

SPANISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES
OF A FAMILY OF MEXICAN ORIGIN

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
GRADUATE INTERDISCIPLINARY DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN SECOND
LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND TEACHING

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2009

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been blessed with so many people in my life who have made this work possible. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Alvarez family who lent their voices to this study. In addition, I would like to sincerely thank the members of my committee for their thoughtful comments and contributions. Foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Sotelo and Dr. Hirschler for their steady guidance, professional support and thoughtful critique throughout the writing of this dissertation. I would also like to thank my dear friends Cindy, Debra, Kelly, Tica, Yumika and Zuleima for always believing in me and encouraging me in the completion of this degree and dissertation. Finally, I must thank Dr. McEwen for her patience and support.

DEDICATION

To my parents who have always given me their unconditional love.

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic case study describes the patterns of language socialization and literacy/biliteracy practices and the patterns of language choice and language use of a Spanish heritage bilingual family of Mexican origin from the participant perspective, the emic view, and the research perspective, an etic view. This analysis attempts to broaden the knowledge of how Mexican origin families use language at home by demonstrating how literacy/biliteracy practices (i.e., reading, writing and talk/conversation), language choice (i.e., Spanish, English, code-switching (CS)) and language use (i.e., domains) contribute to reinforce, develop or hinder the use of Spanish as a heritage language. Using ethnographic methodology, this study analyzes the participants' naturally occurring language interactions. Socialization and language learning are seen as intricately interwoven processes in which language learners participate actively.

The analysis and discussion is presented in two sections: 1) language socialization in conjunction with literacy practices, and 2) language socialization in conjunction with language choice and CS. Language choice and CS are analyzed by means of conversation analysis theory (CA): the analysis of language sequences of the participants' conversation. The description of the domains (i.e., what participants do with each language and the way they use language) constitutes the basis for the analysis.

The findings of this study show that language shift to English is imminent in an environment of reduced contact with parents, siblings, and the community of the heritage language group. Understanding which literacy practices are part of the everyday life of Hispanic households is relevant to the implementation of classroom literacy practices.

“A definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world” (Raymond Williams, 1977, p. 21)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the Study

“Language is in the environment, children interact with the environment, and children learn language” (Bialystok, 2001, p. 51). The study of language socialization practices has been researched worldwide. In the United States of America (U.S.) the focus of most studies on language socialization has been the bilingual Latino immigrant population: in their homes and/or the school setting (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, 1992; Reese, 2002; Reese & Gallimore, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1997). Some notable studies (Acevedo, 2003; Beaudrie, 2006; Schwartz, 2003) have been done in the school setting with Spanish heritage learners, however none have as yet documented, with an in-depth analysis, a single family with children of different ages and different Spanish competencies.

This ethnographic case study is focused on a Spanish heritage family of Mexican origin consisting of a single mother and her five children. The mother is a full-time student of education at a southwestern university and was enrolled in a Spanish Heritage Language Program during the data collection and analysis stages of the study.

The present ethnographic case study aims to analyze, from the participants’ perspectives, the emic view, and the researcher’s perspective, an etic view, the language socialization practices of a Spanish heritage language household in order to discover if their practices aid, reinforce or hinder the preservation of Spanish as their heritage language. This study involved synchronic description and analysis of the language

socialization practices, literacy practices and the language use by the family (e.g., behaviors, values, attitudes) in order to discover their perspectives of their day-to-day life practices.

1.2 Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters. This first chapter presents an overview of the research endeavor, its rationale, and the significance of the case study. The first part of Chapter Two introduces the reader to the theoretical framework for my analysis of the Alvarez family's literacy/biliteracy practices and language use. The second part of the chapter presents a review of literature that examines the literacy/biliteracy practices, language choice and use of CS of various heritage language populations in the U.S. as they compete with the dominant language.

Chapter 3 presents the case study under investigation as well as other methodological considerations. This chapter offers a detailed description of how the participants were selected, an introduction of their daily language practices and the research setting. This is followed by a description of research design and procedures, data collection instruments, a description of data coding and the analysis adopted for this case study along the methodology for analysis of specific data collection examples. Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the participants' literacy practices and use of language in their daily interactions. The analysis of the findings is divided following the outline of the research questions of this study, which is then followed by a discussion of my findings along with those of previous researchers. Chapter 5 presents some concluding thoughts on the Alvarez family's difficulties to maintain their heritage language. I also identify

pedagogical and community implications related to the maintenance of the heritage language and suggest several paths for future research.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

This section introduces the researcher's rationale for conducting an investigation of literacy practices and language use of a Spanish heritage bilingual family of Mexican origin. Heritage language speakers are individuals that as a consequence of exposure to the language have developed receptive and/or productive skills in that language and varying degrees of bilingualism. Heritage language speakers are many times restricted from speaking their heritage languages in the school setting. Some official policies in the U.S. present major obstacles which confront the maintenance of a heritage language and the development of bilingualism. In addition, many of these policies contribute to the worsening of the Hispanic student's academic performance due to the fact that both students and teachers are prohibited from using Spanish as a tool for negotiation and as an expression of the thought process (Moll, 2005). Many Hispanic parents fear that their children may not succeed academically if the heritage language is spoken at home (Schechter & Bayley, 2002). Furthermore, language courses often fail to create a connection between the language and the learner and neglect the learner's identity. The above practices contribute to the loss of the heritage language after two or three generations of residency in the U.S. (Bills, 2005; Valdés, 1988). Despite the fact that the Hispanic population in the U.S. is the fastest growing minority group (Colombi & Roca, 2003) and heritage language college courses for Spanish speakers are in great demand, Spanish would not be passed to the next generation unless households make a conscious

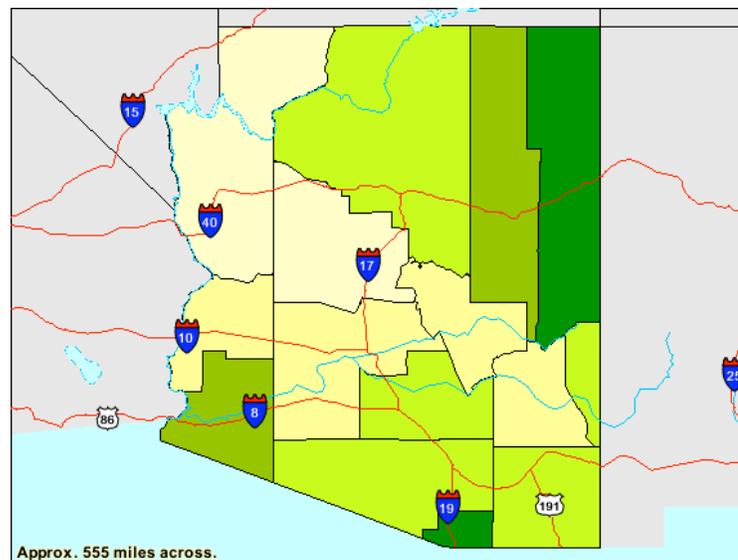
effort to increase its domains of use. An ethnographic study, such as this one can inform educators, parents and the Hispanic community at large of road blocks students face when working towards bilingualism and the maintenance of their heritage language.

Research on language socialization in several Latino communities in the U.S. has documented the difficulty of maintaining Spanish in the home (Schechter & Bayley, 2002, 2003, 2005; Zentella, 1997, 2005). This difficulty is also recorded in several ethnographies that have investigated the different uses of language and literacy practices at home and in school (Heath, 1983; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Street, 1999). Research done on Hispanic communities in the U.S. document the loss of the Spanish language after two or three generations (Bills, 2005; Valdés, 1988). The domains of use, such as settings and role relationships (e.g., private, formal, informal) and the functions of the heritage language decrease as the English language is transferred to domains that were formerly heritage language domains (Seliger & Vago, 1991). Previous investigations and analyses of language practices that contribute to language maintenance are crucial to this case study. Despite the richness of research in these areas, there are only a very few in-depth ethnographic studies of the language practices of bilingual Hispanic communities in the United States. Two significant studies are those of Schechter and Bayley (2002) and Zentella (1997) which focus on adolescents, their language use and the changes their usage undergoes during the transition from childhood to adolescence.

This case study is pertinent because of the growth of the Hispanic population in the United States. As of 2003, this population was about 35.3 million or 13% of the total U.S. population (Colombi & Roca, 2003). From 1990 to 2000 this population increased

by more than 60%, making Spanish the largest minority language spoken in the U.S. and Hispanics the largest minority group (Colombi & Roca, 2003). The Hispanic population in the state of Arizona was 25.3% of the total state population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a) and 29.3% of the population in Tucson is Hispanic, of which 72.5% living in the south of Tucson is of Mexican origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b). Approximately 18% of U.S. residents older than 5 years of age speak a language other than English at home. This same group in Arizona constitutes 25.9% of the population.

Diagram 1.3 *Percentages of Residents Older than 5 Years of Age Who Speak a Language Other than English at Home in Arizona*





The different colored areas represent the percentages of residents older than 5 years of age who speak a language other than English in their homes in Arizona. The darkest green area constitutes between 61 to 80% of the 25.9% of the total Arizona population who speak a language other than English at home. It should be noted that only about 10% of the state's total population could be considered monolingual (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b).

Even though the number of Arizonans who speak a language other than English has increased, this accomplishment has seldom been viewed as an advantage by the general public in the United States. Due to a general perception that immigration is motivated by a desire for wealth, bilingualism continues to be perceived as a failure to break from a home country and a negation of U.S. cultural values. Fishman (2001) states that the maintenance of immigrant languages in the U.S. suffers from a negative image due to an ideology that views English as the official language of the country.

There are many people for whom Spanish is a language of inheritance. Spanish as a heritage language has become a new focus area in the field of language acquisition

research during the last decade. More U.S. universities along the border with Mexico and in large cities in the U.S. are creating heritage language courses in order to target this population whose unique language experiences and language needs differ from those of the majority of second language learners (Beaudrie, 2006)

This paragraph is not included in the introduction. The literature on ‘heritage language speakers’ argues that this term needs clarification (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). The term ‘heritage language’ in the U.S. has been used to refer to indigenous, colonial and immigrant languages. As stated by Fishman (2001), indigenous languages are those of Native Americans; colonial languages are those of earlier groups of immigrant settlers and immigrant languages are those spoken by immigrant speakers from any region in the world. Following Fishman’s definition of language origins, that of a ‘heritage language’ still needs to be addressed. A Spanish heritage language speaker in the U.S. is usually a bilingual individual who has been raised with English as the high register language and with Spanish as the lower status language (Fishman, 1970; Zentella, 1987). As a consequence, the heritage language speaker may be a proficient speaker of the heritage language but may lack grammatical meta-knowledge and writing accuracy in the heritage language. I have observed these proficiency disparities during my experience teaching this population. Valdés states that a heritage learner is, “a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English” (2001, p. 38). This definition does not include individuals who learned the language outside of the home or family. Draper and Hicks provide a definition of the heritage language learner

who has learned the language outside of the home environment as, “someone who has had exposure to a non-English language outside the formal education system. It most often refers to someone with a home background in the language, but may refer to anyone who has had in-depth exposure to another language” (2000, p. 19). Beaudrie and Ducar propose a more inclusive definition, which corresponds to the definition used in this dissertation. As stated by them, heritage language learners are “all individuals that have experienced a relatively extended period of exposure to the language, typically during childhood, through contact with family members or other individuals, resulting in the development of either receptive and/or productive abilities in the language, and varying degrees of bilingualism.” (2005, p. 8). This definition by Beaudrie and Ducar embraces the heritage language profile of the Alvarez family since all of them have been exposed to varying degrees of Spanish in the home and outside the home since childhood, which has resulted in different degrees of bilingualism.

Heritage language learners are not a homogeneous group; they have unique language experiences and characteristics as learners that make them different from one another and from non-heritage students enrolled in a foreign language course. For these reasons, heritage language instruction requires the development or adaptation of pedagogical approaches suited to the needs of heritage language learners which also address these learners’ motivations (Potowski, 2005). As documented by Waggoner (2000), Hispanics are performing at the lowest academic level when compared to African Americans and Asian Americans. Hispanics have the highest high school drop-out rate in the United States. This presents a grave problem for the nation due to the fact that this is

the largest-growing minority population in the United States (Colombi & Roca, 2003; Waggoner, 2000). For this reason, ethnographic studies that investigate bilingual or multicultural contexts are relevant in order to discover diverse linguistic and cultural practices that may contribute to low academic achievement with the aim of seeking to understand and treat achievement gaps between dominant and ethnic minority groups.

This low academic achievement and the gap it has created between the dominant and the Hispanic minority group is now worsening in the State of Arizona with Proposition 203 which outlawed bilingual education and mandates that all children in Arizona public schools should be taught English by being taught in English (Arizona Revised Statutes, 2007). Arizona Proposition 300 (2006) requires that beneficiaries of public education prove through documentation their legal residency in the state. Both propositions seem to constitute barriers to biliteracy development and linguistic assimilation because they imply that English, as a national language, is threatened by the presence of other languages. Furthermore they affirm that languages other than English are not considered valid in official contexts. Also, they reduce the means for the acquisition of the English language.

Ramírez (2000) and Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) have shown that students of Spanish and heritage language courses are motivated by their interest to communicate with different people and reconnect with their family heritage through language. However this is a new perspective; according to Van Deusen-Scholl, “Foreign language learning has historically been regarded as useful only in the strategic and economic sense with little value attached to the less instrumental reasons” (2003, p. 220). This historical

view cannot be applied to or imposed on heritage language learning today because it implies an unawareness of the learners' identity and a lack of personal connection between the language and the learner.

Beginning with the readings sited above and my investigation of the demographics of the Tucson area, I have worked to develop a qualitative study of a family of Mexican origin whose heritage language is Spanish in order to explore language socialization practices, literacies, language choices and language use. As stated by the family's mother, all her five children, ranging in age from 11 to 21 years, have different Spanish proficiencies and different self-identities; some identify themselves as Mexican and others as Mexican American. The varied range of ages and identities led me to select this family for my study.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to analyze the above stated issues, this study is guided by the following research questions.

- 1) Which language socialization practices aid, reinforce or hinder the preservation of Spanish as a heritage language?
- 2) How are literacies learned and used in a Mexican American family (in this case the Alvarez family)? What are the functions of these practiced literacies?
 - 2.a) How and to what extent do the parents (in this case the mother) support or build the children's literacy practices in the heritage language?
- 3) Where, how and when are Spanish and English used by the participants?
 - 3.a) What factors contribute to this language choice? What constitutes their

patterns of use? What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the use of Spanish and English?

3.b) When is code-switching (CS) used, with whom, where, how and for what purposes?

3.c) What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the CS? What factors contribute to the shaping of these attitudes?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Studies of this nature are important in the development of the fields of language acquisition and language socialization, bilingualism and heritage language education. The findings in this case study will contribute to teacher development programs and the relationship between theory and practice in language teaching. An understanding of the literacy practices present in the everyday life of a Hispanic household contributes to a larger understanding of the heritage learner and therefore can provide a useful guideline towards the improvement of classroom literacy and biliteracy practices. Teacher preparation courses that study Hispanic ethnographies are necessary because future teachers may not know how to incorporate and validate their multicultural students' literacies as part of their classroom activities. Teachers need to be aware of how heritage language children use listening and speaking skills during family interaction and their writing and reading for sense making, and how these practices could be included in the academic curriculum.

In this study, the participants constitute a family headed by a single parent of a Mexican heritage family, a mother, who at the time the study was initiated, was a student

in the heritage language program at a university. Her background is working class; her family heritage experience in the United States is both recent and of generations of residence. Her experience and that of her children may portray a different view of heritage language learners in general, as well as the situation of Spanish as a heritage language in the United States.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter is an overview of the dissertation and the researcher's rationale for conducting this investigation of literacy practices and language use of a Spanish heritage bilingual family of Mexican origin. The chapter highlights the main reasons why ethnographic studies are relevant aids in contributing to the maintenance of Spanish, or other heritage languages, in the home and in the U.S. community at large. The chapter also presents the research questions guiding this study and the significance of the study to the development of fields such as language acquisition, language socialization, bilingualism and heritage language education.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Overview

This chapter introduces a discussion of the theoretical framework of this ethnographic study. I present a review of early studies on language socialization, literacy practices, CS and language choice. This section discusses the theoretical approaches framing this ethnographic case study. This study principally relies on language socialization theory as conceptualized by Schieffelin and Ochs. Further theories used as primary guides are literacy practices, biliteracy development and the practice of conversational analysis (CA) for the analysis of language choice and code-switching (CS).

This study is guided by language socialization theory as the main theory under which the other theories guiding this study fall. The reason for this is that the theory of language socialization states that the acquisition by children, novices or more experienced people of tacit knowledge, a world view, and a system of beliefs and rules is achieved through exposure and participation in language-mediated interactions (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984).

Therefore, the acquisition of language, literacy, and the way language is used are ways in which humans are socialized; language use and literacy are part of socialization processes in communities. I believe the home environment is the primary learning environment. Therefore, this study analyzes the participants' home interaction through the lens of language socialization theory. This ethnographic case study describes the patterns of language socialization and literacy practices, and the patterns of language

choice and language use of a Spanish heritage bilingual family of Mexican origin. An analysis such as this demonstrates whether such practices contribute to reinforce, develop or hinder the use of Spanish as a heritage language.

2.1.1 Language Socialization Theory

Language socialization relies on psychological, anthropological, sociological, and sociolinguistic approaches to human development. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) developed the notion of language socialization by stating that language socialization means both, “socialization through language and socialization to use language” (p. 2). Language socialization is therefore an interactive, lifelong process that is dialogic in nature. Children acquire the necessary cultural and linguistic knowledge to become members of their community through their interaction with others, always in dialogue with others (Street, 1997). That is, socialization and language learning are seen as intricately interwoven processes in which language learners participate actively. This process begins immediately after birth at the moment of social contact with others. This theory concerns itself with how members of a community become competent in the use of cultural norms and perspectives as well as the use of linguistic properties in culturally appropriate ways.

Interaction, as the foundation of socialization was first proposed by Vygotsky. He argues that interaction, which is based on sociocultural theory, is the cause of acquisition. He claims that, “*human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them*” (1978, p. 88, emphasis in original). Vygotsky draws attention to the mediational nature of tools such as

language in human interactions. Language acts as a mediating or social tool in the development of literacy. Thus, children learn to speak as they become part of interactional routines, mostly performed with parents and caregivers. Nevertheless, these routines vary from one culture to another; some are based on oral literacies such as storytelling, whereas others rely more on story-reading and other reading and/or writing practices.

Discourse is a central concept in language socialization theory because language socialization “is tied to a particular perspective on sociocultural and linguistic knowledge” (Ochs, 1990, p. 288). Ochs defines discourse as, “*a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating language to context, which speaker-hearers draw on and modify in producing and making sense out of language in context*” (p. 299, emphasis in original). This knowledge is absolutely necessary for the understanding of social order and cultural meaning. Language socialization as a dialogical lifelong process has the potential to be bidirectional and contributes to the development of the speaker as a competent member of his/her speech community. Language socialization development is not necessarily confined to the novice or younger participant. Even though asymmetry exists between the novice and the more experienced individual, both are being socialized in their understanding of discourse as they engage in meaning constructing interactions.

2.1.2 Literacy Theory

The literacy theory adopted in this study corresponds to the New Literacy Studies Theory framework with a focus on Street’s conceptions (1997). His framework views literacy and orality as a continuum rather than a divide. According to Street, “literacy is

not a single, essential thing, with predictable consequences for individual and social development. Instead, there are multiple literacies that vary with time and place that are embedded in specific cultural practices” (1997, p. 48). Street views literacy as a social practice; therefore, a culture has not only one literacy, but many literacy practices. In this case study, literacy practices refer to “this broad cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts” (Street, 2001, p. 11). That is, literacy practices try to handle “the events and the patterns around literacy and to *link* them to something broader of a cultural and social kind” (Street, 2001, p. 11, emphasis in original). Since social practices are not homogeneous across cultures, literacy practices vary with social context and cultural norms. For this reason, Street believes that literacy practices are, “not only the observable behaviours around literacy [...] but also the concepts and meanings brought to those events and which give them meaning” (1997, p. 50). He claims that literacy is much more than technical or individual skills, as stated in the autonomous model, and which are learned primarily in school. Literacy, then, is not merely reading and writing, but also consists of talking and those practices that involve values, beliefs, and interactions that are rooted in conceptions of identity, knowledge and being (Street, 2001).

Street’s theoretical framework of literacy expands Heath’s (1986) since the latter defines literacy in terms of literacy events or, “occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretative processes and strategies” (p. 98). However, even though Heath’s definition addresses directly the “written language”, she uses it to refer to both oral and written literacy events in her

study of the communities of the Piedmont area of the Carolinas. According to Street (2001), Heath's definition of a literacy event is descriptive but fails to show how meanings are constructed. For this reason, Street proposes an "ideological model" where different contexts determine different uses of literacy. In Street's model the community determines its own relationship with literacy and orality. Literacy is then, neither a "divide", nor "continuum" or any other theorist-imposed view.

An important term that needs clarification is bilingualism. Research shows that bilingualism is defined differently according to which theoretical perspective has been adopted (Valdés, 2001). How it is decided if an individual is bilingual remains a basic issue because languages may be learned in different contexts. Language is used for many reasons and for different purposes. In this case study bilingualism refers to the ability to use two languages whether or not they are learned at precisely the same time, with different proficiencies and in a dynamic condition. In other words, either language could be developed more than the other depending on the support available at home, in school and in the community at large (Bialystok, 2001; Reyes, 2006; Valdés, 2001). In addition, bilingual ability grows in relation to the needs the language use fulfills; as stated by Bialystok, "The proficiency that a child develops in each language, therefore, is a specific response to a set of needs and circumstances" (2001, p. 7).

In this study, the term 'biliteracy' is considered in addition to 'literacy' because the participants are developing bilingualism and biliteracy in both languages, Spanish and English, as part of the process of developing literacy knowledge through their daily activities. For this reason, literacy and biliteracy are seen as a continuum rather than a

divide. In all domains of use observed in the Alvarez family, English and Spanish were seamlessly intertwined into their day-to-day practices. Even though each participant had a preference for one language over another, the interactive discourse among participants elucidated that English and Spanish were part of an ongoing teaching and learning process.

The terms literacy and biliteracy are presented as a compound term, literacy/biliteracy, in the present study because here biliteracy is conceptualized accordingly to the theoretical frameworks of biliteracy development as put forth by Dworin (2003) and Reyes (2006) in conjunction with the framework of literacy practices employed by Street as assumed in this study. In this way, biliteracy in the present case study is an emergent bidirectional process developed through multiple approaches to becoming literate in two languages. Therefore, in the Alvarez family, the paths to literacy and biliteracy are several and vary from one individual to another depending on how languages interact and are fostered; the second language has the potential of mediating the first one and vice versa. Furthermore, biliteracy is an emergent process because it describes the participants, whose dominant language is English, and their dynamic and simultaneous process of developing bilingual and biliterate competencies in English and Spanish. Based on this biliteracy development framework, the term literacy/biliteracy in this case study is being used to describe individuals with ongoing literate development of competencies in thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages, developed to varying degrees, either simultaneously or consecutively (Dworin, 2003; Reyes, 2006).

Based on this approach of literacy/biliteracy, the literacy/biliteracy practices in my study are analyzed following the definitions and categories for the types and uses of reading and writing as developed by Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988). It is important to mention that their categories are adapted from the literacy studies by Heath (1983) and Taylor (1983). Moreover, these categories correspond to their research studies of children's early language and literacy development in monolingual communities. Therefore, I have adapted these categories to the bilingual context of the participants in my study (see Appendix B) and have not divided them based on either reading or writing skills because I believe these skills are intertwined (Reyes et al., 2007).

2.1.3 Conversational Analysis Theory as Applied to Language Choice and CS

Conversational Analysis (CA) provides researchers with a theoretical framework that addresses the meaning of talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2001; Schiffrin, 1994). During the 1950s and 1960s, a great number of sociology researchers conducted investigations into the human establishment of social order; however, they neglected to employ language usage as a source of insight in their studies (Goffman, 1959). It was not until Harvey Sacks' research on the structural organization of everyday language use between the years of 1964 and 1972 that CA was developed (Moerman, 1988). After the death of Sacks in 1975, Schegloff and Jefferson expanded Sack's work in the field of CA to what it is today. For the purposes of this study an abbreviated description of CA follows.

CA is defined by Hutchby and Wooffitt, as "the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction: *talk-in-interaction* [...] Moreover, what is recorded is 'naturally occurring' interaction [...] Overall, then, CA is the study of

recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction” (2001, p. 13-14, original emphasis). It is through the analysis of conversational sequences recorded in naturally occurring settings that the meaning of talk and the socially organized features of talk in context are uncovered.

CA sees actual utterances in actual contexts as actions (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2001, pp. 20-21). Therefore, talk-in-interaction involves people taking turns at talking in sequential and inferential order. The transition between turns illustrates first, the understanding and analysis of the utterance of the previous speaker through the utterance of the next, and secondly, the speakers’ active analyses of ongoing talk are performed in order to negotiate their own participation in the exchange (Hutchby & Wooffitt, p. 38). That is, the sequential order of conversation, organized in an adjacency pair fashion, reveals crucial information in regard to the participants’ exchange of turns during the talk-in-interaction: “the ‘next turn’ is the place where speakers display their understanding of the prior turn’s possible completion ... [and] their analysis and understanding of the prior turn’s *content*” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2001, p. 38, emphasis in original).

CA includes the study of turn-taking and adjacency-pairs. It is important to describe adjacency-pairs briefly as shown in the studies by Milroy and Wei (1995) and Auer (1984a) because the role of code-switching in organizing discourse is seen not only in conversation sequences but also in the adjacency-pair structure. Adjacency-pairs were first introduced by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in their seminal work on turn-taking patterns in conversations (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). In other words, the talk-in-

interaction sequence is organized in adjacency-pairs; the two parts of the talk are produced, ideally, next to each other. Therefore, adjacency-pairs are fundamental to CA because they show how mutual understanding is displayed and accomplished in talk, as stated by Schegloff and Sack (1973) in the following quote from Hutchby and Wooffitt:

What two utterances, produced by different speakers, can do that one utterance cannot do is: by an adjacently positioned second, a speaker can show that he understood what a prior aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with that. Also, by virtue of the occurrence of an adjacently produced second, the doer of a first can see that what he intended was indeed understood, and that it was or was not accepted. Also, of course, a second can assert his failure to understand, or disagreement, and inspection of a second by a first can allow the first speaker to see that while the second thought he understood, indeed is misunderstood. (p. 41)

CA explains and describes the meaning of talk through the analysis of conversational sequences. In this case study CA reveals the Alvarez family's mutual understanding or lack of understanding displayed in their turns at taking and adjacency pairs.

Because CA analyzes naturally occurring conversation, a CA of the language practices of the Alvarez family can elucidate how they construct their identities as they interact with one another. In relation to their language practices, it is important to define what constitutes CS, borrowing and language choice in this case study. CS refers to “the *juxtaposition* of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance” (Poplack, 1993, p. 255, emphasis in original) as noted in the following example by Suzy, *¿no van a ir al meeting?* [aren't you going to the meeting?] where she uses a CS insertion. Borrowing, on the other hand, is defined as “lone major-class content words of one language incorporated in discourse of another” (Poplack & Meechan, 1998,

p. 135). In Suzy's data, the noun 'lunche' is one of the very few borrowings she used, "*sí Subway y luego cuando compré el, aquel lunche que comimos en el Jack in the Box*" [yes Subway and then when I bought the, that lunche that we ate at Jack in the Box].

Language choice, on the other hand, refers to the participants' initial choice of either Spanish or English.

2.1.4 Two Analytical Frameworks

This case study analyzes CS and language choice from a conversational perspective through a combination of two strands of research. The first of these is Auer's CA framework due to the fact that its central goal is to describe and explain how language is organized in interaction. The second is Zentella's framework grounded in an ethnographic approach that explains the sequential flow of bilingual discourse. As claimed by Martin-Jones (1995), there is a need for studies that combine conversation analysis with ethnographic observation in order to obtain "fine grained descriptions" (p. 103).

Auer criticizes the assumption by Fishman that "*certain conversational activities prompt the usage of one language or the other qua activity type*" (Auer, 1995, p. 117, emphasis in original) as well as his assumption that "it is the juxtaposition of the two languages that constitutes the conversational meaning of code alternation, but the direction of this alternation is irrelevant" (p. 123). The latter assumption is also reflected in the work by Gumperz (1982) that discusses situational versus metaphorical CS and also in the work of Myers-Scotton (1993) that uses a "markedness" model that attempts to explain the social motivation of code-switching from a structural point of view.

Instead, Auer (1995) claims that language choice might be analyzed in a sequential fashion in order to explain language choice as an activity which takes into consideration the language choice of the preceding utterance. Following this line of thought, he suggests that the question must be “in which activities do bilinguals tend to switch from one language into the other [?]” (p. 120). The foundation for his criticism springs from the use of code-switching categories used by a large number of researchers in the analysis of CS which in contrast to Auer do not draw on sequential analysis and as a consequence are not grounded in a theory of interaction (p. 120). Therefore, this study researches the choices the Alvarez family makes when communicating in either Spanish or English in the each domain depending on language variables such as interlocutor, place and topic. The different domains and the language usage in each domain is brought up from the data which reveals the shifting or nonshifting. In this way, language choice is linked to specific domains. In this case study the term ‘domain’ signifies “an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships” (Romaine, 2000, p. 44).

Auer’s CS model (1984a, 1998) is based on CA theory as conceptualized by Schegloff, and the notion of contextualization cues as seen by Gumperz. Thus, CA provides a framework for the study of language in situ by examining meaning in the interactions that involve language alternation. Auer proposes a model of conversational code alternation based on the analysis of naturally occurring conversation sequences in order to interpret the functions and meanings of CS with the aim to reconstruct the meaning of conversation among parties. Referring to the analysis of sequences, Schegloff

claims that, "...no analysis, grammatical, semantic, pragmatic, etc., of these utterances taken singly and out of sequence, will yield their import in use, will show what co-participants might make of them and do about them" (1984a, p. 31). Thus, Auer and Schegloff agree that the meaning of talk is revealed through the analysis of conversational sequences.

Auer's model attempts to define those individuals who switch in a given community, and when and why these language alternations occur. According to his model, the social meaning of code choice is generated by individual interactions and is locally created. According to Gumperz, "contextualization cues" are language elements that contain contextual presuppositions which work to signal the participants' orientation in relation to each other (Auer, 1984a; Wei, 1998). That is, participants wish to provide each other with a context where their presuppositions can be embedded. Some of these contextualization strategies include intonation, gesture, rhythm, and accent. Auer claims that bilingual code-switching works like one of these cues (Auer, 1984a, 1995). Auer's CS framework (1995, 1998) defines CS as a contextualization cue to be analyzed within sequential patterns of language choice. CS as a contextualization cue is related to four patterns of sequential language choice. These patterns show how language choice is negotiated based on the status of the codes in the repertoire of the speech community.

Auer states, in describing his model (1998) that,

There is a level of conversational structure in bilingual speech which is sufficiently autonomous both from grammar (syntax) and from the larger societal and ideological structures to which the languages in question and their choice for a given interactional episode are related. The partial autonomy of the conversational structure in code-switching is shown, for example the fact that switching is more likely in certain sequential positions than in others [...], or that

certain sequential patterns of alternating language choice direct participants' interpretations. (p. 4)

Following Auer's model, CS as a contextualization cue explains how meaning is interpreted in conversation and shows how language choice is negotiated and is dependent on the status of the codes in the repertoire of the speech community.

The Auer model focuses on talk-in-interaction as a negotiation of conversation that is embedded in community norms. Talk is embedded in the historical, social, cultural and biographical contexts in which it takes place. Meaning, in code alternation (or code-switching), evolves in a sequential environment (i.e., in the preceding and subsequent utterances of an interaction). Therefore, the sequential direction of code alternation is relevant to the interpretation of the switch. Furthermore, CS functions as a contextualization cue because switches in a conversation provide insights to the speakers' attitudes about other parties (Auer, 1984b). For this reason, it is advisable that the language choice preferences of the participants be analyzed using a sequential analysis. Such analysis highlights the socially, politically, and/or personally motivated preferences for language choice.

Auer's model describing CS as a contextualization cue (1995), exhibits four patterns of language choice. The first (pattern Ia), is a discourse related switching: language A is established by speaker 1, speaker 2 follows with A, speaker 1 continues with A and speaker 2 responds with A, but then a switch (/) is initiated by speaker 1 to language B and speaker 2 follows speaker one's initiative (Pattern Ia: 1A 2A 1A 2A // 1B 2B 1B 2B). A variant of this pattern is when language alternation occurs within a single speaker's turn as in Pattern Ib (1A 2A 1A 2A 1A // 1B 2B 1B 2B). However the context

for this switch is not arbitrary as in Pattern Ia; this is observed when some aspect of the conversation is contextualized (e.g., shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type, etc.) (p. 125). A second pattern of language switching is language negotiation/preference related switching. In Pattern IIa, both speakers (1 and 2) use different languages (A and B) throughout the conversation (Pattern IIa: 1A 2B 1A 2B 1A 2B 1A 2B). This also occurs in Pattern IIb where after some language choice divergence by the speakers, one speaker accepts the other's language and the exchange continues in that language (Pattern IIb: 1A 2B 1A 2B 1A // 2A 1A 2A 1A). According to Auer, in Pattern IIb preference switching occurs due to the speaker's feelings of language insecurity; thus, the speaker switches to the language he/she is more competent in or the switch occurs because of a deliberate decision by the speaker based on political considerations. A third pattern of switching occurs when speakers keep language choice open by using both language A and B within their turn during an exchange and speaker 2, the recipient, continues in that mode (Pattern IIIa: 1AB 2AB 1AB 2AB) or chooses the language of his/her choice (Pattern IIIb: 1AB // 2A 1A 2A). This type of switch can be discourse related and at the same time participant related. However, it is very difficult to determine which language is the base language since the language choice is kept open. The fourth pattern is discourse-related insertions or transfer--momentary lapses into the other language. In this pattern CS occurs "in the middle of a speaker's turn without affecting the language choice for the interaction at all" (p. 126). This type of CS can either be discourse-related or participant-related (1A [1B] 1A). The latter might be used to exhibit the speaker's bilingual competence (p. 126). The four patterns of Auer's CS model correspond to one of the two

frameworks in this study that explain how the meaning of interactions is interpreted by displaying how individuals negotiate language choice. The next CS model corresponds to the framework by Zentella (1997).

As mentioned before, the analysis of CS in my study is also guided by Zentella's framework because it describes how bilinguals choose one language or another. It is very difficult to establish what are the main factors that determine code choice due to the fact that most interactions are formed by a combination of contexts. Zentella's analysis of code choice and CS separates the contributing factors into three main categories: 1) the observable or "on the spot" factors: the physical setting, the linguistic competence and social identities of the participants, 2) the communicational factors or "in the head" knowledge: the life-long process of understanding how to manage conversations based on shared communicative purposes in the cultural setting, and 3) "out of the mouth" which refers to what can be analyzed through the individual utterances themselves or the analysis of the grammar of CS. Within the second category, Zentella identifies the following code-switching conversational strategies: 1) Footing: Realignment (i.e., topic shift, indirect and direct quotations, declarative/question shift, future referent check and/or bracket, checking, role shift, rhetorical ask and answer, narrative frame break) and Appeal and/or Control (i.e., aggravating requests, mitigating requests, and attention attraction), 2) Clarification and/or Emphasis (i.e., translations, appositions and/or apposition bracket, accounting for requests, and double subject), and 3) Crutch-like Code Mixing (i.e., crutching, filling in, recycling, triggers, parallelism, and taboos) (see

Appendix C). Zentella's detailed categories determine individuals' language choice and attempt to show who speaks what to whom and when.

2.1.5 An Integrated Ethnographic Approach to CS

Even though Auer sees all classificatory approaches to CS as problematic due to their lack of the sequential development of interaction, I argue that there is overlapping in the approaches by Auer and Zentella. Furthermore, I believe Auer contradicts himself by claiming that he rejects classificatory approaches when his framework is based on a four level classificatory system of code alternation. Using Auer's words, he claims that the comprehensive approach by Zentella fails "to consider adequately the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation" (1984a, p. 5). It can be argued that Zentella fails to explain in detail the reasons why functions and meanings are assigned to the three factors in her "anthropolitical linguistic analysis" (Zentella, 1997, p. 13). However, after careful analysis of Zentella's and Auer's CS studies, I believe both approaches complement one another and can be used conjunctively. According to Martin-Jones (1995), Zentella's study (1981) on the use of CS in two bilingual classrooms in New York documents similar discourse-related and participant-related switching as described by Auer (1984, 1990). Therefore, Zentella seems to be referring to the same types of CS as Auer proposed where code alternation is used as a contextualization cue.

Based on the discussion of two frameworks presented above, I propose a combination of both frameworks: Auer's (1995, 1998), representing wider categories of language choice and CS (his four patterns of language choice) and Zentella's (1997), which define factors that determine language choice. I believe that combining Zentella's

and Auer's approaches results in a more comprehensive and inclusive approach because Auer's CS classification is broad and Zentella's is detailed. Zentella's three factors that contribute to language choice align with Auer's four patterns of language choice and can provide a comprehensive classification of language choice that also describes CS.

A combination of both Auer's and Zentella's frameworks into an integrated ethnographic approach to CS could exhibit three patterns. The first, CS Pattern 1, Discourse-related Switching combines Auer's Pattern Ia/b discourse related switching with the equated Communicational Factors or "in the head" knowledge in Zentella's framework (with the exception of crutch-like code mixing). Both researchers refer to the contextualization of the conversation (e.g., topic shift, role shift, participant constellation, activity type), which can be attributed to participants' variables such as age, status, and gender. CS Pattern 2, Participant-related Switching combines Auer's Pattern IIa/b, Participant-related switching with Zentella's Observable or "on the spot" Factors due to the fact that both researchers take into consideration the speakers' language preferences based on speaker language proficiency and addressee's language preferences. CS Pattern III, Discourse Related Insertion refers to a combination of Auer's Pattern's III and IV with Zentella's Crutch-like Code Mixing and is based on the differentiation made by Zentella between CS transfer and crutching. The rationale for this combination is based on similarities between Auer's Patterns III and IV. Both refer to switches that can either be participant or discourse related. In Pattern III it is difficult to state what the base language is and in Pattern IV the speaker code-switches "without affecting the language choice for the interaction at all" (Auer, 1984, p. 126). Furthermore, Pattern III is more

likely to occur in the middle of a turn and Pattern IV between turns. Zentella's definition of crutch-like code mixing makes an important differentiation between switches that occur in transfers and crutches. The former happens when the speaker knows the word in both languages and translates it some time after the word has been uttered in the first language. Crutches, on the other hand, are switches resulting of an inability to think of the right word in a particular language. From my collection of data, crutches take place when the speaker does not remember or does not know the word based on the word's absence in the collected data. It is important to note that what Auer defines as transfer is identified by Zentella as crutching and what in Zentella's terms is transfer is identified as code-switching by Auer.

2.2 Literature Overview

The present study's main goal is to provide an in-depth analytic narrative account of the language socialization and literacy practices that aid, reinforce or hinder the maintenance of the Spanish heritage language in the home of a Mexican origin Spanish heritage language family. According to the family's mother, Suzy (the names of all participants are pseudonyms), the language practices of her five children and herself are not alike because all of them have different Spanish competencies and portray different self-identities, either as a Mexican or Mexican American. The main themes used in this literature review include a selection of studies on language socialization, literacy/biliteracy practices, CS and language choice of Hispanic and Hispanic-origin families in the U.S.

2.2.1 Language Socialization and Literacy Practices

One of the main claims in this study is that the home environment is the primary learning environment. Ochs and Schieffelin claim that, “the process of becoming a competent member of society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations” (1984, p. 277). Therefore, “Socialization, broadly defined, is the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 339). That is, language socialization varies widely across cultures, for this reason it must be explained within the parental background reflecting language practices (e.g., education, income levels, cultural knowledge, expectations) and the historical, sociological, and socioeconomic conditions that impact families (Delgado-Gaitán, 1992; González, 2001; Heath, 1983; Hymes, 1980; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Valdés, 1996). In this regard, Hymes claims that, “Depending on gender, family, community, and religion, children are raised in terms of one configuration of the use and meaning of language rather than another” (1980, p. vi). The outside forces (e.g., church groups, children’s schooling, parental teacher training programs) attempting to change home language socialization practices have the potential to convert children and parents into home language transformation agents. Thus, the consequence of these forces has resulted in the loss or impoverishment of the heritage language as will be shown in this narrative (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, 1992). Similar to Delgado-Gaitán (1992), Heath (1986) argues that there

are different ways to learn to use language that depend on the way in which communities structure their families. Because these community structures of family are linked to values of socio-economic status, they can explain why the written/read routines of some communities are or are not compatible with literacy patterns which are imposed on the community, such as mainstream schooling in the United States. Based on these claims, this case study researches the role of the mother, a heritage language student at the university level, as a determining factor when considering choice and use of language and literacy/biliteracy practices and aids in the maintenance of the heritage language.

The seminal ethnographic studies of Heath (1983) and Street (1984a, 1995) reveal the importance of ethnographic studies of literacy practices. Their studies show that school literacies transform and are powerful enough to subordinate existing local literacy practices. A large amount of Latino immigrants in the U.S. and immigrants in the broad sense of the word who cannot communicate in English are then incapable of helping their children of attaining social mobility and/or of realizing the “American Dream” (Schechter & Bayley, 1997, 2002). Therefore, independently of how rich home literacy practices are, obtaining the academic competences of the dominant culture seems to be the key factor for social mobility (Rubinstein-Avila, 2006).

In reference to the transformational and powerful role of school literacies, research (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990, 1992; Heath, 1983; Pease-Alvarez & Vásquez, 1994; Reese, 2002; Reese & Gallimore, 2001; Reyes, 2007; Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines’s, 1988; Zentella, 2005) has demonstrated that home literacy practices that have continuities with school practices have important positive social and cognitive consequences for children

because the failure of children in school is thought by several researchers and educators to be the result of family cultural and language differences. This problem is not only faced by a large number of immigrants in the U.S. but also by many non-mainstream American children, as shown by Heath's studies (1983, 1986) on the different ways of socializing children in three communities in the Piedmont area of the Carolinas as well as Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines's (1988) study of African American inner-city families. As stated above, the home is the primary learning environment and parents are the children's first and most influential teachers. Many marginalized parents lack mainstream attitudes that promote the value of education and/or do not involve themselves in their children's education. These failures on the part of the parents to prepare their children well for school contribute to the increased possibility of the child's failure at school. However, this does not mean that non-mainstream homes lack literacy practices; they are actually engaged in a wide variety of literacy practices as defined by Street (1999).

Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines's study (1988) shows the rich literacy environment in which the children were being raised; however, these practices were not seemed as relevant to the definitions of school learning. Young children and mothers were engaged in reading practices and school assignments and homework; they read together for entertainment and to maintain social interaction. The families in general enjoyed each other's company and spent time together. The mothers participated in different types of reading and writing to fulfill needs of every day life (e.g., financial and school related reading and writing, greeting cards, letters, religious and comic books, newspapers). Children were doing at home what they were learning in the care center and later on in

school. At home, during playtime with friends and siblings, children drew their homes, their family and wrote 'love you' messages that told the story of their lives. Even though the study shows that children's literacy practices at home consisted of homework and worksheets that the teachers wanted their parents to look at, the authors concluded that when comparing their population with Taylor's and Heath's townspeople, they found more similarities than differences in their literacy practice since literacy had social, technical and aesthetical purposes.

The ethnography by Heath (1983) of ways of talking at home and school show how the three communities of the Piedmont Carolina had different ways of talking, reading and telling stories. Roadville children had very little opportunity to analyze or extend the content of books unless it was the Bible, which they had to memorize. Also, children's stories were based on true stories about themselves that needed to have a moral. Therefore, when they started school they were unable to transfer knowledge across contexts, compare similarities and differences in events, hypothesize, and take active roles in reading. The Trackton community children had also little opportunities to be read to or to read with an adult and there were no bedtime stories. Instead, children took part in and imitated the adult interaction of story telling. These were stories based on actual events with outcomes and details creatively functionalized whose goal was to entertain. As a consequence of the lack of mainstream schooling literacy skills, which were found to be part of the white middle class community, Trackton children were unable to take meaning from reading and their ability to express themselves by writing was limited. These various ways of being literate had different schooling outcomes.

However, Heath was able to reach teachers in these communities and the latter were able to help the school failing children to learn to read and write at or above their level.

The research by Reyes (2006) and Reyes et al. (2007) show various forms of developing biliteracy and bilingualism in young children. This research explains the rich home and school biliteracy environments of a group of Mexican background pre-school children in the South of Tucson. Their households were Spanish speaking dominant homes but at the pre-school they attended they were engaged in a Spanish and English biliteracy and bilingual curriculum. Their exposure to biliteracy did not end at school. Children took home different forms of schoolwork (e.g., worksheets, weekly letters, pictures from field trips) and playtime involved both languages, Spanish and English. Their studies show how pre-school children developed phonological awareness of print in both languages when exposed to biliteracy from a young age. This awareness enabled them to choose their language for the interaction motivated by the context and the addressee, which explains that the children have developed their own theories or concepts about language and literacy. Their studies also show that the children's biliteracy development took place in their zone of proximal development as they were being guided by their parents, siblings, teachers and peers.

This case study and those previously cited recommend the co-existence of home and school literacies so oral language and biliteracy develop. Cummins states that children's academic growth in English literacy skills is enhanced when they also develop literacy in their L1 (first language). He claims "...extensive reading is crucial for academic development since academic language is found primarily in written text. If

bilingual students are not reading extensively they are not getting access to the language of the academic success” (2000, p. 98). For instance, the Ramírez Report (1992), in Cummins (2000), shows that children who are good readers in the L1 progress more rapidly in L2 (second language) reading. This literacy transfer view is also shared by Dworin (2003), however, he claims that such transferring is bidirectional, “learning in the second language also mediates learning in the first language” (p. 174) and criticizes Cummins for his disconnected conceptualization of language acquisition between the first and second languages. Saville-Troike also argues that immigrant children who have had a basic education in their native language tend to perform better in their second language and in academic content learning (2004, p. 114). Goodman in this regard also claims, “...just as we learn to talk by listening, we learn to write by reading” (1996, p. 124). The research by Sulzby and Edwards (1993) has similarly demonstrated that parents and children who together engaged in reading activities entered school with advanced levels in reading. They claim that emergent literacy is needed in order to make a successful connection and/or continuity between home reading practices and the school’s. They define emergent literacy as, “...a set of behaviors and concepts about literacy that precede and develop into conventional literacy” (p. 158). That is, emergent literacy treats children as readers and writers before they are able to read by themselves. This approach includes the interrelatedness and simultaneous development of reading, writing, and oral language, as shown in the studies on middle class American families by Heath (1983) and Ochs and Schieffelin (1984). However, Schickedanz (1993) notes that a rich print environment is not sufficient in and of itself in the achievement of successful literacy

skills, emergent literacy requires an environment of mutual engagement between parent and child in the achievement of successful reading practices. Based on these studies it can be argued that one of the most important factors contributing to the Alvarez children's loss of Spanish is their lack of reading and writing input in that language. Mutual engagement should also happen between school and families. Family intervention programs fomenting parent empowerment through literacy programs should not ignore family's values and beliefs as proposed by Valdés (1996) and Zentella (2005).

Several studies (Delgado-Gaitán, 1990; González, 2001; Reese and Gallimore, 2001; Zentella, 1997) on Latino children in the U.S. show that parents and children were engaged in literacy practices for different purposes and among these, the amount and quality of reading activity was in proportion to the parents' length of time residing in the U.S. and subsequently the children's ability as readers was proportional to their parents' length of residency. Reese and Gallimore's study found that parents who have lived in the U.S. more than 17 years were more likely to read to children earlier (65%) than those who have lived in the U.S. 16 or less years (35%). The study by Delgado-Gaitán on Mexican American children shows that those whose parents who read frequently to them and checked that their homework was completed were placed at an advanced reading level, whereas children who were not read to frequently and took much longer to complete homework because their parents either were unable or unwilling to help them were consequently placed at a novice reading level. It is important to note that the parents of the children who were placed as advanced readers were trained by the pre-school teacher to work at home with their children. On the other hand, parents of the children

placed in the novice reading level did not receive training in home literacy practices, and therefore, had more difficulties in helping their children with homework. Zentella's study (1997) on Puerto Rican children in a neighborhood in New York found that second generation children were read to, to a greater or lesser extent by the mother only. However most of this reading material consisted of manuals for technological appliances and even though writing and reading were part of the interactive practices of the home, both consisted of family letters. The study also shows that there were no bedtime reading practices. González (2001) also found that reading practices by Mexican origin children in Tucson were mostly present in the form of homework completion.

One reason for the above documented lack of bed time reading practices or reduced amount of reading is observed in several studies (Reese & Gallimore, 2001; Schechter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Valdés, 1996) that found that parents did not engage in reading to their children because their belief was that children are expected to learn to read when they start schooling. Zentella (1997), and Reese and Gallimore (2001) also documented that the potential literacy opportunities they witnessed that could have been used by parents to develop their children's literacy skills were not recognized; these parents did not view children's early engagement with text as precursors of real reading. Interestingly, the literacy patterns used in these households mirrored the ways in which parents learned to read. That is, parents believed that children should only be read to when they could understand and appreciate what was being read. Reese and Gallimore (2001) refer to the parents' already shaped literacy practices as "parental models of children's literacy development". In their study with immigrant Latinos in Los Angeles,

they found that the parents' model of literacy development had originated in their native country; their literacy model is based on their own experiences, beliefs, and practices when learning to read. Therefore, the children in their study were being raised based on the ways parents themselves had been raised and educated. In her discussion of reading practices or literacy practices of a parental learning approach similar to that defined by Reese and Gallimore, McKay describes these practices as those of "cultures emphasizing the conservation of knowledge" (1996, p. 434).

It is important to note that the Hispanic parents, mainly mothers, in a large number of studies on language socialization (Browning-Aiken, 2005; Relaño-Pastor, 2005; Valdés, 1996; Zentella, 2005) are described as very good parents when educating their children in morals, values, and respect. Being 'well educated' for most working class Latinos is translated as "good breeding or manners and formal education is in children's behavior and speech rather than in their book learning" (Zentella, 2005, p. 25). Education in these households refers to academic learning and non-academic learning of the family's values and morals and commitment to maintain their heritage language and traditions. Nonetheless, these positive attributes that are an essential part of the family's identity become irrelevant when children attend school in the U.S. because most Latino families' childrearing practices are inconsistent with the ways of Western middle-class families. In this regard, Delgado-Gaitán (1992) argues that the causes of school failure of Latino children are due to the lack of resources and access to advantages available to middle-class families. She argues that the physical resources, emotional climate, and interpersonal interactions of the family have important consequences in education.

Following the findings above, Zentella (2005) questions the wide spread belief that a home without books and/or school-like practices results in children's failure in school. She claims, "We should indeed encourage parents to read to their children, but homes without books are not endangering a child and parents who do not read to their children are not bad parents" (p. 26). She believes that the lack of home reading practices can be the result of the notion held by many Latino parents, including Zentella's own mother, that literacy abilities are not best achieved through reading books and that the act of reading alone creates a distance between the reader and the activities shared by the family. This belief seems to be present in the Alvarez household, where literacies are mostly oral and written/read literacy practices are generally school related. With regard to the limited amount of reading materials in households Stites (2001) claims, "It was quite clear that more people had a television set in the home than had a collection of books, magazines or newspapers" (p. 183). However, in defense of television I argue that it also represents a source of language input and family discussion as found in my data. Also, the previous studies presented above document that a large number of households visited had very limited forms and quantity of reading and writing activity; therefore, reading at home was a rare activity in most households.

2.2.2 Language Choice and Code-switching

This study investigates the patterns of language choice and code-switching (CS) of the participants: how, when and why they use Spanish and English. The majority of research on bilingual Latinos in the U.S. has been carried out with Mexican American, Mexican immigrant and Puerto Rican populations residing in the United States. As noted

by Sridhar, issues of power, prestige, value and attitude determine the distribution of languages in a bilingual community (1996, p. 52). Similarly, McGroarty (1996) claims that the speaker's choice of a particular language is an indicator of power relationships and social domains ascribed to language and language varieties in any society (p. 26). That is, speakers choose to use a language or language variety based either on their or the society's values and/or beliefs about that language. In the same way, literacy studies by Herbert and Robinson (2001) and Wright (2001) document how language is used by the local people in their literacy practices in response to their beliefs about the power of language in society. The subjects' choice of language reveals that language gives them access to power or excludes them from it. That is, the language that is recognized by the government seems to be the main factor determining the language choice of literacy practices. As shown by several studies (González, Moll, & Amanti 2005; Zentella, 1997) literacy in English may be the most important factor in social mobility and salaried employment. The findings in these studies seem to make a powerful argument explaining why most of the Alvarez family's literacy practices are in English.

In reference to language beliefs and values, Saville-Troike (2003) claims that the choice of language code (language variety) by many Spanish speakers in the U.S. can be equated to a diglossic situation due to the fact that children are socialized in the 'low variety' at home and in the 'high variety', the variety of the dominant culture, at school. Therefore, the presence of two sets of cultural norms, one in school and another at home, identifies these families as dinomic, which she defines as "*the coexistence and complementary use within the same society of two cultural systems, one of which is the*

dominant culture of the larger society and the other a subordinate and less prestigious subculture from within that same society” (p. 46). The language use studies of a large number of bilingual communities such as Fishman’s (1970, 1972), documents examples of diglossic communities. For instance, he researched the diglossic situation in Peru and Paraguay where Spanish and Quechua and Spanish and Guaraní co-exist, Spanish representing the high variety and Quechua and Guaraní the low variety. A similar example of different registers is presented by Valdés who claims that language use also reflects and marks social class (2000, p. 105). She claims that most Mexican immigrants belong to the non-elite strata; meaning that, they are speakers of the middle and low registers of Spanish. She argues that, “English and Spanish [or any two other languages] have taken on specialized functions and are associated with certain domains of activity or subject matter” (Valdés, 2000, p. 105). Ramat offers another view of the diglossic community by stating, “CS is evidence of widespread bilingual behaviour, rather than an indicator of language shift. It presupposes fluency on both sides and the ability of alternating codes in the easiest way” (1995, p. 61). She arrives at this conclusion based on her research on dialects and standard Italian language relationships. By taking these arguments into consideration, my study explores whether CS is an expansion of the family’s language use and/or each language, including CS as a language, has specialized functions.

A large number of studies indicate that minority language speakers shift to the dominant language within the second and/or third generations (González, 2001; Reese & Gallimore, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Valdés, 1996). The Spanish speaking

population acquires English and loses Spanish. According to Meyers-Scotton (2006) and Fishman (1991), the shift to the dominant language is usually completed within three generations. In this regard Carreira (2003) claims, “The typical scenario documented for Spanish, for example, is that first generation immigrants are Spanish-dominant. The second generation is bilingual, with preference for English and the third generation has very limited, if any, skills in Spanish” (p. 55). This was observed in the Alvarez family as well; the mother, second generation, is a balanced bilingual but the children who are third generation are English dominant. However, although language maintenance seems to be a battle, there are ways to maintain the heritage language. Fishman (1991) argues that intergenerational mother tongue transmission has a primary role in language maintenance and that linguistic networks must be expanded to the larger community in order to keep the minority language from dying. At this point, it is important to clarify that the terms linguistic network and social network are used interchangeably to mean “a boundless web of [linguistic and social] ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely (Milroy & Lei, 1995, p. 138). Moreover, Bills (2005) claims that as long as communities remain diglossic, there will always be a space for the heritage language to remain active. Even though the Alvarez family lives in an environment where English and Spanish are assigned specialized functions in different domains of activity or subject matter, and Spanish is used at home and less frequently in other networks such as at work and school, my data shows that English is their dominant language. Therefore, I believe that, as long as no major Spanish network is found outside the household, as stated by the participants in their surveys and questionnaires, the

Spanish domains of the Alvarez family may not be sufficient in keeping their heritage language alive.

Milroy and Wei state that, “variation in the structure of different individuals’ personal social networks will, for a number of reasons, systematically affect the way they use the two languages in the community repertoire” (1995, p. 138). Milroy and Wei identify three types of network structure: 1) exchange networks or strong ties, where people interact routinely and exchange support, advice, and criticism, 2) an interactive or weak network, where, even though there is interaction, interaction is not at the level of exchanging favors or support, and 3) a passive network that features the absence of regular contact even though the ties are valued “as a source of influence and moral support” (p. 139). As claimed by Milroy and Wei and shown in a significant number of studies (Heath, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Valdés, 1996; Zentella, 1997) social networking is a very important tie for some minority communities and migrant families because networking is generally constructed in response to social and economic pressures (p. 155). Even though the Alvarez family faces economic pressures, they appear to have not made a major effort in creating strong ties to network connections in their community.

Another decisive factor determining the language choice of many bilingual Latino families in the U.S. is realized through the distinction between instrumental and affective functions of language use. Researchers such as Valdés (1996), Zentella (1997), and Bayley and Schecter (2005) argue that some of the most relevant sources that aid in the maintenance of the heritage language are the family, the community and the formal

education of heritage speakers. Most of the families that they studied agreed that Spanish is an important resource in maintaining their ethnic identity and cultural traditions. However for some families the wish to maintain the minority heritage language is compromised by the grandparents' and parents' experiences as Spanish dominant and/or bilingual speakers at a time when prejudice and shaming experiences were more prevalent. These negative experiences made grandparents/parents opt for a language shift to English in the home. Bayley and Schechter (2005) show that most parents in their study believe that Spanish is an important resource in maintaining their cultural traditions and ethnic identity; however, many opted to shift to English in order to fulfill the demands of the school agendas.

Language choice played a relevant role in Zentella's study (1997) where she demonstrated that for domains of language most frequently observed among girls, the language of choice was predominantly Spanish. Whereas the domains preferred by boys were enmeshed in English networks, away from the Spanish-dominant networks and activities of the mothers and girls. This research demonstrates the language choice dilemma when deciding which language to use at home. On the one hand there is the parents' fear that children might not succeed in school due to their use of Spanish in the household, and on the other hand, the fear of loss of identity if the English language is chosen as the primary language of the home. Nonetheless, language choice is mostly a consequence of positive or negative attitudes toward the language as demonstrated in the research by Zentella (1997) Schechter and Bayley (1997, 2002), and Beckstead and Toribio (2003).

In addition to language choice, bilinguals are prompted to use CS to mark their identity (Beckstead & Toribio, 2003; Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997, 2000). CS is then a regular language contact phenomenon of most heritage language families. In my study, according to the mother, her family's everyday language practices include the alternation of languages (CS) in different situations and within the same interaction in their everyday speech. Therefore, this study hopes to reveal when CS is used, with whom, where, how and for what purposes as well as the participants' attitudes toward CS and their reasons behind these attitudes.

A great amount of the language practices of heritage speakers, Mexican, Puerto Ricans and other immigrant populations in the U.S. at home and in their communities shape their identity (Montes-Alcalá, 2002; Poplack, 1978, 1980; Schechter & Bayley, 1997; Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1997). Poplack's study (1980) of Puerto Ricans in New York, found that the participants with the highest bilingual ability and positive feelings toward Puerto Rican identity exhibited more intra-sentential CS (i.e., switches within one sentence). She claims that these same results were found in two studies of Mexican Americans by Gingras and Pfaff (as cited in Poplack, 1980, p. 613). Poplack's study also reported that Puerto Ricans, regardless of their bilingual ability, made no ungrammatical combinations of L1 and L2 in their switches. Another study by Poplack (1978), found that emblematic CS, a less intimate type of CS (e.g., tag switches, single noun switches), versus intimate CS, a more complex CS (e.g., intra-sentential CS), depended heavily on the participants' ethnic group membership, where in-group membership displayed more intra-sentential CS and non-group membership more emblematic CS. Beckstead and

Toribio (2003) documented that the participants, adolescent junior high school students, were aware of the value of Spanish in the preservation of their Latino identity and preferred to use Spanish in the classroom.

Zentella's study (1997) of CS shows that children use CS as a co-construction of identity. Zentella claims that the identity of the residents of *el bloque* [the block] (the name the residents in Zentella's study gave to their neighborhood) seemed to be formed by processes of acculturation and resistance. Through CS, children display their identity, as Zentella notes, "Every time they said something in one language when they might just as easily have said it in the other, they were re-connecting with people, occasions, settings, and power configurations from their history of past interactions, and imprinting their own "acts of identity" " (p. 114). Zentella's ethnography shows that children made their language code choices based on the interlocutor's language competence, 'on the spot factors and the psychological setting. Her study reports that CS was also used as a conversational resource. She found three major conversational strategies: footing, clarification and/or emphasis, and crutch-like code mixing, which were used by children to negotiate meaning (see Appendix C). Zentella found that some of the switches in this community were the result of an inability to think of the right word in a particular language. She refers to this act as crutching. The girls in her study became more proficient in English than in Spanish as they grew older. Code-switching in *el bloque* was the children's mode of interacting; CS was the normal conversational activity children used to negotiate meaning and identity.

Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez (1975) found that CS is highly influenced by social meaning. For instance, Mexican Americans in their study alternated codes only among themselves and if the conversation referred to personal experiences. Toribio's study (2002) shows findings similar to Poplack's (1980). The former reported that quantity and quality of CS among U.S. Latinos displayed considerable variation depending on the speakers' linguistic and communicative competence, as well as the attitudes toward CS and its role in establishing the speakers' social identity. That is, participants with a negative attitude toward CS code-switched less or not at all. Montes-Alcalá (2000) found that more than half of the participants (60%) had a positive attitude toward CS and believed that CS reflected their identity. Montes-Alcalá's study, in contrast to Toribio's, shows that participants code-switched independently of their attitudes toward CS. However, participants with negative attitudes toward CS produced more intra-sentential switches than those with positive attitudes. This finding contradicts Poplack's results (1980).

It is important to note that other research (Schechter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Seliger & Vago, 1991) shows that language practices in immigrant families worldwide and those of Latino origin in the U.S. demonstrate occurrences of identity construction through language and language attrition. For instance, Schechter and Bayley's study of Mexican origin families in Texas and California portrays these families' strong desire for language maintenance. Most parents in the study made Spanish the language of their home interactions since it reflected their Mexican identity, their values and culture. The children and adolescents spoke Spanish with their parents and grandparents but with their

friends they code-switched mainly during playtime. According to Suzy, her two oldest children had the opportunity to speak larger amounts of Spanish when Suzy's mother lived than in the present, now the language norm in their household appears to be CS.

According to Auer CS is also a consequence of the speaker's choice of the wrong language for the interaction. Auer's study of sequential CS among Italian migrants in Germany (1984b) demonstrates that the direction of switching is relevant in the reconstruction of conversational meaning because a lack of response from the addressee seems to be in reaction to a wrong language choice by the speaker. His study describes the structure of the participants' turns as adjacency pairs. "[A]s soon as a first participant has completed the construction of a recognizable first activity, s/he is required to give up the floor" (p. 98), then the co-participant, "should take up the turn and organize the second pair part made "conditionally relevant" by the first" (p. 98). If this does not take place, as in the case when the second person does not reply to the first one and instead of speech there is silence, then the first participant continues (i.e., CS of "non-firsts firsts"). According to Auer, this behavior "invites the first participant to contextually infer the 'why' of the lacking response" (p. 98). In the non-firsts firsts situation, the first participant makes another attempt or several ones after the first one due to the second participant's lack of response, or "re-dos of the first pair parts" (p.100). However, when his study shows that the second participant replies to the first participant when a language choice has occurred, the researcher concludes that the lack of response is a consequence of the speaker's wrong language choice. Auer, nonetheless, claims that episode-external knowledge about the preferences and competences of the participants must be taken into

consideration and states that the direction of CS is not arbitrary. As shown in his research, participants' CS is oriented to the co-participant's language preferences or linguistic competence. Auer shows that CS will not occur if the language of the first attempt is the language of preference and competency of the co-participant: "There is no (almost) one-to-one relationship between language choice and situation" (p. 104). This research shows that CS cannot be classified as "we-code" and "they-code" per se. Each situation, according to Auer, is not fixed or frozen but accomplished by co-participants through interaction where "every turn, every utterance, changes some features of the situation and maintains or re-establishes others" (p. 90).

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the analytical frameworks for language choice, CS (i.e., discourse-related switching, participant-related switching, discourse related insertions) and literacy/biliteracy practices based on the frameworks of Auer (1984a, 1998) Zentella (1997), Street (1997) and Reyes (2006). The various studies presented in this chapter have been inspirational and have elucidated the different ways in which language is used and literacy practices are constructed. As shown by this research, the dilemma of a large number of families consists of maintaining the heritage language even though its domains of use and its functions are reduced over time.

Auer's (1984b) and Zentella's (1997) seminal studies on language use have encouraged large numbers of studies that have contributed to a better understanding of the uses and functions of CS in diglossic, minority and immigrant communities worldwide. Being bilingual involves making language choices that reflect social and

personal identity and language proficiency. The research studies show that speakers choose to use a language based on their beliefs and attitudes toward that language and how society values that language. For this reason, researchers address how important it is that parents and schools communicate a positive language attitude to children by feeling proud of the heritage culture, speaking the heritage language, and practicing traditional family rituals could aid in the maintenance of the heritage language. As demonstrated in this chapter, the Alvarez family's language profile coincides with the dominant language shift scenario research has found: first generation immigrants are Spanish-dominant, that is Suzy's parents, the second generation is bilingual, this relates to Suzy, and her children, the third generation has very limited, if any, skills in Spanish.

In a large number of research studies presented in this chapter, most low income Latinos value being 'well educated' and believe that good manners and formal education are manifested through behavior and speech rather than in book learning (Zentella, 1997, 2005). These research studies have also discussed parental beliefs about reading to their children and the presence or lack of home reading practices and the quantity and quality of reading and writing in the home. The belief that literacy abilities are not best achieved through reading books along with the assumption that children learn to read once they start formal schooling is present in a large number of Latino households (Reese & Gallimore, 2001; Schechter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Zentella, 1997). These studies shed light on the Alvarez household, where literacies are mostly oral and written/read literacy practices are by and large school related. It can be claimed that as long as Suzy continues to interact with her children using CS and the children using English among themselves,

there would be neither space left nor awareness of the importance of Spanish oral interaction and literacy in Spanish.

The following chapter presents a detailed account of the case study under investigation. The chapter provides a detailed description of how the participants were selected and introduces the reader to the participants' daily language practices and the research setting. This is followed by a description of research design and procedures, data collection instruments, a description of data coding and the analysis adopted. Finally, the methodology for analysis of specific data collection examples, analysis procedures, and examples of data analysis from this study's data are presented.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed account of the design of the study, the participants, the data collection instruments, the analysis procedures and examples of data analysis from this study's data. As stated in Chapters 1 and 2, the purpose of this case study is to analyze, from a language socialization framework, the naturally occurring language interactions of a Mexican origin Spanish heritage language family.

In an effort to address the three main questions and the subset of questions (see Chapter 1, p. 21-22), I collected a range of data from participant observation and field notes taken in the context of the family's home, and transcribed videotaped observations and interviews with the family members. The interviews in Spanish were transcribed to represent the pronunciation of the participants, as were conversations between participants and are represented in italics followed by their English translations in brackets.

3.2 Selection Criteria

The selection criteria for the family in this case study were: 1) to be a family with children of different ages living in the parents' home, and 2) to be Spanish heritage speakers. The rationalization for these criteria stems from my interest in the Spanish heritage language population in the U.S. and the study of language socialization practices in bilingual Hispanic families. Even though most Spanish heritage language research that has not focused on the classroom and has focused on the home setting has included data describing the learner attitudes of both parents and their children in relation to the

heritage language and English, none has yet presented an in-depth ethnographic study with children of different ages, language competencies and self-identities. This is the main reason why I chose this family. The student mother has an intrinsic interest in keeping the Spanish language alive in her family which she expressed to me in an interview where she described her passion for her heritage language and her interest in having her children pass it on to the next generation. Thus, this study aims at finding out whether this intrinsic interest in the heritage language may contribute to a wider variety of literacy practices and socialization practices in the Spanish language that have not yet been documented.

As a participant observer for about six months, my aim was to describe the language socialization and literacy practices of this family in their home. Based on my observations, as well as journaling, note taking, interviews and a questionnaire, I attempt to provide an accurate insight into the fields of language socialization and heritage language development. My goal is to reveal the practices and needs of this population in relation to language maintenance practices, and to provide insights that will improve the area of curriculum development so that it may better target the needs of heritage language learners.

The selection of the family consisted of two phases that were completed by November 2006. During the first phase, I emailed the instructors of the Heritage Language courses who teach upper division courses and asked them to find out if they had any students who were parents. The lower division courses were not taken into consideration since the majority of students in these courses are primarily receptive

heritage language learners, who are proficient in understanding spoken Spanish but do not have proficient speaking skills.

The second phase consisted of obtaining permission from the students to be contacted by the researcher or having them contact the researcher. After I obtained their instructor's verbal permission, I emailed the two students who were interested in the study and decided to carry out the study with the Alvarez family due to the fact that this family was a large family offering more participants and because of their use of both languages in the home.

3.3 Participants

This section includes a general description of the participants, their daily routines and practices, and detailed information on their use of language which was obtained through tape recorded interviews with the children and several informal interviews with the mother (see Appendix A).

The head of the Alvarez family is Suzy, the mother. Suzy has five children: three females, Lisa, Alyssa and Sarah, ages 21, 15, and 10; and two males, Santiago and John, ages 20 and 16 (pseudonyms are used throughout). The three youngest children and the mother were born in Tucson; the oldest two were born in California. Two pet dogs are also considered part of the family; Rufus lives in the house and Madison lives in the backyard. All the children except for the oldest son, who dropped out of high school, were attending public schools in the area during the time of the study: two of them attended a magnet high school in the downtown area and the youngest child an

elementary school close to home, and the oldest a community college. The following table illustrates the family profile when the study began in January 2007:

Table 3.3 *Participants' Profile*

Family Member	Age	Profession	Current Grade in School
Suzy	40	Mother/student	B.A. student
Lisa	21	Student/receptionist	Community College
Santiago	20	Construction worker	Did not complete high school
John	16	Student/cook	11 th grade
Alyssa	15	Student/hostess	10 th grade
Sarah	11	Student	6 th grade

In 1988, running away from her abusive first husband, Suzy moved to Valencia, California from Tucson without her two oldest children. Six months later, Suzy made a round trip from California to Tucson to recover her two children, whom she had left with her mother in Arizona. Then, in 1990 Suzy brought her mother to live with her in California. Suzy struggled a great deal financially and eventually returned to her husband in California. After this, Jonathan and Alyssa were born. In 1992, Suzy, her children, their grandmother and Suzy's first husband moved back to Tucson. Some years later Suzy got divorced. Then, in 1997 Sarah was born. She does not know her biological father, but she loves José, Suzy's second husband, as if he were her father (Suzy and José no longer live together as a couple but live in the same house due to financial restraints).

A great number of the Mexican origin population of the United States has been living in the U.S. for generations. In the case of the Alvarez family, the mother, Suzy, is second generation and her children are third generation. As is common in southwestern families of Mexican heritage and immigrants from Mexico (Schechter & Bayley, 1997,

2002; González, 2001; Valdés, 1996), the Alvarez family members self-identify as either Mexican or Mexican American. They share an intrinsic motivation to maintain the heritage culture and language of the family; Suzy and Alyssa identified as Mexican, and Sarah, Santiago, and Lisa as Mexican American. Valdés provides a comprehensive analysis that helps to differentiate between the self-identifications of a diverse population, which includes Mexican immigrants and those who consider themselves Mexican Americans or Chicanos. According to her,

Those persons who can be categorized as “immigrants” from Mexico (whether born in this country or not) still have what can be termed an “immigrant mentality,” that is, they are oriented toward the home country, identify with Mexico, and measure their success (as Ogbu has suggested) using Mexican nationals in Mexico as their reference group. Mexican-Americans and Chicanos, on the other hand, no longer look to Mexico for identification. Their ties with Mexico have weakened and they see their lives as being carried out exclusively in this country. In general, these persons consider themselves to be different from white Americans as well as from Mexican nationals. More importantly, however, members of this group have often experienced discrimination in this country as members of a low-status and stigmatized minority. (Valdés, 1996, p. 26)

Interestingly, even though the Alvarez family did not feel connected to Mexico through visits or by measuring their success by Mexican standards, they were however highly motivated, and concerned about, the maintenance of their heritage language and culture. Suzy is very proud to be Mexican and identifies herself as Mexican by keeping her heritage alive through the language and values that she passes onto her children.

Speaking of her values Suzy says:

Siempre he sido mamá, mamá de tiempo. Que me he dedicado a ser mamá, a criar a mis hijos, uhmmm. Soy una persona muy ostentios ostentiosa ostentitious, uhmmm, opinionada, opinionated, uhmmm siempre he tenido muy importante mis valores mexicanos.

[I have always been a mother, a full-time mother. I have dedicated my life to be a mother, to raise my children, uhmmm. I am a very *ostentios ostentiosa*

ostentitious person, uhmmm, *opinionada*, opinionated, uhmmm; I have always held my Mexican values as very important.] (Informal Interview 1, Dec. 3, 2006)

In her family, for instance, there is a sense of family cooperation; everybody helps with the family chores and when they have jobs outside the home, they give their salaries to her so she can take care of the family's financial needs. Even though Suzy self-identifies as Mexican, she and her children do not have an "immigrant mentality" as described by Valdés. Social mobility is relevant for them and is manifested in their participation in education (see Table 3.3) and/or their lack of a Mexican model by which to measure their success or failure.

3.3.1 The Alvarez Family's Daily Life

The Alvarez family started their daily routine very early in the morning. Around five in the morning Alyssa, age 15, woke up so she could catch the six-thirty bus to her high school. Then at eight, Sarah, age 11, was picked up by an early school bus in front of the home so she could participate in the school's breakfast program (due to financial circumstance, when these programs have been available, all children have participated in them). Finally, around eight-thirty Suzy dropped John, age 16, the youngest boy living at home, at his high school and then continued on her route toward the local university where she attended classes. At about four in the afternoon, Suzy returned home with these three children.

In the afternoon, the family's first activity was to have a snack, usually a turkey sandwich or some frozen ready-to-fry food such as tacos. After eating, they did their homework if it was not completed at school already and/or watched television, played with the computer, or just hung out. For about half of the time during my data collection,

at about 5 in the afternoon John had to go to work at a restaurant in the area where he was taken by his mother, while the two girls stayed home.

At home the family interacted in both languages daily: Spanish and English. However, most of their interaction outside the home was in English as stated by them in the surveys and questionnaires. According to the mother, when the oldest children were young they used to speak Spanish a great deal with Suzy's mother until 1995 when she died. The important role of grandparents is also found in the research of Beaudrie (2006) who claims that students recognize grandparents and school as the two main sources of language contact (p. 246). At home, the Alvarez children interacted in both Spanish and English with their cousin when she visited, and with Suzy's second husband, José.

On weekends the family started the day around eight or nine in the morning usually with a pancake and egg breakfast. On Saturday mornings they used to go to church but stopped attending regularly due to their job schedules and health issues. The weekend was their time to take care of responsibilities such as grocery shopping at Wal-Mart and house cleaning. It was also the time for leisure activities such as going to a park, to the mall or to a restaurant. However, this routine changed after all of them except Sarah, the youngest, started jobs at a local restaurant and worked approximately ten hours on weekends.

The Alvarez family had an active life with a significant diversity of literacy and home activities. The family enjoyed watching movies, television shows (e.g., reality shows, sitcoms such as "George Lopez", talk shows such as the "Ellen Degeneres Show", soap operas, mostly in English), and generally enjoyed being together a great deal. For

instance, Suzy and her daughter Sarah spent some time almost every afternoon or evening reading together and telling stories. Concerning this topic, Suzy said:

De niños, antes de acostarse, primero el baño y contaba historias inventadas o les leía historias de la Biblia en español y fairy tales en dos idiomas.

[When the children were young, before bedtime, first came the bath and I would invent stories to tell them or I would read them Bible stories in Spanish and fairy tales in both languages] (Informal Interview 2, December 6, 2006)

Other activities that they shared were playing video games, talking on the phone, teasing and joking, playing in the backyard, playing with the dogs, cooking and doing dishes.

The family spent a considerable amount of time together even though all of them, except the youngest girl were both working and studying.

According to the mother, “*todos se saben defender por sí mismos*” [all of them know how to take care of themselves]. As she told me, Suzy also expected her children to be responsible for her welfare and that of the family in general:

Yo ya cumplí con criarlos, ahora a ellos les toca cuidarme a mí.

[I already did my part as a mother, now they have to take care of me.]
(Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

For instance, John or Alyssa did most of the cooking everyday, even though they were constantly arguing about who was cooking and who was cleaning the kitchen. Alyssa also helped Sarah with her homework when her mother asked her or when Suzy was not at home or if she was very busy. In addition, Lisa and José contributed to household expenses including the mortgage.

I believe Suzy is a great example for her children. She is a hard working woman who has survived many obstacles in life and she continues to struggle a great deal not

only financially but also with health issues. She has cirrhosis and is diabetic. These circumstances have had a negative impact on her formal education.

The following is a description of each of the participants obtained through two tape-recorded interviews with the children and several informal interviews with the mother.

3.3.1.1 Suzy

Suzy was born in Tucson and has lived there for most of her life. Suzy's mother was an immigrant from Mexico and spoke only Spanish. Suzy's father was born in Texas and spoke both Spanish and English. Suzy spoke only Spanish until she entered school at age seven and from that point forward she developed bilingual skills in Spanish and English. At home, she only spoke Spanish with her parents. Suzy's father died when she was four and her mother died in 1995.

Suzy's elementary and middle schooling were completed at a private religious school. When she was in the first grade she did not know how to read or write in English; this, Suzy claims was the reason she was not doing well in school. She believes that the main reason for her poor school performance was because she only spoke Spanish at home. But her teacher, of Mexican heritage, helped her with an extra class and Suzy was able to improve her school performance.

Suzy has been a student at a local university since spring 2006. However, due to her illness, she incurred an incomplete in the fall of 2007 and the next semester she could only register for one course in the Nursing School. When I first met her in October 2006 she was a full time student majoring in education with a minor in psychology. At that

time, she wished to be a secondary school teacher of Spanish and history. However since 2007, her plans changed as she began the process of being accepted into the nursing program. Prior to becoming a full time student, Suzy studied at a local community college. She also worked at Wal-Mart for fourteen years. During the school year 2006-2007, Suzy did not work outside the home in order to attend school full time. Her second husband, José, and her oldest daughter, Lisa, financed most of the home mortgage and household expenses. However, due to the family's difficult financial situation and her worsening health, Suzy had to start working again as a waitress in a restaurant, and subsequently reduced her course load significantly and then was forced to take an incomplete.

Despite Suzy's illnesses, which depress her to some degree, she is a very active and cheerful woman who takes pride in her appearance. She loves to dance and sing and has a great sense of humor. She also loves the Spanish language so much that when this study started she was taking Spanish heritage language courses in order to improve her Spanish and to ensure that in her family Spanish would not die. Speaking of her heritage language, Suzy stated:

Para mantenerlo, hablo español. José sólo habla español. Veo telenovelas, tomo clases de español, voy actividades de folkloric dance pero no me gusta leer.
 [To keep Spanish alive I speak it. José only speaks Spanish. I watch soap operas, take Spanish classes, attend activities like folkloric dance, but don't like to read.]
 (Informal Interview 2, December 6, 2006)

Suzy believes that learning to write and speak in a more academic/formal register (variety) of Spanish is absolutely important. The previous and following interview excerpt, which are six months apart, display Suzy's language pride ideology toward the

heritage language. Language ideology, in this case study, is defined as “...*a perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group*” (Martínez, 2006, p. 9). Suzy’s pride in maintaining the heritage language as a defining characteristic of her identity and her family is manifested in her reason for enrolling in a heritage language course. Suzy said:

No quiero que hablen español ‘mocho’. Yo estudio español so it does not die. [I don’t want them to speak a ‘mutilated’ form of Spanish. I study Spanish so it does not die.] (Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

Suzy does not want her children to speak “*español mocho*” or careless/mutilated Spanish. *Mocho* or *pocho* has many literal meanings. Suzy uses *mocho* as a derogatory slang word used to describe Mexican Americans residing in the United States who lack of proper Spanish verbal skills (<http://everything2.com/title/Pocho>). She believes that to be “educated” means to speak appropriately, accordingly and adhere to a standard or more formal variety of Spanish. Furthermore, for Suzy speaking intelligently (i.e., using the appropriate lexicon in relation to the context and situation) is important. This is the main reason why she signed waivers to allow her children to attend bilingual classes during elementary and middle schooling when the English Only Proposition was passed in Arizona in 1998. Although her children already spoke English, she thought that a great way to have them practice Spanish was to enroll them in bilingual classes so they would be able to interact with other Hispanics and listen to the teacher speak in Spanish. Suzy believes that the bilingual class experience was a positive aid in the maintenance of their heritage language.

For Suzy, imparting religious faith to her children has been important. She was very active in the Seventh Day Adventist church where she encouraged the participation of her children living at home until 2007, when other obligations and interests began to interfere with their attendance. They attended this English language church for several years. Suzy stated that she and Sarah wanted to attend a Spanish language church but had not been able to since John and Alyssa are “not inspired by the Spanish sermons.” They used to go to church on Saturday mornings and then had lunch at the church. Suzy’s and the two oldest children’s work schedules also interfered with family church attendance.

3.3.1.2 Lisa

Lisa is the oldest daughter who was 20 years old when this study began. Lisa was born in California where she completed her monolingual kindergarten and first grade. When the family moved back to Tucson, she attended bilingual classes from second through twelfth grade. Most of Lisa’s Spanish learning, as her mother told me in an informal conversation, took place during the ten years of interaction she had with her grandmother who did not speak English even though she was able to understand it.

Lisa lives in her own apartment and has been studying biology at a local community college and hopes to transfer to the local university to get a BS in nursing. She dreams of being a pediatrician but has never been able to attend college full time or enroll at the local university because she has had to work since before she graduated from high school. Lisa has had the huge responsibility of paying part of the mortgage for her mother’s home and helping with the home expenses.

Lisa worked at Wal-Mart for several years but was able to get a part time receptionist position at a pediatric clinic. When I asked about her attitude toward Spanish, she stated that the Spanish language is beautiful and believes that being bilingual is absolutely important for her job. However, she speaks more English than Spanish and uses a great deal of “Spanglish”, as she, and many call this combination of Spanish and English (Potowski, 2005; Zentella, 1997). She identifies as Mexican American due to her heritage and the fact that she was born in the U.S.

Because Lisa had not lived with her family for a few months before this study began, I had only one opportunity to interact with her; this was at a family dinner to which I was invited.

3.3.1.3 Santiago

Santiago, the oldest son was 20 years of age when I initiated my study. I was not able to interview him because he did not live with his mother; his mother provided Santiago’s information when I interviewed her. His primary and secondary education were in English only. Because his mother always wanted her children to be bilingual, he was enrolled in bilingual education classes while living in California. However, during the third grade Santiago started having a great deal of problems in reading and the teacher suggested that he attend monolingual classes. Since he stopped attending high school, he has worked at Home Depot and in construction, sometimes with his dad, Suzy’s first husband, or with other contractors.

As stated by Suzy, Santiago used to believe that since he was born in the U.S. he was more American than Mexican. She believes that in addition to his learning problems,

he has refused to learn Spanish while growing up because of his self-identification. He used to get upset and say that it was not his fault that his father was Mexican because he, Santiago was born in the U.S. so he only needed to speak English. His mother also believes that Santiago's negative view toward Spanish comes from the community and his friends. In addition, he used to be ashamed that his dad did not speak English; however, according to Suzy, this has benefited him since he has been forced to speak Spanish with his dad. Now he speaks more Spanish and is eager to continue learning it. Suzy claimed that he even feels proud to speak Spanish and says "*yo soy mexicano*" [I am Mexican]. Even though I was unable to interview Santiago, I did have the opportunity to interact with him twice: once during a family lunch and the other during Alyssa's *Quinceañera* party [Fifteenth Birthday].

3.3.1.4 John

John was a large 16 year old at the initiation of the study, and although he was not the youngest, he was the "baby" of the family; "the most spoiled of the children", according to his mother. All his formal education has taken place in Tucson where he attended monolingual classes until the fifth grade due to speech problems. According to Suzy, he had problems with reading and pronouncing letters due to the fact that he confused the Spanish and English alphabets. In the sixth grade, he was enrolled in bilingual classes and has taken Spanish language classes since then. In the fall of 2007 he was forced to lose a semester of schooling due to thyroid problems and diabetes. He expects to graduate from high school in December 2008.

Even though he feels English is easier and is more comfortable speaking it, John learned Spanish at home and speaks it daily with his mother and siblings. Because Spanish is a graduation requirement at his high school, he was studying the language during my time with the family. With regard to his use of Spanish he told me:

I learn Spanish with my parents but I prefer English because I, I tried to speak Spanish good but I can't really talk it, so when I talk it, I talk it like slang.
(Interview 2, March 10, 2007)

John identified himself as Mexican American and even though he speaks, reads and writes much more in English than in Spanish, he understands Spanish well and has fun speaking it. However, he is embarrassed to speak it in public because he thinks he does not speak it well.

John claimed to use English in most of his favorite activities. He loves sports, particularly football. Therefore, he spends about an hour a day on-line checking ABA.com, NFL.com, ESPN.com, and NEW.com. His favorite activities, which are socializing with friends at school, going to a friend's house, hanging out outside of school, and playing pool at the Student Union of the local university, are also in English. As with all the members of the family, John spends an average of four hours watching television daily. He watches the news, soap operas, "Big Brother", and the sitcom "Two and a Half Men" in the English language. On the weekends, he watches some in Spanish, such as the Pumas soccer team, and a music program called "Pepsi Music". He also enjoys watching "Decisiones" and "Doce Corazones"; these are Spanish language comedy soap operas.

3.3.1.5 Alyssa

Alyssa was fifteen years old when I met her. She was thin, had dark hair and big dark brown eyes. According to Alyssa, she is extremely outgoing, not shy at all, and identifies herself as Mexican. She has always been enrolled in bilingual classes in public education in Tucson. She is smart but somewhat lazy about studying. She has spoken both Spanish and English since she was a young child and is proficient in both languages. According to her mother and my data analysis, Alyssa is the child (of the three observed) who speaks Spanish the best.

As a Mexican, Alyssa claimed to be very interested in the Mexican culture, and she was interested in politics and wanted to be a lawyer. She claimed to love the Spanish language and to use it a great deal at home with her mother and siblings. She stated that she also speaks Spanish at school with her Spanish teacher and her Hispanic friends. When I interviewed her in Spanish and asked her how important it was for her to improve and maintain her Spanish she said:

Very important, both because to improve my Spanish because, when I go to college I am going to need it. It is who I am, my heritage. I don't want to lose it if I had it all this time. I've gotten this far speaking it, *soy no más* [I am only] fifteen years old, imagine *cuando soy* [when I am] older *no puedo* [I can't] think. *Soy muy orgullosa de hablar español. En mi escuela no hay mexicanos, pero hay más americanos* [I am very proud to speak Spanish. In my school there are not many Mexicans, but there are more Americans] but I am proud to be able to speak it, write and understand it. (Interview 2, March 8, 2007)

Alyssa is always doing something so as not to be bored, according to her mother. For instance, she loves to play soccer and played it in a community league for quite some time. She also loves dancing and had aspirations for the next school year to be a member of two dancing clubs. At the time of the study, she was struggling at home as the cook

since her brother John, who had been the cook, had started working at a restaurant. She loves to listen to music. Whenever she has homework, she completes it while listening to 80's music in English or *banda* music in Spanish. Alyssa said: "*Me gusta tanto la música... como banda, tejano no y ranchera no*" [I like banda music a lot...not tejana or ranchera.] Alyssa spends several hours in the afternoon chatting on-line in English with her friends on my space.com, making changes to her personal page and listening to songs and watching videos. She watches a great deal of television in both English and Spanish. When I asked her which programs she watches she said: "*puro música, channels de música y de like comedy, reality shows, es todo*", [only music, music channels and like comedy, reality shows, that's it.] (Interview 2, March 8, 2007)

On February 2007 she celebrated her fifteenth birthday with a *Quinceañera* party. According to the Alvarez family, a *Quinceañera* party is the most important celebration a woman will have until her wedding day; therefore, Alyssa could not have missed it.

Alyssa later took a job as the weekend hostess at the same restaurant where her mother works. With this job she began helping her mother with the home expenses and at work she speaks Spanish with the restaurant workers who do not speak English.

3.3.1.6 Sarah

Sarah, a large 11 year old, attended the sixth grade in a self-contained class special English class for children with learning disabilities. She has had a very slow language development. For instance, her reading level is that of a first grader and her math level that of a third grader. Due to her learning disability, Sarah could hardly communicate in English and for this reason one of her school teachers recommended to

Suzy that she should not learn Spanish. Sarah has attended two elementary schools; she had to stop attending the first school when they cancelled the special education program. Sarah was placed in special education classes because she did not speak any English. Because of Sarah's problems in oral communication I have relied on my interviews with her mother to establish her social linguistic background. In reference to Sarah's education her mother said:

En kindergarten no les pueden hacer test de intelligence y first grade and second grade she was in regular classes so she lost three years of school 'cause she did not learn anything.

[In kindergarten they could not give intelligence tests and...]

(Interview 1, January 9, 2007)

According to Suzy, what saved her daughter from never learning English was that her second grade teacher sent her to be tested by the school district. Therefore, in June 2006 she was diagnosed with cerebral palsy and as a consequence her mother started receiving social security disability payments. Sarah also suffers from digestive and thyroid problems.

According to Suzy, Sarah invents her own Spanish. She mixes Spanish with other sounds that are not Spanish. Her siblings, mainly John, are constantly teasing her and making fun of her word usage. Sarah also needs constant help with homework. I was able to observe that she was very insecure about working on her own. She was constantly interrupting her mother by uttering "ma ma" until Suzy responded and asked her what she wanted.

Sarah spends a great amount of time reading English language children's stories and riddles alone and with her mother. She enjoys completing the newspaper section for

children called “Bear Essentials; News for Kids”. She also loves watching Disney movies and listening to music in English. She is usually singing or pretending to be singing.

3.4 Research Setting

This section describes the Alvarez family’s home, community and their neighborhood. It presents relevant statistics about the community in order to provide a better understanding of how people in this area live.

3.4.1 The Home, Neighborhood and Community

The Alvarez’ family purchased their home by means of a mortgage loan of about \$124,000 in 2002. The home consists of four bedrooms and two full bathrooms, a living room, a kitchen with a dinning area, a television room, a laundry room, and a two-car garage. The furniture is scarce and worn. The family spends a great amount of time on the sofas in the living room in the afternoon and at night working and playing with the desktop computer, or talking about their friends and their school and this is where Sarah and Suzy’s recreational reading takes place. The television area is where the family gets together or spends time alone either engaging in activities such as watching television, reading, studying, eating, having conversations, ironing, folding clothes, and sleeping. The small bookcase in this room is mostly filled with children’s literature and children’s school texts, which are mainly enjoyed by the youngest daughter, Sarah who spends time reading or just looking through them. The bookcase also holds texts on the Spanish language and a children’s biblical encyclopedia.

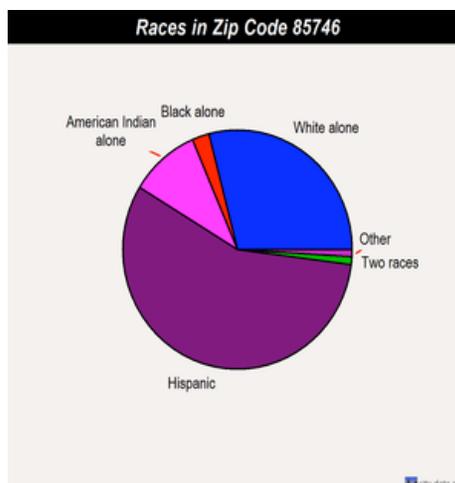
In the neighborhood the homes are of a similar size and construction as the Alvarez home, have fenced yards and their front areas are well kept. This is a residential

area with wide streets but without good lighting due to the Tucson policy that does not allow too many lights at night because of the nearby observatory. While collecting my data, there were always a few parked vehicles in the street or one or two in some homes' driveways. There are foothills within a mile from the Alvarez home that are well known for hiking. The neighborhood has a great number of facilities that include grocery stores, a pet clinic, gas stations, restaurants, a shopping plaza, and a middle school all within less than a mile of the Alvarez home. From my observation of the neighborhood, most people in this neighborhood do not interact. I never had the opportunity to see the neighbors talking to one another or even greeting each other when they arrived home and got out of their cars. The times I shopped at the local supermarket, I was able to notice a large presence of English and Spanish speakers.

The Alvarez family has resided in this mid-size southwestern community, 12 miles from the city center for the last six years. This is a family residential neighborhood and is composed of a diverse population including Anglo Americans, African Americans, Native Americans, Chinese Americans, and Mexican Americans. Most families have several children.

According to the Zip Code Detailed Profile (<http://www.city-data.com/zips/85746.html>) the community's estimated population in 2005 was approximately 50,751, of which 51.1 percent were female and 48.9 percent were male and the most common place of birth for the foreign-born residents was Mexico (85%). As can be seen in the following diagram over half of the community's population is of Hispanic origin:

Diagram 3.4.1 *Racial Profile of Zip Code 85746*



The community has about 15,325 houses and condos and 3,369 renter-occupied apartments. The estimated median household yearly income in 2005 was \$40,149 compared to \$44,282 in the state of Arizona. The percentage of residents with income below the poverty level in 1999 was 16.1 percent compared to 13.9 percent in the entire state.

Records show that of the languages spoken at home, 51.9 percent of residents speak English and 45 percent speak Spanish, of which 69 percent speak Spanish very well, 17 percent well, and 10 percent with little proficiency. About 68.4 percent of the community is Hispanic (www.city-data.com/city/Valencia-West-Arizona.html).

The most common occupations in the community are: sales worker drivers and truck drivers (12%), production occupations, including supervisors (9%), construction laborers (8%), building and grounds cleaning and maintenance workers (6%), cashiers (10%), construction trade workers (excluding carpenters, electricians, painters, plumbers) (5%). Other occupations are: food and beverage servers (excluding waiters/waitresses

(9%), and other office and administrative support workers including supervisors (8%), information and record clerks (except customer service representatives) (6%), factory workers (5%), and textile, apparel, and furnishing workers (5%) (www.city-data.com/city/Valencia-West-Arizona.html).

3.5 Research Design

As stated in Chapter Two, this study researches the language socialization and literacy practices of a Mexican origin family. Using ethnographic methodology, this study analyzes the participants' naturally occurring language interactions and language use. Merriam sees the case study as a "thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries" (1988, p. 27). In this study, the unit of analysis is the Alvarez family, and the case is their language socialization practices, which entail literacy practices, language choice, and language use. These areas will be analyzed using an ethnographic approach because as pointed out by Duranti, ethnographers collect information to answer two basic questions: "(1) how is social order constituted [...]?, (2) how do individuals make sense of their way of living [...]?" (1997, p. 90)

A case study using an ethnographic approach, which is the written descriptive method of naturally occurring human behavior in the natural setting of a particular group of people, was selected because the goal of this research is to provide narrative and analysis of the language socialization behaviors and literacy practices of a Spanish heritage language family through the following techniques: participant observation, questionnaire, interviews and surveys, video recordings, journaling, and note taking.

Through a descriptive narrative I analyze the participants' world, the way they see it, their emic view and the way the researcher sees their world, the etic view. I aim to describe the family's culture which is composed of their shared values, behaviors, and language practices. Culture, in this research, is defined as, "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior" (Spradley, 1979, p. 5). The language socialization and literacy practices of this family are described and analyzed as they occur in a natural setting. In this regard, Merriam states that, "*Descriptive* means that the end product of a case study is a rich, "thick" description of the phenomenon under study" (1988, p. 28, emphasis in original). A goal of this study is to provide a holistic description and interpretation of the participants' language and literacy practices by combining participant observation along with the other techniques used in order to achieve a deeper understanding of how the heritage language is maintained or not.

Language behaviors cannot be analyzed through quantitative research alone. Because the goal of ethnography is to describe and interpret behavior patterns, cultural patterns can only be considered as such through extensive observation and not through numerical data alone. Furthermore, what constitutes data will emerge in a natural environment. Therefore, the original questions may be refined or refocused on site rather than the researcher adhering to them throughout the study, as is done in quantitative studies.

3.5.1 Research Procedures

The study occurred in two stages: 1) data collection from December 2006 to June 2007, and 2) data analysis from December 2006 to July 2008. Stage one consisted of data collection, which took approximately six months and consisted of collecting information in the natural setting through participant observation and eliciting information via interviews (see Appendix A). I started collecting data in December 2006 and finished in June 2007. During the seven months of participant observation and field notes, I transcribed and described what was observed during the weekly observations that took about one and a half hours each. The second stage constituted the data analysis which began with the first observation and finished in July 2008.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The three research questions are primarily addressed through participant observation, note taking and transcription; however the interviews and the survey are fundamental in complementing the analysis. It is important to note that a relevant characteristic of the ethnographic approach is the link between video recordings with journaling and this is achieved as I link my observations with note-taking.

The use of data from various sources to view a single phenomenon from multiple angles (i.e., video and audio recordings, observations and note taking) constitutes the triangulation of data in this study. Triangulation lends strength not only to reliability but also to internal validity. Stake (2000) argues,

Triangulation has been generally considered a process of using multiple perspectives to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. But, acknowledging that no observation or interpretations are

perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen. (pp. 443-444)

3.6.1 Participant Observation and Field Notes

Participant observation and field notes were the primary form of data collection. There were about forty hours of observation of which thirty-five were video recorded. I observed and took field notes describing what was said by the family, their actions and their surrounding physical environment. To accomplish this, during the beginning stage of this research, I visited the family once a week for about one and a half to two hours for six months. The visits took place at different times of day and on different days of the week in order to capture a wide range of language practices and behaviors. Several of the observations were done after the children returned from school. I was not able to collect any data of their bedtime routines. I was never invited to do any recordings in the bedrooms either. Other visits to the home did not include field note taking as a participant observer on site due to the fact that I was interviewing the participants. However, I was able to document these visits in my journal.

During the first month of participant observation, I tried to position myself in a spot that provided a wide-angle view, a place where I was able to have access to the family's speech and started video recording their interaction. I tried to position myself in the most unobtrusive spot possible in order to describe their interactions as detailed and accurately as possible, as well as the general atmosphere and feelings expressed by the participants. Eventually, as the family got more accustomed to my presence, I started engaging in interactions with them when I was invited. Some of these interactions included eating, watching television and providing my opinion when asked. After each

visit, I recorded in my journal the family's language experiences as closely as possible in order to have a retrospective view and expand on the observed interactions.

The observer's paradox, the effect that my presence and the video camera might have on the participants' interaction is a variable that cannot be completely avoided (Duranti, 1997). As the participant observer, I was observing the family, taking notes and interacting with them. But at the same time, I was also the researcher, the "stranger" or outsider and because of this I found myself in the observer's paradox. However, there were features in common between the family and myself that I believe contributed to minimizing the observer's paradox. For instance, the mother and I are single women who speak both Spanish and English, are Hispanic in origin and have outgoing personalities. In addition, we spent some time interacting before the video recordings started, and this contributed to making the family more comfortable around me. By the end of the data collection process I had become a friend of the family. Once the participant observation stage was concluded, I continued to visit them and eat out with them.

The observations were written down in as much detail as possible and are in the form of descriptions, direct quotations, and observer comments. I took hand-written field notes during all observations. These notes referred to the participants, their activities and interactions, and the physical environment surrounding them. Journaling was also done as soon as possible after each participant observation in order to provide a descriptive account of all the details and to avoid forgetting or missing any relevant observed behaviors. I also made a note of my ideas and reactions after each observation/video recording including my own interpretation based on these observations. The following is

an example of note taking during an interaction between the mother and her children one afternoon while they were all together at the dinner table working on their homework:

All the family members CS intra-sententially and inter-sententially. Sarah speaks English most of the time; the mother asks and answers in Spanish but Sarah replies in English. The mother shows affection by tapping her son on the shoulder and kissing and hugging Sarah.
(Participant observation, December 4th, 2007)

3.6.2 Video Recording

All the participant observations were video recorded in order to obtain accurate data and to not miss any relevant information that the participants communicated. This technique enables repeated and detailed examination of the participants' behaviors and increases the precision of the observations. Without video recordings of the participants' natural behaviors I would not have been able to analyze repeatedly and capture the entire picture of what took place during each home visit. The use of this instrument is essential in capturing body language and gestures that would otherwise not be recorded and therefore would be difficult to analyze. In this way, I was able to go back to my data at any point during and after my research. The following episode from my data illustrates the oral language and body language the mother (M) uses to engage the children's attention when they are inattentive to her instructions. In this episode M is upset with her youngest daughter (S) because she is making hot chocolate in the microwave without following the mother's instructions. Without the aid of the video camera, I would not be able to repeatedly observe the body language Suzy uses. This episode shows that Suzy not only speaks in an upsetting tone but also uses physical force (using her hand to hit

Sarah's arm) to indicate to Sarah that her action is not appropriate. The video camera is then an aid in the identification of the categories of language socialization in this study.

M *te estoy hablando te estoy hablando*
 (I am talking to you I am talking to you)
 ((M hits S with her hand on her arm))
no te estés metiendo las greñas ahí
 (don't get you hair in there)
 ((M holds S hair so it does not get in the drink))

3.6.3 Interviews/Oral Questionnaires and Survey

I conducted two in-depth, open-ended interviews to determine the experiences and perceptions of participants. Both interviews were audio taped at the participants' home and conducted in a combination of English and Spanish during the first four months of the data collection stage. The first interview was given to the family during the second month of observation and consisted of a personal history interview; the second one was given during the fourth month and focused on the participants' language use. It is important to note that because there are several members in this family, the two in-depth interviews with the children were guided by an oral questionnaire in order to obtain systematic answers from each child (see Appendix A). Otherwise, I might not have been able to ask the same questions to all the children due to the open-ended interview design.

The goal of the interviews was to obtain as much information as possible from the participants in order to enable me to draw a portrait of them and their uses of Spanish and English during the day. The interviews were conducted in a very friendly manner; the siblings and/or mother were in the same room conversing among themselves and were allowed to interrupt the interview process whenever they felt they could add information. Each interview varied along a continuum from more structured to semi-structured to

unstructured depending on the question being addressed. Some of the participants used English and Spanish during the interviews; with Suzy and Alyssa I spoke Spanish but with John and Sarah I used English.

The survey (see Appendix D) was in Spanish and was completed at the beginning of the data collection in December 2006. The goal of the survey was to obtain the participants' attitudes toward their use of the Spanish language and its maintenance. I was at the participants' home during the day that John and Alyssa completed the survey in order to facilitate their understanding of the statements if needed. The mother translated the statements verbally to Sarah and she was able to respond accordingly to the survey's scale.

Several informal interviews with open-ended questions were given to the mother. They are labeled "informal" because, even though two of them took place at home and the third one at a café, they were part of our regular meetings but I was not video recording, instead we were sharing something to eat and drink. The first informal interview in December 2006 was based on family history including employment. I began by asking Suzy where she was born and about her children. These questions led to a conversation about her family history and anecdotes. The second interview in December 2006 addressed their home literacy practices and the uses and maintenance of their heritage language. The last informal interview discussed previous videotaped observations. I showed Suzy pieces of data collected on videos so that she could give her opinion and her interpretation of the actions that were recorded. It is important to note that since I began collecting data and after the process was finished, Suzy and I met for

lunch or coffee about once a month and we talked about life issues and her family.

Therefore, some of the information she shared with me on these occasions was used, with her permission, to update hers and her children's information.

3.6.4 Transcription Notation

The transcription of the participants' interactions was done using standard orthography. The transcript notation is a simple one so that any person without experience or very little experience in transcription notation is able to understand the flow of the language interaction. However, some of the signs I utilize such as the exclamation point (!), question mark (?), colon (:), and parenthesis () must not be confused with the standardized written conventions. For instance, the question mark represents a rising inflection and not necessarily a question and the parenthesis marks an uncompressible utterance. The transcription notation in this study is an adaptation of some of the notation signs used by Atkinson and Heritage (1984) which fit my data analysis. This notation can be seen in Appendix E.

3.7 Data Analysis

The goal of data analysis is to provide a narrative account that reconstructs and interprets the participants' behaviors through the lens of language socialization theory. This theory includes the analysis and description of the literacy practices and patterns of language use and language choice in naturally occurring occasions of everyday interaction from an emic and etic view.

The analysis and interpretation of data began when I became the participant observer of the participants' day-to-day interactions at home. This stage was followed by

a second stage where detailed transcriptions of video recorded interactions, thought to be significant events in addressing the research questions, were transcribed following the video recording. This analysis was complemented with the notes, questionnaires, interviews and a survey of the participants. Data analysis began the first day of participant observation; therefore, both data analysis and data collection were simultaneous activities, as recommended by Merriam (1998).

3.7.1 Analysis of Language Socialization Practices

The data, classified and analyzed under language socialization, was any data that recorded the participants when communicating during home literacy events and language choice interactions. In other words, language socialization is not separated from the lenses of literacy practices: language use and CS. The in-depth ethnography of Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) shows how children are socialized in ways that are rooted and embedded in an ideology of how society is constructed. In this chapter I present examples from my data that show how language socialization processes initiated by more experienced or older family members produce language competences in less experienced family members. As I discussed in Chapter Two, Ochs (1990) states that people vary in their understanding of discourse even within the same speech community. Therefore, the language interaction episodes analyzed through the lenses of language socialization practices are verbal interactions under the definition of discourse as viewed by Ochs. In these interactions the various members of the family display their affective and epistemological dispositions. All the members of the family verbalize their feelings, beliefs, attitudes, moods, and expectations as they engage in meaning constructing

interactions that socialize them as competent members of a speech community. Through their language they are showing how they have been raised and taught.

The episodes categorized as language socialization practices in this study did not follow any preconceived or prepackaged categories from other language socialization studies. However, my analysis is indebted to Ochs; I coded as language socialization practices those which use Ochs' definition of discourse where interactions are categorized according to the feelings or knowledge they display. Therefore, the first step in my analysis was to transcribe my observations as participant observer of the video recorded family interactions, audio recorded interviews and informal interviews, as well as my field notes to my data collection. Next, open coding analysis was carried out. Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend using open coding in the initial phases of analysis since it involves "breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (p. 61). The following table summarizes the language socialization categories and specific examples for each category that emerged from my data:

Table 3.7.1 *Language Socialization Practices*

Language Socialization Categories	Language Socialization Practices in the Alvarez family
Education/ <i>Consejos</i>	Family manners and moral values, value of formal education and appropriate polite forms to express respect (thanking, greeting, showing concern for others and not using profanity)
Responsibility	Participating/negotiating home chores, teaching norms and values (food, money)
Affection	Hugging, kissing, patting, praising words and scolding
Discipline & Obedience	Threats and punishing (getting permission, doing home chores and using appropriate manners)
Teasing & Joking	Social play (criticizing attitudes, physical traits or language use and using stereotypes)

The following episode illustrates that the children have been taught to be respectful and to show concern by asking about each other's day-to-day activities. Respect is an important value the mother has taught her children. Respect is a relevant socializing concept that as observed in the data below teaches not only obedience but also behavior norms according to the roles filled by the various members of the family. In this episode, the mother (M) has just arrived home and Alyssa (A) asks her how her day at school was and John (J) decides to participate in their conversation:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | A | <i>¿cómo fue escuela?</i>
(how was school?) |
| 2 | J | <i>todo bien</i>
(everything was fine) |
| 3 | A | <i>a tú no John</i>
(I'm not asking you John) |
| 4 | | <i>mmmm</i> |
| 5 | J | <i>lo mismo mismo jejeje</i>
(the same same) |
| 6 | | <i>sino sino ()</i>
(if not if not) |
| 7 | M | <i>igual que siempre se dice</i>
(the same as usual, you say) |
| 8 | J | () |

This episode shows how the mother has educated her children not only to respect each other but how she also concerns herself with language appropriateness and/or language choice. In this interaction, based on what the son (J) intended to say in line 5, the mother teaches him by providing the correct form in line 7. Thus, it can be argued that the mother's goal in this episode is to increase the communicative repertoire of her children. In addition, this episode shows how teasing is part of the family's daily social interaction. They tease to indirectly teach respect, a moral value, or to criticize personality and/or a physical trait or characteristic that if uttered in a different tone could

be insulting. In line 2, J replies to A's question which was originally addressed to the mother. A says to J that she is not addressing him but J continues to elaborate on his answer and ignores A's comment. A is showing J that it is not appropriate for him to respond to the question addressed to their mother.

The following episode shows how the mother uses language to socialize her children by teaching them to be responsible. A great amount of the language used to teach home rules and respect in general took the form of threats, as in this episode. At home, all the children have responsibilities; they are responsible for some household chores and failing to complete these ends either in a 'prohibition punishment' where they are not allowed to do something they wanted, or with a physical punishment. In this episode M asks J to look for a kitchen utensil and he ignores his mother's request. M gets upset and J is frustrated because he does not want to help:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | <i>si no te deajo no vas</i>
(if I don't let you, you don't go) |
| 2 | | if you don't help in the house you are not going out on Saturday |

3.7.2 Analysis of Literacy/Biliteracy Practices

Literacy, as defined in Chapters 1 and 2, is a social practice that refers to the different uses of conversation, reading and writing that people use for sense making, leisure, to document life and to participate in social interaction (Street, 2001). The literacy/biliteracy data collected in my study was organized and analyzed working from Street's ideological model along with Dworin's (2003) and Reyes' (2006) biliteracy development framework. These three researchers provide a more inclusive approach to literacy and biliteracy where literacy is viewed as a social practice embedded in the ways

people construct their knowledge. Therefore, the term literacy/biliteracy describes the Alvarez family members' ongoing development of competencies in thinking, listening, speaking, reading and writing in two languages, as developed to varying degrees, either simultaneously or in succession. The framework by Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) was a useful guide in the identification and classification of literacy/biliteracy event categories--the types and uses of reading and writing--that were found in this case study. (the adaptation of their categories can be viewed in Appendix B). For instance, the framework by Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines categorizes examples of the participants' letters from friends, greeting cards and story books shared with children as "social interactional reading", which according to these researchers has the goal of, "Reading to gain information pertinent to building and maintaining social relationships" (p. 132). In my study this category is labeled social interactional literacy/biliteracy and it includes reading and writing because these practices are intertwined and overlapping and for this reason I have chosen not to separate them.

The description and analysis of the reading/writing, literacy/biliteracy practices documented in my case study were carried out by documenting, then commenting on, and finally analyzing the transcriptions of the recorded observations and the interviews of the participants. The first step of this analysis included open coding analysis. Thus, the first step of my data analysis consisted of reading the data in order to identify relevant categories (i.e., open coding). Next, I categorized the literate/biliterate events in the transcripts by assigning Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines' categories to the literate/biliterate

practices contained in my data. The following table shows the categories that I discovered in my data and their specific uses:

Table 3.7.2 *Literacy/Biliteracy Practices*

Types of Literacy/Biliteracy Practices in the Alvarez Family	Uses of Literacy/Biliteracy Practices in the Alvarez Family
Instrumental/Financial practices: Reading and/or writing to fulfill and gain information for meeting practical needs of day-to-day life such as, scheduling daily life, fulfilling economic circumstances, negotiating family responsibilities, learning about third parties and distant events, and gaining information about local, state, and national events	Mail, bills, checks, food labels, telephone directory, recipes, schedules, appointments, instructions, online management of banking account, prices of commercial goods, grade reports, newspapers, department/grocery store coupon inserts, shopping lists, lists of things to do and phone numbers
Social-Interactional practices: Reading and/or writing to maintain and build social relationships and linkages, and to make plans	Use of myspace.com chat, text messaging, email, internet navigation and phone conversation
Critical/educational practices: Reading and/or writing to fulfill educational requirements of school, educate oneself, and check or confirm facts, attitudes or beliefs	Homework, leisure books, textbooks, assignments, college and school papers and the discussion of political, social, aesthetics or religious knowledge
Recreational practices: Reading and/or writing for the enjoyment of the activity or temporary entertainment, maintenance social relationships, introduction of topics for discussion and storytelling, and as a means of self-expression	Newspaper sports section, novels, comic books, crossword puzzles, sketching, video games, television programs, board games and song/movie trivia

Based on the framework of the categories presented above, the following episode from my data is classified under “Critical/education literacy/biliteracy practices”. This episode shows how with the mother’s assistance (M) Sarah (S) is capable of learning in her zone of proximal development (ZPD). M uses scaffolding in order to help S discover

where she needs the number “four”, as an adjective, or the preposition “for”, as well as the spelling of for/four. It is important to remember that S has cerebral palsy and for this reason it is rare that she completes her homework by herself. M uses scaffolding to help S find solutions on her own. Also, in this example, the language of the interaction is English because it is the language of Sarah’s homework assignments and is Sarah’s primary communicative language. In other types of social and communicative situations the mother speaks Spanish to S but S replies in English most of the time. Sarah has a passive command of Spanish; she almost never speaks Spanish, but she shows by her actions and responses in English that she has some understanding of the language. In this example all the children are at the dinner table doing their homework. M is helping J with his Spanish homework and at the same time helping S with her English language homework.

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | S | Ma ma ma ma |
| 2 | M | <i>¿qué?</i>
(what?) |
| 3 | S | for is F O R, right?
((S says the letters as if reciting the alphabet)) |
| 4 | M | for what for? for number four or for you something= |
| 5 | S | for something four things= |
| 6 | M | yes four and how do you spell the number four |
| 7 | J | F O U R
((spells the numbers as he walks by)) |
| 8 | S | F R
((says the letters F and R)) |
| 9 | M | mmhmm |
| 10 | S | no f/u/r
((pronouncing the word)) |
| 11 | M | silent, you have a silent letter |
| 12 | S | silent E |
| 13 | M | no four F O U R silent E, I mean silent U
((spelling F O U R)) |

3.7.3 Analysis of Language Choice and Code-switching (CS)

As already stated in Chapter 2, language choice and CS were analyzed by means of conversation analysis theory (CA): the analysis of language sequences of the participants' conversation. The aim of this analysis was to uncover how talk is organized and how utterances were interpreted by the interlocutors. The description of what participants did with each language and the way they used language constitutes the basis for the analysis.

The analysis of the data, as presented in Chapter 2, in this case study uses an integrated ethnographic CS approach that combines the patterns of language choice by Auer (1995, 1998) and the factors determining language choice by Zentella (1997). Auer's four patterns of language choice: 1) discourse related CS, 2) discourse related insertions, 3) language negotiated/preference related CS, 4) switching between languages within turn and transfer, and Zentella's two patterns of language choice: "on the spot" and "in the head factors", are combined. I have proposed: 1) Discourse-related switching, 2) Participant-related switching, and 3) Discourse-related insertions.

The CS data were analyzed through the organization of conversational sequences from detailed transcriptions of naturally occurring conversations. First, data was transcribed and repeatedly read in sequential analysis as described by Auer. As already mentioned in the analysis of literacy/biliteracy practices, the next step in the data analysis consisted of reading data to identify relevant categories. After identifying and describing relevant categories, I placed the occurrences of CS in my data under one of three categories I had identified. However, because many interactions are not formed under a

single rubric, I found it necessary to analyze some occurrences of CS by placing these in more than one of my three categories. That is, one episode may have more than one form of analysis due to the sequential analysis formulation that I have developed for this study of CS.

The following table presents the Alvarez family's use of CS under the Patterns of CS in an Integrated Ethnographic Approach I propose and have outlined above: 1) Discourse-related switching, 2) Participant-related switching, and 3) Discourse-related insertions.

Table 3.7.3 *Alvarez' CS in the Integrated Ethnographic Approach to CS*

Patterns of CS in an Integrated Ethnographic Approach	Discourse-related switching	Participant-related switching	Discourse-related insertions
	Realignment: -Topic shift -Role shift Appeal/Control: -Aggravating requests -Mitigating requests Clarifications: -Translations -Appositions	Addressee's dominant language Non-reciprocal conversations	Crutches: -Crutching -Parallelism

The following episode from my data illustrates participant-related code switching and discourse-related insertions. In this example the mother (M) and Alyssa (A) converse

while preparing dinner. Based on my data, M is a proficient bilingual and A is the most proficient bilingual of the children:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | M | <i>Alyssa tráeme un sartén un frying pan</i>
(Alyssa bring me a frying pan a frying pan) |
| 2 | | <i>chiquito uno que le quepa ese lid que traje</i>
(a small one, one that fits this lid I brought) |

This episode shows that M switched intra-sententially from Spanish to English (line 2), and expressed herself in the children's dominant language. In line 1, when M believed that A might not have understood "*sartén*" [frying pan], she then followed her Spanish word with its English equivalent. The mother's use of language insertion in this exchange exemplifies the use of CS in which the addressee's dominant language is taken into consideration. Based on the integrated approach of CS, the code-switches are categorized as discourse-related insertions because the two insertions "frying pan" and "lid" did not affect the mother's language. This type of switch exhibits M's bilingual competence as well as A's lack of bilingual competence due to the fact that M switched in order to accommodate to A's dominant language.

Participant-related switching is also observed in the following episode in which the mother switches languages to explain the term "*ciudadanía*" [citizenship] and continues the interaction in English to match the dominant language of the addressee. In this example M and A are watching a T.V. reality show, M and A have been exchanging phrases that were used in a march against Arizona Proposition 300.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | M | <i>le van a subir, Alyssa, el precio del para la ciudadanía</i>
(they are going to up, Alyssa, the price of citizenship) |
| 2 | M | <i>para la citizenship le van a subir ()</i>
(for the citizenship it will be raised) |
| 3 | M | they are going to raise it so they can't get the citizenship so |

- 4 A they can't vote()
 but I was born in here
 ((seriously talking))
- 5 M () *odiosa* ((laughs))
 (nasty)

In lines 1 and 2 the mother was concerned with the price for the citizenship exam being raised, and in line 3 she switched languages hoping that this time A would reply, which she did. In the integrated approach to CS, this interaction is classified as participant-related switching because the addresser negotiated languages after realizing that the addressee was not responding. However, clarification and realignment were also observed in this episode in lines 3 and 5. Line 3 is the translation into English of lines 1 and 2. This type of CS was classified as ‘translations’ under the pattern of discourse-related switching. This episode also shows ‘role shift’ in line 5 when M shifted languages as her role switched from a serious actor discussing immigration policy to the role of mother who, in a teasing tone, criticized her daughter.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has described the broad and narrow setting of this case study and the process of subject selection. The chapter also explained the research design and data collection instruments that were chosen to answer the questions guiding this study. It also presented the data analysis procedures that were used to analyze the data and examples from my data and how they were analyzed for each of the theoretical frameworks applied to this study. The analysis of data using Language Socialization, Literacy/Biliteracy and CA frameworks provide a reconstruction of the participants’ world. This integrated

analysis gives the reader an understanding and an explanation of how this family makes sense of their living circumstances.

The following chapter describes in detail the findings; the analyses that were applied to the data, and presents the results of the questions outlined in chapter one.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and a discussion of these as guided by the research questions of this case study. The analysis is divided in two major sections. First, I address the findings for each research question and subset questions. Second, I discuss how the findings differ and/or share similarities to that which previous research has documented. The overarching purpose of the study is to explore if the language socialization practices of this Mexican origin family support, reinforce or hinder the preservation of the Spanish heritage language. The following analysis attempts to shed light on the participants' language socialization and literacy practices, and patterns of language use, language choice and CS.

This analysis of findings is guided by the categories used to analyze the data (see Tables 3.7.1, 3.7.2, 3.7.3) and is based on the analysis of video transcripts, note taking, interviews, surveys and questionnaires concerning the different activities being discussed. Language socialization as the foundation of my analysis is viewed as a lifelong process in which individuals learn a worldview through their use of language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Thus, language socialization constitutes the discourse for the analysis of literacy practices, language use and language choice in the Alvarez family.

4.2 Language Socialization and Heritage Language Maintenance

The five language socialization categories presented in this section address the findings relevant to the first research question: 1) "What language socialization practices aid, reinforce or hinder the preservation of Spanish as a heritage language?" The most

recurrent language socialization practices of the family, categorized as language socialization patterns (i.e., education, responsibility, affection, discipline and obedience, teasing and joking: see Table 3.7.1), were embedded in the Alvarez family's interactions with one another.

The discourse which typifies the family's language socialization practices was characterized by CS. Even though data showed that the language socialization practices in Spanish were limited, most practices involved negotiation and discussion, which were performed by alternating between the languages, Spanish and English. However, for Suzy, as can be seen in the transcribed episodes in this section, the dominant language of her interactions with her children was Spanish. Whether the heritage language is successfully maintained through the Alvarez family's language socialization practices will be addressed in the discussion included in section 4.5.

The following are the findings for each of the language socialization practices found in my data.

4.2.1 Education/*Consejos*

The five socialization categories presented in Table 3.7.1 could be described using one word, *consejos* (advice), which I believe was the most important socialization practice I was able to observe. Practices that fell under any of the five categories could also be classified under Education/*consejos* due to the fact that many of these practices were interwoven with the findings of the language socialization categories presented throughout which address the first research question. In the Alvarez household *consejos* or education went beyond the notion of academic preparation; being well educated

referred to the nourishment of proper family manners and moral values, and the teaching of appropriate behavior to the children. Suzy's *consejos* to her children included correct table manners (e.g., do not talk with a full mouth, use a clean fork to get more food), study habits (e.g., do homework, read) and appropriate forms of address and respect (e.g., thanking, greeting, showing concern for others, not using profanity). Most these *consejos* were given while the family was engaged literacy/biliteracy practices, and exemplify Suzy's commitment to the maintenance of the heritage language because most were uttered in Spanish.

Education in the broad sense of the word refers to the home set of norms and values that children and/or novice learners are taught as part of the socialization process. All the Alvarez family members living at home attended school. A formal education, according to participant and mother Suzy, was considered absolutely important for social mobility, but as important as this or maybe even more important were the *consejos* that defined the essential values of the Alvarez family. Her concept of education as part of social mobility was observed in the interviews with Suzy. As stated by Suzy in these, Spanish was her home language; hers and her children's heritage language, except for Sarah, and English was their outside the home language.

Suzy reflected her bilingual identity and bilingual proficiency by living between two worlds. On one side she wanted her children to have a successful life unlike a large number of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants residing in the U.S. and on the other side she wished to maintain her Mexican identity through her heritage language and customs. Suzy wanted the best of both worlds for her children and she believed that this

was possible given the “right” education and neighborhood. Promoting success for Suzy meant providing her children with a solid home education, mainly consisting of a formal education that was affordable to the family, a perspective that was also documented in the study by Valdés (1996). Suzy was very aware of the depressed social and economic conditions of many Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in the town of South Tucson. Therefore, for Suzy, the first step towards social mobility consisted of changing the location of her home so that the children could have access to better schools, an action she took despite the criticism of her brother. This can be seen in the following interview extract with Suzy, in which she responds to my comment that her neighborhood was a nice middle class neighborhood:

Sí es muy calmado pero no es alta sociedad, hay muchos mexicano todavía. Sí hay muchos profesionarios y todo pero no es como el northside. Pero está está bien, pero cuando me vine, mi hermano me hacía burla porque allá en los ap,artamentos, me vine no más porque no quería los south side schools, pues me vine para acá y mi hermano me decía que yo era un “wanna be”. Se enojó mucho y decía que no había diferencia en las escuelas, en cambio de loca... location. Nos peleábamos porque me decía que yo era un “wanna be”, que quería ser americana, y le digo, ¡no!, no quiero ser americana. Pero la tristeza es que nuestro sistema pinta que el mexicano no quiera pelear por alzar su sistema. Yo no puedo poner a mis hijos en ese sistema, te digo, no porque me gustaría ayudar pero si la gente no se junta, hacerlo yo sola no. Y me los traje, sí me los traje, sí les ayudó. No hubiera sido, no creo que hace mucha diferencia, también hay drogas y hay crimen en la escuelas (), pero siempre la educación, el dinero ayuda a la educación quiera o no.

[Yes it is calm but it is not high class, there are many Mexicans still. Yes, there are many professionals and everything but it is not like the north side. But it is, it is fine, but when I came, my brother used to make fun of me because over there in the apartments, I came only because I did not want the south side schools, so I came over here and my brother used to tell me that I was a wanna be. He got very upset and use to say that there was no difference in the schools, in a loca... location. We use to argued because he use to tell me that I was a wanna be, that I wanted to be American, and I say, no!, I don't want to be American. But the sad thing is that our system shows that the Mexican does not want to lift up [improve] his system, I can't put my kids in that system, I tell you, not because I would like

- 10 get happy with sixty dollars even though 'is not to him, but I say
 11 "*debe ser más deso, debe ser like ochenta o cien*"
 ("it should be more than that, it should be like eighty or a
 hundred")
- 12 A *la Rosa, ayer se le fue un cliente*
 (Rosa, yesterday lost one of her clients)
- 13 J uhh=
 14 M (*se*) *sin pagar*=
 (without paying)
- 15 J shu::
 16 M *no le hicieron que lo pagara pero () they were (up)*
 (they did not make her pay for it but () they were (up))
- 17 J why?
 18 M *porque es tu responsabilidad cuidar tu mesa*
 (because it's your responsibility to take care of your table)

Suzy's *consejos* not only socialized her children into the home set of norms and values but also exposed them to the heritage language. This episode is an example that shows that the language of most interactions under the category of education/*consejos* was Spanish, the language that Suzy committed herself to pass onto her children.

4.2.2 Responsibility

Strategizing how frugal the family could live was a difficult task for Suzy. Because Suzy had studied and worked for most of her life since becoming a mother, all the children were responsible for the household chores and, with the exception of Sarah, for the family's financial situation. John, for instance, was the main cook of the home. He and Alyssa also had other responsibilities such as ironing their clothes, doing laundry, and cleaning the floors and bathrooms.

The following four episodes show how Suzy tried to inculcate financial responsibility to her children by negotiating with them and/or through explanation, mostly in Spanish; many of these were discourses concerning the reasons for which they

were not always allowed to do as they wished. As can be observed in the examples below, money was a challenge for the family; Suzy had to budget money extremely carefully in order to have enough money to cover expenses between paychecks. For this reason the children were not allowed to simply open the refrigerator and eat whatever they wished; the mother had a meal plan for each day. Even when the children had an outside job, the mother collected their earnings and used these for the most important needs of the family. In this example S wanted a particular type of frozen food she had found in the freezer. The mother gives her other food choices but S rejects them:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | M | <i>para la cena te lo comes</i>
(you can eat it for super) |
| 2 | | <i>ahorita, ya te dije que no</i>
(right now, I already told you that you cannot) |
| 3 | | <i>¡ay! Sarah ya te dije que puedes comer ahorita</i>
(ay! Sara I already told you what you can eat now) |
| 4 | | <i>hay sopa y hay sándwich</i>
(there is soup and there are sandwiches) |
| 5 | | <i>si no quieres sopa o sándwich no vas a comer</i>
(if you don't want soup or a sandwich you won't eat) |
| 6 | | <i>ya te dije, eso lo puedes comer para la cena, no te lo puedes comer ahorita</i>
(I already told you, that you can eat it for supper, you cannot eat it right now) |
| 7 | | <i>¿quieres un sandwich?</i>
(do you want a sandwich?) |
| 8 | S | no |

Sarah was hungry and her mother offered her a snack (line 4); however, Sarah wanted the frozen dinner entrée that according to M Sarah could have only for dinner. The conversation above shows M's concern to provide for Sarah and the frustration of both parties when unable an agreement.

The following episode also illustrates the financial value of food; food is not to be wasted. Even though Suzy enjoyed laughing with her children and teasing them, she was very concerned with how food was used in the household. However in this episode Suzy did not enjoy Alyssa's jokes and was very frustrated by them. This exchange also shows that the person who had control over the situation was the mother (line 20). In this episode it can also be argued that A was trying to control her mother's behavior by switching languages in line 19, "*no me hables así*" [do not talk to me like that]. Alyssa switched to Spanish to tell her mother she did not approve of the way the mother was addressing her. However, her mother's response shows that Alyssa's request has been ignored and that the mother has maintained control of the situation. Here M and A were preparing dinner. A was cutting avocados for the guacamole and she jokingly tried to put some avocado on M's face:

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | A | here
((A wants to put avocado on M's face)) |
| 2 | A | moisturizer for your face |
| 3 | M | no::: ((mom is by the kitchen sink, pushes A's hand away with her hand)) |
| 4 | A | [it's moisturizer look it |
| 5 | M | <i>[¡no empieces!</i>
(don't start) |
| 6 | | <i>no quiero que me toques la cara</i> ((irritable tone))
(I don't want you to touch my face) |
| 7 | A | [it's moisturizer |
| 8 | M | <i>[no seas, no estés gastando el aguaca:::te</i>
(don't be, don't waste the avocado)
((mother is mad and hits A's shoulder)) |
| 9 | | mrrrr |
| 10 | A | it's moisturizer ((joking tone)) |
| 11 | A | () |
| 12 | M | <i>sí</i>
(yes) |
| 13 | A | moisturizer |

- ((goes back to counter where she is making guacamole))
- 14 M *yo te voy a moisturize:: [las nalgas*
(I will moisturize::: [your behind)
- 15 A [(face cloth)
- 16 A *() tú eres ()*
(you are)
- 17 M *you're torpe*
(you're clumsy)
- 18 *you're torpe*
(you're clumsy)
- 19 A *no me hables así ((hurtful tone))*
(don't talk to me like that)
- 20 M *yo hablo como quiera*
(I speak anyway I want to)

Several language socialization lessons take place in the following episode One was realignment of John's self identities accomplished through his mother's explanation of why inexpensive shoes are all that he needs either for or for work. John had wanted to buy 'Jordan' tennis shoes (line 26) but his mother did not approve of his request. Jordan tennis shoes were important for John because they were the expensive, cool shoes for someone his age. John may have still been upset after his mother explained to him the reasons why she could not spend money on expensive shoes, but he understood his family's financial situation. In other words, he managed to leave behind his "cool" identity and accept his identity as a responsible member of the family. In this example the family was watching the "Ellen Degeneres Show", S was looking at books, A was lying on the couch as J walked into the T.V. room (Please note that this conversation, and the one that follows it are edited portions of the same episode; for the complete transcript see Appendix F-2):

- 2 J mom, look at my shoes!
((comes out of his bedroom))
- 3 M *() cómprate otros*

- (buy others)
- 4 J no look it!
- 8 M *cómprate unos zapatos, vas agarrar unos baratos feos para trabajar* at either
(buy some shoes, get some cheap ugly to work at either)
- 9 Walmart y y y *unos buenos para escuela, no necesitas para trabajar*
(Walmart and and and some good ones for school, you don't need for work)
- 10 *no necesitas unos, unos tennis buenos* ((as she watches Ellen's T.V. show))
(you don't need some, some good tennis shoes)
- 26 J *sí, pero Jordans*
(yes, but Jordans)
- 27 M uhhh Jordans
- 41 J you're sure, you don't want to go to sports mom
- 42 M () *ay, no tengo dinero*
(ay, I don't have money)
- 43 J *ok mamá*
- 44 M () *el cheque* ()
(the check)
- 45 J you always say that
- 46 M () *el otro cheque lo usé para la comida*
(the other check I used it for food)

Another salient aspect of this episode was the teaching of respect. Respect, as a practice under the Education/*Consejos* was a primary socializing value in the Alvarez home. It can be argued, based on transcript in Appendix F-2, that improper utterances were situational and dependent on the contextual domain where they were expressed. Whether used in a formal, informal or serious situation, or for entertainment as illustrated in lines 21, 22 and 39 below. Suzy was very clear in the teaching the boundaries implicit in role relationships and did not allow her children to disrespect one another:

- 16 A that's it one pair of Jordans
((making fun of the fact he has several pairs of shoes))
- 17 J *sí*

- (yes)
- 18 M *no y los blancos, aquellos que trajiste ()*
(no and the white ones, those that you brought)
- 19 J *no yo tengo (com)* I have like twenty pairs of those shoes
(no, I have (com))
- 20 A ()
- 21 J fuck you (rana) ((to A))
- 22 M *este take care de tu boca*
(Hey take care of your mouth)
- 38 M *anda chequea que mi cheque está en la bolsa, que tenemos que ir al banco ((to A))*
(go and check that my check is in the purse, 'cause we have to go to the bank)
- 39 A Jesus
((she is upset she has to look for the check but she goes to look))
- 40 M *ésta, vamos a empezar ((to J about A's reaction))*
(this, we're going to get started)

4.2.3 Affection

A form of language socialization observed in the Alvarez household was affection. Affection was part of the family's literacy/biliteracy practices. Whether the family was enjoying watching a movie or a television show, doing homework or reading for recreational or educational purposes, Suzy would always hug or kiss her children, mainly Sarah, the youngest girl. The children expressed their affection with phrases in English most of the time as shown in the transcripts but the mother used Spanish in almost all of them. It can be argued that, for a person whose dominant language is English, expressing feelings in English appears to be easier and seemed to be the norm, as expressed by the children in the interviews.

During the homework completion I was able to collect data on the ways Suzy praised and scolded her children as she assisted them. She used encouraging words such

as “*muy bien*” [very good] and affectionate body gestures such as patting on the shoulder, clapping and hugging. She also used not so pleasant phrases such as “*si no te lo metes en la cabeza no lo vas a aprender*” [if you don’t put it in your head you are not going to learn it] or “*menso*” [dummy]. The children’s response to their mother’s encouraging words and affectionate gestures was positive; they smiled most of the time. When the comments were negative or unkind, the children laughed. For instance, Suzy showed affection to J by putting her arm around his chair or a playfully push at his neck as she helped him with homework. J and M laughed and joked as he struggled with his Spanish grammar homework. Even though J stated he did not like doing his Spanish homework, completing it did not seem so stressful after all due to his mother’s assistance and affection.

4.2.4 Discipline and Obedience

The episodes in this section show language socialization interactions where the mother’s goal was teaching her children discipline and obedience. A great number of these teachings took the form of warnings, admonitions, threats and/or commands uttered by Suzy in Spanish. The primary purpose of these in the following episodes was to control the behavior of the children. In more than half of the instances I recorded, when these were actual threats of punishment they were carried out by the mother. Therefore, the children could not be certain that their infraction would not be punished.

The most common verbal admonitions/threats used by Suzy were: *vas a ver* [wait and see], *ahorita vas a ver* [now you’ll see], *te lo voy hacer* [I’m make you do it], *te voy hacer a ti burrito* [I’ll make you into a burrito], *en la noche vas a dormir allá con el*

lift her head so her hair would not get in her drink, but S was upset at the mother and ignored her:

- 1 M *Sarah, quita las greñas del vaso*
(Sarah, take your hair away from the glass)
- 2 *levanta la cabeza que vas a meter las greñas en el vaso*
(lift your head, you are going to get your hair in the glass)
- 3 *te estoy hablando, te estoy hablando*
(I am talking to you, I am talking to you)
((M hits S with her hand on her arm))
- 4 *no te estés metiendo las greñas ahí*
(don't get you hair in there)
((M holds S's hair so it does not get in the drink))
- 5 *se te van a caer en () no sea payasa*
(your hair is going to fall in () don't be a clown)
- 6 *si sigues llorando te voy a pegar pa que llores*
(if you continue crying I will hit you so you really cry)

In the majority of instances, the children avoided the household responsibilities until a threat, admonition or command was uttered as shown in the examples in this section.

In the following example M threatens A for A's lack of obedience in completing her cleaning household chores:

- 1 M *acuérdate muchachita que si quieres ir algún lado no vas ir a ningún lado y al prom no vas a ir tampoco*
(remember little girl that if you want to go anywhere, you're going no where and that includes the prom)

When the children disobeyed their mother's commands or did not collaborate with chores they were threatened. As observed in the recordings of this family, all the children had household chores and when they failed to perform them Suzy appeared frustrated.

The Alvarez children were expected to do what they were told. The following episode illustrates the time Suzy often took, mainly with Sarah, to explain her reasons for the performance of actions such as deciding on what snacks to have and the importance

of collaborating on home chores. In this episode M and the children are discussing what to cook for dinner. The weather is cold and M asks A if she wants coffee, but she declines the offer (line 2). However, S insists she wants to drink coffee, but she is not allowed (lines 1-7). About two minutes later S asks again, but then she stops asking for coffee and decides to drink hot chocolate (lines 8-12):

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | M | <i>¿quieres café?</i>
(do you want coffee?) |
| 2 | A | <i>no gracias</i>
(no thanks) |
| 3 | S | <i>café</i>
(coffee) |
| 4 | | <i>ma ma café</i>
(ma ma coffee) |
| 5 | M | <i>¿tú quieres café?</i>
(do you want coffee?) |
| 6 | | <i>tú no debes tomar café</i>
(you should not drink coffee) |
| 7 | | you should not drink coffee, you are too little |
| 8 | S | ma ma ma, I want coffee |
| 9 | M | no |
| 10 | S | why? |
| 11 | M | <i>porque no</i>
(because I said no) |
| 12 | | <i>(de vez en cuando) estás muy chica para tomar café</i>
((now and then) you are too young to drink coffee) |

4.2.5 Teasing and Joking

Teasing was an important part of the family's social interaction. Teasing was a form of social play that intensified relationships. In the Alvarez family, they teased to indirectly comment on personality and physical traits or characteristics that otherwise could have resulted in hurting someone's feelings. The language used for teasing by Suzy was Spanish even when the interaction with her children used CS. However, teasing between the children tended to occur in English, their dominant language. They teased

one another because they knew each other very well and had a very close family relationship. The most common teasers in the Alvarez family were John and Alyssa and the frequent recipient of teasing was Sarah. Teasing did not take place during a specific activity; any time, during any activity or routine chore could be optimal for teasing. It can be stated based on my data that teasing was a type of social play. In this episode M and all the children are about to start playing the board game “Life” and they start discussing who will be the banker. M asks J to pass her the box with the money and assumes that J intended to be the banker. Sarcastically, M asks J if he wanted to be the banker and J said no. J appeared to ignore this insult, one of many that are made in the guise of joking, about his supposed inability to count money (for the complete transcript see Appendix F-3):

- 152 M *¿tú vas a ser banquero?*
 (would you be the banker?)
153 J no:::
154 M *¡no sabes ni contar!*
 (you don't even know how to count!)

In the following example S did not understand the Spanish conversation of the family that preceded their intent to play the board game “Life” (lines 1-6) and asked: “What’s life?” (line 20), M tells S in English “It is the game “Life”, but later Alyssa teases Sarah with the unkind joke ‘you get a life’ to which S responds by stating that A’s joke was not funny. The episode recorded initiated with M’s explanation to S:

- 1 M *¿Sarah quieres jugar Life?*
 (Sarah do you want to play Life?)
2 S ah?
3 M *¿quieres jugar Life?*
 (do you want to play Life?)

- 5 S jugar Life
 6 M Life
- 20 M *¿me traes el juego?*
 (can you bring me the game)
- 21 S what's Life?
 22 M *el juego de Live, de Life*
 (the game of Live, of Life)
- 23 S I want to play it
 24 M *¡es lo que te acaba de decir!*
 (it's what I just said to you)
 ((impatient tone))
- 25 S go get the game
 26 M you get the game!
 ((command tone))
- 29 A you get a life ((to S))
 30 you get a life, jejeje
 31 S that's not funny
 ((unhappy tone, she goes to the living room and gets the game))

In this sequence, S commanded M to bring the game “Life” and the mother responded by saying “you get the game” in a loud commanding tone (lines 20 & 26). It can also be observed how M lost her patience when she had to explain things to Sarah more than one time (line 24).

The following episode also depicted the cruelty of the jokes in the Alvarez family. This time the mother used the joke of the life guard (lines 3 and 5) to criticize J's weight even though she also had health problems due to her weight. In this episode M is preparing snacks and M asks J if he wants a sandwich but he replies he wants something spicy:

- 1 J *yo quiero* be *un* life guard
 (I want to be a lifeguard)
- 2 A *¿un qué?*
 (a what?)
- 3 M *¿un* life guard *un salvavidas?*

- (a lifeguard?)
- 4 J uhmm
- 5 M *te hundes con todo y el que está salvando*
(you will sink with the one you are rescuing)

The three interactions presented above not only show how teasing was done unkindly among the members of the family but also how the mother did not allow her children to command her.

4.3 Literacy/Biliteracy Practices and Heritage Language Maintenance

This section discusses the means by which the Alvarez family's day-to-day literacy/biliteracy practices addressed the maintenance of Spanish. In order to find out whether their literacy/biliteracy practices aided in the maintenance of Spanish, this section documents the findings relevant to the second research question and subset question: 2) How are literacies learned and used in a Mexican American family (in this case the Alvarez family)? What are the functions of these practiced literacies? and 2.a) How and to what extent do the parents (in this case the mother) support or build the children's literacy practices in the heritage language?

Embedded in the wide range of literacy practices of the participants is language socialization. Therefore, language socialization is described through an analysis of their literacy practices. Because literacy is viewed as a socially constructed and culturally mediated practice (Ochs, 1986), the transcript episodes presented in this section illustrate how language as a mediating tool is used on a daily basis to learn and teach literacies and to socialize the members of the Alvarez family, mainly the children. These socialization practices are embedded in the analysis of the family's types of literacy/biliteracy found in my data: instrumental/financial practices, social-interactional practices,

critical/educational practices and recreational practices (see Table 3.7.2). It is important to emphasize that within any specific family event, several types of literacy can be found, as argued by Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988), “in focusing upon the categories, an openness of meaning is essential, for at any one time multiple interpretations are possible for any specific activity, and the possibilities for different interpretations are created over time” (p. 124).

The data collected on the Alvarez family’s home literacies not only address the various types and uses of literacy/biliteracy classified under the categories presented above but also the family’s conversational activity and their everyday uses of verbal activity as a means of socializing children into the domains of both languages, Spanish and English. That is, all the members in the Alvarez household as they took part in conversations learned and improved their literacies which in turn encoded the family’s norms and values. Literacies were then, sometimes deliberately taught by the mother, but at other times learned by observing the mother perform them. At home the Alvarez family interacted daily in both languages. Spanish was used at home and occasionally in certain circumstances at school and at work. However, the children preferred English both at home and outside of the home, as stated by them in the researcher’s surveys and questionnaires. This difference in the frequency of use of the languages in the familial setting was attributed to the specialized functions of English and Spanish that were associated with different domains of activity or subject matter.

The Alvarez family had an active life with a significant amount of literacy activities in English and a reduced amount in Spanish. When the children were young,

Suzy used to read to them before bedtime; the readings from the Bible were in Spanish and other readings such as fairy tales were in both languages. As stated by Suzy, when the oldest children were young they used to speak Spanish a great deal with Suzy's mother until her death in 1995. Unfortunately, the three younger children (Alyssa, John and Sarah) were not exposed to their grandmother's Spanish input as were the two oldest children. More recently, they have interacted with José primarily in Spanish due to the fact that he does not speak English. Table 4.3 shows the mother's and three children's engagement in literacy/biliteracy practices and their language choice in these practices as found in my data. It is important to mention that the children seldom interacted in Spanish among themselves; however, discourse that arose from John and Alyssa's literacy/biliteracy practices was largely in Spanish when Suzy was part of the interaction.

Table 4.3 *Literacy/Biliteracy Practices of the Alvarez Family and their Language Choice*

Alvarez Family	Critical/Educational Practices	Instrumental/Financial Practices	Social-Interactional Practices	Recreational Practices
Suzy	Homework, books & textbooks, assignments, college papers (Mostly English)	Mail, bills, cooking, banking accounts, grade reports, budget discussions, shopping lists (Mostly Spanish)	E-mail, text-messaging, navigating Internet, phone conversations (English & Spanish)	T.V, song/movie trivia, newspaper, novels (romantic), board games (Mostly Spanish and some English)
John	Homework (Spanish and English)	Food labels, recipes, cooking scheduling, online banking account (Mostly English)	myspace.com chat, text messaging, email, navigating Internet (Mostly English)	T.V, song/movie trivia, newspaper (sports section), comic books, board games, video games (Mostly English)
Alyssa	Homework (English)	Telephone book, cooking scheduling, online banking account, pricing commercial goods during phone conversations (Mostly English)	myspace.com chat, text messaging, email, navigating Internet, phone conversations (Mostly English)	T.V, song/movie trivia, newspaper, board games (Mostly English with siblings and Spanish with mother)
Sarah	Homework, math & language skills books (English)	None	myspace.com chat, navigating Internet (with supervision) (English)	T.V, song/movie trivia, crossword puzzles, board games, sketching, riddle & short story books (English)

In addition to the socializing literacy functions where the Alvarez members learned the values and norms of the household and the domains of Spanish and English (see Tables

3.7.1 & 3.7.2), another main function of literacies in their household was to aid in the maintenance of Spanish. The transfer of the heritage language to a third generation seemed to be a problematic issue for the Alvarez family because only a very limited amount of writing and reading practices were performed in the Spanish language, even though many day-to-day discourses employed this language. Most of the children's literacy practices in Spanish at home did not include schooling practices. However this was different for the mother, who spent a considerable amount of time writing essays and studying for her heritage language college classes. This discrepancy between the schooling literacy practices of the mother and her children can be attributed to Zubair's perspective that literacy is both personal and local (2001).

4.3.1 Critical/Educational Literacy/Biliteracy

This literacy practice not only consisted of the reading and writing associated with fulfilling school assignments but also with education in its broader meaning. The goal of critical/educational literacy/biliteracy practices was educating oneself. All the family members in the Alvarez family living at home attended school. The high value of education was seen in the mother's dedication to her children and her own studies. The mother was intrinsically motivated in promoting her children's success in life.

The data analysis elucidated several patterns of language use when reading and writing performed. One of the major findings was that in the Alvarez family reading and writing were seldom practiced beyond the school domain. They were performed in English with the exception of Spanish-language homework. However, contrary to Heath's ethnography (1983), in the Alvarez the ways of using reading and writing at

home were a consequence of the impact of schooling as will be shown in this chapter's transcript episodes. Reading and writing took a small part of the Alvarez's daily life. Suzy's writing was above all done as schoolwork. That is, writing was almost exclusively used as a tool when it was required by an assigned task.

Reading as an educational and recreational practice was not a high priority either in the Alvarez household. The family was engaged in reading when reading was a school task requirement and there was neither a special space nor time designated for reading. For instance, only on a few occasions did I witness John doing leisure or recreational reading. On the other hand, Sarah was required by the school to read every day because at age eleven she had the reading level of a second grader due to her learning disability. Although the literacy practices of the Alvarez family, and most low-income families, were not aligned with the literacy practices of schools and middle and upper social classes (Mercado, 2005b, p. 136), they did respond to the family's day-to-day needs.

Even though the Alvarez family engaged in a wide variety of literacy practices, the mother and the children believed that literacy/biliteracy consisted of knowledge and skills learned at school (based on an informal interview with Suzy, Dec. 6, 2006), and as will be discussed later these views are embedded in particular power relations (Street, 1995). Therefore, this study addressed the impact that the literacy practices of the Alvarez family has in the preservation of their heritage language and will also address the impact of the Alvarez family's definition-in-practice of literacy.

As already stated in section 4.2.1 on Education/*consejos*, reading was a common practice in the Alvarez family when it was related to school task requirements and it was

not as frequent in other practices as shown in Table 4.3. I observed Suzy, her children, and Suzy with one or more of her children engaged in several types of reading activities at least once a day. Suzy claimed that she spent about twenty-five hours per week reading and writing for her college classes; she had essays and research papers to write. With her children, she read an average of ten hours per week. Some of the readings consisted of educational reading practices such as grade reports, notes from the teachers, and homework. Other reading practices included reading time with Sarah, the youngest child, in order to improve her language skills. During my visits to the Alvarez family, I was able to observe Suzy and Sarah's reading activities. Suzy claimed that she and Sarah spent about one non-consecutive hour every day reading riddles and storybooks in English, and completing homework and practice sheets in spelling and math. Sarah also spent a considerable amount of time practicing math and reading on her own. The books used by Sarah were at the second grade level and focused on language skills such as spelling, reading comprehension, reading skills, phonics, and math skills such as addition, subtraction, multiplication, and fractions. John and Alyssa on the other hand did not read much; they claimed to not like reading and be better readers in English than Spanish due to the lack of Spanish reading input as illustrated in the following interview with Alyssa:

Para leer, prefiero inglés, no es más fácil, pero creo que, I don't know how to say this, pues en mis clases leo en inglés, no tengo un clase y no leo en español, pues no me gusta leer.

[To read, I prefer English, it is not easier, but I think that, I don't know how to say this, so in my classes I read in English, I don't have a Spanish class and I don't read in Spanish, well I don't like to read] (Interview 2, March 8, 2007)

The homework sessions in the Alvarez household illustrated how through homework the family transmitted and used the language socialization practices identified

in the data. As Suzy guided her children with their homework using Spanish with John and English with Sarah, she also taught them several of the socialization patterns identified in this study such as responsibility, discipline and affection. Regarding homework, Suzy asked her children every day if they had already completed it. If the work had not been completed at school they had to start working on it immediately. They sat at the dining room table and completed their assignments as Suzy acted as a facilitator with all of them.

In the interaction below (see Appendix F-1 for complete transcript), J is completing his Spanish homework and requests his mother's help (line 1). The mother has already glanced at J's homework handout and is on her way to the kitchen when J tells her to come back and help him. Suzy is not sitting at the table with John; she is standing next to him and is helping John and Alyssa at the same time.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | J | <i>ma ma ven</i>
(ma ma come) |
| 2 | M | <i>¡pues escrí::belo!, ¡tú sabes!</i>
(well write it, you know how) |
| 3 | J | I don't know what to do |
| 4 | M | <i>es lo mismo esa es una pregunta</i> ((pointing at handout)) |
| 9 | M | <i>[dónde nada más, ¿dónde los veo, las veo?</i>
(where only, where do I see them (masc.), see them (fem.)?) |
| 10 | J | do... so <i>donde los veo</i>
(whe... so where do I see them) |
| 15 | M | <i>el accento</i>
(the accent) |
| 16 | J | oh yeah, on da
((pronouncing consonant D)) |
| 17 | M | <i>en la O</i>
(over the O) |

- 23 M *¿dónde qué?*
(where what?)
- 24 J *¿dónde qué? es la*
(where what? is “la”)
- 25 M *¿es masculino o femenino?*
(is it masculine or feminine?)
- 26 J *femenino*
(feminine)
- 27 M *no:::!*
- 28 M *¿él es femenino?*
(he is feminine?)
- 29 J *él es masculino*
(he is masculine)
- 30 M *ok! ¿entonces es qué?*
(ok! then what is it?)
- 31 J *¿dónde lo?* ((John is trying to do his Spanish homework))
(where?)
- 32 M *¿dónde lo?* ((M repeats J’s Spanish phrase))
(where?)

It is important to mention that based on my observations and John’s interviews, J’s dominant language is English. However, he understood Spanish well and was able to have a short conversation in Spanish on topics such as television game shows, soap operas, food and sports. As claimed by J, he was embarrassed when speaking Spanish because he believed he did not speak it well enough. In this episode, Suzy’s and John’s interaction was mostly in Spanish (see Appendix F-1), except for line 3 where J showed his frustration with his lack of understanding of his homework instructions and line 16 where he showed that he was beginning to understand his mother’s grammatical explanation. This excerpt also shows how M encouraged J to work on his homework by telling him that he knew how to complete the homework (line 2 and 4). She was using encouraging/motivating phrases to empower John’s self-confidence; however, he reiterated that he did not know how to do it (line 3). In this interaction M and J worked

around John's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) as can be seen in line 23 and 25 above. ZPD refers to "the difference between what a child can learn independently and what a child can learn when provided with guidance by a knowledgeable other, be it an adult or more capable peer" (Reyes & Moll, 2008, p. 154)

In this episode the mother guided J to a limited understanding of the use of the direct object pronouns and the orthographic accent or *tilde* in Spanish through a series of questions. In line 16, J said "oh yeah, on da", showing an awareness of the use of the Spanish orthographic accent. M also explained to him the gender aspect of the direct object pronouns "*lo* and *la*" [it (m. /f.), him and her] and questioned his meta-linguistic knowledge in lines 23, 25 and 28.

J did not produce long utterances or utterances in Spanish that were not concerned with the homework. Throughout the transcripts recording homework completion, it was noticed that J expected his mother to complete the homework handouts for him but she never did this. It can be claimed based on his lack of interest in completing his Spanish homework that J did not seem motivated to learn the standard syntax of his heritage language at least through formal educational means. However, M expected him to learn the standard form of Spanish.

The following transcript is another example of how M works in her youngest daughter's ZPD. M was able to guide S in the understanding of the spelling of the word 'Rufus' (line 1). In this episode S was working on a school spelling activity and needed to write sentences using several words from a list (e.g., spin, need). She wanted to write a sentence with the word Rufus, her dog's name and she asked her mother for help

because, as she stated while working, “Rufus is hard to spell”. Sarah had to write a sentence with the verb ‘need’ and she wanted to write the sentence “Rufus needs dog food” which she uttered, then she pronounced “Rufus, Rufus”. In the family the mother and Alyssa used the technique of sounding words out with Sarah every time she did not know the spelling of words. In this extract the mother asks Sarah to sound out words, then M spells them for her, and after Sarah has repeated them she is able to begin to write them out:

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | M | Rufus ((S writes)) |
| 2 | M | Ru fus
((M looks at S every time she provides S with an answer)) |
| 3 | M | ru |
| 4 | M | sound it out! |
| 5 | M | ru fus ((dividing word into syllables)) |
| 6 | S | ru |
| 7 | M | rrrr ru ((producing R sound)) |
| 8 | S | that’s an R ((pronouncing letter R)) |
| 9 | S | is it capital? |
| 10 | M | yes |
| 11 | M | capital letter at the beginning of a sentence |
| 12 | S | ruf ((writes on handout)) |
| 13 | M | ru |
| 14 | M | <i>deber ser U U</i> ((pronouncing U sound))
<i>(it should be UU)</i> |
| 15 | S | O |
| 16 | M | no I told you is u:: |
| 17 | M | no u:: ((writes down)) |
| 18 | S | oh U:: |
| 19 | M | aja
<i>(yeah)</i> |
| 20 | M | Rufus |
| 21 | M | ruf:: |
| 22 | S | ruf::
((about two minutes later)) |
| 23 | S | rufus nee:::ds dog foo:::d ma:::
((S says the sentence but does not write it down)) |
| 24 | S | ma::: ma::: |
| 25 | S | ma Ruf::: us::: |

((about a minute later))
 26 M Rufus
 27 M R U F U S
 ((M pronounces each letter))
 28 S so the S
 29 M Rufus ((says the word))
 30 S R U F
 ((S pronounces each letter))
 31 M U S Rufus
 ((M pronounces letters U and S, then says Rufus))
 32 M you know us
 33 S oh yeah!
 34 M and then needs
 ((a couple of minutes later))
 35 S needs
 36 S Rufus needs ((says words but does not write them down))
 37 S needs has S right ((to Alyssa))
 38 A need?
 39 S need:::s :: nee:::ds ((putting emphasis to the S))
 40 A yes
 41 S nee:::ds ((writes it down))

This example also shows how the mother divided the word into syllables to make it easier for Sarah to understand. This transcript, as well as the episode with John above shows Suzy's interest in language and her desire to share it with her children. She was interested in providing rules of punctuation and grammar to her children. Language socialization patterns identified in my data such as responsibility and discipline were illustrated in these educational practice episodes. For instance, this episode shows how Alyssa collaborated in helping Sarah with her assignments (lines 38 and 40) when Suzy was not available because she was also helping J with his Spanish homework. Sarah had been trying to get her mother's attention and had been waiting already for some minutes so she decided to ask Alyssa for help. Alyssa frequently spent time working with spelling and math with Sarah.

4.3.2 Instrumental/Financial Literacy/Biliteracy

The Alvarez family participated in several literacies with the aim to fulfill and gain information for meeting practical needs of their day-to-day life. These practices included scheduling daily life, dealing with economic circumstances, negotiating family responsibilities, learning about third parties and distant events, and gaining information about local, state and national events. In general, based on my observations, the Alvarez family did not spend much time performing writing and reading practices under this category and Spanish was very limited in this type of literacy practice. Suzy was the only family member who used Spanish in these literacy practices. She also used Spanish to ask her children to complete any of these literacy practices but her children's most common responses were in English.

According to my observations, Suzy read all of the mail and paid all the bills while the children were watching television or hanging out in the bedrooms. For instance, checks were always written by Suzy, whereas checking the banking accounts on line was performed by all members of the family except Sarah. The online banking account was checked during or following discussions about how money had been spent or was to be spent, as illustrated by a transcript episode in this chapter (section 4.2.2 Responsibility) that referred to J's Jordan shoes. More than once I observed John asking his mother for money to buy clothing or gasoline, which initiated an argument because the mother did not have the money he had requested.

On one occasion, during my participant observation, Suzy became upset while checking the mail when she came across a form that indicated that her son had requested

a subscription to an “Adult Magazine”. Therefore she told Alyssa to complete the form stating that he would not be able to fulfill the request because he was under age; “I want you to get a pen *y ponle aquí* [and write here] just *ponle* [write] John is under age, John is sixteen years old, he cannot place this order”. Keeping track of prices for her *Quinceañera* party was performed by Alyssa, who then shared the information with her mother who would have the last word. It was primarily Alyssa who looked for services and suppliers in the telephone directory in order to set up the details for her *Quinceañera* party. Some of the services and products she was searching for included a limousine service and a location for her party. She would make the calls and write down the prices she was quoted for her party budget. This literacy practice was often followed by a conversation between Alyssa and her mother. Suzy would ask her about other party details such as Alyssa’s *Quinceañera* dress and the waltz choreography (a prominent feature of these parties).

Reading food labels is also part of this category. For instance, Sarah did try reading the package directions for preparing hot chocolate in the microwave but as usual, her mother stepped in to assist her or complete the task for her. Most of the conversation about food concerned the planning of meals and discussing the available snack options before dinner was ready.

4.3.3 Social-Interactional Literacy/Biliteracy

The family members engaged in a large variety of reading and writing with the goal to build and maintain social relationships and social linkages. Some of these practices included chatting on ‘myspace.com’, emailing, navigating the Internet and

phone text messaging. Alyssa and John enjoyed spending time on ‘my space.com’, chatting with friends and putting pictures on their web pages. Alyssa also spent a good part of the day text messaging friends as she relaxed lying on the sofa or as she engaged in other practices such as homework and playing board games. As with most literacy practices, this literacy category was almost entirely performed in English, although John and Alyssa used very simple sentences or phrases in Spanish.

4.3.4 Recreational Literacy/Biliteracy

Literacy for recreational purposes was the favorite and most entertaining type of literacy activity for all the members in the Alvarez family. This practice involved both languages; Suzy addressed her children in Spanish most of the time and replied back to them using CS. Her children, on the other hand, spoke mostly English. Some of the activities listed under this practice include reading the sports section of the local newspaper, reading romantic novels and comic books, completing crossword puzzles, playing board games, DVD and video games, and watching television. Recreational literacy/biliteracy practices provided the children with opportunities to become socialized through language as they learned and were taught family manners and appropriate behavior.

One of the family’s hobbies was to play “Disney Scene It?” and “Singer Scene It?” which are trivia DVD games. When they played these, there was a great amount of laughter and teasing when someone could not remember the name of the character or singer. Watching television appeared to be the second most significant source of Spanish language input for the children besides interacting verbally with their mother. All of the

members of the family spent a considerable amount of time, an average of four hours a day, watching a wide range of television programs. Television was then a daily practice in the family and even when they were not sitting in front of the T.V. it was often on in the background. The family watched several sitcoms on English language television but also a few shows on “Telemundo”, “Telefutura” and “Univisión”. This contact with Spanish language television programs exposed the family, in particular the children, to a wide variety of standard and nonstandard dialects of Spanish that even though they might not reproduce these in their verbal communication, might improve their Spanish receptive skills. In addition, the T.V. shows and games became a topic for family discussions sometimes in English, other times in Spanish or in alternating usage of both languages. Some of the discussions were based on popular music knowledge or ethnicity and identity as will be shown in section 4.4. The following interview with John records part of his answer to the question “What are your favorite T.V. programs in English and Spanish?”

There’s different stuff, there is uhmm comedy shows, the news comes out at six or the news comes out at ten, uhmm just shows, regular T.V. sitcoms like reality shows, like Two and a Half Men, Big Brother, uhmm do Doce Corazones Doce Corazones (laughing). (Researcher-What’s that?) It’s a like T.V. show in Telemundo. It’s like a twelve girls and guys, each guy has a different, uhmm like a different birthday, like a symbol and the like they are trying to match them up. And Decisiones Decisiones (laughing), it’s like uhmm jejeje, I don’t know how to explain it it’s like a, it’s like it’s a show like like they start out with a problem and they want to solve it and at the end they want to teach you something. And then uhmm, on weekends I watch like uhmm like a little more Telefutura and Telemundo, like on Saturday nights I watch uhmm Don Francisco Presenta (laughing) and then I watch Descontrol and the Pepsi Música, como like the soccer games sometimes when the Pumas are playing because I am a big fan of the Pumas. That is then. En inglés [In English] basketball games, NBA, NFL games, reality shows like Big Brother, soap operas. (Interview 2, March 10, 2007)

The family also enjoyed playing board games a great deal, especially the game “Life” (Appendix F-3). On the two occasions that I was able to observe their game interaction, the participants kept dual personalities; the one they developed as they played the game and their real life one. Their discourse overlapped between their dual personalities as well; first they would discuss their game personalities’ choices such as buying insurance or choosing a career, and next, they would talk about their real life issues such as paying a bill or figuring out the schedule for the next day. The board game “Life” was also a time to laugh while discussing life and “controversial and difficult” topics related to birth control, education, marriage, and cultural stereotypes.

In the following episode (see Appendix F-3) M was telling her children that a career should come before many other life choices. M made the association between being a teacher and being poor (line 325). This discussion brought up a couple of negative comments that J and A made with regard to teachers (lines 328 and 329). Then, in lines 383-389 M, A, and J discussed attending college and A expressed that a college education would not provide her with a materially comfortable life style. Interestingly, the term “pedophile” was uttered by John in a joking manner several times in the data collection to refer to physical abuse and not necessarily sexual abuse. It is interesting that M and A made these comments about education when M was determined to have her children go to college and she herself attended college because she wished to be a teacher. Finally, lines 402-410 reveal some of the Alvarez’ beliefs regarding what they thought was expected of the man of a household--to have children--and John’s reaction toward it--use of contraceptives and the fact that the “Life” game was not really teaching

about “real life”. The following transcript taken during a game “Life” records one discussion of these topics:

- 324 M *después de que todos agarren su, su carrera entonces tú puedes coger otra tarjeta pa'el verano porque los maestros no trabajan en el verano ((smiling))*
(once every body gets his, his career then you can get another card for the summer because teachers don't work in the summer)
- 325 M *va a ser un maestro pobretón*
(you are going to be a poor teacher)
- 326 S [ma:::
- 327 M [jejeje
- 328 J a pedophile
- 329 A a sex offender
- 330 J *oh sí:::*
- 331 M does it match *sí, sesenta!* ((J grabs a card))
(yes, sixty)
- 332 M *uy que::: maestro tan caro* ((making fun of J)
(uy what::: an expensive teacher)
- 333 J jejeje
- 383 M *yo voy a ir al colegio*
(I am going to go to collage)
- 384 A *que simple sea, eres* whatever
(how easy it would be, you are)
- 384a J *colegio es* joke
(college is a joke)
- 385 M *voy a ir al colegio* ((spins the spinner))
(I am going to go to college)
- 386 A *colegio es para* losers
(college is for losers)
- 387 J hey you are a (g) ((to M))
- 388 M jejeje
- 389 A I am going to be soaking in real money
- 402 J I can get girls down right here, like hookers
- 403 M jejeje
- 404 A you can
- 405 A [a baby boy and a baby girl, then you can get twins and a baby ()
and right here?
- 406 M *[no hay hookers en este juego* John
(there are no hookers in this game John)
- 407 J no what if I don't want to have kids

- 408 M you have to have kids you are a man
 409 J where can I go and buy condoms in this darn place, is there a
 convenient store? jeijeije
 410 J this is not teaching about life
 411 A that's it

As stated in section 4.2.5, Teasing and Joking, the family's teasing interactions showed the close relationship that exists among the members. The teasing appeared to be a form of social play that intensified their relationships. Suzy and the children were able to joke by expressing their views on controversial topics that everybody laughed about. For instance, Suzy did not get upset when her children laughed at her actual career choice.

4.4 Language Socialization through Language Choice and CS

As presented in sections 4.2 and 4.3 of this chapter, language socialization practices are embedded in the literacy/biliteracy practices in the Alvarez household. Language socialization practices are also addressed in the findings of the Alvarez family's use and choice of language in their day-to-day interactions. This section answers the third research question and sub questions with regard to the Alvarez family's use of Spanish and English (Chapter 1, pp. 21-22). Section 4.4.1 presents the findings concerning the Alvarez family's language choice, their language proficiency, the factors that contribute to their choice of language and their attitude toward Spanish and English. Section 4.4.2 addresses the family's use of CS: the family's attitude toward it and the purposes CS fulfills in the family's discourse.

4.4.1 Language Choice

This section analyses the Alvarez family's language choice in relation to their bilingual proficiency, language attitudes and their self-identification through an analysis of transcripts and interviews. As already stated in the previous two sections of this chapter, I believe that the language choice of the participants in this study reflects their degree of bilingualism. This section addresses the findings to the third question and the first subset question: 3) Where, how and when are Spanish and English used by the participants? and 3.a) What factors contribute to this language choice? What constitutes their patterns of use? What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the use of Spanish and English?

The major finding in my data was the inseparable link between the participants' knowledge of their heritage language and their choice of language in their day-to-day verbal interactions. Even though their proficiency was not formally measured, based on data collected through participant observation and interviews, it can be claimed that the Alvarez family integrated and adapted the heritages of two worlds to their own needs and reality, the English dominant societal language and the Spanish heritage language. As a result, the participants in my study not only portrayed their dual identities and bilingual proficiency through their discourse style and their ability to alternate languages for specific communicative purposes, but also the children's lack of heritage language proficiency limited their language choices.

Data showed different patterns of language choice among the members of the Alvarez family. Suzy constructed her Mexican identity by using Spanish. Her proficient

command of English and Spanish and high ability to code-switch inter and intra-sententially displayed her bilingual identity as well. Interestingly, the Alvarez children, with exception of Sarah, believed that being Mexican meant being able to speak Spanish. Their proficiency language scenario appeared to be significantly different from Suzy's. Sarah, as already stated, struggled with English due to her learning disability; therefore, she was never formally taught Spanish nor encouraged to learn it. John and Alyssa on the other hand grew up listening and speaking both Spanish and English at home. However, after Suzy's mother's death, using Spanish at home considerably decreased. Suzy's mother was a first generation Spanish monolingual immigrant, and as a consequence of this, Suzy, second generation, spoke only Spanish until she entered school at age seven and from that point forward she developed bilingual skills in Spanish and English. Unlike Suzy, her children, third generation, grew up with significantly less Spanish input at home, a much more impoverished kinship community and in a dominant culture that has promoted 'English only' measures--Arizona's Proposition 300 (2006). Furthermore, the moving of the family from their 'Mexican neighborhood' decreased their Spanish social networks, as stated by Suzy. These factors have contributed to the impoverishment of the heritage language and to the large number of crutch switches in their speech. As a consequence, John and Alyssa's Spanish was composed of simple phrases consisting of nouns and adjectives and short statements mostly in the present tense and occasional statements in the preterit. Also, based on my participant observation and interviews, it can be claimed that they code-switched when they could not recall or did not know how to say in Spanish what they intended. Based on this language use profile, I suggest that as

the Alvarez children grew older and home was no any longer their most prevalent interacting space for discourse, they began favoring English, the societal dominant language. As a result, when the children came back home from school or work to their intimate space, they continued to favor English, therefore decreasing the number of heritage language domains and activities.

The following extract from an interview with Suzy gives some insight into the difficulties of maintaining a heritage language:

Siempre he tenido, muy importante, mis valores mexicanos pero siempre desde que mi mamá se murió he perdido algo porque es difícil con los chamacos. Te asocias más con el americano, entonces en veces es más fácil atenderlos en inglés. Entonces, no mantuve el español como mi mamá lo mantuvo, que debí haberlo mantenido como ella lo mantuvo, pues con la Lisa sí, pero con los muchachos uhmm, no pude.

[I have always kept my Mexican values as very important, but always since my mom died I have lost something because it is hard with the kids. You're around the Americans more, then sometimes it is much easier to take care of them in English. So, I did not maintain the Spanish language like my mom did, that I should have like she did, but with my Lisa I did, but with the kids uhmm, I could not.] (Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

Here Suzy expressed melancholy by regretting her lack of persistence in speaking Spanish to her three youngest children in contrast to her experience with Lisa who grew up with her grandmother close at hand. It is this lack of Spanish domains and activities in the household that has been the main factor in contributing to her children's weakening or erosion of Spanish, which in turn threatens the maintenance of the heritage language. The transcript episodes in this section illustrate the language choices and their links to language proficiency, language attitudes and the identity constructs of the participants.

The transcripts in the appendices (F1, F2, F3) and the transcript episodes and extracts presented in this section and section 4.4.2 show Suzy's (M) bilingual proficiency

in the use of Spanish and English and her ability to code switch inter and intra-sententially without ungrammatical combinations of L1 and L2 in her switches. The following three transcript extracts (indicated by the numbers in parenthesis) are examples of her bilingual ability to code-switch back and forth as she interacts with her children. In the first episode the family is playing the board game “Life” (see Appendix F-3 for complete transcript). In the second and third episodes Sarah is trying to make herself a cup of hot chocolate. The second episode shows Sarah’s understanding of Spanish even though she does not speak it.

- (1) 447 M here, stop (there) it’s time to get married, *dame una vieja pa* John
(give me a woman for John)
448 J I want to get married
449 M you have to
450 J give me that *chica*
(girl)
- (2) 1 M *mira toda la leche que le echaste*
(look at the milk you used)
2 S it’s not a lot
3 M *sí, te dije que no le echas, no lo llenes tanto*
(yes, I told you not to pour, no to fill it so much)
4 S I put it on the side
5 M *te dije no le echas tanta leche*
(I told you not to pour so much milk)
6 S just drink it and I can pour more
7 M *toma ya un poquito*
(drink a little now)
8 S is hot
- (3) 1 M *nunca te acabaste el Quick, Sarah*
(you never finished the Quick, Sarah)
2 S ah?
3 M *no te acabaste el Quick*
(you did not finish the Quick)
4 S ()
5 M you didn’t finished it, the pink Quick
6 M the pink Quick, you never used it, you never finished it

- 7 S I used it two times
 8 M *nadie se lo tomó*
 (nobody drank it)

The next three transcript episodes (episodes 4-6) between M and Alyssa (A) show their bilingual ability, identity and language attitudes as they engage in a discussion of social class and education in reaction to a televised modeling contest they were viewing. M and A were making fun of a Latina semi-finalist in the modeling contest who had just spoken on the show. In the first episode (4) the model had just said that she was the “Latin spice” on the show and was “from the block on the hood”. Lines 1 through 12 show the comments made by A and M based on the above statements by Jaslim, the Latina model.

- (4) 1 M ok! in your hood ((making fun of TV contestant))
 2 A your hood
 3 M I'm the ghetto Latina [ghe::tto ghe::tto ((laughing))
 A [ja
 5 M/A ghe::tto ghe::tto ((singing tone))
 6 M I'm your trashy Latina
 7 M is what she should have said
 8 A I am the trashy Latina
 9 M yeah! *es lo que debe decir (ella)*
 (it's what she should say)
 10 A I am shopping over there, jejeje
 11 M I am the Harvard Latina
 12 A I went to co::lle::ge
 13 A they know
 14 M Natasha won
 15 M Jaslim doesn't have the fire!
 16 A she's edgy

The language choice of this interaction is English except for line 9. I believe that the reason for which M and A's language choice was English was linked to the television program's language which was English, and both M and A were reacting to the model's

comments in English. M and A were having a very equal exchange in this conversation, because Suzy had already given the floor to English (line 1, episode 4), Alyssa's dominant language and the language of the contestant they were discussing. In line 13 the topic switches, at this point they were talking about who they thought might be the winner of the modeling contest; the language choice remained English.

Based on the comments made by the model on the television show it can be stated that Suzy and Alyssa were making fun of the contestant because she proudly identified herself with the "hood", which for Suzy and Alyssa represented poverty and a lack of education. Their sing-song use of the word "ghetto" emphasized their disapproval of the contestant's claimed identity, and Suzy's use of Spanish in line 9 was actually confronting the Latina contestant and inviting Alyssa to join her as superiors to the contestant who had not spoken Spanish or responded to Spanish and identified with the "ghetto". Lines 6 and 8 made fun of the model's language--"Latin spice" and "hood"--as descriptive of Hispanic women and in lines 11 and 12, M and A contrasted, again with humorous exaggeration, being trashy and ghetto with attending college.

The following selection is from an informal interview with Suzy where clarifies her use of "I am the Harvard Latina" from the previous transcription:

Es la impresión de ser Latina con educación en lugar de Latina del hood/ghetto, no necesariamente educación, pero los latinos sienten orgullo de dar la impresión de ghetto y no siempre es tomado como algo bueno, el mexicano lo toma como cool pero el americano como hood/trash.

[It's the impression of being Latina with education instead of being Latina from the hood/ghetto, not necessarily education, but Latinos feel pride in portraying a ghetto look and this is not always taken as something good, Mexicans think it is cool but Americans see it as hood/trash.]

(Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

Based on this interview it can be argued that Suzy, unlike the “Latinos” she referred to, was bothered by the association that is made between being Latino and belonging to a ghetto community. During an informal conversation between Suzy and I, she expressed her desire for Latinos in general to be portrayed on television shows as more intelligent and as better academically prepared individuals. Her desire extended beyond the media, because she had noticed that in some public demonstrations Latinos presented themselves as being less educated and less intelligent than the dominant majority. Suzy distanced herself from those of Mexican heritage who wanted to look ‘cool’--who adopted a clothing style that imitated the dress of gang members--and took pride in belonging to a Mexican “ghetto”--an insular community--where, according to Suzy, education was not valued. Therefore, Alyssa and Suzy while watching the Latina whom they called “ghetto” and “trashy” were criticizing Latinos who, from their perspective, seemed to conform to a pervasive and popular image of Mexican Americans as uneducated and only interested in gangs or the imitation of gang behavior and dress. So when Suzy and Alyssa joked that the model could have said, “I am your trashy Latina” instead of, “I am the girl from the block on the hood” they were identifying themselves as outside of the pervasive popular image of Latinas that the model had identified with. Furthermore, Suzy and Alyssa contrasted the model’s utterance with some opposite positioning which was to be a student at Harvard. In the next episode and from an interview with Suzy, I show the relationship between language choice and identity.

In the second part of the transcript (episode 5) that continues the conversation related above (episode 4), in lines 17 through 19, M and A reacted to the model’s

comment in Spanish “*gracias por esta oportunidad*” [thank you for this opportunity].

M’s first response was “*jale*” which means ‘get out of here’ which was followed by A’s statement “we didn’t cross the border” and a change of topic to which M replied with “the border crossed us” (lines 19, 20, 21).

- (5) 17 M you really can see right there
 ((M is assuming by the judges’ reaction that Natasha will be the winner))
- 18 M Natasha, Natasha, Natasha ---
 ((model, Jaslim just finished saying ‘gracias por esta oportunidad’, thanks for this opportunity))
- 19 M *jale*
 (get out)
 ((negative tone of voice))
- 20 A we didn’t cross the border
 ((in a singing tone in relation to T.V. show))
- 21 M the border crossed us
 ((laughing tone)) ---
- 22 M *le van a subir, Alyssa, el precio del para la ciudadanía*
 (they are going to raise it, Alyssa, the price of for citizenship)
- 23 M *para la ciudadanía le van a subir ()*
 (for the citizenship they’ll raise it)
- 24 M they are going to raise it so they can’t get the citizenship so they can’t vote ()
- 25 A but I was born here
 ((seriously talking))
- 26 M () odiosa ((laughs))
 (nasty)
- 27 A sorry! jeje
- 28 M *por eso estás donde estás*
 (this is why you are where you are)

In the discussion above the change of topic to national boundaries (line 20) and a legal national identity (lines 21-28) is relative to identity and its association with a heritage language.

Below, is Suzy’s response to my questions about the sequence above and her view on various issues concerning identity and group membership. The interview questions I

asked her were: What did you think A meant by “we did not cross the border” and what were you trying to communicate with your reply “the border crossed us”?

Acabamos [Suzy y Alyssa] de estar en la marcha cuando peleábamos la Proposición 300, eso [we didn't cross the border; the border crossed us] era lo que decían cuando iban marchando porque este estado era de México. La modelo lo uso [el español] porque la latina tuvo la oportunidad de ganar. Es una frase en referencia al mexicano. Cuando hicimos la marcha quedamos muy decepcionados porque fue un circo. Lo usamos como chiste aquí (Suzy señala el video del transcript arriba) porque la mexicana se expresaba como payasa. No toma las cosas en serio y quiere que lo tomen en serio, y se enoja cuando las otras razas los toman en serio, creen que la frase es todo pero no ayuda porque tiene que ser más que esa frase.

En la marcha [ella explica que desea] que fueran organizadas y que en el rally hubiera sido con inteligencia y información real del problema, hablando como ghetto. Cuando hay rallies de los negros siempre hay un preacher o algo oficial y aquí no hubo nada de eso pero la marcha does not matter to the white race. Hay que usar otras frases para pelear. Veo a los mexicanos americanizados diciendo hay que hablar inglés y el mexicano diciendo todos tienen derecho de vivir aquí. La gente que sí estaba contra la proposición dijeron ¿pa' qué? si es una payasada, se salieron. Tener información intelectual no no más corazón, es cierto pero no es relevant. Lo tienes que backup con información y intelectualidad, tienes que usar la política, información políticamente correcta. Los que han estado aquí pagando taxes sí pero no todo mexicano tiene derechos. Por ejemplo, la deuda de México con este país es casi triple, mas usar información así para pelear la causa.

[We [Suzy and Alyssa] had just been at the march where we'd been fighting Proposition 300, that [we didn't cross the border; the border crossed us] was what they were saying when they were marching because this state was part of Mexico. The model used it [Spanish language] because the Latina had the opportunity to win. It is a phrase about the Mexican. When we did the march we were very disappointed because it was a circus. We used it as a joke here (Suzy points to the video of the transcript above) because the Mexican girl was expressing herself like a clown. She does not take things seriously and wants to be taken seriously, and they [Mexicans] get upset when other races do not take them seriously, they believe that the phrase is everything but it does not help because it has to be more than that phrase. At the march [she explains that she wishes] that they were organized and that the rally would have been with intelligence and real information about the problem, speaking ghetto. When there are Black rallies there is always a preacher or something official and here there was none of that but the march does not matter to the white race. Other phrases must be used to fight. I see the Americanized Mexicans saying that people have to speak English and the Mexican saying that everybody has the right to live here. People who

were against the proposition said what for? If it is for a silly thing, they left. To have intellectual information not not only heart, it is true but it is not relevant. One has to back it up with information and intellectuality; you have to use politics, politically correct information. Those who have been here paying taxes yes, but not every Mexican has rights. For example, the financial debt of Mexico with this country is almost triple, but to use information like this to fight for the cause.](Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

Suzy's response to the interview questions was very closely related to the first part of the transcript (episode 4, lines 1-16) with regard to her views on education and Mexican "ghetto" speech. Suzy claimed that in order to be heard by the dominant culture one does need to be educated; speaking ghetto slang only increases the ethnic and social class abyss that exists in this country. As shown in this interview, speaking "ghetto" or "mocho Spanish" [broken], as stated by Suzy, maintains a negative identity among the Hispanics in the U.S. Suzy was very aware that language was a medium that identified people with their cultures. Language, she believes, shapes both personal and cultural identity and this was exactly the reason for which Suzy was pursuing a college degree in which she chose to take Spanish heritage language classes instead of any other language classes. For Suzy, her identity differed from the identity of many of the people who participated in the march. Suzy expected that the march would be a venue for the distribution of relative and actual information and that appropriate and formal Spanish would be used and thus identify the Hispanic participants as educated.

In line 25 of the conversation between M and A presented above (episode 5), A seemed to express a lack of sensibility for the immigrants to the U.S. by stating "I was born here" and her mother replied with "*por eso estás donde estás*" [this is why you are where you are]. Lines 26 and 28 showed M's display of her Mexican identity by shifting

to her heritage language. Furthermore, she was expressing feelings of disappointment, which according to M, she preferred to express in Spanish. Therefore, M used her heritage language to reprimand A's lack of sensibility towards U.S. immigrants and implied that A could have been one of them if she had not been born here. M also reprimanded A's lack of appreciation for what her mother had done for her: her suffering as an outcast in both communities in order to give A many advantages as "born in the USA" could offer:

No estaría aquí si su abuela no se hubiera venido para acá, entonces estaría en esa posición de necesitar ciudadanía.

[She would not be here if her grandmother had not come here, then she would be in that position of needing citizenship.] (Informal interview, July 2, 2007)

Presented below is the last part of this conversational interaction between M and A (episode 6); they are still watching the model competition on television as they continue preparing dinner. This time the language choice shifted and M chose Spanish about 75 percent of the time whereas A spoke in English during about 75 percent of the conversation.

- (6) 29 M *se me hace quien ganó,*
 30 *ya dijeron que la Jaslim no es para*
 (I think I know who won, they said Jaslim is not for)
 ((scooping mayonnaise in salad bowl))
 31 A ()
 32 A the Mexican ()
 33 M *tú crees que nunca iban a escoger la latina*
 (you think that they would never pick a Latina)
 34 M *¿cuántas Latinas modelos has visto tú aquí en Estados Unidos?*
 (how many Latina models have you seen here in the United States?)
 35 A Alyssa Alvarez [Alyssa Alvarez Al
 36 M *[ay sí:::*
 37 A Alyssa Alvarez

- 38 M *la rusa*
(The Russian)
- 39 A the *rusi*
- 40 M the ruski
- 41 A *rusi* ((correcting mother))
- 42 M Natasha ((washing dishes and watching television))
- 43 A [o::h! ((screaming))
- 44 M [ahhhh ye::::ahí!
- 45 A o::h! ((screaming and clapping))
- 46 M yeahi!
- 47 M the () mexi got it she got it she got it ((singing and clapping))
- 48 A *no me toques* ((as they clap hands together))
(don't touch me)
- 49 M *jejeje no te (limpies) en mi camisa*
(don't clean yourself on my shirt)
- 50 A ohh ((clapping)) yeeee!
- 51 A ohh poor Natash
- 52 ohh poor Natash
- 53 A I think they pick her up [cause ()
- 54 M [yeah!
- 55 A o::yeeee! ((clapping))
- 56 A see I can do it!
- 57 A *yo soy Latina* ((making fun of model))
(I am Latina)
- 58 M *jajaja*
- 59 A *gracias por*
(thank you for)
- 60 M *hablo el español bie:::n mo:::cho*
(I speak very mocho Spanish)
- 61 A *¿qué estás habland?* ((making fun of their use of language))
(what are you saying?)
- 62 A hey mom can you believe that?
((very enthusiastic tone & looks up at mom))
- 63 M I know
- 64 A the first time she did not make it to
- 65 M maybe that's why, cause she tried and didn't give up and tried it
again
- 66 A I'll be like my mommy always tell me that I can do anything
((making fun of Latinas in contests))
- 67 M *hey vas a estar como la muchacha de la de la mecha::: en el (las*
Cruces)
(you will be like the girl, the one, the one with the hair, in the (the
Cruces))
- 68 M *es que, es que*, we are from our people

- (it is that it is that)
- 69 M *que no estaba hablando (ni) el español*
(she was not (even) speaking Spanish)
- 70 A *no es ah she is so –*
(no is)
- 71 A I like her
- 72 M *pero como ella no se fue, ella se fue ahí, siguió abrazando, todas las otras muchachas se van y se van a la limosina*
(but because she did not leave, she left there, and she kept hugging, all the other girls they're going and they're going to the limousine)

In Alyssa's case, she chose Spanish in lines 57, 59 and 61 in order to make fun of the Mexican-origin model, whereas in line 47 she chose Spanish because, as found in my data both she and John usually expressed short command and behavior control utterances in Spanish. This part of their interaction showed how role shift and topic shift initiated by either A or M (lines 47, 48, 49, 57, 62, 65 and 67) triggered language shift. In lines 29 through 39 both, A and M use non-reciprocal language without affecting their language choices. In lines 40 and 49 M shifted languages based on A's previous utterance; therefore M seemed to accommodate to A's language preference. I believe lines 57, 59 and 61 "*yo soy Latina*" [I am Latina], "*gracias por*" [thank you for] and "*¿qué estás habland?*" [what are you saying?] were uttered in Spanish because A was mocking the model's comments with regard to her ethnicity. Therefore, line 60 by M added relevant information on language variety and identity to A's previous utterance. In line 62 A's role shifted from mocking the model to making a more serious statements about the model's commitment; A switched to her dominant language and M accommodated to A's language in lines 63 and 65. In line 66, A's role shifted to a mocking tone which prompted M's language shift for the rest of the interaction. However, M made an intra-sentential CS because she was reporting someone's speech.

In this third part of their interaction Suzy's language ideological view of the Spanish language was evident when she expressed her purist view of the Spanish language. According to Suzy, to be a proficient speaker meant speaking the language using its academic or formal register. She had a very strong prejudice against linguistic variants that were not formal. She criticized people who spoke Spanish "*pocho*" or "*mocho*" which means Mexican American or eroded Spanish as can be heard among Hispanics and on the Spanish language media in the U.S. In my interview with M, about her teasing statement "*hablo español bien mocho*" in line 60, she gave this evaluation of the Latina model's Spanish:

No habla el español correctamente, estaba diciendo que era latina pero habla el español como la Alyssa. Muy orgullosa de ser latina cuando les conviene, quería el voto del latino pero no para hablarlo bien, vas a saber hablarlo (refiriéndose a Alyssa)

[She does not speak Spanish correctly, she was saying that she was Latina but she speaks Spanish like Alyssa. Very proud to be Latina when it is convenient, she wanted the Latino vote but not to speak it well, you will know how to speak it (addressing Alyssa)] (Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

The erosion of the Alvarez children's Spanish language is manifested in the simplification of the Spanish utterances within the space of only two generations. Several of Alyssa's statements collected in the data show the absence of the 'to be' copula as in "*yo no, muy frío*" [not me, [it is] very cold [outside]] and a lack of knowledge of 'to be' as in "*que simple seas, eres, whatever*" [how simple you were [present subjunctive] are]. John's data includes statements in Spanish with copula switches as in "*yo quiero be un lifeguard*".

4.4.2 Code-switching in the Alvarez Family

This section answers the research questions as related to CS: 3.b) When is code-switching (CS) used, with whom, where, how and for what purposes? and 3.c) What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the CS? What factors contribute to the shaping of these attitudes?

The analysis of how the Alvarez family uses CS was guided by the patterns of CS in the integrated ethnographic approach that combined Auer's (1998) framework of CS analysis with Zentella's (1997) classification of CS: 1) Discourse-related switching, 2) Participant-related switching, and 3) Discourse-related insertions. As already exposed in Chapter Three, the analysis of several transcript episodes included assigning more than one CS pattern or conversational strategy to a single episode. Because language situations are not fixed but change as participants interact, the language interaction episodes in this section fall under more than one CS pattern or strategy. However, it is important to note that not all participants' switches can be categorized, as found also in the studies by Zentella and Auer.

Table 4.4.2 shows the most frequent CS conversational strategies for each participant under each CS pattern in the integrated ethnographic CS approach.

Table 4.4.2 *Participants' Most Frequent CS Conversational Strategies*

CS Patterns and Conversational Strategies	Suzy	John	Alyssa	Sarah
Participant-related switching: a) Determining the addressee's dominant language b) Non-reciprocal conversations	a) very frequent: 1 st most common strategy b) infrequent with Sarah	a) occasionally b) frequently	a) occasionally b) frequently	no evidence of a and b
Discourse-related CS: Footing: a) Re-alignment b) Appeal/control c) Clarification/Emphasis	a) topic shift & role shift: 3 rd most common strategy b) occasionally aggravating requests c) translations: 2 nd most common strategy c) infrequent appositions	a) occasionally role shift b) minor aggravating requests c) infrequent translations	a) major topic shift b) minor mitigating requests c) infrequent translations	no evidence of a, b, nor c
Discourse-related insertions/transfers: a) Crutching b) Parallelism	a) frequent crutching: 3 rd most common strategy b) minor parallelism	a) major crutching: 1 st most common strategy	a) major crutching: 1 st most common strategy	no evidence of a and b

Based on my data, I believe a Spanish social network outside the Alvarez household was limited. The family claimed to use some Spanish at school and at work; however, their lack of an integrated and strong Spanish social network could explain the Alvarez children's English language dominance and their propensity towards language shift. Their social, workplace and educational experiences exposed them to a larger

number of English domains and social networks than their mother had experienced as a child. Therefore, CS for the Alvarez children worked as a mediating tool for the children's lack of Spanish proficiency as is shown in the section on crutching of this chapter. Suzy used CS as a resource to aid in her children's understanding of the heritage language and to signal her bilingual ability. This is seen in my transcripts of conversational interactions between Suzy and her children, Alyssa and John. Furthermore, in her interactions with Sarah she was constantly translating to assure her daughter's comprehension. The different life experiences of Suzy and her children demonstrate that social networks account for patterns of CS and language choice, as claimed by Milroy and Wei (1995).

4.4.2.1 Participant-related Switching

This is a strategy used at times by both speakers where the use of different languages throughout the interaction occurs and one or another speaker accepts the other's language choice or imposes a language choice that is then accepted by the other speaker. This occurs after a language choice divergence by one of the speakers, which is followed by an exchange in the other's language, however brief. The two main participant-related switches found in the Alvarez data are: 1) Determining the addressee's dominant language, and 2) Non-reciprocal conversations.

4.4.2.1.1 Determining the Addressee's Dominant Language

The most common observable CS pattern found in my data is language alternation when used to conform to the dominant language of the addressee. This strategy was mainly observed in Suzy's interactions with Sarah, the youngest daughter. The reason for

Suzy's CS in her interactions with Sarah was attributed to Sarah's language disability. It was not Suzy's language insecurity what triggered switching to English but her daughter's inability to communicate in Spanish as well as John and Alyssa's lack of proficiency in their heritage language as will be illustrated with the examples throughout this section.

4.4.2.1.2 Non-reciprocal Conversations

The Alvarez family engaged in non-reciprocal conversations primarily due to their different Spanish speaking abilities. Their code-switching either reflected their dominant language or their desire to distance themselves from another's language identity. As recorded in my transcripts, the majority of the Alvarez family's non-reciprocal conversations can be attributed to their different degrees of bilingual proficiency (with the exception of Sarah). In the Alvarez family, the intimate or dominant language for Alyssa, John and Sarah was English, but for Suzy, her intimate language was Spanish. Although switching between Spanish and English seemed to be the norm in Suzy's informal speech, it did not effect a change of language as can be seen in the non-reciprocal interaction transcribed below. In the following example, M is in the kitchen and asks S to bring her the glass she left on the dinning table:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | M | <i>tráeme mi vaso Sarah, que dejé allá, para mi té, sí por favoris</i>
(Sarah bring me my glass, that I left over there, for my tea, yes please) |
| 2 | S | what? what mama?
((pronounced with no accent over the last syllable of 'mama')) |
| 3 | M | <i>mi vaso de té</i>
(my glass of tea) |
| 4 | S | what's a vaso? |
| 5 | M | <i>vaso [vaso]</i>
(glass glass) |

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 6 | J | <i>[vaso</i>
(glass) |
| 7 | M | <i>¿no sabes lo qué es un vaso?</i>
(you don't know what a glass is?) |
| 8 | J | wow () |

This is one of the very few examples in which M did not shift to S's dominant language. In this episode M and S maintained their own language choice even though S did not seem to remember what a *vaso* was. I believe M did not accommodate to S's dominant language because M's home language, as stated by her, is Spanish and the conversation was a trivial one. The conversation continued without difficulties and S brought the glass to her mother.

4.4.2.2 Discourse-related Switching

In this pattern language A is established by speaker 1 for the interaction and speaker 1 switches to language B which is accepted by speaker 2 and from this point on language B is used or the speaker switches language within a single speaker's turn. This is observed when some aspect of the conversation is contextualized (e.g., shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type). The Alvarez family engaged in this type of switching because they knew how to code-switch to achieve particular communicative purposes and because they might not know or recall the Spanish words.

The discourse-related switching discussed below is known as footing. Footing refers to "a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman, 1979, p. 5). The three kinds of footing code-switches found in the Alvarez's data were re-alignment, appeal and/or control and clarification and/or emphasis.

4.4.2.2.1 Re-alignment

Re-alignment occurs when a speaker switches languages “to underscore or highlight” their point of view (Zentella, 1997, p. 93). The triggers for re-alignment identified in my data were: topic shift and role shift. This conversational strategy was most common during recreational literacy/biliteracy practices. While the Alvarez family engaged in games or watched television, their language usage re-aligned, shifted and served to highlight or emphasize a particular perspective. The most common of these were topic shift for Alyssa and Suzy and role shift for John. Based on my coding of the data, re-alignment was the most frequent type of discourse related strategy used by the Alvarez family.

The following episode extract illustrates a role-switch re-alignment (line 7). M’s role switched from the person who was informally interacting with her daughter A to the mother who set the rules of the household and did not allow her youngest daughter S to drink coffee. This episode also shows how the mother used translation (line 7) to accommodate to S’s dominant language. In this interaction M’s role switched with the switch of addressees. M and the children are discussing what to cook for dinner. The weather is cold and M asks A if she wants coffee, but A does not want any. However, S insists that she wants to drink coffee:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | <i>¿quieres café?</i>
(do you want coffee?) |
| 2 | A | <i>no gracias</i>
(no thanks) |
| 3 | S | <i>¡café!</i>
(coffee!) |
| 4 | | <i>ma ma café</i>
(ma ma coffee) |

- 5 M *¿tú quieres café?*
(do you want coffee?)
6 *tú no debes tomar café*
(you should not drink coffee)
7 you should not drink coffee you are too little

In the following exchange, J is completing his Spanish homework and requests his mother's help (line 1) (see Appendix F-1 for complete transcript). Once M told J he knew how to do his assignment he switched languages (line 3) and by doing so switched roles. In the sentences recorded just prior to this episode, J was working on his homework by himself and teasing his sisters. Thus, J switched from being the teaser and independent equal among equals completing his work to a child who was not able to complete his assignment without M's guidance.

- 1 J *ma ma ¡ven!*
(ma ma come!)
((calling M in English))
2 M *¡pues escrí::belo! ¡tú sabes!*
(but write it down you know how!)
3 J I don't know what to do!
((frustrating tone))
4 M *es lo mismo, esa es una pregunta* ((pointing at handout))
(it is the same thing, that one is a question)

The next example shows not only Suzy's bilingual ability to code-switch but also how she marks a shift in topic with a shift in language; this shift shows a high degree of consistency between topic and language choice (see Appendix F-2 for complete transcript). The example was recorded while the family was watching "The Ellen Degeneres Show", a television talk show. However on other occasions, while watching the same television show, language choice could not be explained. Sometimes while watching this show, Suzy would make a comment about the show in Spanish and at other

times in English as she conversed with her children, even though the children had been addressing one another in English with occasional usage of CS. At the initiation of the conversation, which is not presented below, the participants were discussing buying shoes for John. M's language choice was Spanish. In the example below the topic of immediate interest for M and A was the show. M continued in Spanish (line 28) and then shifted to English (line 32) to sing the lyrics to an English language song sung on the television program.

- 28 M *no puede bailar ella*
(she cannot dance)
- 29 *baila lo mismo, mira no baila, lo mismo ahorita, los mismos steps*
que hace
(she dances the same dance, look she does not dance, right now,
she makes the same steps)
- 30 *no puede bailar*
(she cannot dance)
- 31 *eso no es un pinche hip hop, es ah disco* ((starts dancing sitting on
couch))
(that is not a [expletive meaning low class] hip hop, it is ah disco)
- 32 last dance, last dance, last dance for love
((singing the song that is on T.V.))
- 33 S is this one the second?
((asks J about which movie is 1 and which one is 2))
- 34 she cannot sit now ((referring to Ellen's injury))
- 35 jejeje I love you so much jejeje Georgina jejeje
((repeating what Ellen just said))
- 36 S open it ((shows movie to M))
- 37 M you are going to watch it? ((to S))
- 68 what is she? ((asking A about what is happening on the show))
- 69 A the girl on the top of her class
- 84 M sh she is so gay
- 85 M *(ve) este la computadora pa que escojas las fotos* ((to A))
((go) uhhh the computer so you choose the pictures)
- 86 A sh no:::
- 100 M *oh mira la Sandra Bullock*

- (oh look the Sandra Bullock)
- 101 S ma
- 102 M ehh, what are they wearing? ((to A))
- 103 S ma
- 104 M ¿qué? ((puts her arm over S shoulder))
(what?)
- 105 S play it, it's pouring, it's raining, it's pouring ((reading with M))
- 106 M no::: it says it is raining, it is pouring, it is snowing, his nose is on
107 the bed and couldn't get up in the morning
((reads riddle to S and S repeats it))

It can be argued that the reason why M switched languages was because after singing along with an English language song (line 32), her language choice shifted triggered by a topic, in this case a song. Then, in line 36 the topic changed to a discussion of videos/DVDs of movies where M only briefly participated (line 37). In line 68, M continued in English and remained connected to the television program. In line 85 M code-switched again when the topic shifted from a female image to that of commanding A to choose her favorite *Quinceañera* pictures in the computer. Then in line 100 there was a topic shift from talking to A about getting ready to run the errands to comments on clothing but the language choice did not change until line 102. Both topics referred to the “Ellen” show. Finally, in line 104 Suzy code-switched to Spanish with a topic shift to reply to Sarah and the interaction between them continued in English because they were reading a riddle book in English. Her switch in line 102, even though she is not addressing S, could have been triggered because of S’s interruption and M’s preference to use English with S, just as M’s use of “que” in line 104 along with hugging S could have been an example of Suzy resorting to her emotive language. It is important to notice that this is another example of topic shift that is linked to language shift and can be

categorized as language negotiation by Auer. I believe this transcript shows that Suzy is equally comfortable in both languages.

4.4.2.2.2 Appeal and/or Control

This is a type of footing strategy that is aimed at controlling the addressee's behavior. Most types of appeal and control found in the data were aggravating requests by Suzy and a few by John. Alyssa used a few mitigating requests to try to get out of trouble. Suzy's requests, with very few exceptions, were uttered in Spanish and in the form of imperatives with threats, entreaties and changes in intonation. Her children's requests, on the other hand, were about half in English and half in Spanish. In this example, previously presented in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2 Responsibility, M and A are preparing dinner. A is cutting avocados for the guacamole and she jokingly tries to put some avocado on M's face:

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | A | here ((A wants to put avocado on M's face)) |
| 2 | A | moisturizer for your face |
| 3 | M | no::: (mom is by the kitchen sink, pushes A's hand away with her hand) |
| 4 | A | [it's moisturize look it |
| 5 | M | <i>[no empieces!</i>
(don't start) |
| 6 | | <i>no quiero que me toques la cara</i>
(irritable tone)
(I don't want you to touch my face) |
| 7 | A | [it's moisturizer |
| 8 | M | <i>[no seas, no estés gastando el aguaca:::te</i>
(don't be don't waste the avocado)
(mother is mad and hits A's shoulder) |
| 9 | | mrrrr
(noise of frustration) |
| 10 | A | it's moisturizer
(joking tone) |
| 11 | A | () |
| 12 | M | <i>sí</i> |

- 13 A (yes)
moisturizer
((goes back to counter where she is making guacamole))
- 14 M *yo te voy a moisturize:: [las nalgas*
(I will moisturize:::[your behind)
- 15 A [(face cloth)
- 16 A () *tú eres ()*
(you are)
- 17 M you're *torpe*
(you're clumsy)
- 18 you're *torpe*
(you're clumsy)
- 19 A *no me hables así* ((hurtful tone))
(don't talk to me like that)
- 20 M *yo hablo como quiera*
(I speak anyway I want to)
((authoritative tone))

In this example it can be observed that in more than half of the episode A used English, whereas M used Spanish throughout the entire episode except in lines 17 and 18, in which M uses CS. As claimed by Suzy, she used Spanish to express her feelings whether they were positive or negative. I believe M code-switches in lines 17 and 18 to emphasize that A is the clumsy person and not herself. In lines 16 and 19, A switched to Spanish. Even though A's switches were classified under the footing strategy as a role shift, this episode also illustrates a mitigating request. From a role shift perspective, A was switching from a teaser role to a 'hurt daughter' role because M had just hit her on the shoulder (line 9). M had expressed her annoyance with a growling noise (line 9) and had threatened to hit A on the behind (line 14) by means of a discourse-related insertion-- "moisturize"--if A did not stop her teasing behavior. A's switch "*no me hables así*" [do not talk to me like that] (line 19) is a mitigating request because A appeared to be switching to Spanish to soften M's annoyance. This same episode also illustrates another

form of control classified as attention attraction. In line 14, M copied A's expression "moisturizer" in order to show A that she was not happy with A's teasing. Interestingly, M correctly converted the noun her daughter was using--"moisturizer"--to a verb with a completely different and almost opposite meaning in order to threaten A with spanking her on her behind. My data shows that Suzy and Alyssa code-switched to Spanish when they were either confronted by signs of aggravation or sought mitigation.

In this episode M has just asked J to look for a pot lid and he has ignored his mother's request. M responds by threatening J.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | <i>si no te deajo no vas</i>
(if I don't let you, you won't go) |
| 2 | | If you don't help in the house you are not going out on Saturday |

These few lines illustrate an aggravated request. M's utterance in line 1 was intensified with a control switch in line 2 under the footing category. These lines can also be categorized as translation under the discourse-related strategy of clarification and/or emphasis even though line 2 was not an exact translation of line 1. This interaction shows how M translated her initial threat (line 1) to a more severe one in line 2. M's use of translation in this episode can be analyzed as a control switch because she was addressing J's behavior by means of a threat. What is different about this switch is that Suzy used English to elaborate her initial threat when her preferred language to express her feelings was Spanish and J understood Spanish very well. Is it possible that she was using English because it is not the language she uses to express love and is the language used outside the home by others to command her children? Is she adopting the role of employer or teacher?

4.4.2.2.3 Clarification and/or Emphasis

This type of CS was the second most frequent conversational strategy found in my data. As shown in my data, this strategy seemed more productive than the footing strategies. The reason for this can be explained by the differing proficiencies in heritage language as demonstrated by Suzy and her children. The most outstanding example was Sarah who seemed to understand Spanish well but was not capable of speaking it. The two conversational strategies found in the data under this category were translations and appositions.

4.4.2.2.3.1 Translations

The most common conversational strategy under the category of Clarifying/Emphasis was translation. However, among the participants this strategy was almost only used by Suzy, and then, most frequently when she was in conversation with Sarah. Based on my data it could be stated that Suzy used translations with the goal of making herself understood to her children. Suzy confirmed that this was her reasoning behind her use of translation in the last informal interview I had with her (July 2, 2007). Therefore, translation also served as emphasis and/or clarification.

The next extract example (1), from episode 4 in section 4.4.1, Language Choice, illustrates how Suzy translated into English not only one item (citizenship, line 23) but an entire phrase (line 24) in order to make sure that A had understood her. In this example M and A are watching a television reality show; M and A have been exchanging phrases that were used in a march against Arizona Proposition 300:

- (1) 22 M *le van a subir, Alyssa, el precio del para la ciudadanía*
(they are going to raise it, Alyssa, the price of for citizenship)

- 23 M *para la citizenship le van a subir ()*
(for the citizenship they'll raise it)
- 24 M they are going to raise it so they can't get the citizenship so they
can't vote ()

The following three transcript extracts (2-4) show how M used translation with S and J. In the first episode M translated the word *tarea* [homework] into English so S could understand and in the second one M translated the entire phrase. In the third episode M translated the word *carrera* [career] after J responded with “ah?” which might have been uttered due to his lack of knowledge of the word, or it is possible he did not hear his mother's request. J's question was immediately interpreted by M as lack of language understanding. The translation in episode 2 is different from episodes 1 and 3 because M is translating from English to Spanish. I believe the reason for this is that Suzy's language to express affection is Spanish but she decides to use both language since she is addressing S.

- (2) 1 M *¿y tú no tienes tarea?*
(and you don't have homework?)
2 *¿tienes homework?*
(do you have homework?)
- (3) 1 M give me a kiss
2 *dame un besito*
- (4) 1 M *¿vas agarrar carrera?*
(are you going to get a career?)
2 J ah?
3 M career
4 J sí mamá, yes

The following episode (episode 5) between M and A shows translation is sometimes used for emphatic purposes. This example also shows Suzy's command of both languages by her use of CS intra-sententially and inter-sententially. M is criticizing

the Latina semi-finalist's physical appearance, and she believes that the model will not win the contest; however, A does not agree with her mother. M translates into Spanish "Jaslim looks like a chicken" in line 1 and emphasizes her statement in line 4 ("*como parece pollo*").

- (5) 1 M she, Jaslim looks like a chicken, *no va a ganar Alyssa, parece pollo*
 (she, Jaslim looks like a chicken, she won't win Alyssa, she looks like a chicken)
 2 A I like her
 3 M *pero no va ganar aunque* you like her
 (but she won't win even though you like her)
 4 M *y con las piernas tan largas que las tiene, como parece pollo*
 (and with those long legs she has, that look like a chicken's)

The following episode (6) also shows translation for clarification/emphasis purposes. In this example, M is telling S to watch the pirate's movie when she finishes reading. S responds by saying "I am reading" which can be interpreted, based on her adjacency pair (line 2), as S's lack of understanding of her mother's invitation to watch a movie once her reading is completed (line 1). M does not code-switch to S's dominant language but instead continues her conversation in Spanish (line 3). However, in line 4 she uses a translation switch with a change of wording from line 1 to make herself understood.

- (6) 1 M *cuando acabes de leer, si quieres puedes ver la película de los piratas*
 (when you finish reading, if you want to you can watch the pirate movie)
 2 S I am reading
 3 M *no, yo sé, cuando acabes de leer, la tarde o cuando acabes*
 (no, I know, when you finish reading, the afternoon or when you finish)
 4 *si quieres ver la película, esa que está en*, the one that came in the mail, pirates see it if you want

(if you want to watch the movie, that one that is in...)

The transcript episodes in this section show that only very rarely did Suzy fail to provide a translation for Sarah which I think serves as evidence of Suzy's high bilingual proficiency. In contrast, the lack of translation by Suzy's children found in my data could be argued to be a consequence of their lack of heritage language proficiency.

4.4.2.2.3.2 Appositions

Appositions are another type of switching for clarification/emphasis that add subject specification. The few appositions found in my data were also almost only used by Suzy, and then, most frequently when she was in interactions with Sarah. The examples in this section are episodes number 5 and 6 used in the previous section on translation (section 4.4.2.2.3.1). Episode 5 is an example of how M uses an apposition in line 4 ("*y con las piernas tan largas que las tiene*") to elaborate her opinion on the model expressed in line 1 ("Jaslim looks like a chicken"). In episode 6, M is about to leave home and tells S she can watch a movie. This episode shows how M shifted languages by means of an apposition in line 4 ("the one that came in the mail") to explain and/or stress what movie she was referring to in line 1 ("*cuando acabes de leer, si quieres puedes ver la película de los piratas*") [when you finish reading, if you want you can watch the pirate movie]. Because this type of CS (line 4) adds subject specification Suzy used them to confirm that her daughter Sarah completely understood the utterance.

4.4.2.3 Discourse-related Insertions/Transfers

Discourse-related insertions or transfers refer to momentary lapses into the other language. This pattern of CS occurs when the speaker switches languages without

affecting the language choice of the interaction. The most common types of transfers were crutching and parallelism. My data shows that there were many instances where a participant desired to follow the language of the addressee, but was unable to recall a word/phrase in the language that had dominated the conversation and therefore resorted to CS. This inability to remember or the lack of the word in the heritage language is shown in the following transcript episodes.

4.4.2.3.1 Crutching

Crutch-like switches took place in situations in which the members of the Alvarez family might have momentarily forgotten a word or phrase due to the spontaneity of their conversation or when they did not know or could not recall the equivalent word or phrase in Spanish. This conversational strategy was most frequently used by Alyssa and John and was the third most common strategy for Suzy. Based on my data, I think that most of the crutching switches made by Suzy occurred when she knew the word in both languages (e.g., lid, frying pan, career). For the lesser number of switches I assume that Suzy might not have known the word or could not recall it in the heritage language. I arrived to this conclusion based on my data that shows that Suzy did not produce the equivalent of these crutches in Spanish (e.g., sign language, take care of, picky, bill, stretch). As previously in this chapter noted in the section on translations, another reason for Suzy's switches was her children's lack of heritage language proficiency; she switched to make herself understood. Unlike Suzy, her children's switches were almost entirely classified as crutches. Therefore, I think that John and Alyssa's switches appeared to fulfill the function of filling in vocabulary gaps in the heritage language.

This, I believe, serves as evidence to show the children's lack of Spanish proficiency, which was corroborated by their ethnographic interviews.

The following episodes extracts and isolated sentences are examples of crutching employed by Suzy, John and Alyssa. In the following episode the children are in the living room and Suzy is in the kitchen. M uses two crutches "picky" in line 2 and "fish" in line 3. They have just come back from school and M is offering A a snack before dinner:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | <i>¿no quieres nada?</i>
(you don't want anything) |
| 2 | M | <i>por picky se van a morir de hambre</i>
(because you are picky you will starve) |
| 3 | M | <i>¿quieres tú una fish Sarah?</i>
(do you want a fish cracker Sarah?) |

In the example below Suzy is talking to her children about attending a church meeting. M transferred languages in lines 2 "meeting", 4 "take care of", and 6 "sign language".

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | <i>te tienes que vestir ya para el ()</i>
(you have to get dressed for the ()) |
| 2 | M | <i>¿no van a ir al meeting?</i>
(you are not going to the meeting?) |
| 3 | A | <i>yo no, muy frío</i>
(not me, too cold) |
| 4 | M | <i>no, tú vas a ir, tienes que ir a take care of mis muchachas</i>
(no, you will go, you have to take care of my girls) |
| 5 | M | <i>¿qué no van a ir?</i>
(what you are not going?) |
| 6 | M | <i>les enseñas sign language</i>
(you teach them sign language) |

Examples of crutching by Alyssa:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>el colegio es para losers</i> [college is for losers] |
| 2 | <i>ahí en un magazine</i> [over there in a magazine] |
| 3 | <i>ahora te toca ir de honeymoon</i> [now you supposed to go on your honeymoon] |

- 4 Thursday *tenemos un* appointment *con la familia*
[on Thursday we have an appointment with the family]
5 *la ropa* for my age too [the clothes for my age too]
6 *yo estoy* occupied [I am occupied]

Examples of crutching by John:

- 1 *no yo tengo com*, I have like twenty pairs of those shoes
[no I have (about), I have like twenty pairs of those shoes]
2 *mañana yo tengo* registration [I have registration tomorrow]
3 give me that *chica* [girl]
4 *yo voy agarrar al* mail [I am going to get the mail]

Examples of crutching by Suzy:

- 1 *baila lo mismo, mira no baila, lo mismo ahorita, los mismos* steps *que*
hace [she dances the same, look she does not dance, the same right now,
the same steps she makes]
2 the only one senior, why? *porque todos eran tontos*
[because everybody was stupid]
3 I just need to know *porque necesito darte la aseguranza*
[I just need to know because I need to give you the insurance]
4 *está bien*, start [that's fine]
5 *yo no voy a pagar el* bill, *lo paga usted*
[I won't pay the bill, you will pay it]
6 *aquí no*, over there [not here]
7 *traeme un* bowl, *sí* [bring me a bowl, yes]
8 *debes meterte a yoga porque te ayudaría a* stretch
[you should go to yoga because it would help you stretch]

The communicative intent of every switch was not clear. The language of interaction did not change whether crutching occurred due to inability to remember the word or not having the vocabulary in their heritage language repertoire. However, the finding that crutching was the most common CS strategy by John and Alyssa serves as evidence of their lack of Spanish proficiency.

4.4.2.3.2 Parallelism

Parallelism is the conversational strategy used by speakers when they copy the previous speaker's switch. In the following episode extract M's code-switch in line 6 was categorized as parallelism because she repeated the exact English words used by John but then translated it into Spanish ("un life guard, un salvavidas?"). In this episode line 4 can be categorized as crutching because J seemed not to know or remember the equivalent of 'life guard' in Spanish. Therefore, line 6 can be also classified as a translation under the strategy of clarification and/or emphasis because it can be argued that M's aim was to teach J the appropriate word for 'life guard' in Spanish. Here M is preparing snacks and talking about food. She asks J what he wants to eat:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | John, ¿y tú?
(John, and you?) |
| 2 | J | <i>no gracias yo necesito algo (salso) güey</i>
(I need something (spicy) body) |
| 3 | M | <i>jejeje, ay sí que casualidad, ahora sí, no comer snacks es lo que debes</i>
(jejeje, what a coincidence, now, not to eat snacks is what you must do) |
| 4 | J | <i>yo quiero be un life guard</i>
(I want to be a lifeguard) |
| 5 | A | <i>[¿un qué?</i>
(a what?) |
| 6 | M | <i>[un life guard, un salvavidas?</i>
(a lifeguard?) |
| 7 | J | uhmmm |
| 8 | M | <i>te hundes con todo y el, el que está salvando</i>
(you will sink with everything and the, the one that is rescuing you) |

In the following episode extract M and A are talking about the movie Shrek and they are jokingly assigning different characters from the movie to themselves, John and Sarah. In line 3, M not only repeats A's statement with a switch in Spanish:

- 1 M tú eres el gato
(you are the cat)
2 A Sarah is the donkey
3 M y Sarah es la burra
4 A y yo soy la Cameron Díaz

The following episode extract between M and J shows how both of them use parallelism. First, M provides J with the Spanish word for “mail” in line 3. Secondly, J says “*correo*” after M corrects him (line 3). This episode is an example of how M socializes her children to the appropriate use of the Spanish language. In this episode the mother corrects her son’s language choice; J is going to check if the mail has already been delivered and he shifts from CS (line 2) to Spanish (line 4-6). Thus, it can be argued that the mother’s goal in this episode was to increase the communicative repertoire of John by providing him with the Spanish equivalent of “mail”.

- 1 M *¿ya vino el correo?*
(has the mail arrived?)
2 J *yo voy agarrar al mail*
(I will get the mail)
3 M *correo, te acabo de decir como se dice*
(mail, I just told you how to say it)
4 J *correo*
(mail)
((goes outside))
5 *la correo no está aquí*
(the mail is not here)
((as he enters the house))
6 J *voy a chequear el correo*
(I will check the mail)
((about five minutes later in the conversation))

Parallelisms was almost only used by Suzy as a way to indirectly teach her children the Spanish equivalent of what they have just uttered in English. I also think that Suzy used parallelism because Spanish is her language of intimacy and affection.

4.5 Summary of Findings: Language Socialization through Literacy/Biliteracy, Language Choice and CS

It can be claimed, based on my data, that the dominant language in the Alvarez household for the children was English. Based on my data it can be stated in Suzy's case, and due to her language proficiency, that CS was used primarily to match the interlocutor's language preference. That is, Suzy's language switches seemed to be influenced by her children's lack of Spanish proficiency. The Alvarez data elucidated that CS is bidirectional, that language switches from language A to B and from B to A occur. Most of the conversations revealed the speaker's language preference by their consistent use of one language over the other and/or their quick shift to their dominant language.

The Alvarez family data showed that group membership or group identity and language use are intertwined. This inseparable connection was highly valued by Suzy. Her academic education and interest in her heritage language seemed to be reflected in her way of thinking about the wide variety of Mexicans and Hispanics in the U.S. Even though Suzy was proud of her heritage language, her view of Spanish is a purist's one in spite of the fact that she was not a proficient speaker of "academic" Spanish. Thus, a person's way of speaking reflects a people's ethnic identity and ethnic dialect. In this way, language provided the means for people to identify with their cultures and represented a means by which they were able to identify people and cultures different from their own (Poplack, 1978; Zentella, 1997). Thus, language identity is a means to separate or unify people, to mark in-group and out-group membership through convergence or divergence and to define group boundaries.

The decreased Spanish language social networks that have contributed to the impoverishment of the heritage language in the Alvarez family were not only manifested in the CS crutches but also in the simplification of the Spanish language. Furthermore, the use of Spanish in the literacy practices of the Alvarez family did not seem to contribute positively to its maintenance. Most of the children's literacy practices were in English even though the mother's language choice in most literacy practices was Spanish. Although the children's attitudes toward the heritage language were highly positive and their intrinsic motivation to learn the language and maintain it were evident, the few domains of Spanish language use, the almost non-existent Spanish-dominant social networks, and the simplistic way of using Spanish at home did not enhance language maintenance. In short, based on the factors influencing language shift presented in this chapter, the intergenerational shift in the Alvarez family from Spanish to English is likely to be unavoidable.

4.6 Discussion of Findings

Literacy, seen as a socially and culturally mediated practice, embedded in a lifelong process of socialization (Ochs, 1986; Street, 1984), elucidated a significant amount of diversity of literacy activities in the active life of the Alvarez family. Under the autonomous literacy view (Street, 2001), it could be argued that the Alvarez family was "poorly literate" because their literacy practices, similar to those of most low-income families, did not account for the literacy practices of schools, and middle and upper social classes as described in several significant studies (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Valdés 1996). However, the

literacy practices of the Alvarez family were rooted in their day-to-day experiences and responded to their everyday needs. Also, as documented by Mercado (2005b), “the uses of literacy in low-income communities respond to everyday needs of families and may exceed those typically emphasized in school” (p. 136). The Alvarez family’s daily practices involving talk, interaction and values and beliefs were integrated into the family’s literacies. For this reason “researchers now suspend judgement [*sic*] as to what constitutes literacy among the people they are working with until they are able to understand what it means to the people themselves, and which social contexts reading and writing derive their meaning from” (Street, 2001, p. 9). This approach to literacy is necessary in order to understand the meanings and uses of the literacy practices of the Alvarez family.

Literacy as a cultural practice embedded in the socialization of the Alvarez family showed several language-mediated activities with the aim of educating the children into the Alvarez family’s values and beliefs. Suzy’s thoughts were consistent with parental thoughts about what it meant to be well-educated which included nourishing and respecting the family’s manners and moral values and teaching the children how to behave appropriately (Valdés, 1996; Zentella, 2005). Therefore, the meaning of education for Suzy went beyond that of academic preparation or its possibility. This concept of education is documented by Valdés when she states that *consejos* were relevant in her study “because mothers considered *la educación de sus hijos* (the [moral] education of their children) to be the primary responsibility” (1996, p. 125, emphasis in original). *Consejos* were aimed at the socialization of the Alvarez children to the house norms, and

consequently to their responsibility for household chores. *Consejos* in my study, as also found in the study by Relaño-Pastor (2005), were intended to encourage the maintenance of Spanish at home. Suzy's commitment to speak Spanish as she socialized her children to the norms and values of the household taught them that there were appropriate times for certain activities and correct ways of performing particular tasks. As documented by Valdés in her study, children "learned very early "*quien manda*" (who gave the orders)" (1996, p. 121, emphasis in original). Suzy was very successful in teaching her children that she was the rule maker of the household and the children needed to follow her orders. Suzy did not deliberately teach her children household tasks; most household chores were learned by observing the mother performing them. In this regard Valdés (1996) stated that the mothers in her study never directly taught their children home tasks except for behavior norms and values of morality and respect.

A salient form of education and respect was the teasing manner in which the Alvarez family commented on each other's personal and physical features. My data showed that teasing was done to indirectly comment on personality and physical traits or characteristics that if left uncorrected might otherwise result in hurting someone's feelings. My data supports González's claim that teasing "reenforces [*sic*] the bonds between interlocutors and includes statements about the density of the relationships involved" (2001, p. 133). In her study of teasing in Mexican immigrant homes in California, Eisenberg (1986) found that "teasing intensifies the relationship between those involved. That it is "safe" to tease a particular individual indicates that a special

relationship exists” (p. 193). Teasing in the Alvarez family, even when done in an unkind way, was reflective of what Eisenberg (1986) names as a type of “social play”.

The analysis of the data collected on the Alvarez family revealed a discrepancy between the goals Suzy set for herself and her family and the family’s actual home literacy practices, which fell short of optimal if these goals were to be achieved. She aspired to see her children as bilinguals and well versed in “formal” Spanish. She also wanted her children to become college graduates. Unfortunately the literacy practices in the household were generally random, even though some attempted to mirror mainstream schooling practices. The literacy practices in the Alvarez family were similar to those documented by Zentella (1997) and Heath (1983) in terms of the frequency in which the various members of the family engaged in reading and writing practices. Thus, even though success in school was perceived as the principle path to social and economic advancement in this society and as the means of achieving success as an adult, the Alvarez literacy/biliteracy practices were less than effective in support of these goals. This could be a consequence of Suzy having been the first generation of her family to attend college. However, it was observed that the family did not seem to enjoy reading as a leisure activity and Suzy seemed to lack awareness of how important reading is for her children’s future. She claimed that Arizona’s school system was below average; she moved from her birth neighborhood with the idea that she could provide her children with better schooling opportunities. She encouraged her children to read and write at home, but in an inconsistent manner, with haphazard oversight, and did not introduce reading as a leisure activity. The links she had tried to establish between her wishes for success for

herself and her children and the literacy home practices appeared weak. Even though the family had a wide repertoire of literacy practices, literacy in the eyes of the members of this family seemed to be reduced to the ideological nature of the autonomous model; a formal education that teaches the technical skills to succeed in the modern world. Furthermore, the Alvarez family's extensive use of English in comparison to Spanish could be related to the fact that English is the language that gives its users access to power or excludes them from it (Herbert & Robinson, 2001). Literacy in English might then be the most important factor in social mobility and salaried employment.

The lack of reading practices found in the Alvarez household has also been documented in significant studies on Hispanic and non-Hispanics in the U.S. For instance, Zentella (1997) found that the second generation children were read to but only by the mother. She also found, as well as Heath (1983), that there were no bedtime reading practices and that, similarly to what my data showed, in the first generation of el Bloque's immigrants there was a gap in language comprehension skills between children and parents. Parents were dominant in Spanish and children in English, which "outdistanced their ability to speak, read, or write their second [heritage] language" (Zentella, p. 78). Gonzalez (2001) found that reading was only present in the form of homework completion, and Delgado-Gaitán (1990) and Heath (1983) noticed a lack of reading literacy activities in the communities they studied, as was the case shown in my data on the Alvarez family's literacy practices.

The studies above and my own seem to indicate that there is a link between reading and writing practices in a household that shows continuities with school practices

and/or dominant discourses about literacy, whereas in a house that lacks reading and writing practices the link is absent. Therefore, it could be argued that the assistance that Suzy was capable of providing her children during homework differed greatly from what has been documented not only in a large number of studies on Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic origin families in the U.S. (González, 2001; Schechter & Bayley, 2002; Valdés, 1996) but also in American communities as in the study by Heath (1983). It seems as if parents who have had little formal education, whether in their native or the target language, are faced with barriers when helping their children with school assignments which foster the children's literacy abilities. These barriers impose a separation between home-school literacy practices in general. Therefore, it could be argued that Suzy's bilingual competence and the fact that she attended a local university was one of the most positive indicators of her ability to help her children not only with Spanish homework but also with most of their school subjects. Consequently, it might be expected that the dialogue that arose from the homework assignments contributed to the maintenance of the heritage language and increased the children's knowledge of it as well. However, my data showed that the Alvarez family's literacy practices in Spanish were lacking as well as an awareness of how important reading was, even for leisure, for the children's future success. Suzy, John and Alyssa stated they disliked reading. In addition, nobody was engaged in any writing for leisure, with the exception of chatting on my space.com, which was done in English. I think that these findings are representative of a household lacking Spanish language domains. My conclusion above corresponds with González' study (2001) that shows that regardless of the wishes of participant mothers for their

children to be fluent in Spanish, the English literacy the children were exposed to was able to overshadow such wishes (p. 164).

As found in the studies by Reyes (2006) and Reyes et al. (2007), the literacy/biliteracy practices in the Alvarez household showed that there is a potential to support and mediate the children's bilingual and biliteracy abilities. Similar to the data presented in these two studies, the Alvarez data showed that the children were capable of reaching higher levels of understanding through the guidance of their mother and occasionally that of Alyssa, the oldest daughter living at home. The mother was capable of scaffolding her children's homework completion in a contextualized way. However, what distinguishes the Alvarez case study from Reyes's (2006) study is the awareness exhibited by the Reyes' parents and children of the importance of access to both languages and writing systems as a tool in the maintenance and development of biliteracy and bilingualism. Another literacy activity that not only provided topics for conversation in English and Spanish but also provided exposure to language and cultural practices was television. Even though watching television was solely for entertainment and information, the Alvarez children were exposed to various Spanish language varieties and levels of structural complexity. Therefore, the data shows that in addition to the children's interactions with their mother, watching television was a significant source of Spanish language input; however, this recreational practice was not fully exploited (González, 2001; Mercado, 2005; Zentella, 2005). Television was a daily experience in the family. Even if no one was watching, the television was found to be on in the background as was the case in the studies by Rodríguez (2005) and Reyes et al. (2007).

As documented in several studies (Fishman, 1970; Mercado, 2005; Valdés, 2000; Zentella, 1997) language choice is linked to specific domains. The data on the Alvarez family show specialized functions of English and Spanish associated with different domains of activity or subject matter. The majority of the mother's literacy practices that were observed in the home setting were performed in Spanish with frequent brief interjections of English. In contrast, the children's literacy practices were primarily English dominant even when the mother addressed them in Spanish. Therefore, the diglossic environment found in many bilingual and multilingual communities worldwide, as documented in several studies (Bills, 2005; Fishman, 1970; Saville-Troike, 2003; Valdés, 2000), show that the use of a low or vernacular language is practiced mostly in the home and the use of a high language is practiced primarily outside the home, in school and work-related contexts. The data collected on the Alvarez family showed varying degrees of bilingualism without diglossia due to the fact that both languages, Spanish and English, were used in and out of the home.

My interactions with the participants and the interactions I observed among them in conjunction with several ethnographic studies on language use (Fishman, 1971; Li, 2000; Milroy & Wei, 1995; Zentella 1997, 2005) have guided me to conclude that there is a close relationship between social networks and language maintenance. Milroy and Lei claim that social networks with strong ties seem more capable of maintaining and enforcing local conventions and linguistic norms. Even though this case study did not include an analysis of social networking, and an analysis would be necessary to support the conclusions drawn about social networks, there is evidence that there was not a

significant Spanish social network available to the Alvarez family even though their neighborhood was close to fifty percent Hispanic. Perhaps because the family had moved from the traditional Mexican neighborhood they, like their Hispanic neighbors--men, women and children--were more occupied with work and schooling than the residents of Suzy's childhood neighborhood that continues to be a destination for immigrant working class people and families. Furthermore, Milroy and Wei and a significant number of studies (Heath, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Valdés, 1996; Zentella, 1997) show that social networking is a very important tie for some minority communities and migrant families since the former are generally constructed in response to social and economic pressures (p. 155).

The social and economic pressures that are likely to create social networks in immigrant families (Milroy & Wei, 1995) did not seem to be present or to have motivated the Alvarez family. They established a family unit that was in effect the primary unit of their social organization and responded to their social and financial needs even though they faced economic pressures and felt marginalized by the dominate English heritage language community. In the Alvarez family there existed few family network links and there was little or no communication with the extended family or community; this was also the experience of the subjects of the study by Valdés (1996). The Alvarez family had an off-and-on relationship with the extended family. The members of the Alvarez family formed a family unit that helped one another to be economically and socially secure. All the members of the family played an important role in sustaining the household economically with the exception of Sarah. The financial success of this family depended

not only on their individual practices but also on the financial cooperation that Suzy required of her children. They worked as a team assisting in the cleaning, cooking, and other home chores and by helping Sarah with language and math practice. These in-home family practices were also found in studies on Hispanics in the U.S. (Tenery, 2005; Valdés, 1996). The particular domains of knowledge within the family were learned and shared in the home environment and have opened opportunities for some. For instance, John loved to cook and his job at home was to cook, and this knowledge and passion for food helped him to find jobs as a cook in a couple of restaurants. The family unit in my study could be described as having formed their own social network, considering their many obligations both within the home, and outside the home at work and at school, and their experiences paralleled those of participants in the studies by Zentella (1997) and Browning-Aiken (2005).

I think that there were several reasons for Suzy's lack of interest in a major social network that could have provided her and her family with emotional, social and financial support. Suzy stated she moved out of the Mexican neighborhood where she was born in order to avoid the likelihood that her family would experience the economic and educational deprivation that was commonplace of the many Mexican and Mexican Americans who demographically dominated this area, including her brother. Literacy in English might have been the most important factor in conjunction with social mobility and salaried employment. By moving to a better neighborhood she provided her family with access to what she assumed were better schools and an environment with less crime

and drugs. Her opinions on the topics of family connections, neighborhood and schooling are shown in the following extract from an interview.

A nosotros nos dividía una calle... la escuela estaba a cuatro millas, uhmm yo nunca aprendí mucho en esa escuela, entonces no me gustaba. Yo me acuerdo mis sobrinas fueron a la Pueblo [a high school] y no cambió mucho; mis sobrinas fueron casi 8 años después que yo, y mis sobrinas salieron de la Pueblo; no sabe [una de ellas] leer muy bien; es muy mala para el vocabulario. Hablo con ella y tiene muy mala, tiene muy bajo el comprensión del lenguaje; le ha costado mucho trabajo. No me gusta, en si la educación, no es nada personal pero en si la educación. Lo que sí pasa es que aunque uno no quiera creerlo el dinero cuenta en las escuelas y en las escuelas del el padre no pone tanta atención en la educación, entonces el sistema tampoco. El sistema no pone importancia a la educación en una escuela llena de hispanos y de negros, a que le pone a una escuela de americanos y aunque la diferencia, porque cuando yo me traje a los chiquillos pa'la Grijalva, muy diferente; la educación porque Arizona no tiene buen sistema educativo, no lo tiene pero siempre la involucración y el dinero que le meten a la educación, a las las actividades es de mucha diferencia, las actividades que hay comparadas a las escuelas y por eso yo me los traje desde chiquitos, me moví, para mí que no hay mucha diferencia porque no más son cuatro millas pero una diferencia siempre en en el vecindario en cuatro millas una gran diferencia. (Informal Interview, July 2, 2007)

[We were separated by a road...the school was four miles away, uhmm I never leaned much at that school, so, I didn't like it. I remember my nieces went to Pueblo high school and it did not change much; my nieces went there for almost 8 years after I was there, and my nieces left [graduated or dropped out is not clear] Pueblo; [she] doesn't read very well; it's [Pueblo High School] very bad for language comprehension; it has been very hard for her. I don't like it [Pueblo H.S.], in itself the education, it is nothing personal but education itself. What does happen is that even though one may not want to believe it, it's money that counts in the schools and the schools in the south parents [the father] do [does] not pay much attention to education, then the system does not either. The system does not put much importance to education in a school full of Hispanics and Blacks, like it pays attention to a school of Americans and [I saw] even though the difference, because when I brought my children to the Grijalva [district, neighborhood], very different; the education; because Arizona does not have a good education system, it does not have it but always the involvement and the money that gets in the education [system], for the activities is very different, the activities that there are compared to the schools and for that I brought them since young, I moved, to me there is not much difference because it is only four miles but there is a difference always in in the neighborhood in four miles there is a big difference.]

Even though Suzy's decision to move may have provided her children with better schools, the family's exposure to and usage of the heritage language decreased and her family struggled to maintain the Spanish language and cultural traditions. When considering the maintenance of the heritage language it might be possible to compare the Alvarez family's move, from a neighborhood with a much larger population of recent Mexican American immigrants to one where there were less ties to the linguistic and cultural community, to the social network with weak ties documented by Milroy and Wei (1995). Even though the Alvarez self-contained family network seemed to cope with many of the family's problems (i.e., health, financial), the lack of a major Spanish social network combined with the family's lack of Spanish literacy practices is producing a language shift.

The language scenario portrayed by Carreira (2003) and Fishman (1991) pertaining to the shift from Spanish to English within three generations was evident in my data collected on the Alvarez family (see the transcript episodes in this chapter). Silva Corvalán (1991) also documented the causes of language shift: "intensive and prolonged contact with a superordinate language, and consequent reduction in the domains of use, would have consequences on the Spanish [...] of bilinguals such that it would evidence [...] simplification, transfer, and consequent convergence into English" (p. 152). Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (2005) also argue that, "it is the shift from Spanish to English that interrupts, or "fractures," an extended development of Spanish comprehension and literacy in reading and writing" (p. 63). Or perhaps, as claimed by Seliger, "First language attrition is a ubiquitous phenomenon found wherever there is bilingualism"

(1991, p. 227). The data on the Alvarez family supports the claims by the above researchers by elucidating that the children's Spanish was syntactically simple and "fractured" due to their lack of Spanish domains. The family's heritage language shows simplification of the utterances within the space of only two generations.

Language choice, as claimed by Auer (1998) and Wei (1998), is influenced by political and social identity at a macro level, but at the micro level it depends on the situation and participants. However, this situation is constructed and changed as participants interact. For example, a large number of significant studies addressed in my review of the literature (see Chapter Two, section 2.2) show that the main function of CS and language choice is the individual's ability to reflect or mark a self and/or group identity by converging to or diverging from the addressers' code choice (Auer 1998; Dicker, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Poplack, 1980; Wei, 1998; Zentella, 1997). Data analysis of the Alvarez family's use of CS and language choice showed that the children code-switched when the topic or role shifted but most of the time their switches were the result of not recalling or knowing the word in Spanish. Therefore, it can be claimed that the children's CS and language choice were related to their lack bilingual proficiency, whereas Suzy's CS and bilingual proficiency was not constrained by a lack of knowledge. This was also found by Zentella (1997): "The choice of language in a particular situation depended on a myriad of factors involving the participants, the setting, and the social and communicative goals, but the overall pattern of each girl's choices was related to her language proficiency" (p. 87). However, the analysis of the transcripts collected from the Alvarez family also showed that CS and language choice

were strategically used by the family to emphasize their language preference, which was also observed by Wei (1988). My observations and data analysis show that language preferences were in most cases a reflection of either a lack of language proficiency in the heritage language or an accommodation to that lack. That is, the children (Alyssa and John) code-switched due to their lack of Spanish proficiency and Suzy code-switched to accommodate to her children's language preferences. It could be concluded that for the Alvarez family, CS did not function to expand the family's use of the heritage language. There is no evidence in my data that the family's use of CS contributed to an extension of bilingual discourse or to a specialized function in their use of CS. The use of CS did little to add to their heritage language skills. This finding contradicts Ramat's study (1995) that found that CS is evidence of widespread bilingual behavior; rather CS in the Alvarez family was an indicator of language shift.

Language choice has been found to be directly connected to societal power, prestige and value. These associations, connected to language, shape the speakers' attitudes towards a particular language (McGroarty, 1996; Shridar, 1996; Wardhaugh, 1996; Zentella, 1997, 2005). For instance, as stated by Zentella (2005): "The extent to which a group is proud of its variety of Spanish can determine whether or not group members teach Spanish to their children, and language attitudes are an indelible part of language socialization" (pp. 8-9). Therefore, Suzy's desire for passing Spanish to her children is evidence of her pride towards the heritage language. However, in spite of the family's pride for their heritage language and their belief in an intricately connected link between being Mexican and speaking Spanish, Spanish was minimally used by the

children in their day-to-day interactions. It is relevant to mention that the social stratification of language that functions as a label for social classes in the U.S. was very present in Suzy' mind. She was motivated to distance herself from those of Mexican heritage who took pride in belonging to a Mexican "ghetto" or Latinos in general as shown in the media and in some public demonstrations, who did not speak Spanish "appropriately", nor in her opinion were seen as intelligent and academically prepared. Suzy thought of most Mexicans from her birth neighborhood as lazy, uneducated and financially deprived, and it was evident that Suzy identified herself and her children as being outsiders of that pervasive image.

In summary, it can be concluded that, in addition to the lack of Spanish language domains and the absence of a strong Spanish social network, the language practices of the Alvarez family were the consequence of the language attitudes that had shaped the family and were formed by Suzy's language ideology, or view of language. As stated by Martínez (2006), it can be claimed that Suzy's language interactions displayed two opposing language ideologies: that of language pride and language panic of a large number of Mexican Americans (p. 109). Suzy's language pride ideology was constructed and reproduced in her positive attitude toward the heritage language, her desire to maintain the language at home and belief that Spanish is a defining characteristic of her and her family's ethnic identity. On the other hand, her panic language ideology was manifested in "the elevation of standard [...] dialects of Spanish over Mexican American dialects of Spanish" (Martínez, p. 12). Suzy's language panic ideology was evident in her

deliberate distancing from her childbirth community and her pejorative view in the mocking and criticizing of “*mocho*” Spanish.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

5.1 Conclusions

The purpose of this case study was to find out whether the socialization practices and literacy/biliteracy practices in the household of the Alvarez Mexican-origin family (Suzy, the mother, and three of her five children: Alyssa and Sarah, ages 15, and 10; and John, age 16 (pseudonyms)) aid in the maintenance of the heritage language. This case study sought to determine whether Suzy's actions were those of an agentive power who introduces the heritage language to the next generation through socialization and literacy/biliteracy practices. Suzy's desire to transmit the heritage language to her children and the fact that she was pursuing a college degree exemplify those factors that are likely to contribute to the transmission of literacy skills found to exist among those with relatively high socioeconomic status. Literacy skills, whether in the English language or heritage language, are more prone to flourish when parents are steeped in education (Purcell-Gates, 1996; Schechter & Bayley, 2002; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988).

This study is guided by language socialization theory as the main theory under which the other theories guiding this study fall. Language socialization in this study means both "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 2). The analysis of the Alvarez literacy/biliteracy practices was guided by literacy theory which views literacy as a "broad cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts" (Street, 2001, p. 11). The terms literacy and biliteracy were presented as a compound

term because they describe a process of individuals' development of literacy competencies in thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages, developed to varying degrees, either simultaneously or consecutively (Dworin, 2003; Reyes, 2006). Conversational Analysis (CA) theory (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2001) which studies the meaning of talk was used to analyze the Alvarez family's naturally occurring interaction. This analysis included the study of the family's use of language choice and code-switching (CS) through the Integrated Ethnographic Approach to CS I created based on the frameworks of language choice analysis by Auer (1995, 1998) and Zentella (1997): 1) Discourse-related switching, 2) Participant-related switching, and 3) Discourse-related insertions.

This dissertation used the ethnographic method to capture the Alvarez family's day-to-day literacy/biliteracy and socialization practices through the following techniques: participant observation, questionnaire, interviews and surveys, video recordings, journaling, and note taking. The study occurred in two stages: 1) data collection from December 2006 to June 2007, and 2) data analysis from December 2006 to July 2008 and addressed the following research questions:

- 1) Which language socialization practices aid, reinforce or hinder the preservation of Spanish as a heritage language?
- 2) How are literacies learned and used in a Mexican American family? What are the functions of these practiced literacies?
 - 2.a) How and to what extent do the parents (in this case the mother) support or build the children's literacy practices in the heritage language?

3) Where, how and when are Spanish and English used by the participants?

3.a) What factors contribute to this language choice? What constitutes their patterns of use? What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the use of Spanish and English?

3.b) When is code-switching (CS) used, with whom, where, how and for what purposes?

3.c) What are the attitudes of the participants in relation to the CS? What factors contribute to the shaping of these attitudes?

The findings on research question one elucidated that the Alvarez family engaged in bidirectional language socialization practices, as described by language socialization theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) when, in their daily interactions, they teased each another, showed responsibility and affection, and when Suzy disciplined her children and when the children showed obedience (see Table 3.7.1). The children were socialized as a result of the socialization practices orchestrated by Suzy. However, development was not confined to the novice or younger participant, as the interactions helped Suzy to maintain the heritage language. The language socialization practices were mostly initiated by Suzy, but all family members engaged in this practice in a bidirectional or asymmetrical fashion; however, the youngest, Sarah, performed this the least. Therefore, both, the novice and the more experienced family member were being socialized in their understanding of discourse as they engaged in meaning constructing interactions.

The language socialization practices of Suzy were aimed at educating the children into the family's values and beliefs. That is, the meaning of education for Suzy went

beyond that of academic preparation or its possibility. *Consejos* or education meant being well educated in the realm of nourishing proper family manners and moral values, teaching appropriate behavior and being responsible for household chores. The socialization practices employed by Suzy attempted to foster the maintenance of Spanish at home in order to socialize her family, through language, to learn the fundamentals of life and survival as a family unit while she struggled to attain social mobility for herself and her children. Despite working together in a supportive and caring environment, and Suzy's desire to pass on the heritage language, the children's Spanish literacy practices did not carry sufficient weight to ensure heritage language maintenance.

Data on question two and its sub-question elucidated a significant amount of diversity of literacy activities in the active life of the Alvarez family: instrumental/financial practices, social-interactive practices, critical/educational practices and recreational practices (see Table 3.7.2). However, data revealed a discrepancy between the goals Suzy set for herself and her family and the family's actual home literacy practices, which fell short of optimal if these goals, to see her children become bilingual and well versed in "formal" Spanish, were to be achieved. Never during an interview did she acknowledge that reading and writing are essential for the development of the heritage language and her failure to direct reading and writing activities seem to support the conclusion that numerous learning opportunities were missed. It was observed that the family did not seem to enjoy reading as a leisure activity and Suzy seemed to lack awareness of how important reading is for her children's future. For the two oldest children, John and Alyssa, reading and writing practices in English

were infrequent and when present they consisted of mainly homework completion. However, on a daily basis, Sarah practiced reading and writing as a result of the recommendation of her teacher to address the educational needs associated with her learning disability.

Even though research shows that the Spanish language is maintained through engagement with Spanish printed materials (Reyes, 2006; Reyes et al., 2007) and these were available in the Alvarez household (e.g., Spanish language books, short story books, the Bible, college textbooks), the family's literacy practices in Spanish were weak and nearly absent which failed to support the maintenance of the heritage language and appeared to predict its loss. The connection between engagement with Spanish print and Spanish maintenance is more likely to occur in households that show continuities with school practices and/or awareness of dominant discourses about literacy (Gonzalez, 2001; Heath, 1983; Reyes, 2006; Reyes et al., 2007).

The findings on research question three and its sub-questions revealed that language choice is linked to specific domains. The Alvarez family showed specialized functions of English and Spanish associated with different domains of activity or subject matter. Data showed that the main factor that affected language choice and CS was language proficiency. Suzy's CS and language choices were synonymous with bilingual proficiency (Ramat, 1995), but her children's lack of Spanish language skills limited their use of Spanish and CS. Suzy code-switched primarily to match the children's language preference. Suzy's language switches seemed to be an accommodation to her children's lack of Spanish proficiency. Her bilingual ability was evident in her use of translations

and discourse insertions and her ability to shift language inter-sententially and intra-sententially. The children, on the contrary, code-switched as a mediating tool to compensate for their lack of proficiency in the heritage language.

The Alvarez' lack of Spanish social networks contributed to the impoverishment of the heritage language and was manifested in the children's CS crutches and their simplification of the Spanish language. The decreased Spanish social networks appears to be a consequence of Suzy's conscious choice to move from her childhood neighborhood to avoid the possibility that her family would experience the economic and educational deprivation that was commonplace among many of the Mexican and Mexican Americans who demographically dominant this area. Therefore, Suzy's academic preparation and her negative views of '*mocho*' Spanish has led her to develop the "purist" view of Spanish that academia promotes, as shown in the following interview extract:

No quiero que hablen español 'mocho'. Yo estudio español so it does not die. [I don't want them to speak a 'mutilated' form of Spanish. I study Spanish so it does not die.] (Informal Interview 3, July 2, 2007)

There is tension between Suzy's ideologies of language panic and language pride (Martínez, 2006). The origins of her language panic derive from her childhood experience of living in a Mexican neighborhood, state ballot propositions created as barriers to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy (i.e., Arizona Propositions 203, Arizona Proposition 300), and her experiences as a college student. On the other hand, Suzy's language pride is manifested in her willingness to continue developing the heritage language, her desire that her children would become fully bilingual and would speak standard Spanish.

Suzy adjusted her language use to the circumstances in the household. The Alvarez family displayed and co-constructed their Mexican or Mexican American identities through interactions both in Spanish and in alternated language codes while engaging in a wide repertoire of literacy/biliteracy practices. The Alvarez children could likely become proficient in the heritage language if it became the main language at home.

5.2 Limitations

Ideally, my study should have collected data over a longer period of time and from sites other than the home in order to obtain a more in-depth analysis of the participants and their relationships across social networks. The longer period of time would allow a closer examination of the effects of each child's unique socialization journey, Suzy's ability to implement any changes in the maintenance of the heritage language, and the influence of her efforts based on life events, financial circumstances and educational attainment.

Some challenges involved scheduling video recording sessions and technical difficulties with the recording process. On a few occasions my visits to the participants' home were cancelled upon arrival or cancelled in advance with little notice due to a participant's illness or a family emergency. At other times it was very difficult to hear and/or understand what the participants were saying because several conversations overlapped or noises emanating from the television set, running water in the kitchen sink or other sources impeded an accurate transcript of the conversation.

5.3 Implications for Future Research

Future research should address the influence that the community and schools have in contributing to the loss of heritage languages in English-only states such as Arizona and California. My first hand experience of observing language shift in the Alvarez family shows that this process is fast paced due to the circumstances affecting the Alvarez family's heritage language (e.g., lack of Spanish domains and social networks, discourse insertions). This case study and the studies presented in Chapter Two show that Hispanics who are proud of their heritage language have characteristics that enable them to ensure heritage language maintenance at home. However, my data shows that the lack of effective Spanish literacy practices and Spanish domains eroded the children's Spanish language skills. Future research should investigate the consequences of subtractive perspectives of bilingualism, measures outlawing heritage language use, and schools that fail to recognize the rich literacies of Hispanic households. Research might also focus on the experience of Hispanics in states promoting English-only measures in order to investigate the barriers in maintaining the heritage language and the political and economic power of English over heritage languages.

This case study shows that Spanish domains at home are important aids in the maintenance of language. Future research should address cooperative educational initiatives between schools and parents to empower the latter to support and mediate the children's bilingual and biliteracy ability. Knowledge of classroom and household practices would empower educators and parents to improve and adopt home and classroom practices that aid in the development of not only Spanish but also English

(Gonzalez et al., 2001; Rubinstein-Avila, 2006; Schechter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1997). The United States would benefit in a multitude of ways if educators recognized the value of language and culture, embraced and incorporated academic literacy practices that reflect the cultural strengths and literacy practices used by Hispanic families.

My study confirms previous research that showed that language shift is inevitable in an environment with weak heritage language contact between parents, siblings and the community (Heath, 1983; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Zentella, 1997, 2005). Even though it is not possible to generalize the findings from my study, this reconstruction of the Alvarez family's uses of literacy/biliteracy and language in their day-to-day life contributes to the knowledge of how Mexican origin families use language at home and highlights the diversity of literacy practices and language use within Mexican origin families in the United States. Similar to the findings of Gonzalez (2001), my study found that reading was only present in the form of homework completion. Additionally, my study confirms the findings of Delgado-Gaitán (1990) and Heath (1983) who noticed a lack of reading literacy activities in the communities they studied. The Alvarez data showed that the children were capable of reaching higher levels of understanding with the guidance of their mother and occasionally that of Alyssa, the oldest daughter living at home. The mother was capable of scaffolding her children's homework completion in a contextualized way. However, what distinguishes the Alvarez case study from Reyes's (2006) study is the awareness exhibited by the Reyes' parents and children of the importance of access to both languages and writing systems as a tool in the maintenance and development of biliteracy

and bilingualism. Despite Suzy's desire to have her children speak the heritage language in the home, the children's language interactions were mostly in English. The children were aware of the importance of being bilingual and believed that being of Mexican origin meant being able to speak Spanish. However, the Alvarez children's lack of engagement with Spanish print contributed to the lack of maintenance of the heritage language.

This study also confirms research (Fishman, 1971; Li, 2000; Milroy & Wei, 1995; Zentella, 1997, 2005) that shows the close relationship between social networks and language maintenance. Similar to Zentella's study of el Bloque's first generation Puerto Rican immigrants, my study reveals a gap in language comprehension skills between children and parents. Suzy is a fluent bilingual but her children are dominant in English. This intergenerational language gap is attributed to the generational differences in exposure to Spanish social networks and literacy practices as experienced by Suzy and her children.

This study's main contribution is the finding that language loss and its counterpart, language maintenance, was different for every child. Therefore, an explication of the factors that contributed to the variability among the siblings is needed. The difference in language ability is directly connected to the years of bilingual schooling they received, their exposure to the heritage language and willingness to use it. Alyssa was always enrolled in bilingual education classes and has spoken both Spanish and English since she was a young child. She professed to love the Spanish language and claimed she used it a great deal at home with her mother, siblings, and at school with her

Spanish teacher and her Hispanic friends. On the contrary, despite having learned Spanish with his parents, John indicated he preferred English and used it in most of his favorite activities. Instead of attending bilingual classes like Alyssa did, John attended monolingual classes until the fifth grade due to speech problems. In the sixth grade he was enrolled in a bilingual class and took Spanish language classes until his junior year. Finally, Sarah's language of interaction was English. Due to her learning disability (cerebral palsy), she could hardly communicate in English and for this reason one of her school teachers recommended to Suzy that she should not learn Spanish. I think that language choice for the Alvarez children is a consequence of language loss and a reflection of their degree of bilingualism. Reversing language shift for the Alvarez children is possible if awareness of heritage language attrition is recognized and efforts to increment the contact and recontact with Spanish dominant social networks are materialized.

APPENDIX A**INTERVIEWS****Interview 1 (January 9th 2007)**

Tell me about your daily routine.

What do you do right after you get up?

Who takes you to school?

What do you do at school?

Do you like your school?

What do you do when you come back?

How does your routine change on the weekend?

When do you go to church?

What do you do in church?

What are your hobbies? Hobbies in English or Spanish

In what language do you perform most daily activities?

How do you decide what language to speak?

What do you think about alternating both Spanish and English?

What things you don't like to do?

Why?

Interview 2 (March 8 & 10 2007)

1. What school do you attend?

2. Have you taken Spanish courses at this school?

Yes _____

No _____

3. How did you learn Spanish?

At home _____ At school _____

4. Do you feel more comfortable speaking Spanish or English or there is no difference?

5. Do you speak Spanish in these situations?

At school with teachers _____

At home with brothers & sisters _____

At school with Latino origin friends _____

At home with mom _____

At school with American kids _____

To friends out of school _____

6. What language do you speak most at school?

English _____ Spanish _____

7. What language do you speak most at home?

English _____ Spanish _____

8. Do you write better in English or in Spanish?

In English _____ In Spanish _____

9. Do you keep a journal?

Yes, in Spanish _____

Yes, in English _____

No _____

10. How much time do you spend at the computer?

1	2	3	4
No time at all	Not too much time	Some time	A lot of time

11. Do you do any of the following using the computer?

Browse internet _____

E-mail _____

Download songs _____

Chat _____

Download movies _____

Word Processor _____

12. Do you read better in English or in Spanish?

In English _____ In Spanish _____

13. Do you read any of the following in English?

Novels _____	Comic books _____
Pamphlets that come in the mail _____	Newspaper _____
TV guide _____	Bills _____
Magazines _____	Labels _____
Other _____	

14. Do you read any of the following in Spanish?

Novels _____	Comic books _____
Pamphlets that come in the mail _____	Newspaper _____
TV guide _____	Bills _____
Magazines _____	Labels _____
Other _____	

15. What types of activities do you practice with your parents and siblings that are part of your routine?

16. What types of activities do you practice with your parents and siblings that are NOT part of your routine?

17. How much time do you spend with your siblings and parents?

1	2	3	4
No time at all	Not too much time	Some time	A lot of time

18. How many hours and how often do you watch TV?

1	2	3	4
No time at all	Not too many hours	Some hours	A lot of hours

19. What programs do you watch?

20. How important is it for you to improve your Spanish?

1	2	3	4
Not really important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Very important

21. How important is it for you to maintain Spanish?

1	2	3	4
Not really important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Very important

Informal Interview 1- Suzy (December 6th 2006)

Where were you born?

How many children do you have?

What do you do?

What do they do?

What would you like to share with me about your life?
(told me about her divorce and reasons for leaving her ex-husband)

Informal interview 2- Suzy (December 6th 2006)

Which daily activities do you enjoy the most? Why?

In what language do you perform most daily activities? Why and with whom?

How do you decide what language to speak? What do you think about CS? When is it done most?

What do you think about alternating both languages, Spanish and English?

How do you support your children's interest in reading and writing?

Are most of the texts in Spanish, English or both?

How much time do you usually spend reading and/or writing alone and with your children?

How do you decide what language to speak?

What do you think about alternating both languages, Spanish and English?

Informal interview 3- Suzy (July 2nd 2007)

I am going to show you a few video clips; I would like you to tell me why you think you said the following statements:

1. I am the Harvard Latina
2. We did not cross the border
3. Hablo español bien mocho [I speak eroded Spanish]
4. Views of her neighborhood

APPENDIX B

TYPES AND USES OF READING AND WRITING

1. Instrumental/Financial: Literacy/Biliteracy is used to fulfill and gain information for meeting practical needs of day-to-day life such as, scheduling daily life, negotiating family responsibilities, learning about third parties and distant events, gaining information about local, state, and national events and economic circumstances of one's everyday life.
2. Social-Interactional: In this category the focus is reading and/or writing to maintain and build social relationships and linkages, and make plans.
3. Critical/Educational: This domain of activity is relates to reading and/or writing to fulfill educational requirements of school, educate oneself, and check or confirm facts, attitudes or beliefs.
4. Recreational: Literacy in this case is used for enjoyment of the activity or temporary entertainment, maintain social relationships, introduce topics for discussion and storytelling, and as a means of self-expression.

APPENDIX C
CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGIES: FOOTING, CLASSIFICATION AND/OR
EMPHASIS, AND CRUTCH-LIKE CODE MIXING
(Zentella, 1997)

I. Footing: Realignment and Appeal and/or control

A. Realignment

- 1) Topic shift: The speaker marks a shift in topic with a shift in language, with no consistent link between topic and language.
- 2) Quotations, indirect and direct: The speaker recalls speech and reports it directly or indirectly, not necessarily in the language used by the person quoted.
- 3) Declarative/question shift: The language shift accompanies a shift into or out of a question.
- 4) Future referent check and/or bracket: The speaker makes an aside, marked, by a shift in language, to make sure that the listener knows her next referent.
- 5) Checking: The shift seeks the listeners' opinion or approval, usually in the form of a tag.
- 6) Role shift: The speaker shifts languages as s/he shifts role from actor to narrator or interviewer, for mothering, etc.
- 7) Rhetorical ask and answer: The speaker asks a question and immediately follows it with the answer, in the opposite language.
- 8) Narrative frame break – evaluation or coda: The speaker departs from the narrative frame to evaluate some aspect of the story, or to deliver the punch line, or ending.

B. Appeal and/or control

- 1) Aggravating requests: The switch intensifies/reinforces a command.
- 2) Mitigating requests: The switch softens a command.
- 3) Attention attraction: The language shift calls for the attention of the listener.

II. Clarification and/or Emphasis

- 1) Translations: The speaker shifts to the opposite language for the translation of a statement, command, question, etc. The translation may be exact or slightly changed.
- 2) Appositions and/or apposition bracket: The code switch marks the introduction of an appositional phrase that adds subject specification, and/or the bracket that returns to the subject.
- 3) Accounting for requests: The switch moves into or out of a direct request, with a supporting explanation or account.
- 4) Double subject (left dislocation): A noun or noun phrase is followed by a switch to a clause that begins with a pronoun that refers to the same noun; left dislocation is characteristic of AAVE (Wolfram and Fasold 1974).

III. Crutch-like Code Mixing & Crutches

- 1) Crutching: The speaker did not remember or know the switched word(s).
- 2) Filling in: The speaker filled the space with a catch-all term.
- 3) Recycling: The speaker tried to repair a non-grammatical switch.
- 4) Triggers: A word with similar surface structures in English and Spanish triggered a switch.
- 5) Parallelism: The speaker copied the previous speaker's switch.
- 6) Taboos: A taboo topic or term was expressed in the other language.

APPENDIX D
LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SURVEY

(Rivera-Mills, 1999)

Por favor marca la respuesta que **se acerque más a tu opinión personal** en cada oración. Si marcas **1** estás **completamente de acuerdo** con el juicio que se presenta y si marcas **5** estás **completamente en desacuerdo**.

El español es una lengua bonita.	1	2	3	4	5
Los hablantes de español deben estar orgullosos de su lengua.	1	2	3	4	5
A la gente que no sabe español le gusta oír cuando otros hablan español.	1	2	3	4	5
El español es una lengua sin una gran cultura.	1	2	3	4	5
Si hablas español puedes obtener un mejor trabajo.	1	2	3	4	5
Es importante que el español se use internacionalmente.	1	2	3	4	5
Es importante para mí mantener mi español.	1	2	3	4	5
Uso el español todos los días.	1	2	3	4	5
El español no pertenece a ningún grupo étnico en particular.	1	2	3	4	5
Todos los hablantes de español hablan igual.	1	2	3	4	5
Es molesto cuando alguien habla el español con mucho acento.	1	2	3	4	5
Los hablantes de español deberían hablar español estándar.	1	2	3	4	5
A la gente que quiere aprender el español como segunda lengua se le debe enseñar el español estándar.	1	2	3	4	5
Siempre se debe aprender más español.	1	2	3	4	5
Es importante para mí estar en contacto con personas que hablan español.					
Los Hispanos/Latinos que no saben español deben aprenderlo.	1	2	3	4	5
Los hijos de Hispanos/Latinos deben aprender español.	1	2	3	4	5
Es adecuado que un Hispano/Latino trate de hablar español si se dirige a una audiencia de hispano-hablantes.	1	2	3	4	5
Es inadecuado que alguien que no sabe hablar muy bien el español trate de hablarlo cuando se dirige a una audiencia de hispano-hablantes.	1	2	3	4	5
Es desagradable cuando alguien que habla español utiliza préstamos de otras lenguas para decir algo.	1	2	3	4	5
Es molesto oír cuando alguien cambia del español al inglés o del inglés al español cuando está hablando.	1	2	3	4	5
Celebro días festivos y culturales de origen Hispano/Latino.	1	2	3	4	5
Me gusta estar con gente de origen Hispano/Latino.	1	2	3	4	5
El español me ayuda a mantener mis costumbres y tradiciones.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX E
TRANSCRIPT NOTATION

[beginning of overlapping utterances
] overlapping utterances stop
: extension of the sound or syllable
:: more prolong stretch of the sound or syllable
¡ animated tone
¿ rising inflection, not necessarily a question
() items are in doubt
(()) nonverbal behavior
, pause in the conversation
Italics to show Spanish language
Capital letters only for proper names, subject pronoun 'I', and when words are being spelled

APPENDIX F-1

EDUCATIONAL READING/WRITING

[J is completing Spanish homework and calls his mom for assistance]

- 1 J ma ma ¡ven!
(ma ma come!)
((calling M in English))
- 2 M ¡pues escrí::belo! ¡tú sabes!
(but write it down! you know how!)
- 3 J I don't know what to do
- 4 M es lo mismo, esa es una pregunta ((pointing at handout))
(it's the same thing, that one is a question)
- 5 M allí están las (quitas)
(there are the ())
- 6 M so si vas a preguntar, ¿dónde?
(so if you are going to ask, where?)
- 7 J so no más
(so only)
- 8 J a b c es dónde, [dónde, dónde
(a b c is where, [where, where)
- 9 M [dónde nada más, ¿dónde los veo, las veo?
(where only, where do I see them see (masc.), see them (fem.)?)
- 10 J do so ¿dónde los veo?
(whe so where do I see them?)
- 11 M mhuh
- 12 J ¿dónde los veo?
(where do I see them?)
- 13 M no te olvide del acento en dónde
((accento is pronounced as in English but with O at the end))
(do not forget the accent in where)
- 14 S (ca hace mucha)
- 15 M el acento
(the accent)
- 16 J oh yeah! on da ((pronouncing consonant D))
- 17 M en la O
(over the O)
- 18 M ¿dón de? ((dividing word into syllables))
(whe re)
- 19 J ¿dónde está la?, ¿dónde la vea?
(where is it?, where does she see it?)
- 20 M cuando es pregunta siempre lleva acento en la O
((pointing at word in handout))
(when it is a question it always has accent on the O)
- 21 J ¿dónde la veo?
(where do I see it?)
- 22 J ¿dónde? ((looks at mom and smiles to me))

- (where?)
- 23 M *¿dónde qué?*
(where what?)
- 24 J *¿dónde qué es la?*
(where what is the?)
- 25 M *¿es masculino o femenino?*
(is it masculine or feminine?)
- 26 J *femenino*
(feminine)
- 27 M *¡no!*
- 28 M *¿el es femenino?*
(the (masculine article) is feminine?)
- 29 J *el es masculino*
(the is masculine)
- 30 M *¡ok! ¿entonces es qué?*
(ok! then what is it?)
- 31 J *¿dónde lo ()?*
(where do I?)
- 32 M *¿dónde lo?*
(where do I)
- 33 J *¿está?*
(is?)
- 34 M *¿dónde lo veo?*
(where do I see it?!)
- 35 J *oh! ¡lo veo!*
(oh! I see it!)
- 36 M *estás haciendo veo los veo las veo*
(you are doing I see them (masculine) I see them (feminine))
- 37 J *¿dónde esta los jugadores?*
(where are the players?)
- 38 J *¿dónde?*
(where?)
- 39 M (aguas)
(aguas)
- 40 J *¿dónde los veo, los?*
(where do I see them?)
- 41 M *aguas jugadores*
(aguas players)
- 42 J *aguas*
- 43 M *¿en dónde?*
(where?)
- 44 J *¿dónde?*
(where?)
- 45 M mmhmm
- 46 J *los veo*
(I see them)
- 47 M mmhmm

APPENDIX F-2

“THE ELLEN DEGENERES SHOW”

- 1 M *traeme la escoba para barrer ahí, voy a barrer el*
 ((to A, A goes to get the broom))
 (bring me the broom to sweep it here, I am going to sweep the)
- 2 J mom look at my shoes! ((comes out of his bedroom))
- 3 M () *cómprate otros*
 (buy others)
- 4 J no look it!
- 5 A hey every single time
- 6 J what?
- 7 M you are aware of it, uhm ((A gives broom to mom))
- 8 M *cómprate unos zapatos, vas agarrar unos baratos, feos para trabajar at*
 (buy shoes, get some cheap, ugly ones to work at)
- 9 either Walmart y y y *unos buenos para escuela, no necesitas para trabajar*
 (either Walmart and and and some good one for school, you don't need
 for work)
- 10 *no necesitas unos, unos tenis buenos* ((as she watches “Ellen” show))
 (you don't need some, some good tennis shoes)
- 11 A how many? he has () o:::ne ((she is upset J is asking for shoes))
- 12 J one!
- 13 A no::::
- 14 M *ahí tienen unos por veintinueve, esos slip slip no slip shoes*
 (there you have some for twenty-nine, those slip slip no slip shoes)
- 15 J no () my Jordans and that's it
- 16 A that's it one pair of Jordans ((making fun of the fact he has several pairs of
 shoes))
- 17 J *¡sí!*
 (yes!)
- 18 M *no, ¿y los blancos aquellos que trajiste ()?*
 (no, and the white ones that you brought?)
- 19 J *no yo tengo com* I have like twenty pairs of those shoes
 (no I have)
- 20 A ()
- 21 J fuck you (rana) ((to A))
- 22 M *este, take care de tu boca*
 (like, take care of your mouth)
- 23 M *este, tiene esos no slip shoes, que es lo que necesitas*
 (well, you have those non slip shoes, that is what you need)
- 24 J *¡uyy!:::*
- 25 M *¿no es lo que necesitas pa la cocina?*
 (isn't that what you need for the kitchen?)

- 26 J *sí pero jordans*
(yes but Jordans)
- 27 M uhh Jordans
((the conversation is over and he is upset and sit on the couch))
((About 2 minutes later))
((M asks S about some movies))
- 28 M *no puede bailar ella*
(she cannot dance)
- 29 *baila lo mismo, mira no baila, lo mismo ahorita, los mismos steps que hace*
(she dances the same, look she does not dance, the same right now, the same steps she makes)
- 30 *no puede bailar*
(she cannot dance)
- 31 *eso no es un pinche hiphop, es ah disco* ((starts dancing sitting on couch))
(that is not a [expletive meaning low class] hiphop, it is ah disco)
- 32 last dance (3) for love ((singing the song that is on T.V.))
- 33 S is this one the second?
((asks J about which movie is 1 and which one is 2))
- 34 she cannot sit now ((referring to Ellen's injury))
((30 second pause))
- 35 jejeje I love you so much jejeje, Georgina! jejeje
((repeating what Ellen just said))
- 36 S open it! ((shows movie to M))
- 37 M you are going to watch it? ((to S))
- 38 M *anda chequea que mi cheque está en la bolsa, que tenemos que ir al banco* ((to A))
(go and check that my check is in the purse, that we have to go to the bank)
- 39 A *jesus* ((she is upset she has to look for the check but she goes to look))
- 40 M *ésta vamos a empezar* ((to J in a frustrated tone referring to A's reaction))
(this one we are going to start)
- 41 J you're sure you don't want to go to sports mom
- 42 M () *ay no tengo dinero*
(ay I don't have money)
- 43 J *ok mama* ((pronounced without the stress in the last syllable))
- 44 M () *el cheque* ()
(the check)
- 45 J you always say that
- 46 M () *el otro cheque lo usé para la comida*
(the other check I used it for the food)
- 47 () *tú tienes ahí cincuenta dólares, apenas lo usé pa el mandado*
(you have right there fifty dollars, I just used it for the errand)
- 48 J () and the next check and then the next check

- 49 M *pero no lo usamos esta vez, () tú, () usamos, comimos con tu, este*
(but we did not use it this time, you, we used it, we ate with your, uhm)
- 50 J ()
- 51 M *ve en lo que use el dinero, ahí está en la cuenta*
(look at what I used the money for, there it is in the account)
- 52 J *cuando yo come*
(when I ate)
- 53 M *cuando comimos ese día, no comí contigo*
(when we ate that day, I did not eat with you)
- 54 J no:::
- 55 M *el subway John (pause) el el el el la el*
(the subway John the the the the the the)
- 56 A ()
- 57 M *sí, subway y luego cuando compré el aquel lunche que comimos en el jack*
in the box
(yes, subway and then when I bought the that lunch we ate at the jack in the box)
- 58 J *¿y yo?*
(and I?)
- 59 A *¿y yo?*
(and I?)
- 60 M *sí el dinero, sí cuando me fuiste a recoger que pasamos y comimos en el*
jack in the box, *cuando el José nos trajo*
(yes the money, yes when you went to pick me up that we stopped and ate in the jack and the box, when José brought us)
- 61 J *yo::: yo no come nada*
(I::: I did not eat any)
- 62 A *¡comí!* ((A is correcting J))
(I ate)
- 63 M *el día que dijiste que, que te comprara algo cuando yo encargué algo*
(the day you said that, that I would buy something when I ordered something)
- 64 no jack in the box () *el día que José nos fue a recoger que te dije you*
want, *¿quieres comer algo John?*
(the day that José went to pick us up that I told you want, do you want to eat something John?)
- 65 J *no yo no, yo sí*
(no I don't, I did)
- 66 J ok ok!
- 67 M ok
- 68 what is she? ((asking A about what is happening on the show))
- 69 A the girl on the top of her class
- 70 A she is the, the only person who graduated in her school
- 71 M the only one senior why? *porque todos eran tontos*

- (because everybody was stupid)
- 72 J because her school is a school of two ((long pause))
- 73 A oh my goodness! that's fun! jejeje ((about Ellen's show))
- 74 M jejeje I like that jejeje
- 75 A jejeje those are cool ((referring to a card Ellen is showing))
- 76 M that is José ((comparing caricature on card with her husband))
- 77 J () is nasty
- 78 A that's funny jeje her cards are on line
- 79 A cool ah!
- 80 M who is she doing? ((watching Ellen draw a caricature))
- 81 M who is that? ((pause))
- 82 M that's her!
- 83 A yeah her card (long pause)
- 84 M sh she is so gay!
- 85 M *(ve) este la computadora pa que escojas las fotos*
((go) uhhh the computer so that you can choose the pictures)
- 86 A sh no:::
- 87 M *sí, tienes que escoger para que aquél nos las dé:::*
(yes, you have to choose them so that that one gives us the)
- 88 M *() del libro no, yo no quiero ver el Robert Sparks () cuando empieza*
(not from the book, I want to see the Robert Sparks () when it starts)
- 89 *ahí y luego empieza y cuando sale el Robert Sparks tú lo pones ()*
(there and then starts and when Robert Sparks comes on you put it on)
- 90 A ahh
- 91 M *¿y por qué no estás lista?*
(and why aren't you ready?)
- 92 A *el pool*
(the)
- 93 M *¿vamos a ir, sí?*
(we are going, right?)
- 94 A () I thought you were ()=
- 95 M *sí tú también juegas con el pool, pero al rato cuando vengas=*
(yes you also play with the pool, but later when you come back)
- 96 A ()
- 97 M *no lo puedo poner, el pool ahí afuera, porque el perro está ahí afuera*
(I cannot put it, the pool out there, because the dog is outside)
- 98 A so I go and get dressed
- 99 M *primero pon la computadora*
(first turn on the computer)
- 100 M *oh mira la Sandra Bullock!*
(oh look the Sandra Bullock!)
- 101 S ma

- 102 M ehh, what are they wearing? ((to A))
103 S ma
104 M ¿qué? ((puts her arm over S shoulder))
(what?)
105 S play it, it's pouring, it's raining, it's pouring
106 M no::: it says it is raining, it is pouring, it is snowing, his nose is on the
107 bed and couldn't get up in the morning
((M reads riddle to S and S repeats it))

APPENDIX F-3

PLAYING “LIFE”

- 1 M Sarah *¿quieres jugar* Life?
(Sarah, do you want to play Life?)
- 2 S ah?
- 3 M [*¿quieres jugar* Life?
(do you want to play Life?)
- 4 A [*quiero un bebé y una*
(I want a baby and a)
- 5 S *jugar* Life
(to play Life)
- 6 M Life
- 7 J *yo quiero jugar*
(I want to play)
- 8 A *yo quiero*
(I want to)
- 9 M *¿quieres jugar* John? *la vida, la vida, la vida*
(do you want to play John? the life the life the life)
me va, me va ((singing Spanish song))
(it goes by, it goes by)
- 10 J *sí yo quiero*
(yes I want)
- 11 J *yo voy a comprar una una ()* ((to M))
(I will buy a a ())
- 12 M *ahorita no*
(not right now)
- 13 J *¿por qué no?*
(why not?)
- 14 M *porque no, voy a pagar el bill porque hoy mismo voy a pagar el bill, no lo paga José*
(because you can't, I will pay the bill because today I will pay the bill, Jose does not pay it)
- 15 J *pero mamá:::*
(but mom)
- 16 M *no no no:::* ((puts food in microwave)) ((long pause))
- 17 M *ya Alyssa viene, echó las*
(Alyssa is coming, did you put the)
- 18 A *ahora sí*
(I just did)
- 19 J (get life)
- 20 M *¿me traes el juego?* ((to S as she sits at the table to eat a snack))
(bring me the game?)

- 21 S () life what's life
- 22 M *el juego de Live, de Life*
(the game of live, of Life)
- 23 S I want to play it
- 24 M *es lo que te acaba de deci:::r!*
(it's what I just told you)
- 25 S go get the game
- 26 M you get the game [jejeje
- 27 J/A [Jejeje=
- 28 J ay!=
- 29 A you get a life (funny tone)
- 30 A you get a life jejeje
- 31 S it's not funny!
- 32 M *le diste comida a la Madison Alyssa?*
(did you feed Madison Alyssa?)
- 33 A *¿ah?* ((drops something in the kitchen))
- 34 S ()
- 35 A *¡ah no! muy frío afuera*
(ah no! too cold outside)
- 36 M () ((to J))
- 37 J no Alyssa ((to M))
- 38 A *yo sí*
(I yes)
- 39 S *adiós hijo* ((as she walks by Alyssa))
(bye son)
- 40 A ()
- 41 M ()
- 42 S ma ma
- 43 S set it
- 44 M *tú*
(you)
- 45 S *no tú:::*
(not you)
- 46 M *muévelo pa un lado* ((the napkin holder))
(move it to one side)
- 47 J *aquí aquí* ()
(here here)
((padding the spot on the table where he wants the game to be set up))
- 48 S *aquí no*, over there
(not here)
- 49 M Sarah, please ()
- 50 J *¿mamá, dónde está la comida?*
(mom, where is the food?)
- 51 M *¿cuál comida?*

- 52 J (what food?)
de la perra
(the dog's food)
- 53 M *ahí, junto de las películas* ((pointing))
(over there, next to the movies)
- 54 A ()
- 55 M *tiene un vaso ¿tiene un plato ahí?*
(it has a glass, does she have a plate there?)
- 56 A should it come in?
- 57 M eh?
- 58 A *va a entrar en la casa*
(it is going to come inside the house?)
- 59 M *pues saca la comida del perro contigo*
(well take the dog food out with you)
- 60 A oh!
- 61 S who is gonna to play?
- 62 M *ay sí no, ay sí muy pesadote está pa ti*
(ay yes no, ay it is very heavy for you)
- 63 A ahhh!
- 64 S ma ma last time [I had, I had, I had no kids and I was rich and=
- 65 M *[¡ay qué debilita!*
(ay how weak!)
- 66 J *español Sarah, Sarah!=*
(Spanish Sarah, Sarah!)=)
- 67 S I would say no more
- 68 J *es mejor*
(it's better)
- 69 S ()
- 70 M *¿dónde está la career?*
(where is the career?)
- 71 A hey ((to the dogs))
- 72 J *so ¿dónde?*
(so, where?)
- 73 S ma
- 74 M *no, lo quiero cerca de mí, lo vas a romper* ((grabs board from J))
(no, I want it close to me, you are going to break it)
- 75 S ma
- 76 J yo::
- 77 M *pues aquí, así está cerca*
(well here, it is close)
- 78 J y Sarah?
(and)
- 79 S we are missing a ca:::r
- 80 J *órale*

- (come on)
- 81 J *ma, así:::*
(ma, like this)
- 82 M [*no, así*
(no, like this)
- 83 S [ma
- 84 M *no lo quiero tan lejos de mí [así cabe pa todos*
(I don't want it so far from me, like this it fits all of us)
- 85 S [ma
- 86 J *¡ah! así ¿por qué no?*
(ah! like this, why not?)
- 87 M *lo vas a estropear [así, así*
(you are going to destroy it, like this, like this
(laughing, grabbing board and moving it))
- 88 S [ma
- 89 J is left sided
- 90 M *¿y qué:::?*
(so what?)
- 91 J ahhhh ()
- 92 S ma ma
- 93 S she she got this one (shows card to mom)
- 94 M uhju
- 95 A but she she is, she not ()
- 96 J ahhhhh
- 97 S mama who's first?
- 98 J juhmmmm
- 99 M *¿por qué pusieron todos estos así Sarah? ¿por qué no los dejaron ahí
como los tenía yo?*
(getting game parts from the box)
(why did you put all of these like this Sarah? why didn't you leave them
there the way I had them?)
- 100 S (she thought)
- 101 M *igual que tú*
(just like you)
- 102 J [nananananana
- 103 M [*() igual que tú*
(just like you)
- 104 S because I left and I went to my room
- 105 S and I almost ()
- 106 M *¿vas a jugar Alyssa?*
(are you going to play Alyssa?)
- 107 J *¿no, no vas a jugar Alyssa?*
(no, no you won't play Alyssa)
- 108 M *sí vamos a jugar todos* ((looking at A))

- (yes we all are going to play)
- 109 J no
- 110 A *voy a ver*
(I'll see)
- 111 M () *¡porque no quiero!*
(because I don't want to!)
- 112 S () *¿éste qué es?*
(what is this one?)
- 113 J *¿y éste dónde va?* ((setting game))
(and where does this one go))
- 114 J *chavela, aquí*
(here, chavela)
- 115 J it says *¿dónde está be?* *¿dónde está be?*
(where is b? where is b?)
- 116 M () *carros*
(cars)
- 117 S (los otros) *carros Sarah*
(the other) cars Sarah
- 118 M *faltan carros*
(we are missing cars)
- 119 S yeah here
- 120 M *yo soy el carro azu:::l*
(I am the blu:::e car)
- 121 J *yo soy el carro chavala*
(I am the chavala car)
- 122 S I be otro azul ()
(I be another blue)
- 123 M *dame el azul Sarah*
(give me the blue one Sarah)
- 124 S what's *azul?*
(what's azul?)
- 125 M blue
- 126 J blue blo
- 127 M *pon éste John*
(put this one John)
- 128 J [*yo es ahh*
(I am ahh)
- 129 M [*¿tú Sarah ya tienes una muchachita?*
(do you Sarah already have a piece?)
((M refers to the pieces in the game))
- 130 J [*yo soy*
(I am)
- 131 S [*sí*
(yes)

- 132 S don't give me, don't give me the one has () people ()
((A is text messaging))
- 133 M *aquí están los carros*
(here are the cars)
- 134 J *¿dónde éste vas?*
(where does this go?)
- 135 M *ese va aquí*
(that one goes here)
- 136 J *¿dónde?*
(where?)
- 137 J *no*
- 138 M *aquí va*
(here it goes)
- 139 J *no* ((setting up the parts of the game))
- 140 J *¡ay!*
- 141 M *aquí sonso*
(here stupid)
- 142 J *sonso*
(stupid)
- 143 M *sonso*
(stupid)
- 144 S where are the life cards?
- 145 J *¿sonso o lonso?* ((A grabs napkin to clean her eye make up))
(stupid or lonso?) ((J is playing with words))
- 146 S *sonso*
(stupid)
- 147 M *sonso no te llamas Alonso*
(stupid your name is not Alonso)
- 148 S where is this card?
- 149 S here ma ma ((gives card to mom))
- 150 M *dame el banco*
(give me the bank) ((addressing John))
- 151 A the whole thing
- 152 M *¿tú vas a ser banquero?*
(would you be the banker?)
- 153 J no:::
- 154 M ¡no sabes ni contar!
(you don't even know how to count!)
- 155 J *¿y éste qué?*
- 156 S I () me::: ((wanting to be the banker))
- 157 M *falta uno, ahí ésta falta* John
(one is missing, it is over there John)
- 158 S what?
- 159 M *ahí está* John

- (it is over there John)
- 160 S [I want to be the banker
((J makes noises and sings *la banquera* (the banker))
- 161 J aaaaaaaaaa...
- 162 S [I want to be the banker cause you said that
- 163 J *a:::: la banquero::::*
(a:::: the (fem. article) banker (masc. noun)
- 164 M *no sabes contar dinero, [no puedes ser banquero*
(you don't know how to count money, [you cannot be the banker]
- 165 S [*sí* look it look it fith ()
[yes
((grabs bills showing that she recognizes their value))
- 166 M *sí pero cuando tengas que dar cambio, no sabes dar cambio*
(yes but when you have to give change, you don't know how to give change)
- 167 S I can count mama
- 168 J *jejeje yo (quiero) a mí mamá, el banquero chavelo* ((singing))
(I (love) my mother, the banker *chavelo*)
((they continue setting up the game))
- 169 S no
- 170 S here for you
- 171 S here iaiaia
- 172 J *¡cálmate!*
(calm down)
- 173 S here ma ma ((giving her parts of the game))
- 174 M *con dinero y sin dinero siempre hago lo que quiero y sigo siendo el rey*
(*singing Mexican song*)
(with money or without money I always do what I want and continue being the king)
- 175 J *el rey de, (Sarah me)*
(the king of, Sarah my)
- 176 M *dame la caja pa' componerla* ((asks for the money box))
(give me the box to fix it)
- 177 S ma, you be the banker
- 178 J for babab be the banker
- 179 S shut up!
- 180 J shut up! babab, you be the banker
((making fun of S way of talking))
- 181 A () *ya se acabo el tiempo* Alyssa
(the time is out Alyssa)
((A is text messaging))
- 182 J shut up babab be the banker
- 183 M [*ponlos en la () los carrito y las* (pins)
(put them in the () the cars and the (pins))

- 184 J [a::y tan t
 185 M *carro* ((to A))
 (car)
 186 M ¿cuál es?
 (which one is it?)
 187 A (
 188 M ¿dónde está el carro, el verde?
 (where is the car, the green one?)
 189 J *verde, verde, verde, verde*
 (green, green, green, green)
 190 A *tengo una camisa negra*
 (I have a black shirt)
 ((singing a Colombian song))
 191 M ¿quién se quedó con el mi?
 (who kept my?)
 192 J ¿y yo qué?
 (and what about me?)
 193 M ¿tomaste el carro? ((to J))
 (did you take the car?)
 194 J *no sé*
 (I don't know)
 195 M *te di el baby, ¿tomaste el carro?*
 (I gave you the baby, did you take the car?)
 196 M ¿no tomaste el carro?
 (you did not the car?)
 197 J *yo quiero azul*
 (I don't want the blue one)
 198 M *el azul es mío*
 (the blue one is mine)
 199 A turn off ((to mom))
 200 M *ya se acabo el tiempo*
 (the time is over already)
 ((the microwave beeps, A goes to get the food out))
 201 A *sí*
 (yes)
 202 J *mera huesa*
 (that huesa)
 203 M *sí ya*
 (yes now)
 204 M *bájalo y con una cuchara con un tenedor sácale los*
 (take it out and with a spoon with a fork take out the)
 205 S ma I like life
 206 M *los chives*
 (the chives)

- 207 J chive:::s jejeje
- 208 M *ya sé que te gusta el life*
(I already know that you like the life)
- 209 M *quería comprar el de, el de simpsons, pero ella no me dejó*
(I wanted to buy the one, of the one of simpsons, but she did not let me)
- 210 S I told you:::
- 211 M Alyssa said no
- 212 S why Alyssa?
- 213 A got the paper?
- 214 J *sí*
- 215 S but mama has the money!
- 216 M mama has the money mama *no tiene* money
(mama doesn't have)
- 217 A that's why we (are having berries) for tonight
- 218 J *¡jejeje qué simple!*
(how simple!)
- 219 A jejeje
- 220 J *¡qué simple!*
(how simple!)
- 221 M *¡pero sí quinceañera verda!*
(but yes for the quinceañera right!)
- 222 S can I spin first?
- 223 J no
- 224 A *eso sí*
(that is fine)
- 225 J *no verda* way ((responding to S))
(no really)
- 226 M what?
- 227 J Sarah don't get me mad Sarah
- 228 M oh ay ay ay
- 229 S I move the box still
- 230 A oh really ((moves box out of table))
- 231 J *nosotros somos familia* ((singing song))
(we are family)
- 232 A I hate to ()
- 233 M ((mom spins))
- 234 M everybody is going to see who goes first
- 235 J I go first, I am four spins
- 236 J oh! that's cheating ((A spins the roulette))
- 237 J oh! that goes for Alyssa
- 238 J won! Sarah won!
- 239 S ja
- 240 come on Sarah! ((S is spinning))
- 241 S I haven't start it ((she is trying to spin the roulette))

242 J start then start!
 243 S ()
 244 J come on Sarah!
 245 J no that's it, she got a two ((S tries to spin the roulette but she cannot))
 246 S no
 247 J she got a two
 248 A she got a two, man!
 249 S no, not there ((the roulette is not spinning))
 250 J come down man
 251 M ok, *va* ((M puts the roulette together again))
 (it's the turn of)
 252 J she got a:: five ((trying it out))
 253 J you got a five
 254 M no, I just doing it
 255 M ok seven ((S spins))
 256 J yeah
 257 M five ((mom spins))
 258 J so
 259 M who win?
 260 M ¿*qué hagarraste?*
 (what did you get?)
 261 A *dos*
 (two)
 262 J I got a nine
 263 S no you didn't, didn't get nine
 264 S no, he got four
 265 M *vamos a ir así* ((makes a clockwise gesture with her hand))
 (we are going to go like this)
 266 S so, who goes first?
 267 M you
 268 J so it goes like this ((makes same hand gesture))
 269 M *vamos dando vuelta a la ()*
 (we are turning to the ())
 270 J four s spins
 271 A four ((she counts the spaces in the board game))
 272 J you start from here, one, two, three, four
 273 M you gotta tell me *qué decidiste hacer* Sarah
 (what you decided to do)
 274 S what?
 275 M Sarah you need to tell me, college or what?
 276 S what?
 277 M [no go ahead I just need to know, *porque necesito darte la seguridad*
 (because I need to give you the insurance)
 278 S [wait, wait

- 279 J do I have money?
 280 S here, what does it say? (gives card to J)
 281 J (reads card to S) part time job collects five thousand dollars
 282 J I can read or what () ma?
 283 M hold on Johh, hold on déjame hacer, de poner todo esto
 (let me do, to put all this)
 ((mom is organizing the money box))
 284 J I gotta start my career, no I can't
 285 A ()
 286 S the college
 287 M *ésta es la vida buena! no la vida mala*
 (this is the good life, not the bad life)
 ((addressing J))
 288 J start face, see how long it takes to start face
 289 A ()
 290 J oh! come on! two
 291 M here ((gives insurance card to S))
 292 S I get a career
 293 M you don't buy insurance or anything *todavía so no, no tienes asegurador*
 (yet so you don't, don't have insurance)
 294 S no career
 295 M not yet you did not buy career
 296 J no career no career ((imitating S and making fun of her))
 297 S you said I have career choice
 298 M you pay five thousand dollars
 299 S ay
 300 J no career no career
 301 not yet
 302 M *¿vas agarrar una carrera?*
 (are you going to get a career?)
 303 J ah
 304 M career
 305 J *simón*
 (yes)
 306 J eh
 307 M it's always a yes
 308 J *ocho, nueve, diez*, one, two, three, four, is what?
 (eight, nine, ten)
 309 M *tienes que agarrar una carrera* first
 (you have to get a career)
 310 J can I go eat? first then
 311 M *tienes que agarrar tu carrera* first
 (you have to get a career)
 312 J I can start my ()

- 313 M I don't () anymore
((he grabs card from the mom))
- 314 M what does it say?
- 315 J calm down, what are you doing?
((not letting his mom grab his card, he reads his card))
- 316 M what is this?
- 317 J so I am a teacher
- 318 M does it say what the degree require right? *no dice*
(it does not say)
- 319 J mh mh
- 320 J what I do now?
- 321 M hold on
- 322 M [now you get a salary card
- 323 S [and it has to be a ()
- 324 M *después de que todos agarren su, su carrera, entonces tu puedes coger otra tarjeta pa'el verano porque los maestros no trabajan en el verano*
(smiling)
(once every body gets his, his career, then you can get another card for the summer because teachers don't work in the summer)
- 325 M *va a ser un maestro pobretón*
(you are going to be a poor teacher)
- 326 S [ma:::
- 327 M [jejeje
- 328 J a pedophile
- 329 A a sex offender
- 330 J *oh sí:::*
- 331 M does it match, *¿sí sesenta?* ((J grabs a card))
(yes sixty?)
- 332 M *uy, que:: maestro tan caro*
(uy, what an expensive teacher)
- 333 J jejeje
- 334 A so you got twenty thousand less
- 335 M *ya se puede la vida en ()*
(now you can the life in ())
- 336 J my money what?
- 337 M *mueve, mueve ocho*
(move, move eight)
- 338 J one, two, three, does this count?
- 339 M [no
- 340 J [four
(grabs a card))
- 341 M *¿qué dice?*
(what does it say?)
- 342 A *yo sé que no me quieres* ((singing))

- (I know you don't love me)
- 343 J won a marathon, collect ten thousand ((reading card))
- 344 J oh gee, that is what I told you! ((that's all a run yo rolo como eso))
- 345 M *(no más un pay deajo)*
((I only leave a pay))
- 346 A *¡oh! iba ()*
(oh! I was ())
- 347 M *¿ese también no cuenta verda? ((to A))*
(that one does not count either right?)
- 348 A *¡qué sé yo!*
(I don't know)
- 349 M *se lo cuentas en space también ((to A))*
(you count it in space also)
- 350 A yeah, yeah
- 351 M so you get the one before
- 352 J no it doesn't count because you have to go through, you have to go through here to, to get to down
- 353 A *la valentina* just got it
(the valentina)
- 354 M *no, pero tienes que pasarlo*, so is one, two
(no, but you have to pass it)
- 355 J or they give ten thousand dollars
- 356 M how much did you pay there?
- 357 A *cuando el tiempo pasa y nos hacemos viejos ((singing song))*
(when time goes by and we get older)
- 358 J nothing
- 359 J I want insurance, I want insurance
- 360 M *la seguridad no mas la puedes comprar* before your turn
(the insurance you can only buy it)
antes de tu turno so next time before you spin you have to buy *seguridad*
(before your turn...insurance)
- 361 J (why can't you () a bank rob)
- 362 M *¿cuánto es?*
(how much is it?)
- 363 J five thousand dollars (screaming)
- 364 M ok, *pues ya te di diez*
(ok, well I just gave you ten)
- 365 M *y sesenta, son ciento veinte*
(and sixty, are one hundred twenty)
- 366 J so give ten more thousand dollars
- 367 M *pues te lo voy a quitar del pago*
(well I will take them from your payment)
- 368 J shit (I hope it goes around)
- 369 M *ciento veinte, menos que cinco*

- (one hundred twenty minus five)
- 370 J *sí*
(yes)
- 371 M *pero ya te había dado diez, no ciento veinte* ((counting money))
(but I had already given you ten not one hundred twenty)
- 372 J don't trick me!
- 373 A that's all he can talk, I am in the jungle, don't try to trick me
- 374 J mom, damn, give me money
- 375 A you were cheating me [one time ((S tells the story of their last game))
- 376 J oh shut up!
- 377 A instead I got ninety [ninety, what you game me was a fifty, a fifty a yellow
- 378 I was going to finish I counted
- 379 M *[no es cierto*
(that is not true)
- 380 M *jejejeje* ((laughing and making tricky gestures with hands))
- 381 J that was the last game, you are not going to make a life no matter what
((laughing))
- 382 J come on!
- 383 M *yo voy a ir al colegio*
(I am going to go to college)
- 384 A *que simple sea, eres whatever*
(how simple be, you are)
- 385 J *colegio es joke*
(college is)
- 385a *voy a ir al colegio* ((spins the spinner))
(I am going to go to college)
- 386 A *colegio es para losers*
(college is for losers)
- 387 J hey, you are a g ((to M))
- 388 M *jejeje*
- 389 A I am going to be soaking on real money
- 390 M *uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seis, nueve, diez*
(one, two, three, four, five, six, nine, ten)
- 391 J [graduation
- 392 M *yey yey yey* ((screaming and clapping))
- 393 M what do I do?
- 394 M I get a life ((picking the card))
- 395 A my turn ((stands up next to brother))
- 396 J [wait Alyssa
- 397 M *[pérate, yo te había matado* ((picking up her cards))
(wait, I had killed you)
- 398 A you can get girl here, baby figure ((talking to J and pointing at the game))
- 399 A my turn
- 400 M *este colegio que caro es, cien mil dólares*

- (this collage is very expensive, it is one hundred thousand dollars)
- 401 A *¡mande!*
(excuse me)
- 402 J I can get girls downright here, like hookers
- 403 M jejeje
- 404 A you can
- 405 A [a baby boy and a baby girl, then you can get twins and a baby () and right here??
- 406 M [*no hay hookers en este juego* John
(there are no hookers in this game John)
- 407 J no! what if I don't want to have kids
- 408 M you have to have kids, you are a man!
- 409 J where can I go and buy condoms in this darn place, is there a convenient store? jeijejei
- 410 J this is not teaching about life
- 411 A that's it
- 412 M ()
- 413 A ma get a life, that's it ((A spins roulette))
- 414 J she is like, I am graduating guys ()
- 415 A I get a career
- 416 S you got a lot
- 417 A oh! you got sixty, I thought you got the ninety
- 418 A that's the first one I got
- 419 J I have to pay taxes, twenty five thousand dollars
- 420 A when taxes are due?
((Alyssa spins))
- 421 A collect ten thousand dollars on my pay day, ninety thousand
- 422 A those pay days
- 423 A sixteen thousand ((singing tone))
- 424 M *ciento sesenta, mensa*
(one hundred sixty, stupid)
- 425 A *sí*
(yes)
- 426 M I can teach you, *no sabes contar*
(you don't know how to count)
- 427 A sixteen thousand
- 428 M a hundred and sixty
- 429 A yes that's what I mean
- 430 M *no es lo mismo dieciseis mil*
(it is not the same sixteen thousand)
- 431 A ju::st, thank you! ((she is upset and embarrassed that she could not figure out money amounts in Spanish))
- 432 A *¡dame mi dinero!* ((puts hand up and avoids looking at M))
(give me my money!)

- 433 A I am going to count it, you don't think I am retarded
 434 M jejeje
 435 S [it's my turn
 436 M *[no es lo mismo una arena, never mind ((whispering in A's hear))*
 (it is not the same sand)
 437 A ahh ;mande!
 (excuse me!)
 438 S mama m ma
 439 S I told you, I got a pay day and I never did
 440 M you don't get a pay day mama
 441 M you haven't even gotten a career yet
 442 M *tú ni siquiera hagarras un trabajo*
 (you don't even get a job)
 443 M what are you doing? ((to J))
 444 J I rolled seven ((screaming))
 445 M when? jejeje
 446 J one, two, three
 447 M he stop (there), it's time to get married, *dame una vieja pa John*
 (give me a female piece for John)
 448 J I want to get married?
 449 M you have to!
 450 J give me that *chica*
 (girl)
 451 A it's red ((referring to the piece))
 452 M/S jejeje
 453 M *¿quieres a (Reid), tu novia?*
 (do you love (Reid), your girlfriend?)
 454 J you are a dumb girl ((to M))
 455 J she sits in the back
 456 J cause my mom always says so
 457 M *va a manejar*
 (she is going to drive)
 458 J she sits in the back of my ride
 459 J my mini van
 460 M *tu mami siempre ()*
 (you always mommy ())
 461 M *ahora te toca ir a honeymoon*
 (now you have to go to the honeymoon)
 462 J can I get insurance for her too, peanut
 463 M no:::
 464 S (a butt out!)
 465 M Sarah! [jejeje ((everybody laughs))
 466 J & A [jejejeje
 467 M *¡ándale!, ; ay más payasos! (come on! how clownish you are!)*

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