

## GREEK HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

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### ABSTRACT

The present literature review focuses on Greek heritage language education. Over the last decade, this field of research has made significant advancements, resulting in numerous studies and publications on various educational aspects of heritage language education, including interdisciplinary work and collaboration among education stakeholders and researchers. The present review outlines the most recent advancements in the field, and summarizes the studies published over the last decade. It is highlighted that studies in heritage language education have revealed significant results with both theoretical and practical implications, including implications for heritage language teaching practice and various education stakeholders. Finally, new directions for future research in the field are discussed, highlighting the need to advance our knowledge, develop more effective and inclusive heritage language pedagogies, and provide evidence of good practice and evidence-based teaching methods and techniques.

**Keywords:** Heritage language education, language learning, teaching practices, plurilingual pedagogies, Greek heritage language teaching.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Heritage language education is crucial for supporting the language acquisition of heritage language learners and for maintaining their bi/multilingualism (Torres, 2024). Heritage language teaching programs and techniques should be based on heritage language learners's and their community's linguistic and social needs and goals (Gavriilidou, 2024). Thus, these programs should align with and reflect the identities of heritage language students, enhancing their critical skills, promoting equity, and leveraging their real-world linguistic resources (Torres, 2024).

Furthermore, the need for more targeted support for heritage language teachers is crucial to empower the next generation of them (Zhang et al., 2024), including professional development initiatives, training, and flexible policies. To date, several best practices have been highlighted in the teaching of heritage languages in various settings, such as complementary schools (see Goginava, 2024, for a review).

Meanwhile, the COVID-19 pandemic led to unprecedented changes in heritage language education (Hatoss et al., 2024), creating new translocal and digital spaces at the levels of planning, policymaking, and teaching heritage languages. Thus, the pandemic imposed severe difficulties on teachers, parents, and heritage learners, who were largely left unsupported in terms of heritage

language teaching (Koutsogiannis et al., 2024; Lytra, 2024). Nevertheless, it also created new opportunities for innovative and more critical multicultural pedagogies, although these pedagogies were not often integrated into the heritage language classroom (Lytra, 2024; Hatoss et al., 2024).

In the present study, we summarize these findings based on the literature on Greek heritage language education. Studies conducted over the past decade (2015-2025) are included. The structure of the literature review is as follows: Section 2 presents research on the perception and attitudes of parents and teachers, followed by recent findings on language learning gains of Greek heritage language instruction (Section 3). Section 4 is devoted to family language policies and their connection with heritage language education. Sections 5 and 6 discuss literacy and teaching practices, respectively, followed by a discussion on the use of digital technologies (section 7) and plurilingual practices (section 8) within the heritage language classroom. The last two sections are devoted to the design of heritage language curricula, programs, and teaching materials (Section 9) and textbooks used in the heritage language classroom (Section 10).

## **2. Perceptions and attitudes**

Several recurring themes have been observed across studies in heritage language education, based on the perceptions of teachers and parents. One of them is the issue of identity, which is a dominant theme across teachers' and parents' perceptions and attitudes in several learning contexts (complementary schools, non-mixed Greek schools, etc.). These studies report that teachers and parents view heritage language instruction as a tool for preserving the students' Greek linguistic and cultural identity (Flaskos, 2022). Other recurring themes are the challenges with or lack of professional development training, as well as a lack of knowledge on heritage language acquisition and instruction. In addition, the limited time allocated for heritage language instruction and the outdated instruction materials have also been reported as recurring themes.

Chatzidaki (2019) explored teachers' perceptions about the role of non-mixed Greek schools in Germany, which follow the Greek curricula from Greece, within the context of the new wave of Greek migrants. The findings suggest that Greek teachers in these schools consider their role indispensable primarily because, according to their perceptions, they contribute to the maintenance of the students' "pure" Greek identity and because they align with the educational and psychological needs of new migrants. However, students' sociolinguistic experiences in Germany are only briefly discussed or not discussed at all, even though they are highly fluent and/or dominant in German. Furthermore, the teachers' focus is more on the students' difficulties rather than their multilingual resources and agency.

Stylou (2019) also presents similar findings reporting on Greek heritage language education in Germany. Despite the numerous new challenges encountered by Greek heritage language teachers across various school types (i.e., the shutdown of various Greek language schools, the reductions in educational coordinators and teaching staff, the Greek language teaching by non-qualified teachers, and the missed chances for professional development), no adjustment in their teaching practices was reported.

In a similar vein, Akavalou (2020) explored the perceptions of Greek heritage language teachers in Sweden. In terms of Greek heritage language education, her findings are in line with previous studies on the perceptions of heritage teachers. Furthermore, the following themes are highlighted

in the study: (a) heritage language teachers as spaces of secure identity negotiation who also partially formulate their students' ethnic identity, (b) their self-perception of their role as "cultural mediators" ensuring heritage language maintenance, and (c) absence of multilingual pedagogies and application of monolingual teaching practices to promote language maintenance, in line with Tisizi (2022) among others. Themes (a) and (b) are also reported in Becker (2022; 2024), which explores the perceptions of Greek heritage language teachers in a complementary school in Switzerland, the negotiation of their multilingual identities, as well as their students' multilingual identity construction. Becker (2022; 2024) also reports that the teachers' understanding of their role and responsibility, along with their own migration experiences and ideologies, impacts the construction of the students' multilingual identity.

Alkalaki (2021) focuses on Greek heritage language teachers' perceptions of their pedagogical content knowledge. The findings reveal a distinction based on teaching experience, with more experienced teachers being more autonomous and confident in resolving unexpected issues, creating more personalized assessments, and incorporating more advanced pedagogical content into their teaching. On the other hand, less experienced teachers reported feeling more insecure when facing challenges and unexpected issues, with the various levels of proficiency within the classroom being one of the key concerns. Thus, the study highlights the need for further training of teachers in heritage language education.

Kirsch (2019) also deals with teachers' perceptions of Greek heritage language education in complementary schools in Luxembourg. Importantly, this is one of the limited number of studies that also explores students' and their parents' perceptions in addition to the teachers' perceptions. In terms of the parents' perceptions, Greek was not identified as an educational priority, despite their high expectations for language competence in Greek. In terms of children, they were not found to exhibit a shared multilingual identity, probably due to their very young age and the limited time they spent with their classmates in the complementary school. Teachers were found to value and respect students' multilingualism, although they did not exploit or build on it, thus leaving their students' linguistic repertoires in the background.

Employing questionnaires and interviews with Greek heritage language students and Greek educators, Aravossitas & Oikonomakou (2018, 2020) and Aravossitas (2016, 2023) explored Greek heritage language education in Canada. The study highlights the topic of teaching mixed classes comprising both (adult) heritage and foreign language learners, as well as the need for further professional and academic development and training of heritage Greek language teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Based on data from Greek university students, those who wish to attend Greek courses by studying in university programs want better to learn the language as part of their identity. Teachers also acknowledge the need and desire to participate in professional development programs and to enhance their skills in both pedagogy and heritage language teaching (Oikonomakou & Aravossitas, 2017, p. 9). Furthermore, it is noted that in semi-formal education settings, language courses are often offered without specific structures, syllabi, or objectives, and feature mixed groups of learners in terms of proficiency and age. In a similar vein, Aravossitas & Oikonomakou (2020) study various aspects of heritage language teaching and learning in primary, secondary, and tertiary settings. In addition, Oikonomakou, Aravossitas, and Skourtou (2018) also explore heritage/foreign language teaching education in Canada. The

dominant issue in their analysis is the participants' identity, which is closely linked with their motivation for (further) learning the language.

Aravositas & Tisizi (2025), Aravossitas (2022) and Tisizi (2020) also explore teachers' perceptions and practices regarding Greek heritage language education in Canada, both before and after the pandemic. It is reported that more challenges were created during the pandemic (i.e., motivating/engaging students, lack of exposure to Greek outside the heritage classroom, working with heritage learners of various proficiency levels, lack of online digital materials, teachers' financial insecurity due to dropouts/low enrolment, higher language learning gaps due to missing classes during the pandemic), some of which exacerbated previously known difficulties. However, more opportunities for collaboration and innovative pedagogies were created, although not being exploited in most cases, in line with Lytra (2024) (i.e., collaborative/cooperative learning activities among students, teachers' training on heritage language teaching and online teaching, and collaboration across heritage language schools).

At the administrative level, managing heritage schools is demanding and challenging (Flaskos, 2022). Such schools have been found to become unpopular among new migrants or first-generation immigrants, as opposed to second- and third-generation immigrants (Koutsogiannis et al., 2024), and in contrast with non-mixed Greek schools (see Chatzidaki, 2019). Thus, it is of utmost importance for these schools to evaluate their programs and services, making them relevant to the current needs and social and learning realities of their learners. Recently, Zoupa & Karlis (2025) shared evidence from the administration of a Greek heritage school in Ottawa, Canada. Using semi-structured interviews, the perceptions of several administrators, including parents and guardians, are reported. The results reveal that cultural, ethnic, and religious values were predominant in the structure of the administration, accompanied by objectives to instill a love for Greek culture and support Greek language learning. Despite these strengths, the administrators reported three main weaknesses: funding, human resources, and insufficient time for implementing the program. Furthermore, they reported several recommendations for further improvement, such as hiring teachers with higher qualifications, incorporating more Greek-content activities, providing additional training and support for teachers in the teaching of Greek as a heritage language through seminars, establishing school partnerships with schools in Greece, and allocating more human and financial resources. Similar results have been reported in Flaskos (2022). Finally, several studies (e.g., Flaskos, 2022; Zoupa & Karlis, 2025) report that many heritage language schools face challenges in maintaining enrollments as students age, primarily due to the high academic demands of their mainstream schools.

### **3. Effectiveness and language learning gains**

To date, studies examining the learning outcomes of specific teaching interventions designed to enhance students' language skills in their heritage language are limited. This is surprising and crucial, given the numerous studies on the acquisition of heritage languages over the last decade. Thus, more studies should address this issue and design, implement, and objectively evaluate teaching interventions that help heritage children and adolescents with the language areas and phenomena that are known to exhibit difficulties. Focusing on Greek as a heritage language, Ouli and Konta (2025) explored the acquisition of the past tense among Greek heritage speakers by implementing and evaluating two teaching protocols for the teaching of the past tense, which is known to be vulnerable in Greek heritage children. They exploited two Focus-on-Form teaching

interventions. These interventions are drawn from the field of second language teaching and aim to draw learners' attention to the grammatical form while they process the sentence/text for meaning. They compared the teaching interventions of Production-based instruction with collaborative tasks and Processing Instruction. The first technique aims to develop students' production skills, while the second one focuses on altering the incorrect processing strategies they may have created before acquiring the target form. Employing a pre- vs. (delayed) post-test design, they found that both teaching intervention techniques were effective, since children increased their grammatical accuracy, especially their production from pre- to post-test.

Charalampidi et al. (2017) conducted a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) study to promote both language learning in the heritage language and subject learning (environmental pollution and climate change) in a Greek complementary school in London with adolescent Greek heritage students over a two-month period. Evaluation of the project was based on both objective measures (i.e., subject- and language-related pre-/post-tests, essays, etc.) as well as students' evaluation in terms of their attitudes and perceptions towards the project. Overall, it was found that the project was effective in helping students with both language and content learning. The students also evaluated the project in this manner. Crucially, they reported that the project was of significant help in supporting their performance on the subject at their English school. This was achieved through multilingualism and code-switching among other practices.

#### **4. Family language policy and heritage language education**

One of the recurring themes in the literature on Greek heritage language education is the role of family language ideologies and policies in the education of heritage learners of Greek. Thus, efforts towards maintaining Greek (Koutsogiannis et al., 2024; Karatsareas, 2021a, b) and enhancing primarily communication skills in the heritage language for maintaining social relations with the Greek relatives (Flaskos, 2022) have often been reported in the literature. On the other hand, a counterargument has also been identified in the literature, with Greek immigrant parents in Germany delaying their children's Greek heritage language (semi-formal) education during the first years of migration to enhance their children's language skills in the language of the host country and, in turn, their integration (Koutsogiannis et al., 2024). Furthermore, Karatsareas (2021b) also reports on the monolingual family perceptions of the new Greek immigrants in the UK, which in turn create conflicts and tension with heritage language teachers, since the latter are expected to promote "correct" standard Greek rather than including multilingual teaching practices which align with the students' living experiences. Koutsogiannis et al. (2024) further found that Greek migrants' family decisions on the child's heritage language education are also affected by the quality of educational settings at their disposal, the educational and professional background of the teacher, and geographical distance.

#### **5. Literacy practices**

Koutsogiannis et al. (2024) is one of the few studies in the field of Greek heritage language education that focused on and elicited data from Greek migrant children and adolescents. In contrast with the vast majority of the literature, which focuses on teachers' perceptions of heritage language education, Koutsogiannis et al. explored how heritage learners themselves experience their heritage language education. In this way, the target population comes to the foreground, and several new insights are gained into their own cognitive, linguistic, social, and emotional engagement with heritage language learning. Thus, Koutsogiannis et al. explored Greek heritage

adolescent students' (school) literacy practices in Australia and Germany. Students reported that Greek literacy practices, especially those related to school, were lagging (p. 83) due to the dominance of the language of formal education. It is also reported that most of those had stopped attending complementary Greek courses and experienced difficulties in expressing themselves in Greek. Koutsogiannis et al. note that certain ideological and social factors (crucial for heritage language education) are often influenced by their parents' practices, decisions, and ideological perspectives regarding learning and maintaining the Greek language (see the previous section). Furthermore, technology and digital platforms affected their practices, primarily in home settings, making them transnational and multimodal. However, such routines vary significantly among individuals. Interestingly, children and adolescents were found to engage socially and emotionally to varying degrees, reflecting their agency, i.e., they are active participants in their own lived experiences.

## **6. Teaching practices**

Traditional and teacher-centered teaching practices have been reported quite systematically in heritage language instruction (Flaskos, 2022). Such practices include rote learning, exercises, and drills for practicing grammar rules, memorizing, and copying what the teachers have written on the board, among others. Few studies report more student-centered and communicative approaches, let alone multilingual and culturally responsive practices. The most dominant theme observed was the resistance of many heritage language teachers to consciously employ plurilingual practices and plan and integrate them as an integral component of their teaching practices. However, many of them have been reported to value and accept multilingualism. This has been associated with their own cultural identity and language ideologies, i.e., preserving Greek, speaking "pure" and "correct" Greek.

Tisizi (2020b) reports three main teaching practices in complementary schools in Toronto: a) following the pace of the majority in classes with heritage learners of various levels of proficiency, b) grouping strategies in which groups of students work on different teaching materials based on the proficiency level, and c) preference for micro-based teaching and explicit emphasis on form. In terms of (b), some teachers of the study did not adopt this strategy because they found it discouraging for less advanced students. In terms of (c), teachers primarily used textbooks targeting monolingual native speakers of Greek or textbooks for Greek as a second language. These textbooks focused on grammar and dictation exercises, reading comprehension of texts, revision, and formal individual assessments.

In a similar vein, Koutsogiannis et al. (2024) thoroughly analyze the diverse teaching practices they find in their study. They highlight that these are modulated by the different complex and multi-layered sociolinguistic and educational contexts and the corresponding groups that act within them (teachers, families, students), along with influence from both the heavy Greek educational tradition but also the more novel local educational cultures and pedagogies in countries such as Australia and Germany. Thus, teaching practices in Greek heritage language education vary significantly and are hybrid and quite diverse.

## **7. Digital technologies in teaching Greek as a heritage language**

According to the studies presented in the current literature review, the use of digital technologies in teaching Greek as a heritage language is limited. When it occurs, it is usually employed

superficially, i.e., when replacing textbooks during the pandemic era, conservatively and traditionally (the textbook is scanned and uploaded). Thus, the textbook-centered logic behind such practices is predominant (Koutsogiannis et al., 2024). On the other hand, as Koutsogiannis et al. point out, the local teaching practices within the heritage students' formal education are substantially different from the traditional ways in which Greek heritage language teachers utilize digital technologies in their classrooms. Thus, an asymmetry is created, which also further perpetuates the students' dissociation from the heritage language classroom. Thus, digital technologies need to be integrated more substantially and critically within classroom practice, creating space for new digital pedagogies that reflect students' educational, social, and linguistic experiences.

One such attempt is conducted in Charitonos et al. (2016). Chritonos et al. employed a learner-centered pedagogical approach to integrate mobile technologies within heritage language learning and teaching in the context of Greek complementary schools in the UK. This consisted of multiple online sessions in which students participated in object-based missions. The goal of students was to uncover the interplay between language and certain social and cultural aspects of their living experiences. The preliminary findings revealed that students' engagement was mediated by their digital skills and experiences with technology, and that some of them experienced anxiety when posting comments in Greek online.

Building on ethnographic research and translingual and transcultural language education, Lytra (2024) analyzed teachers' practices in a Greek heritage language school in francophone Switzerland during the first COVID-19 lockdown, where teaching was conducted online. During this time, teachers lacked formal guidance and had to make decisions regarding practical, educational/pedagogical, and policy-related matters. The results revealed that the teachers had to act as emergency grassroots policy makers (p. 586). Their practices consist of a combination of learner-centered approaches and well-established, traditional pedagogies that rely heavily on textbooks. Teachers had to make decisions regarding the way they delivered the curriculum, how and to what extent they would meet literacy objectives, how to keep students' engagement, and how to meet expectations raised by parents. Furthermore, teachers leveraged students' digital skills by integrating multimedia and digital materials, creating more opportunities for interactive learning. However, their practices replicated traditional pedagogies in online education rather than constructing a new, multimodal, and multilingual learning experience. Thus, digital tools created a transitional learning space, although not radically transformative for the application of integrative multilingual and multimodal pedagogies, primarily due to systemic constraints, such as a lack of training and digital resources.

## **8. Plurilingual practices in teaching Greek as a heritage language**

Lytra et al. (2023) demonstrate that incorporating aspects of translingual and transcultural teaching practices decenters static monolingual ideologies within the heritage language classroom. They also emphasize that such practices are essential for young children, enabling them to expand later and utilize all their linguistic resources in literacy activities as well.

Karatsareas (2021a) also reports similar findings for the complementary Greek schools in the UK, exploring their reaction and practices towards their students' ethnolinguistic diversity during the post-crisis new migration wave. The schools have been reported to operate under outdated

assumptions that the Greek-speaking community is homogeneous, rather than exploring the multilingual and multicultural experiences of their students. This has also been found in Flaskos (2022) for Greek heritage schools in the US. Karatsareas (2021a) found that some teachers appeared to be more flexible and open to integrating new pedagogies and teaching practices in their classroom, such as plurilingual and culturally integrated practices. However, others were more reluctant, primarily in the effort to maintain the traditional ideology of language maintenance and Greek identity. Crucially, the acceptance of other languages in the classroom is reported to be mostly unplanned, informal, and not an integral part of an official, systematic reform or curriculum (Paspali, 2025), towards a plurilingual practice and more culturally integrated pedagogy. These findings align with Flaskos (2022), who reports a mismatch between students' home language multilingual practices and the heritage school's expectations about "correct Greek".

Similar results from a complementary school in multilingual Montreal are reported in Panagiotopoulou et al. (2015). The authors report that teachers' language ideologies were conflicting, i.e., from more supportive and open to students' multilingualism to quite strict monolingual perceptions (see also Tisizi, 2022). Again, although all teachers valued multilingualism, only some of them would be willing to embed multilingual practices in their teaching.

Furthermore, Karatsareas (2021b) reports that incoming Greek migrants to the UK positioned themselves as linguistic authorities, devaluing the dialectal and multilingual language repertoires of the Greek Cypriot communities in their children's complementary school. Thus, they promoted standard Greek monolingual ideologies, expecting teaching practices and teachers to align with them. However, teachers often resisted this discourse of legitimate Greek and supported the multilingual practices of the local community stemming from their different living and language experiences.

## **9. Designing curricula, programs, and teaching materials**

To date, novel curricula for teaching Greek as a heritage language are limited. Thus, teaching practice is, to a certain extent, based on outdated textbooks and materials in several countries, as well as in Greek heritage language schools (i.e., Gavriilidou, 2024; Koutsogiannis, 2024). Some of the early efforts in this direction took place between 1997 and 2018 (e.g., Hatzidaki, 2016; Mattheoudakis, 2020; see also Balodimas-Bartolomei & Katsas, 2020, regarding the Heritage Greece Program).

Gavriilidou (2024), Gavriilidou & Mitsiaki (2022), and Gavriilidou et al. (2023) developed and implemented a new curriculum for teaching Greek as a heritage language in the United States, tailored to the educational needs (Gavriilidou & Mitits, 2021; 2024) of the community and its learners. It consisted of three syllabi corresponding to three distinct levels of proficiency, focusing on communication skills, culture, academic content, comparisons, and communities through approaches drawn from multiliteracies, project- and task-based teaching, as well as culturally embedded approaches. It also contains several resources for education stakeholders and promotes dialectical awareness, bilingualism, heritage bilingual identity, and critical thinking skills. In a similar vein, Mitits & Gavriilidou (2024) designed a needs-based education program for teaching Greek as a heritage language to adult heritage speakers. They also emphasize the need for teacher training in specific heritage language teaching techniques, approaches, and methodologies. They

also point out that the evaluation of heritage language programs should be conducted by the learners frequently and adjusted based on their feedback and classroom realities.

Kaliambou (2025) reports on the Modern Greek language program within the Hellenic studies program at Yale University, which consists of students with diverse cultural and language backgrounds. A significant proportion of the students are Greek heritage learners (35-50%). The program draws from task-based learning, heritage language acquisition, intercultural communication, multiliteracies, and language learning beyond the curriculum.

Drawing on experiential learning and cultural integration, Lekakou (2025) presents Process Drama as a methodological tool for developing heritage language learners' cultural awareness and understanding of Greek culture. By employing educational drama techniques, she argues that this methodological tool not only helps learners promote their communicative skills in Greek but also enhances their engagement.

Furthermore, Griva et al. (2018) developed and implemented an educational program tailored to the needs of students who learn Greek as a second or foreign language in a Greek primary school recognized by the Hellenic Republic. The program is based on the guidelines of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. It is student-centered and flexible, while simultaneously promoting intercultural communication, multiliteracy, metalinguistic awareness, cognitive skills, students' creativity, and critical thinking skills.

## **10. Textbooks**

Research on and analysis of school textbooks for teaching Greek as a heritage language is limited. Kaliambou (2020) reviews and critically discusses the first four schoolbooks for Greek heritage children in the US. These books illustrate a socially conservative perspective aimed at meeting the efforts of the older generation in shaping the ethnic identity of Greek-Americans. These schoolbooks reflect the ideology behind these efforts, i.e., learning Greek to save the language, enhancing the triptych "homeland, religion, family", and revolve around traditional teaching practices (i.e., rules, copying rules, memorizing rules, and orthography) also employed in Greece. It is only later that the schoolbooks begin to incorporate a more communicative teaching method. (Balodimas-Bartolomei, 2020 for further information).

Koutsogiannis et al. (2024) distinguish three main categories of Greek teaching materials. The first category includes materials such as textbooks developed in Greece. The second category includes materials such as textbooks developed for learners in the Greek diaspora, and the third category comprises teaching materials (i.e., worksheets, photocopies) that were locally relevant and tailored by teachers to meet the students' needs. The last category is the least frequent one. The authors further highlight the lack of a clear connection among curricula, teachers' preparation, and assessment, reflecting a fragmented perception of instruction without coherence and clear goals.

Numerous studies have demonstrated that a substantial portion of heritage language instruction relies on teaching materials that students dislike, leading to low engagement. At the same time, most of these materials are teacher-centered, leaving little space for students' agency and mutual co-construction of their learning experience.

## 11. Conclusion

Over the last decade, it is evident that the field of Greek heritage language education has made significant advancements, as reflected in the increasing number of studies conducted. Despite the recent findings, certain topics remain underexplored and need further investigation. In terms of heritage language learning, studies on actual language learning gains and outcomes are scarce. This is of utmost importance because it further promotes teaching materials and programs that are not only novel and tailored to the needs of the target population (i.e., plurilingual, digitally informed, and inclusive etc.) but also evidence-based (i.e., evidence showing that they are indeed effective and if so, to what extent). Such studies on the effectiveness of certain programs and/or teaching methods cannot be based on data from teachers' and students' subjective perceptions and attitudes, but on objective language (and content) measures employing well-designed and controlled pre-/post-intervention measurements, as in Ouli & Konta (2025) and Charalampidi et al. (2017). Heritage language education research over the last decade has primarily focused on the perceptions of education stakeholders regarding their educational challenges, changes, novelties, and attitudes towards heritage languages, multilingualism, and cultural and linguistic identity. However, the design and implementation of specific teaching interventions and programs, as well as training for heritage language teachers, were not as prevalent. Thus, this line of research should be further extended to provide heritage language education stakeholders with the tools to support heritage language teaching and heritage language speakers.

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