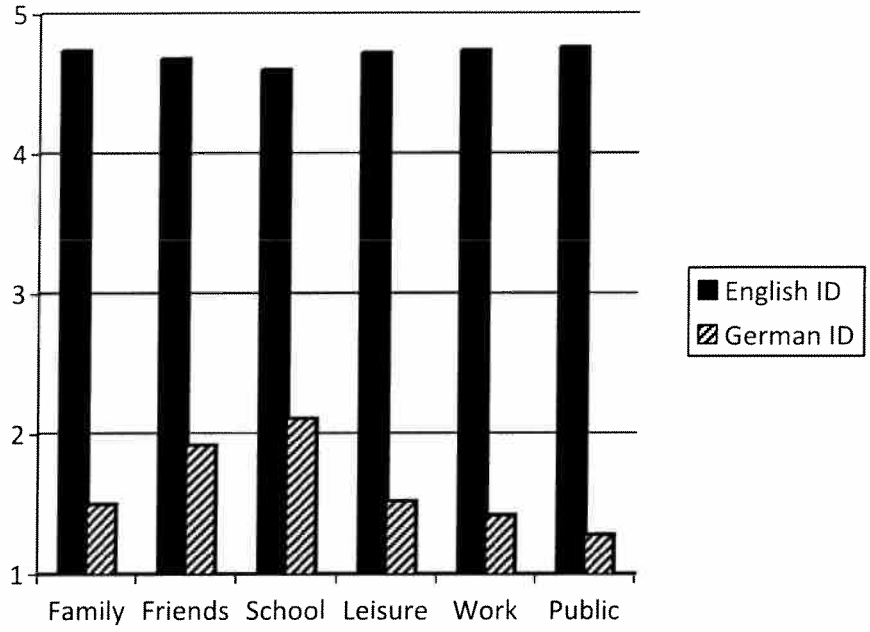
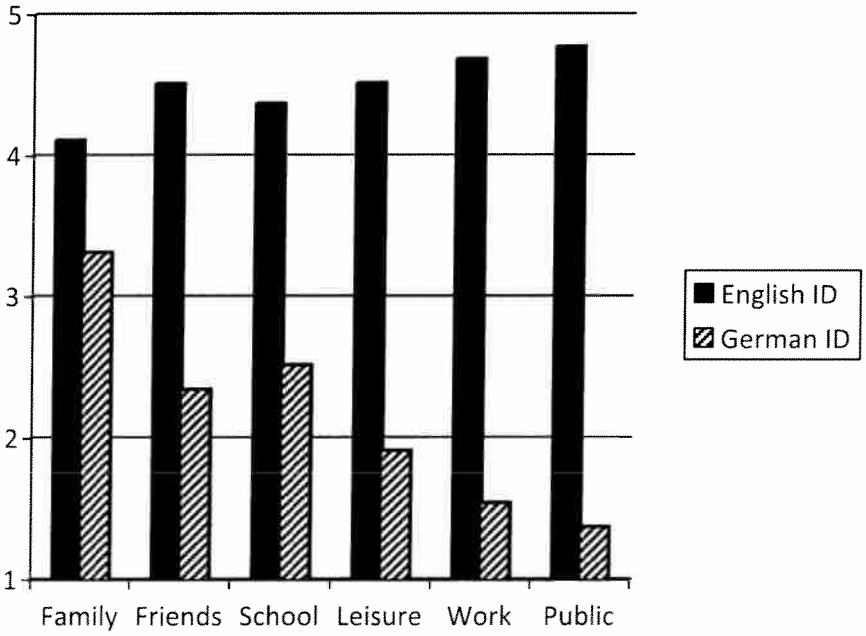



Figure 2b
Mean identity as a function of reference group and situation for heritage learners of German



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