Family Language Policy

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Abstract

This article describes the newly emerging field of family language policy, defined as explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members, and provides an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within families. A comprehensive framework for understanding family language policy is sketched by bringing together two independent and currently disconnected fields of study: language policy and child language acquisition. Within such a framework, this article reviews research on the role of language ideologies in shaping family language practices, and on the connection between different family language policies, such as the one person—one language approach, and child language outcomes. We argue that family language policies are important as they shape children's developmental trajectories, connect in significant ways with children's formal school success, and collectively determine the maintenance and future status of minority languages.

Introduction

Family language policy can be defined as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members. Family language policy is an important area of investigation as it sets the frame for child–caretaker interactions, and, ultimately, child language development (De Houwer 1999), while also providing a window into parental language ideologies, thus reflecting broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language(s) and parenting. Family language policy draws from – and contributes to – two distinct fields of study: language policy and child language acquisition.

The study of language policy includes analysis of language beliefs or ideologies (what people think about language); of language practices (what people do with language); and of efforts to modify or influence those practices through any kind of language intervention, planning, or management (what people try to do to language) (Spolsky 2004). From its inception, language policy (in the early years known as language planning) was concerned

primarily with solving 'language problems' in newly independent, former colonial nations (Berry 1968; Fishman 1968; Fishman et al. 1968; Ray 1968). The field's working assumptions and paradigmatic orientation have shifted dramatically over the last decade, with much less focus on solving language 'problems' and greater emphasis on understanding shifting language policies as part of dynamic social, cultural, and ideological systems (Ricento 2000, 2006; King 2003). However, much of this research continues to focus on language policy and related language use in public space. Indeed, with relatively few exceptions (e.g., Piller 2001, 2002; Okita 2001), nearly all work on language policy, both theoretical and empirical, has examined language policy in institutional contexts, such as the state, the school, or the work place (e.g., Wiley and Wright 2004; Ricento 2006; Robinson et al. 2006), with very little attention to the intimate context of the home.

Child language acquisition, in turn, is the study of through what mechanisms and under what conditions children learn one or more languages in the early years of life (Berko-Gleason 2005). While child language acquisition encompasses a very large domain of study and includes researchers working within distinct theoretical paradigms (e.g., nativism, connectionism, and social interactionism) and diverse research approaches (e.g., experimental and quasiexperimental designs, longitudinal case studies, and naturalistic observation), most child language researchers share the goal of illuminating the mechanisms by which children acquire language at a similar pace and following similar trajectories under diverse learning circumstances (King 2006). Child language acquisition researchers often have focused on detailed analysis of caretakerchild interactions in the context of the home or laboratory settings, with much less attention to parental language learning goals, attitudes, or intentions (cf. Owens 2001; Guasti 2004). Furthermore, the bulk of child language research has focused on first language acquisition, with monolingual development treated as the norm, and, concomitantly, with much less attention to second and bilingual language acquisition (Romaine 1999).

While the fields of language policy and child language acquisition are both broadly concerned with the conditions of language learning and use, their foci are shaped by distinct disciplinary perspectives: language policy is rooted in the sociology of education (Fishman 1968), sociolinguistics (Fasold 1990), and applied linguistics (Spolsky 2004); child language acquisition, in contrast, is a subfield of psychology (Berko-Gleason 2005). As a result, both language policy and child language acquisition have significant 'blind spots' in their approaches and spheres of attention. For instance, a significant area of language policy research in recent years concerns what types of policies best enable the maintenance of endangered languages, such as Navajo in the USA (McCarty 2002; McCarty et al. 2008) or Quechua in Andean nations (Hornberger 1988; King 2001). Yet, important questions, such as whether (and how) school language policies can effectively support minority language acquisition and use in the home, remain unresolved (e.g., Fishman 2001; Hornberger and King 2001; King 2006; Romaine 2006; Hornberger

2008). This is in large part because language policy scholars have tended to focus on 'macro' issues, such as language ideology and language attitudes, and less on 'micro' issues, such as interactional patterns. It is also due to the fact, as mentioned above, that language policy has traditionally focused on public and institutional contexts such as the school or the workplace, with less attention to the intimate sphere of the home and family.

Significant gaps likewise exist within the field of child language acquisition. As an example, basic issues concerning bilingual development – including how much and what types of exposure to the two languages are needed to ensure balanced bilingualism - remain unclear. Furthermore, child language acquisition scholars have yet to advance a satisfactory explanatory model for why children raised under similar conditions (e.g. with English-speaking fathers and Spanish-speaking mothers, each of whom speaks their first language with the child) often experience such different outcomes in terms of language proficiency and preference (Ronjat 1913; Leopold 1939-1949; Sondergaard 1981; Saunders 1982, 1988; Taeschner 1983; Harding and Riley 1986; Arnberg 1987; De Houwer 1990; Döpke 1992; Yamamoto 1995; Lanza 1997). In order to fully address these important questions, the field of child language acquisition must include within the scope of its investigations not just micro-analyses of caretaker-child interactions, but also broader issues, such as parental language ideologies and child-rearing goals, as well as the support and constraints of the wider family and community context.

Family language policy has the potential to bridge exactly this gap by drawing from the substantial body of work in each of these two areas. Such an approach takes into account what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions; their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use; and their goals and efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes. Only by taking such a comprehensive approach will we come to a fuller understanding of the important, cross-disciplinary problem of how parental language ideologies inform the application, realization, and negotiation of family language policies over time as well the short- and long-term impact of such policies on child language outcomes. Such an approach is particularly relevant for researchers of heritage languages and practitioners working with heritage language learners (e.g., Peyton et al. 2001; Polinsky and Kagan 2007), as family language policy approaches deepen our understanding of home language maintenance processes as well as how heritage language learners are best supported.

The field of language policy has traditionally been divided into three subareas: status planning (which concerns the functions of language), corpus planning (on the forms of language), and acquisition planning (on the teaching and learning of language) (Kloss 1969; Cooper 1989). Language policy is often most effective when planning and implementation occurs on multiples levels simultaneously (Fishman 1979). For instance, in the 1980s and 1990s, in the Andean nation of Ecuador, the Indigenous language of Quechua was made an official language of the country (an example of status

planning), a dictionary and grammar for the language was developed (corpus planning), and new, intercultural bilingual education programs were developed to teach and use the language in primary schools (acquisition planning) (King 2001).

Likewise, family language policy consists of decisions and actions in three areas, often undertaken simultaneously. For instance, parents or other caretakers might make decisions concerning whether and when to use Spanish or English with their children (status planning), which variety of Spanish to use for what types of literacy activities (corpus planning), and how and when to formally or informally instruct the language (acquisition planning) (Zentella 1997; King and Fogle 2006; also see Caldas 2006).

Cooper outlined the concerns of language policy in terms of the following question: 'What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?' (1989: 98). Applied to the family context, this same question can be narrowed to 'Which caretakers attempt to influence what behaviors of which family members for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?'

Much research on language policy has focused on multilingual or multidialectal contexts, as it is precisely here where attention and resources are allocated to planning language form, language function, and language instruction. Similarly, most investigations of family language policy have likewise targeted multilingual homes and communities, in which, for instance, parents have different native languages (Okita 2001; Piller 2002), the family's primary language differs from that of the wider community (Wong Fillmore 1991), parents and children have different language preferences or competencies (Fogle 2008), or parents aim to promote a second, foreign, or heritage language in the home (Kouritzin 2000; Caldas 2006).

In the following sections, we review the relationships between family language policy and ideology, and in particular, how language ideologies become enacted in specific language practices and how language ideologies are formed in the first place. Next, we review what research suggests concerning the relationships between family language policies and language learning outcomes for children. Our conclusion argues that family language policy merits our serious attention as these policies and their implementation shape children's cognitive development; connect in significant ways with children's formal school success; and collectively determine the maintenance of that particular language.

Family Language Policy and Ideology

Across many areas, parental ideologies have been theorized to play a role in parenting practices and developmental outcomes for children. Different ideas about the nature of the child, parenting, and the family can be seen to shape cross-cultural differences in practices, behaviors, and outcomes

(Harkness and Super 2006). Language ideologies in particular, or 'representations, either explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world' (Woolard 1998: 3), have been seen to play a role in both language policy and language acquisition processes (Kulick 1993; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; De Houwer 1999; King 2000). For this reason, understanding what language ideologies underlie parenting practices and how these ideologies are formed is of primary concern to family language policy research.

Ideology is often seen to be the underlying force in language practices and planning and therefore has been suggested to be 'the mediating link between language use and social organization' (King 2000: 169). More than one language ideology, however, is often at work in a given community (Spolsky 2004; Shohamy 2006), and the conflict between competing ideologies can be seen as the genesis of language policies. Shohamy, for example, views language policy as a, 'manipulative tool in the continuous battle between ideologies' (450).

The family sphere can become a crucible for such ideological conflicts, as has been seen in work on language shift and revitalization. Studies of Indigenous communities' efforts to revitalize or maintain a native language point to tensions that can arise between conflicting explicit and implicit ideologies (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; King 2000). King (2000), for example, points to how conflict between community members' stated, explicit 'pro-Indigenous' and privately held, implicit 'anti-Indigenous' language ideologies together shaped home language practices toward community language shift. These cases have emphasized both the importance of language ideology in language revitalization efforts and the complex nature of language ideologies themselves. Yet such findings leave open two main questions: how do language ideologies become enacted in specific language practices (or what language practices exemplify ideological stances), and how are language ideologies formed in the first place (i.e., what input do individuals respond to in forming belief systems)?

Parent Language Ideologies and Family Language Practices

To address the first question, that is, how language ideologies become enacted in language practices, we turn to studies of first language socialization that have illuminated the links between cultural beliefs and communicative strategies used by caregivers. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984), for example, showed that the linguistic characteristics of caregivers' child-directed speech were culturally varied and linked to beliefs about the child as a competent interlocutor. For bilingual children, parental ideologies are also theorized to play a crucial role in determining language outcomes. De Houwer (1999) draws on a model from developmental psychology to illustrate the relationship between beliefs, practices, and outcomes (see Figure 1) in childhood bilingualism.

Parental linguistic choices and interaction strategies



Children's language development

Fig. 1. Relationship between parental beliefs/attitudes and children's language development.

As De Houwer notes, the representation in Figure 1 is overly simplistic as these processes are interactive and not unidirectional; for instance, children's own language behavior is shaped by parental language but also in turn impacts parents' beliefs and strategies.

Taking this basic model as a starting point, at least three types of parental ideologies or attitudes impact linguistic practices in bilingual families (De Houwer 1999). First, parents often have clear ideas about which languages should be used for what purposes with their children. Hornberger (1988), for instance, showed how Quechua parents in the Peruvian Andes shared beliefs about in which domains Spanish or Quechua should be used with children. In this case, despite governmental efforts to provide Quechua-Spanish bilingual education in public schools, parents conceived of the school as a Spanish-only domain for formal learning and thus resisted Quechuamedium schooling. Second, parents' attitudes concerning particular types of interactions, such as mixing or use of slang, impact their own child-directed speech. Zentella (1997), as an example, documented how code-switching among multiple generations of Puerto Ricans in New York provides a means for establishing an authentic Nuyorican identity. Third, parents' attitudes towards language learning and bilingualism also come into play in influencing their interactional strategies. King (2001) described how Indigenous Ecuadorian parents' belief that early second language exposure confuses children leads them to promote Spanish only in the home (and concomitantly, to shift away from their Indigenous language).

In addition, parents may vary in what De Houwer calls their 'impact beliefs'; that is, the degree to which parents see themselves as capable of and responsible for shaping their children's language. Kulick (1993), for instance, describes how parents in Papua New Guinea explain their children's monolingualism as the result not of family and community interactional patterns, but as an expression of children's own will and innate personality, allocating 'blame' for language shift to the children themselves. Other researchers have suggested a less direct link between parental ideologies and bilingual child language outcomes, noting the influence of more general cultural attitudes, including, for instance, public controversies surrounding immigration and bilingual education on children's language behavior (Martínez-Roldán and Malavé 2004).

Little work, however, addresses the second question above, that is, how parents form language ideologies and what sources of input influence parental attitudes and beliefs. In Western, information-driven societies, for example, a possible source of input seems to be the professional parenting advice industry that offers books, websites, and training. From the perspective of parents attempting to raise their children bilingually, however, parenting literature or public discourses on bilingualism have been found to play only a limited role. Piller (2001) concluded that very little of the research literature on bilingualism filtered into the family discourse on bilingual childrearing. Furthermore, King and Fogle (2006) found that parents drew on different sources for explaining their bilingual parenting decisions, with expert literature playing a minor role in comparison to other sources, such as examples from family members and their own past language learning experiences.

Parents' language ideologies are also inextricably connected with other aspects of parenthood, including culture-specific notions of what makes a 'good' or 'bad' parent, mother, or father. In this way, public discourse regarding ('good' or 'bad') parenting thus also potentially influences parental beliefs and practices. Okita (2001), for example, described how the 'good mother' identities of Japanese mothers (living in England with English spouses) were vulnerable to unrelenting public advice and recommendations, and concomitant little recognition of the (invisible) work that bilingual parenting entailed, often resulting in maternal guilt, stress, and personal trauma.

LINKS BETWEEN HOME AND SOCIETY LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS

Family patterns of language use and acquisition are both reflected in and reflective of societal patterns. This cyclical or bidirectional relationship between society and family ideologies can be seen in processes that occur across generations. In a study of bilingual child-rearing in the USA, Tuominen (1999: 73) found that parents' policies were often affected by school-age children's attitudes and practices: 'Children in multilingual families are socializing their parents instead of being socialized by them. They are teaching their parents to "speak the same language" as the rest of America.' In this way, American cultural values of assimilation and one nation-one language are replicated in bilingual families despite parents' explicit efforts to maintain the minority language.

Studies focusing on the acquisition of dialectal variation patterns by children also point to the ways in which language use in the family intersects with that of the larger speech community. As children begin to identify with peer groups outside of the home, those groups that reinforce home dialects have been found to promote their maintenance (Hazen 2002). And furthermore, perceptions about standard vs. local varieties of a language can shape the type of language used by parents and even older siblings with younger children. De Houwer (2003), for example, found that families who were users of a local Antwerpian dialect in Belgium tended to use more standard forms with younger children, which, De Houwer concludes, suggests an environment for language change.

The family unit, therefore, can be seen as a site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver—child interactions. It is within the family unit, and particularly bi- or multilingual families, that macro- and micro-processes can be examined as dominant ideologies intersect and compete with local or individual views on language and parenting. These relationships warrant the examination of the role of family language ideologies in language practices and outcomes of child language acquisition in more detail. In the following section, we will review research examining how family language policies indeed affect language learning outcomes for children.

Family Language Policy and Child Language Outcomes

Studies of family language policy can be categorized according to the parental strategies employed in the promotion of bilingualism, as well as by the type, situation, and context of the families studied (Lanza 1992; Romaine 1995). Much of the research on bilingual acquisition in childhood has focused on families enacting the one person-one language (OPOL) approach, in which parents have different native languages, the language of one of the parents is spoken in the wider community (considered the majority language), and each parent speaks their native language to their children (Ronjat 1913; Leopold 1939–1949; Sondergaard 1981; Harding and Riley 1986; Arnberg 1987; De Houwer 1990; Döpke 1992; Kasuya 1998; Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal 2001; Takeuchi 2006). Other researchers have studied OPOL families in which the parents each speak a different minority language in the home (Hoffman 1985), creating a trilingual environment with the third language being the majority language used outside the home, what Romaine (1989) terms 'double non-dominant home language without community support'. Still other OPOL studies have looked at families in which one parent uses a minority language that is not their native language in the home (Saunders 1982, 1988; Fantini 1985; Döpke 1992).

Non-OPOL types of language use in the home have also been an area of active research, including both parents using a minority language (Fantini 1985; Pan 1995; Kouritzin 2000), also referred to as the 'hot-house' approach. Additional non-OPOL family types that have been studied include those that employ a mixed use of languages, where caretakers engage in codeswitching (Lyon 1996). Furthermore, some studies have considered the ways in which families can supplement either OPOL or non-OPOL strategies by employing a paid caretaker who can speak the minority language (Taeschner 1983; King and Logan-Terry 2008) or by sending children to international schools (Swain and Lapkin 1982). These supplemental strategies represent increasingly popular 'additive' approaches to the promotion of bilingualism.

The findings concerning the child outcomes of such different family language policies vary widely, illustrating both relatively successful (Ronjat

1913; Leopold 1939–1949; Saunders 1982, 1988; Taeschner 1983; Harding and Riley 1986; De Houwer 1990) and less successful (Sondergaard 1981; Arnberg 1987; Döpke 1992; Yamamoto 1995; Lanza 1997) bilingual development of the children studied. These varied outcomes in bilingual language proficiency often have been explained by researchers as the result of familyspecific implementational factors, and in particular, the consistency in which the stated policy was adhered to.

Lack of consistency to stated language policy is widely cited by researchers as major reason for less than optimal outcomes. For example, Pan's (1995) study of Chinese families living in the USA found that parents tended to switch into English when the children used English, leading the researcher to predict family language shift towards English. Along similar lines, Lanza's (1997) work with Norwegian-English bilingual families suggests that parental discourse strategies in response to children's majority language use account for the relative success of promoting the minority language among some OPOL families. In Lanza's study of bilingual families in Norway, for example, parents who used a 'minimal grasp' strategy by pretending not to understand when the child chose to speak in Norwegian (the majority language) instead of English (the minority language) were able to promote greater use of English by the child.

According to Lanza's (1997) parental discourse hypothesis (PDH), parents' use of these sorts of discursive strategies is important in determining success of children's minority language maintenance. Correspondingly, Takeuchi (2006), in a study of Japanese families living in Australia, also found that success of children's bilingual language development is related to mothers' consistent use of Japanese, more so than travel to Japan or contact with other Japanese speakers. Similarly, the quality of language interaction (i.e., the childcenteredness of the interaction) has been found to be more important than the mere quantity of time spent with the child (Döpke 1992). Overall, these and other studies (Taeschner 1983; Arnberg 1987; Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal 2001) stress the importance of consistency of parents' language choice in children's successful bilingual development.

Other researchers have noted the importance of making family language policy explicit. For instance, Kasuya (1998) investigated children who were learning Japanese and English through the OPOL strategy while living in the USA. Like Lanza (1997), Kasuya attempted to explore the effectiveness of parental discourse strategies in response to children's use of non-target language by looking at children's subsequent turns. Kasuya's study found that parents used implicit strategies, such as the use of repetition or moving on, more often than explicit strategies, such as the use of instruction or correction; however, Kasuya also reported that parents who made their preference for the use of Japanese quite explicit had the highest success rate in relation to the children's subsequent choice of Japanese.

In turn, other researchers have stressed the importance of age and context in determining success of family language policy. For example, Döpke (1992) suggests that it may be complicated for children to continue to develop in the minority language after they begin to attend school in the majority language. In this way, it seems that the community context plays a crucial role in determining the success of bilingual family language policies. This is also evidenced by Hoffman's (1985) study of a family in the situation of double non-dominant home languages without community support (learning Spanish, German, and English while living in England), which found that children could actively use all three languages, but were English-dominant.

Research has thus addressed a diverse set of family language policies, each of which has been implemented differentially and associated with varied child outcomes. Researchers have pointed to factors such as parents' consistency of language choice, age, and context as important in determining the degree to which these different family language policies are successful in promoting bilingual child language development. While none of these policies has been demonstrated to always result in active knowledge of two languages on the part of the child, research does indicate that lack of attention to language planning in the home may lead to language shift. In other words, at least in some societal contexts, family language policy seems to be necessary but not sufficient for children's bilingual development.

Conclusion: Family Language Policy, Language Maintenance, and Future Research

Family language policy merits our serious attention as these policies and their implementation shape children's development; connect in significant ways with children's formal school success; and taken together, determine whether a particular language will be maintained. Each of these points is discussed briefly below.

How families use and allocate language in the home has implications for cognitive development and educational achievement. In terms of monolingual first language development, there is solid empirical evidence demonstrating that parental language use impacts child language development (Hoff-Ginsberg 1998; Hoff and Naigles 2002; Hoff 2003) and positively correlates with later measurements of IQ (Hart and Risley 1995). There is some evidence that parental language choice mediates this relationship in bi- and multilingual families. Dolson (1985), for instance, studied two groups of Latino children, about half of them came from Spanish-dominant families that had switched to English, the other half continued to speak Spanish. Although the children were similar in terms of family economic status and length of time they had been in US schools, those from Spanish-speaking homes outperformed those from homes that had switched to English on multiple measures, including mathematics skills, Spanish reading vocabulary, academic grade point average, and retention.

One possible interpretation of this significant relationship between academic performance and Spanish-language use in the home is that when parents

insist on using their weaker language for communication at home (in this case, English), children are exposed to less language as well as less complex language, which in turn negatively impacts their linguistic and cognitive development. This interpretation is supported by Snow's work (1990) at the United Nations International School in New York City. She found that children whose parents spoke their native language (be it English or a non-English language) outperformed students whose parents spoke to them in English as their second language on measures of linguistic and academic achievement (a formal definitions task and the California Achievement Test).

In additional to being important for the individual child's development, family language policy lays the foundation for language maintenance. As Joshua Fishman (1991, 2001) has argued persuasively for more than a decade, the bedrock of language maintenance is intergenerational transmission of the language. At the heart of Fishman's work on language maintenance and revitalization is his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, which both characterizes the extent to which a particular language is endangered and serves as a heuristic device to assist communities in targeting their efforts. A crucial point of the scale is Stage 6, intergenerational transmission, in which the threatened language becomes the everyday language of informal, spoken interaction between and within all three generations within the family. This stage, according to Fishman (1991), is both the most difficult and the most critical for language revitalization efforts; it cannot be skipped, substituted, or jumped across. The centrality of Stage 6 is partly based on the premise that functional differentiation is necessary. This is because, as Fishman has argued, language maintenance is not 'a global "total language" task', but rather a 'functionally specific process that must be tackled on wellchosen, functionally specific grounds' (1991: 65).

This functional differentiation and centrality of home and intergenerational transmission have been the most critiqued and considered aspects of Fishman's work, and remain a substantial area of debate and research (e.g., Martin-Jones 1989; Romaine 2006). This debate around intergenerational transmission has evolved as such – at least in part – because we know relatively little about intergenerational transmission as a process, as well as what is needed to adequately support that process. Further as a concept intergenerational transmission remains somewhat ill-defined. This is partially due to the gap between child language acquisition scholars on the one hand, and sociolinguists on the other hand, who tend to ask different questions and to answer them using different methodologies. It is also due to the lack of focus on family language policy discussed above. In contrast to how it is often conceptualized in sociolinguistic and language policy literature, intergenerational transmission is not binary, but a much more dynamic, muddled, and nuanced process, and one in need of further investigation. Indeed, 'the dynamics of intergenerational transmission are perhaps more important to understand than any other relevant factor in assessing the need for language revitalization' (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 6).

Other important directions for future research include greater focus on how such processes are impacted by forces of globalization including the transnational flows of discourses, ideologies, and people as an increasing number of families are separated for long periods of time, and the languages in need (or perceived need) change quickly. Future work should also put greater focus on policies other than OPOL, including those chosen by immigrant families speaking a minority language not supported by the majority language-speaking community as well as the increasingly popular additive approaches of majority-language parents who are not native speakers of a minority language. Lastly, future work might also examine critically how parents and other caretakers define 'success' in family language policy implementation, how this definition changes over time, and what is at stake for children, parents, and communities in working towards this goal.

Short Biography

Kendall A. King is an Associate Professor in the Second Languages and Cultures program at the University of Minnesota. She was previously a professor at Georgetown University, Stockholm University and New York University. Her work addresses social, cultural, and policy perspective on second language learning and bilingualism, with particular attention to Spanish speakers in the USA and in Latin America. Her work has appeared in the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *Journal of Child Language*, *First Language*, and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* and in numerous edited collections. She is an editor of the journal *Language Policy* and of the book, *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity* (April, 2008, Georgetown University Press).

Lyn Fogle is a Doctoral Candidate in Linguistics at Georgetown University. Her interests include language socialization and language policy perspectives on second language learning and bilingualism. Her co-authored work has appeared in the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, and she is the author of a chapter in the forthcoming edited volume *Child's Play: Second Language Acquisition and the Younger Learner* (John Benjamins Publishing Company). She is currently investigating language use and language learning in American families with international adoptees.

Aubrey Logan-Terry is a PhD student at Georgetown University, with research interests that include sociolinguistic approaches to second language acquisition and family discourse, especially in Spanish/English bilingual homes. She has published work related to these areas in *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Innovations in Language Learning and Teaching*, and *Calidoscópio*. Her current work involves a longitudinal case study of interactions between twin girls (from age 2 to 7), examining their language acquisition as well as their gendered use of interactional resources, such as verbal and physical repetition.

Note

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