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Special Issue
Spanish as a Heritage Language

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Diego Pascual y Cabo

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Understanding the Spanish heritage language speaker/learner

DIEGO PASCUAL Y CABO*, **JOSH DELAROSA-PRADA**
Texas Tech University

ABSTRACT

EN   While the linguistic traits and specific needs of heritage speakers have been recognized for several decades, academic interest in the different dimensions of this type of bilingualism has increased exponentially in the last ten years. Because of this, significant progress has been made in all areas of inquiry. From formal/theoretical investigations into the mental architecture of the heritage language to explorations of social factors, as well as other pedagogical concerns, numerous research strands are currently shaping our understanding of the field. With this in mind, the goal of this introduction is twofold. First, we aim to provide an overview of the themes and discussions that are currently taking place in the field of Spanish heritage-speaker bilingualism. To this end, we will consider key issues pertaining to a wide variety of areas including, but not limited to, sociolinguistic attitudes, identity, language competency, and language instruction. Secondly, in so doing, the critical presentation and discussion of each of these areas will also serve to contextualize the articles included in this special issue.

Key words: HERITAGE SPEAKERS, HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS, SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES, BILINGUALISM.

ES   Mientras que los rasgos lingüísticos y las necesidades específicas de los hablantes de herencia se reconocieron ya hace décadas, el interés académico en las diferentes dimensiones de este tipo de bilingüismo ha aumentado exponencialmente en los últimos diez años. Por eso, se ha avanzado de manera considerable en todos los ámbitos de investigación. Desde investigaciones formales y teóricas acerca de la arquitectura mental de una lengua de herencia, hasta la exploración de factores sociales y otras cuestiones pedagógicas, el actual estado de la cuestión está definido por múltiples ámbitos de investigación. Con respecto a esto, el objetivo de esta introducción es doble. Por una parte, queremos ofrecer una panorámica de los temas y debates actuales en el campo del bilingüismo de los hablantes de español como lengua de herencia. Así, se considerarán cuestiones centrales en el estudio de actitudes lingüísticas, identidad, competencia lingüística y enseñanza de la lengua. Por otra parte, la presentación crítica y la discusión de cada una de estas áreas servirá para contextualizar los artículos incluidos en este número especial.

Palabras clave: HABLANTES DE LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, APRENDIENTES DE LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, ESPAÑOL EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS, BILINGÜISMO.

IT   Mentre le caratteristiche linguistiche e le necessità specifiche dei parlanti di una lingua ereditaria sono state riconosciute da decenni, l'interesse accademico per le diverse dimensioni di questo tipo di bilinguismo è aumentato in modo esponenziale negli ultimi dieci anni. Per questo, c'è stato un progresso significativo in tutti gli ambiti di ricerca. Dalle ricerche formali e teoriche sull'architettura mentale di una lingua ereditaria, all'esplorazione dei fattori sociali e altre questioni pedagogiche, questo campo è attualmente influenzato da molteplici linee di ricerca. Con questo presente, questa introduzione ha un doppio scopo. In primo luego, si vuole offrire una visione panoramica dei temi e dibattiti attuali nel campo del bilinguismo dei parlanti di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria. Si considereranno, con questo obiettivo, questioni centrali nello studio delle attitudini linguistiche, identità, competenza linguistica e insegnamento della lingua. In secondo luogo, la presentazione critica di ognuna di queste aree servirà per contestualizzare gli articoli inclusi in questo numero speciale.

Parole chiave: PARLANTI DI LINGUE EREDITARIE, APPRENDENTI DI LINGUE EREDITARIE, SPAGNOLO NEGLI STATI UNITI, BILINGUISMO.

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* Contact: diego.pascual@ttu.edu

1. General introduction

With Europe and the United States as its main research hubs, the field of heritage/minority language studies has recently sprung to the forefront of linguistic inquiry. Revolving around the study of the home language of families and ethnic groups residing in large, linguistically diverse communities, the attention of European scholars has centered on languages such as Arabic, Cantonese/Mandarin, Bengali, Berber, Punjabi, or Turkish (see e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Dirim & Auer, 2003; Li Wei, 2011) among other languages. Within that context, joint efforts have further developed the notion of multilingualism as it relates to multiculturalism. Focusing on the dynamics of family language policies and ethnolinguistic minority complementary schools, three main strands of research can be traced: one with educational applications (e.g., Baker, 2003), one with an emphasis on the identity-interaction interconnection (e.g., Blackledge, 2008; Blommaert, 2001), and a third one with formal/theoretical approaches to language acquisition and bilingualism (e.g., Flores & Barbosa, 2014; Kupisch, Lein, Barton, Schröder, Stangen, & Stoehr, 2014; Meisel, 1994a, 1994b; Müller & Hulk, 2001).

Analogous research strands have also been developed in the United States, the focus of this special issue. Considering the profound impact of recent migration trends, most attention has been directed to the Spanish language. This is unsurprising, given that with some 55 million Hispanics[2], the United States is home to the second largest Hispanic population in the world after only Mexico, with over 122 million inhabitants. In addition to these already large numbers are the undocumented immigrants who cannot be accurately counted by census reports, but who play a central role as part of the U.S. Hispanic community. The vitality of this community has become undeniable across all dimensions of society (e.g., politics, economy, education, and the media). For example, in recognizing its growing importance in U.S. society, great efforts are currently being made to attract the Hispanic population via bilingual/bicultural campaigns and advertisings (eMarketer, 2009; McCabe, Weaver, & Corona, 2013; Meneses, 2011). This also holds true for media and entertainment, where Hispanics have progressively moved to the forefront (e.g., as attested by the Latin@ presence in films and TV shows) and, while songs entirely sung in Spanish are not the rule, Spanish-English code-switching has made its way into mainstream popular music.

According to most recent reports, the three largest Hispanic communities in the United States are Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, with increasing numbers of Dominicans and Central Americans (United States Census, 2014), for whom places such as New York, Los Angeles, or Miami have traditionally been preferred destinations. Over time, these cities have become epicenters of large intergenerational Hispanic communities, from naturalized immigrants and their U.S.-born children to newly arrived families looking for a better future. In some of these areas, knowledge of Spanish is not only important, it is necessary to be able to function in certain social settings (e.g., Lynch, 1999; Silva-Corvalán & Lynch, 2008). However, other areas that have not traditionally been associated with large Latino communities have recently, in a progressive manner, become centers of affluence for Hispanic groups. For example, a number of states such as Alabama, Nevada, North Carolina, or Georgia have experienced significant growth in the number of Hispanic residents in the last years. This trend is not expected to stop any time soon. In fact, according to most census estimations, by 2060, the number of Hispanics in the United States will reach the figure of 128.8 million, thereupon constituting over 30% of the nation's population (United States Census, 2014). Based on this increase and its effect on the expanding importance of the Spanish language to U.S. society, as well as the role of the United States as an international economic powerhouse, we can only surmise the upcoming centrality of U.S. Spanish as a language variety in itself.

In the United States, the Spanish language axiomatically coexists with English. Yet, even in this context of language contact, most Spanish-speaking immigrants who come to the United States as adults maintain a Spanish-dominant linguistic profile and may or may not acquire English (e.g., Alba, Logan, Lutz & Stults, 2002). Their offspring, however, having been born/raised into a language contact situation, will become dominant speakers of the societal language (English in this case) while their home-language linguistic systems will naturally differ from those of monolingually-raised individuals (e.g., Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). These U.S.-born children, as well as those child-immigrants who

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[2] In this text, the terms Latino and Hispanic will be used interchangeably, to refer to people whose country of origin, or that of their ancestors, make up the Spanish-speaking countries of North, Central, and South America.

arrive in the United States at an early age, are widely referred to in the literature as heritage speakers (hereafter HSs) or heritage language learners (HLLs). We now turn to a detailed discussion of these terms.

2. From heritage speakers to heritage language learners
2.1 Heritage speakers

In the context of the United States, the term HS makes reference to someone "raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (Valdés, 2000, p. 1). As noted in previous research[3], the most noteworthy characteristic associated with HSs in general is that, despite being exposed to the heritage language naturalistically and from birth, they end up exhibiting linguistic patterns that do not match those considered age-appropriate in monolingually-raised individuals. For example, among others, HSs' grammars have been shown to be particularly sensitive to cross-linguistic interference with regards to tense and aspect (e.g., Silva-Corvalán, 1994, 2014), mood (e.g., Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011; Pascual y Cabo, Lingwall, & Rothman, 2012), gender agreement (e.g., Montrul, Foote, & Perpiñán, 2008), null subject pronouns (e.g., Montrul, 2002, 2007; Polinsky 1997; Silva-Corvalán, 1994), or case marking (e.g., Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul & Sanchez-Walker, 2013; Pascual y Cabo, 2013). These domains (and more) have been shown to surface as a simplified version of the monolingual linguistic system, or as a grammar that when measured against age-matched monolingual speakers of the same language/dialect could be deemed as not having reached full development (e.g., Montrul, 2008; Silva Corvalán 1994)[4]. This course of acquisition has been generally referred to in the literature as *incomplete acquisition* (Montrul, 2002, 2008; O'Grady, Lee, & Choo, 2001; Polinsky, 2007), a notion that has generated substantial debate in the last few years (e.g., see Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Pires & Rothman, 2009; Putnam & Sánchez, 2013)[5].

Notwithstanding generalizations, HSs cannot be thought of as a homogeneous group, nor be easily tagged/identified as such given the vast array of characteristics that make up and determine their respective individual profiles. For example, the different sociolinguistic realities in which HSs are immersed during the first years of their lives (i.e., timing of exposure to the societal language) have been documented to have a deterministic effect on their linguistic outcomes (e.g., Müller & Hulk, 2001; Pascual y Cabo & Gómez Soler, 2015). Considering this, the field of HS bilingualism has undoubtedly sustained an attention shift from the somewhat uniform monolingual model of language knowledge to a multilingual one, bringing to bear new applications for old models and theories (e.g., see Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2013, for an overview). For example, as discussed, HSs can be found along a continuum of linguistic dominance/proficiency, whereby some may hardly be able to communicate in the HL, while others may pass as monolingual speakers. Generally speaking, the differing levels of HL attainment achieved result from a variety of reasons which include, but are not limited to, family language policies and attitudes towards the heritage language, access (or lack thereof) to formal education in the in the HL, generation of immigration, age of onset of bilingualism[6], limited exposure to the HL along with limited opportunities to use it productively, or simply, voluntary lack of engagement during the formative years.

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[3] We refer the reader to Pascual y Cabo (2015) for a current overview of research findings in the field of Spanish heritage speaker bilingualism from a formal point of view and to Potowski and Lynch (2014) for an overview from a sociolinguistic and pedagogical perspective.

[4] As noted in previous research, HS linguistic outcomes can also diverge from monolingual grammars to the same and sometimes even more drastic extent as traditional L2 learners despite the fact that acquisition of the HL usually takes place naturalistically and in early childhood (e.g., Montrul 2011). In fact, traditional L2 learners have been documented to have some advantages over HSs (e.g., writing skills, metalinguistic awareness) (e.g., Mikulski & Elola, 2011; Montrul, 2010; Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011).

[5] The notion of incomplete acquisition as it refers to HS bilingual development has been challenged on the basis that HSs' competence, while often different from monolingual speakers' competence in the same language, is not incomplete, but simply different for reasons related to the realities of the environment in which HSs grow up. We refer the reader to Pascual y Cabo & Rothman (2012) for more on this issue.

[6] Speakers whose majority language acquisition occurred alongside the acquisition of the HL are considered simultaneous bilinguals. On the other hand, speakers whose first exposure to the majority language occurred after the structural basis of the HL was acquired, at about the age of 4-5, when they first start attending school, are considered sequential bilinguals.

Such heterogeneity is best captured in Polinsky and Kagan's (2007) broad/narrow categorization. A narrow definition of Spanish HSs would include those individuals who, having grown up in a household where Spanish was spoken, have acquired the language and can use it productively even if they are still clearly dominant in the societal language. A broader stance on HSs, on the other hand, would necessarily embrace anyone, who, with or without linguistic knowledge, has a cultural ancestry connection to the language. The adoption of one definition or the other depends largely on the specific goals and questions posited by the researchers themselves. For example, in the case of studies that aim to examine linguistic competence in the strict sense, adopting a narrow definition appears more fitting. On the other hand, the broad definition could be adopted for studies that aim to examine other important issues such as the negotiation of identity or the teaching and assessment of particular topics (see for example Reznicez-Parrado; Camus & Adrada-Rafael, this issue).

Regardless of the precise definition adopted, as we see it, one of the most puzzling aspects of heritage speaker bilingualism is the widespread intra- and inter-speaker variability observed. That is, the same HS can be seen accepting and/or producing the same grammatical property (i.e., tense, aspect, mood) in different ways that may or may not always follow the descriptions found in the theoretical literature (Montrul, 2009). In turn, the ramifications that this variability triggers transcend into other domains beyond the purely linguistic ones (i.e., myths, prejudice, and stigma [Potowski, 2010]). Undoubtedly, this raises questions regarding HSs' linguistic and cultural identities, as well as their needs—and abilities—in the classroom. These issues are addressed in the next section.

2.2. Heritage language learners

Prior to entering kindergarten, HSs' exposure to the societal language is usually minimal and thus, many of them are only able to communicate in their home language. From the start of school on, however, (at least) two important changes are observed. First, it is common for U.S. educational programs to have English proficiency as their goal, and so education and socialization with peers is carried out almost exclusively in the societal language (Lukes, 2015). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, opportunities to not only be exposed to, but also to use the HL become gradually reduced to the home/family environment. Combined, these changes contribute to the observed linguistic shift. That is, HSs go from Spanish HL-monolingualism to a state of bilingualism that eventually allows them to function in an English-speaking system. As this process takes place during important formative years for the children, it is also not uncommon to observe the more extreme case, in which monolingualism in the majority language is the end result.

Years later, however, in recognizing the richness and the added value associated with their heritage (among other reasons), many of these HSs start attending Spanish classes at the high school or college level[7]. At this point, they become reacquainted with their home language/culture and are considered heritage language learners (HLLs). Thus, as we see it, while HSs are (to some degree) users of the heritage language, HLLs are by definition learners/students of the HL, no matter their linguistic proficiency (or lack thereof in the case of receptive HLLs). As discussed, given their linguistic and educational background, most HLLs can communicate in the HL,[8] but experience difficulties (to varying degrees and in varying ways) when it comes to using the standardized conventions of the written language (i.e., literacy), as well as with the sociolinguistic demands of certain formal contexts. For example, because HSs are not usually educated in the HL, it is common for them to lack the linguistic resources required to navigate academic registers (e.g., Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014). Thus, in the HL classroom, HSs' needs are necessarily different from those of the traditional second language learner (e.g., Beaudrie et al., 2014). That said, more often than not, these two types of students are placed together into "mixed-classes" with little regard to their respective needs, a practice that is usually not beneficial to either learner type (e.g., Beaudrie et al., 2014). Even though recognition of the pedagogical and educational needs associated with the profile of the HLLs is nothing new (see e.g., Guadalupe Valdés, 1999; or Ana Roca, 1997), only within the last decade or so have actions been

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[7] It should be noted that many HSs also attend Spanish classes before they go to college. For example, programs that focus on dual language instruction in K-8 schools have been documented to address HSs' needs and make a positive impact in their lives (Lindholm-Leary, 2013).

[8] It is true, however, that in the most extreme cases of HL loss, learning a HL can be (almost) like learning a foreign or a third language (Polinsky, 2015).

taken at a larger scale to meaningfully address such needs (e.g., Beaudrie et al., 2014; Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Correa, 2011; Potowski, 2005; Potowski & Carreira, 2004).

But the recognition, and to some extent, the celebration of those traits that make HS bilingualism an exciting field for scholars and practitioners does not necessarily extend to most realms of U.S. society, where monolingualism and monoculturalism are still the norm. From solidly anchored misconceptions about bilingualism to "bilingual" programs promoting monolingualism (Bartlett & García, 2010), misinformation has not only made its way into education and language policy in the United States, but it seems to be deeply rooted in the people's conceptualization of what language(s) "must be" like. Illustrative of this is Potowski's (2010) list of myths related to being bilingual, which captures some of the general (mis)perceptions of what it means to be a heritage language speaker/learner in the United States. Among other false and preconceived ideas, Potowski lists the myths that (i) immigrants fail to learn English, (ii) they do not fit in with the American ways, and (iii) language diversity is a problem that threatens national unity. Partly due to these unsupported beliefs about language and bilingualism, and partly due to the perceived low socio-economic status of most Spanish-speaking immigrants, pervasive negative attitudes about the presence of Spanish in the United States can be observed (e.g., Montes-Alcalá, 2000). As mentioned earlier, this sort of groundless attitudes is not new and has found its way into (language) policy decisions since the early stages of the making of the United States.

However, this aversion toward the use of languages other than English, and this minting of a national identity through the rejection and stigmatization of linguistic diversity, has resurfaced only relatively recently. In fact, the second half of the 20th century witnessed a sense of linguistic tolerance (e.g., the Voting Right Act of 1965–amended in 1975–or the Bilingual Education Act of 1968). This sort of understanding allowed for some languages other than English to be taught, mainly in after-school or weekend programs (Garcia-Preto, 2005). These programs, normally referred to as "ethnic community schools", were devised by ethnolinguistic minorities to educate their children in the heritage language more often than not with cultural and religious practices at the core. A study by Joshua A. Fishman by the name *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966) categorized these schools in three types: day schools providing linguistic, cultural and religious instruction; afternoon schools, or supplementary schools, meeting two or more weekday afternoons throughout the school year; and weekend schools normally meeting on Saturdays or Sundays. In an attempt to educate students in their home language, these programs strived to promote biliteracy and bilingualism in times when bilingual education was banned in thirty-one states. Out of these efforts, Coral Way School (Miami, FL) stands as the oldest public bilingual school in the United States. Its curriculum was built on the linguistic abilities brought in by the students themselves, with an emphasis on developing bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturality, while "promoting self-esteem, respect, and discipline" (Pellerano, Fradd, & Rovira, 1998). This holistic view of bilingualism, however, is still uncommon and a subtractive bilingualism take on education is generally enforced upon HSs across most of the United States.

Yet, with growing sensitivity to the different realities brought about by a globalizing society, a more accepting stance on bilingualism and more flexible views on the values of bi-/multiculturalism, appear to be emerging. Resulting from this, and from recognizing HSs as a specific language learner profile, bilingual education programs have begun to employ more dynamic approaches to bilingual language development, learning, and teaching. Given this context, higher education institutions have started to tackle HSs' specific needs by means of creating and developing HL programs (e.g., Beaudrie, 2011, 2012; Tecedor & Mejia, 2015). Briefly put, these initiatives are being forged to afford students increasing opportunities to use the HL in new social contexts, to challenge dominant social hierarchies, to construct positive linguistic and cultural identities, and to serve as a site for HL literacy-development. Proof of this new perspective on HLLs and a more cognizant/better informed understanding of their (linguistic) needs is the growing numbers of HL-specific programs at U.S. universities (Beaudrie, 2011, 2012; Tecedor & Mejia, 2015), as well as the proliferation of resources, conferences, and workshops centered on heritage speaker/learner issues. This special issue contributes to this growing body of work, by underscoring the scope and relevance of Spanish heritage speaker bilingualism, and by illustrating the applicability of the topics tackled within this field. In the following section we specify how the articles in the special issue address these topics.

3. The articles in this special issue

The five articles included in this special issue of the *EuroAmerican Journal of Applied Linguistics and Languages* contribute to a very active field of research that is still evolving and that continuously brings to light new and old questions regarding not just language (e.g., its nature, its acquisition, its maintenance), but

also identity (e.g., student views on re-learning the heritage language, the role they assign to their home variety, affective factors), as well as the most effective pedagogical practices (e.g., service learning, translanguaging, optimal use of technology, mixed-learning, task-based curricula).

As a whole, this special issue provides the reader with a rich and wide overview on Spanish-English HS bilingualism and builds on what already is an important body of scholarship (among many others, see Beaudrie et al., 2014; Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Colombi & Roca, 2003; Montrul, 2008; Potowski, 2005; Potowski & Carreira, 2004; Potowski & Lynch, 2014; Roca, 2000; Valdés, 2001). Individually, each of the articles included herein highlights and captures the essence of current debates taking place in the field. Their contribution is significant, not only in that they develop new and relevant insights to the continuous development of our understanding, but also in that they lead the way to other questions that future research will need to address. For example, Vergara Wilson and Ibarra's "Understanding the inheritors: The perception of beginning-level students toward their Spanish as a Heritage Language Program" contributes to current trends on HS research by offering a student-informed perspective on heritage language education, thereby bridging heritage speaker attitudes and curriculum design. Relatedly, Perara-Lunde and Melero-García's "Identidades gramaticales: perspectivas estudiantiles hacia el aprendizaje y uso de gramática en una clase de SHL" ("Grammar Identities: Student perspectives toward grammar use and grammar learning in a SHL"), discusses heritage learners' attitudes towards grammar and its teaching, and their sensitivity towards register variation. In an examination of heritage speakers' attitudes about the so-called Spanglish (and other forms of US Spanish), Reznicek-Parrado's "'Spanglish'": Bringing the academic debate into the classroom. Towards critical pedagogy in Spanish heritage instruction", reports on the paradoxical disconnect exhibited between HLLs' practices and their negative judgments about the practices in which they themselves report engaging. This disconnect raises questions not only about the ways in which students' internalized ideologies go unquestioned in the classroom, but also about the potential repercussions, with regards to the students' identity development, of using this term. In their article "Spanish heritage language learners vs. L2 learners: What CAF reveals about written proficiency," Camus and Adrada-Rafael take a cognitive perspective and compare traditional second language learners with HSs with regards to their writing abilities (Mikulski & Elola, 2011). Particularly, they examine an understudied construct, namely CAF (complexity, accuracy, and fluency) and conclude that, at high levels of proficiency, HLLs are able to outperform L2 learners. This finding contradicts what previous studies have found when examining lower levels of proficiency. Rodríguez and Reglero's article, "Heritage and L2 processing of person and number features: Evidence from Spanish subject-verb agreement," delves into the processing (dis)advantages of early bilingualism. The data presented is of importance to current examinations of HS bilingual development as it provides evidence that, despite exhibiting differences with Spanish monolingual speakers, HSs process basic grammatical structures similarly to those speakers. Such a finding adds credence to the position that HSs, despite exhibiting a great deal of intra-speaker variability and even performance asymmetries with regards to their monolingual peers, do not necessarily have deficient grammars (e.g., Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012).

In addition to the five articles summarized above, this special issue includes critical reviews of three recently published books: (i) *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice* (by Sara Beaudrie, Cindy Ducar and Kim Potowski; reviewed by Florencia Giglio Henshaw); (ii) *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English over the first six years* (by Carmen Silva Corvalán; reviewed by Carmen Ruiz Sánchez*); and (iii) Bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world: Linguistic and cognitive perspectives* (by Jennifer Austin, María Blume, and Liliana Sánchez; reviewed by Maria Fionda). As was also the case with the articles, these three books were chosen for their impact on and contribution to the field of Spanish as a heritage/minority language.

4. Some concluding remarks

Unquestionably, the last decade has been a time of dedicated research in the field of what is broadly defined as Spanish as a heritage language. Key developments have been made in all areas of inquiry and, as a result, our understanding of complex issues that were once considered unrelated has advanced dramatically (as attested by the breadth of topics covered in the articles included in this special issue). That said, as we continue to shape our understanding of such complex issues, new questions of relevance to the field emerge. With an eye on the dynamic and ever-expanding landscape of the field, we would like to suggest more communication and collaboration across subdisciplines and theoretical viewpoints. It is precisely this sort of interdisciplinary examination that will create opportunities to not only see and understand our research

interests from different angles, but also to make them relevant and accessible to each other. By doing this, we will challenge view-points on issues that may have become (or may be in danger of becoming) stagnant and rigid. It is this kind of cross-field collaboration/examination that will contribute to making significant headway in our search for answers to our questions, whatever they may be.

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Diego Pascual y Cabo, Texas Tech University
Diego.pascual@ttu.edu

EN	**Diego Pascual y Cabo** is an Assistant Professor of Hispanic Linguistics and the Director of the Spanish Heritage Language Program at Texas Tech University. His primary research interests are heritage speaker bilingualism and second language acquisition.
ES	**Diego Pascual y Cabo** es profesor contratado de lingüística española y director del programa de español como lengua de herencia en la Texas Tech University. Sus principales áreas de investigación son el bilingüismo de los hablantes de herencia y la adquisición de segundas lenguas.
IT	**Diego Pascual y Cabo** è professore universitario di linguistica spagnola e direttore del programma di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria della Texas Tech University. I suoi ambiti di ricerca principali includono il bilinguismo dei parlanti di una lingua ereditaria e l'acquisizione di lingue seconde.

Josh DeLaRosa-Prada, Texas Tech University
J.delarosa-prada@ttu.edu

EN	**Josh DeLaRosa-Prada**, MAFLT, MA, is an instructor and a researcher in the Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition Lab at Texas Tech University, where he is completing a PhD in Hispanic Linguistics. His interests are in the area of heritage speaker bilingualism, bridging language cognition, social identity, and multilingual interaction.
ES	**Josh DeLaRosa-Prada** posee un master en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras y otro en lingüística aplicada es instructor e investigador en el laboratorio de bilingüismo y adquisición de segundas lenguas de la Texas Tech University, donde está finalizando sus estudios de doctorado en lingüística española. Sus intereses de investigación incluyen el bilingüismo de los hablantes de una lengua de herencia y el contacto entre cognición lingüística, identidad social e interacción multilingüe.
IT	**Josh DeLaRosa-Prada** ha ottenuto un master nell'insegnamento di lingue straniere e uno in linguistica applicata ed è istruttore e ricercatore nel laboratorio di bilinguismo e acquisizione di seconde lingue della Texas Tech University, dove sta completando I suoi studi di dottorato in linguistica spagnola. I suoi interessi di ricerca includono il bilinguismo dei parlanti di una lingua ereditaria, e il contatto tra cognizione linguistica, identità sociale e interazione multilingue.

Heritage and L2 processing of person and number features: Evidence from Spanish subject-verb agreement

ESTRELLA RODRÍGUEZ[*]**, LARA REGLERO**
Florida State University

ABSTRACT

EN
This article reports on a study, with online measures, which investigated the processing of subject–verb (SV) agreement sentences by one group of heritage Spanish speakers (HSs), two groups of L2 learners of Spanish (L1 English) and one group of traditional Spanish native speakers. Experimental SV sentences manipulated person and number features with subjects and verbs in the present tense. Between-group statistical analyses indicated differential processing between the heritage and the L2 groups. The heritage group's performance was more native-like than the L2 participants. Within-subject tests showed some similar patterns between heritage and L2 high-level processing, including delayed sensitivity to ungrammaticality after the verb region. We argue that the HSs were able to process basic grammar structures, just as traditional native speakers do. This suggests early bilingualism conferred an advantage to HSS when compared to L2 learners, in the control of basic agreement in Spanish.

Key words: ONLINE PROCESSING, VERBAL FEATURES, SV SENTENCES, HERITAGE LANGUAGE.

ES
El artículo presenta a los lectores un estudio con resultados medidos en línea y dirigido a investigar el procesamiento de oraciones de tipo sujeto-verbo (SV) por parte de un grupo de hablantes de español como lengua de herencia (LH), dos grupos de aprendientes de español como L2 (con inglés como L1) y un grupo tradicional de hablantes nativos de español. Las oraciones experimentales de tipo SV combinaban aspectos de persona y número con diversos sujetos y verbos en presente. Los análisis estadísticos entre los distintos grupos mostraron un procesamiento diferenciado entre los grupos de español LG y español L2. El grupo de herencia mostró un comportamiento más cercano al nativo que al de español como L2. Las pruebas entre sujetos dieron como resultado una cierta similitud de patrones entre los grupos de herencia y de L2 con un nivel alto de procesamiento. Ambos grupos mostraron una sensibilidad diferida frente a la agramaticalidad tras el grupo verbal. Se concluye que el grupo de LH ha sido capaz de procesar estructuras gramaticales básicas tal y como lo hacen los hablantes nativos, lo cual sugiere que su bilingüismo a edades tempranas les confiere una ventaja con respecto a los aprendientes de L2 a la hora de controlar la concordancia básica en español.

Palabras clave: PROCESAMIENTO EN LÍNEA, ASPECTOS VERBALES, ORACIONES DE TIPO SV, LENGUA DE HERENCIA.

IT
L'articolo riporta i risultati di uno studio realizzato con misurazioni online, volto a valutare la capacità di elaborare frasi concordate soggetto-verbo (SV) da parte di un gruppo di parlanti spagnolo come lingua ereditaria (HSs), due gruppi di studenti di spagnolo come lingua seconda (con inglese L1) e un gruppo di ispanofoni nativi tradizionali. Le frasi SV prese in esame combinavano la concordanza della persona e del numero con soggetti e verbi al tempo presente. Le analisi statistiche tra i gruppi hanno evidenziato un diverso modo di elaborare le frasi tra il gruppo ereditario e i gruppi di lingua seconda. Il gruppo ereditario si è comportato più spesso come i parlanti nativi rispetto agli apprendenti di spagnolo come lingua seconda. I test *within subjects* hanno evidenziato comportamenti simili nell'elaborazione di alto livello tra parlanti ereditari e apprendenti di lingua seconda. Entrambi i gruppi avevano una minore capacità di riconoscere la scorrettezza grammaticale dopo il gruppo verbale. Si conclude che gli HSs siano stati in grado di elaborare strutture grammaticali di base, proprio come i parlanti nativi tradizionali. Questo sembra indicare che il bilinguismo precoce li abbia avvantaggiati nel controllare la concordanza di base in spagnolo rispetto agli apprendenti di lingua seconda.

Parole chiave: ONLINE PROCESSING, COMPETENZE ORALI, FRASI SV, LINGUA EREDITARIA.

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[*] Contact: ecrodriguez@fsu.edu

1. Background and motivation for a formal study

1.1 Introduction

Contrasting the grammatical knowledge of heritage speakers (HSs) of any language with the one held by native speakers and L2 learners has raised interest among linguists in recent years (Cuza & Frank, 2015; Keating, VanPatten, & Jegerski, 2011; Montrul, 2010, 2013; Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011; Pascual y Cabo & Gómez Soler, 2015; Potowski, Jegerski, & Morgan-Short, 2009; Rothman, 2007, among others). These studies have hinted that HSs may have different linguistic preferences that set them apart from traditional native speakers and L2 groups.

HSs have had different linguistic experiences. They are functional individuals in the native language of one or both parents (Valdés, 2000). Therefore, they are accustomed to a bilingual environment from childhood, and at one point become dominant in the majority language of the home country (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013; Montrul, 2009). However, they still communicate quite at ease in the household language with friends and extended relatives at all times.

Montrul (2009) has commented on the vast proficiency range a single group of HSs may display (low, intermediate, advanced, native-like proficiency). Some of these differences may be due to differential literacy levels in the heritage language (Rothman, 2007). Even if raised at home in a language other than English, and with formal instruction in the dominant language, HSs show a great deal of variability in their development. Heritage L1 grammatical systems may have undergone either incomplete acquisition, loss of forms (attrition) or linguistic contact acquisition (Potowski et al., 2009), or any combination of the three, all of which lets us conclude that grammatical knowledge in HSs is more heterogeneous than the one held by other groups.

Learning the home language at such an early age seems to hold advantages for HSs with regards to late bilinguals. Rich and continuous input in the home language may grant HSs skills to resolve grammatical ambiguity (Cuza & Frank, 2015; Keating et al., 2011; Montrul, 2010; Montrul et al., 2014) for some structures acquired very early in childhood. This advantage may hold only for certain grammatical structures of the L1.

The role of bilingualism onset age in the development of grammatical linguistic representations in groups of HSs has been discussed by many (Cuza & Frank, 2015; Montrul et al., 2008; Perpiñán, 2008, among others). These authors have converged on the idea of a heritage speaker advantage with regards to late bilinguals. In particular, either for syntactically ambiguous structures or basic Spanish agreement, HSs may have linguistic representations already in place by the time they reach the same age of their L2 counterparts.

It is possible that HSs went through some of the same stages of L1 acquisition (Montrul, 2011) when compared to traditional native Spanish speakers. However, as HSs begin their formal schooling in the majority language—around the age of 5—or school entrance, their linguistic development takes a different course from the path followed by traditional monolingual speakers of any language. HSs remain bilinguals, but with formal instruction in the social dominant language, and with various degrees of oral and written proficiency in their L1 (Benmamoun et al., 2013); HSs cannot be seen as traditional native speakers.

This study will report on the on-line processing of SV sentences by a group of HSs, two groups of second language learners, and a group of traditional native Spanish speakers. The L2 Spanish learners had English as an L1. The article will review recent literature on the grammatical knowledge of HSs and how they have performed in contrast to other L1 and L2 groups in off-line and on-line tasks. We will describe the experiment in question and discuss its results. We will outline some pedagogical implications concerning grammatical instruction of heritage groups and present suggestions for further research.

1.2 Differential heritage knowledge

Research on heritage linguistic knowledge is relatively recent, but some studies offer interesting findings in terms of the linguistic domain(s) explored and the kinds of experimental tasks presented. In the area of phonology, HSs usually display superior skills in their home language, though not necessarily at native-like levels (Au, Knightly, Jun, & Oh, 2002). HSs may exhibit different levels in heritage speech that connect to the quality of prior interactions and experiences in the home language. Language experience certainly plays a role in attempting to define heritage linguistic knowledge.

HSs at lower proficiency, and with less oral practice growing up, have not mastered all phonological aspects (sounds, syllables, intonation) at the native-level (Au et al., 2002). However, in Au et al.'s study, this finding did not hold consistently among all HSs. For example, there were no significant differences in how the group of Spanish HSs produced voiceless stops when compared to traditional Spanish native speakers. In all, HSs were found to be not homogenous as a group in their phonological skills.

Turning to morphology and the comprehension of person and number features in Spanish, HSs seem to display particular preferences which set them aside from other groups as well. In interpreting null subjects, for example, HSs do not necessarily behave like Spanish native speakers at all times. Native Spanish speakers tend to resolve complex anaphoras by linking the *pro* element to an antecedent in the specifier (Spec) of the inflection phrase (IP). Overt pronouns tend to be associated with lower antecedents in the clause. Keating et al. (2011) investigated null/pronominal subject resolution and antecedent linking in Spanish in HSs and L2 learners. They contrasted their responses with Spanish L1 native speakers using an offline questionnaire and comprehension questions, as in (1 a-b) and (2):

1) a.

Daniel	ya no	ve	a Miguel	desde	**que**	se casó.
Daniel	no longer	see – 3rd Pers Sing	Miguel	since	Pro Null	got married - 3rd Pers Sing Preterite

Daniel no longer sees Miguel ever since (he) got married.

b.

Daniel	ya no	ve	a Miguel	desde	que	**él**	se casó.
Daniel	no longer	see – 3rd Pers Sing	Miguel	since	Null 3rd Pers Sing	he	got married - 3rd Pers Sing Preterite

Daniel no longer sees Miguel ever since he got married.

2)

¿Quién	se	casó?
Who	REFL 3rd Pers Sing	got married – 3rd Pers Sing Preterite

Who got married?
A. Daniel   B. Miguel

The authors concluded the participating groups had adopted differential assignment strategies. The group of HSs displayed subject bias for overt pronouns only, while the L2 learners did not show any specific subject bias treating both overt and null pronouns as in free variation. As expected, the native speakers linked all anaphora (pro) to noun in [Spec, IP] position (i.e., *Daniel* in the previous examples). Keating et al. (2011) concluded the HSs had not behaved exactly like native speakers displaying a subject preference for overt pronouns only (not pro).

As bilingual native speakers, however, HSs may well display a range of null assignment strategies based on prior linguistic experiences. Their preference for overt pronouns in the Keating et al. (2011) study could be a result of bilingualism or the influence of English as formal language of instruction through school years. Even in L1 Spanish, preferences for overt pronouns may also change from one dialect to another. Ordoñez and Olarrea (2001) and Toribio (1993) offer a discussion on the overt second person singular pronoun in some Caribbean dialects.

It is possible that HSs may resort to linguistic contact acquisition experiences in selecting one of these preferences. We agree with Beaudrie (2005) that HSs represent many home language registers. In Spanish, some of these account for standard varieties of the language, while other registers may account for non-standard varieties. In sum, depending on specific linguistic experiences of the past, HSs do not necessarily have to choose the same options as traditional native speakers when judging structures.

1.3 Asymmetric relationship in heritage oral and written skills

HSs usually perform well when presented with oral tasks (Bowles, 2011; Montrul & Polinsky, 2011). They may display superior oral skills, similar to those of native speakers. Performing better orally may be traced to the particular modality of heritage language learning; oral form in a naturalistic context. In administering oral and written tasks to HSs, Montrul (2011) investigated morphological variability (gender agreement) in Spanish HSs and L2 learners with oral picture description, oral narratives, and un-timed written recognition tasks. An example of Montrul's (2011) recognition task is seen in (3), where the correct answer is option B:

3) No   quiero   llevar   **las** _____   de ese color.
    Not   want – 1st   take   the – Direct Object   of that color
            Pers Sing Pres   FEM Pl

I don't want to take the ones of that color.
A. Bufanda   B. Maletas   C. Pantalones
Scarf   *Suitcases*   *Pants*

     In contrasting the performance of the HSs and the L2 Spanish learners, Montrul (2011) concluded that HSs were more accurate in oral tasks. For the L2 learners it was quite the opposite. They made more frequent errors in oral than in written production. Montrul (2011) pointed at heritage context of acquisition (naturalistic/at home) and variant of acquisition (aural input) as having a role in how the HSs of her study performed. Written task effects in the HSs could have been related to how heritage literacy skills in Spanish became second to literacy skills in English at one point, as HSs transitioned into English formal instruction around school entry age.

     When looking at the acquisition of mood and aspect in written tasks, HSs evidence a complex acquisition pattern. Montrul (2009) compared HSs and Spanish native speakers on oral/written production and sentence judgment tasks. This study included the preterite-imperfect dichotomy, as in (4 a-b). In one condition the imperfect was logical (4a) and the preterite contradictory (4b). In the other condition, the opposite occurred. The second study in Montrul (2009) tested the indicative-subjunctive distinction. In one condition, the indicative was logical (5a) and the subjunctive contradictory (5b).

4) a. Los González   **vendían**   la casa,   pero nadie   la   compró.   *Imperfect (logical)*
        the González   sell – 3rd Pers   the   but nobody   it   buy - 3rd
                       Pl Imperfect   house   Pers Sing
                                                                      Preterite

The González family was selling the house but nobody bought it.

    b. *Los González **vendieron**   la casa,   pero nadie   la   compró.   *Preterite (contradictory)*
        the González   sell – 3rd   the   but nobody   it   buy - 3rd
                       Pers Pl   house   Pers
                       Preterite   Sing
                                                                      Preterite

The González family sold the house but nobody bought it.

5) a. Cada año   Ana   se   alegra   cuando   le   aumentan   el sueldo.   *Indicative*
        every   Ana   REFL   rejoice   when   Indirect   raise – 3rd   the salary   *(logical)*
        year   – 3rd   Object -   Pers Pl
                          Pers   3rd Pers   Indicative
                          Sing   Sing

Every year Ana rejoices when they raise her salary.

    a. *Cada año   Ana   se   alegra   cuando   le   **aumente   el sueldo.   *Subjunctive*
                                                                 n**   *(contradictory)*
        every   Ana   REFL   rejoice   when   Indirect   raise – 3rd   the salary
        year   – 3rd   Object -   Pers Pl
                          Pers   3rd Pers   Subjunctive
                          Sing   Sing

Every year Ana rejoices when they raised her salary.

     When reporting on group differences, Montrul (2009) concluded the HSs had better command of *tense-aspect* with regards to *mood* control. Results were also consistent with the Interface Hypothesis (Tsimpli & Sorace, 2006) given the complexity of mood versus aspect. In Spanish, in particular, mood is difficult to master. As HSs have not undergone formal grammatical training in Spanish, they may have retained some verbal categories, but not all of them. Most likely, they may have retained less complex ones (Benmamoun et al., 2013).

In spite of differential rates in heritage oral and written skills, HSs traditionally perform in more target-like ways than L2 groups, even when presented with written acceptability judgment tasks. Montrul (2010) tested a group of HSs and another group of L2 learners on clitic pronouns and word order on the "grammaticality" of clitic simple sentences, such as (6) and (7):

6) | Juan | **lo** | mira | todos los días. | *Pre-verbal (grammatical)*
   | Juan | it – Clit 3rd Pers Sing | watch – 3rd Pers Sing Present | every day |

   Juan watches it every day.

7) | *Juan | mira**lo** | todos los días. | *Post-verbal (ungrammatical)*
   | Juan | watch – 3rd Pers Sing Present it – Clit 3rd Pers Sing | every day |

   Juan watches it every day.

Montrul (2010) concluded that even HSs of low proficiency had an advantage compared to L2 learners matched in proficiency. Early exposure and richness of input seemed to have contributed to the superiority of the heritage group in the acceptability judgments. If HSs were exposed to the home language since birth, it is possible that they have retained qualities of that initial language exposure.

As seen in these studies, HSs and L2 learners do differ in their performance across various tasks, which suggests they could benefit from differential curricular instruction. We have undertaken our study to shed light on these differences and to contribute to HS pedagogy (see end of Section 5 for additional discussion). We have adopted an on-line task not only because it would trigger unconscious responses from participants (see next section), but also because it would mirror real pressures of classroom instruction. In the context of the classroom, the teacher would be lecturing or students would be communicating in groups, and language would need to be processed very fast. We have adopted the linguistic phenomenon under investigation (the processing of person and number features) since it entails cross-linguistic variation with English, the other language of the bilingual groups.

1.4. Advantages of testing heritage sensitivity with an on-line measure

Heritage on-line research is relatively recent. Many on-line paradigms indirectly measure reading skills as well as formal language instruction. In theory this is problematic for Spanish HSs who receive formal education in English, and whose Spanish reading and writing skills may underrepresent their linguistic ability. Most heritage studies have employed off-line measures in the past to report on heritage grammar knowledge.

Testing Arabic HSs with off-line oral production tasks, Albirini, Benmamoun, and Brahim (2013) indicated they had better accuracy in basic SV agreement (82.78%) when compared to noun-adjective agreement (63.92%). In interpreting these results, Albirini et al. (2013) pointed at the importance of the verb both lexically and grammatically at the sentential level. It is possible HSs have control of basic SV agreement, which is a premise to communicate fluently in their heritage language.

Using grammatical judgments and a correction task, Rothman (2007) investigated knowledge of inflected infinitives with a group of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) HSs. Significant results made possible to observe differences between the advanced and the heritage groups. The author concluded the group of HSs had not displayed knowledge in the distribution of inflected infinitives when compared to native speakers and advanced learners of BP. However, two of his participating HSs did perform native-like, as their literacy level in BP was higher. Rothman's study concluded that not all HSs shared identical control of verbal forms.

The aforementioned studies are just a couple of the several experiments that have made use of off-line measures (see also Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul, Foote, & Perpiñán, 2008). It can be argued that off-line tasks are useful in general to describe linguistic patterns in participating groups. However, they do not permit to detect unconscious grammatical sensitivity. With an off-line measure, there is always the possibility of participants relaying on content or metalinguistic knowledge, something that self-paced reading or eye tracking experiments do not allow.

An on-line task, on the other hand, distracts participants from the main structure of interest. In particular, self-paced reading makes it possible to detect irregularities in the input when participants take longer to read certain sentential segments (VanPatten & Jegerski, 2013). On-line research offers another way

to view and describe heritage grammar, as it offers a view into intuitive knowledge and unconscious reactions departing from un-timed tasks, like grammaticality judgments.

In the last decade or so, heritage research has begun to employ on-line experiments to detect how HSs react to one or more structures without relying on background knowledge. Foote (2010) investigated SV agreement production in early and late English-Spanish bilinguals and late Spanish-English bilinguals using an on-line completion task. There were no significant differences between both groups of bilinguals and the control native speakers. However, the HSs seemed to be more affected by task effects than the late bilinguals when errors were concerned. Foote (2010) attributed these results to a naturalistic context of acquisition in the HSs group versus an instructed context for the late learners. Still, the HSs performed similarly to the late learners.

Using a self-paced reading task, Montrul (2006) examined the processing of English and Spanish unaccusative and unergative verbs in HSs. She contrasted the results of the heritage group with English and Spanish native controls. The HSs took longer to read the input in both languages, and their reaction times were also larger than the ones of the monolingual groups. HSs processed both verb classes faster in Spanish than in English, though patterns of performance were similar in both languages by the same group. Montrul (2006) concluded the group of HSs seemed to have control of "core" Spanish syntax.

With the hope of expanding on-line heritage research, we have adopted a self-paced reading moving window paradigm to document processing of basic SV agreement in Spanish. A "real time" pressure task taps into implicit mental representations (Jiang, 2007), something that is arguably beyond the limits of off-line measures. On-line measures are able to more directly shed light on heritage intuition when processing grammar in real time (Bolger & Zapata, 2011).

2. Subject-verb agreement in Spanish and English

Both English and Spanish exhibit basic Subject Verb Object (SVO) order, but the strength of their verbal features, even for basic SV agreement morphology and tense forms is different. Spanish is a morphologically rich language with many verbal inflections. English, with the exception of the Simple Present Tense, is not as morphologically rich.

The preterite singular form of the regular verb *estudiar* (to study) in both languages is illustrated in Table 1. The verb in Spanish agrees with the subject in person and number at all times. These specific verbal features of Spanish as to person and number agreement contrast with the English verb forms in which there is weak person and number agreement, as noted in the identical verb morphology of the English translations for the first, second, and third person singular forms.

Table 1
A contrast between Spanish and English morphology and person/number features

Spanish	English glosses	English translations
(Yo) estudié	I studied - 1 pers. sing/Past	*I studied*
(Tú) estudiaste	You studied- 2 pers. sing/Past	*You studied*
(Él) estudió	He studied -3 pers. sing/Past	*He studied*

In Table 1, the verb form *estudiaste* (study-2 Pers. Sing/Past) can only agree with the informal second person singular (*tú*/you). This stands in sharp contrast with the English verbal form for the same grammatical person. In English, there is weak agreement between the verb and its subject. Spanish, however, exhibits a richer paradigm in verb morphology, with one unique and distinctive form for the first person, second and third person singular, as showed in Table 1.

Spanish is also characterized by its *Null-Subject* nature (Zagona, 2002), the inclusion of person and number features in the verb that allows to drop the subject of the sentence and retain grammaticality. This is seen in Table 1, for the first, second, and third singular forms. English, on the other hand, is a *Non-Null Subject Language* and dropping the subject in English is unlicensed. This is an important syntactic difference between the two languages that HSs may acquire from home Spanish, the strong Spanish verbal morphology and its *pro* drop nature.

The verb in Spanish has person and number features and undergoes overt movement due to its strong features. It moves from a low position in the sentence, from the VP, to a high projection in the structure, such as TP or AgrSP, to agree with the subject of the sentence in person and number (Montrul,

2004; Rizzi, 1986; Zagona, 2002). In English, the verb may move overtly in certain constructions, like yes/no questions, but basic and regular declarative sentences do not exhibit overt verb movement due to the weak features of the English verb (Radford, 2004).

As HSs learned Spanish in infancy and became dominant in English at one point after school entrance, they may control verbal syntactic operations of Spanish, but up to what extent? Montrul (2009) has reanalyzed the original *Regression Hypothesis* proposed by Jakobson (1941) to propose that native bilinguals like HSs may have stronger control of tense and aspect versus more complex categories, like mood which is generally acquired later in many languages. In Montrul (2009), accuracy in grammatical aspect—which is of earlier acquisition—was greater than accuracy in mood.

Spanish exposure from birth may have granted specific advantages to HSs in the acquisition of tense. If Spanish basic tenses are acquired early in life in the home language, it would be interesting to research how much intuition of that early grammatical knowledge has been retained in HSs, even when English has become the dominant language. Benmamoun et al. (2013) have also proposed that tense may have remained a robust category in the mental grammar of HSs since early on, as it is not as critical to word order as mood.

This brings us to the case of L2 learners of Spanish with L1 English. In view of the differences in verbal features between Spanish and English, they must change the weak verbal features of English and acquire the strong verbal features of Spanish. They must restructure linguistic values of a *weak* verbal morphology in their L1 (English) to acquire the *strong* morphology of the L2 (Spanish). For the most part, L2 Spanish learners with L1 English have had a few years of instructed Spanish to undergo changes in their mental representation, from a weak verbal morphology in English to a stronger one in Spanish.

Do HSs share the same experiences in learning Spanish? It is unlikely, as HSs have taken extensive instruction in English, and used Spanish mostly with friends and family in an unstructured environment. Though this unstructured acquisition does not seem to have disturbed their oral proficiency in the home language, it is still unclear whether Spanish HSs are able to control "core" Spanish verbal features.

As bilinguals, HSs may also pay attention to strong cues during on-line processing and not necessarily to verbal morphology at all times, since time pressure associated with real-time processing may increase processing costs. Bilinguals may resort to the overt Spanish subject, for example, instead of verbal morphology as a strong cue. This would be the result of English transfer. Given the presence of two language systems in the typical bilingual mind, we believe they may use a different and perhaps a more efficient strategy while undertaking an on-line experiment when compared to L2 learners.

How would a group of HSs differ from L2 learners in their comprehension of basic tense in Spanish in real time? This question builds upon emerging heritage literature studies (Keating et al., 2011; Montrul, 2013; Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011; Potowski, et al., 2009) which have implemented both off-line tasks and on-line measures to contrast how HSs differ from L2 learners in their grammatical knowledge in Spanish.

Differences between English and Spanish syntactic operations are vast enough. Processing the strong Spanish morphology in real time may represent a processing cost for both HSs and L2 learners. Comparing on-line reading times across groups can inform whether morphology has affected processing at any given sentential segment under real time constraints; it can also be explored whether any group has resorted to other cues for processing. Pedagogically, it is important to investigate how much intuitive knowledge of earlier tense has been retained by HSs to better address their classroom needs.

3. The experiment
3.1 Experimental setting

This experiment was part of a larger study which also documented verbal agreement in sentences containing the Spanish particle *se* with some of its uses. However, only the analysis with SV sentences will be reported here, as processing of *se* has been documented in a prior study (Rodríguez, 2015). For our analyses with SV sentences, we departed from VanPatten, Keating, and Leeser's (2012) study on underlying representations of person and number inflections in Spanish, and their view that participants lacking strong representations of person and number will be unable to make use of these in a "pressure task."

VanPatten et al. (2012) did not include HSs as participants; only L2 non-advanced learners were included. However, we saw advantages in using a self-paced reading measure similar to theirs. In a self-paced reading task, participants focus on meaning through post-input comprehension questions. The inclusion of a

heritage group reacting to basic SV agreement in the present tense can be revealing given past grammatical asymmetries displayed by this group and emerging literature on heritage on-line processing.

In self-paced reading, differences in reading times at given regions can point at how participants are affected by features of the upcoming stimulus (VanPatten & Jegerski, 2013). Basic knowledge of SV sentences in HSs was compared with L2 learners and traditional Spanish native speakers. There were four regions of interest in SV sentences: Verb, Verb + 1, Verb + 2 and Verb + 3, as depicted in (8). Post-verbal regions were included to test for possible spill-over effects.

8) Ahora │ Pedro │ **toma** │ el │ refresco │ en │ el salón.
   │ │ **Verb** │ **Verb + 1** │ **Verb + 2** │ **Verb + 3** │
   Now │ Pedro │ drink – 3rd Pers Sing Present │ the │ soft drink │ in │ the living room.

Initially, the study included one (1) between-subject independent variable: *group* (low intermediate, heritage, native). Though HSs are also native speakers, the heritage group was placed and named separately to distinguish it from the traditional native group. There was (1) independent variable tested within subjects: *subject-verb agreement* (agreement, no agreement sentences). The dependent variable of the study was *reaction time,* measured in milliseconds. Experimental sentences were presented to the participants using Super-Lab building software from Cedrus. Participants read all sentences word by word. A comprehension question in English followed.[1]

Sixty-four SV sentences were randomized and mixed with ninety-six sentences which contained an accusative pronoun, adapted from VanPatten and Houston (1998). There were also forty-eight sentences containing Spanish *se* as detailed in Rodríguez (2013, 2015). Four test versions (four lists of sixty-four sentences each) were used and randomly presented to participants as part of the self-paced reading. Sentence length varied from 8 to 12 words given the three different structures (SE, SV constructions, and sentences with the accusative pronoun). Each experimental list contained sixteen SV sentences with eight sentences representing the + agreement condition and the remaining eight sentences the – agreement condition. There were also twenty-four sentences with *se* and twenty-four sentences containing an accusative pronoun in each list.

3.2 Participants

Three participating groups were initially considered in all analyses. The L2 group (*n* = 32) was recruited from upper undergraduate courses offered in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at a large university in North Florida. The L2 group's ranging scores in the portion of the *Diplomas de Español como Lengua Extranjera* (DELE) exam administered were 11 to 24 out of a total of fifty points (*M* = 21.1). Given the low scores in speaking and in the DELE test as seen in Table 2, the L2 group was classified as low intermediate participants. All low-intermediate participants were native speakers of English and did not speak a language other than English at home.

The HSs were also enrolled at the same institution, and hailed from various disciplines. They reported Spanish as the first language learned at home with at least one of their parents. The ceiling for U.S. date of arrival to be deemed a heritage speaker was set at seven years of age. All participants who grew up speaking Spanish at home with at least one parent were grouped with the HSs.[2] The heritage group also completed a language history questionnaire and a portion of the DELE. The heritage group mean in the DELE exam was 38.7. Seven out of the twenty-one heritage participants were U.S. born, seven were born in Colombia, two in Puerto Rico, and there was a representative from Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Spain, and Venezuela as well.

There was also a group of traditional native Spanish speakers (*n* = 24) who had grown up in a Spanish-speaking country and had completed their formal education there. They were recruited from upper

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[1] One of our anonymous reviewers cited follow up comprehension questions in English as a limitation. However, we believe the inclusion of a low intermediate group with limited proficiency in Spanish in the participating sample justified the use of English and not Spanish in comprehension questions. Comprehension in Spanish could have imposed an additional cognitive load on the low intermediate participants. In this sense, we followed Keating et al. (2011) and VanPatten et al. (2012) who also employed a similar design with advanced and low intermediate participants.

[2] The HSs were together as a group to differentiate them from traditional native speakers who were late bilinguals and had acquired English as a second language in adulthood.

level undergraduate and graduate courses offered in the same department at the same institution. Some of the native participants were also graduate teaching assistants (TAs) in the Spanish Division. For participants to be placed in the native group, they had to score 45 points or more in the DELE exam, out of a total of 50 points (*M* = 46.6). The traditional native group represented countries in which Spanish is the official language: namely, Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Honduras, Panamá, Perú, Spain, and Venezuela.

Table 2 presents proficiency scores and resulting group divisions after participants had provided answers to the self-report questionnaire and completed the portion of the DELE Exam.

Table 2
Participant Mean Scores in Spanish Language Skills and DELE Exam

Group	N	Reading	Speaking	Writing	Comprehension	DELE
Low L2	32	6.8	5.2	6.2	7	21.1
Heritage	21	7.9	8.1	7	9.4	38.7
Native	24	9.5	9.7	9	10	46.6

These scores were submitted to a one-way ANOVA by group (Low L2 Intermediate, Heritage, and Spanish Native), the between-subject variable of interest. The main effect of group was significant F (2, 231) = 30.18, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .493$. Post-hoc tests with Bonferroni adjustment indicated the traditional native speakers had scored higher than the HSs and L2 learners in reading, writing, speaking, DELE measure, $p < .001$. The group of HSs scored higher than the group of L2 learners in speaking $p < .001$, comprehension $p = .001$ and DELE measure, $p < .001$. There were no other significant findings.

3.3 Sentence manipulation

Sixty-four SV sentences were presented to the participants in four randomly assigned lists. These sentences manipulated person and number verbal features (VanPatten et al., 2012). Subjects and verbs appeared next to each other. All verbs belonged to the verbal first conjugation. Person and number manipulation allowed control for verb length and participants read each segment, one word at a time, as part of the self-paced task. Half of the quadruplets had third and first person singular subjects matched with third and first person singular verbs, as illustrated in examples (9) and (10).

9)	Ahora	Pedro	**toma**		el	refresco	en	el salón.
	Now	Pedro – 3rd Pers Sing	drink – 3rd Pers Sing Present		the	soft drink	in	the living room.

10)	Ahora	yo	**tomo**		el	refresco	en	el salón.
	Now	I – 1st Pers Sing	drink – 1st Pers Sing Present		the	soft drink	in	the living room.

The other half of the quadruplets had second person singular and third person plural subjects crossed with verb forms in the second person singular and third person plural, as depicted in examples (11) and (12). Half of the sentences illustrated a grammatical condition (9) and (10), while the other half depicted ungrammatical sentences, as in (11) and (12).

11)	*En este momento	tú	**lavan**	el	auto	con	los hermanos.
	Now	you – 2nd Pers Sing	wash – 3rd Pers Pl Present	the	car	with	the brothers.

12)	*En este momento	ellos	**pagas**	el	alquiler	de	este mes.
	Now	they – 3rd Pers Pl	pay – 2nd Pers Sing Present	the	rent	of	this month.

3.4 Procedure

The presentation of all stimuli and the tracking of participants' performance were conducted via a computer using *Super-Lab* building software from Cedrus. Participants were tested individually in a laboratory in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics of the institution. After signing a consent form, participants completed the proficiency measures. Prior to starting the self-paced reading task, participants were provided with a vocabulary list, containing nouns and verb forms that appeared in the task. This facilitated vocabulary familiarization. They were also provided with instructions on how to proceed from sentence to sentence and were asked to complete five practice items.

Participants were instructed to read each sentence carefully and to answer comprehension questions as quickly and accurately as possible. Comprehension questions appeared after participants had read the whole sentence in the moving window (Jegerski, 2013). The self-paced reading task and the placement measures took 50 minutes to an hour to complete. Participant time spent on each word of every sentence was recorded. Standard statistical tests (analysis of [co]variance and regression) were used in the analyses in order to determine in what ways native language, grammaticality, and group affected learners' sensitivity to Spanish agreement. All data was analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

3.5 Research questions

The main purpose of this study was to investigate if early bilingualism had conferred HSs an advantage in reading SV sentences word by word. We also investigated whether reaction times differed among groups and whether participants were being sensitive to agreement violations at critical regions (at the verb and the 3 subsequent post verbal regions).

1. Does early onset age of bilingualism in HSs confer them any advantage in reading person and number features word by word when compared to late L2 Spanish learners?
2. Given early age of exposure to Spanish, how does length of heritage reading reaction times compare to L2 and traditional native Spanish at critical regions when reading SV sentences as part of an on-line task?

With regards to the first research question, it was hypothesized that the heritage and the late L2 Spanish group would display dissimilar reading patterns of SV sentences. HSs tend to have an advantage in tasks that investigate implicit knowledge (Montrul, 2011). They also benefit from grammatical content learned early in life (Carreira & Potowski, 2011; Cuza & Frank, 2015). Early bilingualism should confer them an advantage over late learners of Spanish.

As to the second research question, we hypothesized the group of HSs would display different reading times, quite apart from the other two groups. When comparing them with traditional native speakers, HSs may lack complete monolingual-like strategies with regards to grammatical rules (Keating et al., 2011; Rothman, 2007) since they have not had extensive formal training or extended instruction in the L1 grammar. This last factor also differentiates them from L2 learners who are more experienced with formal instruction. We sided with Montrul (2011) in that HSs would simply be different from other groups when analyzing grammatical content, and that this would be evident in differential reaction time length as a group.

4. Results

4.1 Comprehension data

Participants scored at 85% accuracy or greater on the comprehension questions presented after the word-by-word input for all sentences. Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for *structure type* and *group* for the comprehension questions in English that followed the self-paced SV sentences. The tests of between-subjects effects revealed no significant differences in comprehension between participating groups. Table 4 presents the ANOVA results for comprehension. As Table 4 indicates, there were no main effects for level or for structure in comprehension. The interaction between level and structure was not significant either.

Table 3
Comprehension descriptive statistics

Group	Structure Type - SV Sentences		
	n	*M*	*SD*
Low Intermediate	32	90.2	10.2
Heritage	21	95.8	8.5
Native	24	94.2	8.6

Table 4
ANOVA comprehension table

Source	df	MS	F	p	η² p
Group (L)	2	213.43	2.66	.072	.023
Structure (S)	1	172.27	2.14	.119	.018
L x S	4	2.07	.025	.999	.001
Error	231	80.22			

To explore on-line processing of the SV sentences within the groups, mean reading times per group and region of interest were applied to matched t-tests with *group* and *verbal agreement* as independent variables of interest. The dependent variable was *reaction times*, recorded for every word of the SV sentences. All reaction times higher than 1000 ms were cut off, as they were considered high values indicating a processing difficulty. Within group results appear detailed next.

4.2 Traditional native speakers

Results of paired samples of the t-test revealed no significant results for the traditional native speakers at the Verb region, t (23) = -1.10, p = .281, two-tailed. At the Verb + 1 region for the natives, results of paired samples of the t-test did not show any significance either, t (23) = 1.31, p = .200.

By contrast, results of the paired samples at Verb + 2 did show significance, t (23) = -3.64, p = .001, two-tailed. It took the traditional Spanish natives longer to read ungrammatical SV sentences at Verb +2 region, which indicated sensitivity to ungrammaticality after the main verb of the construction. As to Verb + 3 it also took native speakers longer to read ungrammatical SV sentences, though no significant differences were observed in the paired samples of the t-test, t (23) = -1.62, p = .117. Mean reading times (in milliseconds) and standard deviations for the native group follow next in Table 5.

Table 5
Reaction time mean scores and standard deviations for native speakers (SV sentences)

Condition	Verb		Verb + 1		Verb + 2		Verb + 3	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Grammatical	461	104	456	84	461	89	434	63
Ungrammatical	488	97	433	71	536	126	456	62

A summary of the findings for the native speakers when processing SV sentences word by word is represented in Figure 1.
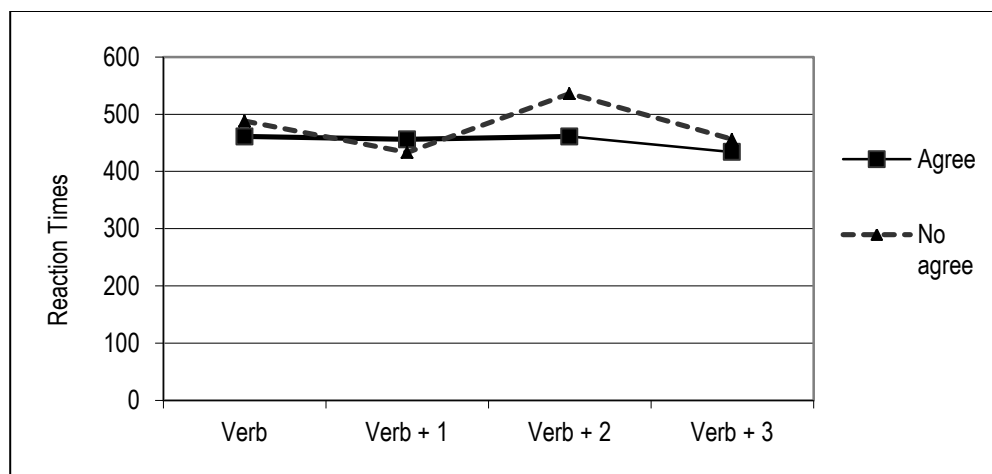
Figure 1. Native SV sentence mean reading time (in milliseconds)

4.3 L2 Low Intermediate learners

Results of paired samples of the t-test revealed no significant results for the low intermediate group at the Verb region, *t* (31) = .801, *p* = .429, two-tailed. However, at the Verb +1 region, the t-test revealed that it took the L2 low learners longer to read SV sentences in the agreement condition, *t* (31) = 2.83, *p* = .008, two-tailed. This difference was significant.

At the Verb + 2 region, results of paired samples of the t-test revealed no significant results for the low intermediate learners, *t* (31) = .158, *p* = .876, two-tailed. At Verb + 3, there were no significant results either, *t* (31) = .196, *p* = .846. Low intermediate participants did not show any sensitivity to violations of person and number features in SV sentences. Mean reading times and standard deviations are summarized in Table 6 and in Figure 2.

Table 6
Reaction time mean scores and standard deviations for low-intermediate L2 learners (SV sentences)

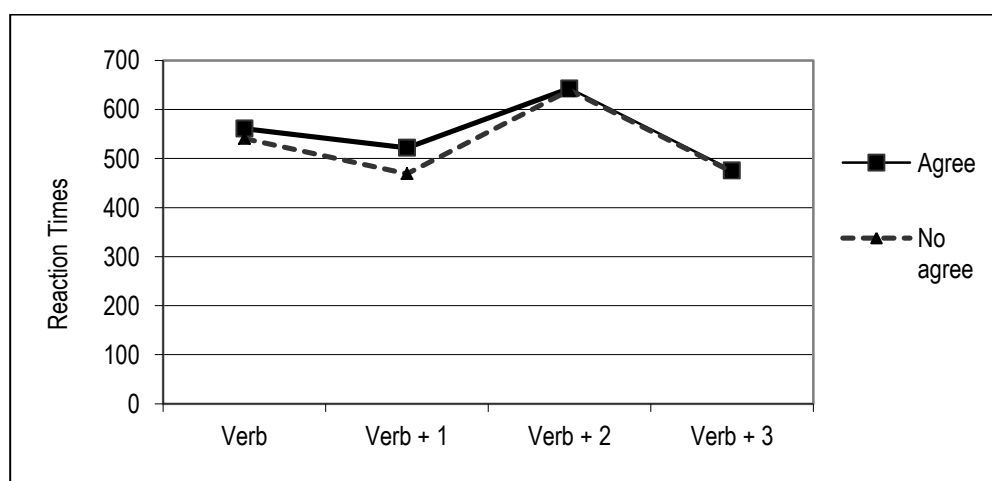| Condition	Verb		Verb + 1		Verb + 2		Verb + 3	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Grammatical	561	137	522	118	643	163	476	95
Ungrammatical	541	106	469	72	639	131	473	84

Figure 2. Low-intermediate SV sentence mean reading time (in milliseconds)

4.4 Heritage Speakers

The t-test showed no significant results for the HSs at the Verb region, t (20) = -.784, p = .442, two-tailed. At Verb + 1 the heritage group took slightly longer to process SV sentences in the ungrammatical condition with no significant findings, t (20) = -1.35, p = .192. At Verb + 2 no significant results emerged either, t (20) = -.462, p = .649 for the HSs.

However, at Verb + 3, the HSs took longer to read ungrammatical SV sentences and these results were significant, t (20) = -3.54, p = .002. There was delayed sensitivity to ungrammaticality by the HSs three regions after the main verb of the construction. A summary of the reaction times means of the heritage group is presented next in Table 7. Their processing—region by region—is illustrated in Figure 3.

Table 7
Reaction Times Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Heritage Speakers (SV Sentences)

Condition	Verb		Verb + 1		Verb + 2		Verb + 3	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Grammatical	463	111	326	55	509	112	429	79
Ungrammatical	484	95	457	82	520	100	496	54
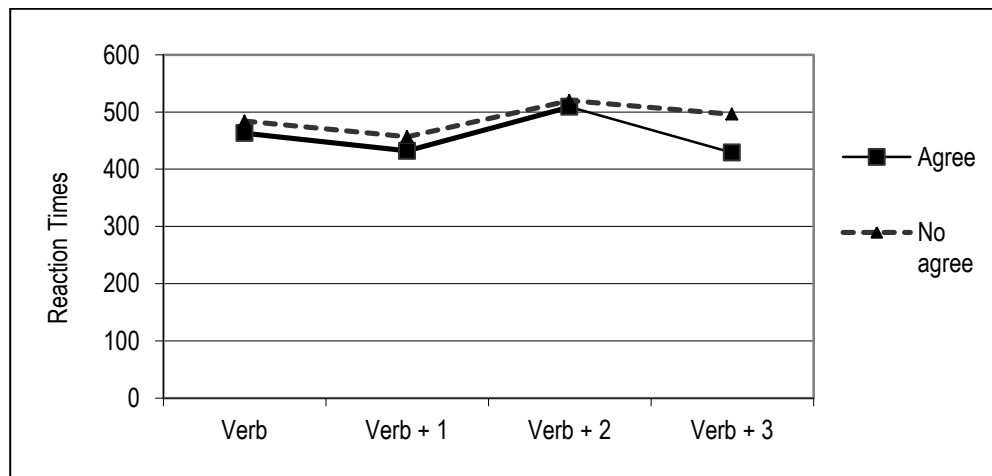
Figure 3. Heritage SV sentence mean reading time (in milliseconds)

Analyses up to here indicate that traditional native speakers were sensitive to ungrammatical SV sentences at Verb + 2, t (23) = -3.64, p = .001. By contrast, the low intermediate group with L1 English took longer to read grammatical sentences at Verb + 1, t (31) = 2.83, p = .008. Overall, the L2 group displayed no sensitivity to grammatical violations of person and number features in the SV sentences. This contrasts with results of the heritage group who patterned with the traditional native speakers in taking longer to read ungrammatical sentences. The HSs took longer for ungrammatical sentences at Verb + 3, p = .002. The heritage group was sensitive to ungrammaticality post-verbally.

We concluded the heritage group had differed from the L2 low intermediate learners in their processing (Hypothesis 1 confirmed). However, they had not behaved exactly like the traditional native speakers either in the same regions (Hypothesis 2 confirmed). To make sure the effect was not one of proficiency, we added a new L2 group of comparable proficiency to the HSs. The new group of L2 participants read the same input as part of the same task. Would there be any differences between them and the HSs?

4.5 Additional analyses with a comparable group of L2 participants

The new L2 group of comparable proficiency also responded to the self-report questionnaire and completed the same portion of the DELE exam. Their scores were compared with the Spanish natives and the heritage group. Scores were then submitted to a one-way ANOVA. The main effect of group was significant, F (2, 231) = 32.50, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p$ = .586.

Table 8
Heritage, new L2, and L1 proficiency mean scores

Groups	N	Reading	Speaking	Writing	Comprehension	DELE
Heritage	21	7.9	8.1	7	9.4	38.7
New L2	24	8.1	7.1	7.6	8	33.6
Native	24	9.5	9.7	9	10	46.6

Post-hoc tests indicated the group of traditional Spanish natives had scored higher than both the HSs and the new L2 group in reading, speaking, writing, DELE measure, $p < .001$. The group of HSs scored higher than the new group of learners in comprehension, $p = .004$ and in the DELE exam $p = .002$, but not in reading or writing. We concluded the new L2 participants and the HSs were of comparable proficiency, as opposed to the low L2 intermediate group.

Results of paired samples of the t-test for the new L2 group revealed no significant results at the Verb region, $t (23) = 1.28$, $p = .212$, two-tailed. At Verb + 1, the results approached significance, $t (23) = 1.97$, $p = .060$. It took longer for the new L2 group to read grammatical sentences at this region, as seen in mean scores from Table 9. At Verb + 2, there were no significant results, $t (23) = -288$, $p = .776$. By contrast, at Verb + 3, the new L2 group took longer to read ungrammatical SV sentences, $t (23) = -2.13$, $p = .043$. The difference was significant. Results for the new L2 group appear in Table 9 and in Figure 4 next.

Table 9
Reaction time mean scores and standard deviations for new group of L2 learners (SV sentences)

Condition	Verb		Verb + 1		Verb + 2		Verb + 3	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Grammatical	556	113	512	90	606	144	466	93
Ungrammatical	529	111	480	71	614	143	507	100
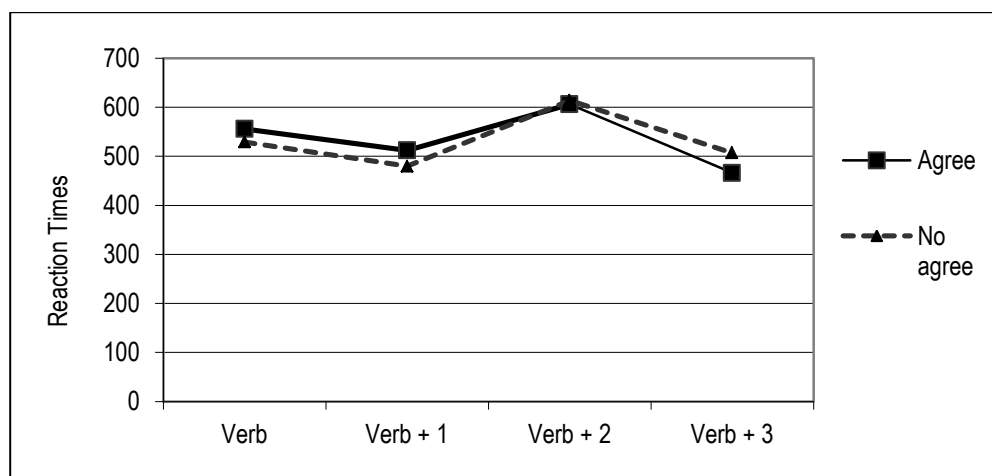
Figure 4. New L2 SV sentence mean reading time (in milliseconds)

The new L2 group and the HSs patterned at Verb + 3 region for ungrammatical sentences. Both groups had delayed sensitivity post-verbally. Quite contrary, the low L2 intermediate group displayed no sensitivity at any of the regions of interest. They took longer to read grammatical sentences at Verb +1. We proceeded to investigate possible effects between the groups, or additional differences between the HSs and the two groups of learners.

4.6 Between-subject analyses

Between-subject analyses (t-test) to contrast mean reading times across the four groups and regions indicated the two L2 groups processed differently from the HSs (as seen in mean scores from Table 10). The

traditional native group and the HSs processed similarly. In the grammatical condition at the Verb region, the low intermediate group took longer to read SV sentences when compared to the traditional native group, and this difference was significant, $p = .004$. There were also significant differences between the native speakers and the low intermediates at Verb + 1, $p = .024$ and Verb + 2 regions, $p = .001$ when reading grammatical sentences.

Table 10
Summary of reaction time mean scores across group (SV sentences)

Group			Verb region		Verb + 1 Region		Verb + 2 Region		Verb + 3 Region	
		n	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
L2 Low Intermediate	(+)	32	561	137	522	118	643	163	476	95
L2 Low Intermediate	(-)	32	541	106	469	72	639	131	473	84
Second L2 Group	(+)	24	556	113	512	90	606	144	466	93
Second L2 Group	(-)	24	529	111	480	71	614	143	507	100
Heritage	(+)	21	463	111	432	55	509	112	429	79
Heritage	(-)	21	484	95	457	82	520	100	496	54
Traditional Native	(+)	24	461	104	456	84	461	89	434	63
Traditional Native	(-)	24	488	97	433	71	536	126	456	62

The low intermediate group also differed from the HSs in how they read SV sentences in the grammatical condition. At the Verb region, it took longer for the low learners to read SV sentences when compared to the HSs, $p = .009$. These differences were also significant at the Verb + 1 and Verb + 2 regions, $p = .002$. By contrast, there were no significant differences observed between the two L2 groups when reading grammatical sentences. Differences were not significant either between the HSs and the traditional native group as to mean reading times length at any of the critical regions for the grammatical condition.

In the ungrammatical condition, the low intermediate group differed with regards to the traditional native group at Verb + 2. The results were significant, $p = .005$. The low intermediates also took longer than the HSs at Verb + 2, $p = .001$. The only difference in the ungrammatical condition between the HSs and the traditional native speakers was at Verb + 3. This difference was significant, $p = .027$. The HSs took longer than the native group to process at this region.

There were no significant differences observed between the two L2 groups in terms of reading times of ungrammatical sentences. The new L2 group also differed with regards to the traditional native speakers and the HSs. It took longer for the high intermediates to read agreeing SV sentences at the Verb region when compared to the native speakers, and this difference was significant, $p = .004$. The high L2 group also took longer than the native group to read grammatical SV sentences at Verb + 1, $p = .031$ and at Verb + 2, $p = .001$.

Comparisons between the new L2 group and the HSs in the grammatical condition indicated the new group of learners took longer to read SV sentences at the Verb region, $p = .008$. Significant differences were also observed between them at Verb + 1, $p = .001$, and at Verb + 2, $p = .016$ when reading + SV sentences. With the exception of Verb + 3 region, the reaction times of the new group of L2 learners were significantly larger when compared to the ones of the heritage group, as seen in Table 10 for the grammatical condition.

In the ungrammatical condition, the L2 group of comparable proficiency differed from the traditional native group at Verb + 1, $p = .027$. At Verb + 2 the results were also significant, $p = .005$. It also took longer for the new L2 group to read SV sentences in the ungrammatical condition at Verb + 3 when compared to the traditional native group, $p = .039$.

The only difference between the new L2 group and the HSs in the ungrammatical condition was at Verb + 2, as it took longer for the learners to read non-agreeing sentences, and this difference was significant, $p = 0.16$. In comparing results between the four groups in both SV conditions, there are some important remarks to be made. The HSs performed more native-like than the two L2 groups. The learners patterned one another in terms of processing. We proceed to guide a discussion to further comment on heritage processing patterns observed in the experiment.

5. Discussion

As evidenced in between-group analyses, both L2 groups took longer to read SV sentences when compared to the HSs, especially in the grammatical condition. There were significant differences reported between heritage and L2 Spanish at Verb, Verb + 1, Verb + 2 regions in the grammatical condition. L2 reaction times were also larger when compared to the HSs. By contrast, there were no significant differences between the traditional native group and the HSs when reading grammatical sentences at any of the regions of interest. The two L2 groups did not significantly differ from each other either in reading grammatical or ungrammatical sentences.

In the ungrammatical condition and comparing them with the HSs, both groups of learners took longer to read SV sentences at Verb + 2. HSs also processed native-like when reading ungrammatical sentences. The only significant difference reported between the HSs and the native group in the ungrammatical condition was at Verb + 3, a later post-verbal region,

Revisiting the proposed research questions of the study, hypothesis one was confirmed. The HSs processed differently from L2 Spanish learners. This is not an effect of proficiency, because both L2 groups pattern one another in terms of their reading times. Heritage and L2 Spanish reading times were different, precisely because heritage reaction times resembled the ones of the traditional native group. This leads us to the unconfirmed second hypothesis: HSs did display reading patterns similar to the traditional native group of the experiment.

Between group, analyses point at how HSs only differed from the traditional native group at Verb + 3 for the ungrammatical condition. These results seem to support recent investigations which signal modest advantages HSs hold with regards to grammatical knowledge. In particular, recent investigations have pointed at the positive value of earlier Spanish acquisition in sequential HSs with exposure to Spanish from birth by at least one of the parents (Cuza & Frank, 2015; Montrul et al., 2014; Pascual y Cabo & Gómez Soler, 2015).

Cuza and Frank (2015) have commented on heritage advantages deriving from Spanish exposure over a long period of time when rich Spanish input has been received since childhood. The availability of rich grammatical input may grant HSs a benefit in analyzing grammatical structures intuitively. Montrul et al. (2014) have also offered comments on how age of acquisition and early language experiences may allow HSs to perform in more target-like ways than L2 learners, when accessing Spanish gender online. Pascual y Cabo and Gómez Soler (2015) concluded that their group of sequential bilinguals had similar patterns to the control group of native speakers in analyzing preposition stranding, mainly due to later onset of the dominant language (English) and for sequential bilinguals only.

We anticipated the heritage group would display unique characteristics, but not exactly like a traditional native group. Heritage reaction times were close to the ones of the traditional native group in terms of length. It is possible that frequent interactions from birth in the Spanish language that have continued into adulthood have conferred HSs the ability to maintain control of basic SV agreement in Spanish.

However, this is not to say that the L2 participants did not show any knowledge of SV sentences. Within-group comparisons indicated the L2 group of comparable heritage proficiency processed similarly to the HSs at Verb + 3 in the ungrammatical condition. Both groups displayed delayed sensitivity. As some participants in the new group of L2 learners of the experiment were Spanish instructors, they may review basic SV structures frequently for lectures. However, this was not the case of the L2 low intermediate group who read ungrammatical sentences faster. This signals emergence in their SV Spanish system and difficulties with the strong verbal features of Spanish.

Turning back to the heritage group of the study, they seem to possess a linguistic benefit for earlier exposure to the home language in childhood (Cuza & Frank, 2015; Montrul et al., 2014). Consequently, they may not necessarily profit from the same curriculum intended for late L2 learners, but rather from an accelerated and distinctive track tailored to their specific needs. In the real world, however, there seems to be a mismatch between these ideal goals and heritage course offerings at many post-secondary institutions. HSs are sometimes placed in the same classroom with L2 learners not matched in proficiency (Potowski, Parada, & Morgan-Short, 2012). At other times, there are heritage courses focusing solely on basic tenses of Spanish, or on cultural content. Many large colleges in the United States have only one course oriented toward HSs (Beaudrie, 2015).

It is only recently that some schools have designed and implemented a dedicated heritage track (Bowles, 2011; Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Assuming that HSs control the core of their L1 grammar, they can

expand this knowledge to higher order, more complex structures of latter acquisition. In this regard, Potowski et al. (2009) have analyzed the effects of processing instruction (PI) lessons with the Spanish subjunctive on heritage students. This pedagogical intervention, however, did not produce as large an effect on them as it did on the L2 counterparts. Montrul and Bowles (2009) centered on explicit uses of the indirect marker "*a*" with *gustar* verb forms to instruct HSs. Their findings also support the idea of limited gains in heritage participants, as opposed to larger improvement in L2 learners. We believe it would be important to address the effects of heritage interventions over several semesters of study, given HSs lack of formal grammatical instruction in the L1. We expand some of these ideas in the final section.

6. Limitations and further research

Any formal study has areas that can be further improved. Inclusion of comprehension questions in English and not in Spanish given the group of low intermediate L2 participants somehow limited the overall experimental design. We believed, however, that comprehension questions in Spanish could have imposed additional cognitive challenges on the low L2 group after reading the word by word input. Because of this, we opted to follow Keating et al. (2011) and VanPatten et al. (2012), who also included English comprehension questions with advanced and low intermediate participants.

Another limitation of the study is that proficiency could have been controlled more precisely across the traditional natives, the HSs, and the more advanced group of learners in order to remove any doubt of a confounding variable. In addition, we relied on the results of the self-paced reading task for the analyses, and did not include a production measure of any kind. In terms of the inferential statistics reported, t-tests are limited to the processing of present tense and to the SV sentences used in the study. No aspectual variations in verbs (preterite, imperfect) or mood (indicative, subjunctive) were part of the experiment. Not all SV sentences carried the same number of words and regions, which is another of the limitations in the experimental design.

We concur with Cuza and Frank (2015) that heritage research should expand beyond grammatical intuition tasks and employ other methods to investigate heritage grammatical knowledge. For instance, differences between two or more heritage groups with and without grammatical instruction over more than one semester of study should be documented. Given that HSs may represent multiple linguistic populations (intermediate, advanced, near-native, native-like) in a single sample, tighter proficiency controls should be in place to compare patterns between two or more heritage groups.

We hope the present study will add to ongoing research that heritage linguistic performance diverges from the one exhibited by L2 learners. The on-line task we have employed documented unconscious responses from all groups. We believe it resembles the pressures of classroom instruction where quick processing is in place. It appears that HSs could benefit from a separate curriculum in the Spanish classroom. We conclude that early bilingualism has conferred them an advantage to control basic SV agreement in Spanish with respect to L2 learners.

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Estrella Rodríguez, Florida State University
ecrodriguez@fsu.edu

EN	**Estrella Rodríguez** is research faculty and coordinator in the School of Communication Science & Disorders at Florida State University. She specializes in bilingual literacy interventions for dual language learners. Her research extends to child and adult heritage speakers in Florida and Quebec.
ES	**Estrella Rodríguez** es investigadora y coordinadora de la Escuela de Ciencias y Desórdenes de la Comunicación de la Florida State University. Se ha especializado en literacidad bilingüe para aprendientes simultáneos de dos lenguas. Sus ámbitos de investigación incluyen, además, a hablantes de lenguas de herencia jóvenes y adultos en Florida y Quebec.
IT	**Estrella Rodríguez** è ricercatrice e coordinatrice della School of Communication Science & Disorders alla Florida State University. È specializzata in alfabetizzazione bilingue per apprendenti simultanei di due lingue. I suoi ambiti di ricerca si estendono a parlanti di lingue ereditarie giovani e adulti di Florida e Quebec.

Lara Reglero, Florida State University
lreglero@fsu.edu

EN	**Lara Reglero** is associate professor of Spanish in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at Florida State University. She specializes in syntax, the syntax-phonology interface and language acquisition. Her work has appeared published in journals such as *Probus*, *Studia Linguistica*, and *The Linguistic Review*.
ES	**Lara Reglero** es profesora adjunta de Lengua Española en el Departamento de Lenguas Modernas y Lingüística de la Florida State Univeristy. Se ha especializado en el estudio de la sintaxis, la interrelación entre sintaxis y fonología y el aprendizaje de lenguas. Sus trabajos han sido publicados en revistas como *Probus, Studia Linguistica*, y *The Linguistic Review*.
IT	**Lara Reglero** è professoressa associata di spagnolo presso il Dipartimento di Lingue moderne e Linguistica della Florida State University. È specializzata in sintassi, interfaccia sintassi-fonologia e acquisizione del linguaggio. I suoi articoli sono apparsi su riviste come *Probus*, *Studia Linguistica* e *The Linguistic Review*.

Spanish heritage language learners vs. L2 learners: What CAF reveals about written proficiency

PABLO CAMUS[a]*, **SERGIO ADRADA-RAFAEL**[b]

[a]Georgetown University
[b]Fairfield University

ABSTRACT

EN Recently, great interest has emerged in identifying the learning needs of heritage language (HL) learners. In comparing HL and second language (L2) learners, research suggests that L2 learners outperform HL learners when examining writing abilities (Montrul, 2010; Potowski, 2013). However, complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) have been overlooked when examining HL learners' writing proficiency, and it could provide a better picture of their writing skills in a spontaneous untimed assignment. To address this issue, 28 L2 learners and 18 HL learners completed an untimed written production task on a non-academic subject and their written proficiency was assessed through CAF measures (Norris & Ortega, 2009). Results showed HL learners significantly outperformed L2 learners on two complexity measures: accuracy and fluency. A possible explanation for these findings could be the type of task used (more spontaneous, less-controlled), which taps into a more implicit type of knowledge, favoring HL learners (Bowles, 2011).

Key words: HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS, WRITING, CAF.

ES En los últimos años ha habido un mayor esfuerzo para identificar las necesidades de los aprendientes de una lengua de herencia (LH). Los resultados de estudios comparativos indican que los aprendientes de una L2 superan a los aprendientes de una LH en pruebas de habilidades de escritura (Montrul, 2010; Potowski, 2013). Sin embargo, a la hora de analizar la producción escrita en la HL, la complejidad, la precisión y la fluidez (CAF por sus siglas en inglés) han sido ignoradas, a pesar de que podrían ofrecer una descripción más precisa de las habilidades de escritura en la HL en tareas espontáneas no cronometradas. Con el objetivo de aportar esta perspectiva, 28 aprendientes de L2 y 18 aprendientes de LH completaron una tarea de producción escrita en ámbito no académico y no cronometrada, y sus habilidades de escritura fueron evaluadas según los parámetros CAF (Norris & Ortega, 2009). Los resultados muestran que los aprendientes de HL superaron a los de L2 en dos parámetros, complejidad y fluidez. Una posible explicación de estos resultados puede estar relacionada con el tipo de tarea (más espontánea y menos controlada), que requiere un conocimiento más implícito y favorecería así a los aprendientes de HL (Bowles, 2011).

Palabras clave: APRENDIENTES DE UNA LENGUA DE HERENCIA, ESCRITURA, CAF.

IT I bisogni di apprendimento di apprendenti una lingua ereditaria (HL) sono recentemente diventati oggetto di un crescente interesse. Nelle ricerche che hanno confrontato apprendenti di una HL e di una lingua seconda (L2), il secondo tipo di apprendenti consegue risultati migliori del primo nell'abilità di scrittura (Montrul, 2010; Potowski, 2013). Tuttavia, nell'esame della capacità di scrittura nella lingua ereditaria, complessità, precisione e fluidità (CAF nell'abbreviazione inglese) sono spesso sottovalutate, mentre potrebbero fornire un quadro più accurato delle loro abilità di scrittura in compiti spontanei non a tempo. A tal fine, 28 apprendenti L2 e 18 apprendenti HL hanno svolto un compito di produzione scritta non a tempo su un argomento non accademico. Valutata la loro capacità di scrittura sulla base di misurazioni della CAF (Norris & Ortega, 2009), gli apprendenti HL hanno superato gli apprendenti L2 in due misure, precisione e scorrevolezza. Una possibile spiegazione è da ricercarsi nel tipo di compito (più spontaneo e meno controllato) che fa leva su un tipo di conoscenza più implicita favorendo gli/le apprendenti HL (Bowles, 2011).

Parole chiave: APPRENDENTI DI LINGUE EREDITARIE, SCRITTURA, CAF.

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* Contact: pac72@georgetown.edu

1. Introduction

There has been great interest in the second language acquisition (SLA) literature in identifying the differences between heritage language (HL) learners and second language (L2) learners. The validity of this comparison is not only significant on theoretical grounds, which can potentially provide insight into the role of age and input in bilingual language acquisition, etc. (Montrul, 2005; 2011; 2012), but it also has very important pedagogical implications. Researchers and practitioners alike debate over whether it is more advantageous to enroll adult L2 and HL students attending post-secondary education in the same classes or in different classes that meet their specific needs (Bowles, 2011a; Lynch, 2008; Mikulski, 2010; Potowski et al., 2009). HL and L2 learners' linguistic systems have been found to differ in terms of age of acquisition, learning context, language variety, or connections to language and culture. In addition, HL learners' linguistic backgrounds differ among themselves as HL learners are strikingly notorious for their heterogeneous profiles and, often, strict comparisons are hard to make (Montrul, 2010). Valdés (1997, 2001) pointed out that HL learners' language competence can vary to a great extent based on different factors: language use, bilingual education, socioeconomic status, or native variety. However, Lynch's (2008) findings suggested that Spanish HL learners are not very different in their grammatical and lexical performances with respect to advanced L2 learners' performances, despite the fact that HL learners are exposed to the (heritage) language from birth. He stated that similarities among HL and L2 learners are related to language use (how much they use it at home, time spent listening to tv or radio in Spanish, language usage in personal relationships, at work, etc.). With these findings in mind, he suggested that mixed classes could be justified, but other studies' findings seem to contradict this idea. The present study intends to probe deeper into the issue of difference among HL and L2 learners, by presenting both HL and L2 learners with an untimed semi-guided written task in order to further elucidate any potential differences on their written performance.

In the following sections, a more detailed review of studies that have examined both HL learners' writing and HL vs. L2 learners' writing skills is offered, identifying the areas in need of further research, which will lead to the research questions that motivate the present study.

2. HL learners' writing

In general, the literature agrees that heritage speakers tend to have stronger oral and aural skills (i.e., speaking and listening), as these two skills are more often practiced in an informal, conversational setting (Jegerski & Ponti, 2014; Montrul, 2008, 2010, 2012). However, when it comes to comparing HL and L2 learners' writing skills, most researchers agree that L2 learners tend to outperform HL learners. Potowski (2014) stated that heritage speakers often display underdeveloped literacy skills (i.e., reading and writing) in the HL. This could be due to the fact that their exposure to the HL has occurred primarily in informal, conversational contexts, and they lack a formal classroom instruction (Carreira, 2004), unlike L2 learners, who have learned the language primarily in the classroom. Colombi and Roca (2003) pointed out that "one of the most important yet difficult aspects of Spanish language development for heritage speakers is academic writing" (p. 9).

These shortcomings on literacy skills are not only pointed out by scholars and practitioners, but also deeply recognized by HL learners themselves. When asked about which language skills they considered more important, Spanish HL learners emphasis on their Spanish literacy skills was decidedly more pronounced than speaking or listening abilities (Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 2011). When asked about which skill they needed to improve the most, HL students identified writing, whereas L2 learners identified speaking as the skill that required further improvement (Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 2011).

Therefore, it is not surprising that many researchers are interested in examining HL learners' writing performance and development. In Martínez (2007), 13 Spanish HL students completed two writing assignments: a free writing assignment and a formal writing assignment on the variation between overt and null subject pronouns. Martínez based his study on the context of two different writing tendencies observed in the literature: one where writing follows the traditions of the L1/dominant language, and another where learners break with those traditions and reveal a strong influence of their HL on their writing. Results showed that HL learners tended to use subject pronouns more often in free speech than in formal writing. The author suggested that the role of transfer is multidimensional, drawing from HL learners' multiple literacies, and depending on the context students use different resources from both languages to express their ideas in Spanish writing.

Nichols and Colón (2000) also found interesting results with regard to the role that English plays on the HL (Spanish) in enhancing writing development in the HL over time. The researchers observed the development of a group of 50 high school students over a period of four years by analyzing videotaped class presentations as well as writing samples produced over the course of the said period of time. Overall, the fact that students were allowed to use both languages during class time maintained Spanish as the main language employed in the classroom. The analyses of the writing samples revealed that HL learners gained more confidence and consistency in their writing over time, and were able to produce final drafts of higher quality in terms of content and organization.

These studies lend support to the influence that HL learners' dominant language might have on enhancing their writing skills in the HL. Other studies have recently sought to understand whether participants' cognitive processes might offer an additional explanation for their writing performance. One of the studies that examined the cognitive processes of Spanish HL learners by using think-aloud protocols was Schwartz (2003). She conducted a case study with three participants who first reported in a questionnaire the perception of the four skills in the HL language. After that, participants completed a descriptive writing task during which they employed think-alouds. Finally, participants were individually interviewed by the researcher. The analysis of the verbal protocols revealed, first, that participants mainly thought aloud in English, but they also tried to find the right words in Spanish, as if they were drawing upon their L1/HL internal system, and second, that participants' thinking aloud affected their writing process, at times disrupting it.

Another way to examine writing abilities is by exploring the notions of *complexity*, *accuracy,* and *fluency* (CAF). Researchers and practitioners have employed these measures in order to appropriately operationalize the constructs of L2 performance and L2 proficiency, which are believed to be multidimensional in nature (Housen & Kuiken, 2009). CAF provides other advantages as it provides us with a quantitative approach (using ratios, frequencies, and formulas) to assess L2 written and oral proficiency as well as to measure progress in language learning. While assessments with CAF have been used extensively in the L2 literature, its employment in the HL literature to date is rather scarce. Addressing different variables, such as CAF, rather than just one or a few specific target forms, could provide us with a more complete overall picture of HL learners' writing skills, and how these compare to L2 learners'.

A few studies have addressed CAF in HL learners. Schwartz (2005) examined the writing performances and strategies of two different types of HL learners, differing in their level of academic skills in Spanish. She also assessed six different linguistic measures: number of words, number of T-units, number of clauses divided by the number of T-units, number of errors divided by the number of T-units, and the number of error-free T-units. Again, think-aloud protocols were used to account for the strategies employed by participants. No noticeable differences appeared at any of the linguistic measures, although it is important to note that there were only 5 participants, and no statistical analyses were run. With regard to the strategies employed, those with very low academic skills in Spanish relied more on translation than those with higher academic skills. The author concluded that many factors seem to affect HL learners' writing skills, and that assumptions should not be made about their writing proficiency based on their oral proficiency or on their participation in previous academic courses.

Mikulski and Elola's (2011) findings had similar implications. They sought to explore the writing behaviors of Spanish HL learners in English and Spanish. More specifically, they examined planning time, execution time, monitoring time, accuracy, and fluency in twelve Spanish HL learners enrolled at an intermediate-level Spanish class. The learners wrote two short essay-like questions in Spanish and two in English after watching a short film. Results indicated that in their dominant language, English, students showed more fluency and accuracy and spent less time planning between sentences. In Spanish, on the other hand, participants spent significantly more time planning between sentences. The authors suggested that instructors should be aware of the pedagogical implications of these findings: instructors (1) should take advantage of students' previous experience writing in English (i.e., the role of transfer), and (2) should adapt their curricula so that students move from informal to more academic assignments in order to become gradually familiar with the writing process in formal Spanish.

Yanguas and Lado (2012) used CAF in order to investigate whether thinking-aloud in English or in Spanish affected performance positively or negatively while carrying out a semi-controlled writing task, where participants had to create their own story based on three different comic strips. Participants were 37 college students whose HL was Spanish. The measures assessed were fluency, accuracy, and lexical complexity. The researchers found that thinking aloud while writing in the HL benefited fluency and accuracy

(i.e., positive reactivity) when their performance was compared to participants' silent writing. The authors argued that think-alouds should be used with caution when trying to gain insight into learners' cognitive processes.

In sum, the general picture that emerges from the previous studies is that HL learners' writing process in the HL can be more complicated and heterogeneous than at first expected, as they rely on their stronger writing skills in English and seem to use different learning strategies because their academic skills in Spanish vary. HL learners also appear to take advantage of the strong oral skills in the HL as well when they immerse themselves in a writing exercise, and, as Martínez (2007) discussed, HL learners appear to perform better in writing tasks that are free rather than more academic. While these studies provide us with a better idea of how HL learners behave when facing a writing assignment, further assumptions regarding whether they are at an advantage (or disadvantage) when compared to their L2 peers remain to be investigated. The next section will review how these two groups of learners compare to each other.

3. L2 vs. HL writing

In recent studies, it has been argued that the differences in writing between L2 and HL learners might be related to the type of knowledge that the two groups possess. Montrul (2010) and Potowski (2014), among others, have claimed that L2 learners outperformed HL learners in writing tasks that required high levels of explicit metalinguistic awareness. Potowski, Jegerski, and Morgan-Short (2009) have made similar claims, suggesting that both HL and L2 learners could benefit from being exposed to different types of instruction (traditional output-based vs. processing instruction), as both L2 and HL learners showed significant improvement in interpretation and production tasks. The authors argued that HL learners can benefit from focused grammar instruction as well as L2 learners, provided they receive sufficient practice. Bowles (2011) also investigated L2 and HL speakers who were both enrolled in Intermediate Spanish language classes. She found that L2 learners, who learned Spanish mostly in an academic context, scored higher in explicit knowledge tasks whereas heritage speakers, who learned Spanish in a naturalistic context, scored higher in implicit knowledge tasks. She concluded that HL learners have less explicit knowledge than L2 learners, due to the environment in which they learned Spanish.

Montrul et al. (2008) probed deeper into HL and L2 learners' use of gender agreement, and their results showed that HL learners had an advantage in oral tasks but were less accurate in written recognition and comprehension tasks than L2 speakers. The authors stated that "accuracy scores of the written tasks could be taken to reflect ability with metalinguistic, explicit knowledge (typically acquired later)" (p. 514). These findings seem to corroborate those reported earlier (Bowles, 2011; Montrul, 2010; Potowski, 2014). Along these same lines, Montrul (2011), examined whether morphological variability differed significantly when comparing L2 and HL adult learners. Her findings showed that the incorrect use of affixes for nominal and verbal inflections are as common for L2 learners as for HL learners, but, again, for heritage speakers morphological errors are more frequent in written than in oral tasks. However, it is important to keep in mind that some of the tasks employed in the last two studies did not require HL learners to produce their own writing, which is the ultimate goal of the present study.

Even though the results found in these studies are relatively conclusive, and provide us with greater insight into the knowledge that L2 and HL learners carry with them, the whole picture is less clear when it comes to mapping the writing abilities of these two groups. The claim that L2 learners outperform HL learners in writing skills has been assessed in studies whose main research questions were not measuring writing proficiency as a whole, but rather the interpretation/production of specific grammar forms. In addition, the tasks employed in these studies have been relatively short written and oral experimental tasks, which are very useful to tap into the knowledge of a grammatical target form that is challenging for HL learners (often a morphosyntactic form such as TAM [tense, mood, and aspect] or the Spanish direct/indirect object marker "a"), as well as untimed grammaticality judgment tasks (GJT), written narrative tests, etc. However, they fall short when it comes to measuring written proficiency in a more holistic, less controlled way. It is also noteworthy that it has not yet been tested whether these findings will extrapolate to the HL population when assessing heritage/L2 written performance and/or proficiency. The only study that made participants produce writing samples of this kind was Escalante (2002). She analyzed rhetorical and linguistic skills on written material in English and Spanish from a pool made by heritage speakers, bilingual (L1 English) speakers, and bilingual (L1 Spanish) speakers. She found that heritage speaker writing has unique characteristics which are different from the other groups. In addition, contrary to what the previous studies' findings suggested, Escalante found that the Spanish writing samples from HLs were closer to Spanish native

speakers than those of L2 Spanish learners with regards to verbs, type of sentences, T-units, and length of sentences.

4. The present study

The present study intends to present both HL and L2 learners with an untimed semi-guided written task in order to contribute to a better understanding of the differences between these two groups regarding complexity, accuracy, and fluency. CAF is a triad that has been addressed in the literature to measure progress in language learning and language proficiency, as there is evidence that CAF is related to interlanguage knowledge (Housen & Kuiken, 2009). In addition, Ortega (2003) suggested that syntactic complexity is an objective measure of progress from oral-based proficiency to advanced literacy. To our knowledge, no study has compared written proficiency between HL and L2 learners by analyzing CAF. To date, only Schwartz (2003, 2005), Mikulski and Elola (2011), and Yanguas and Lado (2012) have analyzed fluency and accuracy in HL learners on a writing task, but they did not test those measures with an L2 group, which prevents us from making any strong comparison between these two groups of learners. Keeping this in mind, the present study seeks to contribute to the HL writing development literature by addressing some particular issues that have been omitted in previous research, namely, the difference in written proficiency, as measured by CAF, between L2 and HL learners of a similar level of self-assessed proficiency. While previous studies would suggest an advantage for L2 learners in a writing context, it remains to be seen whether this advantage holds when the writing task is untimed and semi-guided, rather than controlled. In order to fill these gaps found in the literature, the following research questions were formulated:

1) Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by *complexity* when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?
2) Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by *accuracy* when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?
3) Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by *fluency* when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?

5. Methodology and design
5.1 Participants

At the time of the data collection, all participants were enrolled in Spanish language classes at a private research university on the east coast of the United States. From an initial pool of 48 participants that volunteered to participate in the study, 46 were included for subsequent analyses. Two participants were excluded from further analyses, as English was their L2 and Spanish their L3, which could cause a potential confound in the interpretation of results. Of the 46 remaining participants, twenty-eight were L2 learners (n=28) and eighteen were HL learners (n=18). All participants completed a linguistic background questionnaire through which we gathered information concerning language use, language of instruction in primary and secondary education, self-rated proficiency, and classes taken in Spanish as the language of instruction in their post-secondary institution. All participants reported that English was their language of instruction from primary to secondary school. Four HL learners claimed they had attended a bilingual preschool, and two reported having completed two years in a bilingual primary school. In order to ensure similar levels of proficiency, at the time of the study, all participants were taking either advanced language classes in Spanish or advanced content courses in Spanish (e.g., business Spanish).

The L2 learners group consisted of native speakers of English who used this language exclusively at home as children and who began learning Spanish as a second language around puberty (more specifically, from the ages of 12 to 16). The average age for this group was 19.3 (range: 18–21). All of these L2 learners learned Spanish in an instructional setting, with basically no naturalistic exposure to the language, and none of them had ever traveled to a Spanish-speaking country for more than two weeks. The average number of Spanish classes taken in college was 1.79 (range 1-3 classes).

The HL learners' group consisted of 13 second-generation heritage speakers who were born and schooled in the United States, and five who arrived in the United States at the ages of 6-11[1]. All of them were exposed to English before the age of five (i.e., in preschool). Table 1 summarizes the patterns of language use

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[1] They are also known as "generation 1.5" (Silva-Corvalán, 2014).

for these HL speakers, in both Spanish and English during childhood and at the time of testing. Most of the heritage speakers spoke Spanish (72%) or both (22%) during childhood (ages 1–5), but by the time they reached college, the majority was using predominantly English (50%) or both (45%). The largest amount of Spanish spoken during childhood and at the time of testing was with parents only, whereas English or the use of both languages (code-switching) was mainly employed with siblings and friends. The average number of Spanish classes taken in college (both language and content courses) was 1.81 (range 1-3 classes). The age of onset in English ranged from 2-5 years old, whereas their age on onset in Spanish was at birth.

Table 1
Estimated frequency of Spanish and English language use by heritage speakers (n = 18)

Context	Spanish	English	Both
Ages 1-5	72%	6%	22%
Ages 6-12	11%	27%	61%
Ages 13-18	6%	39%	56%
At time of testing	5%	50%	45%

Table 2 summarizes the heritage speakers' self-assessed proficiency in English and Spanish. All heritage speakers continued to use Spanish during their lifetime, but 56% rated their Spanish proficiency as native-like, whereas 34% rated it as advanced and the remaining 11% as intermediate. By contrast, 95% rated their English proficiency as native-like and the remaining 5% as advanced. Forty-five percent of the heritage speakers listed Spanish as their native language, 16% listed English, and the remaining 39% listed both languages. When asked about their dominant language, 67% of the heritage speakers listed English, 22% listed both languages, and the remaining 11% listed Spanish.

Table 2
Self-perceived proficiency ratings of heritage speakers (n = 18)

Language	None	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Nativelike
Spanish					
Listening	-	6%	6%	6%	83%
Speaking	-	5%	11%	22%	61%
Reading	-	-	22%	33%	45%
Writing	-	5%	33%	28%	33%
Overall	-	-	11%	34%	56%
English					
Listening	-	-	-	5%	95%
Speaking	-	-	-	-	100%
Reading	-	-	-	-	100%
Writing	-	-	-	5%	95%
Overall	-	-	-	5%	95%

5.2 Procedure

At the end of the academic semester, one of the researchers visited two Spanish language and content classes and explained to participants that they were going to perform an assignment in a language laboratory. The assignment consisted of one untimed writing exercise for all participants. They all completed a spontaneous task (see Appendix A) related to a current topic (cellphone use in young adults and their perceptions of this usage). The topic of the task was chosen taking into account its relevance for participants in the present study (university students) and was considered to be an ideal task to elicit a variety of grammatical aspects, such as different tenses. Nowadays, a vast majority of university students have a smartphone and most of their social lives revolve around their phones as an essential component in their

lives. Therefore, this was considered an appropriate topic that would encourage participants to think about the positive and negative consequences of using smartphones (and to express their thoughts in writing).

Participants used Microsoft Word on the laboratory computers to complete the task. The researcher made sure the Word self-corrector and spelling checker options were off, so that Microsoft Word did not automatically correct their morphosyntactic errors as well, and walked around while the task was being completed to ensure participants were not using any online dictionary or similar software. Participants were urged to employ approximately 5-15 minutes to prepare an outline, and 35-40 minutes to write an essay about the given topic. They were also instructed to write about 300-350 words. Upon completion of the task, the document was saved on the computers, and participants proceeded to complete an online background questionnaire. After that, they were thanked for their participation in the study and left the language laboratory. The total duration of the session was approximately 50-60 minutes.

5.3 CAF analysis

Participants' writing performance was analyzed based on three different measures: complexity, accuracy, and fluency. Norris and Ortega (2009) defined complexity as a "multifaceted" construct and recommended an approach to its measurement based on several criteria. The criteria employed in the present study to measure complexity were therefore the following:

1) Overall complexity (mean length of T-unit);
2) Complexity by subordination (mean number of clauses per T-unit), and
3) Complexity by phrasal elaboration (mean length of clause by word).

Norris and Ortega (2009) pointed out that the complexity measured by subordination could be considered an index of complexification at intermediate levels, while phrasal elaboration could be considered an index for more advanced levels. According to Norris and Ortega (2009), L2 Spanish learners will first be able to produce subordinate clauses, and as they move up to a more advanced learning stage, they will then be able to further elaborate their clauses without employing subordination. Therefore, all three of these measures were used in order to have a clearer picture of this construct.

Accuracy was measured as error-free clauses (percentage of clauses with no morpho-syntactic errors), following Housen and Kuiken (2009). Orthographic/spelling errors were not considered. Although there are different ways to measure accuracy, the authors of the present study thought error-free clauses would be a good way to give an initial whole picture of L2/HL differences. Initially, the authors also considered employing the percentage of correct verb forms in terms of aspect, tense, mood, number, and person. However, we soon discovered that the results of these two accuracy measures (i.e., number of error-free clauses and percentage of correct verb forms) were highly correlated for all participants, and, therefore, as one measure subsumed the other, only one—error-free clauses—was considered for inclusion in the statistical analyses.

Finally, fluency was measured by accounting for participants' productivity, that is, the total number of words produced in the essay, given the same allocation of writing time for all participants. This way of looking into fluency in writing is an alternative to counting syllables per minute. Most studies that have measured the total number of words have found striking differences between "better" writing, usually longer, and "weaker" writing, typically shorter (Jarvis, Grant, Bikowski, & Ferris, 2003).

5.4 Coding

Each of the researchers coded half of the written tasks following the criteria detailed above. Given the qualitative nature of the data, both researchers discussed any discrepancies prior to coding that could arise in the coding to ensure that coding criteria were consistent throughout all essays for the three measures examined. In addition, each researcher coded about 20% of the data coded by the other researcher to calculate inter-rater reliability (IRR). The resulting IRR was very high: 97%. Once the coding was finalized, results were added to an Excel spreadsheet, and then exported to SPSS 22 for further analyses.

The following are two writing samples from a heritage learner and a L2 learner respectively, which display how the data were coded:

L2 learner Sample[2]
<[Hemos perdido mucho con el (la) l̶l̶e̶g̶a̶d̶o̶ (llegada) de (la) tecnología.]> <[En el pasado, las personas hablaban cuando cenaban,]> <[pero ahora, todos usan sus smartphones]> <[y no conocen (a) sus familias.]> <[Por el otro lado, necesitamos (de la) tecnología] [porque usamos *smartphones* para cada actividad en el día.]> <[Si no t̶e̶n̶g̶a̶m̶o̶s̶ (tuviéramos) *smartphones*,] [nuestras vidas cambiarían.]> < [Por ejemplo, sería más difícil para buscar información en el momento] [si no t̶e̶n̶g̶a̶m̶o̶s̶ (tuviéramos) smartphones.]> <[Por ejemplo yo no sabría] [nunca qué hora s̶e̶a̶ (es).]> <[Está claro][que no podemos vivir sin los smartphones.]>

- 9 T-Units
- 13 Clauses
- 38% (5/13) error-free clauses
- 91 words

Heritage learner Sample
<[La llegada de los teléfonos inteligentes ha traído más comunicación entre la gente y con más facilidad.] ><[También hay desventajas con el progreso de la tecnología] ><[y hay estudios][que enseñan][que el setenta y cinco por ciento de personas con un Smartphone escriben menos a mano.] ><[También hay datos][que demuestran] [que los jóvenes usan sus smartphones con más frecuencia para (tomar) notas.] ><[Un smartphone debe conectar a personas] ><[pero al mismo tiempo, quita un aspecto personal de (al) comunicarse con alguien.]><[La presencia de la tecnología ha cambiado][como vivimos.] ><[Con (los) teléfonos móviles, puedes hablar con parientes en otras (otros) lugares del mundo] ><[pero también no tienes que ir a la casa de tu amiga][si quieres hablar.]>

- 9 T-Units
- 16 Clauses
- 19% (3/16) of error-free clauses
- 114 words

6. Results

In this section[3], results for the research questions proposed at the end of section 4 of this manuscript will be reported. All statistical analyses were performed using SPSS 22. The alpha level was set at 0.05 throughout all analyses. Effect sizes (η^2) and observed power are reported following Larson-Hall (2010) and Cohen's (1988) guidelines of .01 (small), .06 (medium), and .14 (large) for effect sizes; and of .20 (small), .50 (medium), and .80 (large) for power.

6.1 Response to research question 1

Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by complexity when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?

RQ1 addressed three different measures within complexity:

1) mean length of T-unit,
2) subordination (mean number of clauses per T-unit), and
3) phrasal elaboration (mean length of clause).

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[2] Clauses are separated by brackets ([ ]) and t-units by angle brackets (< >)
[3] As suggested by one of the reviewers, the same analyses presented in this section were run excluding the 5 HL learners who were categorized as generation 1.5 to account for any potential difference between groups when having a more homogeneous HL sample. Results did not differ from those presented in this section. A second analysis excluding participants who were not enrolled in upper-level courses was suggested to obtain a more homogeneous sample for the interpretation of results. However, this eliminated 26 participants, leaving a final sample of 21 subjects (12 L2 and 9 HL), and rendering very low effect sizes and power.

Three separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted for each of these measures, with conditions (HL and L2) as independent variables, and the aforementioned measures as dependent variables.

The first one-way ANOVA, addressing mean length of T-unit, revealed a significant effect for condition, F (1, 44) = 14.428, p = .00, η^2 = .28, observed power = .96, (see Table 3 for descriptive statistics). The box plot in Figure 1 shows how the HL group significantly outperformed the L2 group in mean length of T-unit. Also, the distribution of scores between the 25% and the 75% quartiles[4] appears to be more homogeneous for the HL group.

Table 3
Descriptive statistics for somplexity (mean length of T-unit)

Group	N	M	SD
HL	18	17.31	2.16
L2	28	14.50	2.61
Total	46	15.60	2.79
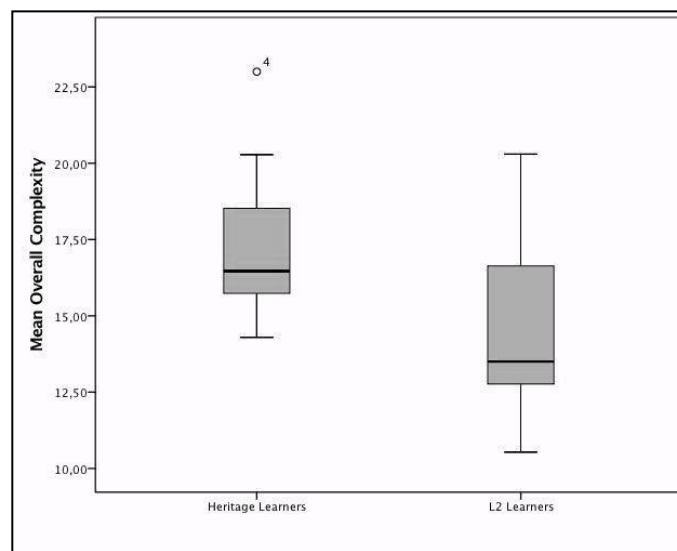
Figure 1 Overall complexity results by mean length of T-unit

The second one-way ANOVA, addressing subordination, also revealed a significant effect for condition, F (1, 44) = 11.042, p = .002, η^2 = .20, observed power = .90, (see Table 4 for descriptive statistics). A closer examination of the box plot (Figure 2) shows how the HL group produced a significantly higher number of clauses per T-unit than their L2 counterparts. In line with the previous analysis (mean length of T-unit), the number of clauses per T-unit produced seems to be more homogeneous among HL learners than L2 learners when considering the 25-75% quartiles.

Table 4
Descriptive statistics for complexity (subordination)

Group	N	M	SD
HL	18	2.03	.29
L2	28	1.73	.30
Total	46	1.84	.33

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[4] In a box plot, the upper and lower quartiles refer to the percentage of scores that fall below that specific quartile (75% and 25% respectively). They help us better understand the distributional characteristics of a group of scores.
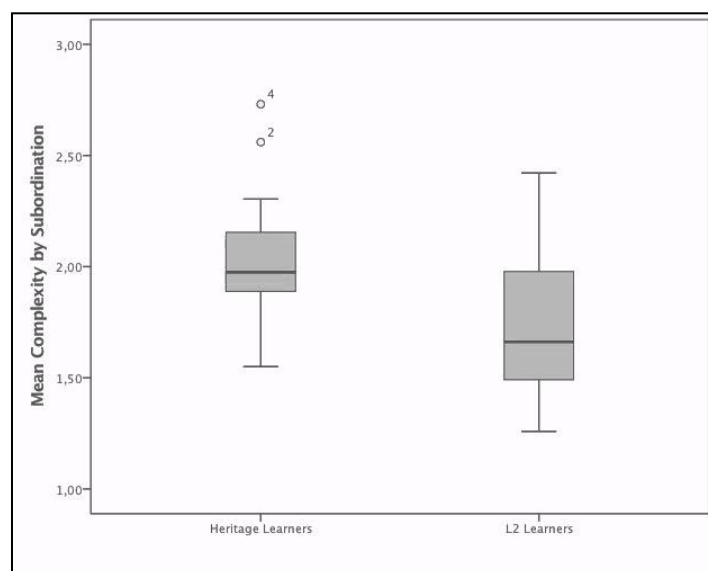
Figure 2 Complexity results by subordination

The third one-way ANOVA, addressing phrasal elaboration, yielded no significant difference in the mean length of clause produced by either group, F (1, 44) = .332, p = .57, η^2 = .007, observed power = .087 (see Table 5 for descriptive statistics). The box plot (Figure 3) reveals how both groups (HL and L2) performed equally well when observing the median and the distribution of scores in the 25% and 75% quartiles.

Table 5
Descriptive statistics for complexity (phrasal elaboration)

Group	N	M	SD
HL	18	8.62	1.10
L2	28	8.44	.94
Total	46	8.51	1.00
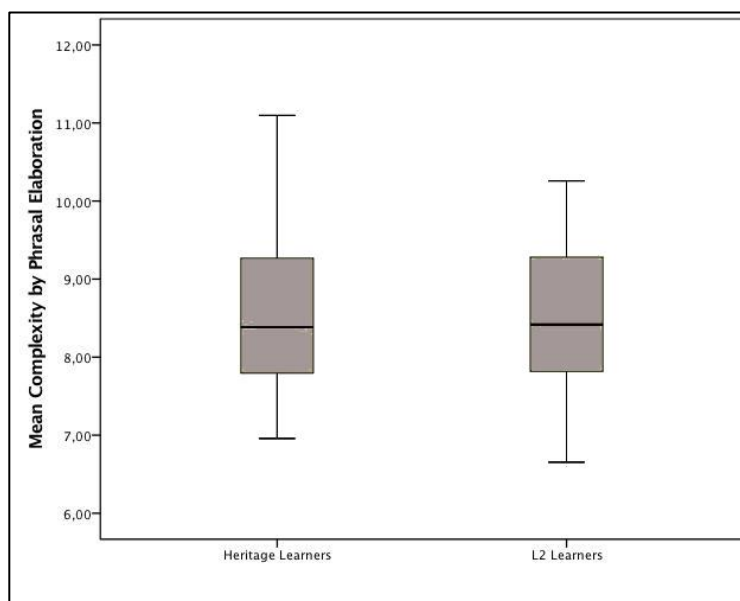
Figure 3 Complexity results by phrasal elaboration

6.2 Response to research question 2

Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by accuracy when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?

In order to respond to RQ2, a one-way ANOVA was conducted with condition (HL and L2 groups) as independent variables, and error-free clauses as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed a significant effect when the production of error-free clauses by both groups was compared, F (1, 44) = 14.345, p = .00, η^2 = .25, observed power = .96 (see Table 6 for descriptive statistics). The HL group appeared to significantly outperform the L2 group in the production of error-free clauses, as shown in Figure 4. The 25-75% quartiles yielded a more even distribution for the HL group, with a roughly similar number of participants above and below the median.

Table 6
Descriptive statistics for accuracy (error-free clauses)

Group	N	M	SD
HL	18	68.04	19.60
L2	28	49.66	13.35
Total	46	56.85	18.28
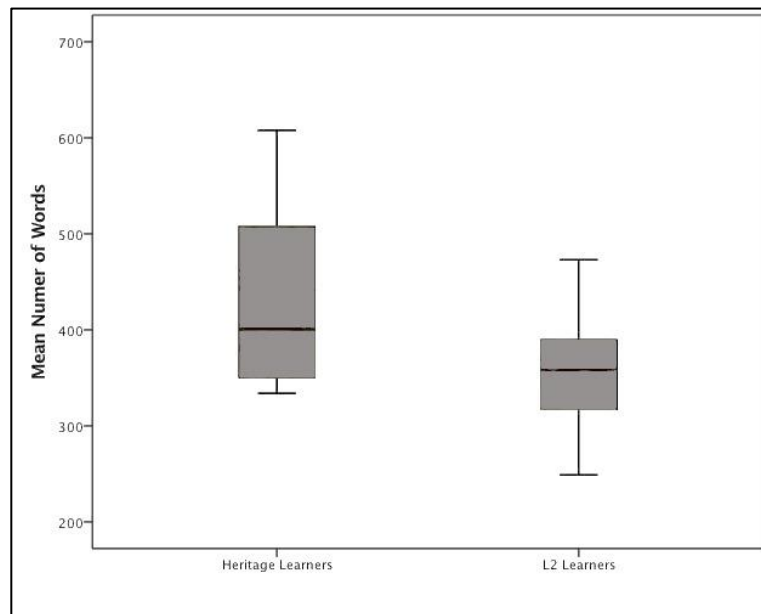
Figure 4 Accuracy results by error-free clauses

6.3 Response to research question 3

Do advanced HL and L2 learners differ in writing proficiency as measured by fluency when exposed to an untimed semi-guided writing task?

A one-way ANOVA was performed with condition (HL and L2 groups) as independent variables, and total number of words as the dependent variable, in order to examine whether the number of words produced by each group significantly differed from each other. The analysis yielded a significant difference, with the HL group outperforming their L2 counterparts, F (1, 44) = 9.815, p = .003, η^2 = .18, observed power = .86 (see Table 7 for descriptive statistics). The box plot (Figure 5) reveals a higher median in the production of words by the HL group, and it also shows a more even distribution of word production for this group when looking at the 25-75% quartiles, while the L2 group production seems to be more homogeneous when observing these same quartiles.

Table 7
Descriptive statistics for fluency (Total number of words)

Group	N	M	SD
HL	18	427	90.12
L2	28	360.14	54.93
Total	46	386.30	77.25
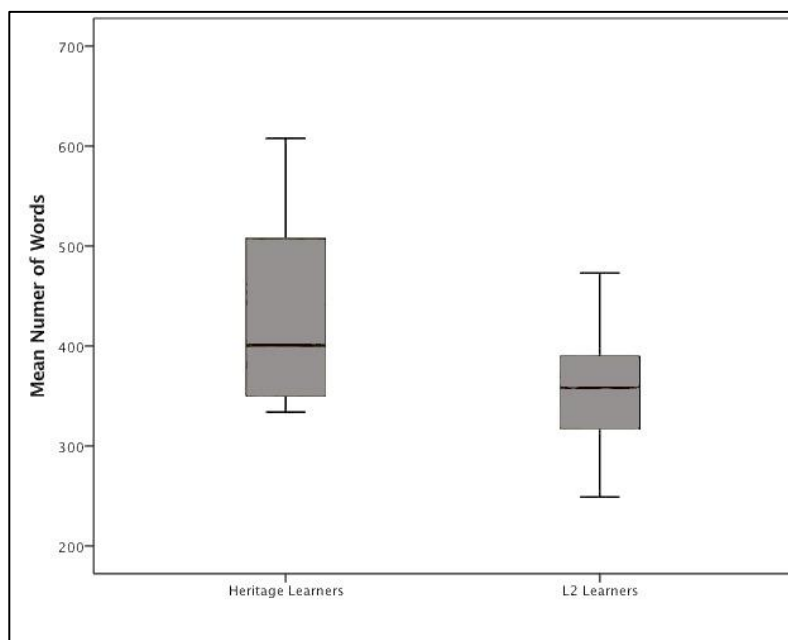
Figure 5 Fluency results by number of words.

7. Discussion

Contrary to some of the findings in the literature published to date, the current study suggests that Spanish HL learners outperformed L2 learners of Spanish in written production when exposed to an untimed semi-guided written task. Analyses of complexity showed that Spanish HL learners significantly outperformed L2 learners in two of the three measures employed: mean length of T-unit and subordination. It has been claimed in previous studies that one of the sturdiest tools that HL learners have at their disposal to develop their writing skills are their strong oral skills, and that drawing from these would put HL learners at an advantage over L2 learners. However, as Chevalier (2004) pointed out, syntactically, conversational and informal speech are very different from writing, as they are characterized by the use of coordination rather than subordination, and they often display "a loose stringing together of phrases without connectives" (Chafe, 1982, p. 37) in which ideas are grouped into intonational units that do not express more than one idea at a time. Contrary to what the findings of Chevalier and others would predict, in the present study, HL learners were able to produce a great amount of subordinate clauses (an average of 2.03 clauses per t-unit), in contrast to the average of 1.73 produced by L2 learners. Therefore, strong oral skills would be unlikely to predict the complexity by subordination that HL learners' writing displayed in this study.

One of the possible explanations for these results could lie in the population targeted in this study. These HL learners were advanced students attending post-secondary education and taking advanced classes in Spanish. They had taken an average of 1.81 classes in Spanish in a post-secondary institution; therefore, all of them have been exposed to academic Spanish and have completed written homework and assignments prior to participating in this study. This could suggest, as Montrul (2010) stated, that if HLs have "time to develop the underdeveloped skills through instruction, they should be able to catch up with educated native speakers if that is what their linguistic goal is" (p. 18). Also, while it could be hypothesized that HL learners outperformed L2 learners because they might have dedicated more time to achieve native-like proficiency

through instruction, another possible explanation lies in HL learners' early exposure to Spanish, which could give them an initial advantage over L2 learners. In addition, the fact that these HL learners are taking Spanish language and content courses at the college level might reflect a desire to improve their Spanish skills by achieving biliteracy. That said, any assumption regarding L2 development throughout time should be interpreted with caution, as this is not a developmental study and data were collected at one point in time, with no pre-post design.

Another possible explanation for these somewhat unexpected results could lie in the intersection between the knowledge that HL and L2 learners possess and the type of task employed in this study. As has been discussed previously in the literature, L2 learners who have learned Spanish in the classroom setting tend to outperform HL learners on written tasks that require high levels of metalinguistic awareness. As stated before, HL learners are better at oral tasks that minimize metalinguistic knowledge (Bowles, 2011; Montrul, 2010). High levels of metalinguistic awareness and explicit knowledge might not have been relevant for the type of assignment employed in this study: a non-academic, semi-guided and rather spontaneous written assignment in which both L2 and HL learners had to write about a topic quite familiar to 18-21 year-old college students. Therefore, the type of task might have played a role in the findings obtained, and it could be possible that this more spontaneous type of task could have tapped into more implicit knowledge, for which HL learners have been empirically shown to have an advantage over their L2 counterparts. HL learners might have also felt less intimidated to talk about a familiar subject, which could have led to a more syntactically complex, accurate, and lengthy piece of writing. It is also important to remember that with regard to accuracy, only morphosyntactic errors were taken into consideration, and not spelling or orthographical errors. The inclusion of these aspects could show a more detailed picture of a learner's writing proficiency. Additionally, previous research has shown that HLs write differently when dealing with free or with academic writing. Martinez (2007) showed that in free writing, HL learners use overt-pronouns (not very common in Spanish) less often than in academic writing. In that study the author attributed this difference to the effects of transfer, and in the case of this task, HL learners relied more on the native-like knowledge of Spanish rather than on the rhetorical traditions of the dominant language.

Even so, while the type of knowledge used by L2 and HL learners in long written assignments (rather than in oral tasks) remains an empirical question to be addressed, it would be safe to assume that an untimed composition would pose an advantage for L2 learners, especially with regards to accuracy. HL learners are notorious for deviations from standard registers in Spanish. Specifically, HL learners tend to have many deviations from Spanish formal registers when it comes to the use of the subjunctive, clitics, or tense, aspect, and mood (TAM). On the other hand, L2 learners would have been expected to have an advantage in this area, as their metalinguistic knowledge might have helped them avoid this type of mistakes. Given the present findings, it could be argued that L2 learners were not committing much attention to accuracy, as the assignment was not part of the curriculum of the class they were taking. However, as Skehan (2009) pointed out, a trade-off hypothesis would predict that attention to one area would cause lower performance in another. This could have predicted that if HLs and L2 learners had a similar written proficiency, HL learners would have outperformed their L2 peers in some areas, while the opposite would have happened in other aspects of language. For example, L2 learners' lack of attention to accuracy would have resulted in longer texts. However, results in this study show otherwise, as HL learners produced longer texts and still outperformed L2 learners in most of the measures, contradicting Skehan's hypothesis.

Another explanation for why HL learners might have outperformed L2 learners could be related to the fact that this particular population of heritage learners possess a higher explicit metalinguistic knowledge than HL participants in other studies, as they attend advanced content and language classes in Spanish, and they have been exposed to a certain amount of explicit grammatical instruction (although all the classes employ a communicative approach in which explicit grammatical instruction is reduced to a minimum). As HL participants in many previous studies were enrolled in classes of a lower level of proficiency, it is hard to establish a firm comparison with the findings at hand, but a higher proficiency level appears to be indicative of better overall results.

L2 learners, on the other hand, having acquired the language through formal instruction (none of them had studied abroad or learned the language through immersion), could have tried to approach the task with the same tools they approach other academic tasks. However, it should also be noted that despite the focus on more academic tasks at the most advanced levels, L2 learners have previously gone through more basic levels (i.e., beginners), where the type of tasks/activities employed is rather non-academic. Therefore,

the type of task, academic vs. non-academic, could play a role in the results observed, but it is unclear whether a more academic task would benefit L2 learners over HL learners.

To conclude, the proficiency level of HL learners, the type of knowledge elicited, and the type of task employed in the present study could have all played a role in the overall advantage that HL learners showed over their L2 peers.

8. Pedagogical implications

The findings of the present study have strong implications for L2 and HL teaching practitioners and program directors alike. First of all, the significantly different results obtained in all but one of the measures examined reveal that under the same type of task (untimed semi-guided writing task), HL learners performed better than their L2 counterparts. Thus, it would seem reasonable to suggest that each group might need language curricula/programs tailored to their specific needs, or at least different types of written assessments and tasks should be tailored for these students, as exposure to the same task in the present study elicited different performances. Previous research has warned about the necessity to differentiate between these two groups of learners (e.g., Acosta, 2013; Beaudrie, 2006; Chevalier, 2004) when designing language course curricula, as it is becoming gradually the norm (and not the exception) to implement HL programs alongside regular L2 programs (Bowles & Montrul, 2014; Valdés, 1997). In this study, HL learners who were at a comparable curricular stage as L2 learners, benefited from a less controlled type of task. However, as previous studies have shown (e.g., Bowles, 2011), in more controlled type of writing tasks, HL learners appear to be outperformed by their L2 peers.

One implication of these findings is that a bigger emphasis should be placed on those areas where L2 and HL learners each struggle the most. In this case, L2 learners could benefit from further practice with less controlled writing tasks of a non-academic topic. In the same way, HL learners could benefit from being engaged in extra-practice in more controlled writing tasks with a focus on grammar (Bowles, 2011; Potowski et al., 2009). Providing each group of learners with the practice necessary to improve in particular areas could potentially reduce existing differences. Finally, any pedagogical implication derived from this study should keep in mind participants' advanced proficiency level, where both groups have had several semesters of exposure to Spanish in a formal setting. This may have helped to level out prior differences in proficiency. Any curricular design adapted to HL or L2 learners' needs should be aware of the proficiency level. Finally, as Mikulski and Elola (2011) suggested, heritage courses should begin with less academic writing tasks and gradually move towards the inclusion in the course curricula of more advanced, academic tasks, once HL learners have mastered the use of other complicated structures (e.g., subjunctive, clitics) that they might need to incorporate in their writing.

9. Limitations and further research

One limitation of the present study is found in the pool of participants and the courses they were enrolled in. For HL learners, more than half of the sample was enrolled in upper-advanced (content) courses, while about two thirds of the L2 learners were enrolled at advanced (language) courses at the time of data collection. This difference in the number of participants enrolled in one or another level might have possibly benefited the HL population, as a higher percentage of them was enrolled in upper-advanced courses.

A second limitation is related to the way in which accuracy was measured. While it can be argued that all approaches to measuring accuracy have their drawbacks, in the present study the methodology employed did not account for the difference between a T-unit with one error or with more than one, and it did not distinguish between minor or severe errors. An additional limitation concerning the pool of participants is found in the variability within the heritage learners, as five of them were 1.5 generation (those who arrived in the United States at the ages of 6-11), and the remaining 13 were second generation HL learners. As in many other studies involving HL learners, their linguistic background is usually more heterogeneous than the L2 population. Also, although it was attempted to maintain the same level of proficiency in both HL and L2 participants by inquiring about language use, using self-perceived proficiency questionnaires, and enrolling only those attending advanced language courses, actual enrollment in these courses was determined by an oral proficiency examination for the heritage speakers, while more rigorous criteria for L2 participants were required. A proficiency examination prior to data collection would have been ideal, but was not possible to administer due to time constraints. An additional and final limitation resides in

the use of CAF to measure writing proficiency. For instance, we can take a closer look at the following writing excerpt produced by one of the HL participants:

> Sin los teléfonos celulares, tendríamos que esforzarnos más para completar cosas cotidianas de las cuales ya ni nos damos cuenta, como conseguir el teléfono de mi compadre para invitarlo a la carne asada o encontrar la dirección de un restaurante en un pueblo que no conozco.

Certainly, this is a highly syntactically complex and accurate paragraph, but it might fall short on a lexical analysis (i.e., vocabulary), like the use of "cosa" (thing) instead of a more appropriate word, and if this happened to be a more academic type of task, the use of "compadre" (buddy) would be incorrect for the expected register. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration that language learning and language use is much more complex than the measures of CAF are capable of accounting for, as these two lexical elements were not captured by these measures. It is important to note that this is not just a limitation affecting this study, but rather, any study that employs CAF measures to obtain an overall idea of an L2/HL learner's writing skills.

Further research could build from the present design and take different directions. First, a future study could consider HL learners' type of courses completed (language vs. content), the HL generation (first, 1.5, second, etc.) or other bio-data reported in the background questionnaire and analyze them in relation to the results obtained. Such an approach could offer the reader with a finer-grained analysis where he or she could actually see how CAF findings break down when these background characteristics are added to the equation.

As it was argued in the discussion section, the type of task used in this study could have tapped more into learners' implicit knowledge, and thus may have benefited HL learners. Further studies could add a more academic task into the design and examine whether the findings observed differ in relation to the type of task employed and the target population.

Additionally, further studies could go beyond CAF and address other linguistic components, such as lexicon or spelling errors. While previous studies have looked into these aspects of language with HL learners (e.g. Beaudrie, 2012), no study to date has examined them together with CAF. An analysis of other linguistic levels could present us with a richer perspective of the learner's overall writing proficiency.

Finally, it seems natural to want to have ratings of writing quality so as to be able to address an interesting additional question: Can we say that teachers or human raters (blinded to the HL or L2 membership of the writers) score the HL writing higher than the L2 writing, given the findings for CAF? So, a good addition to the CAF measures would be a measure of writing quality by human raters/teachers, to actually observe whether the human assessment actually supports the ratings obtained by CAF. Ideally, those human raters should not be familiar with CAF measures or with its related literature, to make the writing correction and rating more objective.

10. Conclusion

The present study addressed the issue of CAF, that is, complexity, accuracy, and fluency, comparing how two different groups of learners, heritage vs. L2, performed on a writing task. Results yielded an overall significant advantage for the HL group, as it outperformed the L2 group in two of the three measures analyzed within complexity (mean length of T-unit and subordination), as well as in accuracy and in fluency. The importance of the present findings lies in the fact that this is the first study to date to examine the issue of CAF in HL learners on a written task, thus contributing to the existing literature on the specific needs of HL learners in academic contexts. More specifically, these results suggest that at a high level of proficiency, HL learners are able to outperform L2 learners, which contradicts what previous studies have found when examining learners with lower levels of proficiency. This trend, which should be interpreted in light of the limitations detailed in the previous section, will hopefully open new paths of research for future studies that want to further investigate the issue of heritage learners, so that a more complete picture of their acquisition process can be obtained.

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Appendix A

Actividad de escritura: Los teléfonos móviles
En un estudio realizado por la empresa surcoreana Samsung se estimó que la mayoría de las personas escribe casi a diario con el teléfono móvil (o *Smartphone*), superando a la escritura a mano. Entre algunas de las conclusiones del estudio, podemos destacar las siguientes:

Datos:	Sí	No
Escribir menos a mano desde adquisición de un *Smartphone.*	75%	25%
Usar Smartphone como bloc de notas con mucha frecuencia.	Personas menores de 30 años.	Personas mayores de 30 años.
Enviar largos mensajes románticos a través del teléfono.	20%	80% (escribe a mano)
Echar de menos abrir cartas.	85%	15%

Imagina que trabajas para el periódico local, y te piden que escribas un artículo sobre los cambios que la sociedad ha experimentado desde la llegada de los teléfonos inteligentes. En este texto debes incluir lo siguiente:

- **Introducción**: incluye los datos del estudio, da contrastes.
- **Nostalgia**: Comenta sobre todo lo que creas que hemos perdido debido a la presencia de la tecnología y en especial los teléfonos móviles, puedes hablar de temas sobre la nostalgia, pero también sobre la pérdida de privacidad.
- **Advertencia**: Aquí debes opinar sobre cómo sería la vida si no tuviéramos teléfonos, y cómo crees que cambiaría tu rutina sin los *Smartphones* y la tecnología de hoy.
- **Conclusión** (el futuro): ¿Cómo crees que estos cambios seguirán evolucionando de aquí a una década o dos?

Pablo Camus, Georgetown University
pac72@georgetown.edu

EN	**Pablo Camus** is a Ph.D. candidate in applied linguistics at the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Georgetown University, USA. In that department, he also serves as Assistant Director of the Spanish Language Program advanced level. His research interests include second language acquisition, acquisition of phonology, heritage language acquisition, and second language writing. He has presented his research at internationally renowned conferences in the field of second language acquisition, such as EUROSLA and SLRF.
ES	**Pablo Camus** es doctorando de lingüística aplicada en el departamento de español y portugués y director del programa de lengua española avanzada de la Georgetown University, en los Estados Unidos. Sus intereses académicos incluyen el aprendizaje de una segunda lengua, el aprendizaje de la fonología, el aprendizaje de una lengua de herencia y la producción escrita en una segunda lengua. Ha presentado los resultados de sus investigaciones en conferencias internacionales sobre aprendizaje de segundas lenguas tales como EUROSLA y SLRF.
IT	**Pablo Camus** è dottorando di linguistica applicata presso il Dipartimento di Spagnolo e Portoghese della Georgetown University, U.S.A. È anche vicedirettore del programma di lingua spagnola avanzata dello stesso dipartimento. I suoi ambiti di ricerca includono l'apprendimento di una seconda lingua, l'apprendimento della fonologia, l'apprendimento di una lingua ereditaria e la produzione scritta in una seconda lingua. Ha presentato i risultati delle sue ricerche durante convegni di importanza internazionale dedicati all'apprendimento di una seconda lingua, come EUROSLA e SLRF.

Sergio Adrada-Rafael, Fairfield University
sadradarafael@fairfield.edu

EN	**Sergio Adrada-Rafael** is an Assistant Professor of Spanish and Linguistics at the Department of Modern Languages & Literatures at Fairfield University, USA. In that department, he also serves as the Director of the Spanish Language Program introductory and intermediate levels. His research interests encompass second language acquisition (SLA) and pedagogy, heritage language acquisition, psycholinguistics (with an emphasis on SLA), technology applied to SLA, and second language writing. He has presented his research at internationally renowned conferences in the field of second language acquisition, such as AAAL, EUROSLA, and SLRF.
ES	**Sergio Adrada-Rafael** es profesor contratado de español y lingüística en el departamento de lenguas modernas y literatura de Fairfield University, en los Estados Unidos. Además, es también el director del programa de lengua española de esa misma Universidad para los niveles inicial e intermedio. Sus intereses académicos incluyen la adquisición de segundas lenguas (SLA por sus siglas en inglés) y su pedagogía, la adquisición de lenguas de herencia, sicolingüística con énfasis en SLA, nuevas tecnologías aplicadas a SLA y escritura en una segunda lengua. Los resultados de sus investigaciones han sido presentados en conferencias internacionales del ámbito de SLA, tales como AAAL, EUROSLA y SLRF.
IT	**Sergio Adrada-Rafael** è Assistant Professor di Spagnolo e Linguistica del Dipartimento di Letterature e Lingue Moderne della Fairfield University, U.S.A. Per lo stesso dipartimento, dirige il programma linguistico di spagnolo ai livelli principiante e intermedio. I suoi interessi di ricerca ricoprono l'acquisizione della seconda lingua (SLA) e la sua didattica, l'acquisizione della lingua di origine, la psicolinguistica con enfasi sulla SLA, le tecnologie applicate alla SLA, e la scrittura nella seconda lingua. Ha presentato la sua ricerca nelle maggiori conferenze internazionali nel campo dell'acquisizione della seconda lingua, come AAAL, EUROSLA e SLRF.

"Spanglish": Bringing the academic debate into the classroom. Towards critical pedagogy in Spanish heritage instruction

LINA M. REZNICEK-PARRADO*

University of California, Davis

ABSTRACT

EN
The academic debate that seeks to categorize Spanish spoken in the United States is controversial. The North American Spanish Language Academy publication *Hablando bien se entiende la gente,* a reference guide for U.S. Spanish speakers, was the catalyst for a series of debates by academics holding one of two main stances: a) that Spanish in the United States is a universal language which should be devoid of excessive influence of English (Piña-Rosales, Covarrubias, Dumitrescu, & ANLE, 2014); and b) that Spanish in the United States is the reflection of its coexistence with English (Lynch & Potowski, 2014). While this academic conversation is important to the field, the debate has to be brought to the speakers themselves. This study presents a quantitative analysis of a judgment task completed by young heritage speakers of Spanish and a qualitative analysis of short-answer surveys. Results show that, despite participants' high reported use of "Spanglish," they vehemently reject its use in the academic context. This strong disconnect between practice and attitude raises serious concerns and has significant implications for pedagogy.

Key words: SPANISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION, SPANGLISH, CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

ES
El debate académico generado en torno a la categorización del español hablado en los Estados Unidos es controvertido. La publicación por parte de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española de *Hablando bien se entiende la gente*, una guía de consulta para los hablantes de español estadounidenses, catalizó discusiones académicas al tomar una postura dentro de las dos principales sobre la mesa: a) que el español en los Estados Unidos es una lengua universal que debe estar desprovista de la influencia excesiva del inglés (Piña-Rosales, Covarrubias, Dumitrescu, & ANLE, 2014); y b) que el español en los Estados Unidos es el reflejo de su coexistencia con el inglés (Lynch & Potowski, 2014). A pesar de la importancia de esta conversación académica, en el debate deben ser partícipes los propios hablantes. El presente estudio muestra un análisis cuantitativo de una tarea de juicio completada por hablantes jóvenes de español como lengua de herencia y un análisis cualitativo de un sondeo de respuesta breve. Los resultados muestran que, a pesar del elevado uso del spanglish del que informaron los participantes, estos rechazan vehementemente su uso en el contexto académico. Esta gran desconexión entre práctica y actitud conlleva serios planteamientos e implicaciones importantes en la práctica pedagógica.

Palabras clave: DIDÁCTICA DEL ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUA DE HERENCIA, SPANGLISH, PEDAGOGÍA CRÍTICA

IT
Il dibattito accademico che cerca di categorizzare lo spagnolo parlato negli Stati Uniti è piuttosto controverso. La pubblicazione da parte della ANLE di *Hablando bien se entiende la gente*, una guida per gli ispanofoni statunitensi, ha scatenato una serie di dibattiti tra gli accademici, che si dividono su due posizioni principali: a) lo spagnolo negli Stati Uniti è una lingua universale che dovrebbe essere priva di una influenza eccessiva dell'inglese (Piña-Rosales, Covarrubias, Dumitrescu, & ANLE, 2014); b) lo spagnolo negli Stati Uniti è il riflesso della sua coesistenza con l'inglese (Lynch & Potowski, 2014). Nonostante questo dibattito accademico sia importante, è necessario, però, che coinvolga direttamente i parlanti. Questo studio presenta quindi un'analisi quantitativa di un judgment task completato da parlanti di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria e un'analisi qualitativa di un sondaggio a risposta breve. I risultati dimostrano che, nonostante il largo uso dello "Spanglish" dichiarato dai partecipanti, questi ultimi si rifiutano categoricamente di utilizzarlo in contesto accademico. Questa grande discordanza tra pratica e atteggiamento solleva serie preoccupazioni e comporta implicazioni significative per la pedagogia.

Parole chiave: DIDATTICA DELLO SPAGNOLO COME LINGUA EREDITARIA, SPANGLISH, PEDAGOGIA CRITICA

* Contact: lreznice@ucdavis.edu

1. Background and significance
1.1. Demographic shift: Implications for education

In March 2014, the U.S. Census, along with the Pew Hispanic Center for research, announced that Latin@s now comprise the largest ethnic group in California, surpassing whites (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014). Even though they represent 39% of the population—that is, not the majority per *se*—this constitutes a significant demographic milestone, relevant for virtually all spheres of public interest statewide. Now referred to as the "majority-minority" in California, Latin@s are slowly but increasingly participating in and thereby shaping the future of policies, institutions, politics, and education in that state.

Additionally, in 2014 it was reported that more than 50 million Latin@s had been counted by the previous Census as residing in the United States, thus establishing this group as the second-largest racial or ethnic group in the country (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014a). Interestingly, one of the most salient characteristics of this fast-growing community is that Latin@s are the youngest of the major racial and ethnic groups in the US. The median age of Latin@s, 27 years, is a full decade lower than that of the United States overall (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014a).

According to the Pew Hispanic Center's 2013 National Survey of Latin@s, about 35 million Latin@s residing in the U.S. report speaking Spanish at home. About 38% say Spanish is their dominant language, compared with 25% who are English-dominant and 36% who are bilingual, (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014a). Additionally, Latin@ college enrollment reached a record high in 2012, with seven in ten (or 69%) Latin@ high school graduates enrolled in college, two percentage points higher than the rate (67%) among their non-Latin@ white counterparts (Pew Hispanic Center, 2014b). As more of these young, Spanish-speaking Latin@s are entering institutions of Higher Education, Spanish enrollments across the board are also becoming the most numerous, comprising the highest number of student enrollments among departments of language and literature nationwide. The implications of this demographic milestone for institutions of education in the country and in the state of California, in particular, are, therefore, undoubtedly relevant.

1.2. The North American Spanish Language Academy (ANLE)

The North American Spanish Language Academy (ANLE per its abbreviation in Spanish) was founded in 1973, perhaps in part due to the long-lasting and prevalent presence of Latin@s in the United States, as well as the conceptualization of their language as relevant to the community of speakers and the U.S. population at large. The youngest of 22 Spanish Academies worldwide, the ANLE is part of a network of language academies overseen by the Spanish Royal Academy, or RAE (Real Academia Española), as it is known in the Spanish-speaking world. The RAE was founded in 1713 under the reign of Felipe V with the overall objective of overseeing the standardization of the Spanish language, and the clarification of structural norms following the language spoken by "cultured speakers". Over the years, the RAE has clarified that it seeks to adapt its role based on and in response to the "unity of language within its diversity" (Real Academia Española, 2012). Consequently, its dictionaries now include americanisms and anglicisms, among other variants.

As the RAE's youngest academy, the ANLE states that one of its missions is to "foresee that, while it can be adapted based on the needs of particular speakers, the use of the [Spanish] North American variety[2] does not affect the unity and comprehension of the language within the Hispanic context" (Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua, 2014, my translation). It is essential to note that the ANLE is only the second Spanish Academy, besides the Philippine Academy of the Spanish Language, to exist in a country where Spanish is neither the language of the majority nor the language of prestige, thus representing a sociolinguistic context which makes the ANLE's mission much more complex than its statement would lead one to believe.

1.2.1. "Hablando bien se entiende la gente"

In 2010, the ANLE published the first volume of a book entitled *Hablando bien se entiende la gente*, a short collection of idiomatic expressions used by U.S. Latin@s (Piña-Rosales, Badajoz, & ANLE, 2010). The book presents a series of normative advice that would, according to the authors, enable the speaker to *hablar*

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[2] The original statement uses the word *hispanounidense* to refer to the Spanish variant used within the United States, reflecting ANLE's assumption that Spanish spoken in the United States is indeed a separate variant of the Spanish language.

bien, or "speak well" as well as a list of "incorrect" expressions, which reflect the influence of English on the Spanish language. It does so through a jocose dialogue between two characters, one who offers advice and encourages the interlocutor not to mix Spanish and English if he or she wishes to be understood. In the spring of 2014, the ANLE published a second volume of the same book (Piña-Rosales Covarrubias, Dumitrescu, & ANLE, 2014).

Not surprisingly, the publication of the ANLE's book sparked much controversy among sociolinguists. In a book review published by *Hispania*, Andrew Lynch and Kim Potowski (2014) criticized the publication for its lack of sociolinguistic methodology, challenging the ANLE's mission to foster authentic bilingualism. Among their arguments, they noted the importance of validating the words and expressions included in the book as constructions that are created by speakers not simply as a result of pedantry or lack of knowledge, but as necessary to the development of a bicultural reality, especially as it concerns the context of the US. Additionally, the authors criticized the fact that the book ignores the sociocultural reality of Spanish speakers in the US, namely, the lack of formal education in Spanish offered by most institutions of secondary and post-secondary education in the US, the hegemony of English in most public spheres within the United States, and other sociopolitical and economic challenges. In the authors' view, Spanish as it is spoken in the US must begin to be seen in a positive light, and should not be solely viewed as something that must be "corrected", especially now that language shift is happening faster than ever before.

The academic debate that Lynch and Potowski (2014) present against the ANLE's publication is certainly important to the field and to the future of Spanish in the United States. Additionally, it is the understanding of the present study that the position of speakers themselves within this debate must contribute to this important discussion and also be integrated in Heritage Language instruction. It is helpful to turn to the constructs behind Critical Language Study and Critical Pedagogy to demonstrate why it is important to include the voices of speakers themselves in this academic debate.

1.3. Critical Language Study and Critical Pedagogy: General theoretical constructs

Critical Language Study, from which Critical Pedagogy stems, brings the political nature of language to the foreground. Norman Fairclough (1989) coined the term Critical Language Study (CLS) to refer to the inevitable interrelationship between language and the social, emphasizing the fact that it is through language that power and ideologies are enacted across all spheres of society. Highlighting the fact that it is easy to underestimate the role of language within the production, maintenance and changes of power relations, one of Fairclough's main objectives is to create a critical consciousness among those who study language from any theoretical framework. Going beyond our mission as language instructors to build linguistic proficiency, the repercussions of a critical examination of language become quite relevant within our pedagogical objectives; as language teachers, ignoring the social possibilities and repercussions that are involved in our students' development would mean ignoring one of the most important contributions of our profession.

It is not challenging, either, to conceive of the ways in which this critical notion of language is relevant when developing pedagogical models for heritage language speakers, who, to a large extent, come from working-class, low-income families that have had few opportunities for education and that speak stigmatized varieties of Spanish (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014). Not including a critical approach in our pedagogy would be tantamount to depoliticizing the conceptualization of education—a depoliticization that has been challenged by many scholars who explicitly adopt a critical approach to education (Freire, 1973; Giroux, 1991, 2000; Walsh, 1991).

In describing the critical implications of education, Paulo Freire (1973) compares the notion of "adaptation" to that of "integration". He defines "integration" as the ability to not only adapt to a social system, but to make decisions and transform one's reality: "[When] a man loses his ability to make decisions and is subject to the decisions of others, when his decisions are not his anymore but are result of external prescriptions, that man is no longer integrated" (Freire, 1973, p. 3). In this sense, when heritage language students arrive in college, they must be given access to critical pedagogy as it allows them, through a process of integration, to make their own decisions throughout their development as members of society and speakers of Spanish. As Leeman (2005, p. 36) puts it when discussing Critical Pedagogy among Spanish heritage language speaker in particular,

> [I]n order to help students critically understand their own lives and worlds, develop agency in making their own language choices, and participate in the building of a more democratic society, educators must make the relationship between language and sociopolitical issues

explicit, provide opportunities for students to examine and interrogate dominant linguistic practices and hierarchies, and encourage students to explore the ways language can be used to perform a wide range of social functions and identity work.

The importance of incorporating Critical Pedagogy in diverse and multilingual classrooms has been called for by a myriad of researchers in the area of language education. In a review of the current state of teacher-oriented literature, Palmer and Martínez (2013) contend that ignoring the politics of language diverts attention from some of the more pressing challenges of educating bilingual or multilingual learners, "challenges that lie not in the learners themselves but in the language ideologies and normative discourses that permeate classrooms, schools, and the surrounding society" (p. 273). Guadalupe Valdés and colleagues bring to light the ways in which linguistic ideologies can permeate even in contexts in which non-hegemonic practices are discouraged, such as departments of Spanish in higher education (Valdés, González, García, & Márquez, 2003), highlighting the importance of making these ideologies explicit in the classroom. In a recent piece, Martínez (forthcoming) stresses the importance of addressing the cultural and social issues that go beyond individual learners and individual proficiencies if Heritage Language instruction wishes to inspire social change beyond the classroom (for more work on critical pedagogy in the Spanish heritage language context see Colombi, 2015; Leeman, Rabin & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Martínez, 2003; Villa, 1996, 2002).

Taking into consideration the highly politicized academic debate triggered by the ANLE publication, the arguments against this publication presented by Potowski and Lynch, and the relevance of Critical Pedagogy in order to make this markedly controversial, sociopolitical conversation explicit in the classroom, this study was conceived in order to gain a deeper understanding of the linguistic perceptions, attitudes and judgments that speakers hold around the use of Spanish and English interchangeably. Additionally, this study aims to consider the pedagogical implications of students' perceptions and attitudes.

2. The study

This study examines heritage language speakers' general perceptions and attitudes about the overall system of "Spanglish" as well as specific judgments of particular forms of U.S. Spanish. "Spanglish" is often referred to as the practice of "code-mixing" or "code-switching" between Spanish and English and has been studied extensively by researchers who agree that it is a language practice that bilingual Latin@ students use in complex ways in order to make meaning (Gumperz, 1982; Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997). Besides code-switching, the term "Spanglish" has also been used to refer to related language contact phenomena, such as the use of linguistics calques, borrowings and linguistic extensions (Potowski, 2011). The use of the term "Spanglish" continues to be debated, with some researchers advocating for using the term in a positive light (Zentella, 1997) and others rejecting the use of the term, holding that it inaccurately and even pejoratively refers to the varieties of Spanish spoken in the United States (Lipski, 2008; Otheguy & Stern, 2010).

Even though there continues to be controversy around what "Spanglish" is and how it should be regarded in the field, for the purposes of this paper Potowski's (2011) definition was adopted, whereby this phenomenon is marked by three primary language contact characteristics: code-switching, lexical borrowings, and grammatical extensions (also known as calques).

The goal of the study is to shed light on how actual speakers' attitudes fit into the larger academic debate currently taking place on Spanish as it is spoken in the United States and their actual linguistic uses of Spanish and English. It also examines students' attitudes when considering these same forms of U.S. Spanish within the academic context (i.e., in the classroom). In order to do so, the study was carried out among speakers who are members of an academic community in a large northern California university. This campus community has a diverse curriculum within its Spanish Department, including a three-level program in Spanish designed exclusively for U.S. Spanish heritage speakers. This program has an important history and today attracts a significant amount of undergraduate students who are heritage speakers of Spanish and who wish to develop academic skills in their native tongue. The program offers courses specifically designed for over 100 heritage speakers of Spanish at the intermediate and advanced levels. Over 50% of undergraduate students who identify Spanish as their major at this institution are U.S. Latin@s and almost all of them enroll in the Native Speakers track before taking more advanced linguistics or literature courses (see Blake & Colombi, 2013, for more statistical information).

Twelve students between the ages of 16 and 18 years who were enrolled in the Native Speakers Program participated in this study. After being authorized by the program director as well as by class

instructors, class visits were completed to recruit participants and a sign-up sheet was distributed. The Principal Investigator contacted students via e-mail at a later date with information on how to participate in the study.

2.1. Study methods

The methods for the present study are designed in such a way that data could be analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. In the first part of the study, participants completed a brief open-ended questionnaire administered on-line through Google Forms. Here, information on the linguistic background of the participant was collected, including information such as the city in which the participant spent most of their childhood years, home language use, language preferences, perceived language use, and attitudes towards the use of Spanish and English interchangeably. Additionally, participants were asked to comment on how they believe the use of Spanish and English interchangeably should be labeled in order to, in part, echo the famous 2006 debate of the label "Spanglish" by Ana Celia Zentella and Ricardo Otheguy[3].

Lastly, speakers were asked to comment on the linguistic behavior of their peers as well as of their Spanish instructors during the time in which they were enrolled in a Spanish course for Native Speakers, and questions on the validity of said behavior followed[4].

In the second part of the study, participants completed a brief judgment task also on a Google Form format in which they rated judgment tokens of lexical items found in U.S. Spanish based on 3 categories: use of English words (lexical borrowing), lexical extensions, and grammatical extensions (calques). Participants were asked to note whether they used the particular token when speaking informally, whether they would consider saying it, whether they considered it acceptable for others to say the token, or whether they considered the token to be incorrect. Ten tokens for each category were included, including ten distractors of tokens showing no influence of English[5].

2.2. Results and analysis
2.2.1. Qualitative data (first set): Vitality of the Spanish language

Content analysis was performed for data collected through the questionnaire. In this first qualitative analysis set, the high vitality of Spanish among the study's participants is demonstrated:
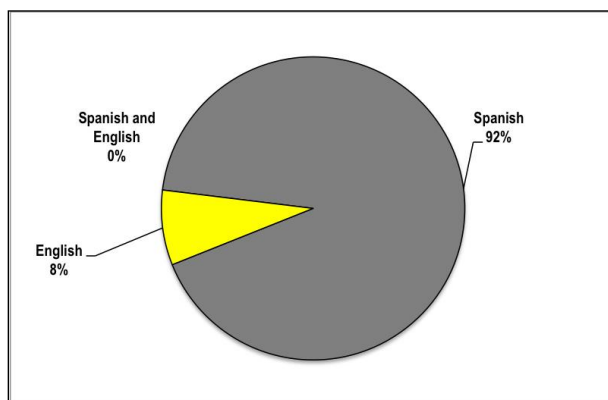
Figure 1. Answers to the question: "Which language did you speak first, Spanish or English?"

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[3] In February of 2006 at a national conference on Spanish in the United States in Coral Gables, FL, linguists Zentella and Otheguy debated whether the Spanish spoken by heritage speakers should be referred to as "Spanglish" or not. Zentella defended the use of the term and advocated for the validation and embracing of Spanglish, arguing that it is an opportunity for young U.S. Spanish speakers to perform an identity widely misunderstood by the greater U.S. community. Otheguy, on the other hand, rejected the term "Spanglish" and advocated for its eradication, arguing that the Spanish spoken in the United States is nothing more than a popular variety of the language, just as there is a popular variety of Mexican Spanish, Colombian Spanish, etc.; and that using the term is problematic in that it is perceived very negatively by non-speakers and speakers alike as well as having a negative connotation that indexes a certain lack of knowledge of the general system of Spanish (when speakers say "I don't speak Spanish, I speak Spanglish", for example).

[4] To see a complete version of the survey, please refer to Appendix A.

[5] For a complete version of the judgment task, please refer to Appendix B.

Figure 2. Answers to the question: "Do you speak Spanish at home with your parents, siblings or any other member of your family?"

These figures show that all participants are in very close contact with Spanish through their personal networks throughout childhood and at home. All participants except for one report Spanish as being their first language, and all participants report actively speaking Spanish at home with parents and siblings. Spanish, then, is very much salient in the lives of the great majority of these young participants. The next two survey questions, "Do you sometimes use Spanish and English interchangeably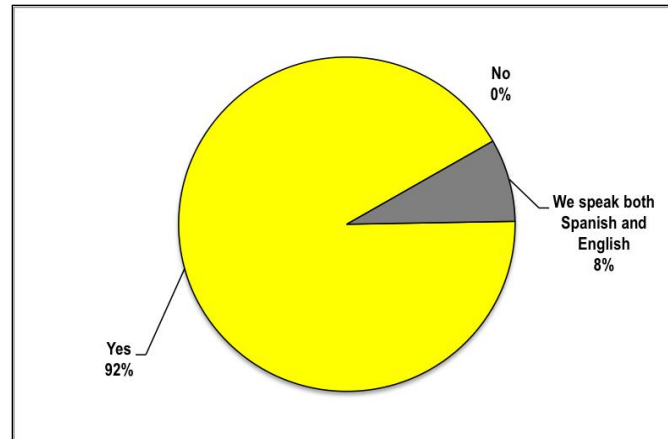?" and "Do you know other people who use Spanish and English interchangeably?" illustrate even more striking results, as all participants (100%) reported practicing forms of Spanish and English interchangeably as well as knowing at least another person who actively engages in the linguistic phenomena used here to describe "Spanglish".

In order to inquire further into participants' perceptions and attitudes towards the use of "Spanglish," qualitative analysis was completed through coding for overall themes around the topic of what "hearing another person use Spanish and English interchangeably makes you feel". After initial, axial and selective coding, three overall themes were extracted from the data: negative attitudes towards "Spanglish," positive attitudes towards "Spanglish," and feelings of identification with the use of "Spanglish." Responses that included such notions as "disappointment," "annoyance," "bother," and "incorrectness" were coded as negative attitudes. Notions such as "knowledge of both Spanish and English," "enjoyment," and "correctness" were coded as positive attitudes. Lastly, responses that included any indication of the participant connecting with the practice of using "Spanglish" through identification of personal practice were included in the third category, "feelings of identification with the use of "Spanglish."

Table 1
Students' responses to: "Explain what hearing another person use Spanish and English interchangeable makes you feel."

Negative attitudes towards "Spanglish"	36.9% (n=7)
Positive attitudes towards "Spanglish"	26.3% (n=5)
Feelings of identification with the use of "Spanglish"	42.1% (n=8)

The above table shows an interesting result, as more participants expressed negative attitudes towards the practice of using Spanish and English interchangeably than those who expressed positive attitudes. This is striking, given the high vitality of Spanish reported in the first part of the survey. When taking a deeper look at the data, however, and especially at the instances coded as "negative attitudes towards "Spanglish", an interesting subtheme emerged. Out of the 6 instances of "negative attitudes" coded, 4 of them included specific examples of how these attitudes are reflected on speakers, given the fact that they themselves take part in the practice of using Spanish and English interchangeably. In other words, participants who negatively judged using "Spanglish" also mentioned that they themselves use this practice, thus imposing this negative judgment on themselves. Some examples of this include the following instances:

"No es una forma correcta de expresarnos . . . (pero) yo también lo hago muchas veces"
(It is not a correct way of communicating . . . (but) I also do it many times)

"Yo pienso que es correcto pero es mejor tratar de hablar el lenguaje correcto"
(I think it is correct but it is best to try and speak correctly)

". . .me molesta que la persona no pueda hablar con fluidez en una sola lengua (y en este disgusto me incluyo a mí también"
(. . . it bothers me that the person cannot speak fluently in one language (and I include myself in that annoyance)

This first set of qualitative analysis shows the emergence of an interesting paradox among participants, in which their attitudes and perceptions about a practice in which they heavily engage (namely, using Spanish and English interchangeably) are deemed unacceptable, not by an outsider, but by participants themselves. This shows the powerful potential of outside negative linguistic ideologies such as those presented by ANLE of permeating individuals' perceptions of their own language repertoires, eventually becoming internalized and stated as truth.

2.2.2. Quantitative data: "Spanglish" judgment task

In order to take a look at participants' perceived use of "Spanglish" using a quantitative lens for comparison, a grammatical judgment task was administered. Participants were asked to judge 40 tokens that included three of the phenomena found in "Spanglish" as per Potowski's definition, as well as a distractor category of no use of English, and rate it based on whether they considered the token correct and could imagine saying it, or not, on a scale from 1 (the highest score in terms of acceptability), to 4. This task was developed in order to establish which of these language contact phenomena was most accepted or rejected and least accepted or rejected by speakers (as represented by the participants in this study). Below is a sample of the judgment task prompt followed by examples for each category included in the task as well as the means and standard deviations of acceptability ratings given across all participants for each category— lexical borrowing, lexical extensions, calques, and no use of English:

Table 2
Sample of grammaticality judgment task and examples of tokens

For this brief task, please carefully read each sentence per section. Do you consider it as correct?
For each sentence, please rate it from 1 to 4 according to the following judgment scale:

1 I would say this when speaking informally with my friends or family
2 I'm not sure if I would say this or not
3 I wouldn't say this, but if someone else says it, I would think it's fine
4 I would never say this, and if someone else said it, I think it is incorrect

Examples of tokens per category:

Lexical borrowing: ¿Tienes un grill para cocinar la carne?
Lexical extension: En el negocio de mi tía se alteran pantalones
Grammatical extension or calque: Mañana van a inspectar el sistema de aire acondicionado
No use of English: ¿Te dieron una multa por exceso de velocidad?

Table 3
Means and standard deviations for all categories

Category	Mean	SD	Number of cases
Lexical borrowing	2.058	0.614	120
Lexical extension	2.491	0.59	120
Calques	2.475	0.702	120
No use of English	1.57	0.479	120

After initial analysis and exploration of the data, the means and standard deviations of all categories show no significant outliers. The *"No use of English"* category, as expected, shows the lowest mean and standard deviation, acting as a control category. Additionally, in order to compare the significance of rejection/acceptance of each category, a one-way ANOVA statistical test was completed, including a null hypothesis test with alpha = .05.

Table 4

Results of one-way ANOVA for all judgment task categories

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F
Between groups	68.523	3	22.841	63.100
Within groups (error)	172.303	476	0.362	
Total	240.827	479		

Note: p = 0.014, p≤ 0.5

This quantitative analysis shows that all categories of "Spanglish" were mostly accepted across all participants given the fact that the means for lexical borrowing, lexical extension, and calques stayed closest to the highest scores on the judgment task (between 1 and below 3). No category showed a consistent rejection pattern or average score of three or above. Furthermore, and despite this study's small sample limitation, the results on Table 4 show that judgment differences between categories are statistically significant, demonstrating that participants in this sample do significantly see themselves using each and every one of these language contact phenomena as implied by their predominantly high scores for tokens of all categories (excluding the "No use of English" category). This analysis, therefore, shows that these particular participants are certainly engaging with these phenomena at different levels in significant ways.

2.2.3. Qualitative data (second set): Attitudes in the classroom

As a final piece to the analysis, a second qualitative component was completed based on the information gathered with the same group of participants through the same questionnaire. This time, however, survey questions revolved around what happens inside of the classroom, specifically the Spanish for Heritage Speakers classroom. Participants were asked to provide their observations about their teachers' language use (whether instructors engaged or not in using Spanish and English interchangeably when teaching), as well as their personal opinions about what instructors should be using when teaching. For both questions ("What did your teacher speak when teaching the Spanish for Heritage Speakers class?" and "What should your instructor use and/or should s/he use Spanish and English interchangeably?") two overall themes emerged: *only Spanish,* and *Spanish and English.*

Table 5

Students' response on instructor's use of HL

Reported language use	Percentage
Spanish and English	62%
Only Spanish	38%

Table 6

Participants' opinions on instructor's language use

Opinions on language use	Percentage
Spanish and English	54%
Only Spanish	46%

Given the quantitative analysis in section 2.2.2 showing high engagement by participants in using "Spanglish", the initial qualitative results in this second set, which show greater percentages for the use of

Spanish and English interchangeably within the classroom, are not surprising. However, the subthemes with the highest percentages that emerged within these themes show yet another interesting paradox: 3 out of the 7 participants who reported that both Spanish and English were used in class also report unsolicited negative judgments towards this practice. Additionally, 4 out of the 7 participants who reported that instructors should use Spanish and English in the HL classrooms provide unsolicited specifications that this should only happen when the instructor wishes to clarify the material or make sure there is no confusion among students. Some examples of the first subtheme which illustrate unsolicited negative judgments based on the question "What did your instructor use in the Spanish HL class?" are as follows:

"(Mi instructor) muy raramente (utilizaba el español y el inglés a la misma vez) lo cual veo como algo positivo porque no es una forma formal de hablar"
(My instructor) rarely (used Spanish and English interchangeably) which I consider to be positive because it is not a formal way of speaking.

"Mi maestro siempre utilizó el español; solo usaba inglés para dar anuncios. Me gustó porque era clase de español y es lo que se debe de usar"
(My instructor always used Spanish; he only used English to make announcements. I liked it because that's the way it should be).

Some examples of the second subtheme which illustrate examples of unsolicited specifications of when to use Spanish and English interchangeably based on the question "What should your instructor use in class? Should s/he use Spanish and English interchangeably?" are as follows:

"(El instructor debe utilizar español e inglés) pero solo cuando haya dudas en clase"
(The instructor should only use Spanish and English when students have further questions)

"(El instructor debe utilizar español e inglés) cuando un estudiante no entiende las instrucciones en español"
(The instructor should only use Spanish and English when a student doesn't understand instructions in Spanish).

As these examples show, the majority of participants who report both that instructors used Spanish and English interchangeably as well as that instructors should use this same practice, reported unsolicited negative judgments towards the practice of using "Spanglish" as well as very specific limitations to where this practice fits within the classroom.

The quantitative analysis explained in section 2.2.2 demonstrates with statistical significance that participants accept and actively interact with the practice of using Spanish and English interchangeably. This interaction, along with the first qualitative data set analysis, show that Spanish has very high vitality among this group, and that "Spanglish" is a practice very much relevant to participants themselves and their social networks. However, in light of participants' attitudes and perceptions and the second qualitative data set analysis above, participants seem to agree that within the academic context, the language practices in which they themselves report engaging, are, in great part, unacceptable. This explicit paradox emerging from the overall analysis here presented seems to coincide in part with the academic debate presented in section 1.2.1. Participants appear to place themselves at both ends of the debate: in terms of *practice*, they seem to agree with Potowski and Lynch (2014) that "Spanglish" is a valid component that is very much present within their linguistic repertoire. In terms of *attitude*, however, they seem to agree with the publication of the ANLE, which rejects and limits the practice of "Spanglish" and negatively judges its use. This paradox raises serious concerns and has significant implications for pedagogy—namely, the importance of nurturing a critical, context-rich framework in our classrooms where students can engage in a serious and committed dialogue about ideologies, power and social justice related to language (Leeman, 2005) and aimed towards social positive change, in the same way academics do. It is for this reason that a call for Critical Pedagogy is ever so pressing—pedagogy that can create space for students' integration into their own academic development through a critical view of their own linguistic practices, which undoubtedly implies a conversation about power relations, power struggle and linguistic ideologies. It is the belief of all advocates of Critical Pedagogy that only through the incorporation of an explicit critical view of language in the classroom that education can

move from adaptation towards integration, in this case of bilingual individuals such as heritage speakers of Spanish.

3. Conclusion: Implications for pedagogy

The rich vitality of Spanish among the young heritage speakers that participated in the present study goes absolutely unquestioned in view of the data here presented. Unsurprisingly, given the linguistic context of the US, these young speakers of Spanish report actively engaging in language contact phenomena, and their interchangeable use of English and Spanish undoubtedly occupies an important place in their identity as language users. It is therefore striking to find such a strong disconnect between their practices and attitudes, and their blunt negative judgments about practices in which they themselves report engaging. This disconnect raises important concerns about the pedagogical implications of this paradox, including the ways in which speakers' internalized ideologies seem to be going unquestioned in the classroom and the negative repercussions of this in terms of students' linguistic performance, identity, and self-value.

The paradox here evident is ultimately a political issue about language. The negative judgments that participants express about their own linguistic practices may be a sign of linguistic insecurity, which can be the product of linguistic ideologies that they may have been exposed to and internalized, especially in the academic context or by outsiders, such as the ANLE. In this way, the results of this study call for the inclusion of Critical Pedagogy, which seeks to bring the political to the classroom in order to nurture serious dialogue about the political implications of language, especially as it concerns speakers themselves. When pedagogy is decontextualized from its sociopolitical context, the social influences and cultural diversity that surround language use risk being completely lost (Canagarajah, 2002).

The participants of this study, all Spanish heritage speakers themselves, seem to have internalized a perspective that views difference as "deficit" or "estrangement" instead of a resource (Canagarajah, 2002). However,

> Multilingual students do—and can—use their background as a stepping-stone to master academic discourses. Their values can function as a source of strength in their writing experience, enabling them to transfer many skills from their traditions of vernacular communication. (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 13)

There is no doubt that Spanish, just as any other language, is the reflection of lexical, grammatical and discursive conventions native to a vast variety of communities and, as such, involves a conversation about diversity and power. How then are we as instructors motivating our students to develop a view of Spanish as a dynamic system that is consistently shifting as new meanings emerge within the people who speak it? How are we motivating our students to engage in the highly political conversation that involves the question of who speaks a hybrid version of a language, and who does not? Much has been studied in terms of the written and oral proficiencies of our students. However, little attention has been given to the larger political context of Spanish in the US, as illustrated by the academic debate on "Spanglish", and especially to the ways in which incorporating political linguistic debates in the classroom can benefit our student's own critical thinking about their language use. Indeed, it is time to bring the political into the classroom; it is time to bring the academic debate about Spanish in the US to Spanish speakers in the US themselves.

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Appendix A

PARTICIPANT SURVEY

1. ¿Qué idioma hablaste primero, el español o el inglés?
   a. Español
   b. Inglés
   c. Los dos

2. Si hablaste español primero, ¿qué edad tenías cuando empezaste a hablar inglés?
   a. Entre 1 y 6 meses
   b. Entre 7 y 12 meses
   c. Entre 1 y 3 años
   d. Entre 4 y 10 años
   e. Entre 11 y 14 años
   f. Entre 15 y 20 años
   g. Más de 20 años
   h. N/A

3. Si hablaste inglés primero, ¿qué edad tenías cuando empezaste a hablar español?
   a. Entre 1 y 6 meses
   b. Entre 6 y 12 meses
   c. Entre 1 y 3 años
   d. Entre 4 y 10 años
   e. Entre 10 y 14 años
   f. Entre 15 y 20 años
   g. Más de 20 años
   h. N/A

4. ¿En qué ciudad y estado pasaste la mayor parte de tu niñez?

5. En tu casa con tus padres, hermanos u otro miembro de tu familia, ¿hablas español?
   a. Sí
   b. No
   c. Se habla tanto español como inglés

6. ¿Qué idioma te gusta hablar más, el español o el inglés?
   a. Español
   b. Inglés
   c. Me da igual hablar los dos

7. Si te gusta hablar más el español, el inglés o te da igual hablar los dos, ¿por qué?

8. ¿A veces utilizas el español y el inglés a la misma vez?
   a. Sí
   b. No
   c. No estoy segura/o

9. Por ejemplo, ¿tú dirías lo siguiente?: *'I can't porque tengo que trabajar tonight'*
   a. Sí
   b. No
   c. No estoy segura/a

10. ¿Tú dirías lo siguiente?: *'Fue un choque para ella que yo ganara el concurso'*
    a. Sí
    b. No
    c. No estoy seguro/a

11. ¿Conoces a otras personas que utilizan el español y el inglés a la misma vez? Es decir, en una misma conversación o en una misma frase, con la misma persona, utilizando expresiones en español que vienen del inglés, etc.?
    a. Sí
    b. No
    c. No estoy seguro/a

12. Explica qué te hace sentir o pensar cuando escuchas a otras personas utilizar el español y el inglés a la misma vez. Algunas cosas que puedes mencionar son: si te gusta o no, si piensas que es correcto o no, si te hace pensar algo sobre esa persona, si te identificas con esa persona o no, etc.

13. ¿Cómo se le debería llamar a eso de utilizar el español y el inglés a la misma vez? ¿Hay un nombre en específico con el cual te refieres a esto?

14. Cuando estuviste en la clase de español para hablantes nativos, ¿tu maestra o maestro utilizaba el español y el inglés a la misma vez? Cualquier que sea tu respuesta, explica tu opinión sobre el idioma o los idiomas que utilizaba tu maestra o maestro en clase.

15. En tu opinión, ¿los maestros y maestras de español deberían utilizar el español y el inglés a la misma vez cuando están enseñando? ¿Por qué sí o por qué no?

16. Por último, menciona específicamente tus razones para toma clases de español en la universidad. ¿Cuál es el objetivo? ¿Para qué tomar una clase de español? Por favor menciona tantos detalles como puedas.

Appendix B

El español en California

Para esta pequeña prueba, lee con atención la frase que se presenta en cada sección. ¿Te parece que es una frase correcta? Para cada oración, por favor marca el número del 1 al 4 que se acerque más a lo que te hace pensar cuando la lees en voz alta según la siguiente escala:

1   *Yo diría esto cuando estoy hablando informalmente con mis amigos o familia*
2   *No estoy seguro/a si diría esto o no*
3   *Yo no lo diría, pero si alguien lo dice, me parece muy bien*
4   *Nunca diría esto, y si alguien más lo dice me parece que está incorrecto*

OJO: Intenta no pasar mucho tiempo en cada oración. No compares con otras frases que se parezcan a la que estás leyendo, y no pienses en lo que "deberías" decir, si no en lo que dirías en realidad.

_____ 1. "¿Cuál es tu background?"

_____ 2. "Mañana van a inspeccionar el sistema de aire acondicionado en mi casa, porque se dañó"

_____ 3. "La operación militar necesita continuamente de backups"

_____ 4. "Las escaleras mecánicas no están funcionando"

_____ 5. "El fútbol es el juego nacional de muchos países"

_____ 6. "No creo que llegue en tiempo, pero espérame de todas maneras"

_____ 7. "¿Quieres venir a un barbecue conmigo este fin de semana?"

_____ 8. "¿Me podrías sustituir hoy en el trabajo? No puedo ir, estoy enfermo"

_____ 9. "Ella también actuó en la obra de teatro, pero tenía un papel menor"

_____ 10. "No estoy relacionada con ella, no es mi hermana"

_____ 11. "El parqueo se limita a los residentes"

_____ 12. "El mouse sirve para controlar el cursor"

_____ 13. "Presentó su resignación ayer"

_____ 14. "Hay estudiantes que faltan mucho a clase"

_____ 15. "Si no hago bien en mi examen, me van a regañar en mi casa"

_____ 16. "¡Ojalá que tengas un bonito día de Thanksgiving!"

_____ 17. "¡Está lleno de prejuicios! ¡No tolera que nadie piense distinto a él! ¿Sabes qué? ¡Es un bigote!"

_____ 18. "La populación de Estados Unidos está creciendo cada vez más"

_____ 19. "¿Tienes hermanos que van al day care?"

_____ 20. En tu primer año de universidad, ¿viviste en la residencia estudiantil?

_____ 21. "Después de trabajar tanto, pienso retirarme a los sesenta años"

_____ 22. "Me recuerdo de la última vez que fui a Los Ángeles. . ."

_____ 23. "El poster dice que el hotel queda a tres millas de aquí"

_____ 24. ¡Hagamos un trato!

_____ 25. "Mi tío cuenta muchos chistes; es muy humorístico"

_____ 26. "Este mes casi no tengo dinero. Debo pagar todos mis biles a tiempo"

_____ 27. "¿Tienes un grill para cocinar la carne?"

_____ 28. "Las universidades generalmente proporcionan el expediente académico de los estudiantes sin ningún costo"

_____ 29. "Mi mamá me entró a la escuela cuando yo estaba muy joven"

_____ 30. "Si necesitas comprar un carro, yo conozco un díler buenísimo"

_____ 31. "En el negocio de sastrería de mi tía se alteran pantalones"

_____ 32. "¿Te dieron una multa por exceso de velocidad?"

_____ 33. "Después de graduarme de la universidad, recibí muchos complimentos de mis profesores por mi buen trabajo"

_____ 34. "¿Quieres ir al centro comercial este fin de semana?"

_____ 35. "Las posibilidades de que tengamos éxito son del fifty-fifty"

_____ 36. "No sé qué hacer. Necesito que me avises sobre lo que debo hacer"

_____ 37. "Mi tío trabaja en una agencia de seguros"

_____ 38. "Mis padres quieren ampliar su casa y necesitan a un buen contractor, ¿conoces alguno?"

_____ 39. "Tomamos un ferry a una de las islas"

_____ 40. "Si quieres, puedes descargar música de mi iPod. Tengo mucha."

Lina M. Reznicek-Parrado, University of California, Davis
lreznice@ucdavis.edu

EN	**Lina M. Reznicek-Parrado** is Associate Instructor and Spanish Linguistics PhD student at the University of California, Davis, where she teaches courses in Spanish writing development and Spanish for Heritage Speakers. Her research interests center mainly on issues in Heritage Language Pedagogy, literacy in Spanish as a Heritage Language, Critical Pedagogy, and other topics in applied sociolinguistics. Her work has appeared in other on-line journals such as *The Arizona Working Papers in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching* (SLAT) and *Normas. Revista de estudios lingüísticos hispánicos.*
ES	**Lina M. Reznicek-Parrado** es profesora asociada y doctoranda en Lingüística Española en la Universidad de California, Davis, donde imparte cursos de expresión escrita en español y de español como lengua de herencia. Sus intereses investigadores giran principalmente en torno a la pedagogía de las lenguas de herencia, la alfabetización en español como lengua de herencia, la pedagogía crítica y otros temas de sociolingüística aplicada. Sus trabajos han sido publicados en otras revistas electrónicas como The Arizona Working Papers in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching (SLAT) y Normas. Revista de estudios lingüísticos hispánicos**.**
IT	**Lina M. Reznicek-Parrado** è docente associata e dottoranda di linguistica spagnola presso la University of California, Davis, in cui tiene corsi di *Sviluppo della produzione scritta* in lingua spagnola e *Spagnolo per parlanti ereditari.* I suoi interessi di ricerca si concentrano principalmente sui problemi riguardanti la pedagogia della lingua ereditaria, l'alfabetizzazione dello spagnolo come lingua ereditaria, la pedagogia critica e altri temi legati alla sociolinguistica applicata. I suoi lavori sono apparsi in altre riviste online come *The Arizona Working Papers in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching* (SLAT) e *Normas. Revista de estudios lingüísticos hispánicos.*

Identidades gramaticales: perspectivas estudiantiles hacia el aprendizaje y uso de gramática en una clase de SHL

Molly Perara-Lunde[*a], **Fernando Melero-García**[b]

[a]University of New Mexico
[b]Indiana University

ABSTRACT

ES Como complementación a estudios previos que abordan las perspectivas y actitudes de estudiantes (Ducar, 2008), en este estudio se pone de manifiesto la voz de los estudiantes de español como lengua de herencia con el propósito de mejorar la instrucción de gramática. Las preguntas que han guiado esta investigación son: 1) ¿Cómo conceptualizan la gramática? 2) ¿Cuáles son las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia el aprendizaje de gramática? y 3) ¿Qué registros o dialectos se deben usar en el salón de clase, según los estudiantes? Se llevaron a cabo entrevistas con estudiantes en una clase de español como lengua de herencia de nivel intermedio para explorar temas relacionados con la gramática, el uso de diferentes registros y percepciones sobre el programa de SHL en general. Los comentarios de los participantes revelan una actitud positiva hacia el aprendizaje de la gramática y un entendimiento sofisticado de la variación sociolingüística, lo cual tiene implicaciones para futuras investigaciones y la enseñanza de gramática.

Palabras clave: ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUA DE HERENCIA, ACTITUDES LINGÜÍSTICAS, ENSEÑANZA DE GRAMÁTICA, ESPAÑOL ACADÉMICO, SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA.

EN Serving as a complement to previous studies that deal with student perspectives and attitudes (Ducar, 2008), this study highlights the voices of students of Spanish as a Heritage Language with the purpose of improving grammar instruction. The guiding questions of the study concern: 1) How students conceptualize grammar? 2) What are students' attitudes towards learning grammar? and 3) Which registers or dialects should be used in the classroom according to students? Interviews were carried out with students in an intermediate level Spanish as a Heritage Language class in order to explore grammar related themes, the use of different registers, and perceptions about the SHL program in general. The comments of the participants revealed positive attitudes towards learning grammar and a sophisticated understanding of sociolinguistic variation, which has implications for future studies as well as grammar teaching.

Key words: SPANISH AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE, LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES, TEACHING GRAMMAR, ACADEMIC SPANISH, SOCIOLINGUISTICS.

IT L'obiettivo di questo studio, complementare a precedenti indagini che affrontano i punti di vista e l'atteggiamento degli studenti (Ducar, 2008), è redere note le opinioni degli studenti di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria allo scopo di migliorare l'insegnamento della grammatica. I quesiti che hanno guidato la ricerca sono: 1) Com'è concepita la grammatica dagli studenti? 2) Come si pongono gli studenti rispetto allo studio della grammatica? 3) Quali registri e varietà dovrebbero essere usati in aula secondo gli studenti? Le domande sono state poste agli studenti di una classe di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria (SHL) di livello intermedio e esplorano argomenti relativi alla grammatica, all'uso dei diversi registri e alle impressioni sul programma di SHL in generale. I commenti dei partecipanti rivelano un atteggiamento positivo verso l'apprendimento della grammatica e una comprensione sofisticata della variazione sociolinguistica, con conseguenti implicazioni sulle future ricerche e sull'insegnamento della grammatica.

Parole chiave: SPAGNOLO COME LINGUA EREDITARIA, ATTEGGIAMENTI LINGUISTICI, INSEGNAMENTO DELLA GRAMMATICA, SPAGNOLO ACCADEMICO, SOCIOLINGUISTICA.

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[*] Contacto: mlunde@unm.edu

1. Introducción

Desde los años 1980 y 1990, debido al aumento de estudiantes hispanos matriculados en clases universitarias de español, se ha implementado un número creciente de programas de Español como Lengua de Herencia (de ahora en adelante SHL por sus siglas en inglés, *Spanish as a Heritage Language*). Estos programas tienen como propósitos principales el mantenimiento y revitalización de la lengua española y, a su vez, la adquisición de destrezas literarias. Aunque el mantenimiento de la lengua incluye la preservación y fortalecimiento de variedades comunitarias, estudios recientes indican que la mayoría de los programas de SHL se enfocan más en las destrezas literarias y variedades formales del español, posiblemente relegando dichas variedades comunitarias a usos fuera del aula (Beaudrie, 2012). La estricta y única enseñanza de un registro formal no solamente limita las oportunidades de comunicación con familiares, sino que también perpetúa una ideología prescriptiva entre estudiantes que a menudo traen a clase variedades no estándares. Esto ocasiona un debilitamiento de la autoestima de los estudiantes, que causa incomodidad a la hora de usar la lengua en clase o, en casos más graves, el abandono de la lengua completamente. En un estudio llevado a cabo por Krashen (1998) se entrevistó a hablantes de español como lengua de herencia matriculados en una clase de educación de posgrado; todos habían tomado clases de español en nivel universitario. En dicho estudio se estipula que las críticas y actitudes negativas que algunos profesores universitarios albergan hacia el habla de los hablantes de herencia causan el abandono de la lengua por parte de algunos estudiantes: "The most intimidating and painful experiences I have had... while attempting to learn Spanish have been dealt me by native Spanish speaking instructors... at the university" (p. 45) ["*Las experiencias más intimidantes y dolorosas que he tenido... cuando trataba de aprender español me llegaron de instructores hispanohablantes nativos... en la universidad*" –traducción nuestra]. Para que los programas de SHL puedan revitalizar, mantener y fortalecer la lengua española y sus variaciones, en primer lugar se deben comprender las experiencias y realidades lingüísticas de los estudiantes matriculados en dichos programas.

El presente estudio tiene un propósito doble: uno más global y otro más específico. Por un lado, la investigación que se presenta en este artículo es parte de un estudio colaborativo mayor llevado a cabo por un grupo de investigadores en la Universidad de Nuevo México denominado *La Perspectiva Estudiantil*. Como complementación a estudios previos centrados en la perspectiva estudiantil (Ducar, 2008), el objetivo de este proyecto colaborativo consiste en dar voz a los estudiantes del programa SHL en la Universidad de Nuevo México, para así poder analizar y dar cuenta de sus actitudes lingüísticas y finalmente ofrecer un tipo de enseñanza que se ajuste a sus necesidades. Específicamente, en esta parte del estudio se exploran las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia la gramática y cómo dichas actitudes afectan al aprendizaje y la autoestima de los estudiantes. Como dice Beaudrie (2012):

> Because what researchers and educators believe to be most important may not always coincide with what the students expect and need, students voices must be incorporated into the design of SHL programs. A successful SHL program first and foremost, needs to meet the needs of the students it is intended to serve. (p. 214)
>
> [Porque lo que los investigadores y educadores consideran más importante puede que no siempre coincida con lo que los estudiantes esperan y necesitan. Deben incorporarse las voces de los estudiantes en el diseño de los programas de SHL. Primero y ante todo, un buen programa de SHL debe satisfacer las necesidades de los estudiantes a los que pretende servir. –traducción nuestra]

Teniendo esto en cuenta, se entrevistó a un grupo de estudiantes en una clase de SHL para conseguir un entendimiento específico sobre sus perspectivas en cuanto a la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de la gramática. Las preguntas de investigación que han guiado este estudio son: 1) ¿Cómo conceptualizan la gramática estos estudiantes? 2) ¿Cuáles son las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia el aprendizaje de gramática? y 3) ¿Qué registros o dialectos deben ser usados en el salón de clase, según los estudiantes? Con estas cuestiones esperamos ofrecer una investigación de las ideologías presentes en el salón de la clase SHL desde un punto de vista de los propios estudiantes. Los resultados de este estudio ofrecen una idea sobre cómo satisfacer las necesidades tanto afectivas como lingüísticas de los estudiantes, lo cual puede ser de utilidad para aquellos interesados en la enseñanza de español como lengua de herencia.

2. Repaso de literatura
2.1 Ideologías lingüísticas en las universidades

Las instituciones educativas han constituido una de las influencias más poderosas a la hora de formar ideologías lingüísticas (García & Torres-Guevara, 2010; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; Valdés, 1992). Según Leeman (2012), las ideologías "*are linked to the social, political, or economic interests of particular groups of people*" (p. 44) ["están vinculadas a los intereses sociales, políticos o económicos de determinados grupos de personas" - traducción nuestra]. Específicamente, las ideologías lingüísticas son aquellas que construyen ideas sobre la lengua, la comunicación y en relación al habla (Del Valle, 2014). En el caso de la enseñanza de español a nivel universitario, algunos investigadores han observado una preferencia por la lengua estándar o académica (Del Valle, 2014; Leeman, 2012, 2014; Villa, 2002), incluso en el caso de programas de SHL (Rivera-Mills, 2012; Showstack, 2012; 2015), lo cual está justificado por la necesidad de desarrollar las destrezas literarias y profesionales de los estudiantes. Mientras que esta justificación viene dada en parte por el interés de los propios estudiantes, en realidad limita las experiencias de los estudiantes en el aula y no toma en cuenta la realidad de vivir en comunidades bilingües, en las que son frecuentes ciertas peculiaridades culturales como la alternancia de códigos entre español e inglés (Carvalho, 2012). Este tipo de ideologías prescriptivas o estándares sugieren que las variedades lingüísticas presentes en contextos formales, lo que se llama lengua académica o registro formal, gozan implícitamente de más valor que las variedades que encontramos en tales comunidades bilingües, lo cual resulta en actitudes negativas hacia las variedades comunitarias (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005).

Además, a menudo los programas de español mantienen que la lengua española es una lengua extranjera, sugiriendo que es una lengua exclusiva de otros países (García & Torres-Guevara, 2010; Leeman, 2014; Showstack, 2012, 2015). Esta categorización del español como lengua extranjera da lugar a una serie de situaciones problemáticas. En primer lugar, el español se ha hablado en Estados Unidos durante muchas generaciones en numerosas comunidades hispanas y es verdaderamente una lengua local (Bills & Vigil, 2008). Al afirmar que el español es una lengua extranjera estamos excluyendo a los grupos bilingües locales, los cuales consisten frecuentemente en poblaciones desfavorecidas e inmigrantes (Valdés, 2000). La exclusión de estos grupos supone otorgar un mayor prestigio y valor económico (Leeman, 2014) a aquellas variedades del español hablado en otros países, lo que resulta en la devaluación del habla de los hispanohablantes estadounidenses y una preferencia por variaciones monolingües extranjeras. Además del favorecimiento de otras variedades monolingües, también se idealizan las destrezas bilingües de los angloparlantes que aprenden español como segunda lengua (Cashman, 2009), lo cual también refleja la jerarquía social en Estados Unidos. Villa (2002) apunta los problemas relacionados con el concepto de lengua académica, un concepto abstracto y no definido pero basado en la lengua escrita. Evidente en terminología como "registro alto" y "registro bajo", los académicos, incluso algunos lingüistas, han creado un sistema lingüístico que refleja las realidades de clase social en la enseñanza de español en nivel universitario. En cuanto a los programas de SHL, un fuerte énfasis en la lengua académica ratifica esta misma ideología (Leeman, 2012).

Consecuentemente, algunos investigadores han documentado casos de la falta de autoestima lingüística por parte de los hablantes de herencia, evidente en este extracto: "*I don't feel my Spanish is that good. I talk "pocha" Spanish*" (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005, p. 13) ["Pienso que mi español no es muy bueno. Hablo español "pocha"" –traducción nuestra]. A pesar de la existencia de un creciente cuerpo de investigación que apunta la validez lingüística del español estadounidense, este sigue siendo una variedad estigmatizada y criticada (Carreira, 2000). En una investigación en la que se observan las prácticas de enseñanza e interacciones con los estudiantes de una instructora de SHL, Showstack (2015) destaca el hecho de que aunque los instructores tengan como objetivo fundamental valorar las variedades comunitarias de los estudiantes, aún pueden estar perpetuando una noción abstracta de los valores de lengua estándar. Por ejemplo, la instructora observada en el estudio, al mismo tiempo que fomentaba el uso de la alternancia de códigos, también prohibía a los estudiantes el uso de ciertas palabras o frases comunes que a menudo se escuchan en Estados Unidos, tales como "llámame pa' atrás" (p. 350). Ejemplos como este demuestran que el español de los bilingües de Estados Unidos sigue siendo objeto de críticas, incluso en salones de clase donde se pretende fortalecer las variedades comunitarias. Sin lugar a dudas, estas críticas tienen un impacto en la autoestima y actitudes de los estudiantes hacia el aprendizaje de español.

Los programas de SHL a nivel universitario tienen la oportunidad de revocar la estigmatización asociada a las variedades del español estadounidense, así como de oponerse a ideologías estándares y

combatir la limitada autoestima lingüística de los estudiantes hispanos. Tomar en cuenta la fuerte conexión entre la lengua y asuntos sociopolíticos e incorporar el uso de variedades comunitarias de los estudiantes en clase contribuye al aprendizaje del estudiante de SHL. Investigaciones recientes destacan el éxito de tales estrategias e incitan a los instructores en programas de SHL a usar una pedagogía crítica (Del Valle, 2014; Leeman, 2014), la cual no solamente se enfoca en la gramática sino también en aumentar un entendimiento suficiente de las implicaciones sociales, políticas y económicas de aprender y enseñar una lengua:

> One element of critical approaches to second language (L2) pedagogy is the dialogic examination of how ideologies, politics, and social hierarchies are embodied, reproduced, and naturalized in language learning and teaching.
> [Un elemento de los enfoques críticos a la pedagogía de segundas lenguas (L2) es el examen dialógico de cómo se incorporan, reproducen y naturalizan las ideologías, políticas y jerarquías sociales en el aprendizaje y enseñanza de la lengua. –traducción nuestra] (Leeman, 2014, p. 275)

Tales estrategias incluyen escuchar a los estudiantes y tomar en cuenta la diversidad en sus experiencias lingüísticas y culturales, especialmente en la instrucción de conceptos abstractos gramaticales, expectativas de participación en la clase y haciendo correcciones gramaticales a los estudiantes (Ducar, 2008; Potowski, 2002; Showstack, 2015). A continuación, se ofrece un análisis de unos estudios que han explorado tales temas observando y preguntando directamente a los estudiantes en programas de SHL.

2.2 Actitudes en el salón de SHL

En un estudio que investiga las actitudes de estudiantes en un nivel principiante de español de herencia, Beaudrie y Ducar (2005) hallaron que a pesar del bajo nivel de autoestima manifestado por los estudiantes que consideran su propia lengua como algo no estimado, tienen una motivación muy fuerte de aumentar sus habilidades comunicativas y consideran la lengua española, en general, con mucho aprecio. La conclusión más relevante de este estudio es la gran importancia de estimular a los estudiantes principiantes para usar la lengua y comunicarse sin la preocupación de hacerlo de una manera formal o informal. Un estudiante comenta: "*That's why the class is good because she doesn't care if you're speaking wrong or you're speaking incorrectly, she just wants you to talk*" (p. 15) ["*Es por eso por lo que la clase es buena porque a ella no le importa si estás hablando mal o de manera incorrecta, ella solamente quiere que hables*" –traducción nuestra], lo cual ejemplifica el enorme valor de las actitudes de los profesores en fortalecer la autoestima lingüística en el salón de clase. De manera similar, Ducar (2008) encontró que los estudiantes desean ser corregidos por el instructor. No obstante, es de suma importancia que perciban que el profesor los corrige de una manera que ellos caracterizan como benévola, con respeto, de manera constructiva y con propósito de ayudar a los estudiantes, no de forzar reglas ni dejarlos en evidencia ante el resto de la clase.

Es también necesario investigar las relaciones entre los estudiantes. Usando análisis del discurso, Showstack (2012) analizó el discurso en un salón de SHL a nivel universitario ubicado en el suroeste estadounidense para explorar cómo los estudiantes bilingües construyen sus identidades lingüísticas y culturales. Observó que los estudiantes traen a clase experiencias muy variadas con respecto a la lengua española y, como resultado, sus habilidades lingüísticas son también muy variadas. Algunos de estos estudiantes poseían un conocimiento gramatical y habilidades más avanzadas, mientras que aquellos estudiantes que no habían tenido oportunidad de hablar español en sus comunidades o no habían recibido una educación formal en español, no tenían ese nivel de conocimiento o habilidades tan sofisticadas. Según estos niveles de sus habilidades lingüísticas, los estudiantes mismos ejercieron lo que la autora denomina "poder simbólico" (adoptado por Bourdieu, 1991) de unos sobre otros; los estudiantes que poseen alta competencia lingüística caracterizan a aquellos estudiantes con una competencia más baja como hablantes con una conexión más débil con la cultura e identidad hispana. La autora concluye que los estudiantes consideran que para identificarse como hispanos, han de hablar español con un determinado nivel. La autora también comenta sobre el hecho de que muchos estudiantes mantienen ideologías lingüísticas prescriptivas y observa que tanto los estudiantes como los profesores pueden promover este tipo de ideologías prescriptivas. Este estudio muestra que, al mismo tiempo que la conceptualización de lengua como una característica clave de la identidad latina es útil para promover motivación e ideologías que favorecen variedades de español no estándares, también puede excluir o devaluar a estudiantes sin una competencia avanzada en español. Tales estudios ejemplifican la necesidad de la investigación explícita de las actitudes de los estudiantes de lengua de herencia.

2.3 Competencia gramatical

Puesto que en este estudio se exploran ideologías y actitudes con respecto a la enseñanza, aprendizaje y competencia gramatical, es conveniente repasar lo que sabemos sobre la gramática de los estudiantes de SHL y cómo las concepciones de los académicos afectan a los estudiantes en dichos programas.

La gramática de los estudiantes de SHL cuenta con unas peculiaridades diferentes a la de los estudiantes como segunda lengua. Estas particularidades ya han sido destacadas por otros autores en estudios previos (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014; Montrul & Sánchez-Walker, 2013). Beaudrie et al. (2014) argumentan que los conocimientos gramaticales de los estudiantes de SHL están afectados en cierta manera por, al menos, tres fenómenos que vamos a comentar a continuación: adquisición bilingüe, atrición lingüística y contacto lingüístico.

En primer lugar, la *adquisición bilingüe* (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 158) afecta a los estudiantes de SHL ya que mientras que un hablante en una comunidad monolingüe está expuesto a la lengua en numerosos y variados contextos (es decir, recibe mucho *input* en español), los hablantes en comunidades bilingües de Estados Unidos no están expuestos a la misma cantidad ni a la misma variedad de contextos en los que se usa únicamente el español. Además, la educación formal en español es reducida para estos hablantes si la comparamos con la de sus homólogos en países monolingües. Por tanto, los estudiantes de SHL no tienen la oportunidad de desarrollar un sistema gramatical interno comparable al de hablantes monolingües debido a la reducida exposición, tanto formal como informal, lo cual ha llevado a algunos autores a hablar de un sistema gramatical simplificado (Otheguy & Zentella, 2011).

En segundo lugar, hemos mencionado la *atrición lingüística*. Esto ocurre cuando un hablante adquiere una forma o contextos lingüísticos específicos en un momento determinado, pero –también debido al limitado *input*– con el paso del tiempo dichas formas que fueron adquiridas caen en desuso y, por consiguiente, en el olvido (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 159).

El tercer fenómeno es *el contacto lingüístico* (Beaudrie et al., 2014, pp. 159-160). Al hablar de contacto lingüístico, Beaudrie et al. (2014) se refieren al hecho de que, como niño, un hablante de herencia puede adquirir el 100% del sistema lingüístico al que está expuesto. Sin embargo, lo que destacan estas autoras es que el sistema lingüístico al que estos hablantes están expuestos puede contener ciertos rasgos lingüísticos que han surgido de la situación de contacto (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 159). Por ejemplo, Montrul y Sánchez-Walker (2013), en un estudio sobre la omisión de la preposición *a* como marcador de objeto directo, proporcionaron evidencias de que la segunda generación de inmigrantes estaban adquiriendo ciertos rasgos lingüísticos característicos de la situación de contacto entre el español y el inglés en Estados Unidos. Como decíamos, al menos estos tres fenómenos (adquisición bilingüe, atrición lingüística y contacto lingüístico) hacen que las gramáticas y los sistemas lingüísticos intrínsecos de los estudiantes de SHL sean diferentes tanto los estudiantes de español como lengua extranjera como de los hablantes monolingües de español.

Es importante notar que la terminología utilizada para describir los sistemas lingüísticos de los hablantes bilingües, particularmente los bilingües español-inglés en el contexto de SHL, conlleva connotaciones no muy positivas. Por ejemplo, términos como "una gramática simplificada" o "atrición lingüística", comunicados directa o indirectamente a los estudiantes, ofrecen una idea de que la lengua usada por estos hablantes no es la lengua española auténtica, caracterizada por una gramática correcta, completa o no simplificada. De hecho, algunos autores han escrito sobre la lengua de los hispanos estadounidenses usando descripciones tales como *a mutilated form* (una forma mutilada) de la lengua, un término que implica la existencia de problemas fundamentales con el habla de este grupo (Valdés, 2000).

Cuando se exploran cuestiones como actitudes e ideologías es necesario conocer el contexto sociocultural de los participantes. Por ello, a continuación se ofrece información sobre el trasfondo sociocultural y sociolingüístico de Nuevo México y el programa SHL en la Universidad de Nuevo México.

2.4 Contexto sociolingüístico de Nuevo México

El español se ha hablado por comunidades hispanas en la región suroeste de Estados Unidos durante numerosas generaciones y es una parte importante de la cultura del estado de Nuevo México (Bills & Vigil, 2008). En concreto, la lengua española ha estado presente en Nuevo México desde el siglo XVI, momento en el que se establecieron los primeros asentamientos europeos bajo el poder de la Corona de España (Bills & Vigil, 2008). Desde finales del siglo XVI hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII, Nuevo México había sido una colonia principalmente hispanohablante. Esta situación lingüística comenzaría a cambiar tras la intervención estadounidense en México (1846-1848), que culminó con el Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo en 1848, según el

cual México cedería parte de su territorio a Estados Unidos. De este modo, Nuevo México pasó a ser territorio estadounidense (Fernández-Gibert, 2010). Cuando el territorio de Nuevo México estaba en el proceso de convertirse en un estado de los Estados Unidos de América, numerosas instituciones, incluyendo las escuelas, se vieron obligadas a abandonar el uso del español y reemplazarlo por la lengua nacional de Estados Unidos, el inglés (Fernández-Gibert, 2010). Entrar en la unión no solamente tuvo implicaciones lingüísticas sino también implicaciones de identidad étnica; los hispanos comenzaron a identificarse como españoles para destacar sus raíces europeas (Nieto-Phillips, 2000). Las escuelas se tomaron en serio la institucionalización del inglés y, por lo tanto, el uso del español en centros educativos públicos se convirtió en un acto estigmatizado. De hecho, algunos investigadores (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000) han documentado los testimonios de neomexicanos recordando ocasiones de abuso físico y psicológico simplemente por el hecho de hablar español en la escuela. Consecuentemente, muchos hispanos en la región decidieron no enseñar la lengua española a generaciones posteriores debido a la estigmatización y dolor de sus infancias (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000, p. 365). Reconociendo el hecho de que muchos hispanos en la región no han tenido la oportunidad de desarrollar competencias lingüísticas en español durante la infancia, el programa SHL en la Universidad de Nuevo México se vale de una definición amplia de SHL, según la cual un estudiante SHL incluye a cualquier persona que tenga una conexión cultural con el español. Uno de sus propósitos es dar a los estudiantes la oportunidad de apreciar y revitalizar su cultura a través de la lengua española. El sitio web (spanport.unm.edu) del programa estipula que

> [O]ne of our primary goals is to help our students develop an appreciation of their heritage language. The Spanish that they bring with them is a valuable resource. The Spanish of their communities is honored as a venerable variety of the language.
>
> [uno de nuestros propósitos principales es ayudar a nuestros estudiantes a desarrollar un aprecio por su lengua de herencia. El español que traen consigo es un recurso valioso. El español de sus comunidades es respetado como una variedad venerable de la lengua. – traducción nuestra]

3. Metodología

El método empleado ha sido la realización de entrevistas individuales con estudiantes para explorar varios temas que tienen que ver con el aprendizaje del español en el programa SHL en la Universidad de Nuevo México. Aunque los participantes comentaron sobre diversos temas, en este artículo nos limitaremos a exponer principalmente tres conceptos: 1) conceptualizaciones de la gramática, 2) percepciones hacia el aprendizaje de la gramática, y 3) perspectivas hacia el uso de diferentes registros y variedades en el salón de clase. Para concluir, se presentarán implicaciones pedagógicas de los resultados hallados.

Para este proyecto se llevaron a cabo catorce entrevistas a estudiantes de SPAN 212. Esta es una clase de cuarto semestre en el programa de Español como Lengua de Herencia en la Universidad de Nuevo México. Las entrevistas tuvieron una duración aproximada de entre 30 y 40 minutos. Se formularon preguntas con respuesta abierta en las que se preguntó a los estudiantes sobre información demográfica (edad, lugar de origen, lengua hablada en casa y etiquetas de identidad), percepciones sobre la lengua española, sobre la gramática, sobre el uso del lenguaje (dentro y fuera del salón de clase) y sobre el programa de SHL en la Universidad de Nuevo México (para una copia del protocolo de entrevista, véase al apéndice A). Las preguntas de la entrevista fueron compuestas por los dos investigadores según los temas que aparecen en la bibliografía especializada y según sus propias experiencias trabajando con estudiantes. Se comunicó claramente a los estudiantes que podían responder y elaborar cuanto quisieran en los temas que consideraran oportunos. Aunque se dio a los participantes la oportunidad de hablar tanto en español como en inglés durante las entrevistas, todos los participantes escogieron hablar inglés. Los investigadores grabaron las entrevistas y también tomaron apuntes durante las mismas.

En la tabla 1 abajo se da un perfil de cada participante del estudio, que incluye edad, género, lugar de origen, lengua hablada en casa durante la infancia y etiquetas étnicas usadas por cada participante.

Tabla 1
Información demográfica de los participantes

#	Edad	Género	Lugar de origen	Lengua de infancia	Etiqueta étnica
1	21	Mujer	California	Español	Hispana
2	19	Mujer	Albuquerque, NM	Español	Hispana, latina, mexicana
3	19	Mujer	Santa Fe, NM	Inglés y poco español	Hispana
4	19	Mujer	Albuquerque, NM	Inglés y poco español	Hispana, blanca
5	33	Mujer	Los Ángeles, CA	Inglés y poco español	Mexicana, europea, italiana, chicana
6	19	Mujer	Los Lunas, NM	Inglés, poco árabe, poco español	Musulmana, palestina, hispana
7	19	Mujer	Rio Rancho, NM	Inglés	Hispana, mexicana
8	20	Hombre	Taos, NM	Inglés	Hispano, español
9	20	Hombre	El Paso, TX	Inglés	Hispano, americano
10	20	Mujer	Albuquerque, NM	Inglés y poco español	Hispana
11	18	Hombre	San Diego, CA	Español	Peruano, americano, latino
12	19	Mujer	Albuquerque, NM	Inglés y poco español	Hispana, mexicana
13	26	Mujer	Albuquerque, NM	Inglés y poco español	Española, americana, chicana, del South Valley
14	19	Hombre	Albuquerque, NM	Español	Hispano

La mayoría de participantes son del estado de Nuevo México y todos son de la región suroeste de los Estados Unidos; son de edades comprendidas entre 18 y 33 años; siete de los catorce participantes indican que usaron principalmente inglés en casa durante la infancia y estuvieron expuestos al español de una forma mínima. Cuatro participantes indican que usaron principalmente español durante la infancia y tres más indican que usaron solamente inglés aunque algunos familiares hablaban español. Algo particularmente interesante y relevante para este estudio es el hecho de que casi todos los participantes utilizaron más de una etiqueta étnica para describirse a sí mismos. Los tres estudiantes que usaron solamente una etiqueta escogieron una etiqueta étnica panhispana. Los datos recolectados sobre los trasfondos culturales y lingüísticos muestran la diversidad de este grupo e indudablemente tendrán implicaciones para sus creencias y actitudes hacia el aprendizaje del español (Potowski, 2012).

Se analizaron las entrevistas usando un método cualitativo. Los investigadores escucharon y transcribieron las entrevistas. Usando los apuntes y transcripciones, se formaron categorías conceptuales de las respuestas de los participantes. Esta forma de código se conoce como "código abierto" (Scott & Morrison, 2006). De esta manera, en lugar de organizar los resultados siguiendo un estándar sintético predeterminado, son las respuestas de los estudiantes las que dan forma a los resultados del estudio. Ya que el propósito del estudio es dar voz a los estudiantes para informar la enseñanza, la siguiente sección relata los datos, agrupados por los investigadores pero en palabras de los mismos participantes.

4. Datos
4.1 La gramática: conceptos e identidades

Esta sección proporciona respuestas a las siguientes preguntas generales: 1) ¿Cómo conceptualizan los estudiantes la gramática? 2) ¿Consideran que sus competencias gramaticales son apropiadas o insuficientes? Se ha observado en el programa SHL de la Universidad de Nuevo México que un número considerable de estudiantes de español como lengua de herencia vienen a las clases con la intención de adquirir conocimientos estrictamente gramaticales, un requisito que consideran necesario para poder llegar a hablar español con fluidez. Esta idea según la cual las clases de gramática dan autoridad y fluidez a un hablante está bien fomentada en una ideología prescriptiva, y ha estado confirmada en otros estudios también (Potowski, 2002). Por ello, saber cuáles son sus concepciones de la gramática y si se consideran a sí mismos positivamente con el uso y conocimiento de la gramática revela información relevante acerca de las necesidades de los estudiantes.

Al preguntar a los participantes cómo se define la gramática, obtuvimos una variación de respuestas que oscilan entre un entendimiento más prescriptivo y uno más descriptivo. Nueve participantes insinuaron que la gramática es todo lo que tiene que ver con lo apropiado, lo correcto y las reglas (Ejemplos 1 y 2):

1) "*I'm not really good with grammar but I'm thinking it's just like punctuation and correct grammar*"
   "No soy muy bueno en gramática pero imagino que es como la puntuación y la gramática correcta" (Participante 11)
2) "*I don't know. How to make a sentence properly. That's all I can think of*"
   "No sé. Cómo formular una oración correctamente. Eso es todo en que puedo pensar" (Participante 1)

El Participante 11 comienza su respuesta señalando que sus competencias o conocimientos en términos de gramática no son buenos, lo cual indica a los investigadores un nivel bajo de autoestima lingüística. En general, responde a la pregunta sin decir mucho; la gramática es la gramática correcta y la puntuación. Este participante no es capaz de definir "gramática"; únicamente afirma que su conocimiento al respecto no es suficiente. Es también importante notar que este participante declaró haber hablado español en casa durante su infancia, y es probable que en realidad este bajo nivel de autoestima lingüística venga dado simplemente por un desconocimiento metalingüístico y no necesariamente de sus competencias reales con la lengua. Además, el Participante 1 desconoce qué es la gramática, pero ofrece una conjetura que, una vez más, es "la correcta". El desconocimiento metalingüístico, el hecho de no ser capaz de ofrecer una definición precisa de "gramática", junto con la afirmación de que es lo correcto refleja una ideología prescriptiva y proporciona autoridad lingüística a aquellos que poseen conocimiento metalingüístico y saben qué es gramática, o dicho de otra forma, aquellos que han recibido una educación formal en español.

Por el contrario, cinco participantes mostraron un entendimiento bastante sofisticado de la gramática pues explicaron que la gramática es simplemente la estructura necesaria de una lengua y es lo que nos permite entendernos unos a otros (Ejemplos 3 y 4):

3) "*The format that a language requires it to be. It's not something that we are constantly thinking of but it's something that has to be done in order to come across, because if you don't maybe you'll say something that you don't want to say*"
   "El formato que requiere una lengua. No es algo en lo que pensamos constantemente pero es algo que tiene que ocurrir para entendernos, porque si no, quizás digas algo que no quieres decir" (Participante 2)
4) "*A sentence with good grammar is a sentence that can be understood*"
   "Una oración con buena gramática es una oración que se puede entender" (Participante 6)

Los ejemplos dados aquí relacionan la gramática con la comunicación efectiva, lo que ilustra que este grupo de estudiantes ha adoptado una ideología más descriptiva. De un lado, sorprende encontrar un grupo de estudiantes que conceptualiza la gramática de tal manera porque, como veremos más abajo, todavía creen que la gramática es su punto débil.

Al cuestionar a los participantes si sus competencias y conocimientos gramaticales eran adecuados, la mayoría respondió que no son buenos en la gramática, lo cual queda ejemplificado en respuestas como la siguiente (Ejemplo 5):

5) "*No, mostly just cuz like I know what I'm trying to say but my conjugations get mixed up along the way*"
   "No, sobre todo porque sé lo que estoy intentando decir pero mezclo las conjugaciones en el proceso" (Participante 7)

Podemos observar que el participante usa el término "conjugación" al justificar por qué no se considera bueno en gramática, un concepto aprendido en una clase de gramática. Una vez más, afirmó que la gramática se aprende en un salón de clase y se usa estrictamente en tales entornos. En total, diez participantes ofrecieron respuestas semejantes a la anterior, lo cual implica que estos hablantes sí tienen las habilidades necesarias para comunicarse pero que son conscientes de que a veces no usan "la forma correcta" según las reglas prescriptivas. Además, al preguntar a los participantes cuáles son los puntos débiles y fuertes en relación a su uso del español, algunos de los puntos débiles destacados fueron la gramática, la escritura, las

conjugaciones, las irregularidades y el futuro. Exceptuando al Participante 14, los demás entrevistados habían recibido varias clases de español durante semestres anteriores. A pesar de ello, la mayoría mantiene que no se consideran buenos en gramática y que esta es uno de sus puntos débiles. Al mismo tiempo califican la gramática como lo "correcto" o "apropiado". Por tanto, podemos ver que la mayoría considera que el español que hablan no es correcto o apropiado y que, en gran parte, se debe a la gramática. Incluso los cinco participantes que ofrecieron definiciones descriptivas de la gramática mantienen que no poseen destrezas fuertes en cuanto a esta (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005).

4.2 Actitudes hacia el aprendizaje

Esta sección proporciona respuestas a las siguientes preguntas: 1) ¿Cuáles son las actitudes hacia el aprendizaje de gramática? 2) ¿Creen que los profesores deberían corregir a los estudiantes en clase? y 3) ¿Cómo se sienten cuando el profesor corrige errores de los estudiantes en clase? Cuando preguntamos a los participantes cómo se sienten con respecto a la gramática, trece de los catorce participantes nos comunicaron que es algo difícil y complicado. Sin embargo, los participantes muestran una actitud muy positiva hacia el aprendizaje de gramática ejemplificado en el deseo de ser corregidos por sus profesores. Obtuvimos unanimidad de respuestas afirmativas cuando preguntamos si consideran que su instructor de español debería corregir su gramática en clase, aunque dicha corrección debe realizarse de tal manera que permita a los estudiantes aumentar su entendimiento de la variación del español (Ejemplo 6):

6) "*The professor should not say 'that's not right', but should explain what other possibilities there are to communicate the same idea*"
"El profesor no debería decir "eso no está bien", sino que debería explicar qué otras posibilidades hay para comunicar la misma idea" (Participante 3)

A pesar de que los datos en la sección previa sugieren un bajo nivel de autoestima por parte de los participantes en cuanto a la gramática "correcta", al mismo tiempo se muestra un entendimiento bastante sofisticado de la variación lingüística. Los participantes están familiarizados con determinados términos no estándares y la mayoría proviene de comunidades en las que se utiliza la alternancia de códigos. Por supuesto, no se trata de formas "correctas" o "incorrectas", sino de diferentes registros y diferentes contextos. De esta manera las correcciones de los profesores constituyen una oportunidad óptima para concienciar a los alumnos de la rica variedad sociolingüística en el campo del español (Martínez, 2005). En este contexto, ofrecimos a los estudiantes la oportunidad de expresar sus sentimientos cuando son corregidos por el profesor. Algunos participantes revelaron que al comienzo del curso se sentían ligeramente intimidados por las correcciones, pero a lo largo del curso comprendieron que es parte de la experiencia del aprendizaje (Ejemplo 7):

7) "*I think she should correct (grammar) when it changes the meaning of the sentence. Pronunciation shouldn't be corrected… at first it (being corrected) kind of bothered me but now I'm cool with it*
"Creo que ella debe corregir (la gramática) cuando cambia el significado de la oración. La pronunciación no se debe corregir… Al principio me molestaba un poco que me corrigiera pero ahora me parece bien" (Participante 9)

Aquí se observa que los estudiantes entienden que la gramática es clave para comunicar ideas de forma clara y que las correcciones de los profesores les pueden ayudar a comunicarse de diversas formas.

4.3 Variación lingüística en el salón de clase

Aquí se reportan respuestas a las siguientes preguntas generales: 1) ¿Cuáles son las impresiones de los estudiantes sobre el uso de la lengua en clase y el uso de la lengua en la comunidad? 2) ¿Hay algún efecto emocional en el uso del español en cada uno de estos ambientes? y 3) ¿Creen que se deberían usar diferentes registros y dialectos, incluyendo la alternancia de códigos, en el salón de clase?

Al preguntar a los participantes si creen que existe una diferencia entre el español que escuchan y hablan en clase frente al español que se habla en la comunidad obtuvimos una respuesta unánime ($n = 14$): todos los estudiantes apuntaron a una diferencia de registros. Según los resultados obtenidos de sus respuestas, el español en la clase es más formal, mientras que en la comunidad el registro es más casual,

informal e incluso algunos estudiantes mencionan *slang*. Esto llevó a algunos de los estudiantes (*n* = 9) a afirmar que ellos mismos hablan de una manera diferente en la clase. Por ejemplo, tratan de no alternar inglés y español en clase porque están intentando aprender español. También dijeron ser más cuidadosos con su lenguaje en la clase para intentar no cometer errores a los que, en su comunidad, no prestarían atención.

Al preguntarles si ellos consideran que las variedades comunitarias, incluyendo la variedad neomexicana, tienen el mismo valor que otros registros formales o académicos, todos comentaron que aunque en ocasiones asocian sus dialectos con *slang*, *Spanglish* y a veces incluso no completamente correctos, son ciertamente valiosos por el hecho de constituir una forma de representación de su identidad como hispanos y por ser la forma principal de comunicación con sus familiares. Según sus declaraciones durante las entrevistas, podemos observar que los estudiantes entienden que cada variedad del español tiene valor simplemente porque representa una forma de comunicación entre un grupo determinado de hablantes. Esto, una vez más, demuestra un conocimiento bastante sofisticado de la variación sociolingüística del mundo hispanohablante entre estos estudiantes.

Sin embargo, es necesario evaluar si la formalidad del salón provoca incomodidad en algunos estudiantes a la hora de participar activamente en el aula. Aquí observamos un patrón interesante. Aquellos estudiantes que habían confirmado haber hablado español desde la infancia afirman que la diferencia entre la clase y la comunidad es simplemente una cuestión de formalidad. A veces sienten cierta presión al hablar en clase porque saben que deben hablar "correctamente", evidente en dos extractos de participantes (Ejemplos 8 y 9):

8) *"Just a little bit more stressful in class because I know I'll be corrected"*
"Solamente un poco más estresante en clase porque sé que me van a corregir" (Participante 2)
9) *"I feel more confident outside of class, I'm allowed to code-switch without anybody saying "Hey, try that again and use only Spanish." Because of that, when I speak outside of the class my confidence is a little bit higher"*
"Me siento más segura fuera de la clase, puedo hacer la alternancia de códigos sin que nadie me diga "Hey, di eso otra vez usando solo español." Por eso, cuando hablo fuera de la clase me siento un poco más segura" (Participante 4)

Por otro lado, estudiantes con menos experiencia con el español afirmaron sentir menos presión en clase (Ejemplo 10):

10) *"I feel more comfortable in class… it can be unpredictable in public, you don't know if they're going to judge you"*
"Me siento más cómodo en clase… puede ser impredecible en público, no sabes si te van a juzgar" (Participante 9)

Además, hay otros estudiantes que indican que no tienen autoestima ni en el salón ni en la comunidad (Ejemplo 11):

11) *"When I speak to my grandparents it's a little harder for me just because I feel like they have an expectation… and kind of an expectation for myself that I have to speak the correct way… I feel embarrassed sometimes. I don't know why… ever since I was a kid I've been told it's an important part but I was never taught it… now that I'm trying to learn it I'm afraid I'm not saying it correctly"*
"Cuando hablo con mis abuelos es un poco más difícil para mí porque creo que tienen ciertas expectativas… y también expectativas para mí que tengo que hablar correctamente… A veces me siento cohibido. No sé por qué… desde que era niño me decían que es una parte importante pero nunca me lo enseñaron… ahora que lo estoy aprendiendo temo que no lo estoy hablando correctamente" (Participante 8)

Se puede conectar esta falta de autoestima directamente con una expectativa de hablar español con fluidez. El participante indica que tanto sus abuelos como él mismo tienen expectativas con respecto a sus habilidades en español y menciona que las mismas vienen dadas por la idea de que la lengua española es una parte primordial de la identidad hispana. Podríamos decir que dichas expectativas vienen de ideologías según

las cuales un hispano "esencial" posee ciertas cualidades prescritas, entre ellas la habilidad de hablar español con fluidez (Potowski, 2012).

Si no conociéramos las perspectivas de estos estudiantes, podríamos ingenuamente asumir que todos los estudiantes de SHL encuentran en sus comunidades un ambiente más relajado y cómodo para hablar español, principalmente por la inexistencia de reglas prescriptivas impuestas de una manera forzada. Sin embargo, hemos observado en estas entrevistas que estos estudiantes traen a clase experiencias variadas reflejadas en sus diversas actitudes y sentimientos hacia el uso de la lengua en diferentes contextos. No obstante, todos los estudiantes reconocieron la importancia de estar familiarizados tanto con un registro académico y formal como con un registro más coloquial y, por tanto, una clase de Español como Lengua de Herencia no debería limitarse a la exclusiva enseñanza de la variedad local o informal, ni únicamente a la enseñanza del español académico (Martínez, 2003). Además, durante las entrevistas también se planteó la cuestión de si se deben usar variedades informales en el salón de clase, particularmente, si se debería usar la alternancia de códigos en la clase. Mientras que unos estudiantes mantienen que no se debe alternar códigos en clase, la mayoría afirmó que dicha alternancia de códigos les ayuda a aprender de una manera más efectiva (Ejemplo 12):

12) "*For people like me it's easier to keep up. If you're in a context where you just need to get a few words out…. If I just use a few English words, I feel like I can still get my meaning across. Learning how to use Spanglish correctly is important*"
"Para personas como yo es más fácil seguir el ritmo. Si estás en un contexto en el que necesitas decir unas pocas palabras… Si sólo uso unas cuantas palabras en inglés, siento que aun así puedo comunicar el significado. Aprender a usar *Spanglish* correctamente es importante" (Participante 7)

Los estudiantes reconocen la importancia de afirmar su identidad, y el *Spanglish* (tal y como los estudiantes denominaron la alternancia de códigos) es parte de esta identidad (Carvalho, 2012) y representa la realidad de ser bilingüe (Ejemplo 13):

13) "*Because they (students who use Spanglish) are from both cultures and they should be able to represent both sides… they should be able to do it in the way they feel most comfortable and if this way is mixing both languages, then do it*"
"Como ellos (estudiantes que usan *Spanglish*) forman parte de las dos culturas y deberían poder representar ambos lados… deberían poder hacerlo de la forma en la que se sientan más cómodos y si esa forma es mezclando las dos lenguas, entonces que lo hagan" (Participante 2)

No todos los estudiantes afirmaron que la alternancia de códigos es un componente esencial de su identidad personal, pero la cita en el Ejemplo 13 demuestra un conocimiento de la diversidad existente en el salón de clase, una diversidad en la que cada estudiante respeta y aprende de las experiencias y destrezas lingüísticas de los demás. Un punto esencial para la clase de SHL que podemos afirmar tras observar este tipo de respuestas es que tanto los estudiantes como el profesor han de crear un ambiente provechoso y positivo hacia la diversidad lingüística y cultural y, además, los estudiantes con perfiles diferentes puedan ayudarse mutuamente para ampliar sus destrezas lingüísticas así como el entendimiento de emplear diferentes tipos de registros en situaciones y contextos distintos (Showstack, 2012).

La motivación de los estudiantes de SHL a la hora de aprender y mejorar sus competencias en español viene dada por la combinación de motivos tanto personales como culturales y también profesionales (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). Estos estudiantes necesitan conocer diferentes tipos de registros para alcanzar sus metas. En este sentido, la enseñanza explícita de distintos dialectos y registros les permite adquirir las destrezas lingüísticas necesarias (Martínez, 2003). Estos datos nos permiten comprender que nuestro reto es reconocer la importancia de cada registro, apoyar y motivar la autoestima de nuestros estudiantes sobre la lengua que conocen, así como también proporcionarles las herramientas necesarias para acceder a un público más amplio o contextos profesionales donde el uso del español sea necesario (Carreira, 2000).

4.4 Implicaciones pedagógicas
Mientras que es difícil generalizar los resultados de un estudio cualitativo, uno puede suponer que las perspectivas de este grupo pueden tener implicaciones importantes para otros salones de SHL. Primero,

se observa una falta de conocimiento metalingüístico en algunos participantes, evidente en su inhabilidad de definir en qué consiste la gramática. Los instructores de SHL deben trabajar en aumentar el conocimiento metalingüístico de sus estudiantes para involucrar a los estudiantes en una conversación sobre qué es la gramática en la cual los estudiantes mismos produzcan sus propias concepciones y puedan debatir y llegar a conclusiones más precisas sobre qué es la gramática y por qué es importante aprenderla. Muchos hablantes de lenguas de herencia poseen habilidades comunicativas, pero el desconocimiento metalingüístico crea inseguridad con respecto a sus habilidades lingüísticas. En otras palabras, los hablantes consideran que saben menos de lo que verdaderamente saben, y esto se debe en gran medida al desconocimiento metalingüístico. Por ello, consideramos que la introducción y uso de metalenguaje en un salón de SHL podría servir, entre otras cosas, para reducir esta ansiedad o inseguridad que tienen algunos hablantes de herencia con respecto a sus habilidades.

En segundo lugar, los estudiantes quieren ser corregidos por los instructores ya que perciben las correcciones como apoyo para desarrollar las destrezas lingüísticas. Los instructores no deben corregir palabras no estándares ni pronunciaciones diferentes. Se reservan las correcciones para casos en los que la gramática puede cambiar el sentido de la frase o cuando la producción lingüística de un hablante es agramatical en todas las variedades del español. Esto implica que es necesario que el instructor posea un conocimiento profundo tanto de la variedad comunitaria como de la variación lingüística del español en general en el mundo hispanohablante.

En tercer lugar, se observa que para la mayoría de participantes existe una conexión entre el nivel de experiencias lingüísticas fuera del salón y la autoestima dentro del salón de clase a la hora de usar la lengua. Es importante recolectar datos básicos sobre los estudiantes tales como experiencias previas con la lengua, incluyendo experiencias en la comunidad y experiencias educativas. Así, los instructores podrán diseñar lecciones según las necesidades, tanto lingüísticas como afectivas, de los estudiantes.

Un mayor entendimiento de lo que es la gramática y cómo puede ser usada en contextos específicos otorgará a los estudiantes la capacidad de realizar selecciones lingüísticas conscientes, tomando en cuenta el valor sociopolítico de cada selección (Del Valle, 2014). Sobre todo, la instrucción debe estar organizada de tal forma que valore las variedades comunitarias y el conocimiento lingüístico ya desarrollado por los estudiantes y, simultáneamente, debe expandir las destrezas lingüísticas de los estudiantes, lo cual incluye (pero no se limita a) la adquisición de la variedad formal.

5. Conclusiones

Los resultados de este estudio nos indican que los estudiantes en los programas de SHL traen al aula una serie de trasfondos culturales y lingüísticos muy variados y heterogéneos (Potowski, 2012). El reconocimiento del valor de la variedad comunitaria en combinación con el apoyo institucional en este programa de SHL apunta a un nivel alto de vitalidad etnolingüística según Cashman (2009) y conlleva implicaciones positivas hacia el mantenimiento del español en el estado de Nuevo México.

Además, los estudiantes demostraron un entendimiento bastante sofisticado de la variación lingüística ilustrado por las actitudes positivas hacia las diferentes variedades del español, incluyendo la alternancia de códigos, así como por las definiciones descriptivas de la gramática por parte de algunos participantes. Al contrario de lo que encontró Showstack (2012), este grupo de estudiantes percibe que cada estudiante tiene algo que refinar y aprender en cuanto a la lengua española, de modo que la heterogeneidad de habilidades entre los estudiantes no supone ningún tipo de intimidación ni ofrece a unos más autoridad que a otros, sino que todos aprovechan y se benefician de dicha heterogeneidad para mejorar las destrezas que desean. Aunque no lo hemos abordado directamente, es posible asociar esta conciencia lingüística con la asistencia y participación en un programa de SHL que tiene como propósito principal la inclusión y afirmación de variedades del español locales y comunitarias. La distinción en resultados aquí podría ser simplemente una diferencia en metodología. Ya que no hicimos observaciones en el aula, no podemos comentar sobre las interacciones reales de estudiantes como Showstack (2012). Otras posibles causas que podrían justificar esta diferencia de resultados incluyen la metodología o actitud del instructor, las relaciones entre compañeros de clase o diferencias entre ideologías de las dos instituciones.

Otro punto relevante que debemos concluir es que la gramática, según la percepción de los estudiantes entrevistados, se caracteriza como un conjunto de reglas prescriptivas. Sin embargo, tal y como sugiere Villa (2002), debemos cuestionar el concepto de lengua académica, o sea, las reglas prescriptivas y sus implicaciones sociopolíticas. Todavía es evidente que la mayoría de los estudiantes son conscientes de

que en el salón de clase deben hacer uso de una serie de reglas formales, algo a lo que no han estado acostumbrados anteriormente y que, por consiguiente, puede ser causa de tensión o estrés para algunos estudiantes. Por otra parte, un grupo minoritario de cinco participantes ofreció definiciones descriptivas de la gramática. Sin embargo, incluso aquellos participantes que mostraron un entendimiento descriptivo de la gramática también expusieron que esta supone uno de sus puntos débiles. Poder dar una definición descriptiva no indica necesariamente un mayor grado de autoestima ni una ideología concreta descriptiva, lo cual queda ilustrado con estos participantes que afirmaron no ser buenos en el uso de la gramática.

Por otra parte, no hubo acuerdo en las respuestas en cuanto a cuál es la variedad del español se debe usar en el salón de clase. Del Valle (2014) sugiere que más que la variedad usada en la clase, lo verdaderamente importante es que los estudiantes sepan que se ha seleccionado una y que ello tiene implicaciones sociales y políticas. Ahora no es suficiente enseñar solamente gramática. Es necesario abordar la enseñanza de español con estrategias críticas donde no se consideren únicamente las destrezas técnicas relevantes sino también una conciencia crítica de que la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de Español como Lengua de Herencia en Estados Unidos no es solamente un asunto lingüístico, sino uno sociopolítico también. Además, estos datos muestran que la instrucción de gramática está bien interconectada con esta consciencia y es necesario enseñar explícitamente las formas gramaticales de varios dialectos y registros (Martínez, 2003). También es importante que los instructores de SHL sean conscientes del hecho de que el entorno cultural y lingüístico del salón de clase verdaderamente afecta al aprendizaje de los estudiantes (Potowski, 2002), y son ellos quienes tienen gran poder a la hora de determinar cómo será dicho entorno (Showstack, 2015).

Esperamos que esta exploración de las percepciones de los estudiantes de SHL sirva a todos los profesionales involucrados en programas de SHL. Como ya han descubierto otros investigadores, escuchar directamente a los estudiantes nos da un idea clara de las necesidades y deseos de los estudiantes, lo cual es de enorme utilidad para nuestra enseñanza (Ducar, 2008).

6. Limitaciones

Este estudio presenta ciertas limitaciones que se deben considerar. En primer lugar, puesto que el primer objetivo en este proyecto era conocer las percepciones de los estudiantes en un sentido amplio, la naturaleza de las entrevistas fue muy amplia también pues se abordaron numerosos temas desde una perspectiva global (cuestiones de identidad, uso de la lengua, variedad lingüística, experiencias personales con el español, etc.). Es importante que futuros investigadores que deseen investigar y estudiar actitudes lingüísticas y percepciones de estudiantes lo hagan desde una posición más escueta y específica, en función del ámbito concreto en el que desean centrar su investigación.

En segundo lugar, consideramos que sería relevante acompañar las entrevistas con observaciones en el salón de clase. Esto ofrecería una idea más completa de los temas explorados en la presente investigación, ya que permitiría contrastar la perspectiva personal de los estudiantes con la de los investigadores.

Por último, habría sido pertinente la realización de una segunda ronda de entrevistas tras analizar los resultados de estas entrevistas. Esto nos habría dado la oportunidad de explorar de una forma más rigurosa algunos resultados interesantes.

Agradecimientos

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Apéndice

ENTREVISTA DE IDENTIDADES GRAMATICALES

1. How are you doing today?
2. How is your semester going?
3. Where are you from?
4. How old are you?
5. What language(s) did you speak with your family growing up?
6. Who speaks Spanish in your family?
7. Who have you learned the most Spanish from?
8. Do you use Spanish on a daily basis?
9. What classes/levels of Spanish have you taken before this semester?
10. Why are you taking this class this semester?
11. What are your strengths and weaknesses in Spanish?
12. Why is it important to you to learn/speak Spanish?

Identidad:

13. What identity labels do you use to describe yourself?
14. Do you use different labels with different people? Why?

Sobre el programa de SHL: *You know that here at UNM there are two different programs of Spanish: Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) and Spanish as a Heritage Language (SHL).*

15. Do you know the difference between these two programs? Why do you belong to this program?
16. What are the main benefits that you are obtaining from the SHL program?
17. Do you like the SHL program so far? What do you like the most? Is there anything you don't like about the program or that you think could be improved?

"Español nuevomexicano" frente a "Español estándar". Impresiones

18. In your opinion, how is the Spanish spoken in New Mexico different than Spanish spoken in other places (e.g. Spanish spoken in Argentina, Spain, Colombia…).
19. Have you heard the term "Standard" used when talking about languages?
20. How would you define "standard Spanish"?
21. Do you consider that the Spanish spoken in New Mexico is "standard Spanish"? Why?
22. Or do you think that New Mexican Spanish is as valid as any other variety of Spanish? Why?
23. What do other people in your community/ classes think?
24. Have you ever had the opportunity to talk to a native speaker of Spanish from a different country?
25. Do you like talking to people from other countries? Why?
26. When you talk to native speakers of Spanish from a different country, how do you feel about that?
27. Do you feel comfortable speaking Spanish with them? If not: why?

In New Mexico there are many people who grew up in bilingual communities and they are able to speak Spanish fluently. Even though they can speak Spanish fluently, sometimes some speakers mix Spanish and English within the same sentence.

28. What do you think about that?
29. What do you call it when someone uses English and Spanish at the same time?
30. Why do you think people do that? (mix Spanish and English).
31. Do you ever mixed English and Spanish when you speak?
32. Do you like doing that? Do you think it's appropriate? Who do you most often mix languages with? Why?
33. What do other people you know (in your community and classes) think about mixing Spanish and English?

Preguntas sobre el uso del lenguaje

34. Is there a difference between the Spanish you hear in class and the Spanish you hear in your community? Can you describe the difference?
35. Do you speak Spanish differently in class and in your community? Why?
36. Do you feel different using Spanish in class and Spanish in your community? Why?
37. Why do you think there's a difference?
38. Do you think that it affects your learning?

Gramática y el salon de clase:

*Here I have some words that I have heard in New Mexico: **Torque (turkey); Troca (truck); Lonche (lunch)**.*

39. Have you ever heard similar things in New Mexico? Do you like using these words? In your opinion, are these words "correct"? Why or why not?

*There are other words that are widely used in New Mexican Spanish. For example **asina (así); muncho (mucho); haiga (haya).** These are words that many people use in New Mexico, but in other countries people will normally use the "standard" pronunciation found in the dictionary.*

40. Do you think your professor should correct students if they pronounce words this way? Why or why not?
41. Do you think students should be able to mix English and Spanish in class? Why or why not?
42. Are there pros and cons to mixing in class?
43. How do you feel when your professor corrects your grammar? OR How *would* you feel if your professor did correct your grammar?
44. Is mixing Spanish and English a part of some people's identity as a bilingual speaker? Why or why not?
45. How would you define "grammar" in your own words?
46. What does the word grammar make you think of?
47. How do you feel about Spanish grammar? Is it easy or hard?
48. Where have you learned grammar?
49. Do you consider yourself to be "good at grammar"?
50. What is the hardest part about learning grammar? What's the easiest?
51. Do you study a lot of grammar in SPAN 212? What have you studied?
52. Do you think it is necessary to study grammar to be able to speak Spanish? Why or why not?
53. What do you normally do to learn a new grammatical feature? (study from a book, practice doing exercises…).
54. Can you think of any examples of activities that you did in class and that greatly helped you learn a new grammatical aspect of Spanish? Can you describe the activity? Why was it helpful?
55. Now, can you think of any example of an activity that you did in class and that you think it wasn't very helpful for your learning? Why wasn't it that helpful?
56. Do you think it is important that your professor gives an extensive and explicit explanation of the grammatical aspect in class? *(explicit explanation means that your professor explains every single detail of the linguistic form, for example, for the conjugations in present tense, your professor would draw a table on the blackboard with the whole conjugation and would explain the whole thing: YO HABLO; TÚ HABLAS, ÉL HABLA…).*
57. To wrap up, what would you say is the most valuable thing about taking Spanish classes at UNM?
58. If you were going to convince another student to take classes in SHL, what would you say?
59. Is there anything else you want to say about your thoughts on grammar, language use, or the SHL program in general?

Molly Perara-Lunde, University of New Mexico
mlunde@unm.edu

ES | **Molly Perara-Lunde** está cursando un doctorado en Lingüística Aplicada en la University of New Mexico. Cuenta con experiencia docente en cursos de español e inglés como segundas lenguas y de español como lengua de herencia. Actualmente es profesora de español como lengua de herencia en la Universidad de Nuevo México. Sus intereses giran en torno a la investigación de las lenguas de herencia, la sociología del lenguaje y el aprendizaje de segundas lenguas y lenguas maternas.

EN | **Molly Perara-Lunde** is a doctoral student in the program of Educational Linguistics at the University of New Mexico. She has experience teaching Spanish and English as a second language as well as Spanish as a Heritage Language. She currently teaches Spanish as a Heritage Language at the University of New Mexico. Her research interests include Heritage Language Research, Sociology of Language, and First and Second Language Development.

IT | **Molly Perara-Lunde** è dottoranda all'interno del programma di Linguistica Educativa all'University of New Mexico. Ha insegnato spagnolo e inglese come seconde lingue, e spagnolo come lingua ereditaria. Al momento è insegnante di spagnolo come lingua ereditaria presso l'University of New Mexico. I suoi principali interessi di ricerca comprendono lo studio della lingua ereditaria, la sociologia del linguaggio e lo sviluppo delle lingue seconde e materne.

Fernando Melero-García, Indiana University
fmelerog@indiana.edu

ES | **Fernando Melero-García** obtuvo un máster en Lengua Española con mención en Lingüística Hispánica en la University of New Mexico la pasada primavera de 2015. Desde el semestre de otoño de ese mismo año es estudiante de doctorado en el programa de Lingüística Hispánica de la Indiana University. Cuenta con experiencia docente en Estados Unidos tanto en cursos de español como lengua de herencia como de español como segunda lengua. Sus intereses investigadores giran en torno al español en los Estados Unidos, la variación lingüística y la sociolingüística.

EN | **Fernando Melero-García** graduated in Spring 2015 with an M.A. in Spanish with a concentration in Hispanic Linguistics at the University of New Mexico. In Fall 2015, he started a doctoral program in Hispanic Linguistics at Indiana University. He has experience teaching Spanish in the United States to both heritage and second language learners. His research interests include Spanish in the US, Language Variation, and Sociolinguistics.

IT | **Fernando Melero-García** ha conseguito un master in spagnolo nella primavera del 2015 con specializzazione in linguistica spagnola all'University of New Mexico. Nell'autunno del 2015 ha cominciato il dottorato in linguistica spagnola all'Indiana University. Ha insegnato spagnolo negli Stati Uniti sia come seconda lingua, sia come lingua ereditaria. I suoi principali interessi di ricerca comprendono lo spagnolo negli Stati Uniti, la variazione linguistica e la sociolinguistica.

Understanding the inheritors: The perception of beginning-level students toward their Spanish as a Heritage Language program

DAMIÁN VERGARA WILSON*, CARLOS ENRIQUE IBARRA
University of New Mexico

ABSTRACT

EN
How do students perceive their Spanish as a Heritage Language (SHL) program at a large southwestern university? Student perceptions of their language classes may be linked to affective needs and motivation (Tse, 2000) and a resolution of the potential mismatch between the perceptions of educators and students can lead to greater engagement and student satisfaction (Beaudrie, 2015). This study reports on the perspective of beginning-level students in 35 interviews conducted by the authors in order to gain insight into how participants conceive of the SHL program. The findings show that the participants respond positively to and comprehend the value of a pedagogical approach that values students' home varieties. They also recognize both the social importance and pedagogical potential of exploring bilingual community practices, such as code-switching. The findings support an approach that fosters engagement with the participants' speech communities as a valuable source of linguistic and cultural input.

Key words: IDENTITY, HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, CURRICULUM DESIGN, COMMUNITY-BASED LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION.

ES
¿Cuál es la percepción del programa de español como lengua de herencia por parte de estudiantes de una universidad grande en el suroeste de Estados Unidos? La percepción de los estudiantes en cuanto a sus clases de lengua de herencia podría estar vinculada a la motivación y a las necesidades afectivas (Tse, 2000); asimismo, resolver la posible discordancia entre la percepción de los docentes y la de los estudiantes puede llevar a un mayor compromiso y satisfacción por parte de estos. (Beaudrie, 2015). Este estudio presenta la perspectiva de estudiantes de nivel inicial a través de 35 entrevistas llevadas a cabo por los autores con el fin de comprender cómo conciben los participantes el programa de español como lengua de herencia. Los resultados demuestran que los participantes cuentan con una actitud positiva y comprenden el valor de un enfoque pedagógico que valora las diversas variedades lingüísticas de los estudiantes. Reconocen, además, tanto la importancia social como el potencial pedagógico derivado de la exploración de las costumbres dentro de la comunidad bilingüe como, por ejemplo, el cambio de código. Los resultados apoyan un enfoque que cultiva el involucramiento de los participantes con sus comunidades de habla.

Palabras clave: IDENTIDAD, ENSEÑANZA DE LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, ACTITUDES LINGÜÍSTICAS, DISEÑO CURRICULAR, ENSEÑANZA DE LA LENGUA BASADA EN LA COMUNIDAD.

IT
Come viene percepito il programma di Spagnolo come Lingua Ereditaria dagli studenti di una grande università nel sud-ovest degli Stati Uniti? La percezione degli studenti nei confronti dei corsi di lingua potrebbe essere legata ai loro bisogni affettivi e alla motivazione (Tse, 2000); inoltre, risolvere la potenziale discordanza tra la percezione degli insegnanti e quella degli studenti può portare non solo ad un maggiore coinvolgimento degli studenti, ma anche ad un senso di gratificazione degli stessi (Beaudrie, 2015). Questo studio presenta la prospettiva di studenti di livello elementare mediante 35 interviste condotte dagli autori con lo scopo di capire come i partecipanti concepiscono il Programma di Spagnolo come Lingua Ereditaria. I risultati dimostrano che i partecipanti hanno un'attitudine positiva e comprendono il valore di un approccio pedagogico che valorizza le diverse varietà linguistiche degli studenti. Riconoscono, inoltre, sia l'importanza sociale, sia il potenziale pedagogico derivanti dall'esplorazione delle consuetudini all'interno delle comunità bilingui, come ad esempio la pratica di *code switching*. I risultati supportano un approccio che favorisca il coinvolgimento delle comunità dei partecipanti come risorsa preziosa di input linguistico e culturale.

Parole chiave: IDENTITÀ, INSEGNAMENTO DELLA LINGUA EREDITARIA, ATTITUDINI LINGUISTICHE, PROGETTAZIONE DEL CURRICULUM, INSEGNAMENTO DELLA LINGUA BASATO SULLA COMUNITÀ.

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* Contact: damianvw@unm.edu

1. Introduction

In a recent examination of the state of the field of teaching Spanish as heritage language at the post-secondary level, Beaudrie (2012, p. 207) found that there has been an expansion of programs. She found that of 422 institutions surveyed, 169 (40%) offered at least one course for heritage learners of Spanish, representing a notable increase compared to findings from 2002 (Ingold, Rivers, Chavez Tesser, & Asby, 2002), which reported only 17.8% of institutions offered SHL courses. The presence of these programs has expanded well beyond the regions of the US with longstanding Spanish-speaking communities, such as the Southwestern US, Florida, New York, and Chicago with programs being found in 26 states by Beaudrie (2012). When examined overall, there is a positive correlation between the size of the Hispanic population in a given university and the availability of SHL course offerings (Beaudrie, 2012, p. 210). While she recognizes that this is a noteworthy success for advocates of SHL, and that this should be commended given the great effort to achieve this expansion, Beaudrie also acknowledges that with expansion, there must also be a concomitant research effort in order to insure high quality education and program implementation.

In this effort to insure quality education, Beaudrie emphasizes research on the student perspective because of its value in informing pedagogical practices and programmatic endeavors. Beaudrie (2012) highlights two themes that surface in research on student perceptions: the foreign-language learning environment is not adequate or appropriate for SHL learner needs, and discrepancies exist between the expectations of SHL students and programmatic offerings. Another salient factor that Beaudrie (2012) highlights is the dearth of scholarly work on SHL learner perspectives available for her to survey (e.g. Beaudrie, 2006, 2009; Beaudrie, Ducar & Relaño-Pastor, 2009; Ducar, 2008; Felix, 2004; Potowski, 2002; Schwarzer & Petrón, 2005). Beaudrie (2012) goes on to issue the following call to SHL practitioners: "Because what researchers and educators believe to be most important may not always coincide with what the students expect and need, *student voices must be incorporated into the design of SHL programs*" (p. 214) [emphasis ours]. The present investigation is an attempt to listen to these voices and the rest of this section highlights other attempts to do so.

A number of investigations in particular warrant further discussion here due to their similarity with the present research in terms of using qualitative data to put SHL student perspectives at the center of pedagogical considerations. One of the earliest attempts came from Krashen (1998): he interviewed three SHL learners (henceforth SHLLs). His data focused on problems that SHLLs faced when interacting in the heritage language within their speech communities and on problems faced in foreign language classes. In the community, his participants recounted admonishment, ridicule, and criticism for their perceived imperfections in the heritage language (henceforth HL). In the foreign language classroom, SHLL language insecurity may be exacerbated by a focus on explicit grammar, which privileges second language learners who have learned prescribed rules without acquiring substantial communicative competency. Krashen's participants reported that native speaker instructors frequently held higher expectations of students with a Latino background. In response to his findings, he proposed the implementation of SHL classes that provide rich comprehensible input not necessarily available in the community; to this end he suggested a focus on free voluntary reading (Krashen, 1998, p. 47).

Perhaps one of the studies that bears the most similarities to the present, although more limited in scope, came from Schwarzer and Petrón (2005) who conducted in-depth interviews with three SHLLs in order to explore their perspectives in both foreign and heritage language classes. Through semi-guided interviews, Schwarzer and Petrón's participants elaborated on core themes in a way that enabled the researchers to conduct an emergent thematic analysis of the students' voices. Participants expressed the importance of cultural ties and family as motivating factors in language development. In articulating the "Perfect Class" (Schwarzer & Petrón, 2005, p. 574), the participants emphasized the futility of explicit grammar instruction while highlighting the utility of developing vocabulary and oral proficiency through a focus on authentic materials and topics. Drawing from the students' perspectives, Schwarzer and Petrón proposed an eight-point set of theoretical principles aimed at informing the creation of effective heritage language curriculum in a way that reconciled student needs and educator goals. Through their eight principles, the authors highlighted the potential of both sociolinguistic approaches and critical pedagogy in promoting heritage language acquisition. Without researching the SHLL perspective, the authors warn, educators risk student disdain that will be expressed through their avoidance of following Spanish classes. However, Schwarzer and Petrón's article is limited in that the principles are theoretical and have not been investigated in classroom implementation.

A more recent qualitative study focusing on classroom discourse from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective by Showstack (2012) analyzed the way heritage speakers constructed and represented linguistic and cultural identities. Her study found that students constructed linguistic identities by elevating hybrid cultural experiences, but at the same time they questioned the legitimacy of their own linguistic practices. Showstack suggested that HL educators need to raise awareness of hegemonic discourses in order to deconstruct them and to foster more empowering discourses among HL learning communities.

There have also been investigations into the SHLL perspective that draw on a combination of survey and interview data. Through questionnaire data and group interviews Potowski (2002) found that SHLLs were dissatisfied in foreign language classes because of an internalized feeling of inferiority they felt in the face of higher expectations from teachers and a curricular focus on explicit grammar. In conducting a series of interviews with SHLLs in order to complement quantitative findings on language use in a 5th grade dual immersion classroom, Potowski (2004) highlighted the notion of *investment* in the heritage language; if identity investments of SHLLs compete with investment in developing the heritage language, educators will miss opportunities to foster language growth. Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) combined interview and survey data in order to explore the needs of beginning-level SHLLs and found that, despite a lack of advanced oral skills, their participants had identity needs related to the HL, possessed cultural competence, and needed confidence building in a way that justified a beginning-level course in the SHL sequence.

In the first major study to compare SHL student and teacher perceptions of instructional effectiveness, Beaudrie (2015) once again highlights the importance of student perspectives. Beaudrie's primary data collection came from a 25-item survey delivered to 460 students and 9 instructors, which was bolstered by follow up interviews with 10 students and 2 teachers. While there was much agreement between SHLLs and instructors, there were divergent opinions in key areas. For example, students indicated that only Spanish should be used for instruction whereas instructors indicated that Spanglish should also be tolerated. Also, students indicated a preference for explicit grammar instruction whereas instructors preferred inductive grammar instruction. There was also divergence regarding error correction and instructor lectures. Beaudrie (2015), although recognizing that discrepancies may lead to disillusionment, states that:

> I do not suggest that teachers should necessarily follow students' preferences solely for the purpose of increasing their level of satisfaction. Rather, I advocate that teachers engage in open dialogue with students on their perspectives on effective practices and address any discrepancies that may arise. (p. 289)

There is much more research on student perceptions in foreign language learner settings (see Beaudrie, 2015 and Brown, 2009 for a more thorough review) and two notable studies come to bear in their relevancy to the present project, Brown (2009) and Tse (2000). In a study similar to Beaudrie's (2015), Brown (2009) collected Likert-scale data by surveying 1,606 students and 49 instructors of nine different languages on the effectiveness of various practices. One of the main findings was that while teachers in the aggregate endorsed communicative language teaching, students were less convinced as to its utility and indicated a stronger preference for explicit grammar instruction. However, Brown does not advocate for using the information in his study to inform curricular modifications, as does Beaudrie (2015). Instead, Brown concludes by suggesting that educators survey students in order to assess their expectations while using the opportunity to explain the efficacy of the methods behind the course implementation to the students.

A qualitative investigation comes from Tse (2000) who examined autobiographical essays from fifty-one participants describing foreign language learning. Tse (2000) identified three prominently featured categories: "classroom interactions, perceived level of success, and attributions of success and failure" (p. 69). As with the present endeavor, Tse argues that the open, unrestricted format of qualitative data allows participants to express views in a richer fashion than in surveys. There were three overarching findings: students did not feel that classes devoted adequate time to oral communication, self-reports indicated that they gained only low levels of language proficiency, and they reported that their own lack of effort was a chief factor in low achievement. Tse found that many students expressed expectations that were more in line with traditional language teaching. She took this as evidence that traditional approaches were more common than thought given the growing popularity of communicative language teaching. Finally, as much of Tse's discussion revolved around the impact of affective factors, some participants reported that in Spanish classes the presence of native speakers or heritage learners caused discouragement.

Given the growth in research on heritage language education, it is surprising that there is not more research that examines the perspective of the heritage language learner. The present work seeks to fill an important gap that exists in the field of Spanish as a Heritage Language through examining the perceptions and beliefs held by beginning-level SHLLs toward the SHL program. We also report briefly on a larger-scale effort to collect qualitative data through semi-guided interviews conducted at the University of New Mexico, entitled *La perspectiva estudiantil* 'The Student Perspective' (henceforth LPE). The following section gives a background of the *Sabine Ulibarrí Spanish as a Heritage Language* program and its environs. Section 3 provides an overview of the LPE project and summarizes the different research endeavors. Section 4 focuses on 'Understanding the Inheritors' through 35 interviews with beginning-level students conducted by the authors and describes overarching findings. Section 5 discusses implications and Section 6 provides concluding remarks.

2. Background

The interviews for the present project were conducted on students enrolled in Spanish classes at the University of New Mexico in the 2014-2015 school year by the LPE research team consisting of the faculty coordinator of the Spanish as a Heritage Language program and a group of eight graduate student researchers.

2.1 The state of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico

New Mexico is a somewhat anomalous state in terms of the maintenance of Spanish and demographic trends affecting the Hispanic population. On one hand, New Mexico was the first state in the US in which the proportion of the Hispanic population (46.3%) surpassed the White/Non-Hispanic population, as documented in the 2010 Census (U.S. Census, 2011). Because of the notable presence of Hispanics in the state, and due to its shared border with Mexico, it would appear that New Mexico is poised to be one of the states that most successfully maintains the Spanish language. However, this is not the case. Jenkins (2009) examined census data from 2000 in order to make comparisons to previous census data and found that New Mexico was the southwestern state with the lowest overall rate of both intergenerational transmission of Spanish and language loyalty (the percentage of Hispanics who maintain the heritage language). In his work on the 2010 census, on the other hand, Jenkins (2013) found indications that the sociolinguistic outlook for Spanish had improved for the southwest in in terms of language maintenance, but he did not individually look at New Mexico. However, because he examined aggregated data, we can infer that the observed improvement in Jenkins (2013) applies to New Mexico as well. Therefore, we see a situation that will foster many receptive instead of productive bilinguals and that will instantiate the need for beginning-level SHL instruction.

The University of New Mexico main campus maintains a grand total student population of about 28,000 (UNM Registrar, 2015) that is reflective of the state's population in many ways: 46% (n=9,298) of the undergraduate population is Hispanic. However, when examining the population of incoming freshmen, this rate rises to 50% (n=1,579). While these figures would appear to be favorable to an SHL program, there are many factors that represent significant challenges and obstacles, among them collective misconceptions as described below.

2.2 The Sabine Ulibarrí Spanish as a Heritage Language program

The Sabine Ulibarrí Spanish as a Heritage Language program (SUSHL) is one of the largest, most comprehensive, and longest-enduring SHL programs in the US with four lower-division levels (Span 111, Span 112, Span 211, and Span 212) as well as two upper-division levels (Span 301 Topics, Span 302 Writing). The SUSHL program is one of the few SHL programs that serves beginning-level students with the Span 111 course. The lower-division maintains a range of 16-21 sections across the different levels, a figure that fluctuates due to various factors. Graduate Teaching Assistants teach all sections.

Because the program serves a broad range of students, from beginning-level students who tend to enter the program with receptive skills to SHLLs who use Spanish in their daily lives, a broad definition is used for recruitment: "SHL learners seek to explore and develop their connection to the Spanish language. Such a connection to the language may come through community, family, or cultural heritage" (Wilson & Martínez, 2011, p. 128).

Student perceptions impact recruitment and misconceptions appear to influence many enrollment decisions leading many potential SHL students to enroll themselves in Beginning Spanish 101 in the Spanish as a Second Language track. Three commonly encountered misconceptions are: 1) students think that Span

111 is more advanced than 101 because of the numerical difference, 2) students are intimidated because they think that all Span 111 students enter the class already proficient in the heritage language, and 3) students enroll in Span 101 because they think they can achieve an easy A for their language requirement. One of the common threads behind these misconceptions is a perception that the student's own heritage variety is fundamentally in need of rectification, which causes the student to pursue what they believe to be 'correct grammar' through enrolling in 101. While the in-house placement exam (see Wilson, 2012) and outreach to advisors have done much to resolve misplacement, there remains a large group of students who come to class in the first week of the semester in need of rectifying a placement or enrollment issue. What is certain is that the need for exploring student attitudes and perceptions of the SUSHL program has become increasingly necessary.

3. *La perspectiva estudiantil*, 'The student perspective'

The current endeavor, 'Understanding the Inheritors', is part of a larger project entitled *La perspectiva estudiantil.* This section describes the participants, data, and methods shared by the LPE team (we describe the methods of analysis particular to 'Understanding the Inheritors' in 4.3). Furthermore, we provide an overview of the research conducted thus far by the research team: in addition to the principal investigator, there were eight graduate-level researchers on the research team, which has generated five separate investigations to date including the present. With a total of 69 interviews, this is the largest scale effort to compile qualitative interviews with the goal of obtaining the perspective of SHLLs (or, relevant to SHLLs in some cases) to date.

3.1 Data and Methods

All members of the research team were given an interview packet that included consent forms, an interview guide, and a template for interview notes. All interviews were recorded and the interviews lasted from 12 minutes to over an hour. Participants were informed that they could elaborate in Spanish, English, or both in order to honor bilingual code-switching practices. The interview notes served as a resource for identifying the segments of the interviews that were most salient to the individual projects.

There were 16 background questions that all researchers asked their participants in order to obtain biographical information, language history and usage patterns, motivations for taking Spanish, self-assessment of proficiency, and questions regarding identity (see Appendix 1). Following the background questions, each research team conducted semi-guided interviews pertinent to the team's investigation. While targeted data were largely obtained through asking specific questions or prompting the participants in regards to certain themes, researchers conducted the interviews with a dialogic approach in order to give students maximal control in articulating their perspectives. Important themes emerged in places where they were not necessarily elicited. Therefore, interviews were examined holistically.

3.2 Participants and overview of projects

Participants were recruited from an array of Spanish classes according to the goals of the different projects. While most participants were enrolled in lower-division SHL classes, others were enrolled in lower-division Spanish as a second language (SSL) courses or upper-division courses such as SPAN 352 Advanced Grammar. We recruited participants through in-class presentations and all participants were offered extra credit for their participation.

Table 1
Overview of La perspectiva estudiantil

Topic (researchers)	Level	Sex (number)	Total
1a) Beginning SHLL's perspective of the SHL program (Wilson & Ibarra) 1b) Assessment of program-specific materials (Ibarra & Poulin)	SHL 111	F (21), M (14)	35
2) SHLLs' conception of grammar (Melero-García & Perara-Lunde)	SHL 212	F (10), M (4)	14
3) Language perceptions in Advanced Grammar (Cisneros & Schulman)	Upper-Division, mixed	F (6), M (2)	8
4) Transformative experiences in the SHL classroom (Echternach)	SHL 111, SHL 112, SHL 211, Upper-Division	F (5), M (1)	6
5) Are Brazilian Portuguese speakers better served in SHL or FL classes? (Ferreira de Faria)	SSL	F (4), M (2)	6
	Overall	F (46), M (23)	69

Table 1 demonstrates the diversification in the effort to obtain individualized data sets. In examining the overall group of participants, we see that exactly one third of the sixty-nine participants are male and two-thirds female; this is a reflection of the gender distribution of the student body in the Spanish department as a whole.

Cisneros and Schulman (2015) interviewed upper-division participants regarding their experience in Span 352, Advanced Grammar, as part of an effort by faculty to revamp this course to rectify the fact that L2 learners habitually earn higher grades than SHLLs. They found conflicting views toward standard language ideologies in contrast to the validation of local varieties and proposed teaching language variation. Perara-Lunde and Melero-García's (2015, this issue) work departed from the observation that SHLLs hold complicated attitudes toward grammar. In their study of fourth-semester SHLLs, Perara-Lunde and Melero-García found that their participants generally conceived of grammar as a set of prescriptive rules that would help in acquiring a formal register of Spanish. At the same time, their participants recognized the value in maintaining the community variety of Spanish. Echternach (2015) interviewed participants about transformative experiences and found that many students were inspired by the usage of a personally relevant variety of Spanish, by meaningful connections made with other students, and by discussions of identity. The work by Ferreira de Faria (2014) presents an interesting case and focuses on a growing number of Brazilian students. While all of her participants stated that they chose to be put into the SSL program, they all reported that they wished for more authentic cultural activities and for the type of contextually meaningful, task-based activities that are implemented in the SHL program. The author, a Brazilian Portuguese speaker herself, took a fourth-semester SHL course and found it to be very satisfactory. Finally, Ibarra and Poulin's (2015) work documented attitudes and impressions that students and instructors held towards the program-specific textbook used in Span 111, *Español, Nuestra Herencia, Nuestro Tesoro: Spanish as a Heritage Language* (Gonzales & Gonzales de Tucker, 2009), and towards the *Learn Packet* (Schulman et al., 2014), a collection of task-based activities based on the traditions, celebrations, representative locations, and people of New Mexico. Students appreciated the *Learn Packet* for its cultural content and the opportunity to speak about topics they felt close to, while they liked the textbook for the vocabulary, explanations of structure, and New Mexican context. About one third of students expressed identification ("saw themselves") within the textbook, while the rest expressed a stronger affinity with the *Learn Packet.*

4. Understanding the inheritors

In this section we report on the investigation conducted by the present authors that focuses on understanding the perspective of beginning-level SHLLs. The research question that guided this research is decidedly broad because this is preliminary work and we did not have a set idea as to how the students would respond. Because simply offering an SHL course is a departure from traditional teaching, and because of innovations in the implementation of this particular program, we wanted to see if students held any cogent or widespread perceptions toward their beginning-level courses. Therefore, the guiding question is: How do students perceive their Spanish as a Heritage Language (SHL) program at a large southwestern university?

4.1 Spanish 111: Beginning Spanish as a Heritage Language

The SUSHL program is one of the few programs to offer courses for beginning-level SHLLs that provide instruction to beginners with mainly receptive skills in order to promote the development of oral competency as well as listening, reading, and writing skills. In addition to these linguistic proficiency-based goals, Span 111, like all courses in the SUSHL program, aims to develop cultural competency of the heritage community, critical awareness of issues facing Spanish speakers in the US, and self-confidence in using the heritage language.

One of the noteworthy features of this course is the usage of materials specifically designed for this program and this level. The main textbook, *Español, Nuestra Herencia, Nuestro Tesoro: Spanish as a Heritage Language* (Gonzales & Gonzales de Tucker, 2009) is a custom publication that uses New Mexican culture as a backdrop for instruction and activities. There are many images of important places in the state and readings focus on New Mexican themes including vocabulary from Traditional Northern New Mexican Spanish. In an ongoing effort to provide contextualized and relevant instructional materials for our students, we have developed a packet of task-based activities–the *Learn Packet* (Schulman *et al.*, 2014)–designed to boost vocabulary and oral fluency. As with the textbook, these materials use the heritage culture to contextualize activities.

A second noteworthy feature in Spanish 111 is the attempt to uplift bilingual practices found in the students' speech communities. New Mexico is known for bilingual practices and code-switching represents a bilingual speech mode that is common in heritage language communities (Travis & Torres Cacoullos, 2013). Instead of portraying it as aberrant behavior that needs rectification, we attempt to cultivate a positive attitude toward bilingual behavior as a valuable discourse mode. The final project for the course is called the *Spanglish Scavenger Hunt*, in which students brainstorm on who, where, and when code-switching happens and then follow up on this brainstorming by going into the community in order to overhear, document, and participate in bilingual discourse. We foster the notion that attending to and participating in bilingual behavior can help these beginning-level students in two important ways. First, code-switching is rich in contextual cues because students gain information about the topic of a conversation through segments produced in their dominant language, English, which helps them to understand the ensuing segments in Spanish. Second, while we recognize that intimate code-switching is a sign of a high level of bilingualism, beginning-level students may take advantage of this speech norm in order to use what Spanish they know with interlocutors and revert to elements from the dominant language when needed. We have found this orientation toward bilingual behaviors to be successful in fostering engagement among our students and will return to the topic of bilingual practices below.

4.2 Overview of participants

The 35 participants (21 F, 14 M) in this *Perspectiva de los principiantes* were between 18 and 33 years old, all enrolled in Span 111 over the course of one semester. All except for 2 had lived in New Mexico for at least 8 years. In the rest of this paper we use pseudonyms to refer to specific participants. Table 2 below shows the geographical origin distribution of the participants. While 14 students were from central New Mexico, essentially Albuquerque, 12 were from the northern part of the state, and 7 from southern New Mexico.

Table 2
Place of origin of participants

Place of Origin	N
Central New Mexico:	
Albuquerque	14
Total CNM:	14 (40%)
Northern New Mexico:	
Santa Fe	3
Española	2
Chamisal	1
Los Alamos	1
Pojoaque	1
Taos	1
Las Vegas	1
Abiquiú	1
Gallup	1
Total NNM:	12 (34%)
Southern New Mexico:	
Las Cruces	2
Texico	2
Roswell	2
Artesia	1
Total SNM:	7 (20%)
Outside NM:	
Arizona	1
Colorado	1
Total Outside:	2 (6%)

The next table summarizes the identification labels used by these students to express their group affiliation. In terms of identification with a specific group, many students used more than one label; in the spirit of respecting and adhering to the way students expressed their group affiliation, we included all labels even if some may seem redundant or represented a mix (e.g. *Hispanic and Caucasian*). While one of the most used labels was 'Hispanic', we can see in Table 3 that the identity of students in SHL courses is extremely rich and complex.

Table 3
Identity labels used by participants

Identity Label	N	Identity Label	N
Hispanic	21	Chicana	1
New Mexican	4	Arizonian	1
Hispanic and White	3	Mexican	1
Hispanic and Caucasian	3	Latino	1
White	2	Mexicano	1
African-American	2	All American	1
Mixed	1	Australian	1
Spanish	1	Hispanic American	1
New Mexican Caucasian	1	Mexican-American	1
Anglo-Hispanic	1	Spanish and Irish	1
Caucasian	1	Non-Hispanic White	1
Black and Hispanic	1	Spaniard	1

4.3 Interview themes and data extraction methods: Understanding the inheritors

In addition to the background questions that were common to all iterations of the LPE project, the present investigation focused on questions that had to do with students' perceptions of the SHL program, the program goals, and the student body. Additionally, we prompted participants to compare Span 111 to any previously taken courses and to compare community and classroom usage of Spanish. These research questions were used to encourage the participant to elaborate on the topics highlighted and the ensuing responses were characterized by dialogue between the researcher and the participant. Therefore, while we attempted to elicit targeted responses, we also attempted to give participants as much volition as possible in the interview. All of these interviews were conducted in the last four weeks of the fall 2014 semester. Table 4, below, provides the targeted interview questions relevant to the present study.

Table 4
Interview questions used across the Perspectiva de los principiantes

IQ 1: If you were going to describe the SHL program to someone outside of UNM, how would you describe it?

IQ 2: In your experience, what do you see as the goals of the SHL program?

IQ 3: How would you describe the SHL student body? OR, what do you think makes someone a candidate for the SHL program?

IQ 4: Have you taken Spanish in the past? How does this compare?

IQ 5: Do you plan to continue? Why or why not?

IQ 6: Spanish in the classroom. Does it match what you hear in the community? How do you describe Spanish in the community?

IQ 7: General statements about your experience

We transcribed the interviews and examined them for salient themes in a manner largely in line with interpretive analysis as described by Hatch (2002, pp. 179-191). The authors discussed the interviews in order to get a sense of the whole set. We then returned to the data to verify whether the themes we discussed bore out in a closer analysis of the transcripts and identified segments that represented these themes. Many of the thematic segments were elicited by the targeted interview questions while other relevant segments

were found in other portions of the data. The segments we identified were entered into appropriately tagged columns of a spreadsheet. We then examined these thematically coded segments in order to identify representative trends as well as outliers. What follows is the first iteration of our endeavor to understand beginning-level SHLLs through qualitative interviews.

4.3.1 Perception of the program

We hypothesized that due to the potential for confusion stemming from institutional mayhem or other factors, many SHL students would not meaningfully understand the program or its goals. Therefore, this section focuses on the data targeted by IQ 1, IQ 2, and IQ 3.

One of the most important findings is that we found that our hypothesis was mostly wrong and that students had a substantial understanding of the program. When asked to "describe the SHL program to someone outside of UNM," answers varied, but the majority mentioned that they perceived that the program tied heritage language learning and heritage culture together. A representative statement comes from Marcus:

> I feel like the heritage class looks not only at the language but the culture itself. A closer look at the traditions... how they are in New Mexico and in the southwestern states, how they differ in Mexico, Central America. So it takes a more broader approach. I feel likes it's a little more enriching because of that. You're not just learning a language you're learning more. It's helped me to appreciate my culture a little bit more as well. (Marcus)

This example illustrates that, for this student, the approach taken by the SHL program has been successful in cultivating an appreciation of the heritage culture, which in turn raises motivation to develop skills in the heritage language. Only one student did not highlight the appreciation of culture as part of their perception of the SHL course (James). In terms of motivation driving skills outside of the classroom, eleven participants (31%) explicitly stated that Span 111 had enhanced their ability to communicate with their families or community members. We did not directly ask if participants felt more confident about using Spanish in the community as a result of taking Span 111 and it is likely that more students than indicated perceived increased competence.

A salient theme that arose in describing the program was a sense of community and comfort toward the learning community. Erica states:

> I feel it's just like community based, and there's like a lot of opportunities, and a lot of people in this organization. I really like it. It's very just like comfortable and homey, you know. Very Albuquerque. (Erica)

The statement by the participant that the program is "comfortable" was reflected by eight participants in all (23%). One of the main reasons that this comfort level is worthy of highlighting is due to the general finding by researchers that SHLLs do not fare well in foreign language classrooms (as highlighted in Beaudrie, 2012), often due to high expectations on the part of the teacher or criticism of the student's heritage variety (e.g. Schwarzer & Petrón, 2005). While only one participant mentioned overt criticism of New Mexican speech communities in foreign language classrooms, a lack of validation is evinced through the conspicuous omission of any reports by the participants that heritage language speech communities were legitimized or recognized in previously experienced classes. By way of contrast, all but one participant (James again) perceived that New Mexican and southwestern Spanish language communities were uplifted in Span 111, and this was a recurring theme in participants' elaboration of the class being comfortable. The way in which Erica used "community based," "homey," and "Very Albuquerque" as part of her construction of the course as a comfortable one was representative of the other responses that described the program this way. Because of the community-based approach, and the attention given to affective needs of the students in Span 111, Erica's response is not surprising and indicates that students have picked up on programmatic orientations. We did not explicitly ask if this class was more comfortable than foreign language classes but can infer that the almost unanimous recognition of the importance of culture implies at least some level of enhanced comfort on the part of almost all students.

Despite lacking reports of overt attempts at eradication of heritage variety norms, three participants reported a focus on monolingual speech-community norms while twelve others (34%) mentioned an overt focus on explicit grammar instruction when describing their previous classes (see below). In elaborating on her perception of Span 111, Cassandra contrasts it to a class she took previously at a community college: "She

[the instructor] was very specific, she had a specific Spanish she was trying to teach us. She lived in Spain so that's what she was trying to teach us was the Spanish in Spain" (Cassandra). In contrast, Cassandra goes on to describe the goals of Span 111:

> [To] learn the background of Spanish in New Mexico. That's what we've been doing a lot. To give us a better understanding of the language, learning, really learning the language, incorporating our own traditions and our own ways of trying to learn the language. (Cassandra)

As we see here, the participant does not state that the instructor overtly criticized local speech communities, but, instead, ignored them in favor of a monolingual variety that was relevant to the instructor. Cassandra, who gave indications of having passive bilingual skills upon entering the class, mentioned that because of her enhanced enthusiasm for learning fostered in Span 111 she was currently attempting to communicate more with her grandmother in Spanish. Our data provide evidence that SHLLs feel unengaged or uncomfortable in foreign language Spanish classes and it appears that some of this disengagement comes from a lack of validation or recognition of local speech communities. In Cassandra's case, the perception that the SUSHL program uplifts New Mexican speech communities appears to foster language learning.

In congruency with the participants' efforts to describe the program, when asked to describe the perceived goals of the SHL program there was a great deal of overlap in terms of highlighting cultural and linguistic learning. The theme of uplifting the heritage variety arose once again in responses to describing perceived goals. As Christine reported:

> The culture of New Mexico kind of comes through and… using their language already as like… their language is already such a value, and kind of like projecting that, and like growing culturally and growing their language so they understand New Mexico culture and they understand the culture of the language while also learning the language and kind of like getting better at the language. (Christine)

We see that Christine perceives the language of New Mexico to be "such a value" and connects it to the notion of culture. She also highlights connection between language learning and understanding the culture of the language.

In terms of understanding the program, there was only one student who said that he did not know how to describe it. James, a business major, said that he did not know what the SHL program was about. He also stated that he was only taking the class as a requirement and that he did not plan to take any more Spanish classes in the future. However, he did state that he would take more Spanish if it were offered in his field of study. This student's response is illustrative of what must be a small number of students who will not be engaged in the heritage language learning process due to a lack of motivation, instrumental or otherwise, to learn the language. As mentioned above, James is the only participant who did not highlight the cultural aspect of Span 111.

Returning to the theme of identity, one remarkable aspect is the uniform concept that students articulated as to who is identified as a heritage learner for the purpose of enrolling in Span 111 when responding to IQ 3. Because most students in our study claimed identity labels such as *Hispanic* we hypothesized that students would perceive the program as catering to a Hispanic population. However, only one student had an overtly racialized perception of the program, stating that it is "for people of *Hispanic* descent who want to learn the language and is more specific to that type of people, who have a relation to the culture" (Maricela). In contrast, when questioned specifically about the student population in their class, all other participants (except James) tended to indicate the sense of community provided by being around other students with very similar life experiences. As one student (Dario) put it, "being with other heritage speakers gives class a sense of community"; along the same lines, Marissa expressed that "Being with others who share background makes it feel less intimidating, [because we are] all in the same boat." The general idea as to who is an appropriate candidate for Span 111, therefore, centered upon two concepts: growing up with ties to the language and the community, and holding a certain degree of familiarity with the culture of New Mexico. One common characteristic was motivation, with all participants (except James) wanting to learn and speak about the land, the language, the culture, and the traditions in class, as opposed to merely satisfying a requirement. Ariel summarized this student perspective: "[It is about] wanting to communicate and interact with New Mexicans over just getting the credit." At the same time, 17 participants (49%) recognized the value of knowing Spanish for its instrumental value in enhancing employment possibilities.

In all, the participants interviewed held a similar view of the program, which reveals that their instructors are transmitting the orientation and goals of the program to them successfully. These goals are transmitted to the instructors through training and materials provided to them. Therefore, we see that the students go from a conspicuous lack of understanding of the SUSHL program in the recruitment phase to understanding and investing themselves in the program. We must continually strive to communicate these goals to students, as highlighted in Beaudrie (2015). We do so explicitly and implicitly through activities that provide communicative opportunities in a comfortable atmosphere that fosters validation of heritage language communities.

4.3.2 Comparison to other classes

One of the most salient results was a comparison of Span 111 to other Spanish classes, as elicited through IQ 4. All but three participants had taken between 1 and 6 years of Spanish courses previously in middle and high school, or in other type of courses (e. g. summer). Students were asked to tell us about their impressions in comparing the Span 111 course they were taking to previously taken courses. Students articulated that the communicative aspect of the course ("hands on," as Dario put it), along with the cultural aspect that emphasized New Mexican traditions, *fiestas*, celebrations, and places of historical significance helped them become more in touch with the structure and vocabulary of the language. In other words, these New Mexican cultural elements provided a rich background context that appears to encourage communicative interaction about topics students have in common. One student (Christine) stressed the importance of this personalization of the Span 111 course, saying that she felt that it was easier for her as a student to speak about places and events with which she was familiar. Several students perceived the Spanish in their previous courses as not serving a communicative purpose, with one of them (Tracy) mentioning that high school Spanish was "grammar-based" with "no speaking or saying things to each other. There was no communication, just 'academic' Spanish," and another student (Desiree) contrasting that "socializing and interacting gets the flow going." Another difference that students highlighted was the focus on writing in previous courses, through cloze and short answer format, and how that did not seem to help them internalize and retain the language. As one student (Frederick) put it: "[in previous Spanish courses, we] did lots of writing assignments," "only filled out worksheets," and used "fixed context-less phrases.". In the opinion of another student, "high school Spanish was all about writing it" (Melissa). On the other hand, Francisco expressed that Span 111 offered "more conversation over just fill-in-the-blank." Rod, a freshman, gauged his experience in terms of his communicative abilities explicitly, and states that "[Span] 111 … helped with being able to communicate in Spanish the most."

Students put significant value in the real-life situations that were part of the course, in which they had to use their Spanish to get information from each other and from people in the community (for their final project). Mandy summarized it as having "really learned how to use the language here [Span 111], versus learning vocabulary in high school classes and not having the real-life experience."

In this preliminary examination of the data, it appears that the beginning-level students are appreciative of a course that uplifts their home variety and local culture, and provides them with speaking opportunities. Being mainly freshmen, it was typical to see students who had been placed into Span 111 right after completing one or more years of Spanish courses at the high school level. Twenty participants (57%) mentioned that their previous classes focused on drills of repetition, filling out worksheets, and other passive learning approaches. It appears that the manner of instruction faced by these participants in previous courses made them hungry for a classroom that focused on contextualized communicative and proficiency-building activities. As with Tse (2000), these findings indicate a prevalence of 'traditional' grammar-based teaching. What is more, these 'traditional' classes do not give their students the skills to begin their university studies beyond the beginner level.

4.3.3 Code-switching

As described above in 4.1, we foster a positive attitude toward bilingual practices in Spanish 111 because of its pervasiveness in communities of practice and its potential as a valuable learning tool. It is not surprising that themes of code-switching came to light during the investigative process in response to a variety of prompts, including IQ 6. We did not have prompts directly asking for participants to elucidate on bilingual behavior but systematically encouraged them to do so if they brought it up, which all participants did. In analyzing discourse describing bilingual practices, there were mixed perspectives from the participants: 25 (71%) maintained unequivocally positive views toward code-switching throughout the

interviews, whereas 8 (23%) displayed views that mixed positive and negative evaluations of code-switching. Only two participants held only negative perceptions of bilingual practices. Furthermore, 30 students reported that they used the heritage language regularly outside of the classroom and, of these, eight claimed that they engaged in code-switching. While we did not get an idea as to usage of "Spanglish" in the classroom, it appears that our findings contrast somewhat with those of Beaudrie (2015), who found that students dispreferred "Spanglish" as a classroom language.

Among the students who held a positive view toward code-switching, the notion of this practice as a skill emerged, as in Christine's illustrative response:

> I think code-switching is actually so cool. ... Cuz I feel like I'm a very analytical person and I'm just like straightforward. But the fact that people can just like switch back and forth is so cool, I think. *I think it's a really awesome skill to have.* ... If it like helps them get their point across that's even better like. ... That's a unique New Mexican thing that we do code-switching. Like that doesn't just happen everywhere. Very cool. (Christine)

Christine recognizes that code-switching is a skill that helps speakers "get their point across." Or, as Annemarie succinctly put it, "Spanglish makes it easier to communicate."

One of the two unabashedly negative views comes from Austin, a 20-year-old junior from Roswell, NM, who states that "Spanglish seems like a lazy language." This student is an interesting case in many ways as he is symbolic of the wide recruitment effort and inclusiveness of the program. In terms of identity labels, Austin states that he is a "New Mexican Caucasian male." He is in the Army and plans to pursue a military career. In terms of linguistic history, he overheard his father and grandparents speak Spanish because they lived for many years in Perú. Also, Austin stated that he was proficient in Spanish as a child due to the fact that he had a Spanish-speaking nanny from three to eight years of age. In examining the data from Austin, we see that he is very enamored of New Mexican culture and that he responds positively to the highlighting of the state's culture presented in the *Learn Packet* (Schulman *et al.*, 2014). However, while Austin maintains notions of correctness in his attitude toward Spanglish and in other areas (he claims to know instinctively when speakers "speak Spanish the correct way"), he states that he himself does use Spanglish in and outside of class.

Regarding the final project, *The Spanglish Scavenger Hunt*, many participants commented on this project in their interviews despite the lack of a direct prompt. Of the two participants who held negative views toward bilingual practices only one stated overtly that he did not like this project. Fredrick, who describes himself as Anglo-Hispanic and is taking the course for cultural reasons, stated that he had difficulty with the project because "Spanglish is stupid" and he could not find a code-switcher. Although Frederick feels more educated about the topic, he echoes Austin's evaluative term "lazy" as he poses the following: "Why would someone who speaks Spanish fluently already start using Spanglish? It's just being lazy." Therefore, despite our efforts to promote bilingual behavior as a skill and a valuable community practice, some participants will retain a notion of code-switching as a type of deficit.

On the more positive end, three students stated that they had never deliberately paid attention to bilingual behavior before and that doing so compelled them to appreciate it more. In fact, evidence of the effectiveness of the *Scavenger Hunt* in promoting bilingual behavior as a skill and a community norm comes from the finding that eleven participants (31%) used the term 'code-switching' in describing these practices. While we have no indication as to whether or not participants were familiar with the more neutral term 'code-switching' prior to Span 111 as compared to the term 'Spanglish', it remains salient that this term would be used by a large portion of them and it is likely indicative of participants engaging critically with the exploration of bilingual behavior. Erica, who is taking Spanish as a requirement but wishes to pursue it for communicative motivations states:

> just like... well we're learning it now, code-switching, just between Spanish English, pretty much just like phrases you just... there's like triggers kind of... a lot of maybe... emotional kind of like when you're angry it just your Spanish comes out. Or it just sounds better in English or in Spanish. (Erica)

In all, participants who come from speech communities where it is practiced held complicated notions toward the practice of code-switching. It is precisely this complicated set of notions that makes it crucial to explore bilingual behavior critically in the classroom as it provides another avenue to encourage (re)contact with their linguistically dynamic speech communities. In addition to fostering critical awareness,

the exploration of bilingual behavior encourages students to use it as a vehicle for gaining competence in the target language, Spanish.

5. Implications

While the present study has obvious implications for the SUSHL program from which participants were recruited, the insights gained here have value for other practitioners of SHL. As mentioned above, one of the differences between Beaudrie's (2015) and Brown's (2009) comparisons of teacher and student perspectives was that Beaudrie called for entering a dialogue with students concluding that "at a time when student-centered education is a centerpiece in education, students' opinions should be a critical component in determining effective pedagogical practices" (290). This call for dialogue must be situated in a context in which SHL programs are proliferating (Beaudrie, 2012) and generating a need for curricular materials, such as textbooks, to aid in this expansion. Yet the search for an appropriate textbook in many cases represents the search for a convenient solution to the dilemma of how to best serve the SHLL population and practitioners run the risk of unwittingly implementing a textbook that presents ideologies that run counter to student experiences. For example, Leeman and Martínez (2007) found that from the 1970s to the late 1990s the ideologies presented in SHL textbooks changed from ones linked to civil rights movements and bringing the Chicano/a communities "in from the margin" (p. 61) to an ideology that highlighted Spanish as a commodity as a world language. Leeman and Martínez also found a persistence of the "standard language ideology," but with modifications. In searches for textbooks for the SUSHL program, we have found that many textbooks published within the last decade had reverted to portraying the standard language ideology through lists that contrasted standardized forms to stigmatized forms attributed to US Spanish speaking communities. Because we were unable to identify SHL-oriented books that solved the dilemma of how to best serve the curricular needs of first-year courses (Span 111 & 112), we have found ourselves trying to fill the void by creating materials specific to the SHL program beginning with *Español, Nuestra Herencia* (Gonzales & Gonzales de Tucker 2009), created by the previous director, and culminating recently with the *Learn Packet* (Schulman et al., 2014). Therefore, we argue that incipient and established SHL programs alike should not rely solely on materials from established publishing companies. Instead, by attempting to understand our learner populations, we can gain insight into how to create materials, or at least activities, that inspire student engagement.

Students bring previously shaped notions of educational expectations with them (Tse, 2000). We have found our participants to be engaged in their SHL courses with an eagerness to explore local speech communities that is partially attributed to the failure of previously taken courses to recognize the validity of local speech communities. For many SHLLs, Span 111 offers new perspectives: it is frequently the first time they are told by an educator that community language varieties are valuable, the first time they critically examine bilingual practices, the first time they see that there are many others in "the same boat" (e.g. Marissa), and, unfortunately, the first time they experience a course that promotes communicative competency over memorization of formal rules. Practitioners of heritage language education can gain valuable insights into the factors that have shaped their student populations through dialogic research.

6. Conclusion

As many SHL practitioners argue that we must teach the formal variety to students, we would remind such proponents that it could go against their student wishes to discard the community variety of Spanish as unworthy of study. We believe that it is possible to promote both the acquisition of formal registers and the maintenance of the heritage variety in a congruent manner. If we listen to the students, we will be more effective in doing this. There is a significant wealth of cultural, social, and linguistic information that is lost in discarding varieties of Spanish considered to be non-standard and undesirable. The perspective taken by an SHL program will have a strong impact on the appreciation that students have toward themselves, their families, and their communities, where they first experienced and may continue to experience contact with the heritage language and culture. After all, heritage language speech communities constitute spaces where the home variety is used as a valuable tool for communication and transmission of the cultural practices and values that constitute part of the essence of who SHLLs are, as their direct inheritors. We find evidence here that for beginning-level SHLLs, reinforcing contact with the heritage language communities is essential so that they may unreservedly access these rich sources of input, code-switching included, as they increase their bilingual range. As in natural learning circumstances, we promote a stance that works from the inner to the

outer spheres. We find evidence here that for this beginner population, students should be rooted in the nurturing environment offered in the community sphere before taking on the trappings of prestige and formalism that will help them attain success in a broader public sphere.

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Appendix

INTERVIEW GUIDE

La Perspectiva Estudiantil: Understanding Spanish language learners

General interview questions

Intro: Go over the consent form. Explain to the participant that this is a project with the purpose of better understanding our student population and that we are looking for sincere, honest answers. Let them know that it will take anywhere from 15 minutes to half an hour. In the first few minutes, we want to put the students at ease.
- Do you have questions before we get started?
- How are you doing today?
- How is your semester going?

Background: The next questions need to be asked in a fairly regularized manner as they may serve as explanatory variables in some of the upcoming research. As in teaching class, good guiding transitions help the process ("I'm going to ask you some background questions now in order to help us put this interview into context.") On the research notes, you may refer to these questions as GEN 1, GEN 2, GEN 3, etc…

1. Where are you from? Is this the same place you grew up?
2. How old are you?
3. What language(s) did you speak with your family growing up?
4. Let's talk about who speaks Spanish in your family? Father? Mother? Siblings? Paternal/maternal Grandparents? Cousins/Uncles/Aunts?
5. With whom do you speak the most?
6. Who have you heard speak the most Spanish?
7. Who have you learned the most Spanish from?
8. Do you use Spanish in your daily life? Please tell me about this.
9. What classes/levels of Spanish have you taken before this semester?
10. What year of study are you in? Freshman, sophomore, junior, senior?
11. Why are you taking this class this semester?
12. What are your strengths and weaknesses in Spanish?
13. Why is it important to you to learn/speak Spanish?

Identity: Thank the student for the previous info and let them know that you are going to ask questions about identity.
14. What identity labels do you use to describe yourself?
15. Are there labels that you use in some contexts but not in others?
16. In what situations do these identity labels come up?

Research questions: In the rest of the interview, please refer to the specific questions in your portion of this research. On the research notes, refer to these questions as RQ 1, RQ 2, RQ 3, etc…

Damián Vergara Wilson, University of New Mexico
damianvw@unm.edu

EN | **Damián Vergara Wilson** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of New Mexico. He is also the Coordinator of the Sabine Ulibarrí Spanish as a Heritage Language program. His research and teaching focuses on teaching Spanish as a heritage language, sociolinguistics, sociology of language, and language change. His work has appeared in journals such as *Heritage Language Journal, International Journal of Bilingualism,* and *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. He also has published a monograph with Brill Academic Publishers on semantic evolution.

ES | **Damián Vergara Wilson** es profesor contrado en el departamento de español y portugués de la University of New Mexico. Es coordinador del programa de español como lengua de herencia Sabine Ulibarrí. Sus investigaciones y enseñanza se focalizan en la enseñanza del español como lengua de herencia, en la sociolingüística, en la sociología del lenguaje y en el cambio del lenguaje. Sus trabajos se han publicado en revistas como *Heritage Language Journal, International Journal of Bilingualism* y *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. Además, ha publicado una monografía sobre la evolución semántica con Brill Academic Publishers.

IT | **Damián Vergara Wilson** è professore universitario del Dipartimento di Lingua Spagnola e Portoghese della University of New Mexico. È inoltre coordinatore del progetto per lo spagnolo come lingua ereditaria Sabine Ulibarrí. Tra i suoi ambiti di ricerca e insegnamento ci sono l'insegnamento dello spagnolo come lingua ereditaria, la sociolinguistica, la sociologia del linguaggio e i cambiamenti del linguaggio. I suoi lavori sono apparsi su riviste quali l'*Heritage Language Journal,* l'*International Journal of Bilingualism* e il *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*. Ha inoltre pubblicato un testo sull'evoluzione semantica per la casa editrice Brill Academic Publishers.

Carlos Enrique Ibarra, University of New Mexico
cei@unm.edu

EN | **Carlos Enrique Ibarra** is a Ph.D. student in Hispanic Linguistics at the University of New Mexico. He has taught SSL and SHL courses at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, the University of Texas at Austin, and the University of Florida. His scholarly and research interests are centered on intergenerational linguistic change in bilingual closed, mostly endogamous communities, with a focus on phonology and phonetics. He is also interested in the development of theoretical models of linguistic inventories using stochasticity, Complex Adaptive Systems, and self-organization concepts.

ES | **Carlos Enrique Ibarra** es doctorando en lingüística española en la University of New mexico. Ha enseñado español como lengua extranjera y español como lengua de herencia en la University of Tennesse- Knoxville, la University of Texas en Austin y la University of Florida. Sus investigaciones se centran en el cambio lingüístico entre generaciones en comunidades bilingües cerradas y, en la mayor parte de los casos, endogámicas, con particular atención a la fonología y a la fonética. Otra de sus áreas de interés es el desarrollo de modelos teóricos de inventarios lingüísticos utilizando elementos de estocasticidad, Sistemas Adaptativos Complejos y conceptos de auto-organización.

IT | **Carlos Enrique Ibarra**, è dottorando in linguistica spagnola alla University of New Mexico. Ha insegnato spagnolo come L2 e spagnolo come lingua ereditaria all'University of Tennessee-Knoxville, all'University of Texas-Austin e all'University of Florida. La sua ricerca è incentrata sul cambiamento linguistico tra generazioni in comunità bilingui chiuse e, nella maggior parte dei casi, endogamiche, con particolare attenzione alla fonologia e alla fonetica. Un'altra sua area di interesse è lo sviluppo di modelli teorici di inventari linguistici mediante elementi di stocasticità, Sistemi Adattivi Complessi e concetti di auto-organizzazione.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. (2014). *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years.* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press.

CARMEN RUIZ-SÁNCHEZ[*]
Aquinas College
Book review

ABSTRACT

EN Carmen Silva-Corvalán's *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years* explores the linguistic formation of her two grandsons from ages 0 to 6. This review discusses Silva-Corvalán's main findings and the issues related to the amount of exposure and the use of two languages in various linguistic domains in early bilingual acquisition. It also highlights the merits of this extensive and unique research project while at the same time pinpoints some methodological challenges faced by longitudinal studies such as this one.

Key words: BILINGUAL ACQUISITION, HERITAGE SPEAKERS, CROSS-LINGUISTIC INTERACTION, LANGUAGE CONTACT.

ES El libro *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years* de Carmen Silva-Corvalán explora la formación lingüística de sus dos nietos desde los 0 hasta los 6 años de edad. Esta reseña examina los resultados generales de la investigación de Silva-Corvalán y sus argumentos con respecto a la cantidad de exposición y uso de las dos lenguas en varias áreas lingüísticas en la adquisición bilingüe temprana. También se enfatiza el mérito de este original y detallado proyecto de investigación, así como se indican algunos de los desafíos metodológicos que conllevan estudios longitudinales como este.

Palabras clave: ADQUISICIÓN BILINGÜE, HABLANTES DE HERENCIA, INTERACCIÓN CROS-LINGÜÍSTICA, LENGUAS EN CONTACTO.

IT Nel volume *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years*, Carmen Silva-Corvalán analizza la formazione linguistica dei suoi due nipoti dalla nascita ai 6 anni. La presente recensione discute i risultati principali di quest'analisi e le questioni legate alla quantità di esposizione e all'uso di due lingue in diversi ambiti linguistici nell'acquisizione bilingue precoce. Si evidenziano inoltre i meriti di questo progetto di ricerca ampio e originale e, allo stesso tempo, si individuano alcune questioni metodologiche proprie di ricerche di questo tipo.

Parole chiave: ACQUISIZIONE BILINGUE, PARLANTI DI LINGUE EREDITARIE, INTERAZIONE CROSS-LINGUISTICA, LINGUE IN CONTATTO.

There has been broad interest and substantial research to learn how children acquire languages; however, investigations of how children simultaneously learn two languages have been less common. Silva-Corvalán's book, *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years,* on the examination of the emerging grammars of English and Spanish of two bilingual siblings makes a significant contribution to the study of early bilingual language development. Throughout the eight chapters in this work, published under Cambridge University Press's "Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact" series, Silva-Corvalán provides evidence of the direct effect of the amount of exposure to and use of two languages on bilingual speakers' level of proficiency in various grammatical domains. Her results demonstrate numerous consequences of language contact, and shed new light on the issue of the acquisition of Spanish by heritage speakers.

Chapter 1 contextualizes the purpose and relevance of Silva-Corvalán's study within the field of bilingual language acquisition. In this introductory chapter, Silva-Corvalán reviews models and issues relevant to bilingual first language acquisition: cross-linguistic interaction, language proficiency and

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[*] Contact: cr001@aquinas.edu

dominance, and language input, to name a few. Although the author suggests a "theoretically eclectic" (p. 7) empirical approach, her findings are most consistent with a usage-based perspective, which she has often adopted in previous studies.

Chapter 2 describes the siblings' social context: their two-language family and patterns of language use, and explains the data collection process and the analytical methods. The language data for this study come from recordings and diary notes regularly taken by Silva-Corvalán as her grandsons engaged in daily activities, and interacted in English, Spanish, or both in various natural contexts and with different interlocutors. This chapter includes information on how the children's amount of exposure to and production of English and Spanish is calculated and used to determine the siblings' different levels of proficiency in Spanish, their heritage and weaker language.

The next five chapters examine different aspects of the children's grammars and lexicon while considering the effect of the amounts of exposure and use of English and Spanish and the relationship between the children's language production and the input provided to them by adults. Each chapter compares the siblings' linguistic behavior with those known for Spanish and English monolinguals, and looks for evidence of cross-linguistic interaction.

Chapter 3 is an overview of how the siblings develop negative structures, form questions, and improve narrative skills in English and Spanish in their first six years. Although similar paths and rates of development to those of monolingual speakers are identified for the siblings in those areas, cross-linguistic interaction differentiates the siblings' language production from monolingual speech. Silva-Corvalán explains these differences in relation to the amount of exposure and use of the language at the time. The chapter emphasizes one of the benefits of language contact: how bilingual children acquire a metalinguistic awareness that is not found in monolingual speakers.

Chapter 4 focuses on the production of grammatical subjects in English, an overt subject language, and Spanish, a null subject language. The author carries out a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the siblings' production of overt subjects and examines whether they acquire the pragmatic properties of Spanish subjects. She observes that the children's realization of subjects in Spanish seems affected by English, as evidenced in a greater amount of unjustified overt subjects, especially when exposure to Spanish becomes reduced. Regarding evidence of the siblings' appropriate use of discourse-pragmatics properties, Silva-Corvalán finds no instance of pragmatic misuse at their earliest age period.

Chapter 5 investigates the position of the subject relative to the verb in both English and Spanish. The typological difference between the two languages allows the author to address again the question of cross-linguistic interaction and the effect of the amount of exposure to Spanish. As expected, the siblings' English is not negatively affected by being in contact with Spanish, but a lower degree of exposure to Spanish results in an increase of preverbal subjects, due to influence from English. With regard to the semantic and discourse-pragmatic principles of Spanish subject placement, the siblings show some control at an early age but this control diminishes as their exposure to the categorical preverbal position of English subjects increases.

Chapter 6 tracks the siblings' development of English and Spanish copulas. As the author points out, the bilingual child needs to acquire the semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic functions of the Spanish copulas while in English the child has the "simpler task of acquiring only one copula" (p.223). Silva-Corvalán tests the hypothesis that cross-linguistic interactions are more likely to happen when the phenomena in question are at the interface between two or more domains of a language (syntax-semantics, syntax-pragmatics) and when one language "offers multiple interpretations for superficially parallel syntactic construction" (p.220). Special attention is given to the use of copulas with predicate adjectives and in other variable contexts that make copula selection more susceptible to cross-linguistic interaction. The differing level of the siblings' Spanish language proficiency proves to have an effect on their correct uses of the copulas. At an early age the siblings start using Spanish copulas in lexically specific and complementary contexts that are frequently found in adult input and that are less complex: identification and location expressions. Their learning of Spanish copulas later expands to a wider range of contexts that are more complex and less semantically transparent, as usage-based approaches would predict.

Chapter 7 deals with the development of tense, mood, and aspect markers in English and Spanish and provides additional support for a usage-based account of language development. Silva-Corvalán explores the issue of whether grammatical simplification in situations of societal bilingualism is due to incomplete acquisition or attrition of a heritage language. In both languages, verbs enter the children's lexicon in different tenses, mainly present and imperative, mostly dictated by daily activities and the semantics of the verbs. The siblings' development of other tenses continues successfully in English with no evidence of

influence of Spanish. Although, up to age 4, the siblings' developing knowledge of Spanish verb tenses is still comparable to that of monolinguals, differences occur when exposure to Spanish is reduced and influence from English becomes more evident, especially in the sibling with lower proficiency. A comparison of the children's performance with that of other bilingual children and adults from different social backgrounds reveals that processes of simplification and loss in adult bilingual Spanish are likely to be the consequence of incomplete acquisition of this language between the ages of 3 and 5, when more intensive exposure to English reduces the possibilities of using Spanish. The siblings' production of tenses is also explained in terms of complexity, frequency in the input, and communicative needs: tenses that are more complex and less frequent in the adults' input are acquired later.

Chapter 8 consists of final remarks, where Silva-Corvalán summarizes the major findings of her study and observes that in order to provide adequate explanations for language acquisition, multiple factors such as complexity, language dominance, proficiency, and quality and quantity of the input need to be considered. The cross-linguistic interactions found in the siblings' linguistic systems support Silva-Corvalán's "parallel structure hypothesis" (p. 356), according to which semantic and discourse-pragmatic components in a non-dominant language are more vulnerable to being affected by interlinguistic interactions. She closes with a discussion of similarities between developing bilingual children and heritage speakers, and the implications for theories of language contact and bilingual acquisition.

Although *Bilingual language acquisition: Spanish and English in the first six years* is an excellent piece of research, it is not without flaws, most of which the author mentions and addresses. The shortcomings are mostly methodological and typical of longitudinal studies. These include the limited generalization of the outcomes, the author's personal relationship with the subjects, and the challenging task of analyzing phenomena in which multiple semantic and discourse-pragmatic factors intersect (subject realization and copular choice in Spanish, for example). Another minor objection is that the author sometimes highlights that the children's grammars are native-like, whereas other times she recognizes that the siblings' Spanish is typical of second-to-third generation heritage speakers and is highly influenced by English.

Silva-Corvalán's unique investigation draws upon an impressive corpus of longitudinal data, systematically collected in a naturalistic setting during five years and meticulously examined, and enriches our understanding of the language development of bilingual children. Her detailed examination of complex linguistic domains that involve the acquisition of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors in Spanish provides valuable insights into Spanish language acquisition in general and deepens our knowledge of bilingual acquisition and language heritage phenomena in particular. Although the book will be of most interest to those working in the areas of bilingualism, language contact, and heritage language, it will also be useful to scholars in other linguistic disciplines such as language acquisition and sociolinguistic variation. The author's dedication and enthusiasm is evident throughout the book, as is her desire to underline bilingual speakers' accomplishments and similarities to monolingual speakers.

Carmen Ruiz-Sánchez, Aquinas College
cr001@aquinas.edu

EN | **Carmen Ruiz-Sánchez** is associate professor of Spanish linguistics and the coordinator of the lower division courses at Aquinas College. She completed her Ph.D. in Hispanic linguistics at Indiana University. Before joining Aquinas College, she taught upper-division and graduate linguistic courses in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Michigan State University. Her research focuses on the sociolinguistic variation of the Spanish pronunciation in southern Spain and the Caribbean.

ES | **Carmen Ruiz-Sánchez** es profesora titular de lingüística hispana y coordinadora de los cursos de nivel básico en Aquinas College. Completó el doctorado en lingüística hispana en Indiana University. Antes de trabajar en Aquinas College, dio cursos de lingüística a nivel de pregrado y posgrado en Michigan State University. Sus investigaciones se centran en la variación sociolingüística de la pronunciación del español en el sur de España y el Caribe.

IT | **Carmen Ruiz-Sánchez** è Professoressa Associata di Linguistica Spagnola e coordinatrice dei corsi di laurea triennale presso l'Aquinas College. Ha conseguito un dottorato di ricerca in Linguistica ispano-americana presso l'Indiana University. Prima dell'attuale incarico, ha insegnato linguistica nel Dipartimento di Spagnolo e Portoghese della Michigan State University. La sua attività di ricerca si concentra sulla variazione sociolinguistica della pronuncia dello spagnolo nella Spagna del sud e nei Caraibi.

Austin, Jennifer, Blume, María, & Sánchez, Liliana (2015). *Bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world: Linguistic and cognitive perspectives*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

MARIA I. FIONDA*

The University of Mississippi

ABSTRACT

EN The book reviewed here may serve as an excellent resource for advanced undergraduate students of linguistics, as well as graduates and scholars in the field and related disciplines. It comprises five chapters that explore, through three Spanish bilingual communities, the following topics: basic concepts in bilingualism, such as code-switching and language transfer; a brief historical review of Spanish bilingualism; proposed definitions of bilingualism and the different ways in which bilinguals may be classified according to factors such as language competence and age of acquisition; the effect of bilingualism on the brains and minds of bilingual speakers, such as increased cortical activation and enhanced literacy; and, finally, the development and outcomes of bilingualism on the linguistic representations of bilingual speakers. The authors cover a breadth of research, rendering it accessible by succinctly reviewing findings, and further identify areas for future research.

Key Words: SPANISH BILINGUALISM, SPANISH-ENGLISH, SPANISH-EUSKARA, SPANISH-QUECHUA, BILINGUAL OUTCOMES, NEUROLINGUISTICS, COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS.

ES La obra revisada aquí se presenta como un recurso excelente tanto para estudiantes de últimos cursos del grado de lingüística como para posgraduados y académicos que trabajen en el campo objeto de estudio y áreas afines. Se compone de cinco capítulos que exploran los siguientes temas a través de tres comunidades bilingües donde una de las lenguas es el español: conceptos básicos del bilingüismo, tales como la alternancia de código y la transferencia; una breve reseña histórica del bilingüismo en español; definiciones propuestas en torno al bilingüismo y las diferentes formas en que puede clasificarse a los hablantes bilingües, atendiendo a factores como la competencia lingüística y la edad de adquisición; los efectos del bilingüismo en el cerebro y en las mentes de los hablantes bilingües, entre ellos el aumento de la activación cortical y una alfabetización mejorada, y, por último, el desarrollo del bilingüismo y sus resultados en las representaciones lingüísticas de los hablantes bilingües. Las autoras dan cabida a un extenso ámbito de investigación, y lo hacen accesible a través de un recorrido conciso por los hallazgos, identificando asimismo otras áreas de interés para futuras investigaciones.

Palabras clave: BILINGÜISMO EN ESPAÑOL, ESPAÑOL-INGLÉS, ESPAÑOL-EUSKERA, ESPAÑOL-QUECHUA, EFECTOS DEL BILINGÜISMO, NEUROLINGÜÍSTICA, LINGÜÍSTICA COGNITIVA.

IT Il libro recensito qui è una risorsa eccellente non solo per studenti universitari di livello avanzato di linguistica, ma anche per dottorandi e studiosi del settore e delle relative discipline. Il volume include cinque capitoli che attraverso l'analisi di tre comunità ispanofone bilingui, esplorano i seguenti argomenti: concetti di base del bilinguismo, come la commutazione di codice e l'interferenza linguistica; un breve ripasso della storia del bilinguismo ispanofono; definizioni proposte di bilinguismo e categorizzazione dei bilingui in base a fattori quali, tra tanti, la competenza linguistica e l'età di acquisizione; gli effetti che il bilinguismo produce sul cervello e sulla mente dei bilingui, come, per esempio, l'aumento dell'attivazione corticale e la maggiore alfabetizzazione; e, infine, lo sviluppo e i risultati del bilinguismo sulle rappresentazioni linguistiche dei bilingui.

Parole chiave: BILINGUISMO ISPANOFONO, SPAGNOLO-INGLESE, SPAGNOLO-EUSKARA, SPAGNOLO-QUECHUA, EFFETTI DEL BILINGUISMO BILINGUI, NEUROLINGUISTICA, LINGUISTICA COGNITIVA.

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*Contact: maria.fionda@gmail.com

1. Summary

As its title aptly indicates, *Bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world: Linguistic and cognitive perspectives* (Cambridge University Press, 2015, pgs. 225+) has as its scope the exploration of research on the vast topic of bilingualism in communities in which both Spanish and a second language are spoken. The book is made up of five chapters. In the Introduction, Austin, Blume, and Sánchez state the goals of the book, which include reviewing research on the effects of bilingualism on language representation and the minds of speakers of more than one language, examining how theoretical assumptions have affected research on the effects of bilingualism on linguistic and cognitive development, and discussing the concept of degrees of bilingualism within a community based on amount of input and types of communicative interactions. These issues are explored primarily through three main bilingual communities: Spanish-English bilinguals in the USA, Spanish-Quechua bilinguals in Peru, and Spanish-Euskara (Basque) bilinguals in Spain. The chapter also introduces basic concepts that emerge in the field of bilingualism, such as code switching, language transfer and convergence, borrowing, minority and majority languages, diglossia, language shift, language maintenance and death, models of bilingual education, pidgins, and creoles. The chapter ends with a brief grammatical overview of each of the four languages that participate in the bilingualism of the three communities explored, as well as a brief historical synopsis of how Spanish came into contact with each of these languages.

Chapter 1 begins with an exploration of various proposed definitions of bilingualism, including such notions as proficiency, competence, and fluency. The authors look at how the evolution of the definition of bilingualism and the methods of testing language proficiency have impacted, and continue to affect research and education policy. The chapter moves from the early days of Bloomfield's (1933) "native-like control of two languages" to more comprehensive, current-day definitions of bilingualism that include proficiency in the various linguistic subcomponents (phonology, syntax, etc.), as well as in the specific mode of communication and sociolinguistic context. The chapter then proceeds with a discussion of the various criteria used to classify bilinguals, followed by a review of the research on how second languages are acquired, addressing differences from first-language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis. The chapter ends with a brief look at the results of bilingualism, such as language loss and the development of the first and second language in heritage speakers.

Chapter 2 examines bilingualism from the perspectives of mind and brain of speakers of two or more languages. After briefly introducing neurolinguistic and neuroimaging methods, the authors review the research in neuroscience, cognitive psychology, and linguistics, focusing on results that show greater brain gray matter density in bilinguals, as well as increased cortical activation during language processing, which varies according to age of acquisition, proficiency, and continued exposure. The authors also review research that shows how the bilingual brain displays responses to syntactic and grammatical errors during real-time processing and discuss models of bilingual lexical and syntactic processing. The chapter also addresses research that shows that bilingualism may afford benefits in the development of literacy and phonological awareness in children acquiring languages with alphabetic scripts.

Finally, Chapter 3 addresses linguistic development in bilinguals, from a cognitive and linguistic perspective. This chapter deals with key questions such as the nature and organization of the bilingual's lexicon(s) and grammar by considering research on whether the words and associated concepts in each of the bilingual's languages are stored separately or together, and how they are accessed. The authors also address two hypotheses regarding whether bilingual children's syntax for each language is developed in one system or separate systems for each language, and look at more nuanced explanations in the literature that point toward autonomous syntax development with degrees of cross-linguistic influence at the morphological level and at the syntax-discourse interface.

The book ends with two pages of concluding remarks that summarize the entirety of the book, as well as the main topics explored in each chapter.

2. Evaluation

Bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world: Linguistic and cognitive perspectives is appropriate for several audiences. Written in a straightforward and comprehensible manner, the book serves as an introductory textbook on bilingualism involving the Spanish language for graduate students as well as advanced undergraduates with prior knowledge of linguistics. Likewise, it may serve as an excellent reference tool for scholars in the field and other related disciplines. Given the large amount of published

research on bilingualism, the authors do an excellent job of achieving their goals of examining theoretical assumptions of bilingualism and their effect on research in the field and looking more in depth at the concept of varying degrees of bilingualism and how these degrees relate to input and different types of communication.

In the first chapter, for example, after thoroughly reviewing the many forms of bilingualism according to factors such as language competence, use and age of acquisition, the authors rightfully address some of the crucial and difficult questions in the field, such as the lack of consensus in defining what it means to be bilingual, along with related concepts such as "native-like" and "near-native" and the implications of this lack of clarity for research. In addressing these concerns, the authors note that researchers must be cautious about overgeneralizing the classification of the participants in their studies, and should look closely at the differences between bilinguals as seen in the aforementioned factors, and others like type and place of exposure to each of the languages for reporting of bilinguals with respect to all (extra)linguistic variables. In the same chapter, the authors also do a great service to all bilinguals by calling forth the issue of viewing native language (L1) influence as a deficiency. While this viewpoint has largely been abandoned by scholars in linguistics, researchers in related fields, such as education, will benefit greatly from this call to a more scientific view of the phenomenon.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the book is the large amount of information it provides in just 234 pages and the ease with which the reader is taken through the material. The authors do an outstanding job of distilling the essence of what has been found in the huge body of research in the different subfields of bilingualism while also calling attention to what questions must still be investigated. For example, the second chapter provides a concise overview of the diverse methods of investigation used in psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic research, and reviews studies on the differences found in the brains of bilingual speakers when compared to their monolingual counterparts. These results are presented along with the theoretical models of language representation and processing that accompany such research, and the cognitive benefits of being bilingual. For scholars interested in making significant advances in the field, the chapter notes, for example, the lack of studies that examine adult second-language (L2) attrition. For the more unseasoned reader, the authors provide necessary explanations of linguistic phenomena, such as a clear yet succinct explanation of ergativity in the first chapter.

While there is no doubt that the book will serve scholars and students alike, it does have some slight shortcomings. In the third paragraph of Chapter 3, the authors state that they "espouse a view of language that assumes the existence of different language components: a lexicon, a phonological component, a syntactic component, and an interpretive component" (p. 127). In short, the authors adopt a generative grammar perspective. While choosing a particular theoretical perspective is certainly not a shortcoming, this claim comes, perhaps, a little too late. In fact, an informed linguist is able to discern the authors' theoretical position from the very beginning of the book, in such sentences as "As in other Indo-European languages, movement is overt, with, for example, wh-words (*qué*, *quién*, *cuándo*, etc.) being moved to the beginning of sentences for question formation" (p. 17). The notion of movement is, of course, associated with transformational theories of syntax. Although the majority of studies in bilingualism involving Spanish are indeed conducted from a generative grammar approach, the authors do draw on many studies of bilingualism involving other languages in their examinations of various phenomena. Thus, the book would be enriched if it also reviewed studies that took a usage-based perspective of (second) language acquisition, such as Gries and Wulff (2005), Paradis, Nicoladis, Crago and Genesee (2011), and Ulbrich and Ordin (2014). A broader view on bilingualism would add value particularly to Chapter 3, in which issues such as bilingual syntactic development and cross-linguistic influence are addressed. The reader would thus benefit from added information and insight on theoretical approaches adopted in the study of bilingualism.

Nonetheless, this relatively small oversight does not diminish the quality of the product. In a book whose scope might seem quite large at first, the authors have succeeded in reviewing and examining research in a great deal of subfields, bringing together the many angles from which research in bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world has been approached and offering insights on the current state of the subfields in question. The reader will find that *Bilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world: Linguistic and cognitive perspectives* provides information for both the seasoned scholar as well as the more inexperienced learner.

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Maria I. Fionda, The University of Mississippi

maria.fionda@gmail.com

EN	**Maria I. Fionda** earned her doctoral degree in Spanish linguistics at the University of Florida, where she researched individual differences in second language processing among low-proficiency adult native English learners of Spanish. Her areas of interest include cognitive linguistics, specifically the effect of general cognitive abilities such as working memory on second-language processing and individual differences in morphosyntactic processing at various levels of proficiency.
ES	**Maria I. Fionda** es doctora en Lingüística Española por la Universidad de Florida, donde ha investigado las diferencias individuales en el proceso de adquisición de una segunda lengua por parte de aprendientes adultos de español básico cuya lengua materna es el inglés. La lingüística cognitiva es una de sus áreas de interés, concretamente el efecto de las capacidades cognitivas generales tales como la memoria de trabajo en el procesamiento de una segunda lengua, así como las diferencias individuales en el procesamiento morfosintáctico a distintos niveles de dominio lingüístico.
IT	**Maria I. Fionda** ha conseguito il dottorato in Linguistica spagnola all'Università della Florida, dove ha svolto una ricerca sulle differenze nell'elaborazione della seconda lingua tra apprendenti anglofoni adulti di spagnolo con un basso livello di competenza. I suoi interessi di ricerca includono la linguistica cognitiva, in particolare l'effetto di abilità cognitive generali come la memoria di lavoro sull'elaborazione della seconda lingua, e le differenze individuali nell'elaborazione morfosintattica a vari livelli di competenza.

Beaudrie, Sara, Ducar, Cynthia, & Potowski, Kim (2014). *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice*. New York, New York: McGraw Hill.

FLORENCIA G. HENSHAW*
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Book review

ABSTRACT

EN | This review introduces readers to *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice*, by Sara Beaudrie, Cynthia Ducar, and Kim Potowski, which is part of the "Directions in Second Language Learning" series. This handbook offers a comprehensive overview of key concepts, research findings, and pedagogical strategies to better meet the needs of heritage learners, and it underscores the importance of sociolinguistic issues and phenomena in heritage language instruction.

Key words: HERITAGE LEARNERS, HERITAGE LANGUAGE ACQUISITION, LANGUAGE TEACHING, HANDBOOK.

ES | La reseña presenta a los lectores la obra *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice*, escrita por Sara Beaudrie, Cynthia Ducar y Kim Potowski, la cual forma parte de la serie "Directions in Second Language Learning". El manual ofrece un panorama completo de términos claves, resultados de investigación y estrategias pedagógicas centrales a la enseñanza de lenguas de herencia, a la vez que destaca la importancia de cuestiones referentes a la sociolingüística en este contexto.

Palabras clave: APRENDIENTES DE LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, ADQUISICIÓN DE LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, MANUAL DE ENSEÑANZA.

IT | La recensione presenta ai lettori il libro *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice* di Sara Beaudrie, Cynthia Ducar e Kim Potowski, che fa parte della serie "Directions in Second Language Learning". Il manuale offre una panoramica approfondita di concetti chiave, risultati di ricerche e strategie pedagogiche volte a soddisfare al meglio i bisogni degli apprendenti delle lingue ereditarie, ed esalta nel contempo l'importanza degli aspetti sociolinguistici nell'insegnamento di quest'ultime.

Parole chiave: DISCENTI DI LINGUE EREDITARIE, ACQUISIZIONE DELLE LINGUE EREDITARIE, INSEGNAMENTO DELLA LINGUA, MANUALE.

Heritage Language Teaching: Research and Practice, by Beaudrie, Ducar, and Potowski, lays the foundation for a sociolinguistically based approach to heritage language (HL) instruction. The ten chapters provide a clear and comprehensive overview of key concepts, research findings, and pedagogical strategies to better meet the needs of heritage speakers. As with all other titles in the series "Directions in Second Language Learning," there are several *Pause to Consider* boxes interspersed throughout the text as well as discussion questions at the end of each chapter to help readers reflect on the information presented and establish connections to their own contexts. The plethora of examples and resources about several different languages, including sample activities and survey questions, makes the ideas not only easy to follow, but also highly relevant and practical to educators of a wide variety of backgrounds and teaching experience.

The premise of the book is that HL learners are fundamentally different from second language (L2) learners, and the most common differences between the two are explained at length in chapter 3. Although the authors acknowledge that budgetary or logistical constraints might not always permit the development of specially-designated courses for HL learners, the section on meeting the needs of HL learners within L2 classrooms is relatively brief and consists mostly of a summary of research findings and references to outside resources. The section on differentiated instruction, included as one of the three general pedagogical principles proposed by the authors, could have been further developed with more concrete and clear examples for mixed L2-HL classrooms. Even though the reasons for developing separate courses for HL

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* Contact: henshaw2@illinois.edu

learners are evident throughout this book, the reality is that in many institutions, L2 and HL learners are enrolled in the same courses. Educators teaching in those contexts would have benefitted from a detailed discussion on how the sociolinguistically informed approach outlined in the book could be adapted to mixed L2-HL classes.

The first three chapters are perhaps the most valuable part of the book, as they focus on key sociolinguistic principles and concepts necessary to understand the linguistic, cultural, and affective complexity of HL learners' profiles. The authors are successful at raising language educators' awareness of stigmatized phenomena, such as borrowings and code-switching, as well as making readers reconsider the utopian nature of the "standard" variety of language upheld by many language instructors and researchers. Another chapter worthy of praise is the fourth one, where the authors examine the seven goals of HL instruction proposed by Valdés (1995) and Aparicio (1997), and they propose three general pedagogical principles to guide HL instruction. Chapter 4 should be required reading in language teaching methods courses, even in programs that do not offer separate tracks for HL learners.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 focus on developing listening, reading, and writing skills. The authors make an effort to address issues unique to HL learners, but some of the suggested strategies, particularly for reading and writing, are identical to what has been proposed for L2 learners. There is little in the book about how to adjust basic principles, such as using clear rubrics and implementing peer review, to HL learners in particular (e.g., how might rubrics to evaluate HL writing differ from those used in L2 composition courses?). To a certain extent, that lack of distinction between L2 and HL learners when it comes to some of the suggestions in the book might be due to the relative scarcity of research on the effects of various pedagogical techniques on HL development. Nonetheless, it is somewhat surprising that the chapters on reading and writing provide advice that is practically undistinguishable from what has been said in the literature on L2 reading and writing, when literacy skills had been identified in chapter 4 as one of the specific targets of HL instruction.

Educators and researchers interested in the development of spelling skills in particular are bound to be disappointed. Despite the fact that one of the authors of the book has published an article investigating the frequency and nature of spelling errors made by Spanish HL learners, the chapter on writing is lacking a section on orthography; not even the sample rubric included at the end of the chapter includes any criteria related to spelling issues. The only mention of spelling is a two-sentence portion in the section on sentence-level errors, which only discusses the fact that some instructors allow spellcheckers and others do not, an issue that is brought back up briefly in the section on how to prepare Spanish HL learners for the AP exam (i.e., a situation in which spellcheckers are not available). Many would agree with the authors in that spellcheckers are a valuable tool, but it is also obvious that spellcheckers cannot help learners with the type of examples provided in the same section (e.g., *está*, *más*). Since spelling has not been discussed much in L2 research, instructors of HL learners would benefit greatly from learning of different techniques and principles drawn from L1 research, and unfortunately, the book does not address any of them.

Chapter 8 focuses on a topic that is controversial in both L2 and HL pedagogy: grammar instruction. The chapter begins with an overview of three different ways of conceptualizing grammar, as well as a discussion of how "incorrect" forms are tied to stigmatization. The authors then explain in attainable terms important phenomena like attrition and language contact, which are fundamental to helping HL educators better understand not only why certain features are present in HL learners' linguistic production, but more importantly, why HL learners should not be considered deficient or incomplete speakers of the target language. The chapter concludes with a clear model for teaching grammar to HL learners: a sociolinguistically informed approach based on principles like discovering what students know, investigating community norms, empowering students with knowledge of the sociolinguistic complexity of their own communities, and above all, respecting students' language varieties. The chapter includes thought-provoking questions that instructors of both HL and L2 learners should consider, such as whether there are clear reasons for teaching a particular form explicitly, and whether metalinguistic labels are necessary to acquire grammar. The section on error correction is sure to ignite some debate, as the authors start off by stating that it is more acceptable to correct L2 learners' errors as they "often constitute a violation of underlying grammar," whereas when a HL learner is corrected, the instructor is "demonstrating ignorance of (…) sociolinguistic realities" (p. 175). The question that arises is: what should instructors do when teaching a class with L2 and HL learners, and both make the same type of errors (e.g., gender or number agreement errors, omitting articles, tense/aspect/mood errors, etc.)? It would have been helpful for the chapter to include some guidance on those situations, which are not uncommon in language classrooms.

The discussion about developing cultural proficiency in chapter 9 is quite clear as to how and why to incorporate culture in the HL classroom in particular. While many of the concepts and suggestions will be enlightening to all foreign language educators, it is undeniable that HL learners have a unique connection to the culture, and that the community plays a pivotal role in HL development. It is refreshing to see the topics of community service learning and study abroad being discussed with HL learners in mind, as they are two areas that have been underresearched. The authors do an excellent job at shedding light on the importance of studying abroad for HL learners based on the few available research findings to date. The inclusion of internet-mediated cultural exchanges as an alternative to studying abroad is also commendable.

Although the book is written primarily for in-service and future language teachers, program directors will find Chapter 10 ("Program and Administrative Considerations") to be particularly relevant. Among the challenges of designing and implementing an HL program, the authors discuss and even offer solutions for the issue of lacking "a critical mass of HL students to justify creating a separate course" (p. 194), which will likely resonate with administrators across institutions. Approximately half of the chapter is dedicated to several different options for assessment and proper course placement of HL learners. The authors provide numerous examples and practical ways to implement placement testing, while also acknowledging that any type of proficiency assessment measures will need to be determined by each program, given that the characteristics of local HL populations may vary widely from one context to another.

In sum, the authors meet their goal of advancing the professional preparation of all language educators, and not just HL educators. Although the chapters on developing literacy skills could have been more specific to HL learners, the book successfully addresses many practical considerations and provides research-informed pedagogical guidelines for HL instruction. The book's greatest strength, without a doubt, is the underscoring of the importance of sociolinguistic issues and phenomena, which are seldom discussed in teacher training programs.

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Florencia G. Henshaw, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
henshaw2@illinois.edu

EN **Florencia G. Henshaw** earned a PhD in Second Language Acquisition and Teacher Education from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, where she is now the Director of Advanced Spanish. Her research interests focus on evaluating the extent to which different pedagogical tools and practices may be beneficial to second language and heritage language learners, not only in terms of linguistic gains, but also with respect to the learners' perceptions and attitudes. She has also authored two Spanish textbooks: one for grammar review courses and one for composition courses.

ES **Florencia G. Henshaw** obtuvo su doctorado en adquisición de segundas lenguas y formación del profesorado en la Universidad de Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, donde ejerce actualmente como directora del área de español avanzado. Sus intereses de investigación se centran en la evaluación de las diferentes herramientas y prácticas pedagógicas al servicio de los alumnos que aprenden español como segunda lengua o como lengua de herencia; no solo en lo que respecta a sus mejoras lingüísticas, sino también en cuanto a las percepciones y actitudes de los aprendientes. Es asimismo autora de dos libros de texto para el estudio del español: uno para cursos de repaso de gramática y otro para cursos de redacción y estilo.

IT **Florencia G. Henshaw** ha conseguito il dottorato in Acquisizione Della Seconda Lingua e Formazione degli Insegnanti all'Università dell'Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, dove attualmente è Direttrice del programma di Spagnolo Avanzato. La sua ricerca è incentrata sulla valutazione del livello di efficacia di metodi e strumenti pedagogici nel contesto della seconda lingua e delle lingue ereditarie, non solo in termini di acquisizione linguistica, ma anche rispetto alle percezioni e alle attitudini dei discenti. È inoltre autrice di due manuali in spagnolo, uno per corsi di grammatica ed uno per corsi di scrittura.