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Indonesian Heritage Learners' Profiles: A Preliminary Study of Indonesian Heritage Language Learners at UCLA

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Southeast Asian heritage language students have been appearing in great numbers in Southeast Asian language classes throughout the United States over the last ten years. This is certainly true for the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Based on the heritage language (hereafter HL) learners' survey conducted by the UCLA Language Resource Center (Reid & Kagan 1999), all four Southeast Asian language classes, namely Vietnamese, Filipino, Thai and Indonesian at UCLA have HL learners. However, not all heritage language learners are accommodated in classes designed and tailored to meet their needs. Vietnamese, Filipino, and Thai have been able to offer HL classes since the survey was taken. Big enrollments and other resources such as outside funding have made it possible for those HL classes to be held every year. However, Indonesian, which has the smallest enrollments for both HL and non HL learners, has been accommodating HL learners in regular classes.

Indonesian language classes have been offered at University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) since 1999¹ and are housed under the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures. The Indonesian language program at UCLA also gains support from the UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies which was founded in 1999 as well. Up to the beginning of the school year, 2005 we have been able to regularly offer the Introductory Indonesian classes every year. Intermediate and advanced classes are offered when outside funding (such as from Title VI) is available. Starting from the winter quarter of 2003 we have also offered Intermediate Indonesian classes, and we began offering advanced classes in the school year of 2005.

Students who are interested in taking Indonesian language classes across the universities that offer the Indonesian language program in the United States are mostly American and sometimes European and Asian graduate students from different fields of study (many are from anthropology, sociology, history, ethnomusicology, political science, international studies, environment, and forestry) who are going to conduct their research in Indonesia. However, since the Indonesian classes were first offered at UCLA, we have been attracting undergraduate students who are Indonesian American. This does not seem to be the case for the other universities such as Cornell, Yale, the University of Hawaii, the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, Arizona State University, or the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The University of California at Berkeley has started to have Indonesian American students as well. The existence of Indonesian American students in Indonesian language classes seem to be more prominent in California, especially in the greater Los Angeles area where most of the Indonesian immigrants live. There are approximately 14,000 Indonesians² in the Greater Los Angeles Area; they are mostly concentrated in Pomona, Loma Linda, Duarte and the San Gabriel valley. Many of the children of the Indonesians who migrated to Los Angeles in the 1980s are now studying at colleges and universities. Some of these children go to UCLA, and some of those who study at UCLA have shown up in the Indonesian language classes that I have been teaching since 1999.

The number of students taking Indonesian at UCLA is quite small compared to the other Southeast Asian language classes such as Vietnamese and Filipino. The numbers of students every quarter since the Indonesian classes were first offered range from three to eleven. But of those numbers, about 50 % or more of the student population every quarter is Indonesian American, either those born in the United States or brought by their parents to the United States at very early ages and mostly have grown up in California. Some students have parents who are both Indonesians, and for some others, only one of their parents is Indonesian. To call these students heritage language learners is very problematic. Valdés (2000) identifies heritage speakers as bilinguals. They are native speakers in both home language and the dominant language. According to Valdés, “heritage speaker is used to refer to a student of a language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language (p.1).” Valdés’s definition comes within the Spanish-teaching environment where their heritage language learners (hereafter, HLLs) are native speakers of Spanish, or in other words they are bilingual Spanish and English-speaking students.

This definition, although it covers the vast majority of Spanish HLLs and some other HLLs like Russian, Korean, Chinese, etc., does not cover the Indonesian American student population in my Indonesian language classes. Many of my students are barely able to speak the home language. Some may have a receptive skill but may not be able to function communicatively. Extremely few have reached the interpersonal communication skill (ref: Framework of Communicative Modes, Valdés, 2000). Some of my Indonesian American students are not able to conduct face-to-face communication in the heritage language even on simple day-to-day topics. They may know a lot about the traditions and

cultures associated with the home language that may help them in acquiring or reacquiring the HL more easily than the foreign language (hereafter, FL) learners. Their production (i.e., speaking and writing skills) however; are similar to those of FL learners. However, my Indonesian American learners still maintain a closer tie to their heritage language and culture, and they are usually motivated to learn their HL to connect to their family members better or for some of the other reasons that have been cited in the UCLA heritage learners' survey. "Among other things, the HL student survey revealed that students have considerable interest in maintaining their home languages, whether for reasons of identity, engagement with the community or career opportunities" (Reid & Kagan 1999:1).

What makes it even harder to call the students Indonesian heritage language learners is because they do not behave as "a collective entity" in inter group situations as has been suggested by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977, p. 308). The linguistic ability of these learners definitely varies differently. However, they share some commonalities in terms of their ties and access to the heritage language that the non-heritage language learners do not have.

Hornberger and Wang (in press) "believe that there is no one profile of HL learners because they differ from context to context, individual to individual, language to language, and group to group (p. 5)." Their definition of HL learners in the United States context is "Heritage language learners are individuals who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English and who exert their agency in determining whether or not they are HL learners of that heritage language and heritage culture" (p. 44). They also make a distinction between a heritage language speaker and a heritage language learner. Heritage language learners may not be heritage language speakers. On the other hand, heritage language speakers may become heritage language learners. Taking this into account, I call my Indonesian American students in my classes Indonesian heritage language learners (hereafter IHLLs).

This study aims to provide a preliminary and a small scale (due to the very limited number of the students and the short period of time covered) study of Indonesian HLLs that covers both their ethnographic and linguistic profiles. The seven students who are the subjects of this study had been taking the introductory Indonesian class beginning in the fall quarter of 2002, except one, who started in the winter quarter of 2003. The data for the IHLLs' linguistic profile includes their performance in speaking the HL language and their writing assignments in the classes for the whole two quarters. This study is highly qualitative. A more valid measure will need to use quantitative methods. However, due to the extremely limited number of the subjects in this study, I am not yet able to use statistics (except very simple ones) to analyze the data. I use mostly ethnographic methods (surveys, interviews with the students, and interviews with some parents)³ and class and community observations.

A. Ethnographic Profile

Of the ten students who took the Introductory Indonesian classes since the fall quarter 2002, seven were IHLLs. That means 70 % of the students in the class were HLLs. The following table shows the HLLs' reasons for studying Indonesian.

Table 1: Reasons to study HL

Reason	Number of students*
To fulfill the foreign language requirement	3
To be able to communicate with family	4
Trip to Indonesia	1
To speak with other Indonesians	1
Fond of learning languages	1

**Some students gave more than one reason.*

All of these students were undergraduates. Most of these were motivated to learn the HL because they wanted to speak with family members who resided with them in the United States or who resided in Indonesia. Two of the students who gave the fulfillment of the foreign language requirement as the only reason to learn the HL were the ones who were able to speak colloquial spoken Indonesian fluently. They may fall into the category of heritage language speakers, though they still lack many of the social and pragmatic skills that Indonesian native speakers have. This will be discussed further in the linguistic profile section. None of the students gave as reasons for studying the language such phrases as “for their career,” “for better understanding of the culture,” or “research or study about Indonesia.” Their motivation for learning the HL was prominently for practical and communicative use with family members and friends. The following table provides the students' ages upon arrival and their exposure to the HL.

Table 2: Age of Arrival and Exposure to the language

<i>Student</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Indonesian Parents</i>	<i>Home Language</i>	<i>Exposure to HL outside home/family & class</i>
1	California	both	English	friends, trip to the country
2	California	mother	English, a little Indonesian	trip to the country
3	California	both	English, Indonesian	friends, church
4	California	mother	English	trip to the country

5	California	both	English	trip to the country
6	Indonesia: came at the age of 5 1/2	both	English Indonesian	none
7	England: came at the age of 5	both	English Indonesian	friends, trip to the country

Student #1 has a father, who is a native of Sumatra, and her biological mother was Japanese, but her stepmother is also a native of Sumatra. She spoke Indonesian at home until she was about eight years old. But after that she was brought up just speaking English because her parents found that it was too difficult to keep on speaking Indonesian with their children. However, my student heard Indonesian a lot; she understands bits and pieces at home, when she attends Indonesian gatherings or events at the consulate, and also from the Indonesian community she is involved with. Many of the other students faced similar things. Their parents gave up speaking Indonesian with them early on. They remember speaking the HL with their parents when they were very small, but then their parents stopped speaking Indonesian with them. The fact that they used the language when they were small was confirmed when I elicited some vocabulary from them. Sometimes they came up with child vocabulary like *bobo* (to sleep) instead of *tidur*, a word for “to sleep” that Indonesian adults will use when talking to other adults.

Student #2 has a mother who is an Indonesian but a father who is a Caucasian American. She uses English most of the time with her parents and siblings at home. She hears Indonesian from her mother and cousins. Although she had very little Indonesian prior to the class, she excelled throughout the first-year classes. She is one of the most highly motivated students I have ever had. She majors in international development and plans to work for the U.S. government for which her mastery of another language, including her heritage language may come in handy.

Student #3 said that his parents speak Indonesian to him, but he responds in English most of the time. He goes to an Indonesian church, but the people at church speak English to him. However, since they learned that he has been studying Indonesian at school, they have started to speak Indonesian to him, and he tries to speak more Indonesian with them and his family.

Student # 4 has a mother who is an Indonesian and a German American father. Her mother’s first language is Indonesian, but she is fluent in both Dutch and English. At home, English is the primary language, and when in contact with relatives in or from Indonesian, English is the language the student uses because many of her relatives either have studied or reside abroad.

Student #5, on the other hand, has parents who are both Indonesian, yet English is also the primary language used at home. Her parents stopped speaking Indonesian with her

and her sister when they were little because they found that the children understood them less and less.

The parents of student # 6 are both Indonesians who kept using the language at home with their children until they grew up. In comparison to the other IHLLs in her year, she is the most fluent. The classes may be too easy for her because they are not solely geared for IHLLs so I let her skip the first two classes. She took the third quarter of the sequence and benefited the most from the grammar (such as affixation and voice) covered in this quarter. In terms of speaking, listening and reading skills, she is way too advanced for this level, yet she always shows a positive attitude toward learning the language.

Student #7 lived in Jakarta until she was five years old. But when she and her family moved to the United States, her parents spoke English to her, so she grew up speaking English. Her Indonesian was almost gone, but since she started hanging out with her Indonesian friends who speak Indonesian with the Jakartanese dialect, she has gained her Indonesian back, and she speaks like a native Indonesian speaker with a Jakartanese dialect. Of the seven students, only one (student #6) consistently speaks Indonesian with her parents. One of the reasons she said she does this is because her parents cannot speak English. This builds an assumption that if parents cannot speak the dominant language well, their children most likely will speak the HL with them. However, this is not always true. Student #7 said her parents' English is not good, yet they speak English instead of Indonesian to their children. The tendency to give up the HL for the dominant language may occur for a variety of reasons (Au, in press; Brecht, et.al, 2002; Hinton, 1999).

One of the reasons that I have learned from Indonesian parents whose English is poor why they spoke English with their children anyway once they arrived in the United States is a socio-economic reason. They want their children to become full and competent members of the adopted culture and society. They want their children to be successful at their schools and in their careers. In order to do that, the children have to be fluent or they may even need to become native speakers of the dominant language of the adopted society.⁴ So, for that reason they are willing to give up their Indonesian. Some of the parents even say that they later learn English from their small children who pick up English very easily because they are acquiring the language during their critical learning period. Although it seems that both the parents and their children gain some benefits from speaking English to each other instead of Indonesian, this HL attrition does not come without cost.

Some of my students confirm that sometimes it is hard to understand their parents, and sometimes conflicts occur because they think their parents do not understand them well enough because of language problems. Some students are very fortunate to have parents whose English is very good. Many of these parents went to colleges or universities in the United States. Unfortunately, this makes HL attrition takes place even faster because the children of these parents do not feel the need to use the HL at all. When their parents do not encourage them, though, some students regret not being able to speak the HL,

although they do have ties to the HL and culture. Another negative effect is that they cannot speak to the other family members who do not speak English.

Sometimes, although their parents do not speak Indonesian to them, some of my students are lucky enough to pick up the HL from their other family members or friends. However, student #4 is not that fortunate. Although her father, a German American, always encourages his wife to speak Indonesian with her daughter, she does not attempt to speak Indonesian with her daughter. Her English is excellent, and she can speak Dutch as well. Her family speaks Dutch and English. So, my student is surrounded with family members and friends who can speak English to her, even when she visits Indonesia. Therefore, she has never been forced to speak the HL at all. Yet, she is highly motivated to learn the language now because she feels that a part of her is Indonesian, and she wants to be able to speak Indonesian with her family members. Her mother is very happy that she has taken the initiative to learn Indonesian.

What about the Indonesian communities' support for the use of the HL that can lead to the maintenance of the HL and help prevent HL loss? There has been serious consideration of establishing an Indonesian immersion kindergarten and elementary school in the Pomona area which has the biggest Indonesian population in the Greater Los Angeles area.⁵ A community-run Saturday school for Indonesian, such as the one for Thai which teaches Thai to Thai American children in a Buddhist temple in Los Angeles, does not exist yet. There are many Indonesian churches in the Greater Los Angeles area that have Sunday schools to teach the Bible to children of the church members. However, their language of instruction is English because the Sunday school teachers find it hard to speak Indonesian with the children who mostly have been brought up not speaking the language any longer. And the other church members also speak English to the children. The same thing happens to Koran reciting classes for the Indonesian Moslems' children held every Saturday at the Indonesian Consulate in Los Angeles. The teachers used English as their main language of instruction. However, the Indonesian Consulate and the Indonesian community in Los Angeles are now working toward the establishment of a Saturday school to teach the Indonesian American children their heritage language (i.e. Indonesian).⁶ HL attrition seems to come very fast. Language loss has been experienced by the second generation in America whereas in some other HL languages, attrition and language loss start in the third generation. Moreover, it seems that community and institutional support is not yet there for the maintenance of Indonesian.

B. Linguistic Profile

The proficiency levels of IHLLs vary greatly. Based on their self assessments, before they take the class, we can see from the following tables that the HLLs' proficiency starts from 0 (practically no knowledge) to 4 (very good) in different language skills. The following table shows this diversity.

Table 3: Self-assessment Language Skills

Student	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
1	1	0	0	0
2	2	1	0	0
3	1	1	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	3	3	2	2
7	4	3	2	1

From their self-assessments we can see that most students (except students #6 and #7) think they can hear and understand a bit of Indonesian, but some claim that they cannot speak the language at all except for some common expressions such as *Apa kabar?* ('How are you?') and *Terima kasi*' ('Thank you'). They definitely did not know how to read and write before they started to study reading and writing in the class, though they had almost no problem mastering the script because we use Roman script for Indonesian. Once they learned the alphabet system and the sounds of the consonants and vowels (Indonesian is phonetic), they could read and write. The first five students, though some of them claim they can hear a little bit or probably speak a little, can be grouped together into the novice low learner group based on the ACTFL guidelines. In a way, these IHHLs are in the same shoes as novice low FL learners. However, what distinguishes them from FL learners is that they have some ties to their ancestral language, and since they have been exposed to Indonesian and its culture from an early age, they will probably know some vocabulary and the notions behind some strange expressions and structures because of this familiarity. Furthermore, their listening skills or perceptive knowledge and their socio-pragmatic knowledge of the language also has a better start compared to their FL counterparts.

Student #6 and #7 can be categorized as heritage language speakers. They sound like native speakers of the HL. They speak Indonesian with the Jakartanese dialect because of their family backgrounds. Sometimes they have to pause if they have to use words of low frequency. However, compared to native speakers they sometimes lack the socio-pragmatic knowledge of using proper registers in the right situations or contexts. They bring in a lot of colloquial spoken expressions that do not fit in the contexts on their formal spoken and written discourse. Also, we teach standard Indonesian, which has the characteristics of formal Indonesian used in the academic world and media, both in written and spoken discourse in order to prepare the students for interpretive and presentational communicative skills later. But we also touch up colloquial Indonesian to expose the students to some spoken forms. At this point, these students have only interpersonal communicative skills. However, these kinds of students are the ones who fit in the category of traditional HLLs discussed in much of the literature in heritage language studies. They show up in the class ready with interpersonal skills, and they just need to learn interpretive and presentational communicative skills that can be reinforced by some approaches such as giving students authentic readings or showing a talk-show

from an Indonesian TV channel with follow-up assignments such as writing a summary or retelling the stories in their own words and discussing their opinions about the stories in the class.

It will not take as many hours to teach these students to reach high advanced competency compared to the time it will take FL learners or novice HLLs. Most of the literature in heritage language learning (Brecht, et. al, 2002; Kagan & Dillon, 2001; Peyton, et. al., 2001) states that it will take shorter instructional hours for HL learners to reach the expected proficiency because these learners already come with some competencies in the HL. Those competencies include native pronunciation and fluency, a good command of a wide range of syntactic structures, extensive vocabulary, pragmatics and sociolinguistic rules of the target language community, (Campbell and Rosenthal, 2000; Valdés, 2000). Given the fact that HLLs grew up hearing the heritage language and presumably speaking the heritage language at home, pronunciation is probably not an issue anymore with these learners. However, this is not true for the first five students who did not even have interpersonal communicative skills when they started the program. They have an American English accent in their pronunciation of Indonesian. Student #1 and student #4 are a little bit better. What marks their English accent is their heavily aspirated voiceless stops. Indonesian voiceless stops are unaspirated. Some of them also have problems rolling their tongue to pronounce the Indonesian trilled 'r'. Some of them also put stress on the wrong syllables (Indonesian stress is penultimate with some exceptions) and their intonation is sometimes awkward to Indonesian ears. Student #6 and #7 do not seem to have problem with pronunciation; however, they also bring an interesting phenomenon of bringing what they already know (mostly colloquial expressions) to the class. And they also have the tendency to use these expressions in their formal writing.

One of the common mistakes that IHLLs make is misspelling of words that have the vowel 'a'. As previously mentioned Indonesian is phonetic; however, there is a slight difference between the ways some words are pronounced and the ways they are written. This many times involves vowels: 'a', 'i', and 'u', and silent medial and final 'h'. So, because of the different varieties (sometimes dialectical) the students hear and speak, they make mistakes such as misspelling the word *teman* 'friend' as *temen*, *sebenarnya* 'actually' as *sebenernya*, *sudah* 'already' as *suda* or *bawah* 'under' as *bawa* (without final 'h', it has a different meaning that of 'to bring'). The common mistakes that most of these IHLLs make are like those of their proficient counterparts. They also bring colloquial expressions such as *buat* 'for' in the place of *untuk*, *sama* 'and' or 'with' in the place of *dan* or *dengan*, *bikin* 'to make' in the place of *membuat* and *situ* 'there' in the place of *sana* in their formal writing. In terms of morphology and syntax, the IHLLs tend to use the informal genitive marker '-nya'⁷ (used mostly in colloquial spoken language) in their formal writing. The more proficient IHLLs; however, have mastered the discourse particles such as *deh* and *lah* that function as emphatic markers, which are hard to acquire for both FL learners and novice HLLs.

C. Insights for Language Instruction

Indonesian Heritage Language Learners are diverse and different from context to context. However, the majority of the Indonesian heritage language learners, so far, are the ones who start the program with novice-low competence, and although they have some benefits from growing up hearing the language and probably speaking a little bit of the language, they can still be grouped with foreign language learners. The more proficient heritage language learners, who already bring interpersonal communicative skills with them, however, need different treatment. They certainly need different instruction although completely different books (like Spanish for native speakers and Russian for Russians textbooks used to teach Spanish and Russian to heritage language learners) may not be necessary. Some adjustments can be made to currently available textbooks by placing more emphasis on interpretive and presentational skills. Supplementary materials that cover pragmatics and culture may be useful.

Because the number of more proficient Indonesian heritage language learners is so small, financially it is impossible for the institution to open a different track for them. What I have been doing is to let them skip the first one or two quarters (depending upon how proficient they are in the four different skill areas to meet the expected level or the standard of the achievement of the regular students at the end of the quarter), and let them join in the appropriate quarter. Though family and community support for language maintenance are often absent, I still have high hopes for Indonesian heritage language maintenance because of the interest shown by these Indonesian heritage language learners and their high motivation to learn the heritage language so that they can better communicate with their families.

Appendix A

Indonesian Placement Test
UCLA

Name: _____
Date : _____

Student Bio Data

Name: _____ Student ID: _____

Birthplace (City & Country) _____

(If foreign-born, how old were you when you came to the US?) _____

Is either of your parents Indonesian? _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Email : _____

Are you a UCLA student? _____

Are you a student from another institution? What institution? _____

College level/year (Please circle) 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th Grad

Major/Department _____

Why are you interested in taking Indonesian?

- (1) to fulfill the foreign language requirement
 - (2) to fulfill GE requirement
 - (3) to do research
 - (4) other (please explain)
- _____

How long do you intend to take Indonesian?

1 quarter 2 quarters 3 quarters Intermediate Indonesian also

Have you learned Indonesian? _____ Where and When? _____

Have you been to Indonesia? _____ Where and When? _____

How much exposure do you currently have with Indonesian native speakers?

No contact Once to twice a year Once a month

Every weekend Everyday Other (please specify): _____

What kind of exposure to the Indonesian language do you have? _____

What is your present Indonesian language proficiency level?

	None			Very Good	
Listening	0	1	2	3	4
Speaking	0	1	2	3	4
Reading	0	1	2	3	4
Writing	0	1	2	3	4

What other languages do you speak? _____

What other languages have you learned? _____

This placement exam is to determine your proficiency level of Indonesian. Your information is very helpful for the instructor to design activities and extra materials in order to serve the students' needs as much as possible. Please try to answer as many questions as you can. You may leave the room when you are finished. The test result will be announced on the first day of class. You can also contact me at jwijaya@humnet.ucla.edu.

Appendix B

The following is the examples of the questions asked during the interviews with the students.

1. Why do you want to study Indonesian?
2. Who in the family uses Indonesian or other languages of Indonesia?
3. What language(s) do you use the most at home?
What language(s) do you use with your parents and siblings? What language(s) do your parents use with each other? What language(s) do your siblings use with each other?
4. Do you have any contact with families in Indonesia?
If yes, what language do you normally use when communicating with families from and in Indonesia?
5. Have you ever used Indonesian outside home? Who did you use it with?
6. Have you ever attended or involved in any Indonesian community events? Where and when?
7. Do your parents encourage you to speak and learn the language? Why or why not?
8. Do you think studying Indonesian is difficult or easy? Why or why not?

9. Which Indonesian language skill do you master the most? Which one(s) do you want to improve?
10. Do you think studying Indonesian will benefit your future career? Why or why not?

Notes

¹ No record shows that Indonesian has been taught at UCLA prior to 1999 although Toba Batak (one of Indonesian indigenous languages) was used in a linguistic field method class in 1982 (Russell Schuh & Abigail Cohn, personal communication).

² This includes Indonesian Americans and recent immigrants who hold United States permanent residency. This approximate number came from a discussion with the Indonesian community activists who reside in the Greater Los Angeles Area. More accurate statistical information cannot be obtained from a more formal institution such as the Indonesian consulate because they are not able to detect the number of Indonesian Americans since they no longer hold Indonesian passports.

³ Just before the beginning of the fall quarter, students who are interested in taking the Indonesian as well as the other Southeast Asian language classes at UCLA take the placement exam. During the exam, students are requested to fill in student bio-data (see Appendix A), where some of the data in this study derived from. Interviews with students were conducted during the placement exam, class or office hours. The latter was conducted rather informally. Questions (see Appendix B for example) were sometimes thrown during class discussions or conferences. Because of the time and place constraints, I managed to interview only one student's parent. The questions asked during the interview with the parent were concerning language use at home and her opinions about her child's taking her heritage language. The other information was gathered from Indonesian parents during informal gatherings such as friends' visits, parties and community events in California.

⁴ When I went to a party attended mostly by Indonesians in Redlands, California, I was "reprimanded" by an Indonesian old lady, who overheard me using Indonesian to my little son. She was wondering why I did not use English instead. Her view of using the dominant language in lieu of the heritage one for the benefit of the Indonesian American children who grow up in the United States seems very strong.

⁵ This information is from a conversation with some of the activists who were involved in many Indonesian community events in the Greater Los Angeles area, most of whom were journalists.

⁶ Javanese, Bataknese, and the other local languages of Indonesia can also be considered heritage languages. However, the choice of Indonesian is appropriate since its usage as an official and national language encompasses the speakers of other languages.

⁷ Indonesian possessive is indicated by word order, in which possessors are placed after nouns. However in colloquial Indonesian, the genitive marker *-nya* is often attached to the nouns to mark possessive though its occurrence is somewhat redundant.

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