

**LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG ADOLESCENT HERITAGE
SPANISH STUDENTS**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation describes the language and identity trajectories of twelve purposefully selected heritage Spanish adolescents who were currently studying in a heritage language program within an urban high school in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. These twelve students represented six sibling groups and five different nationalities, specifically Dominican, Ecuadorian, Puerto Rican, Salvadorian, and Venezuelan. The research questions were: 1) How do Hispanic heritage students negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities?; 2) What is the role of the heritage language in those negotiated identities?; 3) Do these negotiated identities influence their investment to maintain the heritage language?; 4) What are the linguistic manifestations of the Spanish spoken by these bilingual students?

Findings of the study revealed that 1) the study participants negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities in a variety of ways, 2) for some of these students, the heritage language is part of their ‘out of school’ identities, 3) the dominant language ideologies of the school system have had a significant impact on the heritage students’ investment in HL practice, and 4) although each participant’s identity and linguistic trajectories are distinct, they each have maintained, to a greater or lesser degree, the aspectual preterit/imperfect contrast, and, at the same time have displayed some level of incomplete acquisition of the subjunctive mood. The implications of these findings as they relate to the fields of bilingualism, languages in contact and the developing theory of Heritage Language Acquisition are addressed in the concluding remarks.

Dedicated to “la Señora Hartman”

who helped me discover my linguistic talent and strongly encouraged my endeavor to become bilingual. Having had her as a teacher has profoundly influenced not only my own identity and language trajectories, but also the overall course of my life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This study seeks to explore the phenomenon of language and identity among Hispanic adolescents who are enrolled in a high school heritage language program. The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways that these individuals negotiate their bilingual and bicultural identities as well as the implications of such a negotiation on the heritage language in terms of use, maintenance, and incomplete acquisition or attrition. The participants of this study consisted of a purposefully selected group of twelve students, six pairs of siblings, who were currently enrolled in the heritage language course at the study site.

This chapter begins with an overview of the context and background that frame the study, followed by a description of the heritage language student, the problem statement, a statement of purpose and the research questions that the investigation seeks to address. This chapter also addresses the researcher's approach, assumptions and limitations, as well as the study's rationale and significance, concluding with a section that clarifies key terms that are used in the study, and an overview of the remaining chapters.

Background and Context

After completing my Master's degree in Bicultural/Bilingual Studies and receiving my Pennsylvania State Teacher's Certificate to teach Spanish K-12, I began a job teaching Spanish in an urban high school. My teaching load included classes of Spanish

1 and 2. After hours of preparation I entered the classroom prepared with games and songs to make the learning experience fun and enjoyable for those early year language learners. However, much to my surprise, there were a number of students in the room that understood everything I said in Spanish from the moment I entered the classroom. These were Hispanic students, many of them born in the US, who had learned Spanish from their parents and were totally misplaced in a level one class. They, however, claimed that they had never learned to read or write the language, which prevented them from being moved up to a higher level because they could not pass the proficiency test. At that point I put together a proposal to create a program that would better meet the needs of these gifted students. However, I did not realize at the time what a challenging task I had undertaken.

A heritage language learner of Spanish is considered to be one who is born and educated entirely in the United States for whom Spanish is the primary language of the home. Generally, Spanish is the heritage student's dominant language upon entering school. However, the term "heritage" should not suggest any assumed level of proficiency based on generation, i.e. first, second or third generation (Lynch "Toward" 30). As a matter of fact, in a study done by Lynch in Miami Florida, some third-generation Spanish speakers demonstrated higher levels of proficiency than some second-generation speakers ("Subjunctive").

As a teacher of several sections of heritage Spanish students I have often wondered if there were other factors besides language input that influence the maintenance, or lack there of, of Spanish in these bilingual students. What most especially intrigued me was the, sometimes dramatic, difference in degrees of

maintenance between siblings in the same family. There were incidences in which the language maintenance or shift did not even follow the age order. Normally, the youngest sibling would present the weakest L1 language skills due to the role usually played by older siblings as interpreters between the youngest sibling and the parents. Thus, there is no need for the child to develop strong L1 skills since he can rely on his older siblings for communication. However, remarkably, I have taught some sibling groups in which the younger siblings actually have the strongest L1 skills. Also intriguing was the sometimes complete loss of a language that was the only language spoken before school age. One of my students allowed me to view home videos of her speaking entirely in Spanish prior to age six. And I was amazed that this was the same girl who, in high school, couldn't manage to utter a complete sentence in Spanish, the language that was clearly her first language prior to beginning school. These were the cases that lead me to consider the influence of identity formation as a factor in the competence of the Spanish language in my heritage Spanish students – a factor that could potentially contribute to language maintenance or loss.

The Dilemma of the Heritage Spanish Student

Jacobson classifies the Spanish-speaking bilingual within three categories: the active bilingual, the passive bilingual and the covert bilingual. The active bilingual speaks Spanish at home but usually speaks English in school. This individual differs from the passive bilingual in his motivation to communicate in the native language in spite of certain lexical and grammatical limitations (172). In an investigation done by Merino in 1983, it was confirmed that although the speaking skills may have disappeared

for the students, the ability to understand may still exist (Hernández-Chávez 60), as is the case for the passive bilingual.

A passive bilingual is generally described as someone who does not speak Spanish but does understand it (Jacobson 156). This student could be a second generation bilingual who has experienced a language shift to English or a third generation Latino who only knows Spanish from his grandparents. It is possible for him to have a receptive understanding of the language, as when he has a conversation with his grandparents in which they speak Spanish and he speaks English. However, if he spoke Spanish, his vocabulary would appear to be the vocabulary of a small child (G. Valdés, “Teaching Spanish” 395). The covert bilingual is also a passive bilingual, but, unlike the latter, he takes the situation to another level.

The covert bilingual rejects the native language although he may have receptive skills. He therefore chooses to deny his abilities and prefers to appear to be a monolingual English speaker (Jacobson 156). Society influences this negative reaction in many cases, since shame and a desire to be accepted, lead many children to deny their native language as well as other aspects of their culture. Furthermore, their parents, many times, also see the Spanish language as an obstacle to success in society and encourage only the use of English (Hernández-Chávez 65-66). Additionally, many bilingual students in a heritage Spanish class possess receptive skills that are much more developed than their productive skills. The inability to easily express in Spanish what they are able to in English causes frustration, and for that reason they do not frequently speak Spanish (Alarcón 7). Thus, bilinguals from opposite sides of the bilingual continuum, active and passive, are different in terms of their level of understanding and

interactions in Spanish as well as their ability to read and write in Spanish (G. Valdés, “Teaching Spanish” 395).

There are many factors that contribute to the level of diversity in the abilities of heritage Spanish students. Some students come from urban areas and others from rural areas. They also differ in the level and degree of their previous education. Some have had very little while others have experienced a solid and continuous education. Some have only recently arrived from Latin American countries while others have lived all their lives in the United States and perhaps their families have been here for two or three generations (Walqui 46; G. Valdés “Teaching of Spanish” 13; Merino y Samaniego 115). These factors, in addition to dominant language ideologies and personal language choices work together to create an extremely diverse language-learning environment for the heritage Spanish student.

Problem Statement

The students enrolled in a high school heritage language program exhibit multiple and varying abilities in the heritage language. As mentioned above, this variation can be due to many factors, including the influence of home and school, as well as personal choices and experiences. Although there are theories outlining the significant factors that contribute to language maintenance and loss, there is currently no research that explores identity negotiation as a possible factor that can influence language choice and investment among adolescent heritage Spanish students.

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

There are many social factors that can influence the maintenance, use, or attrition of the heritage language among heritage Spanish speakers in a situation of contact with English. However, as acculturation is an individual as well as a group process, so is one's cultural identity formation. This process of identity negotiation is one that is contextual and changes through time and space. It is the purpose of this research to investigate this identity negotiation in a group of heritage Spanish students and explore the manifestations of that identity in the heritage language. Recently there have been many studies in the field of SLA that have focused on the phenomena of identity and language. However, rare are the studies completed in the high school setting, where identity formation has become a rite of passage. I see this as a gap in our research base, which this study proposes to fill as it treats both identity and language as interrelated phenomena among sibling groups of heritage Spanish students. In choosing to work with adolescent siblings who have grown up in the same household I plan to demonstrate the individual as well as the social context of bilingual/bicultural identity formation and its influence on language maintenance and use. To that end, the following research questions are addressed:

1. How do Hispanic heritage students negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities?
2. What is the role of the heritage language in those negotiated identities?
3. Do these negotiated identities influence their investment to maintain the heritage language?

4. What are the linguistic manifestations of the Spanish spoken by these bilingual students?

Research Approach

With the approval of the University's Institutional Review Board, I investigated the experiences and perceptions of twelve Hispanic adolescents who were enrolled in a high school heritage Spanish program. Data were collected through a qualitative case study research method (as described in Merriam and Emerson et al.) utilizing the classroom environment as well as other social spaces. Qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities that need to be discovered. As the issue of identity is multi-faceted, a method of investigation that lends itself to interpretation rather than measurement was deemed appropriate (Merriam 17). Berry et al. suggests that because each individual enters into the acculturation process in a distinct way, qualitative research lends itself to the assessment of individual acculturation ("Assessment" 296). Qualitative research is also concerned with meaning – how individuals make sense of their environment and structure their social worlds, which was the primary focus of this research, as it deals with identity formation and language use. Additionally, I have combined an ethnographic case study approach, which provides a socio-cultural analysis, with a focus on the individual as agent in a social environment.

The qualitative case study approach has allowed me to consider a complex social construct such as identity as well as the multiple variables of potential importance in understanding this phenomenon. In-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection. However, also included were audio and video-recorded group discussions,

video-recorded classroom presentations, journal entries, family interviews and observations. All data have been transcribed, coded, and linguistically analyzed. The data analysis methods are explained in greater detail in chapter three. Coding categories were developed and refined on an ongoing basis, guided by the study's theoretical framework, which is outlined in chapter two.

Assumptions

Based on the researcher's experience and background as a teacher to heritage Spanish students, three primary assumptions were made regarding this study. First of all, based on the theory and research of Richard Ruíz, which is explained in more detail in chapter two, it was assumed that those students whose heritage language investment has been shaped by the "language as problem" versus the "language as resource" ideology have made the English language the sole language of their school and primary peer social relationships. Secondly, based on the theory and research of Andrew Lynch and Pierre Bourdieu, those students who do not use Spanish in specific fields for useful purposes will have experienced some degree of heritage language attrition or restricted acquisition. And thirdly, as I believe the process of identity negotiation to be as much an individual as it is a social process, the level of heritage language competence is not predictable in terms of family of origin, generation, or birth order, even among siblings who have grown up in the same household.

The Researcher

At the time of conducting this study, the researcher was employed as the teacher in the heritage Spanish program. Thus, the researcher was able to bring to the investigative process practical experience of the school environment as well as the classroom environment. However, she also acknowledges that the same experiences that have been so valuable to the research process could also serve as a liability, as the students could monitor their behavior and responses due to the teacher-student relationship as well as the potential for bias in the research design and interpretations of findings. Therefore, as a way to address the potential subjectivity of the research, I have made explicit the research assumptions and theoretical orientation from the study's onset as well as engaged in ongoing critical self-reflection by means of journaling and dialogue with my dissertation adviser. Additionally, the triangulation of data sources and methods was utilized to strengthen the credibility of the research.

Rationale and Significance

The rationale for this study emanated from the researcher's desire to explore the possibility of identity negotiation as a possible factor in the heritage Spanish student's investment to use and maintain the heritage language. It is hoped that the insights gleaned from this study will inform the field of heritage language instruction and practice. Recently there have been many studies in the field of SLA that have focused on the phenomena of identity and language. However, these studies do not also analyze linguistic data as a means of correlating language investment and language maintenance, attrition or inadequate acquisition. I see this as a gap in our research base, which this

study will fill. In treating both language and identity as interrelated phenomena among sibling groups of heritage Spanish students, this study will make a unique contribution to the current body of literature in the field.

Clarification of Key Terminology Used in This Study

One's identity is a combination of many factors that work together to define a person, i.e. gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, language, etc. In this study I use the term *identity* to refer to how a person defines himself in relationship to his social environment, specifically one's language and culture – those parts of oneself that create one's bicultural/bilingual identities. How does one negotiate one's identity to be a part of two languages and two cultures? How do they incorporate these two languages and cultures into a sense of who they are? In keeping with the research included in this study's literature review, I am taking the position that one's identity is multiple and can change through time and space. Adolescence is a process of identity formation through negotiation. *Negotiation* refers to how the individual "learns to claim their existence" (Kanno 2). For the bilingual/bicultural adolescent, this negotiation takes on an added dimension. Negotiation for these individuals is a process of give and take as they "strike a balance between two languages and cultures" (Kanno 2). Language can reflect their identity. However, it is also a tool, which is used to negotiate identities. Throughout this study I was concerned with identity negotiation regarding the participants' two languages and cultures – How were these languages and cultures used to form or reflect their identity? *Investment* also is a changing component, as the individual chooses between opportunities to interact in a particular language in exchange for symbolic or material

returns. Thus, this study sought to explore the interrelated factors of bilingual/bicultural identity negotiation and one's investment to use or maintain one's heritage language.

Overview

In this dissertation are included five chapters. In addition to chapter one, which serves as an introduction, chapter two develops the framework for the study in providing a critical review of current literature and the theoretical framework by which the study's data have been analyzed. Chapter three describes the research methodology as well as the process of analysis. Chapter four entails a detailed description of the information gathered from each research participant as well as an analysis of the study's findings. And, chapter five presents the theoretical implications of this study and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The purpose of this multicasestudy is to investigate the role of identity negotiation in a group of heritage Spanish siblings and to explore the manifestations of that identity in the heritage language. Specifically, I sought to understand how the experiences of these individuals may have influenced their investment to use the heritage language and, consequently, affect the process of language maintenance, attrition or incomplete acquisition. To carry out this study, it was necessary to complete a critical review of current literature and to develop a theoretical framework by which the studies' data could be analyzed.

This critical review explores the possible relationship between bilingual/bicultural identity negotiation and heritage language use. Consequently, two major areas of literature were reviewed: (a) language and identity studies, and (b) first language attrition. A review of the literature on language and identity provides a psychosocial basis on which to establish this study. The information regarding first language attrition provides an understanding for the possible linguistic changes that take place with heritage languages when the second language becomes more dominant.

The theoretical framework provides a lens through which the data can be interpreted. Due to the multiple layers of this study, which includes an analysis of elements of identity negotiation as well as linguistic analysis, it became necessary to develop a framework, which was a combination of sociological and linguistic theories. The theory of Richard Ruíz, which explains the influence of language orientations on

attitudes toward language and its consequent use, is used in conjunction with the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, which brings focus to the dynamics of everyday life and the systems of power that work to dominate individuals based on race and class status group patterns, to form the basis through which the research is analyzed. I then look at the developing field of Heritage Language Acquisition (HLA) and the principles developed by Andrew Lynch as a means of examining the individual scenarios described in the lives of this study's heritage Spanish adolescents.

Literature Review

One's identity is a combination of many factors that work together to define a person, i.e. gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, language, etc. In this study I use the term identity to refer to how people define themselves in relationship to their social environment, specifically their language and culture – those parts of themselves that create their bicultural/bilingual identities. How does one negotiate one's identity to be a part of two languages and two cultures? How do they incorporate these two languages and cultures into a sense of who they are? In recent years, there has been much research in the field of SLA that deals with language and identity. However, my purpose in this section is to primarily focus on the studies that speak to identity formation and its relationship with one's heritage language.

Some studies have utilized retrospective accounts to demonstrate the relationship between one's heritage language and one's identity. For example, Sandra Kouritzin's work has made a profound statement on the significance of the heritage language to one's personal identity. In her book Face[t]s of First Language Loss, she includes five

representative stories from her research with 21 adults who described themselves as having lost their first language. For the purposes of her research, she described language loss as “restricted minority-language acquisition in a majority-language submersion setting” (11). That simply means that once the participants began school in which English was the only language permitted, their use of and development in their heritage language was restricted and thus, failed to develop further. She conducted three to five interviews with each person and then compiled a case study of each in the form of a life story “almost entirely in the words of the narrator” (12). Two specific points in these stories will be specifically important to my research as they are expressed in the narrators’ own words. One is the shift to the primary use of English when they began school. For example, in Lara’s story, she says, “I do remember being in about Grade 1 or 2 or 3 – I’m not too sure – my mother trying to speak to me in Finnish and I was so frustrated and I said, ‘Speak English because I don’t understand what you’re saying to me” (7).

And, Richard’s story:

We communicated in our language until it became almost an appendage, useless. We communicated in our language until the point where the English language overcomes the Cree; it’s like being buried by an avalanche. All of a sudden, the avalanche happens. All of the English words fall on you and you die. The Cree die for a while. The Cree is never dead, the Cree will never be dead, but the language becomes less important. (63-64)

The second significant point is that the loss of their heritage language resulted in them feeling as if they had lost their culture too, which both of these narrators compare to death. Lara states,

When it first dawned on me that I’d lost my language, there was a sadness, a disappointment, and a sense of tragedy . . . I’ve come to the conclusion

that I will always be an outsider looking in from whatever perspective I look at my life. As a Finn, I'm an outsider; as an Anglophone, I'm an outsider; as a Canadian, I'm somewhat of an outsider because I fit nowhere really – but then perhaps all Canadians are outsiders as well, so maybe there's a common thread there. I suppose there's a certain death of self when you lose your mother tongue as well, that perhaps you don't ever get back, don't ever find . . . don't ever resurrect. (96)

Richard, in sharing his life story, explains that it is not just his language that he lost, but also many elements of his culture and his identity as a Cree. He went away to residential school, and when he returned to his Cree community he had to go through a process of re-learning, not just the language, but also many cultural elements that are embedded in the language. He adds:

If I had not readopted Cree, I think I would be an Englishman. I would be living in the larger world, in English, but I wouldn't be very happy. I'd be a misplaced person. I'd be a little brown-white man I guess; there'd be still something missing. Losing the language is like losing half the man you are. Not to lose the language makes me twice the man, so the loss of the language is the loss of the soul, I think, for an Indian person. It's the loss of the essence of the soul, not to know the language, because you never know how beautiful you are until you know your language . . . because you can only be described in a foreign tongue, right? (71)

In the case studies presented in Kouritzin's work, all the narrators were characterized by the tension and struggle they felt in negotiating a hybrid identity. They felt that their identity was defined by a binary either/or relationship, and never came to terms with their identity as being multiple (149-150).

Lucy Tse also utilized retrospective accounts in two articles in which she analyzed the published autobiographical accounts of 39 Asian Americans. In the first article, "Finding a Place to Be: Ethnic Identity Exploration of Asian Americans," she was able to identify the process through which the immigrants came to terms with their ethnic identity as bicultural Asian-Americans. She describes a model of ethnic identity

development that consists of four stages. Stage one is *ethnic unawareness*; stage 2 is *ethnic ambivalence/evasion*; stage three is *ethnic emergence*; and stage four is *ethnic identity incorporation*. In this study, Tse establishes that the ethnic emergence stage consists of two sub-stages. The first sub-stage is characterized by an acceptance of minority status and the second is a search for a new group membership. Through these two stages the immigrants then are able to come to terms with their hybrid identity and achieve what the article describes as “ethnic identity incorporation” (134).

Tse claims that not all ethnic minorities go through this four-stage process. She describes those that never aspire to become a member of the dominant group, those that are more visible minorities and may not have the option to fit into the dominant group, and those who are raised in a strong cultural enclave as examples of situations that may avoid the four-stage process. For these individuals, the identity development process may take a different route (136).

Critical to my study is what the narrators in the article said about their heritage language. Many stated feeling ashamed to speak the heritage language while growing up. In “The Effects of Ethnic Identity Formation on Bilingual Maintenance and Development: An Analysis of Asian American Narratives”, Tse used the same data as in the previous article. However, in this article she focused on the first stage of ethnic identity formation, namely, ethnic ambivalence/evasion in which minority group members reject their ethnic identities in an attempt to assimilate to the majority culture. It is in this stage that the narrators also rejected their heritage language and chose not to maintain or develop it. Of the 38 narratives, 23 mentioned language attitudes, highlighting language as the key to group membership. Thus, the desire to become part

of the dominant culture translated into rejection of the heritage language. This article also mentioned the role of the parents in some of the narratives in discouraging the use of the heritage language as to promote successful integration into the majority culture (197). Through this research, Tse establishes that language is a salient feature of ethnic identity formation and that one's negative feelings towards the ethnic group affect attitudes toward the heritage language (188). She also identifies ethnic identity development as a factor that attributes to language shift.

A significant contribution of these retrospective studies is the identification of the socializing/assimilating nature of the school system as one that could influence an individual's decisions regarding language use. In Wong Fillmore's article, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First", she posits grave consequences for the minority language when children enter "the attractive new world of the American school" (325). She suggests that that is when children begin to realize that the only language they know has no value or importance in their social life in school, and can actually become a barrier to participation in that social life. The desire of the children to align themselves with the social reality of the school is one of the primary factors in first language loss (325). Evidence from the study indicated that children are becoming assimilated more rapidly and that the shift in their language use is a natural consequence of this process (327). Wong Fillmore states that the children's choice to drop their home language for use of the national one is a reflection of the society's language ideology – that of English monolingualism (341). The children experience pressure from within to fit into this environment and not to be different, as well as pressure from external forces to assimilate to the national expectations of participation in the mainstream culture.

Clearly the language ideologies of the greater society determine the market value of one particular language over another. Therefore, even when families choose to maintain their ethnic language and pass it on to the children, there may not be much material reward for this investment (Kanno 5). Additionally, the school community may be relegating identities for students “that they have little power to resist.” (Kanno 7) However, these pressures to assimilate have a degree of consequence in terms of what they are giving up in losing their primary language. Heritage language loss effects the “social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development of language-minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in” (Wong Fillmore 342).

These views were further supported by the research of Bonny Norton (“Investment”) who looked at two of her longitudinal research subjects’ families and their decisions regarding heritage language use in the home. In this study there were two significantly different profiles. Mai’s family raised their children as monolingual speakers of English, where the children gradually lost proficiency in their mother tongue, which was Vietnamese. This family rejected its own cultural values in favor of those held by White Anglophone Canada and in the process “the social fabric of the family was destroyed, together with any hope of bilingual language development” (457). However, in Katarina’s family, the child was able to learn English with no loss of the heritage language of Polish and the family experienced strong social relationships. This study suggests that “children who are racial minorities may be particularly vulnerable to language loss” (459).

For many Latino families in the United States, Spanish is the language of the home, and English the language of the school. For many educators, the interpretation of

“English as a Second Language” means discarding one language to learn another, thus discouraging the use of Spanish at home (Castellanos 67). For these children then, the use of their linguistic experience in their preschool years does not exist within the literacy program of the school, which produces a conflict for them. The resulting circumstance then is that the first generation is usually monolingual and commands the Spanish language as well as native speakers in any region where Spanish is spoken. However, the transmission of the language to the generations that follow is frequently underdeveloped or incomplete (Hernández-Chávez 59). According to Bernal-Enríquez and Hernández-Chávez, this inadequate acquisition can take on one of three forms: (1) a delayed acquisition, in which the individual acquires the structures later than the expected norm, (2) an interrupted acquisition, in which a language user ceases to acquire more forms (Burt et al. as cited in Bernal-Enríquez and Hernández-Chávez), or (3) a situation of attrition, in which certain structures that were previously acquired have been forgotten (Weltens and Grendel as cited in Bernal-Enríquez and Hernández-Chávez 103).

According to the theory of transfer, certain linguistic structures can be forgotten due to disuse or because of the influence of the linguistic structures of another language. However, Dulay et al. suggest that one’s knowledge of a language’s deep structures is not forgotten, but rather it is the function of the language that is affected - or the external manifestation of this knowledge. This would affect one’s fluidity and memory to the point that certain deep structures can be recalled in one moment and not in another. Also, there remains a degree of comprehension even though there is a loss of production. Therefore, it appears to be more a form of inactivation than a circumstance of forgetting. However, these students do not possess the vocabulary or the syntactic development that

can occur in school, and consequently have a deficiency in literacy when they arrive in high school (Teschner 28). Twenty to twenty-five percent of these same students, when they begin their high school heritage Spanish classes, have deficiencies in English also (Peale 449). These students are called “bilingual,” but this term does not accurately describe their linguistic ability (Villareal 158).

Silva-Corvalán describes the lack of homogeneity in the heritage Spanish student in terms of what she calls a “bilingual continuum.” The bilingual continuum represents the range of dominance in Spanish and English with dynamic levels of proficiency in both languages (“Spanish” 151). According to Seliger and Vago, the strength of a bilingual language depends on the context of communication. Therefore, the linguistic competence that an individual has in a particular language can change or diminish as the functions of the second language increase. This functional increase in L2 is one of the most significant variables that contribute to first language attrition (4).

In bilingual settings, as is the case with Spanish and English in the United States, one has to consider the many extra-linguistic factors that could exert influence in one language or another. Among them are attitudes towards the languages and its speakers, the intensity and length of contact between the two languages, their functional distribution, and their relative prestige. All of these elements play a part in the eventual maintenance, change, or loss of the subordinate language.

Several studies have been conducted with bilingual adults as a means of determining the effects of first language attrition. Silva-Corvalán conducted a study with bilingual Spanish-speaking adults in Los Angeles in which she utilized taped interviews and a written cloze test. She proposed that the prolonged and intensive contact with a

dominant language (English) would cause the simplification and loss of verb tenses and the possible transfer of and convergence with English. She also proposed that the forms that did not exist in English (the subjunctive and the opposition of preterit/imperfect) would be lost first (“Spanish” 152-54). The results of the study showed a pattern of simplification and loss that represents a fixed progression towards a reduced grammatical system. The processes of simplification were manifested in the progressive preference for the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive, in the neutralization of the opposition of preterit/imperfect with a certain number of static verbs in favor of the imperfect, and with the use of preterit instead of imperfect with activity verbs (Sociolingüística 319). Also, the results show that the influence of English is indirect. Therefore, the changes appear to occur as a result of a reduction in the use of Spanish caused by contact with English. However, Silva-Corvalán does mention the possibility of English transfer after the loss of grammatical forms. In this stage, under pressure to communicate, bilinguals utilize whatever forms they can from the recessive language and distribute them according to the syntactic and semantic rules of the dominant language. Silva-Corvalán also adds that the data reveal an inverted verbal system – the reverse of the system of L1 or L2 acquisition. The forms acquired earliest are the present and the past (both perfective and imperfective), while future, conditional and compound tenses are acquired later (“Spanish” 164-66).

Montrul also conducted a study with adult heritage Spanish speakers in order to investigate whether or not age of onset of bilingualism has an effect on one’s ultimate attainment. The participants included a group of 20 monolingual Spanish-speakers, 31 US-born bilinguals and 8 Latin America-born bilinguals. Of the US-born bilinguals, 16

were simultaneous bilinguals who had been exposed to both English and Spanish between the ages of 0-3, and 15 learned English between the ages of 4 and 7. The Latin America-born bilinguals learned English between the ages of 8 and 12 and for the purposes of the study, were classified as late child L2 learners. To examine language attrition or loss the author focused on the morphological and semantic properties of the preterit/imperfect aspectual contrast. Montrul reported that only a few individuals in the late child L2 learner group showed erosion with some aspects. The simultaneous bilinguals were affected by incomplete acquisition and language loss and many of the patterns of divergence resembled stages of second language acquisition. Thus, the age of onset of bilingualism appears to play an important role in establishing the degree of divergence in L1 (“Attrition”). However, also significant is that among this same group there was a great deal of variation, corroborating Silva-Corvalán’s bilingual continuum (“Spanish” 151), but also suggesting the influence of other factors such as one’s investment to use or maintain the language as one negotiates their own bicultural identities. Montrul concluded that in the area of aspectual semantic interpretations, many bilinguals never converge on the Spanish system of native speakers even though they were simultaneously exposed to both languages from an early age. The results of this study suggest that language dominance has less to do with which language was learned first as it does with input and frequency of use. Significant to the interpretation of the results is that of the simultaneous bilinguals, 87.5% reported that both parents spoke Spanish, but of those only 25% claimed that Spanish was the home language.

Another study that suggested the influence of home language to heritage language maintenance was conducted by Phinney et al. with Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican

immigrant families to identify possible determiners of ethnic identity among adolescents. The authors found that among all three groups “ethnic language proficiency and in-group peer interaction predicted ethnic identity, and parental cultural maintenance predicted adolescent ethnic language proficiency” (135). Results also showed that language proficiency was significantly higher for the Armenian and Mexican adolescents and that they interacted significantly more with peers from the same ethnic group than did the Vietnamese youth (145). These results do not, however, determine causality. It may be that adolescents who have a strong ethnic identity would be more likely to use and maintain the ethnic language and interact with peers from the same ethnic group. However, the direction of influence between parents and children is more than likely unidirectional. Thus, parents can have a profound effect on their children’s ethnic identity through the promotion of the use of the ethnic language in the home, which can occur independently of the ethnic community (150-51).

In spite of the socializing /assimilating influence of the school system, there have been a number of studies that demonstrate the varied ways that adolescents can negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities. Phinney and Devich-Navarro conducted research based on the work of Berry, Birman and LaFromboise et al. The participants were 10th- and 11th-grade African American and Mexican American public high school students who were classified as either assimilated, fused, blended biculturals, alternating biculturals, separated or marginal. The results of the study included individuals that fell into three distinct categories: blended biculturals, alternating biculturals and separated adolescents. The separated individuals were those who were embedded in their ethnic culture and not at all part of the larger society (Berry, Birman). Both the blended and

alternating biculturals are considered to be part of both cultures, which are perceived to be overlapping to some extent, but not completely. The individual occupying primarily the area of overlap is blended (Birman), and those who move between the two non-overlapping areas are alternating (LaFromboise et al.). The two public high schools in the study were predominantly African American and Mexican American located in a stable middle- and working-class neighborhood. The white population was the minority at both schools. To determine the participants' cultural identification, the authors used a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods utilizing both a questionnaire and structured individual interviews. All respondents were chosen based on the fact that they were born in the US with both parents from the same ethnic group. The Mexican American alternating biculturals mentioned being bilingual as the primary basis for the clear distinction between their two cultures. Being bicultural was seen as something positive specifically because of the ability to speak two languages even though being American was not seen as a strong component to their identity. For the blended biculturals, the ethnic culture was not highly salient or personal for them. However, they were clearly not assimilated to the dominant American society. It is evident from this study that a determining factor in the development of one's bicultural identity is the "perception of society; to feel bicultural, one must see the larger society as inclusive." Therefore, the authors concluded that "being bicultural does not mean being between two cultures, but rather being part of both, to varying degrees" (26-27).

Although the attitudes of society, the school system, and one's parents all exert influence on an adolescent's heritage language development, there are studies that have demonstrated the individual nature of one's language choices as one negotiates identity in

a multilingual environment. Byrd Clark investigated the discourse of language and identity negotiation in an interview with a 12 year-old second generation Italian Canadian who had been studying in a Catholic francophone school. Through discourse analysis, she was able to show that he had internalized dominant language discourses and ideologies, which effected how he used his linguistic repertoire. For example, he discussed speaking his family dialect with his grandparents, but chose to address the interviewer in standard Italian, even though he knew she was a dialect speaker. However, there was also evidence for the personal management and challenge of these ideologies through the negotiation of spaces for his hybrid identities. For example, Giorgio, the Italian Canadian boy, tells the interviewer that his mother sends him to the French school because Canada is a bilingual country. While he is giving this information to the interviewer he is code-switching, even though he is fully aware that the dominant language ideology is not to mix languages (108). He also resists his mother's insistence to use standard Italian at home by choosing to speak in English as an acceptable position for himself (107).

Benjamin Bailey's research has focused on the use of the Spanish language as a means of claiming an ethnic identity as Dominican Americans in second-generation high school students in Providence, Rhode Island. Thus, the use of the Spanish language is what makes their Hispanic ethnicity salient, and also how they place themselves outside of the American historical black/white dichotomy used to categorize racial minorities in the United States. However, identity for those second-generation Dominicans in the United States is presented as hybrid – drawing from their Dominican heritage and from their position in the United States, which creates solidarity with other non-white

minorities, i.e. both Latino groups and African-Americans. These individuals described themselves as “Spanish” or “Hispanic” and sometimes as “Dominican” or “Latino”, but never as “black” or “white.” Therefore, the term “Spanish” refers to both their ethnic identity and their language. Thus, their ability to speak Spanish and the manner in which they speak it become a symbol of their Dominican identity (“Dominican” 704).

Transcripts from a video recording of an eleventh grade, male, Dominican student reveal that the repertoire of linguistic registers is used to communicate in both intra- and inter-ethnic contexts to reflect and negotiate his hybrid identity and to resist society’s social categorization, thus transforming the existing social categories in the United States (“Language” 555). The ability to speak different varieties also allowed him to situationally align himself within different social categories, highlighting different facets of his Dominican American identity (563).

Rell and Rothman’s work on Spanglish in second generation Mexican- American youth speaks to the same issue as does the work of Bailey – that language is a reflection of one’s hybrid identity. In their study they describe Spanglish as “a linguistic product of a reality that sits between two cultures and two monolingual standards” (249). Since the use of Spanglish requires relative mastery of both Spanish and English, the linguistic need employed through its use is one of identity expression and formation (246). Therefore, its use in Los Angeles is a result of language contact and is employed to reflect an emerging identity – the Mexican-American identity (251).

The studies reviewed thus far have focused on the interrelated phenomena of language and identity in bilingual adolescents. We have seen that some youth reject their heritage language as a means of assimilating into the American culture, while other

studies indicate the use of the heritage language as a means of reflecting their bicultural identity and redefining the dominant language ideologies. The way in which one negotiates one's identity seems to influence choices regarding language use. So what is it exactly that would make one bilingual adolescent negotiate in a way that would include heritage language use and another avoid its use? Based on Weedon's theory of feminist poststructuralism, Norton Peirce describes one's identity in terms of one's social context, which can be multiple, contradictory, and change through time and space (15). She conducted a qualitative investigation of immigrant women in an ESL class, who sometimes resisted opportunities to speak English. Although this is quite a different population than the one I worked with, this study was significant in that Norton demonstrated that one's investment to learn (or in the case of the heritage speaker, to maintain) a language is influenced by factors that exist beyond the four walls of the classroom. She described this investment in language learning or practice as "an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (18). Therefore, as one negotiates one's own identity, they are renegotiating their investment, or lack thereof, in the language. As opposed to motivation that is considered to be a personality trait, investment is a changing component as the individual chooses between opportunities to interact in a particular language in exchange for symbolic (acceptance, friendship, equality, opportunity) or material (money, employment) returns for their investment of time and energy (17-18).

Recently there has been a number of studies in the field of SLA, which have focused on the concept of investment. Teutsch-Dwyer's study with an adult Polish visitor to the United States demonstrated a decreased level of investment over a period of

time, which contributed to stabilization and fossilization of certain linguistic forms. Karol, the study participant, reported that with the passage of time, he no longer had to try to speak “correct English” because he knew that his interlocutors were able to understand him. Therefore, he was already receiving the social and symbolic capital that he desired without having to invest more time and energy into learning English “despite the fact that this learner had ample opportunities to engage in interactional exchanges and was exposed to comprehensible input” (192). Kanno and Norton discussed how one’s investment can even be influenced by “future affiliations and identifications rather than prevailing sets of relationships” (244). For the two individuals described in the article, Katarina and Rui, their identification with imagined communities affected their investment in language practice and their consequent learning trajectories. Even though the communities did not exist in the present, “in Rui’s case, his identification with the imagined Japan provided a strong impetus for first language maintenance, in Katarina’s case, it led to her withdrawal from her ESL class and her enrollment in an alternative course that would provide greater scope for her imagined identity” (243-44).

McKay and Wong took this notion of investment and investigated the English-language development of four adolescent Chinese-immigrant students through a two-year qualitative study. They were able to demonstrate that these middle schoolers had fluctuating and sometimes contradictory multiple identities. Interestingly they “did not find a strong Chinese cultural identification and a strong investment in learning English and American ways to be mutually exclusive. Both appeared significant avenues for developing the focal students’ sense of agency in their new social environment” (589-90). Also interesting was the finding that some students gained enough agency and

satisfaction with their identities as athlete, popular friend, or musician and, therefore, did not find it necessary to invest in their identity as an ESL student, which affected their development as English-language learners. The authors made a distinction between the investment-enhancement that concerned the adult learners in Norton-Peirce's study and the agency and identity enhancement in the immediate school context of these middle school students. Therefore they saw "investment plateauing if not decreasing because of multiple identities" (603). Some of the identities other than those acquired through proficiency in the target language provided sufficient satisfaction for the adolescents at a given stage (604).

These identity studies were conducted with English-language learners and did not really consider investment in terms of heritage language maintenance and use. However, Kanno analyzed bilingual investment in her qualitative research study with four Japanese children of expatriate parents working for some time in Canada and the United States. Each one spent a significant amount of time in Japan as well as in an English-speaking country. Through this research she establishes that the process of identity formation is one that occurs over a period of time, and in that process, the adolescents and young adults seem to identify with that part of their identity that is more salient to their experience, thus making it a contextual process. Kanno specifically treated their identity in a bicultural context, stating that "the achievement of a more balanced, secure sense of self is accompanied by the ability to negotiate membership in multiple communities to their advantage" (143). She describes the transition of these four students from adolescence to young adulthood as follows:

[They] became increasingly better at striking a balance between two languages and cultures. In the early parts of their narratives, the students

assumed that one can keep only a single linguistic and cultural allegiance – if you are Canadian, you cannot be Japanese, and vice versa. Gradually, however, they awakened to the possibility that it is possible to be bilingual and bicultural. (107)

Kondo-Brown's research with bilingual heritage students of Japanese in Hawaii showed similar results to that of Kanno. While they were growing up, the adolescents tended to align themselves with the dominant culture. However, when they became university students, they tended to identify with both cultures and languages (qtd. in Kanno 6). Significantly, these longitudinal studies demonstrate the changing nature and multiplicity of identity formation as one negotiates through power structures and in the context of community.

These studies, however, differ from the one that I propose to do in that they do not incorporate linguistic data in the analysis. Zentella, however, conducted research in a New York Puerto Rican neighborhood in which she used an anthropological linguistic analysis, i.e. she joined qualitative ethnographic methods with those in the field of sociolinguistics in order “to understand and facilitate a stigmatized group's attempts to construct a positive self within an economic and political context” (13). Through her research she identified a varied bilingual/multidialectal repertoire being utilized by the members of the community. She recorded daily dialogues among the block's youth, and interestingly she found that the overwhelming majority of the children's conversations were in English, with not one lengthy conversation taking place among them in Spanish. Instead, their conversations were sprinkled with Spanish loans, expressions and code switches, as well as simple sentences in present or preterit tense. The community's definition of bilingualism reflected the ability to speak and understand one language fluently (English) but a more passive and receptive ability in the other (Spanish).

Overall, parents did not insist on being answered to in Spanish, only to being obeyed (54). Thus Puerto Rican identity was being redefined without the requirement to speak Spanish in order to avoid relegating the monolingual English speaker to a US American category (55). Zentella attributes the children's language loss to pressures in school to communicate in English as well as lack of insistence at home on communicating in Spanish. Thus, code-switching became the "vestigial remnant" of the youth's Spanish (109). As part of their membership in this bicultural community, the children on the block engaged in code-switching in ways that joined them together with others similar in age and language profile as well as created their own uniqueness, which was based on their way of blending their two languages and cultures (114). Zentella's data supported the appearance of the imperfect tense in place of the preterit (190) and the replacement of the perfect tenses by the preterit (195). Additionally, the recorded data indicated incomplete acquisition of verb morphemes before English became their primary language (211). Zentella's study was longitudinal and, interestingly, she found that no straight line could be drawn between the type of bilingual each girl was as a child and their linguistic profile as an adult. Just as one's identity is changing so are their linguistic abilities. Perhaps their linguistic competence has something to do with where each individual positions themselves as part of two languages and cultures at a given time and how they negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities. A significant difference exists between Zentella's study and this current investigation in that Zentella was primarily concerned with analyzing "how bilingualism and community identity build each other" (5) whereas my study focuses on the negotiation of the individuals' multiple identities as they interact with their various communities, i.e. school, home, church, etc.

These studies have foregrounded the possibility of my research. Based on this previous research, it has been established that identity is a social construct, which is multiple and changes through time. Likewise, in the process of identity negotiation, adolescents identify with that part of their identity that is most salient. Additionally, language is embedded in one's identity and, the way language is used can be a reflection of this identity. Furthermore, these identities are negotiated through interaction within communities and, through the process of bicultural identity negotiation, one makes decisions to invest in the languages that are used for specific purposes. How each individual chooses to invest in language use may have profound effects on the heritage language. A gap in the field of research, however, are studies specifically with adolescents that focus on identity negotiation and its effects on heritage language investment as a part of one's personal bicultural identities. In choosing to work with sibling groups who have grown up in the same household, I plan to explore the individual nature of identity negotiation and investment as well as the influence of parents and dominant language ideologies. Therefore, I not only explore the process through which heritage Spanish learners have negotiated their bicultural/bilingual identities and how these identities are reflected in their investment in language use, but I also seek to determine the way their heritage language has been affected through this negotiation, in terms of maintenance, incomplete acquisition, or attrition.

Theoretical Framework

In the data analysis of this identity research it was important to remain conscious of the fact that one's identity is multiple and changing as one interacts within various social contexts. It, therefore, was equally important to frame this analysis around a theory that supported this notion. The contributions of Richard Ruíz and Pierre Bourdieu provided the framework, which was utilized to examine the influence of language attitudes and one's investment to use language in social contexts as a means of negotiating one's bicultural/bilingual identities. After reviewing this framework, I will explore the developing field of Heritage Language Acquisition as it strives to bridge the fields of Second Language Acquisition and Contact Linguistics.

Ruíz's work identifies three language orientations that "constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed" (16). These three orientations are "language-as-problem", "language-as-right", and "language-as-resource." The "language-as-problem" orientation grew out of the need for training during the 1950's due to the large number of non-English speaking Americans. Thus, language issues have become linked to the problems associated with this group, i.e. poverty, lack of education or training, low socio-economic class, etc. Consequently, the language programs that were designed in the 1960's as a result of these social conditions treated language as if that were the underlying problem, under the assumption that "non-English language groups have a handicap to be overcome," and the objective was to teach English at the expense of the first language (19). The emphasis was on transition and these attitudes toward bilingualism have become embedded in both state and federal legislation (20). Ruíz also

suggests that “this particular orientation toward language planning may be representative of a more general outlook on cultural and social diversity” (21).

The “language-as-right” orientation is based on the premises of the US legal system and the necessity to provide protection for minority groups. The problem in resorting to legal measures to provide language support is the public perception that the “rights of the few are affirmed over those of the many”, which often times results in non-compliance on the part of school districts (24). According to Ruíz, language policy in the US has historically been based on either the problem or the rights orientations. However, the “language-as-resource” orientation provides a more positive outlook for the future of bilingualism in the US.

The resource orientation views ethnic or heritage languages as resources that need to be conserved, despite that under existing policies these natural resources are being destroyed. Ironically, there are programs in place to teach foreign languages in high schools while at the same time the continued use of a heritage language by ethnic minorities is discouraged (26-28).

These language orientations frame the attitudes of society, schools, families and individuals toward heritage languages and, in turn, can either promote or discourage one’s investment to use the heritage language for specific purposes. These attitudes and behaviors also work to frame one’s social identity as it relates to being bicultural and bilingual in the US.

Bourdieu’s social theory can be utilized in conjunction with the work of Ruíz to bring focus to the dynamics of everyday life and the systems of power that work to dominate individuals based on race and class status group patterns. Within this

framework the concepts of habitus, capital, field, and practice work together to form and shape one's negotiated identities in a social context. Bourdieu has referred to habitus as rules to a game (Bourdieu and Wacquant, Lareau and Horvat, Horvat 208). However, Horvat describes Bourdieu's habitus as "the 'common sense' way of operating in the world," i.e. the actions we take and how we position ourselves in relation to our social world (208). Every aspect of an individual's social condition (gender, race, socioeconomic class) contributes to the development of the habitus (Bourdieu Distinction, as cited in Horvat 207). According to Bourdieu, a field is a place of conflict or competition. An individual relies on the habitus to guide one's action within a given field (Bourdieu Sociology 72, as cited in Horvat 207-08). Habitus then is one's "own internalized interpretation of the rules which govern the field of interaction" (Horvat 207). An individual's habitus then "provides the possibilities that we can envision and determines how we might enact or spend our capital" (Horvat 209).

Capital is a form of power in a specific field. There is social capital, which Horvat defines as "the set of valuable connections or networks of a given individual" (210). Bourdieu describes this social capital as a "credential" which entitles an individual to "credit" in society (Bourdieu "The Forms" 248-49, as cited in Horvat 210-11). Another form of capital is cultural capital, which has to do with mannerisms, practices or educational credentials that are associated with high status. Culture can therefore become a resource of power (Swartz 75, Horvat 211). Symbolic capital is defined as the power to determine the rules that govern a specific field (Bourdieu Language). Much of society's conflict grows out of competition for this form of capital. And, "the act of exerting dominance over another based on the field-dependent yet arbitrary codes of cultural

values can be seen as an act of symbolic violence” (Horvat 213). Everyone has some form of capital that they can either spend or invest. However, the value of specific capital is determined by the given field. Thus, capital that carries value in one field may be worthless in another. Value, then, is determined by the field of interaction and the habitus of the individual who is either spending or investing the capital (Bourdieu “The Forms”, as cited in Horvat 212). Habitus, field and capital combine to form what Bourdieu refers to as practice.

Practice is constituted by an individual’s actions in a field that serve to maximize one’s potential based on one’s habitus and capital. Practice is shaped by these multiple forces working together, along with the rules that govern the field, as well as one’s position within the field. Therefore, both the individual and the social structure work together to determine human action. Horvat explains this quite clearly through Bourdieu’s notion of “strategy,” which is enacted by the individual to improve their position in a given field.

Strategy in any given field is not a conscious enactment of a plan of action; it is, rather, an individual strategy that is unconsciously enacted by an individual according to the dictates of the habitus and available capital. It is an innate and instinctual enactment of the individual’s interpretation of the rules of a specific field through the mechanisms of the habitus. (213-14)

Norton, who’s identity studies were based on Bourdieu and Passerson’s idea of cultural capital, has taken the position that people who invest in learning a second language “do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital” (“Investment” 444). Norton-Pierce claims:

It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. (13)

Pittaway uses the different forms of capital collectively, referring to them as the “‘currency’ that is redeemed to make a learner a legitimate speaker within a specific discourse (216). He describes this notion of investment as embracing “the complex interplay between motivation and social factors” (215). Thus, the desire to learn or use a language is not as simple as the desire to obtain a tangible reward. It is a dynamic process that is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated as the individual interacts within communities that exist inside and outside the classroom, always “governed by power relations between learners and the people with whom they interact in the social world” (207). Kanno relied on Lave and Wenger’s notion of communities of practice to support how learning takes place as one participates “in various communities of practice; the flip side of the coin is that one learns *only* to the extent the desired form and degree of participation necessitates it” (110).

Communities of practice are not necessarily well-defined identifiable groups, and they do not have socially visible boundaries, but rather imply participation in an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities (Thompson 189).

However, participation in communities of practice entails a certain level of risk for one’s investment. It involves a process of negotiation between our identities and our behavior. Kanno states, “On the one hand, membership in certain communities enables us to get closer to who we want to become – that is why we seek membership in the first place. On the other hand, belonging to these communities, especially *wanting* to belong, substantially constrains our behavior and attitudes” (207). According to Pittaway (204),

what is central to the notion of investment is that the language learners must be considered “legitimate speakers” (Bourdieu Language) by those with whom they wish to interact. Consequently, acceptance into these communities is based on one’s possession of certain forms of capital. Thus, learners “invest” in certain discourses that will lead to membership into their “imagined communities of practice” (Lave and Wenger, Wenger, Pittaway 204). This effects their decision to use a language within the classroom, but also within the school and the greater community. For example, if a learner does not believe there will be a return on their investment in language learning or language use, they are likely to resist by disengaging in learning activities, choosing not to use the language, or dropping out of the course or program all together (Pittaway 204). Kanno and Norton’s work has demonstrated that one’s investment is influenced not only by a learner’s desire to participate in an actual community of practice but also by a desire to participate with “communities that lie beyond the local and immediate” (247-48). Thus, their learning trajectories are influenced not only by a desire to participate in communities that exist in the present, but also by a desire to participate in communities of the future, communities that exist in one’s imagination (Kanno and Norton 242).

While the theories of Ruiz and Bourdieu will allow me to examine my study’s data in terms of the relationship between identity and heritage language use, it is also important to turn to the developing field of heritage language acquisition (HLA) as a means of developing theory that is independent of theories of second language acquisition or contact linguistics. For, according to Andrew Lynch, “In spite of the obvious relationship between SLA and language contact, researchers have made only very scarce attempts to ‘cross party lines’ from either field to bridge theory between the

two, except in Creole language studies” (“Toward” 31). Lynch, in his work with heritage Spanish speakers in the US, has proposed nine principles for Heritage Language Acquisition in the US context (“Toward” 35-40). These principles are as follows:

Principle 1: *The purposeful acquisition principle*. This principle suggests that one’s heritage language repertoire increases as one purposely seeks out opportunities to use and acquire the heritage language.

Principle 2: *The incidental acquisition principle*. According to this principle, heritage language speakers are likely to increase their linguistic aptitude in the heritage language through incidental social activities that take place in the heritage language.

Principle 3: *The simplification principle*. Because English has been the language of instruction and primary school socialization for the heritage language speakers, it has become for these speakers their “cognitively dominant language”. Consequently, the Spanish linguistic system of these speakers is affected by grammatical, pragmatic, and lexical simplifications. This principle is based on previous research by Silva-Corvalán ([Language](#)).

Simplification occurs as a result of imperfect learning or first language attrition. In these situations, the use of a linguistic form is extended to more linguistic contexts. Thus, there is greater frequency in the use of form X in context Y that causes less use or disuse of form Z. Both forms existed in the language before simplification began. As a result, the use of form X is expanded while the use of form Z is contracted.

Consequently, there is a reduction in linguistic forms and alternatives that results in a

simplified system with fewer possibilities and possibly a loss in meaning (Silva-Corvalán Language 3).

Language transfer can cause convergence, which is the achievement of a similarity in the structure of an aspect of grammar in two or more languages that were different before the linguistic contact (Silva-Corvalán “Spanish” 153). Additionally, the occurrence of these changes is more favorable in conditions where there is minimal formal education in one of the languages, when the use of one of the languages becomes restricted, or when there are negative attitudes toward one of the two languages (Sociolingüística 272). Therefore, a purely linguistic analysis will not effectively explain the results of a contact situation between two languages. The contact is more than mere linguistic contact, it is cultural contact, and the linguistic changes that surface as a result of this contact are a reflection of that cultural contact and the resulting process of acculturation (Sociolingüística 277).

Principle 4: *The variability principle*. The grammar and discourse of heritage language learners is highly variable due to their different levels of exposure and practice in the language.

Principle 5: *The discourse principle*. Heritage language speakers will be more likely to expand their heritage language repertoire through discourse with elders and peers (Hatch, Lynch “Toward” 37).

Principle 6: *The utility principle*. This principle suggests that the more practical and useful the heritage language is perceived to be in one’s immediate social context, the more apt they will be at using it and thus, fully acquiring it.

Principle 7: *The social relevance principle*. If heritage speakers perceive their

broader social environment as valuing bilingualism or multilingualism, they will be more likely to use both languages purposefully.

Principle 8. *The social identity principle.* This principle suggests that if an individual can relate the heritage language to aspects of their social identity for reasons of utility or social relevance, they will be more inclined to purposefully use, acquire or maintain it (Gardner, Lynch “Toward” 39).

Principle 9. *The language recontact principle.* According to this principle, an immersion experience through either contact with first generation immigrants or travel, work or study abroad creates a highly favorable situation for the use, maintenance, or acquisition of the heritage language.

All of these principles account for a shift in focus to the heritage speaker as an individual in a social context rather than as merely part of a social category (generation, sex, socioeconomic class, etc) and suggest that research needs to move away from its focus on such things as speech community, diglossia and language dominance (Pedraza, Attinasi & Hoffman) and towards utility, social relevance and use, maintenance or acquisition of the heritage language in its social context (Lynch “Toward” 40). However, as the social theory of Bourdieu demonstrates, there are systems of power in place that significantly influence how we choose to invest our capital. One chooses to invest in language practice based on the return of symbolic capital. However, the amount of investment one exerts in language practice can also have profound effects on one’s language in terms of acquisition, maintenance and attrition. Because this study looks at the individual heritage Spanish student within multiple social contexts as a means of analyzing identity negotiation and its influence on heritage language investment, I have

chosen to examine Lynch's principles in order to determine the extent to which they are able to predict the scenarios described in the lives of these heritage Spanish students.

In summary, in this study I take the position that one's identity is multiple and changing and is formed through negotiation within the context of the social environment. Language is a reflection of that social identity and its use is framed by one's attitudes towards the language, which are socially formed, as well as one's investment to use or maintain the language according to its social relevance in a particular field. Although I believe that one's bicultural/bilingual identities are sometimes constrained through power relationships, I also believe there is opportunity for negotiation of those identities within the social context. The current study investigates how siblings from the same household negotiate individual bicultural/bilingual identities in various fields and what consequence this identity negotiation has on the use and maintenance of their heritage language.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this multicase study was to investigate the role of identity negotiation in a group of heritage Spanish siblings and to explore the manifestations of that identity in the heritage language. Specifically, the researcher sought to understand how the experiences of these individuals may have influenced their investment to use the heritage language and consequently affect the process of language maintenance, attrition or inadequate acquisition. In seeking to understand this phenomenon, the study sought to address four research questions: (a) How do Hispanic heritage students negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities? (b) What is the role of the heritage language in those negotiated identities? (c) Do those negotiated identities influence their investment to maintain the heritage language? (d) What are the linguistic manifestations of the Spanish spoken by these bilingual students?

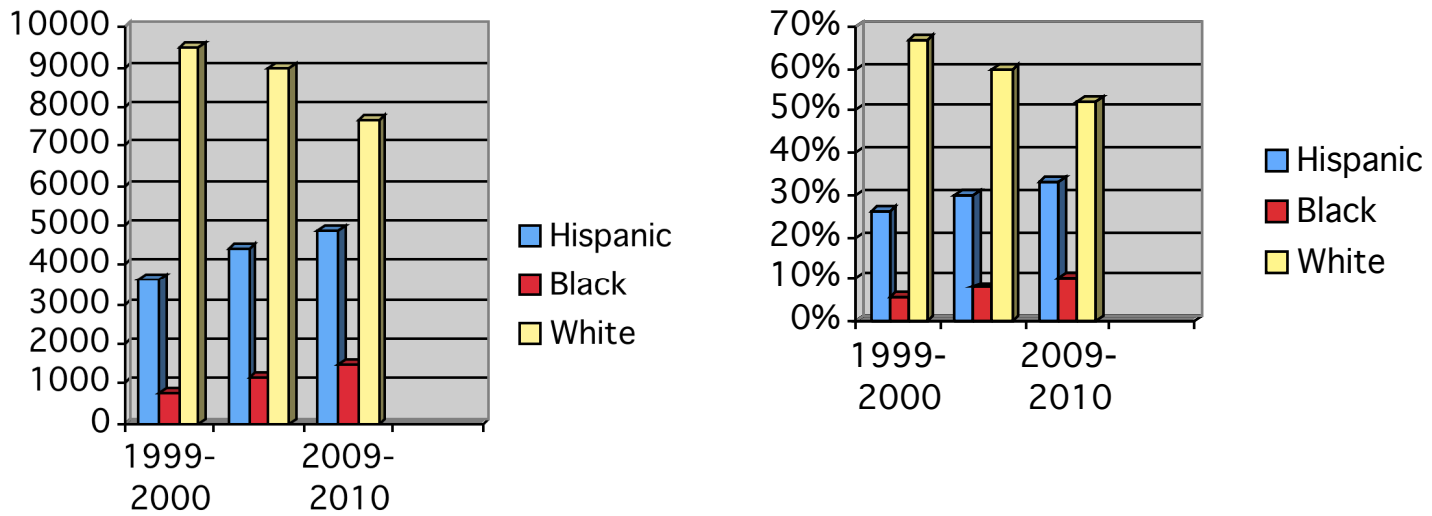
This chapter describes the study's research methodology and includes a presentation of the following information: (a) a description and history of the study site as it pertains to Spanish as a heritage language, (b) the rationale for the research approach, (c) a description of the research sample, (d) the information necessary to conduct the study, (e) a description of the data collection methods, (f) a description of the data analysis process, (g) ethical considerations, (h) issues of trustworthiness, (i) the limitations of the study, and (j) a brief summary of the chapter.

Description of the Study Site

The Bethlehem Areas School District is made up of the city of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and the surroundings areas of Freemansburg, Fountain Hill, Bethlehem Township and Hanover Township. In 2009, the total population for this area was 114,321 with 20,191 (17.7%) Hispanic, 4,965 (4.3%) Black, and 84,111 (73.6%) White. The population that is five years old and older numbers 107,769. Of that population, 14,021 are Spanish-speakers, 4,871 of whom speak English less than “very well” (“Bethlehem Area School District”). However, when we look at the demographic information for those who are attending school, the statistics look different, pointing to growth in a particular direction.

During the years that the data was collected for this study (2009-2010) the Hispanic children within the district numbered 4,884, which is 32.82% of the total enrollment. Significantly, in the ten-year period prior to this study the district demonstrated a demographic shift. Although the white students are still the majority within the district, their numbers have significantly decreased while the number of Hispanic students has steadily increased, and the percentage of Black students has slightly increased (Escobar-Haskins 28; “Race-Ethnic”). The table below delineates this growth.

Table 1: BASD Demographic Information



The number of Hispanics in the suburbs around the city of Bethlehem has also steadily increased which is reflective of two trends: 1) a larger number of professional, educated, middle to upper class Hispanics are settling in the area, and (2) there is an out-migration of Hispanics from the city demonstrating for many families an improved economic situation. This has created a more invisible Hispanic population that is not clustered together forming a united community that shares two languages and cultures in common. Additionally, while the Puerto Rican community still represents two-thirds of the Hispanic population of the Lehigh Valley there is an increasingly diverse Hispanic population developing as well (Escobar-Haskins 9-10).

This study was conducted at Freedom High School, which is one of two high schools within the Bethlehem Area School District in Bethlehem. Freedom High School's population comes from the city of Bethlehem, part of Freemansburg, and Bethlehem Township. At Freedom High School specifically there were 569 Hispanics

during the 2009-2010 school year, which is 28.62% of the total enrollment of the school. The White population numbered 1,122 (56.44%) (“Race-Ethnic”). However, in order to understand the significance of this demographic information, it is important to trace the history of the district’s language programming as it is essential to understanding the language ideology of the district and the surrounding community as a means of framing the context of the study site.

History of Hispanic Immigration to the Lehigh Valley

The first Hispanic population to arrive in the Bethlehem area was the Spaniards from Spain and Cuba, who came to the Lehigh Valley to labor in the mills around 1920 (Goodwin Part IV 2, Escobar-Haskins 54). However, they did not represent a large presence as they came individually or in small family groups. Therefore, the most significant group of Hispanics to arrive to the Bethlehem area was the Mexicans, who first arrived in early 1923 as part of a massive recruiting effort by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation to fill a gap in the labor force. According to the research of Escobar-Haskins, the Mexican population was “noticeable and unwanted. [. . .] On the few occasions they were mentioned in newspaper articles they were usually being vilified as a group for the behavior of a few individuals” (54). These immigrants worked under a contract in some of the most undesirable jobs in the mills and since their wages were barely enough to survive, most of them did not remain. Eventually the Mexicans who did remain in the area represented a core community of about fifty families.

The second group of Spanish-speaking immigrants to arrive in the Lehigh Valley came from Puerto Rico and they arrived in much greater numbers. In the years following

WWII, Puerto Rico experienced an incredibly high percentage of unemployment. The US government's response to this situation was the implementation of Operation Bootstrap during the years 1948-1968. This was an effort to encourage large numbers of Puerto Ricans living on the island to come to the mainland for the purpose of employment. Even though this employment included jobs, once again amongst the most undesirable in the US, the promise of steady wages attracted a large number of Puerto Ricans settling in New York City and fanning out to the nearby urban areas of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The Puerto Rican community in Bethlehem had a distinct advantage over the Mexican community that had arrived years before them in that they could settle and move around without the necessity of acquiring visas or documentation. Therefore, it was commonplace for them to form chain migration patterns in which family members and friends followed each other to specific areas. In the years following WWII, the jobs in the steel mill and nearby textile mills in Bethlehem were plentiful and the first generation to settle there was able to advise family and friends when openings and vacancies occurred. This allowed them to form a strong community and support system for themselves on the south side of Bethlehem (Escobar-Haskins 54-55).

Antonsen, in his book A History of the Puerto Rican Community in Bethlehem, PA (1944-1993), describes two waves of Puerto Ricans who arrived in Bethlehem. The first one came in the 1940's and 50's as a response to Operation Bootstrap. They came from the rural areas of Puerto Rico and many found blue-collar jobs working at Bethlehem Steel, where they were able to work without having to read or write in English. Less than ten percent of this first wave had college degrees, but among their children, most of them

graduated from high school and 37.5 % became college educated. The second wave arrived in the late 1970's and this group came from the urban slums of Puerto Rico. This group also found fewer jobs because of the decline of the steel mill. Also, because of the competition for jobs in light of much less opportunity, they were not as welcomed in the surrounding community as the first wave of Puerto Ricans (Gordon).

History of the Bethlehem Area School District's Language Programming in Response to the Growing Hispanic Community

In order to meet the needs of the growing Hispanic population in the Bethlehem Area School District (BASD), the district hired a native Puerto Rican woman, Sergia Montz, as Spanish adviser in 1971. At that time the Hispanic population had reached 4% of the total enrollment; six months later this adviser was named head of the newly created "Office of Minority Education" (Thurm B1). According to Antonsen's book, Montz was asked by the Pennsylvania Department of Education to develop a bilingual program, which she designed along with the district's superintendent and it was ready for state implementation during the 1973-74 school year (Quiñones). At the time of its inception, it was one of only two such programs in the state of Pennsylvania ("Sergia"). This program grew and developed over a period of twenty years in which it served a largely Puerto Rican population, which eventually began to see an influx of Hispanics from other areas such as the Dominican Republic and other countries in Central and South America.

In 1981, the district's Hispanic population had grown to 12%, which gave Bethlehem the second largest Hispanic population in the state (Thum B2). That same year they were offered federal grant money to begin a bilingual kindergarten program,

which was to be initiated in cooperation with Pennsylvania State University. In 1983, the district's federally funded bilingual kindergarten won national recognition (Samuelson 8). Because of its success, after the second round of funding from the government ran out in 1987, the district voted to fund the program on its own (Schroeder B4). They could also boast that 80% of the graduates from their preschool bilingual program were assigned to mainstream first grade classes and the remaining twenty percent were mainstreamed by third or fourth grade (Lesoravage). A goal of the bilingual Piaget kindergarten program was to mainstream the Spanish-speaking child within three years. However, according to an article that appeared in a local newspaper in May of 1989, "the PIAGET students have done better than that" (Schroeder B1). In 1992 the district was presented with a flag of excellence for its success in this program and was one of only "19 programs recognized for academic excellence by the US Department of Education's office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages" ("City" B7). That same year, the district, in cooperation with Penn State, received federal monies to share the teaching techniques of the program with other schools. It was recognized as one of the top seventeen programs in the nation, and BASD was able to export their unique program to such states as Connecticut, Georgia, Maine, Michigan and Louisiana as well as to seven other sites in Pennsylvania ("Marvine" B18).

The overall program received many accolades throughout its tenure. In 1989 the Bethlehem Area School district's superintendent said, "It's working well in our district. [. . .] It's been very successful" (Schroeder B1). In May of 1992 the district received a certificate presented by Myrna Delgado, a bilingual adviser to the State Education Department, recognizing the program's success. US Representative Don Ritter was in

attendance at the ceremony and deemed the district's success with bilingual education as a "mold-breaking program" ("Marvine" B18). That same year state education secretary Donald M. Carroll endorsed project PIAGET as "an exceptional program that relies heavily upon parental involvement in the child's language development" ("City" B7). However, the program also had endured its share of animosity from the community inside and outside the district.

During the course of the events mentioned above, the district had to face many instances of challenge and rejection from the school board and the surrounding community. In September of 1981, the Bethlehem Area School District's School Board voted 5-4 to reject the federal grant money being offered for the district to begin the bilingual kindergarten program in cooperation with Pennsylvania State University. The concerns of the board primarily focused on the need to continue the program after the federal monies ran out (Samuelson 8). However, two Hispanic parents filed a class-action suit against the school district, which resulted in an order from the District Court that the board would be legally vulnerable if it did not reverse the decision (Schroeder B1). The board then had to undergo a change in personnel and it still only voted 5-3 to accept the monies after all was said and done (Samuelson 8). During the heated debate, Sergia Montz, the District's Director of Minority Affairs and Coordinator of Bilingual Education, was privately accused by some school board members of trying to stir up discontent within the community against school board policy. Montz retired at the end of the 1981-1982 school year saying, "This office grew out of the concerns of the community. The community was the one who initiated it and made the district aware of what was happening" (Thum B2).

In 1984, the following article appeared in the city's local newspaper, which is reflective of the surrounding community's attitude regarding the bilingual education.

That is the key to resolving the controversy – literacy in English. Any program that fails to embody this principle as its primary goal must run the risk of being called impractical, expensive and a disservice to the student it is designed to help. The principal complaint directed at bilingual education is that it reinforces dependency on a language that is spoken at home by continuing to expose the student to the same language in school, and so does little, if anything, to *replace* the native tongue with English. [. . .] The Twentieth Century Fund's approach that promotes the "primacy of English" rather than putting all the dollars into bilingual education should be considered by every school district that now offers a bilingual program. To date, Washington's approach has encouraged bilingual education as a means to promote fluency in English. This single method has been found wanting. The time is right to reduce financial support for purely bilingual programs and allocate more dollars to teach non-English speaking students to speak English first and to teach them history second. ("Literacy")

This notion of "replacing" the Spanish language with English was at the heart of the debate inside the district as well as in the surrounding community and the nation. The district approved the implementation of the bilingual education program as a means of teaching Spanish-speaking students the English language. The maintenance of their heritage language was never the goal. In 1989, when the district's Hispanic population reached 17.9%, the superintendent Thomas Dolusio supported the program because of its success in teaching English saying, "It's one project that says up front the main objective is the quick transition into English" (Schroeder B1). However, when he felt that there might have been less expensive means to accomplish this goal, he was no longer boasting of the program's success.

Early in 1992, when the Hispanic population of the district had grown to 21% (Díaz Soto 104), the same year that the district's bilingual program received a certificate honoring its success from the State Education Program, a flag of excellence from the US

Department of Education's Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages, and federal monies to share their techniques with other districts, the need to continue the program was in question. Consequently, in January of 1992, a committee of school district teachers and administrators as well as community representatives was established to "review, discuss, and deliberate various facets of the district's bilingual program and to prepare recommendations for the program's future" (Díaz Soto 101). This was the same year that the bilingual program had expanded to include a second middle school in addition to the two elementary schools and the one middle school that had previously housed the program. And, it was the same year that a decision had to be made regarding how the district was going to move forward in terms of building expansion.

In November of 1992, ten months after the inception of the bilingual committee organized to examine the program, they presented a 34-page report to the school board. The committee recommended some minor changes to the current model and also recommended that an outside evaluator be hired to evaluate their program for improvements. However, the superintendent immediately voiced his disagreement with their recommendation to continue the current program on the grounds that he was concerned about the length of time the bilingual students spent in the program and outside the regular classroom. He also questioned the low student-teacher ratio in the program and the fact that the program was not only teaching language, but also teaching culture stating, "I do not see a need . . . to maintain any one particular ethnic group's culture via the school system." His comments were not met with any argument from the school board (Martin "BASD" A1). However, they were met with immediate action by the local Hispanic community who filed a federal civil rights complaint in response to

what they believed were decisions made “based on the biases toward a particular ethnic group” (Hall “Dolusio ‘Surprised’” B12). Dolusio did not believe that students should be taught any academic subjects in Spanish while they were learning English (Schnur “Bilingual Program Debated” B2) and recommended an immersion program that would teach them English in one year (Hall “Dolusio Asks” B1) even though the findings of the committee that he appointed to investigate the program stated that it was working. However, when he was asked how such a program would be implemented, he said, “I’m not an expert. That’s for people to decide” (Schnur “Bilingual Program to” A1). Therefore, he admittedly had no expertise in the area in which he was making recommendations, and he completely disregarded the information that was being presented by those who had experience in the field. In an interview with Iris Cintrón, who was the district’s Director of Minority Education at that time, she said,

Even though the teachers, the educators, the college professors all presented evidence and showed the assessments that the kids were taking at that time, the evidence all demonstrated that the children were achieving better than their English-speaking counterparts, that did not matter.

So if the program’s success was not at the heart of the debate, what was?

In an article that appeared in a local newspaper, Dolusio claimed that the district’s bilingual program was “denying these kids equal access and equal opportunity”, adding,

They’re not competitive in the job market, or in higher education. I keep hearing it from the business community – Equip them with the skills so we can hire them. My job is to get these kids as prepared as we can.

However, Cintrón responded that less than 15% of the district’s Hispanic population was being taught exclusively in Spanish saying, “The public is being led to believe that the program is the failure when these are the kids who are actually faring better” (Boyer B3).

The local papers also revealed another motivation to eliminate the bilingual program at that time – money.

If the bilingual program were eliminated to follow the school district's superintendent's proposed change, the assignment of the bilingual education students back to their home schools would solve the expansion issue of the south side schools, which serve a primarily Hispanic population (Hall "Bilingual" A1). Therefore, in spite of the recommendations of the committee that studied the current program, without honoring the committee's request to have an outside expert come in and complete an evaluation, in spite of a lack of evidence that the program did not work, and in spite of the pleas from the community that numbered over 600 at the school board meeting, the board voted 6-3 to "drastically change its 20-year-old program." After the decision, one of the board members commented, "Usually when we change a program, it's to address a problem. I guess I'm not sure what's the problem that's being solved here" (Martin "Bilingual" A2). This same board member was confronted by a shouting community member after the meeting who called her incompetent and said, "You people don't understand what's happening", claiming that white middle class America always has to bear the financial burden of Spanish-speaking students (Mulligan A1). Board members voting for the change pointed to statistics suggesting Hispanic graduation rates would be better (Martin "Bilingual" A2). However, according to Iris Cintrón,

It didn't matter that the kids were learning. It didn't matter that they were achieving. It didn't matter that the program worked. It didn't matter that we had a flag over Marvine School that said "Program of Academic Excellence" that we had gotten from Washington for our school district's bilingual ed program. That didn't matter because it wasn't about that. According to the superintendent then, it was, and I quote, "Un-American to teach in a language other than English in American schools." So in

this district the decision was made to get rid of all instruction in the Spanish language for that reason.

And so, in the fall of the 1992-93 school year the district began the implementation of an English-as-a-Second-Language Program, which continues to be the method of instruction for the Spanish-speaking students in the district.

Spanish as a Foreign Language in BASD

As in many school districts throughout Pennsylvania and the nation, Spanish as a Foreign Language is offered in the Bethlehem Area School District. The program begins as an exploratory program in sixth grade, with students taking one third of the year in German, French and Spanish. In seventh grade the students are expected to choose a language to study for two years. The students have classes in the language they choose three times a week for forty-five minutes during seventh and eighth grade and it is expected that they will be ready to enter into a level two class in that language when entering ninth grade. This, however, is often not the case. The program in the middle school is frequently compromised because of scheduling issues and other activities often replace language classes. Consequently, it is difficult for the middle school teachers to teach mastery of all the concepts that are expected in the first level of the language. Consequently, some students fail the proficiency test that is given at the end of eighth grade, and still others decide to change their choice of language, starting with a different one in ninth grade. Thus, in the high school level, the students are able to begin in either a level one or level two class based on their choice and the recommendation of their previous teacher.

There is no district requirement of foreign language. Those students in the college prep program were “required” to take three consecutive years of the same language at the high school level. However, if this did not happen, there were no consequences – the student was still able to graduate with a college prep diploma. Therefore, if need be, a loophole to the three year requirement could be found. Consequently, it was the responsibility of the teacher to make the class “fun and enjoyable” for the students to make them want to take the class. Additionally, there was pressure from administration not to speak too much Spanish in the classroom so as to not “scare the students away”.

The History of the Heritage Language Program in BASD/Freedom High School

I began working at Freedom High School in the fall of 1996, and at that time the school offered a “Native Speaker” class which was offered to a small group of Spanish-speaking students who could demonstrate mastery in the Spanish language in the areas of reading, writing, speaking and auditory comprehension. They were not eligible to participate in this class if they were not able to demonstrate mastery in all of these areas. According to the faculty that were on staff at that time, the class was created by a Puerto Rican faculty member who was approached by the school’s assistant principal sometime in the early nineties because the faculty in the Foreign Language Department did not feel as if these students were appropriately placed in the foreign language track. However, in my first year, it was apparent that there was another population of students who were also misplaced in the foreign language track – the heritage Spanish students. These students, many of whom were born in the US, did not acquire mastery of all the skills that they

needed to participate in the “Native Speaker” class, but they far exceeded the other foreign language students in their aural comprehension of the language. However, most had not mastered the more formal aspects of the language that they would have learned in school because they learned Spanish simply by growing up in a Spanish-speaking home. I then made a proposal to our school’s Foreign Language Department Chair to create a program that would also meet the needs of these heritage language students. The idea was accepted with enthusiasm by the department chair and subsequently approved by the school board the program to begin in the 1998-1999 school year. Over the next three years the program expanded to include three years of instruction and then feed into the class that was previously called “Spanish for Native Speakers.” Eventually the program was called “Heritage Spanish” and it had two levels. The first three years could be taken in any order and covered grammar and formal vocabulary acquisition through thematic units. The fourth year was eventually renamed “Advanced Heritage Spanish.”

Therefore, the students arriving in ninth grade into the heritage Spanish program were either new to formal instruction altogether or they had one or two years of Spanish One taught as a foreign language in the middle school. They were referred to the heritage program on the recommendation of their previous teacher or the guidance counselors. The criterion for placement in the program was that Spanish had to be the language of the home and they had to have a complete receptive understanding of the language. However, beyond this criterion, no placement test was given.

The heritage program did not exist at the other BASD high school nor was it offered in the middle schools. Thus, it was approved as a program that could happen, but not as one that had to happen. It was approved because it would not cost the district any

more money and we had the resources and means to deliver the program. The students at Freedom High School were placed through recommendation and were not able to choose their own track (Spanish as a Foreign Language or Heritage Spanish). Placement was made based on the student's aural proficiency coming into the program. Thus, many students were less than enthusiastic at having to take a course that was considered by them to be "harder" just because they were born into a family who spoke Spanish. However, there were some students who appreciated the opportunity to be able to study their ethnic culture and language and thus, thrived in the program. The students' abilities were also many and varied, which made the class more intimidating for those who had less developed language skills. However, throughout the tenure of the program, there were two to three sections a year of the heritage class and one section of the advanced heritage class with an average enrollment of roughly twenty-five students per class.

Relationship Between the District's Language Programming and the Spanish Language

It appears as if the history of the language programming within the BASD has maintained many contradictions. The district claims that they want the Hispanic students to succeed and learn English, but they do away with a program that was successfully teaching them English in which they were succeeding. They replaced the Bilingual Program with an immersion program from one year to the next without even piloting it to see how it compared to the then current model. They forbid the use of Spanish to teach English, but they strongly encourage the use of English in the instruction of the foreign language classes. In the high school foreign language program, they allow Hispanic students to take Spanish classes after their heritage language has, for many, deteriorated

in an academic sense. Foreign language classes are required for the district's college prep program, but it is not a graduation requirement. Therefore, there are no consequences in place for not completing this requirement.

According to Ruiz's theory, which is described in detail within chapter two, the BASD Bilingual Education Program began out of the "language as right" orientation when it responded to the Pennsylvania Department of Education's request to begin the program. However, because many did not agree with this philosophy, and the majority began associating the problems of the Hispanic population with their language, the program shifted to an immersion program under the "language as problem" orientation. It is clear that the foreign language program exists under the same premise, as its goal is to get the students into college, not to effectively teach them a language other than English. These heritage students are all successful according to the language ideologies and educational goals of the BASD – they are fully functioning English speakers in mainstream classes. However, in a district and community that doesn't ultimately support bilingualism, what happens to the heritage language? Thus, this study is concerned with answering the questions: 1) What are the implications of the identities these Hispanic students have negotiated to be participants in the school culture? and, 2) How has this affected their heritage language?

The Practice of "Intraethnic Othering"

Another dynamic that is present within Freedom High School and the BASD as a whole is a practice that Pyke and Dang have termed "intraethnic othering." This specifically refers to the process of accepting the devalued identity that has been imposed

by the dominant group through stereotyping and applying it to members within their own ethnic group as a way to say, “That stereotype does indeed apply to some ‘others’, but it does not apply to me.” Consequently, the term “bilingual” has come to be a negative term in the district, and refers to those who speak the heritage language in school, speak English with a Spanish accent, and dress and act in a certain way. Therefore, this term does not only describe the “newcomer”, but it also serves to describe those Hispanic students who embrace certain aspects of their ethnic identity by displaying behaviors that are associated with it while in school. Thus, in an attempt to resist a social stigmatization associated with the Hispanic ethnicity, they are actually reproducing this stereotype within their own ethnic and linguistic group and “reconstructing difference along acculturative rather than racial boundaries” (Pyke and Dang 169).

Research Approach

In keeping with the research presented in the literature review of chapter 2, I am taking the position that one’s identity is multiple and can change through time and space. Adolescence is a process of identity formation through negotiation. Negotiation refers to how the individual “learns to claim their existence” (Kanno 2). For the bilingual/bicultural adolescent, this process takes on an added dimension, since for these individuals negotiation is a process of give and take as they “strike a balance between two languages and cultures” (Kanno 2). Though language can reflect their identity, it is also a tool that is used to negotiate identities. I am concerned with identity negotiation regarding their two languages and cultures, namely, how these languages and cultures are used to form or reflect their identities. Investment, as mentioned in chapter 2, is a

changing component, as the individual chooses between opportunities to interact in a particular language in exchange for symbolic or material returns. Thus, it is important to utilize a research approach that will allow me to consider a complex social construct such as identity as well as the multiple variables of potential importance in understanding this phenomenon.

Data were collected through a qualitative case study research method approach (as described in Merriam and Emerson et al. and presented here in section 3.6) utilizing the classroom environment as well as other social spaces. I believe that case study research is appropriate for this study based on the fact that this study focuses on discovery, interpretation and insight rather than on hypothesis testing (Merriam 10). Qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities that need to be discovered, and as the issue of identity is multi-faceted, a method of investigation that lends itself to interpretation rather than measurement is deemed appropriate. Furthermore, Berry et al. suggests that because each individual enters into the acculturation process in a distinct way, qualitative research lends itself to the assessment of individual acculturation (“Assessment” 296). Qualitative research is also concerned with meaning – how individuals make sense of their environment and structure their social worlds, which is the primary focus of this research as it deals with identity formation and language use. Additionally, I combined an ethnographic case study approach, which provided a socio-cultural analysis, with a focus on the individual as agent in a social environment.

Participants

The participants in this study are 12 heritage Spanish students (6 sibling groups, ages 14-17) currently taking classes at Freedom High School. (See Table 2 below). These students were chosen simply based on the fact that they were currently in the heritage program and were siblings. All sibling groups enrolled during the study year were included in the research sample. The participants represent several Hispanic nationalities (Dominican, Ecuadorian, Puerto Rican, Salvadorian, and Venezuelan). All of these students are second generation Spanish-speakers, born in the United States, whose parents immigrated into the US from a Spanish-speaking country. The classroom is made up of students with varying levels of proficiencies in the language, but all of them are able to speak, read, and write to some degree, and were recommended for placement in this program. In choosing to work with adolescent siblings who have grown up in the same household I plan to demonstrate the individual as well as the social context of bilingual/bicultural identity formation and its influence on language maintenance and use.

Table 2: Research Participants

| Participants | Ages | Nationality |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------------|
| Lola and Sabrina Acevedo | 15 16 | Dominican |
| Carlos and Isabel Cortés | 17 14 | Puerto Rican |
| Jorge and Paco Martínez | 15 17 | Salvadorian |
| Josué and Lulú Muñiz | 14 16 | Puerto Rican |
| Matt and Pedro Quijije | 17 17 | Ecuadorian |
| Serena and Elena Soriano | 17 15 | Venezuelan |

Information Necessary to Conduct the Study

This multicase study focused on twelve Spanish heritage students comprising six sibling groups from five distinct national origins. In seeking to understand the process of their bilingual/bicultural identity formation within the Bethlehem Area School District and the implications that those negotiated identities have on the heritage language, four research questions have been formulated. The information needed to answer these questions was determined within the context of the theoretical framework, which was

outlined in chapter 2, and falls within the following categories: (a) perceptual, (b) social, (c) linguistic, and (d) theoretical. This information, thus, includes the following:

- The heritage students' perceptions of their own bicultural/bilingual identity in the school setting as well as in other social environments, including the home.
- The heritage students' social-interactional behavior in various social settings, primarily school and home.
- Linguistic samples of heritage Spanish use among the participants.
- A review of the principles guiding the growing field of Heritage Language Acquisition.

Data Collection Methods

The use of multiple methods and triangulation was implemented to develop a better understanding of the complex phenomenon being investigated. Therefore, I utilized various data collection methods including audio-recorded interviews, video-recorded group discussions, observations of the participants in other social spaces of the school, family visits, ethnographic field notes of the observations and the family visits, video-recorded classroom presentations, audio-recorded parent interviews, and written journal entries.

Individual Interview – Each student participated in an audio-recorded interview with me in the heritage language. The length of the interviews ranged from 45-65 minutes. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed for identity themes as well as linguistic features. All interviews were conducted in the spring semester of 2010. A copy of the interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

Interview Summary – After completing the transcription of the recorded interview, I wrote a detailed interview summary, which outlined important themes that surfaced during the interview as well as recorded interesting observations from the interview process. These summaries were then reviewed during the analysis of identity themes.

Group Discussions – After watching a series of movies that were related to classroom readings and discussions, students discussed specific quotes from the movies. These quotes specifically spoke to the theme of language and identity and the students were asked to deduce meaning and relate them not only to topics that were covered in the class, but also to their own personal experience. Group discussions were video and audio recorded as well as transcribed, coded, and analyzed for identity themes as well as language phenomena. The group discussions took place at the end of the semester (Spring/Fall 2009) over several classes and were at least an hour in length.

Observations- Each participant was observed for a complete school day in all other academic classes as well as in the cafeteria.

Family Visits – After completion of the interview and the observation, I visited each family and took them a meal, which some families shared with me. During the visit we discussed the family and the children's use of the heritage language outside the school. These visits took place during the summer of 2010, fall of 2010 and the spring semester of 2011.

Ethnographic Field Notes – After each observation and family visit, detailed field notes were written for use in future data analysis. The information from these observations was utilized for the identity research analysis phase of the study.

Family Interviews – Each student conducted a tape-recorded parent interview in the heritage language, which they then transcribed. The interview questions were created with input from the students. These interviews were conducted in the Spring/Fall semesters of 2009. A copy of the interview questions can be found in Appendix B. The information gathered in these interviews provided a context and background for the analysis of both identity and linguistic data.

Classroom Presentations – Each student who participated in the heritage class during the spring of 2009 worked on a cultural value assessment and presented their findings to the class in the form of an oral presentation. The presentations were video recorded and were between five and ten minutes in length. These were then transcribed and used as a source of both identity and linguistic data.

Journals – All the students participating in this research study were in a heritage class during either the spring or fall semesters of 2009. As part of the class, they completed journals in Spanish, providing an additional source of data to be reviewed. These journal entries were completed three times a week as a regular classroom activity and had to be between five and ten sentences. The students had the opportunity to write about topics of their choice as well as respond to questions that referred to culture, language and identity issues. This data source was used as a means of supporting the other data sources. Therefore, once all other data was analyzed, the journals were checked to see if there were identity themes that either supported or contradicted those that had already been identified. Likewise, since many heritage students write in the same way as they speak because of the lack of academic exposure to the HL, I checked to see if the linguistic

phenomena that had been identified in the other data sources also appeared in their written Spanish.

Methods of Data Analysis

Phase I: Identity Data

The following steps were followed throughout this phase of the data analysis.

1. Initial Coding – After compiling a file for each research participant I completed an initial coding of all data except the classroom journals. This initial coding consisted of indicating which areas discussed or observed spoke to identity negotiation and taking notes in the margins.
2. Principle Coding – After completing the initial coding, I looked through the data for evidence of Lynch’s nine principles and coded the data for that.
3. Charting Findings – Once the principle coding was complete, I created a chart that listed Lynch’s nine principles in the left hand column. The second column of the chart was labeled “what was said” and the third column was labeled “what was observed”. The last column was titled “what does this mean”. I then proceeded to complete the chart with evidence from the data that either refuted or supported each stated principle. In the last column I analyzed the findings according to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two.
4. Checking Journals-I then examined each participant’s journal to see if there was any written evidence to support or refute the previously indicated identity themes. These findings were then placed on the participants’ identity data charts.

5. Comparative Analysis – Once the data charting was completed for all research participants a comparative analysis was made both between siblings in the same household and among all research participants that would account for similarities and differences in the findings.

Phase II: Linguistic Data

Based on the research and theory of Silva-Corvalán and the fact that other research has supported her results (Zentella, Montrul “Tense/Aspect” and “Bilingual and L2 Grammars”), I decided to analyze language loss in terms of verb morphology. According to Montrul (“Tense/Aspect” 40), the selection of verb morphology in examining loss is appropriate because it has been documented to be vulnerable during first (Brown, Clahsen, Rizzi, Radford, Wexler), bilingual (Dulay and Burt Meisel), and second language acquisition (Eubank, Vainikka and Young-Scholten, Lardiere, Prévost and White) and is usually affected by simplification as a result of language loss (Seliger and Vago). Therefore, including this in the linguistic analysis can provide us with a more accurate picture of the participants’ level of HL maintenance, incomplete acquisition or attrition. In the same respect, the inclusion of the subjunctive mood will provide us with a broader picture of the linguistic abilities of the study participants because the expression of the hypothetical is considered to be a cognitively more demanding task than past narration (Silva-Corvalán Language, as cited in Lynch “Subjunctive” 5). Additionally, the lack of the morphological preterit/imperfect contrast and the indicative/subjunctive opposition in English will allow us to consider the possible influence of English as a contact language with Spanish. Therefore, I examined the data

for evidence of simplification and loss of verb tenses that represented a progression towards a reduced grammatical system as well as possible transfer and convergence with English. As with the study of Silva-Corvalán, I expected to see a preference for the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive as well as the neutralization of the opposition of preterit/imperfect, with static verbs in favor of the imperfect and the use of the preterit instead of the imperfect with activity verbs (Sociolingüística 319). Thus, the linguistic analysis included the areas of tense, aspect and mood throughout the implementation of the following steps of this phase.

1. Grammatical Categorization – After the transcription of the recorded data, I created a summary sheet of data by tense and mood, which listed past descriptions and indications of subjunctive mood.
2. Error Identification – I then examined all the summary sheets for errors, identifying all instances of use of preterit aspect for imperfect aspect, use of imperfect for preterit, and use of the indicative mood for the subjunctive mood. Standard usage of these forms was also indicated.
3. Other linguistic phenomena – As I examined the linguistic data with regards to verb morphology, I also made note of other non-standard linguistic forms and made note of them. Among the forms that were noted were adjectival inflection, subject/verb agreement, and the use of *gustar* verbs.
4. Written data analysis – I then examined the classroom journals for written evidence of the same phenomena identified in steps 2 and 3.
5. Charting findings – A chart was then created to list each example of the identified items from steps 2, 3 and 4 above for each research participant.

6. Checking for Accuracy – Once all the linguistic data were charted, another Spanish professor checked the charts to ensure that the linguistic forms were categorized correctly. A discussion resulted when necessary to clarify the accuracy of the classification. The classified errors were then reviewed by a committee of three native Spanish speakers to check for possible colloquial uses that could appear in non-standard dialects of Spanish. All data were then recharted according to the findings.
7. Comparative analysis - Once the data charting was completed for all research participants a comparative analysis was made both between siblings in the same household and among all research participants that would account for similarities and differences in the findings.

Phase III: Synthesis

After completing the first two phases of the data analysis process, I was able to examine the results of both phases and compare for threads and patterns between siblings, among all research participants and across categories. The synthesis of the data after the analysis process consisted of situating the findings with respect to prior research and theory. This allowed me to think about the broader theoretical implications of this research and to develop conclusions and recommendations based upon the current findings.

Ethical Considerations

Shortly after the completion and approval of the proposal for this study, I acquired the approval of the IRB to proceed with the research with the proposed student participants. Following all the procedures that were required to complete a study involving human subjects it was necessary to have the participants as well as their parents complete the required confidentiality and informed consent forms as well as permission to audio and video-record the interviews and other collected data. These forms were received from each participant and their parents and each family received their own copies. During the research process I respectfully kept the names of the participants confidential, allowing each one to select a pseudonym. Additionally, all precautionary measures were taken to securely store the data and all research-related documents.

Issues of Trustworthiness

An important component of qualitative research is the necessity of remaining conscientious of the potential for subjectivity in one's research. Therefore, this section seeks to discuss the methods that have been taken in this study to ensure objectivity and control for potential biases throughout the research process and analysis of the data. The three components discussed here will be credibility, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the ability to maintain that the findings of the study are accurate with respect to the researcher, the participants and the reader. In order to ensure the credibility of this study, I employed triangulation of the sources of data as well as the methods of data collection. The gathering of data from multiple sources and multiple methods gave the collected data more depth, enabling me to view a more complete

picture of the phenomenon being investigated and examine it with a more reliable perspective. Various strategies were also employed during the data analysis phase of the investigation in order to enhance the interpretive validity of this study.

In order to ensure that the study's findings were reliable, I documented all procedures and consistently used coding schemes, charts and categories. By doing this I was able to demonstrate that the findings were consistent with the data that was collected.

And lastly, in order to maintain as objective a study as humanly possible, it became necessary for me to keep an organized file for each participant which included the transcripts, field notes and other data which was included in my ongoing reflection throughout the research process.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter provided a detailed description of this study's research methodology, which began with a historical look at the study site and its language programming in order to provide context for the study. A qualitative case study methodology was employed to best describe the phenomenon under investigation – bicultural/bilingual identity negotiation of Hispanic heritage students. The study seeks to understand the role of the heritage language in the negotiated identities of these students and examine their language use for evidence of language attrition or inadequate acquisition. The study group consisted of twelve purposefully selected Hispanic heritage students who were currently enrolled in the school's Spanish heritage program, making up six sibling groups from five distinct Hispanic nationalities. Various data collection methods were employed, including individual interviews in the heritage language,

observations of the students outside the classroom, family interviews, classroom discussions and journal writing. The data was analyzed within the theoretical framework that was outlined in chapter two, and credibility and dependability was managed through triangulation of data, which included both collection and analysis.

The data analysis occurred within three phases that included the analysis of identity themes, linguistic analysis, and synthesis of the research findings. Once all the phases of data analysis had been completed, it was possible to situate the findings within the current realm of literature and theory and make appropriate conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this multicase study was to investigate the role of identity negotiation in a group of heritage Spanish siblings and to explore the manifestations of that identity in the heritage language. Specifically, the researcher sought to understand how the experiences of these individuals may have influenced their investment to use the heritage language and consequently effect the process of language maintenance, attrition or incomplete acquisition. In seeking to understand this phenomenon, the study sought to address four research questions: (a) How do Hispanic heritage students negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities? (b) What is the role of the heritage language in those negotiated identities? (c) Do the negotiated identities influence their investment to maintain the heritage language? (d) What are the linguistic manifestations of the Spanish spoken by these bilingual students?

This chapter provides a detailed description of the twelve study participants who represented a purposefully selected group of six siblings who were currently enrolled in heritage Spanish classes at the study site. It is hoped that by providing this description, the reader will be able to better understand the reality of each study participant as it relates to the research questions above. This chapter also presents the key findings obtained from twelve individual interviews, five group discussions, study site observations, classroom presentations, classroom journals, parent interviews and family visits. The goal here, in part, is to allow the participants to represent themselves through illustrative quotations from the interviews and group discussions as a means of providing

multiple participant perspectives to the findings of this study. All quotations represent authentic speech. Therefore, in the transcriptions, if the student aspirated an ‘s’, this is represented by an ‘h’. There are also cases in which the study participants pronounced a word with a different sound than the standard dialect. These pronunciations are represented with the letter that best represents the sound that was produced to provide as authentic a representation of actual spoken language as possible without providing a phonetic transcription. Therefore, sometimes a ‘w’ appears instead of an ‘l’, an ‘l’ may appear in place of an ‘r’ or there might be elision of certain sounds as well as the addition of them, once again, with the letter that best represents the sound that was produced by the respective study participant. Additionally, where indicated in the text or in parentheses afterwards, there are some excerpts from classroom journal entries. As these also represent the authentic language of the study participants, there may be misspellings and other structural errors. It is hoped that this method of presentation will capture the richness and complexity of the subject matter. In addition, this chapter will provide a critical analysis of the data.

The Study Participants

The Acevedo Family

Mr. and Mrs. Acevedo both immigrated to the state of New Jersey from the Dominican Republic. Mr. Acevedo came with his mother and sister when he was approximately eleven years old and Mrs. Acevedo came when she was seventeen. In addition to being the parents of Lola, age 15, and Sabrina, age 16, they also have an eleven-year-old daughter. The family moved to the Bethlehem area right after the 2001

terrorist attack in New York City because they feared living so close to the disaster site and believed that their children would have better opportunities in the Lehigh Valley area. At that time, Lola was seven and Sabrina was eight-years-old. The community where they live in Pennsylvania sharply contrasts with the environment where they lived in New Jersey. Their New Jersey community could be described as a “Hispanic community” because everybody in the surrounding community spoke Spanish within the school system, in the neighborhood and in the local stores. It was generally accepted that Spanish had capital and value where they lived, studied, worked and socialized. However, their current neighborhood is in the suburban township where the houses are very large and the neighbors do not even know each other’s names. The use of Spanish is not even tolerated in the elementary schools and the neighborhoods are ethnically diverse and reflect an environment of independence and isolation instead of interdependence and community. Thus, the family’s move to this area marks the children’s language shift to English.

Both of the Acevedo parents are bilingual. However, Mr. Acevedo speaks Spanish with his wife and English with his children. Mrs. Acevedo, on the other hand, speaks only Spanish in the home. The children do not speak Spanish in the home, so they respond back to their mother in English. Although Mrs. Acevedo is a strong advocate for bilingualism and she voices a desire for her children to speak and know the Spanish language, she has not enforced its use in the home. Up until very recently, the family maintained strong ties with their relatives in the Dominican Republic and they would visit them every summer for two weeks. However, the last of the relatives they went to see has also moved to the Bethlehem area, so their summer vacations have been

suspended within the last two years. Towards the end of the data collection phase of this study, Mrs. Acevedo's mother, who is a monolingual Spanish-speaker, moved into their home.

Lola Acevedo

Lola was recommended for placement in the heritage program in tenth grade and her ninth grade Spanish 2 teacher stated that she always spoke Spanish in the class, she was very well behaved and an enthusiastic language student. However, my first impressions of Lola as a student in my heritage Spanish class contrasted with this description. As a sophomore student in the class she was somewhat unruly, constantly yelling out without raising her hand, and very often, making inappropriate comments and laughing loudly at inopportune times. She did not have any confidence in her heritage language abilities and she rarely prepared for class, often failing tests and forgetting to complete and turn in assignments. She did not seem to be serious about the class and she was drawn to the other boisterous and not-so-serious students. As a junior, she seemed to turn over a new leaf. She began to complete her assignments and study for tests. As a result, her grade came up significantly. Although she still had the tendency to fool around with her friends from the previous year, in other respects she had completely transformed her attitude and was proving to be successful.

Lola's first language was Spanish and when she began kindergarten in New Jersey, she was a monolingual speaker. She describes her elementary experience as an ESOL pull out program where a teacher would take her out and instruct her in English. However, everyone in the school and community spoke Spanish. When she was seven

and she moved to the Bethlehem area, she participated in the district's ESOL education and it was then that she gradually made a complete shift to speaking only English.

Currently, Lola chooses to speak only English and she does not have any desire to speak Spanish.

I want to like move on, then I don't have to speak Spanish to like anybody.

As a matter of fact, she credits the heritage Spanish class for the little she does know and speak.

If it wasn't for like heritage Spanish I probably wouldn't be speaking Spanish anymore . . . like at all (laughs).

In school, Lola's primary socialization group is made up of all Anglo females. She is a cheerleader for the school and another community squad. She was frequently observed in the cafeteria to be sitting among only white females, with the occasional addition of her sister and her one Hispanic friend. However, they were observed to be an invisible appendage to the group, often sitting at the end of the table and not interacting with any of the other students. When she was observed in the other areas of the school it was interesting that her behavior was strikingly different in her other classes. In the heritage class, she was fulfilling the stereotype that exists in the school about those who are called "bilinguals" – loud and publicly inappropriate. However, in her other classes she was the model student, very quiet and appropriate. According to Lola, most people in the school think she is white because of the color of her skin and her style of dress in addition to the fact that she does not speak Spanish. It appears as if her ability to be an "invisible minority" in the school has made it easier for her to assimilate into the mainstream culture. I also found it interesting that she had a cousin in one of her classes who she did not even talk to. As a matter of fact, it appeared as if they were complete

strangers. Her cousin was one of the family members that she would visit in the summer in the Dominican Republic who recently moved to the States.

During the semester that she was in my class she would occasionally come to the Latino Leadership Club meetings at my encouragement. However, while she was at the meetings, she would only associate with the students who were in her heritage class. And, if none of them were coming, she would not attend either. When she did come, she appeared to feel very awkward and out of place. Lola was interviewed for this study in the spring of 2010, after she completed her first semester of heritage Spanish. During the interview she claimed that she no longer talked to the friends she made in my class the previous semester. She would sometimes say “hi” when she saw them in the hallway, but that is as far as their relationship went. Lola attended the Spanish class field trip to *El Repertorio Español* in New York City in the spring of 2011. After the play she and her sister and her one and only Hispanic friend ate lunch at McDonald’s and walked for blocks to shop at the Abercrombie store, which is the name brand clothes that identify those students who participate in the white mainstream culture of the high school. She also requested permission to travel home with her friend’s mother instead of riding back to school on the bus.

Lola does not only feel uncomfortable with the Hispanic students in the school, she also blatantly rejects other aspects of the Hispanic culture. According to her mother, she refuses to eat rice and beans, and if Mrs. Acevedo cooks it, she will make herself something else to eat, like pizza.

Alguna veces yo le digo a mi mamá por qué ella tiene que hacer arroz con habichuelas. ¿por qué no podemos ir a McDonald’s?

And, she not only acts like she does not know her cousin in the school, but she refuses to interact with her grandmother who just moved into her house because her grandmother does not speak English. Additionally, according to her sister Sabrina, Lola frequently participates in the practice of intra-ethnic othering by using the term “bilingual” to refer to those Hispanics in the school who identify with their ethnic culture.

Lola admits to the use of the term “bilingual” in the school to refer to those Hispanics who recently arrived to the US from Spanish-speaking countries - not to refer to the heritage students. She learned this term in school as it was specifically referring to those who choose to speak Spanish in school.

Cuando ‘toy caminando en la escuela y na’ ma’ vemos a la gente hablando en español decimos, ‘Look, bilinguals’.

She described a negative attitude from the students towards those who speak Spanish.

Yo creo que ellos, like, algunas gentes en la escuela, ellos dicen, “Oh, ¿por qué tú estás hablando en español? ¡Nosotros estamos en América!” María está en la clase conmigo y cuando ella habla español con otras gentes, ellos dicen, “¿Por qué tú estás hablando español? Like, we can’t understand you. Speak English.”

She also described a system that “tries” to teach Spanish as evidenced through the existence of the classes. But, she acknowledged the lack of value toward the goal on the part of both the system and the students.

Yo creo que ellos tratan de enseñar a los estudiantes porque tenemos clases de español, pero yo no creo, like, if they took it out, I don’t think it would be that big of a deal to them. . . .Ok, los blancos na’ ma’ quieren que es como otra clase. Like, “oh yeah, I have Spanish 2, oh, I’m failing it.” Like they don’t make an effort to like actually work on it. Like, “Oh yeah, my parents are just going to say it’s Spanish class.’ Pero si es la clase de inglés van a decir, “¿por qué tú tiene, like ‘Why are you getting an F in that class?’”

When asked what she believed, she answered by saying that her parents want her to speak Spanish and that she thinks it helps when you get older, but she could not identify any current value in her life for speaking Spanish.

As in the district's history of language planning, there exist many contradictions in what Lola says and how she invests in language use. When she is asked, she claims that being bilingual is important to her, but then she refuses to speak Spanish, not just within the school, but even with her relatives. When she is asked what she is doing to try to maintain her heritage language, she responds that she is taking the heritage Spanish class, which she did not even take seriously for the first year and she tried to get out of in the second. In the social space of the school, she participates in the practice of intra-ethnic othering, which basically states that the stereotype does exist for other Hispanic students, but not for her. And then, in my class, she acted out some aspects of that very stereotype, which was completely different from her behavior in her other classes. Additionally, even though she states that she defines herself as Dominican, she adds that most people believe she is white because of her appearance and her behavior.

Es que alguna gentes que no me conoce dice que yo soy blanca porque el color de mi piel, como yo me visto, y nunca hablo español pero yo soy dominicana y no blanca pero algunas veces gente dice que yo soy blanca.

Lola, appears to have taken on the language ideologies of the school district and all its contradictions.

Linguistically, Lola demonstrates fairly good control of verb aspect. When narrating in the past, she did not present errors within this category (36/36). Although her descriptions were sprinkled with English vocabulary, her verbs consistently demonstrated the development of aspect in Spanish.

(1) Yo tengo muchos primos que llegaron chiquitos de dominicana, de República Dominicana y, um, ellos na' más vinieron hablando español pero ahora na' más quiere hablar inglés y los padres tenían que aprender inglés.

(2) Um, cuando yo comencé la escuela, yo me recuerdo que yo tenía todas las clases de inglés pero me tenían que sacar para aprenderme el inglés porque no lo sabía hablar muy bien. Porque en la casa cuando nosotros estábamos chiquito, um, nosotros estamos, hablábamos en español, like, yo vivía con mis abuelas, mis tías y todos hablábamos español.

However, she does not have a fully developed system of subjunctive. In the present tense, she produced five errors out of a total of 11 cases that called for the use of the present subjunctive.

(3) Quiero habla con el cuando se termina (termine) la escuela. (journal)

Additionally, There were two occasions in her classroom journal that would have required the use of the imperfect subjunctive. However, on one occasion, she used the imperfect indicative instead of the imperfect subjunctive.

(4) Si yo podía (pudiera) ganar mucho dinero yo tubiera un carro bonito.

In the second instance, she used an imperfect subjunctive form where the conditional would have been appropriate for the context of her communication.

(5) Mi familia tubiera feliz porque tenemos muchos dinero. (Mi familia estaría feliz porque tendríamos mucho dinero).

One interesting aspect to her linguistic profile was the in the use of *gustar* verbs; in this corpus she used these verbs appropriately 22 times (58%) and produced 16 forms (42%) that are similar in nature to those of a second language learner (SLL).

(6) Algunas veces no saben hablar la lenguaje de su cultura y los padres no le gustan eso (a los padres no les gusta eso), so, el padre de Selena le está diciendo que ella tiene que hacer americana o mexicana, tiene que gustar la música (le tiene que gustar) de los dos culturas.

(7) Todas mis amigas son graciosa y le gustan a bailar. (les gusta bailar)

Lola's linguistic profile is inconsistent. On the one hand, she has a fairly well developed control of aspect in her past narration. However, she does not demonstrate a fully developed system of subjunctive, either in a present or a past context. She also shows a lack of development in areas that demonstrate the influence of the English language and make her heritage language development appear more like that of a second language learner of Spanish than a native speaker. Her sample also supports the research of Silva-Corvalán ("Spanish" 165), in that she has maintained structural competence in the present and past indicative tenses, which are the earliest tense forms that are acquired. The deficiency of forms that are developed later either indicates a freezing of her heritage language development or a loss of those forms because of a decreased use of the heritage language in a contact situation with English.

Sabrina Acevedo

Although somewhat shy, Sabrina seemed to feel comfortable in the heritage Spanish class. She was a responsible student who frequently became annoyed at the attitude of many of those in her class who did not care about doing well, although she also seemed to find them amusing. She handed in her work on time and was able to master the grammar concepts, which was reflected in her journal writing and test scores. She was, however, reluctant to speak in front of the class.

Like Lola, Sabrina's first language was Spanish. She, however, began school in a bilingual education program where the English language was not even introduced until second grade. Sabrina's mother credits her increased level of heritage language proficiency to this fact, and to the fact that she was older than Lola when she arrived to

the Bethlehem area. This fact nonetheless has not influenced Sabrina's heritage language investment in the school environment. Like Lola, Sabrina made a complete language shift after moving to this area and beginning school in the district. She does not speak Spanish at home any more than her sister does.

Yo creo que cuando me mudé paracá porque ya ehtaba máh hablando en ingléh en la ehcuela y me sentía máh cómoda hablando en ingléh so lo más lo hablaba inglés en la casa también. Cuando comencé aquí, na' má' hablaba inglés y allí fue cuando paré de hablar español, lo má' hablaba inglés todo, todo días.

In school Sabrina's main socialization group consists of the other heritage Spanish students. If she is not sitting with her sister in the cafeteria, she is at a table of all heritage Spanish students. The majority of her friends are bilingual, but they do not speak Spanish in the school. Their use of Spanish is limited to those times when they are joking around and poking fun at those with either thick Spanish accents (intra-ethnic othering) or those who have a different regional dialect and use distinct vocabulary. Unlike her sister, she does stop and speak to her cousin when she sees him in school.

Con mi primos, ellos saben inglés, pero yo hablo con ellos en ehpañol también. Cuando veo Helsin, yo lo saludo y hablo con él un ratico, y después me voy pa' la clase y ella (Lola) sigue caminando.

She is also a cheerleader, but she says that she and Lola are the only Spanish-speaking Hispanics on the squad. Although her participation in cheerleading has allowed her to be a part of the mainstream culture of the school, she is not a full participant in that culture, appearing to be a somewhat peripheral member. And, even though she is the older sibling, she appears to be more dependent on Lola than Lola is on her.

Sabrina, who also defines herself as Dominican, does feel positive about the heritage Spanish class. She believes that it has given her the confidence to speak Spanish

more and she claims that her grandparents have noticed her increased willingness to speak to them in the heritage language.

Pues, ahora que te, ha tenio la clase de español, hablo ehpañol má' que cuando no la tenía y yo creo que es bien así porque voy, mis abuelos, ellos 'tan viendo que 'toy tratando de hablar ehpañol má'.

She believes that if she felt more confident in her abilities, she would actually choose to speak more with her family, but she fears making mistakes and being laughed at. Sabrina also mentioned the presence of prejudice and discrimination in the school regarding the Hispanic students. When she was asked what she would change if she could change one thing about the high school, she responded, “que mucho de loh estudiantes miran loh hispanos pa' bajo, que no le dan, like the benefit of the doubt.” Sabrina believes that the heritage language is supported by the school system in the high school, but it was not supported at all in the elementary grades.

Yo creo que cuando son chiquitos, no creen que eh tan importante porque na' má' 'tan interesado en (pause) enseñarle inglés.

I believe her interpretation of support lies in the fact that we offer the heritage language class and those who teach it encourage its use. However, this support has not affected the overall attitude regarding the use of Spanish in the greater school community. Sabrina admittedly participates in the practice of intra-ethnic othering. Although she claims that her own definition of bilingual is one in which the person is able to equally function in both languages, she does use the term to refer to those who do not speak English well. She does not define herself as bilingual according to either of the definitions she uses. She does admit to others that she speaks Spanish, but she would not feel comfortable claiming to be bilingual on a job application because of her lack of confidence in her heritage language abilities. Ideally she would like to be a more balanced bilingual.

Cuando 'toy con mi familia, yo quisiera hablar ehpañol más porque yo siento que ellos saben más que yo y no, no quiero así. Yo quiero hablar con ellos en español y sentirme bien.

She also acknowledges the benefit of being bilingual in the future.

Me va a dar ventajas porque es importante saber dos lang, umm, lenguajes porque hay muchas gentes que no saben inglés.

However, these realizations have not materialized into much more heritage language investment than her sister has.

Linguistically, Sabrina also demonstrated complete control of aspect in her past narration, producing a sample that was completely accurate (64/64).

(1) Um . . .yo creo cuando me mudé par' acá porque ya ehtaba máh hablando en inglés en la ehcuela y me sentía máh cómoda hablando en inglés, so lo más lo hablaba inglés en la casa también.

Additionally, she demonstrated a more complete development of the present subjunctive than Lola, producing 12 accurate forms in her classroom journal, and only demonstrating 1 error in this category.

(2) Mis amigas me relaja y dicen que voy a estar en un wheelchair cuando tenga solo veinte años. (journal)

(3) Ohala que puedo (pueda) habirlo mañana porque ya me llamaron la atención. (journal)

Additionally she was able to create hypothetical discourse using past constructions of the subjunctive, which she produced appropriately on seven out of eight occasions.

(4) Le pusieron en otra clase diferente que todo el mundo pa' que aprendiera inglés y ahora ella no habla español, ni un poquito.

However, it should also be noted here that she used the present indicative on 3 occasions in phrases with "como si". This construction would call for the imperfect subjunctive in the standard language; however, its use can be considered optional in other dialects.

(5) Lo que me molesta de una persona es cuando actúan como si son (fuera/fueran) chévere. Hablan como si son (fueran) el centro del universo.

Also interesting is the fact that Sabrina, although she is older and had more exposure to Spanish before her family moved to the Bethlehem area, also showed evidence of difficulty with the *gustar* verbs, demonstrating only 64% accuracy: within 11 constructions with *gustar* verbs, she produced four errors.

(6) Mi amigo y yo cogimos los colores que nos gustabamos (gustaban) más.

(7) Yo encanto (me encanta) estar con ella.

Thus, although she does demonstrate a more developed verb system with regards to her use of subjunctive, which could be attributed, as her mother believes, to the longer years of input and instruction in bilingual education before their move, she also, like her younger sister, presents some of the grammatical errors that are typical for second language learners of Spanish.

There have been a number of studies that have demonstrated that heritage language learners (HLL) and second language learners (SLL), with regards to various grammatical features, can end up with very similar grammars (Gürel, Jordens, Lynch “Linguistic”, Montrul “Subject”, Sorace). In another study with adult early bilinguals, i.e. those Spanish speakers who began learning English before age five, Montrul found that their grammars resembled those of L2 learners with regards to the types of errors committed as well as the patterns of incompleteness that were identified (“Incomplete” 352). Thus, in some instances, HLL and SLL both exhibit what could be considered an “interlanguage grammar,” one that is in the process of completion. Montrul, Foote and Perpiñán have stated that, “all developing grammars – monolingual, bilingual, or L2

grammars – are by definition ‘temporarily incomplete’.” (505). Whether the process is in initial development, a stagnated development, or a process of attrition is the question that will be discussed further in the analysis of the current research questions (Section 4.3.4).

The Cortés Family

Mr. and Mrs. Cortés immigrated to the US from Puerto Rico. Both came as young adults and met and married in the States. Mr. Cortés was twenty-two years old when he arrived in Jersey and he eventually made his way to the Lehigh Valley area. Having no more than a sixth grade education and not being able to speak English, he worked for many years as a laborer to give his family opportunities that he was not afforded growing up in Puerto Rico. The family resides on the south side of Bethlehem, which was historically a Puerto Rican community and, although the demographics are changing somewhat, the majority of the residents on the south side continue to be Spanish-speaking or bilingual families. Mr. Cortés is currently physically disabled and can no longer work. Mrs. Cortés does work outside the home and although she can speak English, she does not have to because the people at her job speak Spanish. Both parents speak primarily Spanish, but they can both understand English. They speak to the children in Spanish, but the children mix the languages in their response to them, primarily speaking English in the home and amongst each other. Carlos, age 17, and Isabel, age 14, who both participated in the study, also have an older brother who was a heritage Spanish student at Freedom High School and graduated last year. He completed three years in the heritage Spanish program and then went on to study in the local community college. Both parents have verbalized their desire for their children to be

bilingual and maintain the heritage language, which they believe is part of their identity – their “raza”.

Carlos Cortés

Carlos was my student in the heritage Spanish class for three years. After completing all three levels of my class he went on to the advanced heritage class. He was preparing to graduate at the time of the interview for this investigation. In class, Carlos was quiet and shy, but he always did his work and was one of the top students in the class. He had a pleasant attitude and a good sense of humor and he was well liked by the other students in the class. Because he was shy he didn’t speak much in class, however, he was always attentive and engaged. Additionally, he appeared to be genuinely interested in the topics we were reading and in improving his language skills in general.

Although Carlos’s first language was Spanish, he was introduced very early to English in the local Head Start pre-school program. Thus, he was able to function in English well enough to be placed in regular education classes beginning in kindergarten. Having an older brother who also learned English in pre-school, Carlos’s shift to English occurred even earlier than many of the other students in the study. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to determine the level of heritage language proficiency he actually had acquired prior to his complete language shift to English. It is very possible that he never developed a productive proficiency in the heritage language beyond basic words and phrases, merely developing the receptive skills he needed to understand the spoken Spanish he heard in the home. When Carlos was asked what language is spoken in the home, he said “Spanglish” – a reference to the fact that both Spanish and English are

spoken in the home at all times and frequently mixed together. He also claims that his parents want him to speak Spanish in the home, but he cannot always effectively communicate in Spanish, so he is forced to rely on English out of necessity.

Mis padres, especial mi papá. El quiere que yo hablo más español. No se enfogona pero siempre me pregunta por qué no estoy hablando español. Pero, cuando yo hablo español con él, él siempre me dice si, if I mess up, que habla inglés.

In school, Carlos appears to have two distinct groups of friends, one group of primarily white friends, and the other consists of the heritage Spanish students, particularly those who also live on the south side. Carlos also participates in two after school activities, art club and Latino Leadership. He is a very gifted artist and his skills were utilized in the Latino Leadership Club as well to win for them the banner contest for the big rival football game two years in a row. Carlos appears to be very comfortable being a Puerto Rican in a school that does not necessarily accept his culture. He has found a place where he is able to “fit in” and not compromise his ethnic pride. In his journal he wrote:

A ser un miembro de Latino Leadership es muy importante a mi. Significa unidad entre los estudiantes hispanos en la escuela. Nos enseña que nosotros hispanos somos importante a la comunidad. Latino Leadership es donde nosotros hispanos unimos a ayudar a mostrar nuestra cultura y patrimonio. (2/26/09)

His behavior in the other spaces of the school is very consistent with his behavior in the heritage class. He is quiet even among his groups of friends, although he is always engaged as an attentive listener, laughing at the humor in their conversations. Carlos is fair-skinned and would not be considered a visible minority. It would be easy for him to “blend in” with the mainstream culture of the school. However, Carlos still chooses his group of friends who he identifies with from his neighborhood and his culture. Yet, he

also appreciates the ability to participate in what he describes as the “Americanized” side of himself. He truly believes he is able to experience the best of both worlds, and would not like to have it any other way. He very much connects language to identity, and longs to be able to speak Spanish better. But, he admits that his embarrassment is what keeps him from speaking more.

por vergüenza, porque mi español no es muy good.

He feels inadequate in his heritage language proficiency and for that reason he frequently chooses not to invest in its use, not even with members of his own family.

Yo tengo una abuela, ella vive acá en south side. Pero (laughs) ella, cuando yo le hablo, I feel, yo me siento muy . . . [¿incómodo?] uh huh, porque mi español no es muy bien. Y cuando, cuando ummm, otros relatives de Puerto Rico llaman yo no le quiero hablar porque mi español.

Ironically, Carlos does consider himself bilingual, but he does not consider himself bicultural. He believes that a bilingual is someone who can speak both languages, which he claims he does. But, it seems as if his definition relies more on the interpretation of someone who speaks both languages at the same time. For example, if I were to begin a sentence in Spanish and finish it in English, my students would say to me, “Miss, that’s mad bilingual.” In this sense, bilingual is referring to not speaking either all in English nor all in Spanish, but rather a combination of the two. Carlos’s self-description seems to fall more in line with that culturally accepted definition of being bilingual. On the other hand, he believes that being bicultural means that a person keeps equally in tact with all aspects of both cultures. However, he feels more of a pull towards the American culture. Although, he believes that his parents help him out in that respect, always reminding him of the importance of his Puerto Rican roots. In his junior year, he had to do a presentation in my class about his values and, at that time, he claimed that he

felt 85% Hispanic and 15% American. This seems to be evidence that his identification with his two cultures is fluctuating and that change is reflective of whatever culture is most salient at the time. When he is among Spanish-speakers he calls himself Puerto Rican (puertorriqueño) and when he is in a group of non-Spanish-speakers he refers to himself as Hispanic.

Carlos is aware of the practice of intra-ethnic othering, and he has been a witness to it among his own group of heritage Spanish friends who joke around about the stereotypes associated with being Hispanic. He seems to find humor in it and not necessarily find it to be offensive, especially since it is discussed among Hispanics themselves. However, he did also point out that he is Hispanic and is not “loud”, which is a characteristic that is part of the stereotype.

Carlos claims to be proud to have been in the heritage language program and felt as if it was something he could “brag about” to his friends who did not speak Spanish. According to Carlos, the school system has suppressed his heritage language use, which has flowed over into the other areas of his life. He describes a school that is very divided because of language.

Yo creo que los estudiantes que habwan español na' má, ellos, instead of teniendo ESOL, ellos necesitan que mix it up en cuanto a todo. Porque si es así como es ahora, los hispanos, they only hang out con los otros hispanos y nosotros, como los que hablan inglés, se quedan con los que hablan inglés.

He is aware that he has had to make choices to become a full participant in the school culture. He believes that if he would have had the opportunity to speak Spanish in school, he would be a more balanced bilingual now. Even though he is clearly more

dominant in and comfortable with his English-speaking skills, he would rather be a more balanced bilingual.

Pues, me siento cómodo pero cuando estoy con otros que hablan español yo me siento left out.

He also echoes the belief of his parents that the language is part of his identity.

Quiero, um, quiero, I don't want to forget, no quiero olvidar mi español en el futuro porque es lo que defines me, porque me define.

However, this desire has not resulted in more language investment on his part. He is also not a very verbal person no matter what language he is speaking.

Linguistically, Carlos demonstrated good control of aspect in his past narration.

He struggled with vocabulary recall, which made his narration short and choppy, lacking in detail. However, his verb formations were accurate 100% of the time (21/21).

(1) Yo, yo, pues, yo tenía preschool después de escuela so yo, ya yo sabía inglés cuando yo entré. (kindergarten)

However, Carlos was not able to demonstrate any use of subjunctive, either in present or past narration. He did not attempt to use any imperfect subjunctive, and the attempts at present subjunctive were inaccurate 100% of the time, only attempting three constructions.

(2) A mis padres . . . especial mi papá, él quiere que yo hablo (hable) más español.

Interestingly, like the Acevedo girls, Carlos also demonstrated errors in the use of *gustar* verbs, using them correctly only 50% of the time (3/6).

(3) Tengo amigos que le gustan (les gusta) arte.

Also present in Carlos' linguistic sample was the frequent use of *sabo* for the first person singular form of present indicative *sé*. He actually used *sabo* for *sé* in 4 of the 5 instances where *sé* was warranted, 80% of the time.

(4) Hablo, hablo más inglés que español porque yo sabo (sé) más inglés.

Additionally, he sometimes used *saber* instead of *conocer*, which is also a frequent error for English-speakers who are learning Spanish as a second language.

(5) Yo sabía (conocía) Melissa en escuela primaria. Tú puede decir que yo lo sabía (conocía) toda mí vida. (journal: 04/08/09)

Therefore, it seems as if the early introduction of English has had a significant impact on the continued development of the heritage language.

Isabel Cortés

Isabel was placed in the heritage class as a freshman. She had never had a formal language class before. According to Carlos, she spoke Spanish better than both he and his older brother, so initially I was not worried when I saw her name on my schedule. However, shortly into the semester I began to question the appropriateness of her placement in the heritage class. She had failed every quiz she had taken, her writing was almost incomprehensible and I could not tell if she was just not trying or completely lost. It was rare that someone who was inappropriately placed would not come to me and request to be moved into another class. Many times even the students who were appropriately placed would try to switch out just to be able to take what is often perceived as an "easier" class. When I questioned Carlos about her placement, he assured me that she knew more Spanish than he did; he believed she was just being lazy.

However, I'm not sure how accurate his assessment of her heritage language skills really was.

Isabel claims to have known some English when she began kindergarten, but she was placed in the ESOL program anyway based on her language assessment scores. She remained in ESOL classes through about third or fourth grade. She, therefore, was the only one of the three siblings to be placed in ESOL classes in elementary school. She describes this as a pull out program where the teacher would go to her regular class and take her to another classroom with a smaller group of students.

Tenía clases con nenes que no sabían inglés o they were like mentally challenged.

Isabel's primary social group at school consists of other Hispanic students with the exception of one white female. In this group several of the girls speak Spanish to each other at lunch and in the classroom. The comments that they make in Spanish are very brief statements like, "Dame uno y dale uno a ella" or "Te amo". However, I did not observe Isabel actually using the heritage language herself. These friends who speak Spanish also speak English and are not in the ESOL classes, but may be ones who have recently been mainstreamed. According to her other teachers, these students also live on the south side like Isabel.

Isabel does not participate in any extracurricular activities with the school because she has to babysit every day after school for her cousins. She claims that she might like to participate in the Latino Leadership club if she did not have to babysit. She describes the school system as one that fosters an atmosphere of discrimination against those who speak Spanish.

Pues, cuando yo estoy caminando en los hallways todos los nenes o nenas que están hablando español en esta escuela, los blancos dice, “Oh yo necesito que ir a Puerto Rico otra vez o la cosa que ellos vinieron de porque they don’t belong in here.”

She is aware of the use of the term “bilingual” to have negative connotations referring to those who speak Spanish in the hallways. However, she believes that it is not used amongst Hispanics themselves, but rather by those who do not speak Spanish about those who do.

Yo creo que ellos creen esto – esta es una escuela donde todos hablan inglés so they need to start talking English.

She claims that she does not use the term bilingual in that way.

Isabel communicates pride in her Puerto Rican heritage. She says she always defines herself as Puerto Rican no matter who she is talking to.

Yo quiero que ellos saben que yo soy puertorriqueña, yo sabo más de mucho. Porque, tú dice tu hispana you can come from like anywhere. If I say I’m Puerto Rican, I come from Puerto Rico. I’m proud of it. Yo amo a ser hispana. Comiendo las cosas y después sabo hablar dos lenguas, eso es importante en mi vida.

She also stated that she “loved” being in the heritage Spanish class. She claims that she speaks Spanish all the time. When I asked her where she speaks it she said, “everywhere. Todos places.” I suspect that she is really describing her environment as being Spanish-speaking – her friends, her family, her neighborhood. Because I did not observe her speaking Spanish, and also because of the fact that it was very difficult for her to utter an entire sentence completely in Spanish during the interview and the recorded classroom discussions, I do not believe she is capable of speaking Spanish all the time. Many of her utterances were incomprehensible not just to me but also to the other interlocutors.

Este cita significa que nene cuando chiquito tú necesita que digirle que en Puerto Rico o donde ello venga de que tú come esto y eso es porque yo lo hago todos los días.

She did admit that English is her dominant language and she wishes she were a more balanced bilingual.

It was difficult to assess Isabel's linguistic data because there were many inconsistencies. For example, there were quite a few instances of code-switching. However, even though I know both Spanish and English, I still could not understand exactly what she was trying to communicate. For example, when trying to explain a quote from a video she states, "Yo creo que la, que la cita, um, explica que, um, la nena no quería ser nada en español porque quiere tener una quinceañera." Overall, she was able to demonstrate 100% accuracy with aspect, producing 18 tokens correctly. However, she sometimes had errors in subject-verb agreement and in form (*dijí* instead of *dije*) or with the tense. For example, in one instance she substituted a present indicative form for a past tense verb form.

- (1) Yo, mi papá sabe cantar en español so cuando era chiquito mi mamá necesita (necesitaba), ella necesita que prenderlo.

However, it is difficult to determine what exactly she was trying to communicate with this utterance. She demonstrated incorrect usage of present subjunctive 75% of the time, producing 1 out of 4 correctly, and she produced no cases of imperfect subjunctive.

- (2) Yo quiero que ellos saben (sepan) que yo soy puertorriqueña.

Additionally, she, like Carlos, substituted *sabo* for *sé*.

- (3) Yo soy como soy, igual a Selena porque sabo (sé) hablar y cantar en inglés pero no en español.

In many circumstances Isabel also presents like an English-speaker who is learning Spanish as a second language. For example, she also produced some samples of incorrect subject-verb agreement and gender agreement.

(4) Tú es (eres) que tú es (eres).

(5) Por ella cree que es americano (americana) porque es blanca.

Overall, Isabel used significantly less Spanish in her interview than the other participants, producing a very small linguistic sample to analyze. Her interview sample had 711 Spanish words and 497 English words and in the recorded classroom discussion, she only produced 81 words in Spanish and 20 in English. Therefore, I did not have as much data with which to assess her acquisition of Spanish verb morphology. Very rarely did she produce a sentence that was made up of purely Spanish words. However, I do not believe she is capable of producing dialogue that is completely in Spanish simply because she has an underdeveloped verb system and a limited vocabulary to draw from.

There have been quite a number of studies that have likened the HL's linguistic profile to that of a SLL. Raquel Anderson conducted a longitudinal study with two Puerto Rican siblings who moved to the United States from Puerto Rico when the oldest was 3.6 and the younger was 1.6 years old. Their parents continued to use Spanish at home but the children began to attend an English only pre-school when they were 3.6 and 2.6 years old respectively, and the children were then allowed to respond to their parents' Spanish in English. At that point, all of their literacy instruction and social interaction with peers was conducted in English. When Anderson began the study, the older sibling was 6.7 and the younger one was 4.7 years old. She studied the children's HL use for two years and in her recordings she noted error patterns that are very similar to what was

noted in Isabel's linguistic corpus. Specifically, she found the children (1) resorting to regular conjugations in irregular verb forms (sabo/sé), (2) using a stem change where it does not occur (estoy diciendo/diciendo), and (3) extending the irregular conjugation across the tense paradigm (tenemos/tenemos). Also interesting about this study was that for both children, the highest incidence of errors was in the production of person/number distinctions and mood and the lowest incidence of errors was in the production of aspectual distinction, which is also the case in Isabel's linguistic profile. Equally notable is that the children began to make errors in forms that they had used correctly in previous taping sessions, indicating that their HL was undergoing a process of attrition for forms that had already been developed. Their early shift to English as a result of beginning an English-only pre-school is the same situation that occurred for both Isabel and her brother, Carlos. Therefore, it is safe to assume that their linguistic situation is one which is a combination of language loss of certain forms that had been acquired early and the incomplete acquisition of those that had not developed fully at the time the language shift took place.

The Martínez Family

Mr. and Mrs. Martínez came to the United States from El Salvador. Mr. Martínez first settled in Washington, D.C. and then moved to New Jersey where he met his wife. Before coming to this country, Mr. Martínez had a son, who remained in El Salvador. After he met Mrs. Martínez in New Jersey, he had three more children, Paco, Jorge and Ester, and then moved to Bethlehem, PA. Mrs. Martínez died of cancer when Paco was a sophomore at Freedom High School, and the other two children were in middle school.

The Martínez family came to the Bethlehem area when Paco was about ready to begin high school because the housing prices were lower and the area was considered safer than where they were residing in New Jersey. They live in Bethlehem Township, in a very quiet, suburban neighborhood within a mile of the high school. Mr. Martínez is the proprietor of a Salvadorian restaurant in the center of town. Therefore, the children's family time consists mostly of helping out at the restaurant. The restaurant is open six days a week, but the day it is closed, the family usually travels to New Jersey to purchase the necessary items for the restaurant.

Mr. Martínez had a difficult childhood of extreme poverty, and he came to this country to have the privilege to work. He believes that he has been able to provide for his children the life that he did not have growing up in El Salvador. His hopes for his children are that they learn to work and that they remain free from addictions. He still struggles with the English language; however, he does not need to know English to function in his current lifestyle. He knows enough to get by with the customers in the restaurant, and his children have usually been around to help when he cannot. He always speaks to his children in Spanish, but he claims to be a man of very few words who likes to laugh with people but usually listens more than he speaks. For that reason, his sons have talked more to each other than to him, and they speak English better than Spanish. His daughter, on the other hand, spent more time speaking with her mother, and, according to Mr. Martínez, has developed a higher level of heritage language proficiency. Because of his own struggles with the language, he empathizes with his children when they struggle to speak Spanish. He describes Spanish as their second language, even though they learned it first, because English has been their primary language since they

began school. Therefore, he does not insist that his children speak Spanish at home. However, he does believe that his children will have more opportunities if they are bilingual, and for that reason he has always encouraged their heritage language maintenance.

Jorge Martínez

Jorge was my student for only one year when I began this research project. During that semester in my class he did not appear to be very motivated to do well. He did not always do his homework, he frequently failed tests and quizzes, and he often fell asleep in class. He was, however, always pleasant and respectful. What struck me the most about Jorge was that it was difficult for me to understand his speech, either when he was speaking Spanish or English.

In the interview Jorge shared that he began school in Trenton, New Jersey, and that even though Spanish was his first language, he did know a significant amount of English when he began school because of the influence of TV. According to his parents, he paid more attention to the television than he did to them. He does not recall what kind of education program he began in kindergarten, but he described the environment where they lived in New Jersey as one where everyone spoke Spanish. He said knowing Spanish was more of necessity there and he even spoke it there. Thus, his shift to English occurred after sixth grade when his family moved to Pennsylvania.

Prior to beginning the heritage class, Jorge had Spanish in the middle school where he took Spanish 1 in the foreign language track. And then he had Spanish 2 his freshman year at Freedom, beginning Heritage Spanish in tenth grade. Not only did he

not like the class, but he also felt that it was a big challenge for him. He believed that Spanish 1 and 2 were too easy, and the heritage class too hard. Having the class during first period after staying up late watching television made matters even worse. The observations of Jorge in his other academic classes revealed the same kind of behavior. Yet, in his Physical Education class he was very active and always moving. Jorge believes that Spanish is not spoken in the school for two reasons: (1) the system does not support its use, and (2) the students do not want to speak it.

Jorge's social group in the school consists of students from different ethnicities; however, many of them are Hispanic. Interestingly, though, these are not the students who are in the heritage Spanish program, but rather the ones who do not have any heritage language proficiency and do not speak Spanish. Physically, Jorge could pass for a white student in the school because he is rather fair-skinned. Nevertheless, Jorge still believes that being Hispanic has affected his choice of friends in school. He describes an atmosphere of prejudice in the school towards the Hispanic students. Therefore, even though his friends are not Spanish speakers, they are still marginalized from the mainstream culture of the school.

Mi amigo que habla, que es hispano, vive en una blanco way pero él no habla español . . . no conmigo no. Con su familia también pero si están no puede hablar mucho. Y también aquí hay un poco racistas también. So eso no es bueno.

Likewise, he believes that those who use the term *bilingual* in a negative way are including all Hispanics within that category, not just the ones who speak Spanish. He has not heard that term used by Hispanics, only about Hispanics, and he does not use it himself.

Jorge does not see his friends much outside of school nor does he participate in any extra-curricular activities due to his responsibility to help out at the restaurant. However, he does seem to have a specific group of friends that he regularly associates with and he is very verbally interactive with them during social times within the school, like in the cafeteria. However, when he is not with his friends, he tends to stay to himself. For example, in his physical education class he was able to lift weights and play games in the gym like basketball and volleyball where he chose to lift weights independently and shoot around by himself instead of in the company of the other students.

One of Jorge's teachers reported that he would never have known he was Hispanic if it were not for his name. On the day that I was observing Jorge in that particular class, the teacher realized he was blocking Jorge's view of the power point presentation and he said to him, "Lo siento," as he moved out of the way. Some of Jorge's friends were so shocked by this use of Spanish that they turned and made a face at Jorge. They then could hardly control their laughter for several minutes. It was obvious that the Spanish language was not part of their school identities and that its use was even considered bizarre and amusing.

Jorge does not believe he is bilingual and admits to only speaking Spanish when it is absolutely necessary, clearly feeling more comfortable speaking English.

Los que son, que puede hablar inglés, yo voy hablar inglés.

He not only feels uncomfortable with his productive skills in the heritage language, but he is also not confident in his receptive language skills, feeling even more inadequate with regional dialects that are not Salvadorian.

Quiero ser más español, porque a veces pues sí yo siento como, me siento raro cuando personas están hablando español y cada vez que no sé lo que está hablando.

Therefore, in the restaurant he allows his siblings and his father to deal more with the Spanish-speaking customers. The conversations that take place with his father usually occur in both languages, with his father speaking Spanish and Jorge speaking English.

Mi padre . . . él siempre está hablando a mí en español, y solo me empieza estoy tratando de aprender él. Si yo hablo inglés y él habla español como darnos dos pero tratamos de buscar el practiquemos hablar los dos idiomas.

When there is a break down in communication, his siblings usually help out. But, he does feel as if his lack of ability to communicate effectively in the heritage language has affected his relationship with his father. For that reason he wishes he were a more balanced bilingual.

porque no podemos comunicar tan bueno como mi hermanos.

Ironically, when Jorge interviewed his father for one of the class projects, he was one of the only students who actually tried to follow the directions and make the interview more conversational rather than just reading his questions off the paper. However, it was obvious that he struggled with his language fluency as he had difficulty forming comprehensible questions in Spanish. One other interesting observation from that interview was that he asked most of the questions in the *tú* form, which does not exist in the Salvadorian dialect, even though the questions were written in the *usted* form. The *usted* form would have been the norm for a son to address his father in their dialect. Therefore, it appears as if the instruction he received in his Spanish classes has had some level of influence on his spoken Spanish. Yet, his father did not correct him. Mr. Martínez said that Jorge has always had difficulties with speech, and consequently he

doesn't seem to expect to understand him. A good example of the communication difficulty that they experience occurred when I visited the family. I communicated with the family through Jorge, telling him that I would be bringing dinner for them to eat at their restaurant. When I arrived, they were already eating and Mr. Martínez looked confused as if he were unaware that I was coming. When I asked Jorge whether or not he advised his father, he said that he did tell him that I was coming to the restaurant and bringing "cena". His father understood that to mean that I was coming to the restaurant to "cenar".

Jorge does not identify with being Hispanic-American because he believes that would indicate an equal ability in both languages which he feels does not accurately describe him because he speaks more English "like a gringo". Likewise, he does not consider himself bicultural; he believes his culture is Salvadorian only.

No, solo tengo más de mi, de mi padre de el Salvador que aquí.

He describes the American culture as one where there is not as much respect towards parents, where the kids use bad language in front of their parents and talk back to them. He believes that the Hispanic culture is stricter, where respect is reinforced. He identifies himself as Hispanic because he says that he has "sangre de español". Interestingly, however, when I visited the family at the restaurant, I observed Jorge using foul language in his father's presence, but in English. It did not appear as if his father understood what was being said. Language appears to be his avenue to participation in the American culture because he does not otherwise consider himself American. However, the English language is also what seems to be alienating him from his father, his connection to his Salvadorian identity. Jorge admits to not having the personal motivation to practice

Spanish on his own. His negotiated identities do not make room for the Spanish language.

Linguistically, Jorge has some control of aspect in his past narration. He was able to demonstrate appropriate use of aspect in 90% of the data sample, producing 56 out of 62 accurately. However, in that same sample, he frequently demonstrated a lack of subject-verb agreement and as well as the substitution of present tense for the past.

(1) (Yo) empezó (empecé) en sixth grade.

(2) Yo trató (traté) de hablar español con él pues, él me dice (dijo) que puede (podía) hablar inglés so fuimos pa' inglés, español, inglés, español.

In the primary data sample, his personal interview, he produced 1616 Spanish words and 93 English words. Of that sample, he produced 13 cases of inaccurate subject-verb agreement. Most of those cases are of him referring to himself in third person singular as evidenced in the preceding examples. The use of third person verb forms for other person/number contrasts was also noted frequently in the study mentioned earlier by Anderson (387-90) as well as in other studies of child language acquisition (Grinstead, Martínez). This kind of form has been noted as well in Lipski's description of the "transitional bilingual" who demonstrates creoloid phenomena and he suggests that this use demonstrates a pattern of morphological reduction which begins with third person singular and then gets extended to third person plural and then first/second person singular and plural. Since Jorge is already using the third person form for first person, this suggests his HL lexical-semantic system has already past through several stages of reduction.

Jorge did not demonstrate any uses of the subjunctive either in a present or a past context within this linguistic sample. Although it could be postulated that he did not have

the opportunity to use the subjunctive, based on the lack of advanced structures that exist in his corpus, I believe Jorge is utilizing another linguistic strategy that was described by Roger Andersen in his article, “Determining the Linguistic Attributes of Language Attrition”— avoidance (110). This is a tendency that Zentella also found in her linguistic study on Puerto Rican Spanish in New York City. She contends that:

When left to their own devices English-dominant bilinguals avoid Spanish constructions they find troublesome by switching to English. I have observed and employed the same avoidance strategy, and believe it helps explain why their English-dominant bilinguals produced significantly fewer subjunctives than their Spanish-dominant speakers. Short of bringing along monolinguals to act as co-interviewers, the only way to obtain the range of Spanish that is rarely called upon in the English-dominant networks of second and third generations is to elicit it purposefully. (185)

Jorge’s linguistic data reveals inconsistencies in his abilities. Although he has maintained the aspectual preterit/imperfect contrast, he has deficiencies in other areas, which would lead one to question whether his HL is suffering from incomplete acquisition or attrition of previously acquired forms. This will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter.

Paco Martínez

Paco was my student in the heritage Spanish program for three years. At the time of this research project he had moved on to the fourth year of the program with another teacher. Paco was consistently a stellar student. He always handed in his work and passed the tests and quizzes with flying colors. He was always pleasant and kind, and he seemed to be appreciated by the other students in the class for his intelligence and his cooperative attitude.

When I observed Paco in his other classes and the social places of the school, it appeared as if he kept to himself for the majority of the school day. In his classes he would go in, sit down, do his work, and only speak when spoken to. All of the students in his lunch circle were white. However, he sat with them and did not interact much verbally, but rather he would choose to listen to his music and keep to himself. Paco described himself as an “outcast” when he first moved to Bethlehem from New Jersey and he claimed that this group of Anglos “adopted” him into their group. Thus, his choice of friends was not determined by racial factors. Paco, like his brother, was prevented from participating in extracurricular activities due to his responsibilities at the restaurant. However, he felt that if he had the chance he would like to be in the art club.

Paco also describes an atmosphere of prejudice within the school system by some people towards the Hispanic students. He believes some have attitudes of superiority towards them and that the school system has communicated the message that Spanish is not necessary. Therefore, even though it was his first language, he now uses Spanish only 10% of the time.

En general que . . . bueno, es algo que no es necesario porque las escuelas son, la mayoría hablan de todo inglés y ellos piensan que el inglés es el primer lenguaje. Bueno porque, como dije anteriormente, eh la sistema de la escuela piensa que el inglés es el primer lenguaje y así sólo hablo el español cuando lo necesito, por ejemplo sólo en la clase de español o en otras situaciones así. So, realmente, diez por ciento del tiempo hablo español y noventa por ciento del tiempo hablo en inglés.

And, even though, for the most part, Paco appreciates being bilingual, he sometimes is influenced by the attitudes of the school system.

A veces yo siento que hablar español no es necesario. No se, solo hablar ingles viene naturalmente. Hablar en español en la clase de español me hace sentir un poco extraño. Yo solo hablo español en la casa. Eso es el unico lugar donde me siento cómodo hablar español. En el escuela no me

siento comodo hablar en español. Solo hablo español cuando es realmente necesario. Cuando necesito leer algo o escribir algo, yo lo hago en español. Hablar español es difícil. Y eso es solo porque lo hablo en casa. (journal 2/2009)

Paco described the heritage Spanish class as “like an English class, only in Spanish”, and since he never really liked English class that much, it was not his favorite class. However, he saw it as beneficial for the most part because he felt that it would help him towards some future goals.

Lo que quiero cumplir en esta clase es aprender hablar en una manera mas inteligente. Eso es decir que lo quiero aprender hablar en una manera sofisticado y en una manera de que lo puedo usar en el futuro. Lo quiero poder usar cuando tengo negocio para hablar con mis clientes hispanos. También lo quiero usar para cuando voy a un país que hable en español solamente. Todos estos cosas me van a adelantar en el futuro. Otro razón que estoy aquí es porque este clase está bueno para entrar al Universidad. Yo realmente no tengo clase avanzados, y este clase me va ayudar mucho para entrar al Universidad. Finalmente, mis padre me dijo, ‘Hacer lo mejor lo que puedes, y vas a exceler en la vida.’ Yo espero que ellos tenían razón porque en este clase hay mucho trabajo. Eso son los metas porque estoy en esta clase. (journal 2/3/09)

Paco, like many other students, mirrors the dominant language ideologies that the only use for Spanish is for the future, to help you get into college. There is no current return on his language investment in terms of social and cultural capital, so there is no reason to invest in heritage language practice beyond what is already expected by his language class and his responsibilities in the restaurant.

Paco describes the Hispanic heritage students as positioning themselves between two languages and two cultures and he defines *bilingual* as something that not only has to do with language, but also with culture. He does not separate language from culture. However, he does not consider himself bicultural because, like Jorge, he believes his

culture is only Salvadorian and not American. Therefore, he defines himself as being Salvadorian.

Cuando alguien me pregunta 'What are you?', yo siempre los contesto Salvadoreño. Para mí es importante la manera que me identifico. No me quiero confundir con otros países. No es porque tengo problemas con los otros países, pero no me gusta ser puesto en un grupo. Diferentes culturas son importantes. Y eso es porque me gusta clasificar así. Porque me mantengo en un grupo completamente diferente de otros eso es individualidad, que también es importante. (journal 4/15/09)

Paco does not speak Spanish at all in school. However, unlike Jorge, he feels very comfortable interacting in Spanish at home with his father and with the clients in the restaurant, where he and his sister help most with order taking and serving the tables.

Hablo más español en la casa. Es básicamente lo único lenguaje que hablo en la casa y aquí tengo mucho de mi día en escuela y hablo inglés. Pero más que todo uso el lenguaje de español en o la casa cuando estoy hablando con mi padre y también en el restaurante cuando tengo clientes que hablan español.

In his interview he claimed to be a balanced bilingual who feels equally confident speaking both Spanish and English. However, he mentioned feeling a little ambivalent with some dialects of Spanish, specifically mentioning the Puerto Rican dialect that is spoken by many Hispanics in the Bethlehem area.

Con los puertorriqueños o personas así de diferentes países sabemos que usan diferentes palabras en diferentes maneras o una cosa que sería normal para mí sería diferente para otra persona. So eso es el único tiempo que podría tener un poquito temor en hablar con ellos.

Additionally, Paco's sister claimed that his Spanish "got messed up" when he began taking Spanish in school and he began to add an "s" to the end of his *usted* verbs.

Therefore, the presentation of the standard dialect in the school system also seems to have confused both him and his brother and consequently altered their use of the heritage language. Paco also described the Spanish he learned at home as very formal, which

made it difficult to speak with children his own age when he went to El Salvador with his parents at age ten.

Linguistically, Paco demonstrates good control of aspect in his past narration, only producing four inaccuracies out of 98 occurrences. His sample was 96% accurate with regards to aspect and he even incorporated the standard use of present perfect in his narration, which did not appear in the data of the other study participants. Paco also offered a richer sample for analysis: In his personal interview, there were 4152 Spanish words and only 30 English words.

Paco also presented a somewhat developed use of both present and past subjunctive. In his data sample, of the 16 cases, which would have required the present subjunctive, he produced seven appropriately (44%), and of the four cases that called for the imperfect subjunctive, he produced three accurately (75%). The forms that were produced in lieu of the present subjunctive followed the pattern that has been predicted by the research – that of the increased use of present indicative instead of present subjunctive.

(1) Espero que eso no pasa (pase). (03/26/09)

There were also instances in which he used the subjunctive appropriately and then substituted the present indicative in the same discourse, as well as infusing another tense, like the imperfect in the example below.

(2) No, lo que me afectúa en quien escojo como amigo son personas que son (sean) respetuosos y que realmente, um , *sigan* las reglas, por ejemplo, uno que está (esté), no que *sean* callados y que siempre están (estén) como, ah, *arms folded in* y era (sean), como bien formal, como super formal, pero alguien que está (esté) un poco *laid back*, pero siga las reglas de sociedad.

Paco's sample had several instances of the overgeneralized use of the present subjunctive where the present indicative would have been appropriate.

(3) Todos los, um, los adultos, o los padres de una familia quieren a llegar a los Estados Unidos pensando que van a tener una mejor futuro si los niños, los hijos de ellos consigan (consiguen) un educación, aprendan (aprenden) a hablar en inglés y tratan de conseguir un buen trabajo.

These forms occurred most frequently with the verb *ver*, in eight out of 13 instances.

(4) Si veas (ves) los *tags* adentro de las camisas ya vienen de países, otros países.

Paco's data sample also contains one instance of the standard application of the past perfect subjunctive.

(5) Realmente no me acuerdo de hablar de esto en la clase pero si lo *hubiéramos hablado* de esto maybe *hubiéramos dicho* que a veces uno trata de ser diferentes de su padre porque se siente, pues, le da pena de ser hispano. Maybe por la cultura, por la manera que se visten los hispanos, o por la manera que se actúan, pero a veces eso es una problema de cultura.

Paco's only error with regards to the imperfect subjunctive was one in which he substituted the future indicative for the imperfect subjunctive. If we take into account the difficulty in pronunciation of *dividiera* for English-dominant speakers, this error could be considered a pronunciation error instead of a morphological one.

(6) Si la escuela dividirá (dividiera) el dinero, tendríamos más libros para leer diferentes historias para estudiar y cosas de esa manera.

Paco also occasionally demonstrated a lack of subject-verb agreement ("todas las personas que vivía conmigo"), confusion between *ser* and *estar* ("Y es una manera que realmente ellos son de acuerdo"), and a dangling article with a preposition at the end of a sentence, which imitates English syntax ("Pero lo que uno necesita hacer es que necesita mantener su cultura para poder hacer orgulloso de lo"). However, because Paco's sample

of linguistic data was larger than many of the other study participants, it is realistic to expect that more nuances would appear.

The Muñiz Family

The Muñizes came to the US from Puerto Rico when they were in high school. Mrs. Muñiz was sixteen and Mr. Muñiz was eighteen. They met each other shortly after high school, married and had two children. Both of them settled and stayed in the Lehigh Valley Area. Currently they live close to Bethlehem township in a townhouse community that they describe as ethnically diverse, but not Spanish-speaking. Mr. Muñiz is currently working as a maintenance man for his church after being laid off from his job as a forklift operator, which he did for eleven years. Mrs. Muñiz is laid off from her former job and is currently studying at the local community college to be a phlebotomist.

Mrs. Muñiz describes her English language learning experience as relatively easy and positive. She claims to have learned the language fairly well within six months of living in the States. She, however, also has strong convictions about the benefit of maintaining the heritage language and other aspects of the culture and truly wants her children to pass them along to the next generation. She believes that even though her children have been spoken to in Spanish since they were born and they can, for the most part, maintain a conversation in Spanish, their word order reflects the influence of English. She always speaks to her children in Spanish, and only resorts to English if she believes there is a break down in communication.

Mr. Muñiz, on the other hand, had an extremely difficult time learning the English language after he arrived in the Lehigh Valley. He began school in the States in twelfth grade and graduated without knowing English. He then went on to study English as a

second language in the community college and it took him three years until he felt he could function well enough outside of class. He continues to speak Spanish at home with his wife, but his tolerance for English use in the home is much higher than his wife's. This appears to be largely due to his empathy for his children as they struggle to speak a language that does not feel like their own. He does speak to them in English at times and he does not force them to speak to him in Spanish. As a result, most of the heritage language use in the home occurs between him and his wife and from his wife to the children. English is spoken amongst the children and in response to the spoken Spanish of the parents.

Both parents have fostered an attitude of ethnic pride in their children regarding the Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture that seems to be appreciated by both children. For that reason there is not a clear separation between language and culture, but an overlapping interpretation of significance that is connected to a heritage that they all share and value.

Yo creo que no importa en qué país tú estés, no debes olvidar tu lengua de origen, tú no debes olvidar tus raíces. Tú debes de mantener lo que tú eres, tu esencia como persona. A mí me identifica mi país nativo, Puerto Rico, me identifica la lengua español. Por más que me guste estar aquí, por más que yo pueda hablar inglés, más nunca, más nunca yo pienso que las personas latinas, independientemente que seas de Argentina, o que seas de España, seas de donde seas, mantén tus costumbres. Yo creo que es lo que nos identifica a cada uno como seres humanos. Es lo que nos hace únicos. Es esa cultura, es tu idioma, es tus costumbres típicas, tus celebraciones. Cada cultura es tan rica en lo que practica, en lo que cree, en lo que hace que yo creo que para nosotros como familia es bien importante mantener nuestras tradiciones, nuestro idioma. (Mrs. Muñiz)

Más le vale que mis hijos le enseñen a mis nietos hablar español porque son las raíces de nosotros como latinos. Y no quisiera que mi generación pierda el castellano de sus bocas sino que sigan aprendiendo y hablando el español tanto como el inglés. Y si pudieran aprender otro lenguaje sería fantástico. (Mr. Muñiz)

Lulú Muñiz

When Lulú was a freshman she appeared in my Spanish III class. She was very bored because she felt as if learning Spanish as a second language was a waste of time for her. Knowing that I was also the instructor for the heritage classes, she asked if she could transfer into the heritage program. The foreign language department at Freedom High School had just made a decision to have students begin the heritage program in tenth grade rather than as freshman because we were experiencing so many misplacement issues from students who were coming in from middle school and had not been appropriately evaluated for success in the program. However, since Lulú was my student and she was demonstrating motivation, I let her transfer in. One thing was certain, she did not lack confidence in her heritage language abilities.

Lulú was a monolingual speaker of Spanish and lived in the neighboring city of Allentown when she began school as a kindergarten ESOL student. She described feeling discriminated against by her teachers and not really learning English until she was in fourth or fifth grade. Lulú had a difficult elementary experience both linguistically and socially. She went to kindergarten and first grade in Allentown where she was the only Hispanic student in her class, and then, when she moved to Bethlehem, she had to repeat first grade because she did not know English well enough. She then remained in the ESOL program in the Bethlehem Area School District until she was in seventh grade. From first to fifth grade it was a pull-out program where she worked for a large portion of the day individually with an ESOL teacher, and then in sixth and seventh grade she began group classes of ESOL as she moved into the intermediate level. She then was mainstreamed in the middle of seventh grade, which occurred when her mother wrote a

letter to the district asking them to put her in regular classes. Lulú believes that the school system wants to eliminate the Spanish language by forcing students to learn English at the expense of their heritage language, only to make them responsible to know it later.

Lulú was in my heritage class for three years. In this class she was not as confident in her heritage language abilities as she had been when she was in the Spanish III class. She found it to be difficult and she does not believe that it does anything to help with language maintenance, but rather she feels it frustrates the students. Regarding the students avoidance of speaking Spanish even in the heritage class, she believes that because the class is made up of students who represent different dialects of Spanish, they choose to speak English because they all speak a common dialect. Therefore, in the heritage class, Lulú did not speak Spanish either, unless it was required of her for her grade, like in the recorded discussions and interviews, or when doing a graded presentation to the class.

Lulú's social group consists primarily of other heritage Spanish students; she was observed to sit with them in her other classes and in the cafeteria. Her only involvement in extra-curricular activities is participating in the Latino Leadership club, which is made up largely of the heritage Spanish students. She claims that she does speak Spanish with her Hispanic friends, but this was not observed at all in school in her other classes nor in the other social spaces of the school. In her interview she specifically stated that she uses Spanish when she is not in school.

Yo uso español cuando voy pal la casa, cuando yo hablo con mis papá, cuando yo hablo con mi abuela, o mih tíos en Puerto Rico y casi con toda mi familia lo hablo en español. Lo uso en la casa, yo lo uso cuando voy de vacaciones. Cuando no estoy en la escuela, lo uso. O cuando me

enojo, empiezo a hablar en español. Pero con mi hermano yo no hablo en español, hablo en inglés con él. Y a veces con papi, le hablo en inglés, con mami no hablo mucho inglés.

The ethnic make-up of her other academic classes is either majority Hispanic or an equal balance of White and Hispanic with some representation from other ethnic groups.

Interestingly she also has a History and a Biology teacher who are both Puerto Rican and fluent in Spanish, yet she never speaks to them in Spanish, not even when she addresses them individually. Lulú mentioned style of dress as a significant marker of group identification. According to her own definition, she does not dress like a white person or like a Hispanic. She therefore uses her style of dress as a means of positioning herself between two cultures, not aligning herself completely with either group, but rather maintaining her individuality and the freedom to participate in both groups.

Lulú defines herself as bilingual, but not as bicultural. To her she is American simply because she was born here, but not because of blood, which is what makes a person a cultural being. On the other hand, she is Hispanic because of her blood. Even though she claims that speaking English and her style of dress mark her as an American, she does not associate them with her culture. For her, culture is directly associated with nationality, and hers is Puerto Rican. She describes speaking Spanish as her way of maintaining her culture. And because she has some ambivalence regarding her heritage language skills, she also fears losing her culture.

Lulú's self evaluation of her language skills fluctuates. At times she claims to have the ability to speak Spanish just as well as any other Puerto Rican. However, she believes her accent makes her sound American to them. Yet, structurally, she does not admit to having any problems. She did, however, admit that when she was last in Puerto

Rico some three to four years ago, she could not always understand her cousins' jokes and she was not very well versed in popular culture which made her feel alienated from the "native speakers". However, she also claims to know more English than Spanish, especially with regards to reading and writing. She mentioned that because of her Spanish language limitations she would most likely choose to speak English with her children, which would make it difficult to pass that part of her culture down to the next generation.

Yo me quisiera cambiar . . . a español . . . a ser más dominante en español. Porque para mí, cuando yo crezca más grande y tenga hijos, yo pienso que a lo mejor los voy a hablar en inglés y no el español y eso no va a aguantar la cultura mía. So eso, para mí me pone como, me pone enojada porque me pusieron más dominante en inglés cuando podía ser los dos y es solamente uno.

I sensed a longing in her to improve her heritage language competence so as to not lose that aspect of her culture. At the same time, she claims to do other things out of her own motivation to maintain her heritage language, specifically speaking with her parents, watching Spanish television, reading the Bible, and writing in Spanish.

Yo lo hago por mi motivación en casa. En casa trato de hablar más español con mi papá y de dejar de hablar inglés. A veces cuando veo la televisión no veo los canales de inglés, veo los canales de español para aprender más, para escucharlo, para coger el acento, para leer, en vez de umm leer la biblia en inglés, lo leo en español, para entenderlo. Y cuando estoy escribiendo, a veces escribo en español notas que estoy cogiendo en la casa a veces yo los escribo en español para leerlo y poder entender y por coger la mente en español en vez de inglés.

However, she also claims to want to speak it more, admitting that she could be speaking Spanish in more situations. At home she sometimes speaks English with her father and she almost always speaks English with her brother, unless she is yelling at him, which she claims feels more natural to do in Spanish. She describes the language situation at

home as one that is always switching back and forth between English and Spanish, adding that sometimes her parents use words in Spanish that she does not understand. Her parents believe that Lulú's Spanish is better than her brother's, mentioning her accent and her willingness to speak more as evidence of this. However, Lulú appears to speak quickly as a means of demonstrating her language competence, when in reality, her Spanish is not always more correct than her brother's, and in many cases, what she says does not even make sense.

Linguistically, Lulú demonstrated very good control of aspect in her past narration with 99% accuracy. She only produced 1 aspectual error out of 139 tokens where she used a preterit form instead of imperfect.

(1) No hablaba inglés para nada solo hablé (hablaba) español y nadie podía comunicarse conmigo so eso era más difícil.

With regards to the subjunctive, Lulú had 60% accuracy with the present constructions producing three out of five appropriately, and only 40% accuracy with the past forms with 3 out of 5 errors. These inaccurate forms were in the substitution of the present indicative for the present subjunctive.

(2) Y no me gusta cuando me preguntan eso porque yo no creo que soy (sea) americana para nada.

However, with respect to the past subjunctive she displayed no pattern or error, producing one with imperfect indicative, one with present indicative and one with present subjunctive.

(3) Las maestras se molestaban allá porque querían que tú habla (hables) el inglés.

It is also notable in Lulú's corpus that she produced two examples of present indicative in situations that are optional for the native speaker of Spanish.

(4) Yo puedo hablar los dos bien, so mi papá están contento que yo puedo (pueda) aguantar los dos, que no se me ha (haya) ido el español.

(5) Muchos trabajos necesitan gentes que son (sean) bilingües para ayudar a otras personas que vienen que hablan español y no pueden hablar inglés.

According to Ocampo, the first step to morphological reduction of the subjunctive is the reduction of the optional forms.

Se observa que la situación de lenguas en contacto inicia un proceso que comienza con la disminución del subjuntivo en los contextos en los que es posible la variación, con la consiguiente pérdida de los matices semánticos, seguido de la eliminación de las restricciones formales, y, por último, de la desaparición total de este modo. (45)

Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that since Lulú has produced forms in the indicative that are optional for the subjunctive and she is making errors in which she is using the present indicative instead of the present subjunctive, the subjunctive mood in her heritage language is currently in the process of attrition. However, this would also assume that the development of the subjunctive mood in Lulú's heritage language had indeed been fully developed at one time.

Josué Muñiz

My first impression of Josué was that he was such a polite, respectful and engaging individual. Physically he looks very much like his sister, so I immediately got the feeling that I knew him already; he is one year younger than his sister. He was placed in the heritage class as a freshman so he was one of the youngest students in the class. Although this was intimidating for him, he tried his best in the class and was always very positive and pleasant. When I began this study, it was his first year in the program, and

then he continued in my class for another year before moving onto the advanced heritage class.

Josué began kindergarten in the Bethlehem Area School District as an ESOL student. He only knew some English from his sister reading to him at home, so he remembers struggling in the beginning. His kindergarten experience consisted of a pull-out program. In first grade he progressed fairly quickly, moving into the advanced level, where he received support within the regular classroom. Consequently, by the middle of second grade he was completely mainstreamed into the regular education program. He believes that his complete shift to English is a result of the school system's lack of support for the Spanish language. He describes very clear rules in school that Spanish should not be spoken and therefore, there is no encouragement for its use. Right now he claims that the heritage Spanish class is the only environment where he uses the language, and even then, he only speaks it when he has to. Thus, he found the heritage class to be very challenging and difficult.

Josué describes his social group as consisting of “todos americano” of differing nationalities. He traces this back to kindergarten describing his first friend who had a Hispanic mother, but who looked “white” and always spoke English. He wanted to be just like him to be able to relate to him better. He sees English as the key to participation in the mainstream, and now that he does not have that language barrier, he has full access.

*Estoy haciendo bien, muy bien. Tengo buenas notas en todas las clases.
So el español, no estoy, “you know,” ya lo casi dejé.*

Because he knows English well, he does not believe that being bilingual has affected his school life academically or socially. For the school, Josué participates on the swim team and the basketball team.

As a freshman, Josué has a freshman team, which is a cohort group of students that remain together throughout the year for the four core subject classes – English, History, Math and Science. From what I observed, Josue’s team is made up of 17 white students, 2 black, and 3 Hispanic students, including him. His team also shares the same lunch period. However, he also has classes that are mixed with the rest of the school population, like physical education and computers. In his other classes there were significantly more Hispanic students, and even some ESOL students with whom he did not really interact. Interestingly, Josué was observed to gravitate more towards the English-speaking Hispanic students in the larger classes, but in his own team environment, he blends very well with the larger group. Also noteworthy was that his style of dress is what his sister would describe as dressing like a “white” person – “de marca”.

Josué describes himself as bilingual even though he is ambivalent about his heritage language competency and will only speak Spanish to someone else if he knows absolutely no English. I found it interesting, though, that despite his admitted insecurity when speaking the Spanish language, his interview with me was the longest recorded interview among all the study participants. He began the interview speaking to me in Spanish about the softball team that he was playing for, which was completely unsolicited information. He also was one of the few students who followed the directions when interviewing his father and added questions, responding to his father’s answers, not

just reading the questions off the paper in a rote fashion. He genuinely participated in a conversation with his father in the heritage language, although it was very clear that he felt somewhat awkward doing it. As a matter of fact, his father even began the recorded interview laughing hysterically at his son's failed attempt to speak Spanish correctly. Both of his parents remarked at Josué's inability to speak and understand Spanish as well as his sister, which may indeed actually contribute to his lack of investment in heritage language use. The fact that his parents want him to speak Spanish also creates a conflict for him.

Ellos me enfuerzan unas veces hablar en español para cogerlo más, pero todavía yo hablo inglés. Um, dicen que, ellos lo saben que hablo mucho más en inglés pero ellos quisieran que habla mejor en español, so es una conflicto que tengo.

He stated just feeling more comfortable speaking English, adding that he has other Hispanic friends who also have chosen to only speak English.

Sí, en la escuela tengo amistades que son español pero nosotros no hablamos en español, solamente inglés, pues es más común.

Josué shared that he “kind of” wishes he could speak Spanish better, but not enough to put in the effort right now. Improving his Spanish is one of his goals for the future, but he had not committed to any specific means to achieving that goal.

Um, yo creo que, ah, para tener un buen trabajo es, mejor de saber dos, dos idiomas porque si alguien solamente sabe español tú lo puedes ayudar y cosas así y te hacen más usable en, en el trabajo que tú quiere.

For him, speaking English is easier, more comfortable, and he is happy speaking it.

Speaking English also makes it easy for him to live in “America.” He seems to echo the language ideologies of the school district stating that it is important for college and job

opportunities, but there is no practical application for the use of Spanish to his life right now. Furthermore, there is no identity importance attached to it.

Josué describes himself to others as either Puerto Rican or Hispanic. He does not consider himself to be bicultural. He talks about culture primarily in terms of nationality. However, he believes that the only thing keeping him from being 100% Puerto Rican is the language.

Sí, eso, esa es la única cosa que faltó mucho, es con el lenguaje y, like literacy, leyendo y escribiendo. Si fuera por eso, no hay más que decir.

He is very proud of the Puerto Rican culture and he specifically mentioned appreciating the music, the food, the closeness of family, and the opportunities available to him because he can speak two languages.

A mí me encanta ser puertorriqueño porque, um, I don't know, a mí me gusta mucho de Puerto Rico. Toda mi familia vive allá, mis padres son puertorriqueños y mi madre, los dos, so yo tengo mucho orgullo en a ser un puertorriqueño. A mí me encanta tener bilingual, y tener esa cultura. Yo creo que soy más, um puertorriqueño porque siempre cojo, como comida puerto, um latina so siempre mi familia era todo puertorriqueño. Um, no importa que vivimos en América, siempre cogemos mucho nuestra cultura propia, so yo, yo me siento más el, de lo puertorriqueño, cultivo hispano.

Thus, he does create a space for the Spanish language in one's cultural identity.

However, Josué seems to have negotiated a Puerto Rican identity that does not require speaking Spanish. In the Lehigh Valley area, a sense of Puerto Rican nationalism is common within the Hispanic community because of the large number of Puerto Ricans that make up the population. Thus, for those who are in the process of language shift, negotiating a Puerto Rican identity that does not include the Spanish language seems to be an acceptable option. Because of pride in his culture, he believes that if heritage

language use was supported and encouraged in the school community, he would use it in other speaking communities as well.

Linguistically, Josué also demonstrated a significantly developed production of aspect in his past narration, with a linguistic sample that was 97% accurate in that category, appropriately producing 166 out of 171 tokens. Among the inaccurate forms were the use of the preterit for imperfect, as well as the substitution of the present indicative for the imperfect.

(1) . . . siempre me hablaban en español y yo les respondí (respondía) en español.

(2) . . . so era para mí bien difícil porque, ay, um, cuando joven, ya yo sé (sabía) como hablarlo y iscribirlo a un extento y leerlo pero no como con las reglas metida allí adentro, no sabía mucho de eso.

Josué also demonstrated a fairly developed use of the present subjunctive, where he produced 5 accurate forms with no errors. However, he did have one case of overgeneralization when he used the present subjunctive where the present indicative would have been warranted.

(3) . . .es un cambio muy grande que en mi español que cuando vaya (voy) para allá.

Nevertheless, he shows a more developed system than his sister with regards to the present subjunctive.

(4) Yo no he oído mucho esta palabra pero como mis papás siempre me dicen que sea bilingual porque tú puedes coger más oportunidades en el futuro.

However, with the constructions in the past subjunctive, he only demonstrated 14% accuracy, only producing 1 appropriate form out of 7. The majority of the inaccurate forms were in the substitution of the imperfect indicative for the imperfect subjunctive.

However, some of them were in the incorporation of present subjunctive instead of imperfect subjunctive.

(5) Hacía lo que tenía que hacer, y si necesitaba ayuda le preguntaba que venga (viniera) acá y que me ayude (ayudara) con la tarea o cualquier cosa.

Thus, although Josué is the younger sibling and does not claim to speak Spanish much at all, in some ways, he presents a more developed verb morphology than that of his sister. This finding seems to be contrary to what would be predicted based on the fact that he was exposed to English at a younger age, he does not choose to communicate productively in the HL, he has had less formal instruction in the HL, and he has less confidence in his HL abilities. However, there is another factor that has played a significant role in his identity formation – his faith.

Josué is a Christian and he has demonstrated the strength of his convictions on two occasions in the school setting that I have personally witnessed. One was when I assigned an activity for the class to do when we learned the future tense. I had the students make photocopies of their palms and I gave them a schemata that I had gotten from a text book which described what the lines on the palm meant with regards to fortune telling. The students were then supposed to write sentences in the future tense regarding what their future entailed according to the schemata they had received and the copy of their palm. Josué very seriously, but respectfully, refused to do that assignment because he felt that it conflicted with his belief system. Another occasion was right after the hurricane in Haiti. The Latino Leadership Club along with the heritage Spanish classes began a fund-raising effort to send relief to the hurricane victims. We gathered on final exam days selling hot chocolate and cookies to raise money for this purpose. On the

first day of the event, I witnessed Josué lead a group of students in a prayer in the hallway for the benefit of the fundraiser and the people of Haiti.

Josué shared in his interview that he had previously attended a Spanish-speaking church with his family where he read and studied the Bible in Spanish. He believes that is where he received the foundation of his literacy skills in Spanish prior to taking my class. Because of the strength of his convictions, I believe he received much more meaningful HL input in the formal registers of Spanish and the more complicated verb morphology in that church than he received in my classroom, and this may be a factor that has contributed to his development of the subjunctive mood beyond that of his sister's. Anderson, in the study mentioned earlier, also cited differences in the language profiles of the two siblings in her study, which points to the importance of considering child-specific characteristics when studying language development and loss.

The Quijije Family

Mrs. Quijije immigrated into the United States from Ecuador twenty-one years ago, seeking a better economic situation for her family. Her husband came to the US first and then she came a year later, leaving her five-year-old son temporarily in Ecuador until she could also send for him. The family first lived in New York, but they moved here approximately five years ago to provide a better environment for the younger twin boys, Pedro and Matt, who were in sixth grade in a public school in Brooklyn at the time. Currently only the twins live here with her. Her oldest son moved back to New York three years ago, and she and her husband separated about a year ago. Mr. Quijije moved back to New York also after the separation.

Mrs. Quijije went to school in Ecuador up until what would be considered high school in the States – “ciclo básico.” She works in a sewing factory and does not speak any English. They live in the township, which is a very monolingual English environment, so she has very limited community involvement due to the language barrier. There are no other relatives that live in this area. She claims to not like anything about the American culture. She maintains telephone contact with her relatives in Ecuador. However, she has only been able to return to visit three times since she moved here over twenty years ago. The twins went with her once when they were very young, around five or six years old, and then again when they were fourteen. They have plans to return again this summer.

The boys communicate with their mother in Spanish because she does not speak English. However, I assume there is much more dialogue occurring between the siblings than between mother and sons. Both boys described a home environment that does not include spending time together as a family. The boys are in school all day and then they arrive late from sports practices. At that time their mother is usually still at work and they either go back out with their friends or stay up late doing homework.

Venimos a diferente tiempos. Ella viene del trabajo y nosotros venimos como de practicando cualquieres cosas de deportes de la escuela como las siete o vamos con los amigos y venimos como las once a la casa. So vamos a dormir y casi nunca nos . . . sábado es the same way. (Pedro)

While I was at the home visit, I observed the conversation occurring more between the boys and very limited interaction with their mother. Even though the boys speak Spanish to her, she admits that they do not speak as well as a native speaker of the language, stating that they “a veces cambian las palabras.” Mrs. Quijije does hope her children will

maintain their heritage language in order to communicate with her, as well as to take advantage of the opportunities that they will have if they are bilingual.

Pedro Quijije

Pedro began in the heritage Spanish program as a freshman in a pilot beginner class we started in Freedom to help reduce the number of misplacement issues we were having in the heritage classes. We decided to use the same curriculum as the foreign language track but to move at an advanced pace. Pedro, coming from a home where he actually spoke the language, and having taken Spanish 1 in the middle school, thought the class was going to be easy. Unfortunately, he was very disappointed that he would actually have to exert effort in learning how to write and spell the language he could already speak. Needless to say, he did not try very hard, and he did not do very well in the class that first year. Neither getting good grades nor improving his heritage language was incentive enough for him to apply himself in the class. For him, there was simply no reason to invest in the class. He also thought that if he did poorly his first year, he would get moved into the foreign language track for his remaining years of language study in the high school. Much to his dismay, his name appeared on my schedule again his sophomore year.

During the second year in the program he decided that he did not benefit much from trying to buck the system and he appeared to turn over a new leaf. Even though he did not like having to take the class any better, he was somewhat more motivated by getting good grades as he began figuring out what his GPA was going to mean to his future in the college application process. He planned on studying to be an engineer and

thus, he improved his grade significantly. However, his attitude was a completely different story.

Otra cosa que me hace enojar es escribiendo en español. Otra cosa que me hace enojar es leer en español. Otra cosa que era difícil en mi vida los años en clase de español.” (journal entry)

When all was said and done, he completed three years of study in the heritage Spanish program between ninth and eleventh grade.

Pedro began learning English in his bilingual day care in New York where he also attended kindergarten. In first grade he believes he was placed directly into the regular education program even though Spanish was his first language. Perhaps he had already learned enough English in the day care to be mainstreamed. He does not recall much about those early years, but he claims they could not have been too difficult because he doesn't remember them being traumatic. He moved to the Bethlehem Area School District when he and his brother were in sixth grade and he was evaluated for participation in the ESOL program. Apparently, they both did well on that assessment because he was then put into regular education. He is not sure why, but they were both placed in ESOL for one period of language arts in seventh and eighth grade and then mainstreamed again in the high school.

In school Pedro participates on the football team and the track team. He feels like being on those teams makes him feel more a part of the school. He is proud of the school and has nothing negative to say about his experience there except for having to take Spanish. His social group consists of a mixed group of white, Hispanic and black students; none of these students are in the heritage Spanish program. He is not involved in anything outside of his participation in school related activities and sports, so these

friends make up his primary social network. When he was observed in his other classes and the social areas of the school, I found it interesting that he did not really interact much with other students. When his brother was in his class, he sat with him and did not really speak much to anyone else. His brother was in two of his four blocked classes. However, even when they were in the cafeteria they sat on opposite ends of a round table filled to capacity with their group of friends and they did not say much at all at the table. In the classes where his brother was not there, he tended to work more independently, instead of interacting with the other students, even when interaction was permitted and encouraged.

Pedro does consider himself bicultural and bilingual. He describes two separate and distinct cultures – the culture of inside and outside the house.

Sí, porque cuando estoy en la casa es como diferente, todo, la cultura es mi mamá, hace todo diferente que hacen los americanos. Y cuando voy acá a la escuela es algo, para donde es como americanos, hacen todo diferente que hacen normal.

The heritage language only goes with his inside-the-house culture. For that reason, he resisted even taking the class in school. The only purpose for speaking Spanish in his life is to communicate with his mother.

Lo uso cuando estoy en la casa y cuando voy par Ecuador. Allí lo uso, nada más. Con mi madre. No hablo con nadie más en la casa. Sólo en mi casa hablo español o cuando voy a países que hablan español porque no entienden inglés y tengo que hablars español.

He believes he is more “American” and he is only Hispanic because of her. When he is older he does not plan on following any of her cultural practices or speaking Spanish. When others ask his nationality, he identifies himself as Hispanic. However, he claims that his nationality and how he identifies himself are not important to him. Being

Hispanic American means nothing special to him because he is just as “American” as everyone else. During the group discussions, when the students were talking about style of dress as a group identifier, he stated that others usually believe he is Mexican based on his appearance. This is significant because there are very few Mexicans who currently live in the Lehigh Valley Area. The majority of the Hispanic population continues to be primarily Puerto Rican. Thus, his appearance is one that sets him apart from the other Hispanics in the area.

He does not feel that the school system has had any influence on his use of Spanish or his choice to speak English. He did not like the heritage Spanish class because he did not like using Spanish in school when everyone in school speaks English.

No uso español en la escuela solo porque todo hablan inglés.

However, when speaking about his last trip to Ecuador about three years ago, he claims that he did not feel uncomfortable or self-conscious about his Spanish. On the contrary he felt “cómodo porque todo hablaban español y nadie habló inglés.” What everyone else speaks seems to greatly affect his comfort level and language choice.

I visited the boys at their home shortly before their graduation and brought a dinner to share with them and their mother. During that visit the boys did not speak any Spanish to me even though I was speaking Spanish to them. I found it interesting that they completely excluded their mother from the conversation when they did that. Yet, she did not say anything. During the dinner they informed me that my class was the worst and hardest class they had taken in their whole high school career. However, they also claimed that the lack of importance that they placed on it made them not try their hardest, admitting that they could have done better if they would have applied

themselves. They also informed me that they had both enlisted in the army reserves and they would be leaving for basic training in the weeks following graduation. They commented on how the United States is the best country in the world and expressed their belief that everyone should learn and speak English.

Linguistically, Pedro demonstrated good control of aspect in his past narration. In his linguistic sample he produced 48 tokens with 100% accuracy. Pedro also used the present subjunctive appropriately 100% of the time, producing 5 tokens correctly. However, in his production of imperfect subjunctive, he only demonstrated 20% accuracy, only producing one out of five correctly. Interestingly, he did not use the imperfect instead of the imperfect subjunctive, as the research would have predicted. His errors were in either the substitution of present indicative or present subjunctive.

(1) Parece como la señora, cuando la mamá quería que sea (fuera) más como, de su cultura antes. Y la quinceañera quería ser más americana y que hablan (hablaran), todo le hablan (hablaran) inglés, que toda la familia hablan (hablara) inglés pero la mamá quería que todo hablara español.

Thus, even though Pedro reports a certain level of disdain for the HL and for anything that is not “American,” his necessity to use it to communicate with his mother seems to have had a clear influence on his ability to maintain morphological aspects of the language in a contact situation with English even in an environment that does not support its use.

Matt Quijije

Matt was also in beginner heritage Spanish his freshman year, but in a different section than his brother. Both boys resemble each other so much that I probably would not have known if they had switched places. Needless to say, their attitude and behavior

in the class was also very similar. In the second year of the program, Matt also made a turn around in his academic behavior and made more effort than the previous year. But, like his brother, his attitude was a different story.

Mi clase de español es bien aburrido. Hoy es un día bien aburrido porque no me gusta la clase de español. Estoy cansado de esta clase. Hora quiero dormir bastante. Ya quiero salir de esta clase muy pronto. No se porque me pusieron en esta clase si no pase el año pasado. (journal 2008)

This time they shared the same section and they were sometimes competing for the higher grade. In that respect, having them in the same class had positive results. It also became easier for me to tell them apart because I began to see their differences more vividly when I was able to look at both of them at the same time. Matt was more laid back in most cases and seemed to allow Pedro to run the show. However, they seemed to be more like best friends.

According to Matt, he learned some English in his bilingual day care where he also went to kindergarten and from that experience he knew enough English to begin in regular education classes in first grade. But, he claims that because he was somewhat lazy towards completing his schoolwork, he was placed in ESOL for second grade. He said that his brother was also placed in ESOL at that time, but because Pedro applied himself more, he didn't have to be in ESOL classes as long as Matt did. He also stated that the reason they were moved into ESOL class in seventh grade in Bethlehem was because when the district received their records and discovered that they had been in ESOL in New York, they put them back in ESOL here where they remained until the middle of eighth grade. Thus, even though their stories are somewhat different, one uniting factor is their perception of their language placement not having a connection to their actual language competency, but rather on other extraneous reasoning.

A very common theme that appeared in Matt's answers consistently across the data was that speaking English naturally goes with living in the United States, so much so that he sometimes seemed annoyed that I didn't also perceive that commonly known fact. On the questionnaire that he filled out just prior to the beginning of the study there was a question that read: *Do you consider yourself living in a bilingual community? Why or why not?* His response was: "No, it is the United States of America." In the group discussions I asked the students why they think that even though they all know Spanish, the heritage students only speak English with their friends. He responded, "porque estamos en Estados Unidos." In his interview, in response to his statement that he only speaks Spanish in the home, I asked him if he ever spoke Spanish to Spanish speakers in the community, to which he responded,

pero, casi ellos ya saben inglés, están en los Estados Unidos. Nunca me encuentro con alguien que hablaba español, sólo español.

Matt claims that he will always speak English if the other person knows it, even if they are bilingual, simply because he knows the language better which makes him feel more comfortable. However, unlike his brother he claims to want to pass the heritage language along to the next generation. When I suggested he marry someone who knows no English to help him in that endeavor, he replied,

No. Me caso con una persona que sabe inglés, estamos en Estados Unidos.

Ironically, even though I interviewed both boys separately and individually, they seemed to answer many of the interview questions and topics in the same way. For example, both boys described their use of English occurring only in the home.

Yo lo uso . . . cuando yo lo uso, yo lo uso cuando estoy en la casa. Como lo uso . . . cuando hablo con mi mamá. Y, con quien . . . con mi padres. Con nadie más, o en la clase de español, con las personas.

Matt's social group is made up of the same peers as his brother Pedro. However, in addition to playing on the football team, Matt also plays volleyball. He responded in the same way as his brother regarding what that means to him, also feeling that participating in those activities makes him feel more a part of the school. Their daily routine and description of family time was also the same. He also expressed a sense of pride in the school. To Matt, someone who is bicultural is someone who celebrates the traditions of two cultures. He claims that he is somewhat bicultural, but that he feels more American. Unlike Pedro, however, Matt identifies himself as Ecuadorian, not Hispanic. Both of them claim to feel more comfortable knowing more English than Spanish and have no desire to improve their heritage language proficiency, which they feel is adequate for their purposes. Additionally, neither of them feels as if the school system has had any influence on their language choices nor do they feel as if being bicultural or bilingual has affected their life in school socially or academically. Their observed behavior in their other classes and in the other areas of the school was also very similar. Half of their school day they spend together, and in most of their classes they do not interact much with the other students, choosing to work independently. However, one significant area of difference between them is their perception of their heritage language proficiency.

Matt also describes himself as bilingual, even though he feels he knows more English than Spanish. Structurally his Spanish is fairly good, but because he lacks the vocabulary he has in English, he becomes easily frustrated.

*Yo creo que están . . . creen para que no sean discriminac . . . discrim . . .
Para que no, para que los quieran, tiene que, tiene que hablar mejor el
español en vez de cantando tiene que, para que la, para que ellos no um,
para que, these words man, alright, para que les quieran los mexicanos y
también los americanos, um, tiene que ser mejor el idioma hablando con
. . . idioma primero para después de cantar. (group discussion)*

He admits to feeling uncomfortable speaking Spanish when he was in Ecuador three years ago because their facility with the language was much greater than his. While he was there his family referred to him as “gringo.”

*Yo sentí como out of place hablando español en Ecuador porque no
hablaba tan bien. Y ellos como allá dominan el idioma entonces algo
mejor que mí. Soy como más un gringo y yo no hablaba tanto porque no
sabía tanto.*

Although he did not like the heritage class, especially at the beginning, in retrospect he had some positive feelings about it. He believes it has helped him more with regards to reading and writing the heritage language and states he will feel more comfortable this summer when he visits Ecuador because of having the heritage class. He believed he could consider himself fortunate to know two languages. At the time of the interview his goals were to study chemistry in college and then join the Air Force to become a pilot.

Linguistically, Matt also demonstrated a good control of aspect in his past narration, offering a sample that was 99% accurate with respect to aspect. He only had one error out of 70 tokens where he substituted the present indicative instead of either the preterit or the imperfect.

(1) Nunca me encuentro (encontré) con alguien que hablaba español, solo español.

However, he did demonstrate errors in preterit verb forms (*punieron/pusieron* and *vení/vine*). His use of the present subjunctive was also 100% accurate; he produced eight

accurate tokens. However, he also produced two overgeneralizations of the present subjunctive, using it when the present indicative would be appropriate.

(2) No, casi, tengo, si, si soy tarde una vez más a la escuela, me suspendan (suspenden).

Matt did not produce any dialogue that would have required the imperfect subjunctive.

He also displayed some of the features that are common among SLLs of Spanish, such as lack of subject-verb agreement and the confusion between *ser* and *estar*.

(3) Si yo estaba en pre-k con los que hablaba (hablaban) español como mi mamá.

The Soriano Family

Mr. and Mrs. Soriano immigrated to the United States from Venezuela. Mr. Soriano came when he was thirteen years old to attend the same military academy from where both his father and his brother graduated. When he first came here he struggled significantly with the language, but he learned fairly quickly since he was in a school setting. Mrs. Soriano came to Houston, Texas in 1988 to study English, after she had already studied to be a teacher in Venezuela. She studied English for one year and then received training to teach in a Montessori school. They lived in Houston in the early years of their marriage and then moved to Bethlehem with their daughters, Serena and Elena, thirteen years ago because of Mr. Soriano's job. Mrs. Soriano worked as a Montessori teacher for ten years and then became a realtor. After moving to Bethlehem, the Sorianos had another daughter, who is now five years old.

Both parents encourage the maintenance of their Venezuelan culture and the continued use of the Spanish language. It is important to them not only so that their

children are more marketable in the job field, but also to be, what they consider, more complete beings. And it is their hope that their grandchildren will also come to know and appreciate their language and culture. Both Mrs. Soriano and the children mentioned that speaking Spanish in the home is “the law,” which is strictly enforced in her presence. One of the most interesting aspects that I observed about this family is that there is a sense of naturalness about speaking Spanish that did not exist in any other home. When I arrived, the whole family greeted me at the door, and they began speaking to me in English. However, as soon as I began speaking in Spanish, everyone else chimed in. There were no responses in English to my spoken Spanish, nor was there a mixing of languages occurring.

Serena Soriano

Serena is currently a senior and has participated in the heritage program for four years, beginning in my class as a freshman. She was a pleasure to have in class because she was very respectful and hard working. It was important for her to do well and she consistently demonstrated effort and personal motivation. She was somewhat frustrated her first year because she was challenged by the grammar and the academic level of vocabulary that was not a part of her repertoire. But, each year she excelled even more, and in her fourth year she moved onto the advanced heritage class. Serena was a pleasant student who was well liked by the others in the class.

When Serena began pre-school she only knew Spanish, besides the English she had learned from watching the children’s show, *Barnie*. However, she learned enough English in pre-school to be able to begin in a regular kindergarten without receiving any

language support services. She attended the Montessori school where her mother worked until second grade, and then she attended a Catholic school until eighth grade.

Serena describes an early awareness of language difference when she began school. She remembers not wanting to speak Spanish anymore because she wanted to be like all the other children. However, it was her mother's insistence on speaking Spanish with her that kept Serena using the heritage language in the home. Consequently, she is grateful because she admits that, had it not been for her mother, she probably would not speak Spanish now. She remembers being stressed by having to live with two languages and two cultures. However, she claims to appreciate it now and she is proud that she is bilingual.

Yo siempre me sentía que tenía una vida complicada porque tenía que separar el español e inglés y como me estresaba un poquito pero ya estoy como orgullosa de hablar las dos.

Serena seems to have resolved this culture conflict by keeping her two cultural identities separate.

Serena defines someone who is bicultural as a person who can function well in two cultures. She clearly connects the language being spoken with the culture. She believes she is bicultural according to this definition, but also admits that she feels more comfortable in the American culture because she spends more time with her American friends socializing and speaking English than she does in the Hispanic culture speaking Spanish. In Serena's third year in the heritage class, the students had to do a presentation about their "hispanidad." Serena stated that she felt 50% Hispanic and 50% American because her life at home is totally Hispanic and her life at school and with her friends is

totally American. Compartmentalizing her languages and cultures seems to have made it easier for her to participate fully in both.

Serena's social group at school is made up of all white students, with the exception of two heritage Spanish students and one black student. Even though she did not have a history in the district before starting ninth grade, she has had no problem assimilating and it is clear that she is accepted into full membership in the mainstream culture of the school. In spite of the fact that she took heritage Spanish with most of the same students for four years, she was not observed to socialize with them outside of the heritage class, even when these students were in her other classes. As a student she participated in varsity soccer her freshman year, and for a couple years in Latino Leadership, the Newspaper, Yearbook, and Freedom's Environmental Awareness Team. During her senior year she has not continued participation in anything because she has already heard of her acceptance into a Fashion Institute and because she is currently working at a local grocery store, which takes up much of her free time.

Serena does participate in intra-ethnic othering by using the term "bilingual" like many other students in Freedom High School. She is also very aware of the stereotype that is associated with being Hispanic in the district and it is very important to her not to be associated with it. She described feeling really out of place and uncomfortable in the heritage class at first because the majority of students dressed differently, were darker skinned, and had a different sense of humor than what she was used to. In a journal entry in which I asked the students to write about the social groups of the school, Serena wrote:

Un niño me jalo mi pelo. ¡QUE RARO! Es uno de los bilingües de Liberty. Yo no hablo español en la clase por que me da pena. Cuando fui a Venezuela, me dijeron que tenía acento. Despues de esto me da pena. Tambien siento diferente porque soy la única venezolana. Ay muchos

grupos sociales en la escuela. Yo creo que sería un prep. Samantha está en mi grupo social.

She gets annoyed at the fact that many people are surprised that she is Hispanic because she does not fit the stereotype, and she describes herself as the “other kind of Hispanic.”

Bueno, yo me recuerdo mi primer año de high school cuando yo entré la clase, yo me sentía que no pertenecía ahí porque todo el mundo estaba más oscuro que yo y todo el mundo estaba en ... sabes, diferente, um, ropa pero, o sea, más adelante me puse amigos de la clase porque soy como amigable y me sentía como más, como que ... pero había como, a veces, como que su sentido de humor era diferente a lo mío y las cosas que se ponen eran diferente del mío y entonces, yo de verdad sentía la diferencia entre mi tipo de hispano y lo otro tipo de hispano.

She believes there are many Hispanics who dress differently and are rude, but there are also those who dress like her and are respectful. When I asked her to clarify what she meant by “dress differently” she described a manner of dress and attitude that are commonly referred to as “ghetto.”

Es muy, como, común a ver, um, o sea, ciertos hispanos que, con, um, sabe, Apple Bottom jeans, South Pole, um, Celcio con su nombre en cosa, muchos collares como . . . es un estilo que se llama ghetto y, o sea, eso es como se llama el estilo y así es como se visten y entonces gente, y después hablan también como hablan, sea como, ‘Yo, What up?’ habla muy ghetto también. Yo no me visto como mucha gente de aquí pero, o sea, yo siempre estoy bien vestido, yo nunca me pongo sweatpants, pero, o sea, eso es mi estilo personal porque yo no me siento cómodo en sweatpants entonces, como, no sé si la gente me ve diferente por eso, but like, pero yo sé que si yo, um, o sea, me pusiera my hair curly, me pusiera los shorsillos y Apple Bottom jeans, sabe, la gente probablemente van a saber mucho más que soy hispana, sabe. Ellos nunca piensan que soy hispana probablemente porque no me veo como los puertorriqueños de la escuela.

When I asked her if there were any heritage students in her class that were also the “other kind of Hispanic” she mentioned two students, Kyle and Samantha, who are also full participants in the mainstream culture of the school. Ironically, she also mentioned that Samantha was not the “other kind of Hispanic” their freshman year, but she had changed.

I believe the change took place for Samantha when she made the school's cheerleading squad. Additionally, Kyle is a Hispanic boy who came to the district when he was eleven years old from Puerto Rico and maintains full heritage language proficiency. However, he is also fair-skinned and has blue eyes. Like Serena, his ability to blend physically has made full participation in the mainstream culture of the school easier for him. Thus, by referring to the "other kind of Hispanic," Serena seems to be referring to those who are fully assimilated into the mainstream culture of the school as opposed to setting oneself apart in a separate group. Serena negotiates her bicultural/bilingual identities in such a way to allow her to fully participate in both cultures separately.

Aunque todo el mundo piense que soy blanca porque me veo blanquita pero, um, en mi corazón yo sé que soy muy hispana y cuando estoy con mi familia me siento lo más hispana que soy.

Serena defines a bilingual person as someone who speaks two languages well; she does consider herself bilingual according to her own definition. She speaks Spanish at home to her parents and to her little sister, but not to Elena, who is three years younger. She also answers the home telephone in Spanish and speaks Spanish to her parents' Spanish-speaking friends. For the most part, she claims to speak the language with which the other person feels most comfortable. For that reason she also made the decision not to speak Spanish in the heritage class. She claims that she would have wanted to speak Spanish in the class to practice more, but the fact that others felt uncomfortable speaking Spanish made her feel uncomfortable.

Creo que por mucha gente en la clase no quería hablar español porque mucha gente en la clase no le gustaba hablar español, o sea, no sólo en la clase pero en su vida, entonces creo que ellos se sienten incómodo y por eso yo me sentía incómodo porque a mí no me gustaba ponerle a las otra gente incómodo. Mucha gente no se siente cómoda hablando en la escuela porque, a lo mejor, porque saben que tiene acento y otra gente en

la clase no tiene acento. Entonces como creo que en heritage Spanish hay muchos diferentes niveles de español. Hay unos que lo hablan todo el tiempo, que casi hablan inglés, algunos que lo hablan de vez en cuando y tiene acento muy pesao', hay unos que se sienten muy incómodo porque saben que no están gramáticamente correcto y en la clase de español eso se nota más que cuando están en la calle. Entonces creo que como la gente se sienten incómoda.

She also believes that the students should not speak Spanish in the school because it makes those who do not understand feel uncomfortable. At home she always speaks Spanish in the presence of her mother, but when her mother isn't there, she speaks English to her father and to her sisters. Serena shared that she feels closer to her father because she can speak to him in English when something is really bothering her.

Even though she did not practice as much as she could have and she felt somewhat uncomfortable at first in the class, she has finished the heritage program feeling grateful for what she has gleaned from it. She believes that it has prepared her better in reading, grammar and writing and she also credited the heritage program for her feeling of ease with the language when she visited Venezuela for a month following her sophomore year of high school, even though others noticed that her Spanish was not as good as she thought it was. She thought she spoke well because she was able to speak quickly, but they noticed her accent and asked if she was American. Consequently, Serena believes that language classes should be offered earlier than middle school and high school. After she graduates from college she has aspirations to work in the fashion industry in Italy and to learn Italian. She believes that her foundation in Spanish will facilitate her acquisition of Italian. She hopes that the man she marries will either know or learn Spanish so that he can speak to her family, and she hopes to pass the language down to their children if she has them.

Linguistically, Serena has good control of aspect. Her linguistic sample was 95% accurate in this category, producing 150 appropriately out of 158. The majority of her errors were the substitution of the present indicative for either the preterit or the imperfect tenses.

(1) Yo no quería nada que ver con español, pero gracias a Dios que mi mamá me dijo, “No, tienes que hablar español,” porque si no, yo no fuera bilingüe, sabe, porque cuando yo era pequeña yo no pienso (pensaba), yo solo quiero (quería) ser como los otros niños.

With regards to the subjunctive mood, she was able to achieve 91% accuracy in the present tense, producing 10 out of 11 tokens correctly, and 63% accuracy in the past, producing 3 errors out of a possible 10. In the present subjunctive, she used the present indicative instead of the present subjunctive.

(2) Yo quiero que mis niños habla (hablen) español completamente como yo para tener más oportunidades.

However, in the past constructions, she mistakenly substituted either the imperfect or the conditional tense.

(3) La mamá quería que su hija hablaba (hablara) más español y que no perdería (perdiera) su hispanidad pero es difícil cuando vives en América.

Elena Soriano

Elena began in the heritage class in her sophomore year and took the class for two years. Prior to this class she had been in Spanish 1 & 2 at the middle school and in her freshman year. Elena was also very respectful and hardworking. In a short period of time she became very social and comfortable with the students in the class and seemed to enjoy being there.

Elena believes she began learning English and Spanish at the same time. She attended the Montessori pre-school where her mother worked until kindergarten. She then attended Catholic school from kindergarten to sixth grade, and began middle school in the Bethlehem Area School District in seventh grade.

Elena was not observed to interact much with other students in her other classes. She was very quiet and appeared to stay to herself more, which was not the case in my class. She claims that most of her friends are white, but I did not observe her interacting much with any white students. In one of her classes where the teacher allows the students to pick their own seats, she chose to sit at a table with three white students. The ethnic make-up of the class was 12 white, 10 Hispanic and five black. However, she did not appear to be as friendly and comfortable with those three students as she did with the heritage Spanish students. Elena acknowledges the existence of social groups in the school; however, she also admits that she is not really a part of any one particular group of friends.

Siempre hay la gente populares pero son la gente como que conoce más, no es porque le guste más, la gente que tu reconoce el nombre y todo el mundo lo conoce. Después um, hay como, hay gente que piensan que los hispanos son un grupo separado porque usualmente ellos hablan con ellos entre el mismo grupo y ellos están en un grupo y ... hay los grupos de las gentes que están atléticas en diferentes deportes y hay gente que son más escolares que le importa más la escuela y hay diferentes grupos así. Y no sé de verdad. No tengo como un grupo específico. Siempre me la paso con gente diferente porque no me gusta estar, como, con la misma gente todo el tiempo, tú sabe.

She participated briefly in some of the school clubs like Latino Leadership, Freedom's Environmental Awareness Team, and the Service Club, but her participation was not consistent. She does not believe that being bicultural and bilingual has affected her life in

school at all, mostly because others don't know that she's Hispanic and are surprised to find out that she speaks Spanish.

Elena defines a bicultural person as someone who actively practices the two cultures that they are. She does believe that she is bicultural because she is American and Venezuelan. She does not believe that it is necessary to choose one culture, but rather that it is possible for you to be both Hispanic and American. Ironically, when people ask her what she is in terms of ethnicity, she responds that she is Venezuelan and part Italian. However, when I asked her if she responds that way in all circumstances, she replied that if friends of her parents ask her or older people, she says that she is Venezuelan, but if people in school ask her, she says she is Venezuelan and Italian.

According to Elena, a bilingual person is someone who knows two languages well enough to hold a conversation. Elena does consider herself to be bilingual according to this definition, although she admits that English is her dominant language. Elena also believes that her mother's rules are what keep her speaking Spanish. She believes she would opt to speak English if her mother did not make her speak Spanish. However, she, like her sister, appreciates that she is bilingual and would prefer to be a more balanced bilingual. At home she always speaks Spanish in the presence of her mother, but sometimes speaks to her father in English because he will allow it. With her little sister, she generally switches back and forth between both languages. She claims to feel strange speaking Spanish with her friends from school, and mentioned that her sister, Serena, fits into that category. Because her sister is more of a peer than a family member, they tend to use the language they feel more comfortable in – English.

Con mi chiquita sí, a veces cambio entre español e inglés pero con mi hermana mayor siempre es inglés. No sé, porque es, son como más como,

no sé, amigas, no es como familia, tú sabe. Porque con tus papás es como expected pero con tu hermana es como no importa, ella no le importa y a mí no me importa, entonces no lo, usamos lo que es más cómodo.

When she knows someone is bilingual she will generally speak Spanish to them if they are adults and English if they are younger. Overall, she believes that being in the heritage Spanish class has improved her Spanish in terms of writing, grammar and vocabulary development.

Me gustó heritage Spanish porque fue como, que me ayudaba más el, la única cosa que verdad aprendí en español uno y dos fue cosas básicas de gramática pero yo ya lo usaba cuando hablaba, pero ahora lo sabía como escribir y los acentos diferentes y unas palabras diferentes que los venezolanos no usan, y en la clase de heritage aprendí como más vocabulario y se hace más fácil entender como vocabulario más alto, más difícil.

She also believes she feels somewhat more comfortable speaking Spanish. She claims that, here, people who are not native speakers believe she speaks Spanish perfectly, but in Venezuela they notice the difference and refer to her as a “gringa”. In the future she would like to study medicine and work in the program “Doctors without Borders” traveling to different countries as a doctor. She believes that knowing Spanish will be highly valuable to her as she seeks employment and possibly works in Spanish-speaking countries.

Linguistically, Elena produced a more accurate sample than her sister, demonstrating 100% accuracy in her past narration with 62 tokens. With respect to mood, she produced a sample that was 25% accurate in the present subjunctive, demonstrating 1 standard form for a possible four. There was one occasion that would have called for present subjunctive; however, she employed the present indicative instead.

(1) Ah, Yo creo que tiene que hacer con el tema de la clase de la discriminación porque siempre tiene que ser como saber todo de toda cultura para que te aceptan (acepten) en los dos.

Elena, like several other participants in the study, also produced some examples of the use of the present indicative in circumstances that would be optional to use the present subjunctive, which, can be seen as the first step in the simplification or reduction of the subjunctive mood.

(2) Usualmente son más felices como cuando están con familia o amigos que hablan español y los hijos de ellos no hablan español, aprecian que nosotros lo hablamos (hablemos) bien y lo practicamos (practiquemos) entonces usualmente están feliz.

She also overgeneralized the use of the present subjunctive, using it when the present indicative was warranted.

(3) Yo lo conecto personalmente con mi vida por mi mamá porque ella es venezolana pero ha aprendido de apostarse como a uno de los tradiciones americanos sin ah perder su cultura primaria y hace cosas como ella quiera (quiere) pero se ajusta a la vida americana.

Ironically, although she had a relatively small percentage of accuracy in the present subjunctive, she was able to incorporate the imperfect subjunctive with a greater degree of accuracy than all other study participants, producing a sample that was 100% accurate in this category for five possible tokens.

(4) Yo creo que se puede conectar con la historia de Selena porque su papá también, um, quería que *hablara* los dos idiomas y que hablando los dos idiomas le *diera* más éxito en su carrera.

Research Questions

The above narratives communicate the individual nature of the study participants' bicultural/bilingual identities. However, the following section will further analyze the

narratives among all study participants, specifically in terms of the four stated research questions and Lynch's principles, which were outlined in Chapter 2.

How do Hispanic Heritage Students Negotiate their Bicultural/Bilingual Identities?

As I began to code and analyze the data, it became evident that there were common factors that allowed the students to negotiate a place for themselves along the continuum of their bicultural/bilingual identities. These places are influenced by how they present themselves to others and how they believe others perceive them, how they define themselves and how others define them, who belongs to their social group of friends, and how they create a sense of belonging for themselves.

The theme of how the participants are perceived by others came up specifically in relation to the question of whether or not the students felt that being bilingual and bicultural has affected their lives in school either socially or academically. Basically, one is either perceived by others to be Hispanic or not: those who are fare-skinned are not easily perceived by others as being Hispanic, unless they speak Spanish. Thus, those who are invisible minorities very often fly under the radar and do not have as difficult a time fully participating in the culture of the school. There are those who are perceived by others as being white (Lola, Serena, Elena), those who could pass as white but reveal their culture to others through other means (Carlos, Jorge, Sabrina), those who are mistaken for other people of color, like middle-eastern (Lulú), and those who are identifiably Hispanic (Isabel, Paco, Josué, Pedro, Matt). However, no matter how they

are perceived by others, the students have some choice in how they present themselves to others.

High school students utilize their style of dress as a representation of a negotiated identity, either between cultures or as a means of aligning themselves with one or the other group – either Hispanic or American. According to the study participants, dressing like a “white person” includes wearing name brand clothes like Abercrombie and Fitch. Those who fell into this category were Lola, Sabrina, Josué, Pedro, Matt, Serena and Elena. The students who utilized their style of dress as a means of positioning themselves in between were Carlos, Jorge, Paco and Lulú. Each of them found a unique way of dressing in a manner that did not align them with either group. The stereotypical Hispanic, the ‘other’ that most were trying very hard not to be, was described as somebody who wore name brands that fell into the category of “ghetto” – specifically Apple Bottom, Celcio and South Pole. The girls would wear their clothes tight, whereas the boys had their jeans very baggy and hanging low. Additionally, they would wear gold chains, many times with their names on them. Hairstyles for the girls would be characterized as curly with a lot of gel. The only study participant who could be classified as the stereotypical Hispanic in terms of style of dress would be Isabel.

How one defined themselves in terms of culture and language was also revealing in terms of positioning themselves along the bicultural/bilingual identity constructing continuum. As you can see by the chart below, most of the study participants define themselves culturally by nationality (i.e. Puerto Rican, Salvadorian, Venezuelan) versus by ethnicity (Hispanic or Latino).

Table 3: Self-defining Identities

| Participant | bicultural | bilingual | Self-definition |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sabrina | no | no | Dominican |
| Lola | yes | no | Dominican |
| Carlos | no | yes | puertorriqueño/Hispanic |
| Isabel | yes | yes | Puerto Rican |
| Paco | no | yes | salvadoreño |
| Jorge | no | no | Hispanic/Latino/Salvadorian |
| Lulú | yes | yes | puertorriqueña/hispana/español |
| Josué | no | yes | puertorriqueño/latinoamericano |
| Pedro | yes | yes | Hispanic |
| Matt | yes | yes | Ecuadorian |
| Serena | yes | yes | Venezuelan |
| Elena | yes | yes | Venezuelan and part Italian |

Considering this is a nation of immigrants, this could be another identity constructing mechanism that the students use to make themselves like all other Americans. However, there are also other factors that come into play here.

Because the majority of the Lehigh Valley’s Hispanic population has historically been Puerto Rican, there are those who believe that Hispanic and Puerto Rican are synonymous terms; thus, the stereotypical Hispanic has been the Puerto Rican. Those Hispanics who do not fall into that category attempt to differentiate themselves from that stereotype by specifically identifying their nationality as not being Puerto Rican. Thus, this self-definition is another way of practicing intra-ethnic othering as a means of saying, “I may be Hispanic, but I am not like them.” For that reason, I found it illuminating that all those who were Puerto Rican participants in the study had several ways of identifying

their nationality depending on who they were talking to, with the exception of Isabel, who is the only one who would fulfill the perceived stereotype (Hispanic=Puerto Rican) and who does not participate in the mainstream culture of the school at all. Pedro, at the other extreme, denies that one's nationality is important at all, since we are all "American"; thus, he only identifies himself as "Hispanic" because that has been imposed upon him by society.

One's social group of friends and involvement in activities are significant pieces to one's sense of belonging and thus are major contributing factors in the process of identity negotiation. A pattern that I identified among the study participants was that those who were able to participate more fully in the mainstream culture, also participated more in school activities. These sports and activities are associated with a high symbolic value within the culture of the school; thus, participation in them facilitates entry into the mainstream culture of the school. Lola, Josué, Serena, Carlos, Pedro and Matt's school identities were very much aligned to how they were able to participate in school activities. Lola is a cheerleader and Serena, Josué, Matt, and Pedro have participated in school sports. Sabrina is also a cheerleader, however, she tends to position herself somewhere more in between as her primary group of friends are the other heritage Spanish students. Carlos is very active in two distinct clubs, which allows him to keep both cultures separate but participate in both. He is in the art club with friends who are primarily white and also in the Latino Leadership Club where he interacts primarily with the heritage Spanish students. And, then there are those who do not participate in any clubs or organizations like Lulú and Elena, whose primary socialization in school takes place among other heritage Spanish students. Jorge, also positions himself in between as

he socializes mostly with those students who are also marginalized minorities, mostly other Hispanic students who do not speak Spanish. Paco, who is prevented from participation in school activities because of his family obligation to help out in the restaurant, would choose to participate in the art club if he had the chance.

As Kanno's research with Japanese adolescents has demonstrated, the process of identity negotiation is not as simple as passing through fixed stages, but one that is ongoing and fluctuating. Throughout this process, the bicultural/bilingual individual has a tendency to gravitate toward one culture or the other until which time they are able to reconcile themselves as belonging to two cultures and two languages. As the retrospective accounts of Kouritzin and Tse have shown, decisions that were made during school years can influence those bicultural/bilingual identity trajectories toward one direction or the other and have lasting affects resulting in a degree of loss of culture and language forever. Although these identity trajectories are not fixed, the students in this study have had to negotiate and reconcile their bicultural/bilingual identities in an environment that does not support bilingualism with all of the pressures of home and school at play. The diagram that appears below shows where they have currently placed themselves as they continue to work out those identities.

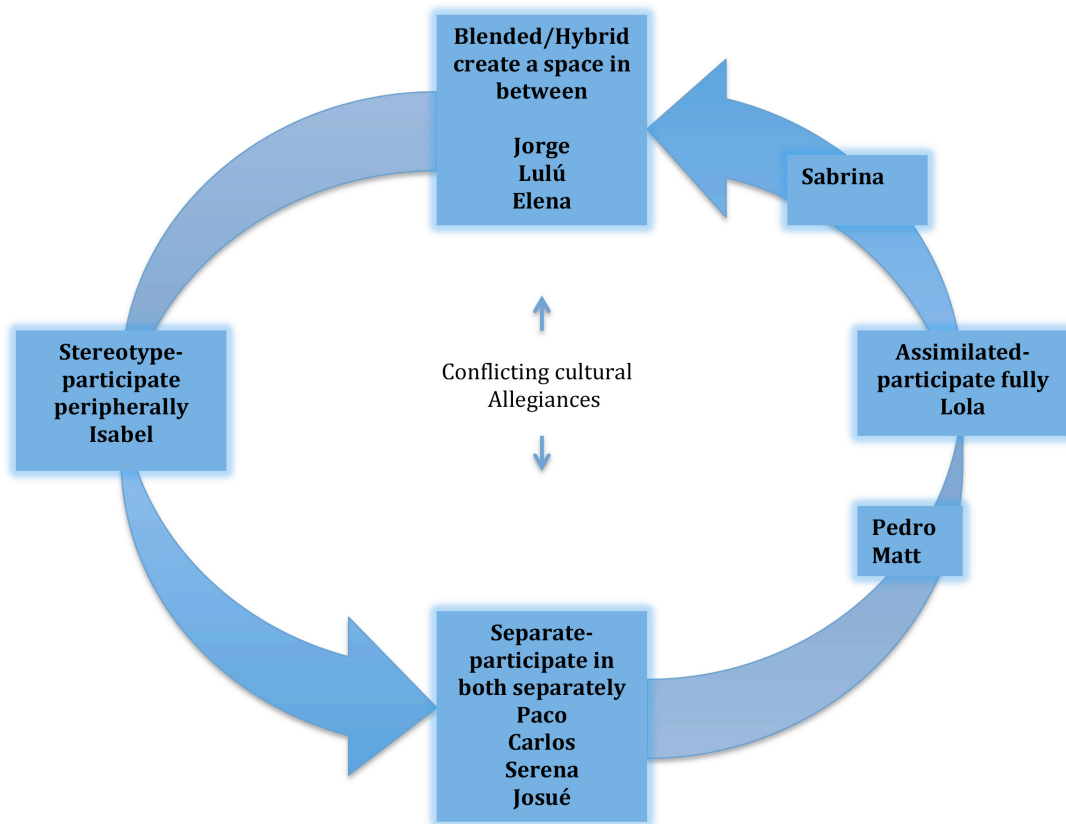


Figure 1: Bicultural/Bilingual Identity Constructing Continuum

Based on the diagram, you can see that Lola is currently placing herself in the dominant culture. She chooses to surround herself with all white friends and she is even rejecting her heritage culture at home by refusing to eat the food that her mother cooks or even speak to her grandmother, who does not know English. Isabel, on the other hand is the “other”, the symbol of what many of the study participants are trying not to be. She is not a participant in the mainstream culture of the school, does not participate in any activities, and surrounds herself with those who speak Spanish in school and are also prevented from full participation in the mainstream culture of the school. She is only a

peripheral participant in the school culture. Lave and Wenger describe this type of peripheral participation in terms of power relations.

Legitimate peripherality is a complex notion, implicated in social structures involving relations of power. As a place in which one moves toward more- intensive participation, peripherality is an empowering position. As a place in which one is kept from participating more fully – often legitimately, from the broader perspective of society at large – it is a disempowering position. Beyond that, legitimate peripherality can be a position at the articulation of related communities. In this sense, it can itself be a source of power or powerlessness, in affording or preventing articulation and interchange among communities of practice. The ambiguous potentialities of legitimate peripherality reflect the concept's pivotal role in providing access to a nexus of relations otherwise not perceived as connected. (36)

All the other study participants place themselves somewhere in between those two extremes. There seem to be two different types of bicultural/bilingual identity negotiation – one that clearly separates the two cultures (Paco, Carlos, Serena, Josué), and one that has formed a somewhat blended identity (Lulú, Jorge and Elena). Sabrina, who is a cheerleader is somewhere between assimilated and blended because her primary socialization group in school, when she is not with her sister or the cheerleaders, is with the heritage Spanish students. Matt and Pedro, who also maintain their two cultures separate because of the need to interact somewhat with their mother, are moving more towards full assimilation into the mainstream culture. However, the fact that they are visible minorities also prevents them from full participation. This points to the fact that agency and choice are clearly factors in positioning, but not the only ones that ultimately determine one's position.

Blackledge and Pavlenko describe the process of *negotiation of identities* as “the interplay between reflective positioning, that is, self representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to reposition particular individuals or groups. [. . .] In

many contexts, certain identities may not be negotiable because people may be positioned in powerful ways which they are unable to resist” (249). The students in this study utilize their style of dress, use of language, and the school and social groups that they belong to as a means of positioning themselves. However, in spite of these positioning strategies, there exists the possibility of a conflict between their self-created identities and the attempts of others to position them differently.

What is the Role of the Heritage Language in those Negotiated Identities?

When an individual desires to be a member of a community, like a child within a school, his ability to negotiate that membership is somewhat limited. The terms of membership are often created within those very systems of power, and to become a member, one must simply comply with the stated norms. For children in a school system, becoming a member of that community aids them in getting closer to who they want to be. However, with this membership also come expected attitudes and behaviors. Wenger describes this type of membership as “both enabling and limiting of identity; it is both a resource and a cost” (207). A review of the history of language programming within the Bethlehem Area School District (see Chapter 3) reminds us that to become a fully participating member within that school community, one must learn English – the resource. However, this requisite also comes with a condition – one must learn English and use it exclusively in order to replace the heritage language – the cost. This reality has greatly restricted the role of the heritage language in the identities of the study participants. Becoming an English-speaker has symbolic capital; being a Spanish speaker has none.

The practice of intra-ethnic othering that was described in chapter three developed out of the desire to become part of the school community and the students' efforts to resist the interactive positioning of the dominant culture, which prevents those who are Hispanic from becoming full participants in the school culture. An ethnographic study conducted by Hensel in Bethel, Alaska revealed that ethnicity is not determined by one's genetic heritage, but rather by a set of practices. In that same way, being the stereotypical "Hispanic" within the school culture is associated with speaking Spanish. Thus, this practice is avoided by those who want to become full participants. Those who either refuse or are unable to conform to the dominant language ideology are marginalized. Blackledge and Pavlenko refer to this as "social injustice through symbolic domination" (254).

A review of the data in the current study reveals that the study participants are conforming to the dominant language ideologies; the data revealed across the board for all participants that the heritage language is not used at all in school except in the formal setting of the classroom. However, even there, the students resist its use, speaking English amongst themselves while working in groups and only speaking Spanish when required to do so in such things as classroom presentations. Yet, rather than this resistance stemming from a disdain for the heritage language, it is a situation that evolved because they have been socialized to behaving in a certain way. This is best explained through Bourdieu's view of habitus – a way of being, which has been conditioned by participation in practices that are most typical for members of a particular group (Outline). Rui, one of Kanno's study participants, expressed it clearly when describing his experience with other Japanese students.

The conversation among us Kikokushijo is always in Japanese, so we know each other only in the selves who think in Japanese. On the other hand, each of us has a self that thinks in a foreign language, and we do not know this side of each other. When the four of us got together, one of us said, “Well, why don’t we speak English from now on!” But we could not really talk much despite our effort. After all, everything we have known about each other, in information and experiences, is through Japanese, so when we shift into English all of a sudden, it feels like we have gone back to being total strangers with one another (100-101).

In this same way, my students only know each other in English. So when they claim to “not feel comfortable” speaking in Spanish in the class, it goes far beyond their individual insecurities with their heritage language production (although, for some, I believe that is a factor) and their personal disregard for its importance (which, for some, may also play a role). More significantly, speaking Spanish is not part of the habitus that has been created within the school culture that defines and determines their rules of interaction. For that same reason, they do not feel comfortable speaking amongst themselves or even with their own siblings in Spanish and consequently, this has created a situation of diglossia for those students who have maintained use of the heritage language, reserving it for the home and interactions with family from their respective countries.

Carlos and Isabel claim to use the heritage language outside of school, but their productive language skills are so limited, that it seems doubtful that their spoken Spanish could be more than the incorporation of Spanish words into their English dialogue or the sporadic use of simple phrases. Those study participants who continue to speak the heritage language are Lulú (with her parents), Sabrina (with her grandparents and some extended family), Matt and Pedro (only with their mother), Paco (with his father and with customers in the restaurant), Serena and Elena (with their parents and with their parents’

friends). For these participants, the heritage language is only part of their ‘out of school’ identities. And Lola, Josué and Jorge, each of whom is the younger sibling, do not really speak Spanish at all outside of their Spanish class.

I found one common factor among the three students who have chosen not to speak Spanish at all. In each case, when I visited the families in their homes, the parents of these students commented on the younger students’ less than adequate heritage language proficiency, comparing them to their older siblings. I would imagine that the impressions of their parents have had an impact on their lack of confidence in the heritage language, and that this could have augmented their decision to terminate their investment in heritage language practice. Ironically, this less than adequate linguistic profile that was described by the parents was not necessarily the case when examining the students maintenance of verb morphology in mood and aspect. The profiles of Lola and Jorge were less accurate than their older siblings. However, it cannot be determined if this was a case of attrition that occurred after they stopped speaking Spanish or if it is an accurate measure of their linguistic skills across time. Additionally, with regards to the present subjunctive, Josué achieved more accuracy than his sister (as discussed in the previous section); however, he and his family continue to believe that his Spanish production skills are inferior to those of his sister. I would postulate that their lack of confidence in their HL proficiency has contributed to a process of identity negotiation that excludes the heritage language as a way of saying, “If I am not good at it, it is not a part of who I am.”

Do their Negotiated Identities Influence their Investment to Maintain the Heritage Language?

Among Lynch's Principles that were outlined in chapter 2, there are three that directly speak to attitudes toward the heritage language. They are:

(#6) The Utility Principle: *Do these students perceive the HL to be practical or instrumental in their immediate and/or broader social context?*

(#7) The Social Relevance Principle: *Do these students perceive their broader social environment as bilingual or multilingual?*

(#8) The Social Identity Principle: *Do these students psychologically relate one or more aspects of their social identity to the HL?*

The prediction that is based on these principles is that if they do, they will be more inclined to invest in HL use both purposefully and incidentally.

During adolescence one's primary socialization usually takes place in school, and that seems to be the case for the study participants. In the school they learn that the HL is not practical and has no social relevance. Needless to say, their negotiated school identities, that clearly make no room for the heritage language, do indeed hinder their investment to maintain the heritage language. The school, which is their immediate frame of reference, disregards the importance of their HL and, therefore these dominant language ideologies have been ever so subtly internalized into their thinking and acting. It is no secret that Spanish carries with it no capital (as explained in detail in chapters 2 and 3). Therefore, there is little return on their investment, which makes the use of Spanish a lose-lose situation. Azevedo comments on this phenomenon as a result of diglossia.

En un contexto diglósico, si el papel de la variedad B fuera del ámbito domestico llega a ser muy limitado, sus hablantes pueden convencerse de que no sirve para otras actividades. Entonces su presencia en los medios de comunicación puede limitarse a programas de carácter folklórico o de entretenimiento, reservándose la variedad A para los noticieros, programas de análisis y comentario social o político, o sea, todo lo que, en última instancia, se considere importante. Esa división refuerza la idea de que B está bien como lengua del hogar, pero A es la lengua que de veras cuenta. En tales casos, la percepción de que el dominio de A es indispensable al acenso social puede presionar a los hablantes de la variedad B a aprender la variedad A, y a la larga, a abandonar definitivamente la variedad B. (310-11)

To a certain degree, the students in this study resembled those in the study of McKay and Wong (see Chapter 2), who identified the phenomenon of investment plateauing and decreasing in their study participants due to multiple identities. “Since the identity made possible by proficiency in the target language is not the only one available, other identities may already provide sufficient satisfaction to the learner at a given stage” (604). Thus, investment in language learning “is not necessarily a learner’s top priority in a given situation” (603). A defining characteristic of this stage in development is that adolescents are not so focused on the future as they are on the immediate school context and on “agency and identity enhancement” (603). Likewise, they are very much concerned with their immediate social environment, the school – a school that historically and currently does not value the heritage language. This environment has the most influence on them at this stage in their identity development. Obviously, the identity made possible to them by proficiency in the heritage language is not the only one available to them, nor is it the most popular of all they have to choose from. Their other identities (other than the heritage Spanish learner), like cheerleader, basketball player, high school senior with lunch privileges, etc. are providing them with sufficient satisfaction at this given stage. Thus, the investment in heritage language use has

decreased or plateaued. Interestingly, in the interview I asked each participant whether they had the desire to maintain the heritage language, and all, with the exception of Matt, answered affirmatively. However, when I then asked them what they were doing to ensure that they maintain it, most of them responded that they were taking the heritage Spanish class and nothing more. However, their placement in that class was not voluntary; they were simply taking it to fulfill a college prep requirement and were placed in the program due to the fact that they were HLL and not SLL. Had they been given the opportunity to choose, most of them would have elected to take the foreign language track because of the perception that it would be “easier.” Consequently, those students who cared about their grades completed the work and studied for tests and quizzes. However, they did not try to speak more Spanish in the class, nor did they commit to using it more outside of the classroom, even though some students claimed to feel more comfortable with their heritage language abilities due to what they had learned in the class. According to Lave and Wenger “learning is part of changing participation in various communities of practice; the flip side of the coin is that one learns only to the extent the desired form and degree of participation necessitates it” (qtd. in Kanno 110). Clearly, investing in the use of the heritage language does not produce symbolic capital for the students in this study. For their purposes (i.e. communication with family or clients in the restaurant), they have no reason to *learn* more than they already know.

What are the Linguistic Manifestations of the Spanish Spoken by these Bilingual Students?

Based on the research reviewed in chapter 2 (Silva-Corvalán “Spanish Language” Language Socilingüística, Montrul “Bilingual and L2 Grammars” “Attrition”, Zentella) I predicted that some of the study participants would evidence a level of heritage language loss in the area verb morphology. Therefore, through the data analysis process I looked for evidence among the study participants of simplification and loss of verb mood and aspect that would represent a progression to a reduced grammatical system or, in some cases, could indicate an inadequate development of the verb system. Below is a table that summarizes my findings with regards to accuracy in aspect and mood.

Table 4: Aspect and Mood Performance in the Heritage Language

| Participant | Aspect | Present | Imperfect |
|-------------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Subjunctive | Subjunctive |
| Sabrina | 100% | 92% | 88% |
| | 64/64 | 12/13 | 7/8 |
| Lola | 100% | 63% | 50% |
| | 36/36 | 5/8 | 2/4 |
| Carlos | 100% | 0% | None used |
| | 21/21 | 0/3 | |
| Isabel | 100% | 25% | None used |
| | 17/18 | 1/4 | |
| Paco | 96% | 40% | 75% |
| | 94/98 | 7/16 | 3/4 |
| Jorge | 90% | None used | None used |
| | 56/62 | | |
| Lulú | 99% | 60% | 40% |
| | 138/139 | 3/5 | 2/5 |
| Josué | 97% | 100% | 14% |
| | 166/171 | 5/5 | 1/7 |
| Pedro | 100% | 100% | 20% |
| | 48/48 | 5/5 | 1/5 |
| Matt | 99% | 100% | None used |
| | 69/70 | 8/6 | |
| Serena | 95% | 91% | 63% |
| | 150/158 | 10/11 | 5/8 |
| Elena | 100% | 25% | 100% |
| | 61/61 | 1/4 | 5/5 |

As the above table shows, all study participants achieved 90% accuracy or greater with regards to aspect; however, in most cases the older siblings, who are listed first for each sibling pair in the table, were slightly more accurate, with the exception of Serena and Elena. Their accuracy did, however, decrease when the question of mood was introduced and the sample did not always present the older sibling with a more developed production of mood. Notably, the data reveals the maintenance of the aspectual contrast (i.e. preterit/imperfect) among all study participants, even those who would fall within the lower end of the bilingual continuum in terms of their heritage language competence. Some of these same students demonstrated difficulty with such morphosyntactic features as subject-verb agreement, and adjective agreement, which revealed a similarity between their linguistic profile and that of a SLL. Yet, the mastery of the aspectual contrast and the use of the subjunctive mood continue to be among the most difficult challenges for the SLL of Spanish to master. Why then would aspect be maintained by these students, some of whom do not continue to use the HL productively or only use it in very restrictive environments? And why would the subjunctive mood not be maintained with as much accuracy as the aspectual contrast?

According to studies in the area of first language acquisition, the aspectual contrast is usually developed in children by the age of three years old (Anderson 383, Cortés, Cortés y Vila, Jacobsen, Sebastián and Slobin, Serra et al. 354-55). However, the subjunctive, although present in the speech of children as early as two-years-old (Fernández-Martínez, Jacobsen 101), takes a period of six or seven years to fully develop (Anderson 384, Pérez-Leroux). Since the students in this study began schooling in English between the ages of three and six, I think it's safe to assume that they had

acquired the aspectual contrast before school began. However, they had not yet developed fully their use of subjunctive, and perhaps the restricted use of the heritage language that resulted created a situation of incomplete acquisition. Yet, this still does not explain why, for some of the study participants, the aspectual contrast was maintained while other areas of the language, such as gender and subject-verb agreement, were not.

A number of studies with monolingual Spanish-speaking children have demonstrated that gender agreement with noun phrases is also mastered by three years of age (Hernández Pina, Pérez Pereira). However, a longitudinal study with a Basque-Spanish simultaneous bilingual child revealed that by the age of three, the child still had not fully mastered gender agreement (Barreña). Additionally, Jacobsen identified an early process of language attrition with gender agreement in her Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican study participants who entered an English speaking pre-school at the ages of two and three. She was able to see that a system that had previously showed 100% accuracy increasingly produced errors over a period of two years when they were as young as four and six years old. Ironically, in that same study, the girls also began producing errors in verbs. However, these errors occurred more frequently with person/number distinctions and mood, whereas aspect and tense errors were minimal with both children. Anderson explains that this is because “aspect and tense are more relevant or central to the verb’s inherent meaning, and thus less vulnerable to loss or error” (393). Additionally Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán (515) have noted that other studies with Spanish-English bilingual children in the United States have also revealed that heritage children do not produce gender marking with the same accuracy as do monolingual children of the same age (Merino “Language Loss”; Montrul and Potowski; Mueller Gathercole; Sánchez-Sadek,

Kiraithe and Villareal). These studies suggest that gender and subject/verb agreement are more penetrable to attrition than verb morphology, which could explain the maintenance of aspect across all study participants' linguistic corpus.

The literature in the field has also shown that there is a correlation between frequently used morphemes and their subsequent acquisition and retention (Larsen-Freeman, Silva-Corvalán "Tense"). The forms of preterit and imperfect are used most frequently among native speakers of the Spanish language simply because narrating in the past is a common form of informal conversation. For that reason, children learn those forms quickly and tend to retain them longer, even when other aspects of the language begin to atrophy. On the other hand, studies on lexical access with bilingual children at different ages have revealed that the critical period is before age 10-11, when the children achieve a balance between their two languages. Then, during adolescence and into adulthood, performance in L2 (English) begins to overtake L1(Spanish) (Kohnert, Bates, and Hernández; Kohnert and Bates). These studies are further validated by several brain imaging studies that show that the grammatical aspects of late SLL and late bilinguals are not processed in the same cortical areas of the brain as the L1 (Köpke 138, Kim, Perani, Weber-Fox and Neville). This would give credence to the fact that HLLs perform like SLLs in areas that they have lost or have not fully developed. Additionally, a study was done by Schnitzer that suggested that what he refers to as the "Language Acquisition Device" (LAD), is no longer efficient in acquiring new forms whether in a foreign language or a native language because of the loss of ability to induce rules. This suggests that if students begin receiving formal instruction during high school in areas that had either gone through a process of attrition or had never been fully acquired, they would be

processing that new information as one does a second language versus a first language. Thus, it seems safe to assume that there are a number of factors working together to affect both maintenance and attrition of linguistic forms.

When we compare the study participants' process of identity negotiation with the linguistic table that appears above (Table 4), it becomes clear that one cannot draw a straight line from the way the participants negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities and their linguistic profile. For example, Josué, who claims to not speak Spanish at all anymore outside of Spanish class has a much greater developed system of subjunctive mood than does his sister, who not only is older, but claims to find spaces to practice heritage language use. Likewise, Carlos and Isabel, who both strongly identify with their heritage culture and identify themselves as bilingual, both have a heritage verb morphology in which the subjunctive mood does not exist. Lynch's principles suggest that, although identity is a factor that can foster or inhibit heritage language practice, there are many other factors that also come into play.

Of Lynch's nine principles of Heritage Language Acquisition there are four that specifically speak to language use. They are:

(#1) The Purposeful Acquisition Principle: *Do these students purposefully seek out opportunities for HL acquisition?*

(#2) The Incidental Acquisition Principle: *Do these students encounter incidental experience with the HL in their social environment?*

(#5) The Discourse Principle: *Do these students engage in discourse with other speakers?*

(#9) The Recontact Principle: *Have these students experienced a situation of recontact with the language?*

The table below shows how these principles play out in the lives of the study participants.

Table 5: Language Use According to Lynch’s Principles

| Participant | #1 Purposeful Acquisition | #2 Incidental Acquisition | #5 discourse | #9 Recontact | totals |
|--------------------|--|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Sabrina | no | no | yes | yes | 2 |
| Lola | no | no | no | yes | 1 |
| Carlos | no | no | no | no | 0 |
| Isabel | no | no | no | no | 0 |
| Paco | no | yes | yes | no | 2 |
| Jorge | no | no | no | no | 0 |
| Lulú | yes | yes | yes | no | 3 |
| Josué | no | yes | no | no | 1 |
| Pedro | no | no | yes | yes | 2 |
| Matt | no | no | yes | yes | 2 |
| Serena | no | yes | yes | yes | 3 |
| Elena | no | yes | yes | no | 2 |

As seen in Table 5, Lulú is the only student who claims to purposefully use the HL outside of speaking to her parents. She listens to music, sometimes to Spanish radio and television, and writes in Spanish at home. Likewise, there are only five participants who have regular incidental contact with the HL:

- Paco speaks Spanish with the clients at their restaurant.
- Lulú and Josué have had exposure to the language in their church, although they currently do not attend a Spanish church.
- Serena and Elena occasionally have the opportunity to speak to their parents’ friends in Spanish.

For the discourse principle, I listed those students currently practicing a productive use of the HL in the home with their parents. Those who have experienced a form of recontact with the HL are Serena, who traveled to Venezuela last year and then traveled around Europe with the students she met there. This was a very positive experience for Serena, and, although it sparked in her a sense of pride for her language and culture, once she returned to her English-only high school, things returned to the status quo, and she does not claim to use Spanish any more now than she did before she went there. Sabrina and Lola traveled every summer to the Dominican Republic and their situation is similar to what Sabrina experienced. And, Pedro and Matt were in Ecuador two years prior to the interview. However, these factors alone do not completely justify the linguistic outcomes that were listed in Table 2. But, there is also another factor that has not been explored thus far as a factor in language maintenance for these students – years of formal instruction in the heritage Spanish class. Although these students, for the most part, do not choose to be placed in the program, the students do attend the classes and do their assignments. They receive direct grammar instruction and engage in heritage language practice. They must practice heritage Spanish use when they present information in the class as well as when they complete reading and writing assignments. Additionally, several students in the study voiced feeling more confident in their heritage language abilities specifically due to what they had learned in the class. And, Lola even admitted that had it not been for the heritage class, she would not be practicing heritage language use at all. Thus, it is perfectly possible to entertain that an individual's progression towards HL attrition may have been counter-balanced with the exposure to the HL in the classroom.

Table 6: Years of Formal Instruction in the Heritage Language

| Participant | Years in Program | Sibling | Years in Program |
|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Sabrina | 3 | Lola | 2 |
| Carlos | 4 | Isabel | 1 |
| Paco | 4 | Jorge | 1 |
| Lulú | 3 | Josué | 1 |
| Pedro | 3 | Matt | 3 |
| Serena | 4 | Elena | 2 |

So it would seem that each one of these factors alone does not cause language maintenance, but rather a combination of both the affective and interactive ones. Just as their identity profiles are individual, so are their linguistic profiles and one does not necessarily predict the other, i.e. there have been students who have maintained more advanced verb morphologies, even though the heritage language does not currently play a large part in their social identity. Why would this be so? The students in this study have made choices not to invest in HL practice because the heritage language has no symbolic capital. However, children have the ability to choose only to a certain extent ---- they have not chosen rules at home, having a mother who does not speak English, going to church in Spanish or having the heritage class. All of these factors play a part because they have required heritage language use. Thus, even though the process of identity formation may influence language choices that hinder heritage language use, it has not created total attrition for these students.

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this multicase study was to investigate the role of identity negotiation in a group of adolescent heritage Spanish siblings. Specifically, I sought to understand how the experiences of these individuals may have influenced their investment to use the heritage language and consequently affect the process of language maintenance, attrition, or incomplete acquisition. The findings of this study indicate that: 1) the study participants negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities in a variety of ways, 2) for some of these students, the heritage language is part of their ‘out of school’ identities, 3) The dominant language ideologies of the school system have had a significant impact on the heritage students’ investment in HL practice, and 4) Although each participant’s identity and linguistic trajectories are distinct, they each have maintained, to a greater or lesser degree, the aspectual preterit/imperfect contrast, and, at the same time have displayed some level of inadequate acquisition or loss of the subjunctive mood. So what do these findings mean in terms of language contact, bilingualism and heritage language acquisition?

This chapter will not only discuss what these findings mean in terms of language contact, bilingualism, and the growing field of heritage language acquisition, but will also discuss their educational and pedagogical implications, as well as make suggestions for future research.

Relationship of Current Findings to the Study of Languages in Contact

The simplification and reduction observed in the heritage language of these students were not caused by the influence of English. English does not utilize verb morphology to express the hypothetical nature of the subjunctive mood, nor does it communicate the aspectual past morphologically. Due to the fact that all the study participants demonstrated maintenance of the aspectual contrast and because we did not view the reduction in the subjunctive in the same ‘across the board’ fashion, the results of this study suggest that the observed reduction in the subjunctive among the study participants probably has more to do with age of language shift and degree of use than influence of or interference with English. There was obviously a degree of influence of the English language in their linguistic samples; however, it seems more likely that it occurred in areas where there was an underdeveloped form and the students had to draw from their own linguistic database, which is primarily in English. That means that the transfer from English occurred after the loss of the grammatical forms in Spanish, or in the absence of the forms in Spanish because they had never fully developed. But, because the grammatical forms in English continued to develop, there are more forms to draw from. Therefore, under pressure to communicate, it is common that bilinguals will utilize whatever forms they can from the recessive language and distribute them according to the syntactic and semantic rules of the dominant language. This supports the research of Silva-Corvalán in her study with Mexican Americans in Los Angeles in which it was found that the influence of English was indirect (“Spanish” 164-66). The influence of English in these study participants appeared more in word order, vocabulary, and gender and subject-verb agreement.

Because of the demographic changes in the Hispanic community of the Lehigh Valley, it can no longer be described as a Puerto Rican community within the city. The majority of the study participants lived in the suburbs of the city in a multi-ethnic neighborhood, and represent varying nationalities. Therefore, one of the contributions of this study to the field of language contact is that it has examined the effect of contact on the individual speaker as opposed to a community of speakers, and thus, has shown that subsequent language change is an individual phenomenon. This study consisted of twelve study participants, and consequently produced twelve distinct linguistic profiles. Romaine speaks to this idea in the following statement:

Linguists who study language contact often seek to describe changes at the level of linguistic systems in isolation and abstraction from speakers. Sometimes they tend to treat the outcome of bilingual interaction in static rather than in dynamic terms, and lose sight of the fact that the bilingual individual is the ultimate locus of contact. Bilingualism exists within cognitive systems of individuals, as well as in families and communities.
(8)

This study of Spanish-English contact has made a contribution to the existing field of knowledge, which encompasses, not only linguistic processes, but also cognitive and social ones that contribute to language maintenance (the practical and interactional ones that promote language use, i.e. speaking Spanish at home with parents, attending a Spanish church, taking a heritage language class, etc.), in addition to those that are characteristic of language shift and loss (i.e. the influence of the dominant language ideologies, one's choice not to invest in heritage language practice, an early shift to English, etc.).

Relationship of Current Findings to the Study of Bilingualism

The maintenance of the aspectual preterit-imperfect contrast in all study participants also suggests that elements of L1, which are acquired before the critical period, are more likely to be maintained, thus providing an advantage for the heritage learner over the second language learner. There have been other studies that have also suggested that the HLL is linguistically superior to the SLL, specifically those conducted by Montrul (“Second”, “L2 Grammars”, Montrul, Foote and Perpiñán). She contends:

Heritage speakers are in fact linguistically superior to L2 learners, even when, in common with L2 learners, they do not reach the same criterial levels as monolingually raised native speakers, particularly in speech, reading or writing. [...] Heritage speakers have very sophisticated linguistic knowledge of syntax and semantics, even when the long-lasting effects of reduced input in early childhood are obvious in other linguistic domains (vocabulary, morphological errors, semantic interpretations, etc.) The reason for this linguistic superiority must lie in yet another crucial difference between heritage speakers and post-puberty second language learners, such as age of acquisition and nature and timing of input. (“Second” 238-39)

This further suggests that, although the HL can be in the process of attrition or proficiency could be stagnated due to an interrupted acquisition process, the HL can be revived and relearned.

The fact that each participant demonstrated a different level of language maintenance supports the linguistic concepts of Silva-Corvalán and Guadalupe Valdés in their description of the bilingual continuum or the bilingual range. Furthermore, these notions were supported by the research of Zentella, giving further credence to the view that language changes as do life circumstances. Although there are many factors that may exert influence over one’s heritage language maintenance or loss, my research suggests that none is more powerful than those that are socially constructed. Thus, one’s

linguistic profile in either one of their languages may change, as do the social realities of their life and the amount of capital that a given language has in a specific field.

Implications for a Theory of Heritage Language Acquisition

Lynch's principles of Heritage Language Acquisition suggest that there are psychological as well as social elements that affect one's maintenance of the heritage language. This research seems to support the multitude of factors that influence heritage language maintenance, i.e. identity, community language ideologies, circumstances at home, social networks, etc. Thus, although most of the students did not identify strongly with the heritage language, there were some interactional situations that necessitated its use, and thus, contributed to those participants' language maintenance. Also, it appears that, although there are some ways that these students have chosen to exert their agency, the influence of home cannot be underestimated (i.e. parental rules that Spanish is to be spoken in the home, going to a Spanish church, requiring the children to take a heritage Spanish class in school, etc.). This element can be fundamental to HL maintenance, especially in environments that do not support bilingualism.

When examining the realities of Lynch's principles to the HLL, one must take into consideration where the students are currently in their bicultural/bilingual identity trajectories. As the studies in chapter 2 revealed (Kanno, Kouritzen, Tse, etc.), students tend to be more interested in "fitting in" and assimilating during their high school years, and sometime during the college years they begin to reconcile the ability to be part of two languages and two cultures. Many of these principles speak to those students in college who choose to reconnect with their ethnic and linguistic roots. In the case of this study,

nothing had more of an impact on HL use than the influence of the dominant language ideologies of the school district and surrounding community.

Further, the theme of confidence appeared in almost all of my study participants' data. For example, Sabrina explained the following in a journal entry:

Alguna veces me siento diferente hablando español porque no me siento comfortable. Cuando hablo inglés yo puedo hablar como si nada, pero hablando español me quedo atrapada entre las palabras. (2/12/09)

Carlos described his hesitance in speaking on the phone with his relatives in Puerto Rico.

Yo tengo una abuela, ella vive acá en south side. Pero (laughs) ella ...cuando yo le hablo, I feel yo me siento muy.....[¿incómodo?] uh huh. Porque mi español no es muy bien. Y cuando, cuando ummm.....otros relatives de Puerto Rico llaman yo no le quiero hablar porque mi español.....

Paco mentions feeling insecure about speaking to native Spanish speakers because they speak different dialects that he has a hard time understanding.

Con los puertorriqueños o personas así de diferentes países sabemos que usan diferentes palabras en diferentes maneras o una cosa que sería normal para mí sería diferente para otra persona. So eso es el único tiempo que podría tener un poquito temor en hablar con ellos.

Josué believed that his Spanish was inadequate, and his family also voiced that his Spanish was less developed than his sister's. His sister even explained that she didn't think he knew enough Spanish to be successful in the heritage class. Josué thought that the reason another student in the class rarely spoke to him in Spanish was because his HL skills were lacking.

Unas veces me habla en español pero es raramente que me habla en español porque yo creo que ya sabe como es mi español. (laughs) So....él me habla en inglés.

Pedro explained feeling more comfortable speaking English because he had a broader vocabulary, and Matt described feeling out of place speaking the HL in Ecuador.

Yo sentí como “out of place” hablando español en Ecuador porque no hablaba tan bien. Y ellos como allá dominan el idioma entonces algo mejor que mí. Soy como más un gringo y yo no hablaba tanto porque no sabía tanto.

Serena described the fact that even in the HL classroom students lacked confidence in their HL skills, which affected decisions to speak the HL.

Creo que porque mucha gente en la clase no quería hablar español porque mucha gente en la clase no le gustaba hablar español, o sea, no solo en la clase pero en su vida. Entonces creo que ellos se sentían incómodo y por eso yo me sentía incómodo porque a mí no me gustaba ponerle a las otra gente incómodo....Mucha gente no se siente cómoda hablando en la escuela porque, a lo mejor, porque saben que tienen acento y otra gente en la clase no tiene acento. Entonces, como creo que en heritage Spanish hay muchos diferentes niveles de español. Hay unos que lo hablan todo el tiempo, que casi hablan inglés, unos que lo hablan de vez en cuando y tienen acento muy pesao', hay unos que se sienten muy incómodo porque saben que no están gramáticamente correcto y en la clase de español eso se nota más que cuando están en la calle. Entonces creo que como la gente se sienten incómoda.

And, Elena described this insecurity arising from the fact that they spend most of their time in school and with friends who speak English.

Yo personalmente pienso que como nosotros nacimos aquí, bueno, la mayoría y tenemos clase de español y todos nuestros amigos hablan inglés es más fácil, es como el idioma que preferimos y en la casa hablar español no es lo más fácil porque no lo estamos hablando todo el tiempo.

From this current research one can deduce that a student's confidence in their heritage language proficiency has a profound effect on decisions to use the HL. Thus, I would add a tenth principle to Lynch's nine.

Principle (#10): *The Confidence Principle*: HLL who have confidence in their heritage language proficiency will be more inclined to use it both incidentally and purposefully.

Educational Implications

Before we can begin a discussion regarding the educational implications of the current study, we need to establish the goals of the school system in educating the heritage language student. In recent years our government has recognized the nation's need for language proficiency in languages other than English (Peyton et al.). The private sector has also voiced their concern about the lack of bilingual applicants in the job market (Wright 1). Studies have shown that our nation cannot compete with others in terms of language proficiency. We have a shortage of other-language proficient citizens, yet the educational system and its policies continue to cause us to lose our natural resources. In the current system, when all that matters is raising test scores, language programs are given low priority (Wright 8). Therefore, it becomes necessary to ask: Is our goal to promote heritage language maintenance within the school system? If the answer is yes, then this current study suggests that we need to create heritage language programs within the elementary schools. The introduction of formal instruction in the high school once the heritage language acquisition has either been interrupted or has passed through phases of attrition is counter productive. Additionally, being in an environment that actually values the heritage language will impact the students' positive bicultural/bilingual identity trajectories, which will further influence language maintenance. However, if the current educational system remains unaltered, we must

entertain the question of the value in even providing heritage programs that begin in high school. “Edwards remarks that the communicative use of language is one of those highly visible manifestations of ethnicity most susceptible to change. Attempting to prop it up artificially in the school runs counter to out-of-school trends” (qtd. in Romaine 285).

Because the focus of this study was to investigate language and identity as interrelated phenomena in a group of heritage Spanish students, it was outside the current study’s focus to investigate the effectiveness of the heritage language program.

Therefore, there was no control group of students who were not taking heritage language courses, which, in addition to the multitude of variables that impact maintenance or loss, makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of this kind of program on HL maintenance. However, the influences of the system on the HLLs’ investment to practice HL use was very evident through this study. Therefore, in that regard, we can conclude that the current system has a negative impact on language maintenance, as we know that HL use is a key component to HL maintenance. Thus, it would be practical to explore other avenues to achieve positive bicultural/bilingual identities as well as HL maintenance.

Kanno et al. completed a study on heritage language learners of Japanese and the results indicated that the sub-group that had been exposed to the HL since birth and had attended a Japanese Saturday school (hoshuko) outperformed all other HLLs and SLLs with regards to both vocabulary and grammar. Kanno also has made a similar recommendation with regards to Saturday schools.

I believe that the opportunity to own a public identity and to engage in academic learning in L1 is a key to language minority students’ successful L1 maintenance. [. . .] A separate school run by the ethnic community can create an environment where their language and culture are the *central*

concern. Within this setting, they are the majority, the norm. This radical shift in perspective is next to impossible in the heritage language classes in the mainstream school, where the primacy of English reigns. In other words, heritage language programs situated in the mainstream school are not powerful enough to challenge social hegemony. By contrast, a separate school such as hoshuko can provide a learning environment where students have opportunities to see adults of their ethnicity working as legitimate and respected members of the community, use their language in a wide range of academic and social functions, and study according to the curriculum that directly addresses *their* needs. In other words, separate ethnic schools can enable language minority students to experience what happens when their language and culture are the norm. (138-39)

However, we also need to consider the realities of the Hispanic students in this study. Most of their parents came to this country in poor economic conditions in search of a better life for their families. I am not sure that they would be able to afford the tuition that would be required to attend a school like this. Additionally, since the Spanish speakers in this study do not represent one single nation, but rather five distinct nationalities, it would be difficult to get the support for a school like this in an area that is no longer a single community of Spanish-speakers, but rather Spanish-speakers that represent various nations.

Regardless of these obstacles, and no matter which avenue is pursued, one aspect that this study revealed was the influence of the home in the students' language maintenance or loss. This is a powerful resource that can contribute to language maintenance in spite of the systems of power and the dominant language ideologies of the school and community.

Pedagogical Implications

Because the current study supports other research in the field that has found that 1) HLLs display a linguistic superiority in some aspects of the language to SLLs, 2) in some ways HLLs do produce similar grammars to SLLs, and 3) there are a multitude of HL aptitudes due to the multitude of environmental-interactional and affective-personal factors that influence HL acquisition, the best teaching methodology is one that is hybrid employing the recommendations of Carreira and Lynch (“Linguistic”).

To further comment on the lack of confidence many HLLs have, it is crucial for the instructor to include confidence-building activities into the course. Students should be made to feel as confident in the HL class as they might be in a SL class, highlighting their strengths, not their language deficiencies. There should be room for a discussion on what is and is not appropriate classroom behavior at the onset of the class, which would eliminate students laughing at or making fun of one another. Additionally, the inclusion of discourse activities in a non-threatening manner will build confidence in the HLLs. An example of such an activity would be to assign the students to participate in conversations with native speakers via skype or other media sites. The goal of these service providers is to help build language proficiency for second language learners. Because these communicative language partners are strangers it is a non-threatening activity that also provides the opportunity for productive language use to build confidence as well as proficiency. Likewise, the curriculum and methodology of Carrasco and Riegelhaupt outlines a number of activities that build confidence in the HLL.

Additionally, this study revealed that the school environment outside of the HL classroom has a profound effect on the students' process of bicultural/bilingual identity negotiation and consequent investment in HL use. Penelope Eckert commented on this very same phenomenon saying:

There is a far more complex relation between social structure and learning. The social structure of the school is not simply the context of learning; it is part of what is learned. What a student learns in the classroom is indeed a very small other part. [. . .] The natural conclusion should be then, that interaction that goes on outside the classroom is crucial to educators, for at least two reasons. First, educators should be able to put the forms of interaction that go on naturally outside the classroom to work in and around the classroom. Second, educators should realize that the social forms and dynamics that students engage in outside the classroom and their strategies for coping with the school are a major part of what they learn in school. (179)

Therefore, it would be very productive to find ways to imbed identity themes into the heritage language curriculum. For example, one could have the students journal about their HL culture and language use, present to the class on their bicultural identification and values which they feel come from either one or both cultures, watch movies or read stories that deal with issues of being bicultural and bilingual in the US context, study the immigration and history of the largest Spanish speaking groups in the US, interview their parents or grandparents and prepare an oral history report. These are examples of some of the activities that I have incorporated into the HL program and the courses I have taught, and, although many of the students openly rejected these activities, I cannot underestimate nor can I quantify the impact of this aspect of the HL courses on these students' ability to negotiate their bicultural/bilingual identities in an environment that does not support bilingualism or cultural pride that is not "American". Iris Cintrón , who was also a heritage speaker, believes that, although the HLLs may not appreciate these

activities now, they will when they get older. Zentella, also a heritage speaker, feels that sharing the stories of students' such as these is:

both revolutionary and essential: to help their fellow Americans see that the browning of the US is underway for the benefit of all, and that as the country is changing what it looks like, so it must change how it looks at itself. That home is not where only English speakers reside, and the American dream is not dreamt in English only. (287)

Limitations of the Study

This study contains limiting conditions, some of which are characteristic of all qualitative studies and some that are unique to this particular investigation. However, there has been considerable thought and planning in considering ways that these limitations could be accounted for and their impact minimized.

Because this research design relies heavily on the thoughts, interpretation and analysis of the researcher, one of the potential limitations to this study is bias on the part of the primary investigator whose role here was also employee within the study site and teacher to the participants.

Another related limitation is the relationship that the study participants have with the investigator, who took the role of interviewer and participant observer in the other areas of the school. The student-teacher relationship may have influenced their responses in one of two ways. Either they may have responded in the way they thought the interviewer desired or they may have been more guarded than usual, not wanting to share their true feelings.

To account for these potential limitations I acknowledged my research agenda and stated my assumptions up front, making it a point to consciously reflect on the ways I may have influenced the participants. Additionally, I made every effort to create an

environment that would produce an open and honest dialogue with the study participants. During the data analysis phase of the investigation, I made sure I consistently coded all the collected data. Likewise, my data analysis methods were reviewed by my dissertation adviser, who gave me feedback throughout the process.

The size of the research sample is also a limitation. If I had the opportunity to include a larger number of sibling pairs there would be the potential to identify patterns that did not surface with the smaller sample that I had.

Additionally, as the production of the subjunctive forms can be avoided in oral discourse, a more comprehensive study would have provided for more specific speaking and writing tasks to purposefully elicit these forms.

Lastly, I believe it appropriate to elaborate on one important component to this study that can be interpreted as a significant limitation. As I mentioned in chapter three, non-standard forms that are currently in use among monolingual speakers of Spanish were not classified as errors for the purposes of this study (see p. 70). The comparison to the monolingual variety was for the purpose of indicating the study participants' relative deviation from the norm as evidence of their language attrition or incomplete acquisition. However, although the current study did not use the monolingual standard variety as the norm for complete acquisition, it is somewhat ironic that a study on bilingualism would involve a comparison to varieties that are not bilingual. Furthermore, the fact that non-standard varieties of Spanish were already accounted for in the data analysis phase necessitated the use of terms like 'inaccurate' and 'error' to classify the distinct linguistic forms produced by the study participants. This classification of errors is not something new to linguistic research. For example, in the field of SLA, Dulay and Burt classified

linguistic errors into four possible types: developmental errors, interference-like errors, ambiguous errors and unique errors. However, at the same time, I acknowledge the fact that classifying linguistic forms in terms of deficit language can serve to reinforce the limited social capital that bilingual varieties currently hold. Notwithstanding, the failure to identify these linguistic realities would limit the potential to move forward in the development of a more clearly defined theory of Heritage Language Acquisition and its practical applications.

Directions for Future Research

Because this study could not specifically account for the influence of the heritage language program on these students' heritage language maintenance, I think future research in the field could compare the results of this study with a similar study of students who are heritage speakers but not currently in heritage language programs. Additionally a longitudinal study with linguistic samples of the students before they begin the program and at the end would also provide a means to evaluate the effectiveness of the heritage language program with respect to language maintenance.

Further research on additional grammatical features would also provide a more balanced evaluation of linguistic abilities. For example, a future study could evaluate not only verb morphology but also other linguistic aspects across all study participants such as subject-verb agreement, adjectival inflection, *ser* vs. *estar*, and Anglicisms. Many of these features are ones that also present difficulties for the SLL of Spanish and the inclusion of them would further demonstrate the degree of acquisition, attrition or loss (Lynch "Linguistic", Montrul "Subject", Silva-Corvalán Language, Zentella). The

inclusion of discourse markers would provide us with further information regarding an aspect of the language that is not normally taught in language classes, giving us evidence of something either acquired through early exposure to the language or possibly revealing the extent to which the students are currently using the language (Sankoff et al., Torres). Lynch included this linguistic form in his study comparing HLLs with SLLs of Spanish (“Linguistic”). Another revealing linguistic aspect to include would be size of speech sample as well as the rate of speech. According to Polinsky and Kagan, identifying a speaker’s word per minute output in spontaneous production is a good measure to establish a speaker’s proximity to the baseline. A measure is done in both L1 and L2 to provide a comparative analysis. The inclusion of a linguistic analysis of the study participants’ parents would also provide more information as to the degree of variance of the children from the variety spoken at home. Additionally, since the subjunctive forms do not come up as readily in conversation and the students have the ability to employ circumlocution to avoid its use, it may be advisable to include a sentence completion component to more effectively measure their acquisition of the subjunctive mood.

Finally, as the retrospective and longitudinal studies that were discussed in chapter 2 conveyed, bicultural/bilingual identity negotiation is a process that takes several years before the students reconcile their ability to be a part of two languages and two cultures. Thus, a study similar to this one dealing with linguistic as well as identity issues would be further enlightening if it were conducted longitudinally to be able to show how language proficiency as well as identity trajectories change through time and space.

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APPENDIX A

STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Can you talk to me a little about your use of the Spanish language? How, when, why do you use it?
2. What factors influence what language you speak? Can you give an example?
3. Let's talk about the term bilingual – what does being bilingual mean to you? Is that a term you would use to describe yourself?
4. What does it mean to you to be “hispanoamericano”? What do you associate with being “hispanoamericano”?
5. Can you describe what it was like for you when you began school with regards to language?
6. How do you think the school system feels about the Spanish language? Do you feel the same way?
7. Do you believe the school system has affected your use of Spanish? How?
8. How do you feel about the heritage Spanish class?
9. What kind and how much contact do you have with your parents' country of origin?
10. Can you describe your last experience being immersed in the Spanish language? Have you been to your parents' country of origin? Describe that experience for you. How did you feel about speaking Spanish there? How did others receive you and the Spanish you spoke?
11. How do you respond to the question “What are you?” in terms of ethnicity or nationality? Do you always answer in the same way or is it different depending on who is asking the question? For you, is it important how you identify yourself? Why or why not?
12. What is your definition of bicultural? Do you consider yourself bicultural according to your own definition? Why or why not?
13. Who lives in your house with you? Has it always been like that or has your living situation changed? Have other family members lived with you?

14. What is the language spoken in your home by you, parents, siblings, etc.?
15. What determines what language you speak? If you know a person speaks both Spanish and English, what language do you usually speak? What do you consider to be your more dominant language? Are you comfortable being more dominant in that language? Or would you change that?
16. How do you think your family feels regarding the choices you've made in terms of language use?
17. Can you describe the community you live in? Do you live among other Spanish-speakers? Is Spanish spoken much in your neighborhood environment? Do you speak Spanish when you are in your neighborhood?
18. Can you describe for me your primary peer group? What is your group's ethnic make-up? Do you ever speak Spanish with them? Do you have Spanish-speaking friends? What kinds of things do you do together?
19. Do you think being Hispanic affects who you are friends with in Freedom High School?
20. Are you involved in extra-curricular activities with the school? How do you feel about being a part of that club/sport/organization? How much time do you devote to that club/sport/organization? How about outside of school – are you involved in any activities?
21. In what ways does being bilingual/bicultural affect your life in school both academically and socially?
22. If there was one thing you could change in Freedom High School, what would that be?
23. What are your plans for the future? How do you see the Spanish language fitting into your future life?

APPENDIX B

PARENTS' INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. How old were you when you came to the United States?
2. What country did you immigrate from?
3. Where did you first live here in the United States?
4. What was your reason for coming?
5. How long have you lived in the Bethlehem area? What influenced your decision to move to Bethlehem?
6. Do you have other family members who live locally?
7. Describe the community in which you live in terms of ethnic make-up. Do you feel comfortable in that community? Explain. Why or why not?
8. Can you talk a little about the process by which you became accustomed to the culture in the United States?
9. What was the most difficult aspect of the transition?
10. What do think about American food?
11. What aspects about American culture do you like? Which do you not like?
12. What traditions and customs do you want to pass down to your children and grandchildren?
13. Are there any cultural customs and traditions that you used to practice that you don't anymore since you moved to the United States?
14. Do you maintain contact with your country of origin? (family, friends, vacations, etc.)
15. What do you miss most about your country of origin?
16. Would you like to return to your country?
17. What is the fondest memory you have of your country of origin?
18. What is the biggest sacrifice you had to make to come here?

19. Do you believe it was worth coming here?
20. Is the US how you imagined it would be?
21. What was your experience with the English language when you arrived?
22. Are you bilingual? When did you begin to learn English?
23. Do most of your friends speak Spanish?
24. Do you think that it is important that your children maintain the Spanish language? Why or why not?
25. In what way have your children maintained the language? Do you think they speak in the same manner as a monolingual Spanish speaker? If not, explain the difference.
26. Can you describe how you use Spanish and English in your every day life?
27. Describe your educational background.
28. What is your profession? Do you have to speak English at work?
29. What language is spoken in your home? By whom? In what language do you speak to your children? What factors determine what language is spoken?
30. What are your hopes for your children's future?
31. Do you expect your grandchildren to speak Spanish?
32. What do you think is the most important – to speak English, to speak Spanish, or to be bilingual? Why?