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**The Dissertation Committee for Patrick Eklund Lawrence Certifies that this is the approved version of the following Dissertation:**

**SHIFT IN THE HEART OF TEXAS: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT FROM SPANISH TO ENGLISH IN AUSTIN, TEXAS**

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INVESTIGATION OF INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE SHIFT FROM  
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**by**

**Patrick Eklund Lawrence**

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## **Dedication**

To my family and pets

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# **Shift in the Heart of Texas: A Quantitative and Qualitative Investigation of Intergenerational Language Shift from Spanish to English in Austin, Texas**

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The current U.S. sociopolitical climate of the U.S. has caused many Hispanophone families to stop transmitting Spanish to the next generation as they assimilate to the dominant Anglo-American culture, a sociolinguistic process known as *language shift*. Numerous studies have concluded that after the initial generation of immigrants, proficiency in Spanish diminishes with each subsequent generation until complete language shift is realized, often by the third generation (Veltman 1988; Bills, Hernández-Chávez, and Hudson, 1995; Rivera-Mills 2000; Bills 2005; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005; Wolford and Carter 2010, 2018). The current study provides a more comprehensive overview of intergenerational language shift from Spanish to English than previous studies-by examining the problem through both quantitative and qualitative measures in Austin, Texas, an understudied speech community for this topic. Quantitative measures consisted of a) an online questionnaire examining proficiency and language usage patterns in Spanish and English; and b) semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews to investigate a series of grammatical and lexical variables. Applying Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977) and Fishman's Language Reversal

Theory (Fishman 1991, 2001), I also qualitatively examined interview transcriptions for personal accounts of language shift to humanize the data.

Quantitative analysis revealed that generations farther removed from immigration showed statistically significant lower rates of Spanish usage and proficiency, higher rates of English usage and proficiency, as well as higher rates of grammatical substitution in gender concord, aspect, and mood, loanshifts, and lexical creations. There were very few statistically significant differences between consecutive generations, which challenges previous three-generation language shift models that claim language shift to be a predictable and deterministic process.

Qualitative analysis revealed language shift to be a highly painful process replete with identity issues, linguistic insecurity, and isolation from more proficient Spanish-speaking family members. Likewise, exogamous marriages, assimilatory pressure starting in school, gentrification, internalized racism, *machista* norms in household language decisions, and fear of deportation all contribute to language shift by discouraging speakers to use Spanish and teach it to their children, thereby negatively impacting both the subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Austin (Giles et al. 1977; Gao, Schmidt, and Gudykunst 1994; Yagmur and Ehala 2011).

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## **CHAPTER 1. A SOCIOLINGUISTIC OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE SHIFT TO ENGLISH IN SPANISH IN THE U.S.**

### **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

As the Spanish-speaking population continues to grow in the United States, so, too, has contact between Spanish and English. This situation has led to the emergence of distinct contact varieties of Spanish that have been the subject of extensive linguistic and sociolinguistic inquiry. Contact has been especially intense in southwestern states such as Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona. Such states have a rich history of contact between Spanish and English and are home to some of the highest concentrations of historical and immigrant populations of Spanish speakers in the country. In such states, English has adopted various Spanish terms, largely for southwestern flora, fauna, land features, architecture, and food (Hill 1993) but has experienced no grammatical changes as a result of contact with Spanish, as is often the case for the dominant language in a contact situation (Winford 2003). The varieties of Spanish spoken in these states (as well as elsewhere in the country), on the other hand, have undergone lexical, semantic, phonological, and morphosyntactic changes<sup>1</sup> that are often found at a more accelerated rate than in monolingual Spanish-speaking communities (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Otheguy and Stern 2010; Wolford and Carter 2018). As a cover term for such features, as well as for code-switching between Spanish and English and lexical borrowing, the term "Spanglish" has emerged to describe varieties of American Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> Such changes are due in part to contact with English, as well as a complex web of other external internal factors (Wolford and Carter 2018)

like “Texan Spanish”, and is often used in a derogatory sense. The lexical borrowings, code-switches, lexico-semantic calques, and grammatical changes that characterize Spanglish are often viewed as hybridized and thereby “impure” or “incorrect” by laymen and experts alike (Lipski 2008; Nieto 2010). Despite such negative perceptions, many of these changes are not unique to American varieties of Spanish and often originate in monolingual Spanish-speaking communities (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Otheguy and Stern 2010; Wolford and Carter 2018). Such features (especially lexical features such as borrowing and code-switching) also speak to the bilingual reality of many Spanish-speakers in the U.S. and are a reflection of their linguistic and cultural pluralism (Lipski 2008; Toribio 2011; Zyzik 2020).

Due to the higher power and prestige status enjoyed by English and monolingual ideals at the societal, social, and political levels, Spanish language maintenance has fallen by the wayside for many Spanish-speaking families as they assimilate to the dominant Anglo-American society in the U.S. In addition to this sociopolitical backdrop, grammatical substitution (i.e., non-target-like forms) in features such as gender, aspect, mood, and copulas are often in higher rates among speakers who are multiple generations removed from immigration and who evince higher reliance on English and reduced productive competency in Spanish. For these reasons, the current work posits that many of the features that characterize American varieties of Spanish could represent linguistic evidence of shift towards English; this is unfortunately a common result for Spanish-speaking communities throughout the greater Southwest and country as a whole (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Chaston 1996; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005; Wolford and



Carter 2010, 2018). Such intergenerational shift to English is also widely attested in (formerly) German-speaking communities in Central Texas and in less conservative factions of the Pennsylvania Deutsch. Throughout speech communities of both German varieties, the only fluent speakers remaining tend to be quite elderly, while younger speakers exhibit shift in the form of grammatical substitution and tend to be English dominant or entirely monolingual (Huffines 1980; Boas 2009).

As such, this investigation contributes to the field of language shift studies by providing a comprehensive analysis of such shift among Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans in Central Texas. While including speakers from throughout Central Texas, I focus on the Austin-Round Rock Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), the 30<sup>th</sup> largest in the country. In particular, this work examines their Spanish discourse and language practices to determine whether language usage, proficiency, presence of grammatical changes, and of English, vary among generations.

Most previous work on language shift have used Census data to measure the phenomenon (Hartz-González 1986; López 1982a, 1982b; Solé 1987, 1990; Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez; Bills 1995; Hernández-Chávez, Bills, and Hudson 1996; Taylor, López, Martínez, and Velasco 2012). Such data rely on self-reported data, which are not always accurate, given that people may report levels of proficiency and language usage patterns that deviate from their practices in reality (Villa, Mora, and Davies 2006). Fewer studies have examined language shift via grammatical or lexical variables (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994; Lipski 1993a, 2008; Gutiérrez 1994, 2003; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005; Wolford and Carter 2010, 2018), and even fewer have

examined how language shift affects people on a personal level (Zentella 1997; Bayley 1999; Velázquez 2019). Thus, this work aims to expand the scope of previous studies by examining the problem via self-reported data, grammatical and lexical variables, and affective data to present a more comprehensive account of language shift in Austin, an understudied population for this phenomenon.

My motivation for examining language shift is also personal. My grandmother, Paulyne St. John, a Franco-American of Québécois descent, experienced language shift herself. When she was a young girl living in rural Vermont in the 1930s, prejudice against Franco-Americans was rampant. As such, her parents, immigrants from Sherbrooke, Québec, intentionally did not teach her French as to spare her from the discrimination they faced. By the time she was twelve, she had lost both of her parents, and was taken in by Anglo relatives with whom she spent the remainder of childhood. At 96 years old, she still deeply regrets the fact that she does not speak French, which has been difficult for her to reconcile with her identity as a proud, Franco-American Vermonter. As such, the legacy of language shift has always been present in my family history, which has propelled me to examine it among another immigrant group who has been affected by many of the same sociocultural forces as my grandmother.

Language shift is indeed a widespread societal phenomenon and has been the case for countless immigrant languages of varying typology throughout the entirety of American history. After they arrive to the new country, families stop speaking the immigrant language within just a few generations (Fishman 2013). At the individual level, such shift can isolate a speaker from their familial history and from relatives who

speak the minority language. In the case of monolingual grandparents, this change can create communication problems that can seriously affect their relationship with their grandparents (Klee 2011; Potowski 2012; Velázquez 2019). This in turn can lead to emotional distress, insecurity, and even identity problems. As I discuss later in this work, many (not all) of my participants consider the Spanish language to be an inextricable part of a Mexican-American or Mexican identity and claim that one cannot be truly Mexican-American (or Mexican) without speaking Spanish (Potowski 2012; Showstack 2017). This message is often reinforced by families and peer groups, for whom in-group status relies on an ability to speak Spanish in many cases (Valdés 2001; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Klee 2011; Potowski 2012). Two participants, who had almost entirely shifted to English, even expressed ridicule from Mexican family members and friends who do speak Spanish, which further exacerbates feelings of inadequacy. I return to these issues in greater detail in Chapter 5. Thus, the affective and identity consequences of language shift can be potent and highly painful. Since approximately 52 million Americans identify as Latinx,<sup>2</sup> many of whom have or are presently experiencing shift, such issues

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<sup>2</sup> In this work, I use the term “Latinx” to refer to the Latino/a population in Austin, Texas and elsewhere. First appearing in 2004, the term started to gain traction in academic circles in 2015. “Latinx” is used to denote a political identity that aims to centralize queer, non-binary, gender non-conforming/creative and/or trans people of Latinx descent and their lived experiences. It is also used to combat what some see as inherent sexism within the Spanish language; namely, the usage of male adjectival and pronominal forms as the default choice to refer to a group of mixed gender. The term has sparked controversy, however, in that, many consider it to be an elitist term that is used primarily by White, Non-Latinx academicians, and one that is not generally used by Latinx people to refer to themselves-especially by those living in Spanish-speaking countries outside of the United States where it is seldom seen. Others even consider it to be a form of linguistic imperialism, or a projection of Anglo-American ideas of gender onto the Spanish language (Marquez 2018). Despite this controversy, I do use it in this work for two reasons: 1) since I am studying a contact variety of Spanish in the United States, it makes sense to use a term denoting such geographic and ethnic provenance; and 2) to be as inclusive as possible of non-binary, trans, and queer people. As a member of the LGBTQIAPK community, such inclusion is especially important to me.

are bound to have affected tens of millions of Americans, which makes this study ever more relevant.

When language shift affects enough individuals to begin to manifest at the community level, language loss and, later, language death, are often the outcome. As Fishman (2001) explains in his Intergenerational Disruption Scale, in order for a language to be maintained, it must be taught, highly valued and widely used at home within the community for specific purposes. If the language loses value and utility, first at home and then throughout the community, language loss or death tends to follow suit unless serious intervention is taken. In fact, once children and grandchildren stop speaking the immigrant language, and the grandparents remain the only truly fluent speakers, Fishman considers that language to be “moribund” or “severely endangered” (Fishman 2001: 466). Applying these criteria to Spanish use in the Central Texas, it could be considered moribund in many families, as I discuss throughout this work, which further supports the importance of this study.

In the remainder of this chapter, I define language shift and examine the problem across immigrant populations in the United States and the factors that must be present in order for viable intergenerational transmission of the immigrant language to occur. I then present language shift to English among Spanish speakers —specifically, at the national, and community, and familial levels— as well as evidence of language maintenance and “cyclical bilingualism” in some cases (Silva-Corvalán 2001). I end this chapter with a discussion of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977) and how the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish across the U.S., and specifically in Central Texas,

is somewhat difficult to define. As I show, demographic and societal factors work together to weaken the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish, which could have intergenerational consequences.

### **1.1. LANGUAGE SHIFT: DEFINITIONS**

Language shift is a sociolinguistic process in which a speech community shifts from speaking one language, often a minority language, to another, often the dominant language in that society, over an extended period of time (Fishman 1964, 1991; Winford 2003). Spanish-speaking ‘Latinxs’<sup>3</sup> in the United States are a minority group under the control of a larger and more powerful group (i.e., English speakers) that wields power at the cultural, political, and socioeconomic levels. Because of such dominance, the minority language (Spanish) has a much lower status in this country and is marginalized by language policies in educational, political, and other important areas of life (Winford 2003; Velázquez 2019). Spanish-speakers in the United States share various traits with other minority languages throughout the United States and globe. These include: (a) a paucity of institutional support (although this is increasing in certain areas); (b) limited opportunities to develop literacy skills in the minority language; (c) language brokering by the second generation;<sup>4</sup> (d) language shift at the individual level but maintenance at the community level; and, perhaps most importantly, (e) the general conception of the

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<sup>3</sup> Use of the term ‘Latinx’, a growing trend in many academic and professional circles, denotes someone of Latin American cultural and ethnic identity, but without gendering them. This term has been proposed to combat the inherent sexism of Spanish (namely, the fact that the masculine gender is used as the default gender), and believed to be more inclusive of the gender non-binary and transgender communities (Herlihy-Mera 2018)

<sup>4</sup> Language brokering: when bilingual children translate for their largely monolingual parents in a variety of formal and public domains.

minority language as just that within the linguistic landscape. Language ideologies in the U.S. have racialized Spanish and marked it as ‘other’ and, as such, conceive of it as inappropriate and unwelcome beyond minority households and communities (Bills 2005; Velázquez 2019)

Retention of Spanish in the United States is sensitive to various geographic and sociocultural factors, such as distance from the Mexican border, which tends to promote shift to English (Bills 2005; Lipski 2008). The absence or presence of sustained immigration, which tends to be higher in border regions, represents another important factor. In Spanish-speaking communities across the country, Spanish is only renewed by incoming waves of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries; without such immigration, complete shift would likely occur within one or two generations (Grosjean 1982; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Zentella 1997; Bill 2005; Jenkins 2018). The structure and characteristics of the community in question also have significant impact on the outcome of language maintenance or shift. That is, in addition to sustained immigration, the size of the speech community in relation to the dominant ethnolinguistic group is often a determining factor. In general, the smaller the speech community, the more likely that community is linguistically and culturally to assimilate to English. Likewise, how, where, and with whom the minority language is used can foster or hinder language shift (Jenkins 2018). In many cases, bilingual U.S. Latinxs find themselves in a situation of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) in which the majority language, English, is the official, power-endowed language through which all associated functions are accomplished, while the minority language, Spanish, is relegated to private, intimate, and informal spheres among family

members and friends. Even within these contexts, which traditionally have been a stronghold for Spanish, English has increasingly begun to encroach, as children bring English home from school and begin to favor it. This practice, without serious intervention on behalf of the parents, may precede shift as the children reach adulthood (Velázquez 2019).

Additionally, the degree of formal education/socioeconomic advancement and loyalty to Spanish in the Southwest tends to correlate negatively. In general, Latinxs who become successful have done so within social and educational systems that favor English, to the detriment of Spanish (Lipski 2008; Carreira 2013; Velázquez 2019). Many also actively cease using Spanish in order to improve their English, the language associated with socioeconomic advancement, both in public and even in the home. Paradoxically, then, although Spanish speakers continue to migrate to the U.S., ethnic and linguistic assimilation to Anglo-American culture are on the rise in most Spanish-speaking communities. Such assimilation is a response to the upward social mobility associated with English, as well as to xenophobic sentiment and legislation (Bills 2005; Lipski 2008; Velázquez 2019). Bills (2005) examines the sociolinguistic causes of language shift and provides a comprehensive overview of scholarly work on the issue across various Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. In discussing the assimilatory pressure many Spanish-speakers face, he states:

*Se siente fuertemente la preponderancia del inglés en el sistema educativo, en los avances económicos, y en todas las esferas de 'ser americano'.*

‘One strongly feels the preponderance of English in the educational system, economic advancement, and in all spheres of “being American”.’ (Bills 2005: 66).

Indeed, socioeconomic factors within the domains of education, employment, and income opportunities, and the language associated with such domains, where English tends to rule, also exert a powerful influence. Language shift is by no means a new phenomenon or one exclusive to Spanish, but rather the powers of assimilation have pressured immigrant communities of varying linguistic and geographic origin in the United States for centuries. Through his exploration of the linguistic and social consequences resulting from language contact between two languages of disparate power and prestige, Fishman (1964) set the stage for language-shift research. Working primarily with Yiddish/English bilinguals who arrived in the United States prior to World War I, he found a clear pattern of intergenerational language loss that took only three to four generations to complete. Similarly, Grosjean (1982) proposed a three-generation progression of shift from the immigrant language to English. He claimed that, unless living in a community isolated from the dominant language (such as the Pennsylvania Deutsch, although they, too are marked by shift), members of the first generation quickly realize that the dominant language is required for social and economic survival. As such, the second generation often becomes bilingual, and the third generation is either English-dominant or monolingual. This is generally the case for immigrant families in the United States across languages of varying typology (Potowski 2012; Jenkins 2018). Valdés (2001) expands this model to present a more complicated generational progression. She argues that bilinguals belonging to different generations possess variable degrees of competence in



English and the immigrant language. Many first-generation immigrants continue to be monolingual in the immigrant language, while others acquire remedial skills in English but remain dominant in the immigrant language. Speakers belonging to the second and third generations typically achieve high proficiency in English; they may even become English-dominant, but still command a high-level proficiency in the immigrant language that they use to communicate with older, less English-proficient relatives. By the fourth generation, however, most speakers in Valdés' model will have become monolingual in English and only a handful will have retained some degree of proficiency in the immigrant language (Valdés 2001).

Returning to Bill's (2005) review of language shift studies, he argues that in order to maintain a language, there must be transmission from one generation to the next, and if the language is not transmitted from parents to children, it will be lost. Likewise, Velázquez (2019) emphasizes the role that parents play in language transmission, whom she claims are heavily influenced by prevailing language ideologies within society. Citing Fishman's (1991) work on language vitality, she explains that:

In very simple terms: ideology fuels parental language choices; these choices result in sustained language practices. Sustained practices result in language socialization, socialization fuels intergenerational transmission, and intergenerational transmission is the *sine qua non* condition for minority language maintenance. (Velázquez 2019: 8)

In a predominantly English-speaking country where monolingual ideologies rule, Spanish language transmission is not always an easy choice. In a 2012 study, Velázquez proposed

a three-factor model for intergenerational transmission of Spanish in the United States. According to this model, successful transmission of Spanish to the next generation depends on: (a) the quality and amount of Spanish language input; (b) opportunities to use Spanish in and out of the home; and (c) the perceived relevance of Spanish within the family's community. Thus, in order for parents to transmit Spanish to children successfully, they must provide them with frequent exposure to Spanish input along with ample opportunities to use it inside and outside the home, as well as portray the language as relevant. As she argues, Spanish speakers in the United States (and other language minorities) do not simply choose to transmit the minority language for emotional or aesthetic reasons but rather because they perceive the language as a tool for gaining access to different types of capital, whether they be social, economic/material, or even informational. If parents do not perceive the minority language as such, they are less likely to transmit it, which, unfortunately, has been the case for countless immigrant families of varying national origin (Velázquez 2012, 2019). She also claims that mothers, or other female primary care providers, play an especially important role here. As she found in her 2019 study, mothers were the main source of Spanish for their children in the 19 families she studied, as well as the adults with whom children spent the bulk of their time outside of school. In the majority of these households, the mothers stayed at home with the children while the fathers worked, usually in English-dominant spheres. Zentella (1997) found similar results in her seminal work examining the linguistic and social practices of bilingual Puerto Ricans living in New York City, in that the linguistic and cultural socialization of children largely fell on their mothers. As she discusses,

Spanish language maintenance became increasingly fleeting for third-generation mothers, who came to rely on English to communicate with their children, much to the detriment of their Spanish-language development.

## **1.2. LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG SPANISH SPEAKERS: NATIONAL TRENDS**

Since the aforementioned conditions for intergenerational language maintenance are largely not met, it comes as no surprise that language shift has become an endemic problem for U.S. Latinxs across the nation. Numerous studies have documented language shift from Spanish to English in the United States at the national level (Hartz-Gonzales and Feingold 1986; López 1982a; 1982b; Solé 1987, 1990; Veltman 1988, 2000; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005; Ortman and Shin 2011; López, Barrera-González, and López 2017) and confirm that it is often complete within two to three generations after immigration, just as previous researchers studying other minority languages have found. In comparing the 1980 and 1990 censuses, it becomes evident that Spanish is retained only in areas where Central and South American immigration is heavy (Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, and Bills 1995). More recent studies present a similarly pessimistic view on the topic. Taylor, López, Hamar, Martínez and Velasco (2012), for instance, examined language competence and usage among Latinxs across the United States using data from a survey issued by the Pew Hispanic Center. The survey targeted Spanish-speakers' perceived value of importance for English and Spanish, language experience (i.e., speaking and reading abilities in Spanish), primary language, and language use in daily activities. Like previous studies, they found that the level of Spanish proficiency decreased with each subsequent generation after immigration. That is, 90% of first-

generation Latinxs claimed that they could speak and read in Spanish “very well” or “pretty well”, while only 82% of second-generation Latinxs claimed similar speaking prowess and only 71% reported Spanish literacy skills. By the third generation, these numbers dropped to 47% and 41%, respectively, which lends more support to the notion that English becomes the dominant language for third-generation Spanish speakers. This finding does not bode well for Spanish maintenance in the fourth generation. Thus, in spite of exponential growth rates in the Latinx population within the last few decades—more than half of the population growth this country saw between 2000 and 2014—many families switch entirely to English with astounding haste, often within the course of a lifetime (Stepler and López 2016).

In addition to showing a generational decline in Spanish competence, U.S. Latinxs report increasingly lower rates of encouraging their children to speak Spanish at home. According to another Pew Hispanic Center survey, 85% of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries (i.e., first generation speakers) reported speaking Spanish in the home while growing up, while this number dropped to 68% among U.S. born second-generation speakers, and to 26% among third-generation speakers and beyond (López, Barrera-González, and López 2017). Ortman and Shin (2011) found a similar trend in their analysis of data from the 2010 U.S. Census. They argue that although the total number of U.S. Latinxs is expected to rise to between 39 and 43 million people by 2020, they predict that the percentage of Spanish-speaking Latinxs will decrease from three-fourths to two-thirds of the overall Latinx population. Unsurprisingly, then, as Spanish usage decreases, they expect English usage in the home to increase. In 2010, roughly

25% of Latinxs reported speaking English in the home, but Ortman and Shin (2011) project this number to increase to 34% by 2020.

Flores, López, and Radford (2017) corroborate this rise in English-preference among U.S. Latinxs. In their comparison of self-reported English-language usage and ability among U.S. Latinxs (both U.S. and foreign-born), informants between the ages of five and seventeen reported higher rates of English usage than those aged eighteen and older. Of the 38,380,691 informants aged eighteen or older, 23% (8,012,570) spoke only English at home, 39.6% (9,932,102) spoke English very well, and 37.4% (2,046,927) spoke English less than very well. Contrarily, of the 13,022,786 Latinxs between the ages of five and seventeen, 38.3% (4,990,090) of informants claimed to speak English at home, and more than 49.7% of speakers (6,472,150) speakers claimed to speak English very well. More notably, the percentage of speakers who speak English less than very well drops to 12% (1,560,546) among the younger age group, a 25.4% decrease from the eighteen or older group. As indicated by these statistics, it is clear that younger speakers favor English at home and command a high degree of proficiency in English, and likely to the detriment of Spanish, as found by other researchers.

Such an effect is also present in the Southwest more specifically, despite the fact that this region boasts some of the largest concentrations of Latinxs and Spanish speakers in the country. For instance, Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, and Bills (1995) and Hernández-Chávez, Bills, and Hudson (1996) investigated 1990 U.S. Census data regarding the Latinx population across five southwestern states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Using these data, they established four measures for

determining the degree of language maintenance and shift within a community:

- 1) Count: the raw, total number of Spanish speakers in a particular community or region.
- 2) Density: the percentage of Spanish speakers in relation to the whole population of a particular community or region.
- 3) Linguistic loyalty: the proportion of Latinx who claim to speak Spanish at home in relation to the whole Latinx population within a particular community or region.
- 4) Retention: the rate of intergenerational transmission of Spanish.

In all five states, they found high percentages of speakers over the age of eighteen who claimed to speak Spanish in the house, but these numbers dropped drastically among those under the age of eighteen. In Texas, this number dropped from 95.6% to 77.9%, despite Texas reporting the highest overall percentage of linguistic loyalty (89.9%). The overall average for linguistic loyalty for all five states was 87.4% for those over the age of eighteen, but this number dropped to 72% for those under the age of eighteen, which further supports the notion of intergenerational language shift. The investigators concluded that immigrants and their children form the vast majority of Spanish speakers in the United States, and that the third generation shows a low level of linguistic loyalty. Similarly, Bernal-Enríquez (2002) examined language maintenance and loss among Spanish speakers via the New Mexico-Colorado Spanish survey, which measured self-perceived competence and daily usage in Spanish and English on a four-point scale. He found that older, first-generation speakers claimed the highest levels of Spanish (3.6897

to 3.886), but with each subsequent generation, participants indicated decreasing scores for Spanish proficiency but increasing scores for English proficiency. Along with lower competency in Spanish, second- and third-generation participants reported increasingly lower usage of Spanish with spouses, friends, and children.

While these two studies are somewhat dated, the trends they established hold true in the present, and have gained momentum since the late nineties when they were conducted. Based on 2015 U.S. Census data regarding language trends among U.S. Latinx, Krogstad and López (2017) found that the percentage of Latinx who speak Spanish has been consistently declining since 2006 across the 25 American metropolitan areas with the largest concentration of Latinx and/or Spanish-speaking residents. In total, the percentage of Latinx ages five or older who claimed to speak Spanish in 2015 dropped to 73%, a 5% decrease since 2006. Central Texas saw some of the sharpest declines; namely the San Antonio-New Braunfels and Austin-Round Rock metropolitan areas, where declines of 9% (69%-60%) and 5% (71%-66%) were reported. In fact, the San Antonio-New Braunfels metropolitan joins the Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale metropolitan area for the largest declines of Spanish-speaking Latinx in the country. Even El Paso, a border town with a constant influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants and where the Latinx concentration is especially strong, saw a decrease of 5% in Spanish speakers during this same time period (Krogstad and López 2017).

### **1.2.1. LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG SPANISH SPEAKERS: COMMUNITY TRENDS**

In addition to being well documented across the nation and Southwest, language shift is also well attested at the micro-level in individual Spanish-speaking communities of

varying ethnic and national origin. In her study of Puerto Rican Spanish speakers in New York City, Zentella (1997) found that the first generation consisted largely of balanced bilinguals (i.e., those with comparable competency in both Spanish and English), but that with each successive generation after immigration, balanced bilinguals were increasingly replaced by English-dominant speakers with low productive proficiency in Spanish. By the fourth generation, most speakers had become monolingual speakers of English.

Torres (1997) found similar results in her study of language shift among Puerto Ricans in Brentwood, Long Island, in that Puerto Ricans in the second and third generations more frequently used English in most contexts with most interlocutors. Overall, Brentwood Puerto Ricans seemed considerably more comfortable speaking English than Spanish (Torres 1997).

Castellanos (1990) attests comparable rates of intergenerational language shift throughout Cuban communities in/around Miami, Florida. She found that while first-generation immigrants tended to communicate with their children and peers exclusively in Spanish, second-generation speakers showed higher rates of English with their siblings, peers, and children, which preceded exclusive English use by the third generation. She concluded that “we have provided abundant evidence of progressive intergenerational displacement from Spanish to English in Dade County” (Castellanos 1990: 59). Pearson and McGee (1993) corroborated such an effect in their examination of language use among 110 children of Cuban descent in middle schools throughout Miami. They found that 58% speak Spanish only with their parents, but 65% speak English only with their siblings. They argue that, despite the apparent high level of ethnolinguistic



vitality of Spanish in Miami, widespread preference for English among Miami youths with siblings and even parents indicates that English is replacing Spanish in the home, a tell-tale sign of language shift. Similarly, in their examination of Spanish language usage among Miami Cubans, Otheguy, García, and Roca (2000) found that 80% of Cubans in the second generation preferred English over Spanish on a daily basis with various interlocutors.

### **1.2.2. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES**

Like Puerto Rican and Cuban communities, Mexican communities throughout the United States are also vulnerable to language shift to English. Laosa (1975) conducted one of the first intergenerational language shift studies among Mexican speakers in his comparison of language choice among children and adults in three communities of U.S. Spanish speakers: Mexicans in Austin, Texas, Cubans in Miami, and Puerto Ricans in New York City. He found that the use of Spanish in the home drastically decreased from the parents' to the children's generation in all three communities. This decrease was especially notable in the Mexican community in Austin, where 23% of Mexican heritage parents claimed to speak mostly Spanish in the home while only 2% of children claimed to do so. Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta, and Bayley (1996) found analogous results in their investigation of Spanish language maintenance and shift among 64 Mexican children and their families in a small community in central California. Measuring shift via various factors such as language usage, proficiency, attitudes, and target-like realization of certain grammatical features, they found that participants farther removed from immigration showed higher usage of English across a variety of domains, and those in Generation 4 (who were born

in the U.S. and whose mother was also born in the U.S.) were largely unable to complete the Spanish narrative tasks asked of them.

Along a similar vein, Bayley (1999) studied 40 Hispanophone communities in the greater San Francisco Bay Area of California and in San Antonio, Texas, where he documented rapid language shift, finding that the loss of Spanish can advance within a single generation. Through extensive ethnographic observation and interviews, he found that siblings within a single family showed remarkable differences in Spanish competence. The mother of one family described the Spanish competence of her children as a descending staircase, in that the oldest child had near-native competence in Spanish, the middle child had strong receptive but low productive skills, and the youngest child had neither productive nor receptive skills in the language. Rivera-Mills (2000) examined language shift in Fortuna, a small town in California, where 50 Spanish speakers were divided into three generational groups. Like previous studies, she documented a notable decline in Spanish competence along with lower rates of Spanish usage in each generation farther removed from immigration. She also found that even those who immigrated as adults had already begun to show high levels of competence and usage of English and concluded that “unless Fortuna experiences continuous immigration of monolingual Latinx, a complete shift to English is inevitable” (Rivera-Mills 2000:14).

Perhaps most convincingly, MacGregor-Mendoza (2005) conducted a comprehensive examination of language shift to English among three generations of Mexican-American families living in a small town on the border between New Mexico and Mexico. Collecting data via a series of grammatical tasks and a structured survey that

targeted participants' language use and practices and self-perceived proficiency, she was able to confirm the presence of language shift among participants. That is, among each successive generation after immigration, more and more participants reported speaking, reading, and writing English before Spanish as well as increasingly lower proficiency across the four language skills in Spanish. She also found a unidirectional generational decline in terms of target-like responses on grammar perception and production tasks. The Generation 0 speakers (immigrants) showed the highest target rates, while the Generation 3 speakers (great-grandchildren of immigrants) showed the lowest target rates of all, ranging from 0 to 33%. The story-telling task produced an even more exaggerated effect in that most of the Generation 3 speakers were unable to complete the task at all due to their especially low productive competence in Spanish. Overall, these results suggest that language shift is very much in effect, even in an area so close to Mexico; typically, areas closer to Mexico show higher rates of language maintenance. Like Rivera-Mills (2000), McGregor-Mendoza argues that Spanish is revitalized only by the constant waves of people crossing the border; without them, Spanish in this New Mexican town will likely disappear within a few generations. Bills (2005) takes a similar stance in his review of works examining language shift from Spanish to English. Due to such abundance of empirical research attesting intergenerational language shift in Spanish-speaking communities throughout the nation, he concludes that:

*Casi no existen estudios cuidadosos basados en encuestas de comunidades o en censos nacionales que den evidencia del mantenimiento del español en los EE. UU.*

‘There exist almost no thorough studies based on community surveys or national censuses that [provide] evidence of Spanish maintenance in the U.S.’ (Bills 2005:57).

### **1.2.3. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE**

As I have demonstrated, language shift to English is well documented at the national level and within specific Spanish-speaking communities of varying ethnic/national origin. Nonetheless, it is important to note that some studies, albeit decidedly fewer, are more optimistic in their purview of language shift, and have found evidence of Spanish language maintenance many generations after immigration (García, Morín, and Rivera 2001; Mejías, Anderson, and Carlson 2002; Anderson & Mejías 2005; Mora, Villa, and Dávila 2006; Villa and Mills 2009). For instance, to represent better the complexities of Spanish-speaking populations in the Southwest, Villa and Mills (2009) propose what they call an “Integrated Multi-Generational Model for Language Maintenance and Shift”, a revised language shift model that expands on the traditional three-generation trajectory employed by previous models. First, they move away from classifying the first generation as the traditional “immigrant generation”, and instead coin the term “contact generation”, or the first generation of speakers to have contact with English. Such a definition, they argue, better encompasses the heterogeneity and diversity of Spanish speakers in the United States. Each subsequent generation is based on distance from the contact

generation and ranges from the second generation, where one or both parents are the children of the contact generation, to the seventh generation, where one or both parents are distantly connected or related to the contact generation. They also propose a “reacquisition generation”; a group of individuals who, regardless of distance from the contact generation, possess a familial connection to Spanish, and/or a past, present, or future link to a Spanish-speaking community. Such members make a concerted effort to reacquire Spanish and as such, represent a reversal of language shift. After testing their model on 484 Spanish/English bilinguals and English monolinguals of Spanish-speaking descent in southern New Mexico and in West Texas, they found extensive evidence of language shift, but also found instances of maintenance up to the seventh generation, as well as many instances of Spanish reacquisition.

In sum, Villa and Mills (2009) demonstrate that language shift does always result in the loss of Spanish in all cases. It can evolve into what Silva-Corvalán (2001) refers to as “cyclical bilingualism”, which occurs when a speaker loses their Spanish but reacquires it later in life. García, Morín, and Rivera (2001) coined the term ‘*vaivén*’ to refer to such a process, or the ‘coming and going’ of Spanish and English, in the Spanish of New York City Puerto Ricans. While they, too, found pervasive evidence of language shift throughout the community of study, they argue that language shift is often more complicated than a one-way process. Likewise, Anderson & Mejías (2005) criticize the unidirectional decisiveness of three-generation models. Taking into consideration complex factors such as migration and exogamous marriages, she proposes her own language shift model that extends to five generations instead of three and does not end in

complete language shift in all cases. After testing her model on Spanish speakers of different generations in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in South Texas, she found that, although there were significant competence and usage differences between generations (hence pointing to shift). She also found that Spanish was maintained up until the fifth generation in certain cases.

Along a similar vein, Velázquez (2019) examined Spanish language maintenance among nineteen Mexican-American families in three Nebraskan cities (Lexington, Omaha, and Lincoln) through ethnographic observation, semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews, and questionnaires. In addition to numerous cases of language brokering, language planning, and bilingualism among the nineteen families, Velázquez found widespread evidence of Spanish language usage and transmission. Among family, friends, and acquaintances within the same Spanish-speaking social networks, mothers and children alike reported speaking almost entirely in Spanish; in all homes, Spanish was the main language of verbal communication in a wide range of activities and interactions, although the mothers did show slightly higher tendency to speak Spanish to their children than the fathers did. Religion proved to be a particularly powerful language maintenance force, given that families only attended services in Spanish and reported praying exclusively in Spanish. For many families, religion was also the main (or only) outlet for Spanish literacy training for children.

Overall, Velázquez found that mothers expressed overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards Spanish and widely believed that bilingualism in Spanish and English is

a prerequisite for economic success in today's society.<sup>5</sup> All mothers interviewed were also highly motivated to teach their children Spanish, and cited emotional, cultural, communicative, and instrumental reasons in so doing. That is, mothers considered Spanish to be a valuable tool that allowed their children to: (a) communicate with friends and family in and out of the community; (b) connect with their culture; and (c) develop bilingual skills that would serve them well in the workforce and make them more attractive to potential employers. Such findings portray Spanish language maintenance in Nebraska in a positive and hopeful light given that all of her participants, parents and children alike, reported speaking Spanish on a daily basis and regarded it so highly. Yet despite their positive attitudes and being highly proficient in Spanish, children in this study also indicated living in a diglossic world, where they spoke Spanish at home with family and friends, but English at school and other public spheres. Children reported speaking little to no Spanish in school, even among Spanish-speaking friends, and participants as young as five were aware that English was the *de facto* language in school. It comes as no surprise then, that Velázquez found a direct correlation between years spent in school and Spanish usage: the longer children were in school, the less Spanish they spoke on a daily basis, even at home. As previously mentioned, such a linguistic separation of domains is often how language shift begins (Fishman 1991). By not speaking Spanish at school and in other formal domains, children lose exposure to different registers of Spanish, and therefore never acquire academic vocabulary and

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<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, mothers cited bilingualism as being important for economic success, but not monolingualism in English or Spanish (Velázquez 2019).

structures, which severely hinders their Spanish development (Nieto 2010; Velázquez 2019).<sup>6</sup>

In sum, Velázquez provides solid evidence of language maintenance in Nebraska, but also highlights concerning trends that may point to shift in the not so-distant future. However, such evidence of maintenance may be partially explained by the fact that all of the parents in this study were first-generation immigrants from Mexico and Central America who generally displayed very limited English proficiency. As such, communicating in Spanish with their children was not borne solely from positive associations with Spanish and its perceived utility, but also from necessity, which potentially portrays Spanish as being safer than it may be in these communities. It will be interesting to see if the children in the current study retain their positive views of Spanish and transmit it to their own children within the next few decades. Perhaps they will not perceive Spanish as being as valuable and necessary as their parents do.

### **1.3. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY**

The outcome of language contact, whether language maintenance or shift occurs, is largely determined by the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language group in question. Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) developed a framework they call “Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory” (EVT) to examine the socio-structural factors that affect the viability of certain language minorities in a majority language context (e.g., Spanish in Texas). Ethnolinguistic vitality refers to a group’s ability to remain as a distinct, cohesive



ethnolinguistic unit while under the shadow of a larger, more powerful ethnolinguistic majority. Divided into three levels (low, medium, and high), a group with a high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality is more likely to maintain their ethnolinguistic composition (i.e., their language and culture) than a group with a low degree of ethnolinguistic vitality (Barker et al. 2001). Researchers studying language minorities often conceive of a group's ethnolinguistic vitality in objective and subjective terms. To determine a group's objective ethnolinguistic vitality, one must consider a number of interwoven sociopolitical factors that include the group's (a) status; (b) demographic salience; and (c) institutional support.

- (a) *Status*: a group's socio-historical and linguistic status as well as their level of power in relation to the dominant language group. A group's status is determined by various demographic factors, such as birth rates, number of endogamous and exogamous marriages, and immigration/emigration patterns. (Jenkins 2018)
- (b) *Demographic salience*: the number of individuals that compose a linguistic group and their dissemination and concentration throughout society. Generally speaking, the more demographically salient a group is, the more likely they are to have high ethnolinguistic vitality. (Yagmur 2008)
- (c) *Institutional support*: a measure of how present and well-supported a linguistic minority is in the media, politics, education, and the linguistic landscape of that community. If members of the dominant language group have disproportionate institutional representation and power, the vitality of the linguistic minority group is bound to suffer.

Weakness in any of these sociopolitical factors results in lower vitality for the minority language group in relation to the dominant language group, which can lead to ethnolinguistic assimilation to the dominant language and culture (Barker et al 2001). Citing Porcel (2011), Jenkins (2018) adds socioeconomic status, cultural status, and legal status as additional sociopolitical factors that affect a group's degree of ethnolinguistic vitality. To determine socioeconomic status, Porcel includes factors such as social stratification, degree of economic success within the ethnolinguistic community and the instrumental value of Spanish, within and without the community. To define cultural status, he includes factors such as the number and size of Spanish-speaking enclaves in the society at large, as well as the presence of Spanish and Latinx in the media. For legal status, he includes language policies affecting the minority language and the linguistic rights of the language minority, or lack thereof.

Equally significant as objective ethnolinguistic vitality, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality also plays an important role in a group's ethnolinguistic survival (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). Such a subjective lens examines how members of a particular language group assess their own linguistic vitality in relation to that of the dominant group via the aforementioned socio-structural factors. When subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is especially low, minority language group members are likely to assimilate both linguistically and culturally to the dominant ethnolinguistic group. Unsurprisingly, then, Yagmur and Ehala (2011) argue that a group's degree of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality can have serious intergenerational consequences in terms of minority language transmission. I return to the theme of ethnolinguistic vitality in Chapter 5, where I use the

model as a lens to interpret the qualitative results of this study; namely, the affective consequences of language shift.

### **1.3.1. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY: SPANISH IN THE U.S.**

Having defined ethnolinguistic vitality and the various sociopolitical factors that comprise it, I now discuss the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Austin, which is somewhat difficult to assess. In some respects, Spanish seems to have a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality, but in others, it does not. In the first place, Spanish speakers' demographic salience in Central Texas and the country as a whole is quite high.

Approximately 60.6 million people who reside in the U.S. identify as Latinx (18.5% of the total American population), about three-fourths of whom (43 million) speak Spanish at home (*U.S. Census 2019*). An additional 13 million Americans speak Spanish as a second language, bringing the total number of Spanish speakers to 53 million, and making the United States the second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world; second only to Mexico (*U.S. Census 2010*; Carreira 2013; Jenkins 2018). The Latinx population as a whole (including both Spanish-speakers and non-Spanish speakers) has experienced more extensive growth, accounting for more than half (52%) of the total population growth in the United States between 2010 and 2019. Put differently, the Latinx population increased by 10,093,626 people, a growth rate of 20% in less than a decade. Such high rates of growth are projected to continue over the next few decades, and by 2060, the Latinx population is projected to have grown to 111.2 million people, or 27.5% of the entire U.S. population (Vespa, Medina, and Armstrong 2020; *U.S. Census 2020*).

Such growth is largely due to immigration as well as to high birth rates. In 2015, immigrants accounted for roughly 43.2 million residents in the United States, or 13.4% of the total population; a nearly fourfold increase since 1960 when immigrants accounted for only 5.4% (9.7 million) of the total American population. According to 2015 U.S. Census statistics, almost half (44.1%) of the total immigrant population came from Spanish-speaking countries; 18,417,189 people, to be exact. In fact, Hispanophone nations accounted for five of the top ten countries from which the highest number immigrants hailed in 2015: Mexico, El Salvador, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala (Flores, López, and Radford 2017). Latinxs also come to the forefront in birth rates. Representing 22.5% of the total births across the United States in 2015 (868,322 of the 3,868,360 babies born that year), Latinxs accounted for the highest percentage of minority births that year. Latinx women also showed the proportionally highest birth rates of any other racial group surveyed that year. That is, 6.7% of Latinx women gave birth in 2015, compared to 5.9% of White women, 6.0% of Black women, 5.8% of Asian women, and 6.1% of women belonging to other minority groups (Flores, López, and Radford 2017).

### **1.3.2. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY: SPANISH IN AUSTIN**

Similar demographic trends are also present in Austin, Texas. The 2020 population estimate of Austin proper was 988,218 residents, making it the 11th largest city in the country. Non-Latinx whites comprise the largest racial group, at 48.4% of the total population, or 452,110 people, while Latinx make up the largest minority group at 34.3% of the total population, or 320,552 people, which comprises just over half of the total

white population (*United States Census Quick Facts 2019*). In 32.21% of Austin households, residents speak a language other than English, most often Spanish, which 23.55% (225,122 people) of Austin's population speaks, a slight decrease since 2015 (24.5% to 23.55%). Nonetheless, the vast majority (663,094 people, or 67.8%) speaks only English at home, making Spanish speakers an ethnolinguistic minority in Austin, despite being the largest one (McCullough 2015). Similar to national trends, Latinx residents of Austin have tended to dominate birthrates in the last decade. In 2012, Latinx births surpassed White births, accounting for 7,050 out of the 15,826 births recorded that year (44.7% of total births), while Whites accounted for slightly fewer births at 6,083 (38.7% of total births) (Texas State Department of Health Statistics 2014). Spanish is also the language other than English most spoken at home in Austin, where 23.55% of the population was estimated to speak Spanish at home in 2019 (*U.S Census Bureau 2019*).

With regard to institutional support, Spanish in Austin enjoys a certain degree of protection. As the number of Spanish speakers grows, likewise does the presence of Spanish in American daily life. Not only has Spanish become the most widely spoken second language by non-Latinxs, but Spanish television programming has become increasingly successful and omnipresent; Spanish-language television networks often show higher ratings than English-language competitors (Wilkinson and Contreras-Díaz 2014). In 2011, the city of Austin offered two Spanish-language TV stations and eleven Spanish-language radio stations (Dinges 2011). Spanish also has a certain degree of government protection. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires that federal agencies (and any state agency that receives federal funding) offer services in Spanish

and English, as well as in other languages, in order to prevent discrimination against people with low English proficiency. Similarly, federal and Texas state law require that all voting materials must be available in both Spanish and English (Ingram 2017). Texas state law also requires any school with 20 or more students with limited proficiency in English to offer bilingual education services to those students (*Bilingual Education and Special Language Program, Texas Education Code*). Austin, specifically, has seen a large growth in dual immersion schools in recent years, and from 2008 to 2013, dual immersion programs increased by 34% (Pérez 2013). In 2016, there were 64 different schools throughout the Austin metropolitan area that offered dual immersion programs. Such programs service over 23,467 students with limited English proficiency, the vast majority of whom come from Spanish-speaking backgrounds (Valenzuela 2016).

### **1.3.3. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES**

When looking at such measures, it would appear that Spanish enjoys a high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality in both the United States and Austin. However, demographic shifts in recent years are changing the ethnolinguistic status of Spanish, and not necessarily in favor of language maintenance. As previously mentioned, Latinx population growth-rates are largely the result of heavy immigration and high birth-rates, but both have begun to slow at the national level. Although immigration from Spanish-speaking countries continues to dominate immigration statistics, it has been steadily decreasing since its peak in 2007 when the Great Recession occurred (Steppler and Lopez 2016; Coubes, Aldama, Rodríguez 2017). In fact, starting in 2009, Mexicans began returning to Mexico at a high rate, and now more Mexicans are returning to Mexico than

arriving here (at least among documented immigrants). A 2015 report issued by the Pew Research Center showed that in 2014, 1,000,000 documented Mexicans left the U.S. for Mexico, while only 870,000 left Mexico for the United States (González-Barrera 2015; Steppler and Lopez 2016). Similarly, the Migration Policy Institute reports that while Mexicans are still the largest immigrant group, accounting for 25% of all immigrants that came to the U.S. in 2018, they are also the most rapidly declining group. That is, in comparison to 2010, 2018 saw more than 500,000 fewer documented Mexican immigrants, which represents the largest absolute decline of any immigrant group in the United States (Batalova, Blizzard and Bolter 2020).

Likewise, the Pew Research Center indicates that the overall national growth-rate of the Latinx population has also slowed. In the 1990s, the Latinx population grew roughly 5.8% per year but began to decline in 2000. From 2000 to 2007, the Latinx growth-rate decreased to 4.4% per year and then to 2.8% between 2007 and 2014. Latinx birth-rates have seen a similar decline. From 2000 to 2005, Latinx women between the ages of 15 and 44 accounted for 95 births per 1,000 women and peaked at 98.3 in 2006. This number has been steadily decreasing since 2006 and dropped to a low 72.1 births per 1000 women in 2014 (Steppler and López 2016). In sum, although Latinxs continue to dominate immigration and birth-rates in sheer numbers (and as such still represent the largest amount of growth in any demographic group in the U.S.), these numbers have shown a steady decline over the course of the last fifteen years.

Similar trends are at play within Austin, TX. In fact, in terms of overall numbers, white population growth has been outpacing Latinx growth since the start of the new millennium as shown in Table 1.2 on the next page:

**TABLE 1.1. POPULATION GROWTH DIFFERENCES IN AUSTIN FROM 2000-2019**

<b>Racial Group</b>	<b>2000 Census</b>	<b>2010 Census</b>	<b>2019 Estimates</b>
<b>Non-Hispanic</b>	347,544	385,271	452,110
<b>White</b>			
<b>Latinx</b>	229,048	277,707	320,522

Source: U.S. Census (2019)

As can be seen here, both groups have steadily increased in numbers since 2000. While it is important to note that the Latinx population in Austin has grown substantially in the last few decades, they have not increased to the same extent as the White, non-Latinx population. That is, since the 2010 Census, the White, non-Latinx population increased by 66,329 people, a 17.2% population increase, while the Latinx population increased by 42,815 people, a smaller 13.3% increase. It is also worth mentioning that the percentage of Latinx residents in Austin, compared to other groups, actually decreased slightly since the 2010 Census: 35.2% to 34.3%, almost a full percentage point. The White, Non-Latinx population, however, only decreased by 0.4% during this same period.



#### 1.4. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF SPANISH IN AUSTIN AND GENTRIFICATION

Perhaps such comparatively lower growth rates are the result of gentrification, a widespread problem across the nation and globe, and one that is especially concentrated in Austin. The Urban Displacement Project<sup>7</sup> defines gentrification as:

“A process of neighborhood change that includes economic change in a historically disinvested neighborhood —by means of real estate investment and new higher-income residents moving in —as well as demographic change— not only in terms of income level, but also in terms of changes in the education level or racial make-up of residents.” (Chapple and Thomas 2020)

The negative effects of gentrification in Austin are compounded by the city’s legacy of inequality. Historically, segregationist housing policies consigned the Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC, hereon forward) population of Austin to the East Side of the city, where they were separated from White parts of town by US Interstate 35, which would serve as a racial divider for decades.<sup>8</sup> While such policies were initially geared towards Blacks,<sup>9</sup> Anglo Austinites began to be threatened by the influx of Mexican refugees fleeing the Mexican Revolution of 1910. As such, the exclusionary housing policies designed to prohibit home sales to Black Austinites were extended to Latinx Austinites in order to prevent them from living in White

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<sup>7</sup> The Urban Displacement Project is a taskforce based out of the University of California at Berkeley that works to develop tools to combat *gentrification* across the United States and world.

<sup>8</sup> I-35 became a gathering point for the Black Lives Matter protesters in the summer of 2020, who marked the highway with anti-racist messages.

<sup>9</sup> Austin was a popular refuge for freed slaves following the Civil War and Emancipation. Prior to 1910, the Latinx population in Austin was relatively low, and they were considered to be White by Texas law; as such they were not considered a problem—yet (McCaa 2001; O’Connor 2018).

neighborhoods as well (McCaa 2001). By the late 1920s, the vast majority of Latinx Austinites lived on the East Side, concentrated in a neighborhood just South of where Black Austinites were living.

This trend continued well into the 21st century, but now gentrification increasingly threatens such neighborhoods with displacement. Between 2000 and 2010, the Black population in East Austin alone decreased by 66% and the Latinx population by 33%, but the White population increased by a staggering 442% (Tang and Falola 2018). This is in part due to Austin's exponential and unprecedented growth over the last decade. In 2018, an average of 155.3 people moved to the Austin-Round Rock Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) on a daily basis, making it the fastest growing in the United States, with an annual growth rate of 2.5% (O'Connor 2018; Keemahill and Huber 2019). Such growth has severely impacted housing prices. From 2005 to 2015, median rental prices throughout the Austin MSA increased by a staggering 29%, and the average cost of a house in Austin increased to \$347,000, a 72.2% increase since 2005 (Way, Mueller, and Wegman 2018; *U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts 2019*). Because of major wealth disparities in comparison to White residents, Latinx communities are more vulnerable to the rising costs of living incurred by gentrification, which can have negative consequences for Spanish-language maintenance as I explain in Chapter 5 (Way, Mueller, and Wegman 2018; *U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts 2019*).

This study aims to document the type of Spanish spoken in Austin, Texas (and throughout Central Texas), the 29<sup>th</sup> largest metropolitan area in the country, to determine to what extent Spanish speakers there are experiencing language shift. Current

demographic trends, rampant gentrification, and anti-immigrant rhetoric at the societal and political levels all affect Spanish language maintenance and make it more difficult for speakers to transmit it to the next generation. If such trends continue to occur at the current rate, language death for Spanish in Central Texas, and in the United States, is not completely out of the question in the not-so-distant future, especially when one considers the current anti-Hispanophone climate. For this reason, this study aims to provide demographic and linguistic support to the precarious situation of Spanish in the country by providing a comprehensive analysis of intergenerational language shift in Austin and throughout central Texas.

### **1.5. ORGANIZATION OF THIS DISSERTATION**

Having defined language shift and reviewed previous work examining the problem in the present chapter, in Chapter 2, I further contextualize the issue by discussing the sociohistorical and political forces that have pressured Spanish-speaking communities to assimilate linguistically to English. In the same chapter, I also present a review of previous work examining the linguistic variables I use to measure language shift. These include English lone lexical insertions, multi-item code-switches, and grammatical substitution in the following areas: gender concord, aspect, mood, copulas, verb-subject agreement, prepositions, and subject pronoun expression. Such substitution and the presence of English have been found to be especially common in the speech of bilingual Spanish speakers in the United States, many of whom have reduced productive competence in Spanish; thus, I examine them as potential indicators of language shift. I conclude the second chapter with the purpose and research questions guiding this study.

Chapter 3 presents the methods employed to carry out this study. Namely, I illustrate the three separate measures used to collect data: (a) a demographic and language usage questionnaire; (b) semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews; (c) a qualitative examination of participants' experiences with language shift. For each measure, I explain the procedures of data collection, the participants recruited, methods of data collection, categories of data, and methods of data analysis. The following two chapters present the results of the two measures employed. Chapter 4 presents the results of the questionnaire, including participants' patterns of Spanish and English and their experiences with each language. Here, I show how language usage and proficiency patterns vary by generation and point to language shift in that those farther removed from immigration show reduced proficiency and usage of Spanish in their current daily lives as compared to when they were children. Chapter 4 also details the results of the linguistic variables and how rates of English usage and grammatical innovations vary by generation. As I discuss, while third-generation and fourth-generation speakers show higher rates of said changes than previous generations, such an effect was not found to be fully linear, which challenges the results of previous studies. The fifth chapter presents the qualitative results, which I interpret through the lens of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977). In this chapter, I pay particular attention to the affective consequences of language shift and highlight the following salient themes: (a) fear; (b) internalized racism; (c) identity issues and (d) familial isolation. I also discuss some causes of language shift, including (a) exogamous marriages; (b) pressure to assimilate; and (c) gentrification. With this chapter, I aim to humanize the data and demonstrate that language shift

becomes all the more relevant when one considers how it personally and negatively affects people. The final, sixth chapter discusses the significant results and how they present a more comprehensive view of language shift from Spanish to English that challenge previous language shift models. I then relate the quantitative findings to the qualitative findings and discuss their interaction; namely, in how participants' life experiences and the affective consequences of language shift cause decreases in Spanish usage and increases in grammatical substitution and presence of English. This work concludes with an assessment of the status of Spanish in Texas, and the likelihood of maintenance in future.

## **CHAPTER 2: A SOCIOHISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW OF SPANISH IN THE U.S.**

### **2.0. INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter presented the issue of language shift to English in Spanish-speaking communities across the United States and revealed how widespread this issue has become. The current chapter contextualizes language shift throughout a sociolinguistic and historical overview of Spanish in the United States, and more specifically, Spanish in Texas. I discuss how certain sociohistorical processes have created and instilled societal preference for English over Spanish and continue to pressure Spanish-speakers to shift to English. I begin with the invasion of Spanish conquistadors in the New World and end with the xenophobic and racist discourse at the heart of Trump's America. I include such information to explain why language shift is so prevalent despite the high demographic salience of Spanish-speakers in the U.S. I then continue to a presentation of the prominent lexical and morphosyntactic features that have come to characterize contact varieties of Spanish in the United States, in part due to the sociolinguistic landscape of this nation. As I explain, such features are potential indicators of language shift. I then present an overview of previous work regarding those features. This chapter concludes with the overarching purpose of this work as well as the research questions that guide it.

### **2.1. SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

Spanish, the second European language to reach the New World, has a long history throughout much of the Western Hemisphere. Preceded only by Old Norse, which the Vikings brought to present-day Newfoundland in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Richards 2005), the Spanish language arrived with Christopher Columbus's first expedition in 1492 to what is

now the Bahamas, marking the official start of Spanish colonialism in the New World. Within a period of just ten years, Spanish spread throughout the Caribbean and Central America in a series of three subsequent voyages also led by Columbus for the Crown of Castile. Just 21 years after Columbus' initial voyage, Juan Ponce de León brought Spanish to the continental United States in his futile quest for the fictitious Fountain of Youth, which was widely believed to be in modern-day Florida. Over the next 23 years, Spanish made its way to Louisiana and the Southwest, which conquistadors named "*los territorios españoles fronterizos*" ('the Spanish Borderlands'), where they established Spanish as the language of power and prestige, a status that lasted from the mid-1600s to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Here, Spanish also became the oppressor language and was forced upon numerous Native-American tribes who inhabited these lands (Silva-Corvalán 2001).

The vast colonial southwest depended heavily on the Spanish Viceroyalty of *Nueva España* ('New Spain'), which included modern-day Mexico as well as Central America, South America, the Caribbean, and a large portion of what is now the United States. Inspired by the Haitian Revolution in 1808 and spurred by Napoleon's invasion/occupation of Spain and Portugal that same year, which led to widespread abuses against the colonists of New Spain, Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1810, gaining short-lived sovereignty over the region 11 years later (Chasteen 2001). However, without the benefit of Spain's political grip, Mexican reign over the region soon weakened. In 1836, Texas declared itself an autonomous nation independent from Mexico, and in 1846, the United States went to war with Mexico over Texas and other

disputed southwestern territories. Upon defeat by the Americans, the Mexican government was forced to cede over 55% of its territory to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. This area included the modern-day states of New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, California, Texas, and western Colorado (Silva-Corvalán 2001). As a result of this treaty, 75,000 Spanish speakers suddenly found themselves living in an Anglophone nation where they became marginalized and habitually robbed of their land, water, livestock, and other capital and job opportunities over the next 150 years. Over time, Spanish speakers found themselves living in a caste-like system where Anglo Whites were atop the hierarchy, a system that is largely retained in much of the Southwest to date (Hill 2009). Mexican Americans were also assumed to all be of native descent (many in fact were) and therefore not American citizens, which was a privilege reserved exclusively for “Free White Persons” (Hill 2009: 121). This policy endured for a period 76 years until the U.S. Constitution was amended in 1924 to include both Native Americans and Mexican Americans as citizens of the United States of America.

Upon cession of formerly Mexican-owned lands to the U.S. through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, a brief transitional period of bilingualism was tolerated as these territories acquired U.S. statehood, but English was soon imposed as the only acceptable language in public schools, courts, administration, and in other official and public spheres. This imposition of English accompanied a subtractive view of Americanization, which espoused an English-only mentality at all levels of society (Silva-Corvalán 2001; Showstack 2017). Because of this view, the Spanish language was largely marginalized and barred entirely from public domains. Spanish-speaking children



faced harsh, corporal punishment if they were caught speaking it in public schools (Gershoff, E.T. & Font, S.A. 2016). Such English-only sentiment also barred bilingual safety and health information, voter materials, and court interpretation, which did not become available until the 1960s and 1970s (Hill 2009). During that time, Spanish was not only publicly banned, but it was also considered to be a language of the illiterate and provincial. The varieties of Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans were dismissed as ungrammatical (often denigrated as “border Spanish”) and seen as a major hindrance to speakers’ successful integration into modern American society, which could only occur via English. In addition to linguistic marginalization, Mexican Americans also faced pervasive racist attitudes and ideologies, and were considered to be “backward, superstitious, treacherous, and dirty” (Hill 2009:121). In their examination of the socioeconomic, linguistic, cultural, and racial factors underlying Mexican-American integration and assimilation into Anglo-American society, Telles and Ortiz (2008) refer to the ubiquitous racism towards Mexican-Americans at all levels of society as “racialization experiences”, which have helped foster adherence to a distinct Mexican, Mexican-American, or Latinx ethnic identity that has endured multiple generations beyond immigration, even in cases where Spanish-language maintenance did not persist.

Conditions for Latinxs as well as for the Spanish language started to change in the 1960s, however, thanks to the social changes championed by the Civil Rights Movement. It was during the next two decades that Latinx Americans, inspired by Martin Luther King Jr. and labor activist César Chávez, started to advocate for equality and equity in their political and societal representation and acceptance. Such efforts gave rise to the

“Chicano movement”, during which the Latinx population vigorously defended the rights of the working class, fought for the maintenance of Mexican culture and the Spanish language, and resisted exploitation and political supremacy on behalf of White Anglophone Americans. The Spanish language was central to this movement and acquired significant symbolic value. Unfortunately, essentialized links between Spanish and a Latinx identity,<sup>10</sup> perpetuated by the U.S. Census and the view that Spanish is a foreign language, weakened the success of the Chicano movement and in part, led to the “English-Only movement”, a powerful, hindering force for Spanish-language maintenance. The English-Only movement dates back to 1983 when Senator S.I. Hayakawa of California created “U.S. English”, a group that has fought to amend the constitution to establish English as the only official language of the United States. Since the creation of this group, multiple legislative attempts have been made to establish English as the sole official language at the federal level, with the most recent attempt made in 2007 with the English Language Unity Act. Although no such attempts have yet to be federally ratified, 31 states have adopted official English-only legislation at the state-level (Showstack 2017). Inspired by such legislation and English-only sentiment, similar groups have formed, such as ProEnglish and English First, both of which have funded campaigns and legislature to make English the official and exclusive language of the American government (Hill 2009). Such groups are guided by the notions that multilingualism will somehow divide the nation and that non-Anglophone minorities

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<sup>10</sup> Essentialization in this case refers to the idea that Spanish forms an inalienable and defining component of a Latinx identity. It implies that in order to be Latinx, one must speak Spanish, and if one does not, then their Latinity can be called in question.

refuse to learn English and assimilate (Nieto 2010; Wolford and Carter 2010; Showstack 2017). The ideologies promoted by these groups have had a trickle-down effect at multiple levels of society. Many businesses and employers have established efforts to enforce English-only workplaces, often with court-issued support, and public schools throughout the country have enacted English-Only policies in their school districts (Hill 2009). Bilingual education has also experienced severe budget cuts in states like California, Arizona, and Texas,<sup>11</sup> which boast some of the largest Spanish-speaking populations in the country (Marder and Villanueva 2017). California even outlawed bilingual education in 1998 with Proposition 227 which established English as the only legal language of instruction in schools (Hill 2009; Showstack 2017).

Attacks against the Spanish language, and the people who speak it, reached a peak in 2016 with the presidential election of Donald Trump, who built his campaign on denigrating Spanish-speaking immigrants and perpetuating negative stereotypes. In an infamous speech announcing his campaign in June of 2016, Trump launched his anti-immigrant platform by summarizing Mexican immigration as follows:

“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

(Trump 2016)

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<sup>11</sup> Bilingual programs and services for low-income students in Texas public schools were hit especially hard by budget cuts in 2011, the former of which has decreased by 40% since 2008 despite the growing number of students learning English as a second language (Marder and Villa 2017).

With this speech, Trump established a xenophobic and racist tone to his campaign, which galvanized disenfranchised blue-collar Anglo-Americans and racists alike, many of whom played an integral role in electing him president. Emboldened by his election, Trump has continued to insult Spanish-speaking immigrants by calling them “*bad hombres*” ‘bad people’ and citing false statistics blaming them and other minorities for crime (Reilley 2016).

Unsurprisingly, such rhetoric has been accompanied by administrative and legislative attacks on the Spanish language and Spanish-speaking immigrants. One of the principal tenants of Trump’s campaign was his plan to construct a wall along the entire border between Mexico and the United States, a distance of approximately 1,965 miles. His plans for the wall have caused significant congressional division, contributed to multiple government shutdowns—including the longest in American history—and resulted in numerous revised budget plans, and all for naught; his wall now lay abandoned and largely incomplete. Following his inauguration in January of 2017, all Spanish materials and articles on the White House website were quickly removed and have not been replaced (Thomsen 2018). The Trump administration has also terminated the Differed Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an executive action implemented by the Obama Administration to shield children who entered the U.S. with their parents from deportation, without following required immigration procedures. Federal court decisions overrode the Trump Administration’s action, and as of December 2020, thanks to a U.S. district court order issued in the Eastern District of New York, DACA was restored, and application receipt renewed (National Immigration Law Center 2021). The backlash

regarding this rescission was extensive and resulted in widespread public outcry and dozens of state lawsuits against the Trump administration (Kopan 2017). The Trump administration has also terminated the Temporary Protected Status Program, which will result in the eventual deportation of approximately 300,000 Salvadoran war refugees and Hondurans (as well as Haitians and immigrants from the Middle East and Horn of Africa) and their separation from their American-born children (Reilley 2016; Ibe and Johnson 2019).

Perhaps most controversial of all is the Trump Administration's Zero-Tolerance Policy, under which any person (regardless of age) who is apprehended while attempting to cross the Mexico-U.S. border without documentation is subject to criminal prosecution. This bill has led to widespread human rights violations and the construction of concentration camp-like tent cities on the border where apprehended migrants await prosecution. Living conditions in such tent-cities are deplorable, and present one of the largest humanitarian crises on American soil to date. While fervent national and international outrage finally pressured Trump begrudgingly to sign an executive order ending the separation of families, it continues to be a divisive and unsolved issue to date (Meng 2018).

Such an anti-immigrant and anti-Spanish climate inculcated by the Trump administration is likely to have a highly negative effect on Spanish usage and transmission. In her ethnographic study regarding Spanish language maintenance among 19 Mexican Americans families, Velázquez (2019) reports that a number of her informants have experienced verbal attacks and shaming for speaking Spanish in public,

which has made some mothers increasingly nervous about their children speaking Spanish in public. I discuss the affective repercussions of Trump's America on Latinx and Spanish-speaking immigrants in Chapter 5; including fear, a common motif throughout my interviews, and how current politics have caused many Spanish speakers to avoid speaking Spanish at all costs, as to avoid discrimination or even detention.

## **2.2. CONTACT PHENOMENA AND HERITAGE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS OF SPANISH**

Due to a complex combination of internal and external factors, including those just presented, varieties of American Spanish present a number of lexical and morphosyntactic traits that are unattested (or less attested) in monolingual varieties of Spanish in Hispanophone nations. Research into the linguistic phenomena distinguishing such contact varieties dates back to the early 20th century, when Aurelio Macedonia Espinosa (1909) examined New Mexican Spanish. To date, he has provided perhaps the most comprehensive account of the lexical, morphosyntactic, and phonological features of any variety of American Spanish. Since Espinosa's early study, numerous researchers have examined the linguistic phenomena characterizing contact varieties of Spanish across the country at all levels: phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, etc. In many cases, such features are seen at higher rates in the speech of bilinguals with limited productive competence and who are farther removed from immigration, many of whom are heritage language speakers (HLS) of Spanish. Since the majority of the participants in the current study (16/23 or 69.6%) meet many of the linguistic and social criteria proposed to characterize HLS speakers of Spanish, it would be remiss not to include a brief description of how I define an HLS speaker.

While many conceptions and definitions exist, researchers and educators alike agree that HLS share a historical/ethnic connection to the heritage language and were raised in a home where a language other than English was spoken to some degree. Such speakers can usually understand the heritage language and are to some extent bilingual in that language and English. HLS of Spanish generally experience subtractive bilingualism (Valdés 2001; Velázquez 2019) in that Spanish, their first and native language, is a minority language relegated to a lower socioeconomic position in relation to the majority language, English, where it lacks both the same degrees of prestige and value. Due to a combination of various social and cultural factors, such as pressure to assimilate, negative societal attitudes towards Spanish, and exceedingly few educational opportunities to use the heritage language, especially at school where English rules, HLS Spanish gradually dilutes over time and becomes replaced with English as their dominant language (Montrul 2018). Thus, they become fully proficient in English, usually at the expense of their Spanish. Also referred to as ‘semi-speakers’, ‘home background speakers’, and even ‘transitional bilinguals’, HLS are characterized by what Lipski calls "a lop-sided performance-competence ratio" (Lipski 1993:156), in which their receptive skills tend to be considerably higher than their productive skills. As he argues, they can recognize and understand all varieties of the heritage language (including jokes) as well as carry out a full conversation, but introduce grammatical substitutions, semantic extensions, and phrasal calques to their speech that a native speaker would be less likely to produce, or at least to a lesser extent (Lipski 1993, 2008; Valdés 2001).

Due to highly variable degrees of input and acquisition of the heritage language, as well as to inter-speaker variation in terms of ethnicity, region, socioeconomic status, opportunities to use the heritage language, etc., it is difficult to provide an exact definition of a heritage language speaker. As Montrul (2018) explains, “heritage speakers’ degree of bilingualism is highly variable. By now it is widely accepted that bilinguals with perfectly balanced command of two languages are a myth, and that the majority of bilinguals use their languages in different contexts and for different purposes” (Montrul 2018:145). Nonetheless, the following combination of factors is usually present in the ontogenesis of HLS of Spanish: (a) the speaker has virtually no schooling in Spanish; (b) the speaker spoke Spanish as a young child either exclusively at home or alongside English; (c) the speaker experienced a rapid shift to English before puberty, usually at the onset of schooling; (d) many speak non-prestige varieties of Spanish and lack formal registers; and (e) they have high degrees of linguistic insecurity (Lipski 1993, 2008; Valdés 2001; Montrul 2010).

Similarly, in her Heritage Speaker Prototype Model, Zyzik (2016) agrees that HLS tend to share these characteristics, and she proposes two additional characteristics. That is, she argues that HLS tend to share: (a) high levels of basic-level cognition, or a speaker’s implicit knowledge regarding phonology/phonetics, morphology, and syntax, and automaticity in accessing/processing these areas; and (b) low levels of high-level cognition, or uncommon vocabulary items and morphosyntactic constructions, more grammatically complex sentences, and written discourse skills that are usually acquired via formal education. HLS, then, tend to be strong in the implicit areas of Spanish they



acquired naturalistically at home before schooling in English interrupted their Spanish linguistic development. However, once this interruption occurs, they often lose the opportunity to develop explicit knowledge and high-level cognition in Spanish, knowledge that their peers living in Spanish-speaking countries typically acquire in school. This lack of formal education in Spanish often exacerbates many of the linguistic and psychological issues they face. Over half of the informants in the current work share several of these social, linguistic, and psychological characteristics to some degree, especially those who are two or more generations removed from immigration. As such, the notion of heritage language Spanish is highly relevant to this study and represents a lens through which I analyze the results and implications in Chapters 4 through 6.

I now present the significant morphosyntactic features attested in contact varieties and HLS speech alike that I examined in speech of my participants. These include: (a) gender concord; (b) aspect; (c) mood; (d) subject pronoun expression; (e) copula usage; (f) preposition usage; (g) subject verb agreement; and (h) present progressive and gerund usage. In the subsection 2.3.2, I discuss the presence of English in American varieties of Spanish and divide all such lexical phenomena into lone lexical items and multi-item insertions.

### **2.2.1. GENDER CONCORD**

Variation in gender concord is a widely attested feature in bilingual Spanish speakers of contact varieties throughout the United States (Hensey 1973; Lipski 1993, 2008; Chaston 1996; Montrul, Foote, and Perpignan 2008; Wolford and Carter 2010). Lipski (1993, 2008), for instance, examined grammatical innovations in the speech of transitional

bilinguals<sup>12</sup> in Houston, Texas (mostly Mexican speakers) and compared them to other varieties of heritage Spanish such as that of urban New Jersey and New York (mostly Puerto Rican speakers), Los Angeles (mostly Mexican speakers) and Miami (mostly Cuban speakers). Across speakers and cities, he found that speakers did not always inflect adjectives to agree in number and gender with the noun they modify. Examples include *mi blusa es blanco*; ‘my blouse is white’ (Houston Spanish), *tenemos un casa allí*; ‘we have a house there’ (Houston Spanish), and *decían palabras que eran inglés*; ‘they said words that were English’.

A lack of full gender concord has occupied a great deal of Silvina Montrul’s research trajectory, which attests that this is an especially problematic area for HLS that distinguishes them from native speakers but joins them with L2 learners (Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán 2008; Montrul 2010, 2018). In a similar fashion to Montrul’s work, Chaston (1996) examined this feature among 15 HLS at the University of Texas at Austin. He found that, in general, speakers were more likely to exhibit full gender concord with canonical nouns, masculine nouns, and determiners than with non-canonical nouns<sup>13</sup>, feminine nouns, and adjectives. Similarly, participants showed higher rates of full inflection with words ending in /o/ and /n/, lower rates with words ending in /d/ and

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<sup>12</sup> Lipski defines transitional bilinguals as those with a ‘lop-sided performance-competence ratio’, or those with higher productive abilities in English than in Spanish. While they recognize and understand all varieties of Spanish and can carry out a full conversation in Spanish, they lack full productive competence and produce instances of grammatical substitution that a native speaker with formal education in Spanish would tend to avoid.

<sup>13</sup> Nouns that deviate from regular gender rules, such as /o/ being a masculine marker and /a/ being a feminine marker.

/ción/, and the lowest rates of all with nouns of Greek origin ending in *-ma* (Lozano 1974; Studerus 1980; Sánchez 1982; Chaston 1996; Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán 2008).

Wolford and Carter (2010) found analogous results in the Las Alas community, a small, predominantly Latinx town located between San Antonio and the Mexican border. Among speakers, they attest evidence of lexical and morphosyntactic change that they interpret as either indicating incomplete acquisition and/or language shift to English. Among the most common morphosyntactic changes, they found gender concord to be particularly vulnerable, in that speakers frequently did not decline determiners to agree with the nouns they were modifying (e.g., *Un \*buena alumno*, ‘a good student’; *\*los maestras* ‘the female teachers’). Such a lack of full declension showed an intergenerational cline as well, in that the oldest, Spanish-dominant speakers showed the lowest rates of this innovation, while the youngest, English-dominant speakers showed significantly higher rates.

### **2.2.2. ASPECT**

Although less studied than gender concord, aspect is also prone to innovation in varieties of American Spanish. In general, bilingual speakers farther removed from immigration show conflation between perfective and imperfective forms and display lower rates of target-like behavior in comparison to native speakers (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Montrul 2002). Montrul and Perpiñán (2011), for instance, examined this feature among 60 HLS and 60 second language (L2) learners of varying degrees of proficiency via two morphology recognition tasks and two sentence conjunction tasks. Across tasks, they found that both L2 and HLS learners produced similarly high rates of grammatical

substitution for both preterit and imperfect tokens in terms of raw means. Nonetheless, L2s showed statistically significant lower substitution rates for imperfect tokens than HLS, which further supports the notion that aspect is an innovation-prone area for HLS of Spanish. While she did not focus explicitly on aspect, MacGregor-Mendoza (2005), attests similar variation among low-proficiency Spanish speakers in their realization of the preterit. She found that speakers farther removed from immigration showed higher rates of preterit substitution especially among irregular forms. Van Buren (2012) reports comparable findings in her examination of aspect usage in HLS of Chilean descent. Overall, she found that speakers tended to opt for the preterit in most past-tense contexts as the default mode for the past, even those traditionally reserved for the imperfect.

### **2.2.3. MOOD**

Mood is another common source of variation in contact Spanish, and generally manifests in the form of substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive or vice versa across a number of grammatical contexts (Montrul 2007; Potowski, Jegerski, & Morgan-Short, 2009). Silva-Corvalán (1994) examined subjunctive simplification among three generations of Spanish speakers in Los Angeles, California in which the first generation comprised of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, the second generation included their children, and the third generation consisted of their largely English dominant grandchildren. She found that with each subsequent generation, speakers used the subjunctive in fewer contexts while they increasingly favored the indicative in both obligatory and optional contexts. In obligatory contexts, the first generation employed the subjunctive in 93.8% of all cases, while the second generation did so in 75% of all cases,

and the third generation did so in only 50% of all cases. She observed a similar pattern for optional contexts where the first generation showed target-like subjunctive usage in 30.9% of cases while the second and third generations did so in only 23.3% and 12.4% of cases, respectively.

Silva-Corvalán also found that the more complex forms of the subjunctive, such as the pluperfect subjunctive or the present perfect subjunctive, were reduced or absent entirely in the second and third generations. The third generation, for instance, showed highly reduced usage of the present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive and showed no instances of using the pluperfect subjunctive or the present perfect subjunctive. Interestingly, in obligatory contexts, even the first generation did not show 100% accuracy, which prompted Silva-Corvalán to conclude that subjunctive simplification is not caused by contact with English, but rather is a change that is internal to many varieties of Spanish. Indeed, such simplification has been attested in monolingual varieties in countries throughout the Spanish-speaking world, such as Argentina, México, Uruguay, and Venezuela. However, since it is found at a much more advanced stage among U.S. born Spanish-speakers with lower competence in Spanish and who are farther removed from immigration, she concludes that English, rather than being the origin of this change, is in fact accelerating this change; this is the case for many of the grammatical features under study (Silva-Corvalán 1994).

Mood is a widely studied feature among HL speakers/learning, given that it is generally acquired later in one's linguistic development. Thus, normal acquisition of this feature is often disrupted for HLS when they start schooling in English (Mikulski 2010;

Correa 2011; Silva-Corvalán 2014; Rodríguez 2017). Montrul and Perpiñán also examined mood along with tense and aspect among HLs and L2s in their 2011 study. They found analogous results to aspect, in that participants showed higher target rates for the indicative than the subjunctive (92.3% vs. 64.8%) and (92.8% vs. 78.3%) and that the L2 learners showed statistically significantly higher target-like rates with the subjunctive than the HL learners in the morphology recognition tasks. Even among speakers at the advanced proficiency level, the researchers found that L2s showed more target-like behavior with regards to selecting mood than the HL learners. They conclude that HL learners show less target-like behavior than L2 learners with regards to structures acquired later (such as aspect and mood).

#### **2.2.4. SUBJECT PRONOUN EXPRESSION**

An especially well-studied grammatical innovation encountered in American varieties of Spanish manifests at the level of subject pronoun expression, especially among English-dominant bilingual speakers (Lipski 1993, 2008; Shin and Otheguy 2013). Lipski (1993, 2008) found that such speakers differ from balanced bilinguals and fluent Spanish speakers by showing nearly categorical use of subject pronouns. In most contexts where the verb form alone would be sufficient to identify the subject of the sentence, subject pronouns are redundant and unnecessary in Spanish. When used, their presence often becomes marked, and speakers generally use them to indicate emphasis, contrast, or disambiguation. However, transitional bilinguals (or HLS), Lipski argues, tend to use subject pronouns in a categorical sense, and use them in contexts in which they do not intend to convey emphasis, contrast, or disambiguation. He claims that this phenomenon,

in part, stems from contact with English, a language in which subject pronouns must always accompany a verb. Examples from his data include:

2.1. *\*Yo sé las palabras pero cuando \*yo tengo que encontrar las palabras es cuando \*yo tengo problemas*

‘I know the words, but when I have to find the words is when I have problems’

(Houston Spanish; Lipski 2008: 68)

2.2. *\*Yo fui la mayor y \*yo no me acuerdo que \*yo hablaba inglés cuando comencé la escuela,*

‘I was the oldest and I don’t remember if (that) I spoke English when I started school (Houston Spanish; Lipski 2008: 68)

In both examples, the subject pronoun *yo* ‘I’, is unnecessary, so a native Spanish speaker would use it only once at the beginning of the sentence, if at all, given that the first-person singular verb endings suffice in clearly identifying the subject. Some researchers argue that overt subject pronoun expression responds to time spent in a contact setting and to generation (Livert & Otheguy 2010; Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert 2007; Otheguy and Zentella 2012; Shin and Otheguy 2013). Focusing on New York City Spanish, these studies argue that immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries show a direct correlation in overt subject expression and time spent in New York City; the longer they live there, the more subject pronouns they use in their Spanish discourse. In one such study, Otheguy, Zentella and Livert (2007) examined pronoun subject expression across various linguistic contexts and extralinguistic factors among the six largest groups of Spanish-speakers in the New York City (NYC) whom they divided into two groups: a Caribbean

group (Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans) and a mainland group (Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Mexicans). In addition to documenting dialectal convergence between the Caribbean and Mainland groups,<sup>14</sup> they found that English contact played a significant role in pronoun expression rates. Namely, they report that contact with English, a language in which subject pronoun expression is obligatory in all contexts, resulted in statistically significant increases in overt subject pronoun expression in the Spanish discourse of speakers across both groups. This effect was also generational. That is, in relation to the immigrant generation (those born abroad and who emigrated to the NYC as adults), participants born and raised in NYC showed statistically significant higher rates of overt pronoun expression than their parents. Such findings correlated with the fact that these NYC-born speakers showed more widespread bilingualism than their parents, had lower productive competence in Spanish, and used Spanish less frequently on a daily basis. The researchers conclude that these factors made them more susceptible to English influence, and thus they project patterns of English subject pronoun usage onto their Spanish.

#### **2.2.5. COPULAR VERB USAGE.**

Copula variation in the form of innovative usage of *estar* has been the subject of widespread sociolinguistic inquiry among contact varieties of Spanish throughout the Spanish-speaking world (Ortiz-López 2000; Geeslin and Guijaro-Fuentes 2008; Alfarez 2012). In dialects ranging from Cuban Spanish, Puerto Rican Spanish, to Basque and

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<sup>14</sup> Such convergence manifested in both groups who produced statistically significant higher rates of subject pronouns in their Spanish discourse across certain linguistic contexts (e.g., first-person singular, second-person singular pronouns, and third-person singular pronouns).



Catalan Spanish, studies show that speakers increasingly opt for the copula *estar* at the expense of *ser* in adjectival predicates expressing an inherent quality: *Juan es alto* vs. *Juan está alto*<sup>15</sup> (Silva-Corvalán 1994:591). In two studies (1986; 1994a), Silva-Corvalán examined this innovation among three generations of Mexican American Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles. Overall, she found increasingly higher rates of the phenomenon in generations 2 and 3 than in generation 1, as well as a correlation with proficiency level. That is, those speakers with lower proficiency in Spanish (who also tended to be second- and third-generation speakers) showed the highest rates of *estar* extension. Notably, the generation 1 speakers did not show 100% accuracy in copula choice and extended *estar* in almost half of all instances requiring *ser* (44.5%). She argues that this change is found elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world but is seen at a more advanced rate in Los Angeles. As such, she claims that, like subjunctive substitution, this change does not originate from contact with English but is accelerated by intense contact; hence it is more common in the speech of speakers of generations 2 and 3 who have higher proficiency in English. She concludes that without constant waves of immigration revitalizing Spanish in Los Angeles, *estar* extension could spread to the community level.

Gutiérrez (1994) found that this change, rather than stemming from contact, also has roots in monolingual Spanish-speaking communities. In his examination of copula choice in Morelia, Mexico, he found innovative usage of *estar* in up to 16% of cases where *ser* would be expected. Similar to what Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994a) found, such

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<sup>15</sup> “Juan is tall”

usage was especially common with adjectives referring to age, size, and physical appearance. In 2003, he compared innovative usage of *estar* among his Morelia speakers to that of bilingual Spanish-English speakers in Houston, Texas and in Los Angeles, California. He found that such innovative usage increased to 22% and 34% among speakers in Houston and Los Angeles, respectively, and he attributes it to simplification, or the need to reduce the cognitive load of balancing two linguistic systems. He concludes that increased rates of this change in bilingual communities adds further support to the fact that such a change is accelerated by contact with English. Such increased rates were also induced by contact with speakers of different varieties of Spanish, and a lack of access to formal education in Spanish among many of the participants studied.

Along a similar vein, Wolford and Carter (2018) examined innovative *estar* in the Las Alas community, near the Texas-Mexico border, as a potential grammatical indicator of language shift in a community marked by pervasive intergenerational language shift. After examining this variable in the context of *estar* + predicate adjective in accordance with various internal and external factors among the speech of 26 community members, they determined that similar linguistic constraints influenced linguistic behavior as in previous studies (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994a; Gutierrez 1994; Salazar 2007). Most importantly, they found that age played an important role in *estar* expansion. That is, the youngest group showed statistically significantly higher rates of *estar* expansion than older groups (35% vs. 28% and 17%, respectively, and GoldVarbX factor weights of 0.532, 0.504, and 0.398, respectively), which they interpret as indicative of a change in

progress in apparent time. Such younger speakers also tended to be second- and third-generation Mexican-Americans. Interestingly, Wolford and Carter found considerably lower rates than among Silva-Corvalán's Los Angeles speakers or Gutierrez's Houston speakers (60% and 46% prospectively), and comparable rates to monolingual Spanish-speaking communities in Cuba, Michoacán (Mexico), and México City. As such, they conclude that influence from English represents just one of many internal and external sources of such innovation (De Jonge 1993; Gutiérrez 1994; Alfarez 2012). Nonetheless, the fact that higher rates of *estar* expansion were found among younger speakers farther removed from immigration bears relevance to the current work, and hence is a feature under study here.

#### **2.2.6. VERB-SUBJECT AGREEMENT**

Substitution in verb-subject agreement is yet another feature that characterizes HLS <sup>16</sup> of varying ethnolinguistic backgrounds (Montrul 2002; Polinsky 2008). Lipski (1993, 2008) argues that such speakers frequently do not decline verbs to agree with the subject, especially with first- and third-person singular forms. Montrul (2011) attests similar patterns in her comparison of the realizations of a suite of morphosyntactic features in the speech of 72 Anglophone L2s and 70 HLS. In addition to producing higher rates of innovations in gender concord, direct object marking, tense, aspect, and mood, the HLS in her study often did not fully decline verbs to agree with their subjects. They showed especially high rates of innovation with irregular forms in the preterit and generally showed higher rates of subject-verb innovation than their L2 counterparts.

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<sup>16</sup> I define heritage language speakers in Section 2.2.

I have found comparable results in preliminary work with the *Spanish in Texas Corpus*<sup>17</sup> and, anecdotally, with HLS in Spanish classes I have taught. One speaker in particular, a third-generation HLS with rather low productive competence (but very high receptive competence) produced several verbs that did not agree with the subject. In many cases, she employed first-person singular endings with a third-person singular subject, or vice-versa:

2.3. (*el dachhund*) .... \**quiero mucha atención*. ‘(The dachhund) wants a lot of attention.’

2.4. (*yo*)... *no quiere seguir*, (0.1) *dos degrees*. ‘I don’t want to pursue two degrees.’

Like Montrul’s (2011) participants, the bulk of her innovative forms occurred with irregular preterit verbs in which she merged third-person singular and first-person singular endings:

2.5. (*Yo*) *Y creció en un pueblo chiquita que se llama Cotulla*. ‘And I grew up in a small town called Cotulla.’

2.6. (*Yo*) *creí que pue, pudo correr muy lejos de él... y, fue, todo fue bien, cuando me uhm*, (0.3) *me volteó y fue allí...* ‘I believed that I could run farther than him, and ... everything, everything was fine when I turned around and he was there.’

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<sup>17</sup> An open corpus consisting of 96 sociolinguistic interviews with heritage and native speakers of Spanish from all over Texas (Bullock and Toribio 2012).

### **2.3. LEXICAL VARIABLES**

Having presented the grammatical variables under study, I now describe the lexical variables I employed to examine language shift. I define these variables and present an overview of previous work on said variables that include borrowings, which I term ‘lone lexical items’ as explained in the following section. Within this section I also present ‘loanshifts/semantic extensions’ and ‘invented forms.’ I then discuss ‘code-switches’, or ‘multi-item switches’, and the controversy surrounding the distinction between multi-item and lone lexical items.

#### **2.3.1. BORROWINGS AND OTHER LEXICAL PHENOMENA**

Borrowings and code-switching have occupied sociolinguistic and linguistic studies for over a century (Espinosa 1909; Weinreich 1968; Poplack 1980; Poplack 1987; Lipski 1993, 2008; Myers-Scotton 2002; Poplack 1980; Nieto 2010; Toribio 2011; Poplack 2018). Broadly speaking, lexical borrowing involves the incorporation of a word from one language (such as English) into another language (such as Spanish) and that word may undergo varying extents of grammatical and phonological integration (Lipski 2008, 2014; Toribio 2011). Toribio and Bullock (2016), for instance, examine instances of borrowing/code-switching among HLS from the Spanish in Texas Corpus. They attest multiple instances of loanblends, in which speakers take English verbal roots and combine them with Spanish verbal morphology, thus resulting in loans that are both morphologically and phonologically integrated into Spanish. Examples include *parquear* ‘to park’, *cachar*, ‘to catch’, and *lonchear* ‘to eat lunch’. Toribio and Bullock also found 12 instances of the construction *hacer* ‘to do’+ V, in which speakers combine the light

verb *hacer* with a bare form English infinitive to express a verb: *hacer* push. Here, ‘push’ is devoid of any phonological or morphological integration, but combined with the Spanish verb *hacer*, which speaks to complexity and utility of language-mixing.

In many cases, lexical items incorporated from the superordinate language fill a conceptual or cultural gap in the recipient language. As Weinreich says in his seminal work on lexical borrowing in various contact situations, “the need to designate new things, people, places, or concepts is obviously a cause of lexical innovation” (Weinreich 1968:56). In situations of language contact, speakers of the minority language often adopt words in English to express new concepts that may be unfamiliar to them/absent in the minority language. In her examination of linguistic efficiency in lexical borrowings in New York Spanish, Lapidus-Shin (2010:46) cites an example from Otheguy and Zentella’s (2000) corpus of spoken Spanish in New York City:

*2.7. Ella escogió al grupo . . . a un grupo de estudiantes para que tomaran AP biology. ‘She chose the group...a group of students to take AP biology.’*

In this example, the speaker inserts the English term “AP biology” to refer to a cultural concept specific to the American education system: Advanced Placement Biology, an intensive and more advanced course option offered in many American schools. Education systems in Hispanophone nations lack an exact equivalent for “AP biology” (additionally, many Spanish-speaking immigrants lack access to formal education in Spanish and are unfamiliar with highly specific educational terms); as such, the speaker borrowed the English term “AP Biology” to fill a cultural (and lexical) gap in Spanish. Myers-Scotton (2002) refers to such borrowings as “cultural borrowings”, which Haspelmath (2008)

calls “loanwords by necessity” (Haspelmath 2008:46) since they denote concepts or objects previously unknown and unnamed in the recipient language. While many loanwords do fill a cultural gap, it is also common for speakers of contact varieties to borrow terms for which the minority language already has a word. Poplack et al. (1988) found such an effect in their examination of English borrowings in Ottawa-Hull French in Ontario Canada. More specifically, they found a negligible number of loanwords that responded to issues of lexical need, and that the vast majority of the loanwords they collected did not fill a cultural or conceptual void, but rather replaced their respective French equivalents. Widespread examples include ‘gang’ for *bande*, ‘first’ for *premier*, ‘rough’ for *rugueux*, ‘meeting’ for *réunion*, ‘smart’ for *intelligent*, and bad luck for ‘*malchance*’ (Poplack et al. 1988: 61). Lapidus-Shin (2010:46) finds similar examples in the Zentella-Otheguy Corpus:

2.8. *Le pagué cash*. ‘I paid him cash’

2.9. *No es como antes que era un choice, una decisión*. ‘It’s not like before, [when] there was a choice, a decision’

Spanish has readily available equivalents for such items as ‘cash’ and ‘choice’ (‘*efectivo*’ and ‘*elección*’, respectively), so it is unlikely that need, or the notion of a cultural gap, motivates the borrowing of English words in these cases. As such, lexical need is an insufficient criterion to explain the motivating processes behind borrowing. Lapidus-Shin (2010) proposes other motivations for borrowings other than need, such as prestige, cultural pressure, and even linguistic efficiency. Many of the examples of English loanwords she collected contain fewer syllables than their Spanish equivalents. The word

'cash', for instance, contains three fewer syllables than '*efectivo*', so she argues that the speakers opt for shorter English equivalents to Spanish words (when available) since they are more linguistically economical (Lapidus 2010). She, along with other studies, attributes this tendency to the cost of cognitive capacity, speed, and other factors that play an important role in making speech as efficient as possible. In bilingual discourse, psycholinguistic efficiency is important. As Silva-Corvalán (1994:6) argues, "in language contact situations, bilinguals develop strategies aimed at lightening the cognitive load of having to remember and use two different linguistic systems". In some cases, then, when bilingual speakers have more than one word for the same concept at their disposal, they choose the least complex word to minimize the cognitive cost of balancing multiple linguistic systems (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Bullock and Toribio 2009; Lapidus-Shin 2010).

Other studies have focused on the semantic domains of lexical borrowings. Smead (1998, 2000), for instance, examined the semantic domains of English lexical borrowings in the *Diccionario de español chicano*, ('The Dictionary of Chicano Spanish') an extensive dictionary consisting of words and phrases produced by Chicano speakers throughout the Southwest. He found that almost one-third of the loanwords he collected were associated with a certain domain or register. He argues that the diglossic situation of Spanish in the U.S. causes bilingual speakers to experience certain activities in domains dominated by English. As such, vocabulary items denoting that activity become inextricably linked to English, the language in which speakers experience such words, and therefore they insert them into their Spanish discourse. In sum, he found that the majority of borrowings related to automobiles (14%: *breca* 'brake', *pícap* 'pick-up



truck’, *quémpen*, ‘camper’), sports and diversion (11%: *cachar* ‘to catch’, *driblar* ‘to dribble’, *escor* ‘score’), or Academia (7%: *taipear* ‘to type’, *tichear* ‘to teach’, and *sainear* ‘to sign one’s name’).

In other cases, perceived prestige of the languages in question may affect borrowing, especially in cases of unequal bilingualism such as Spanish in the United States, in which one language is “bounded” or “subordinate” in relation to another (e.g., Spanish to English). In such cases, speakers of the minority language adopt a word from the dominant language due to social and economic advantages associated with that language (Winford 2003; Sayahi 2011). Other factors that have been found to influence borrowing behavior in a speech community include: (a) intensity of contact and cultural pressure (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 1998; Winford 2003); (b) language attitudes (Hidalgo 1988; Anderson and Toribio 2007); (c) social networks to which the speaker belongs, as well as community norms (Poplack et al. 1988; Toribio 2011); (d) social class (Poplack et al. 1988); and (e) word class (van Houten 1994).

Another well-documented lexical phenomenon in contact varieties of Spanish are loanshifts/semantic extensions. In a U.S. Spanish context, these occur when a speaker adds a new meaning to a word in Spanish based on English semantic patterns; these often (but not exclusively) involve cognates. That is, a word like *juego* ‘game’ in a contact variety of Spanish may acquire the meaning ‘match’ from English, for which non-contact varieties would use a different word: *partido*. Another common example in U.S. Spanish varieties is the word *aplicación* ‘application’. Traditionally, it has referred

to the physical or metaphorical application of something but has acquired the meaning of ‘job application’ in many contact varieties given its phonological and morphological similarity to the English word. Other researchers delimit the definition of semantic extensions to include only instances involving “false friends”, or when a speaker adds an English meaning to a word in Spanish based on perceived morphological and phonological similarity (e.g., a word like *embarazada* ‘pregnant’ used for ‘embarrassed’) (Montes-Alcalá 2000; Rothman and Bell 2005; Nieto 2010). In my collection of tokens, I do not distinguish between semantic extensions and loanshifts but instead examine both.

Lexical creations have also been attested in contact varieties of Spanish, especially in the speech of HLS. These involve the creation of a form that resembles a standard word found in a dictionary but usually consists of an incorrect affix, and often mark the speech of children acquiring their first language as they learn their language’s derivational morphology. For Spanish speakers, mastery of the derivational morphological patterns of Spanish occurs between elementary and middle school, especially between the ages of eight and eleven (Zyzik 2020). For HLS of Spanish, such development occurs after natural acquisition of Spanish is interrupted by the onset of schooling in English at around age five. As such, HLS struggle with derivational morphology and thus produce what Zyzik (2020) calls “creative” forms such as *mayoridad* for *mayoría* ‘majority’ and she cites a number of studies also attesting that such forms tend to be common in the speech of HLS (Sánchez-Muñoz 2007; Fairclough and Belpoliti 2016; Zyzik 2016; Zyzik 2020:159). Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) and

Fairclough and Belpoliti (2016) liken such lexical creations to other lexical contact phenomena such as code-switching, loanwords, and calques, and found them to be common in bilingual Spanish-English speakers' discourse. In a preliminary study, Zyzik (2016) examined the derivational morphology knowledge of adult HLS speakers and found that such speakers evinced significant holes in their grasp of complex words, and tended to produce forms that, while technically possible, are not recorded in dictionaries of any Spanish-speaking variety. She claims that despite the lack of scholarly work on the topic, HLS indeed create new words based on their limited knowledge of derivational morphology. To confirm this, she carried out an in-depth study in which she examined the derivational morphological knowledge among 57 bilingual English-Spanish bilinguals of varying proficiency and monolingual speakers from Querétaro, México as a control group. In particular, she examined their acceptance of conventional and creative forms (*profundidad* 'depth' and *formalidad* 'formality' vs. *\*profundez* and *\*formaleza*). Having administered a vocabulary knowledge test and acceptability judgment task, she found that while all speakers, regardless of proficiency level, widely accepted conventional forms, English-dominant bilingual speakers were much more accepting of creative non-conventional forms, and all the bilingual speakers differed significantly from the monolingual speakers in their acceptability of such forms. She concludes that both English-dominant and Spanish-dominant HLS are far more accepting of creative forms than their monolingual counterparts, which she attributes to their bilingual reality in which there are often two ways of saying the same word (*solicitud* vs. *aplicación*

‘application’), and as such are more willing to accept doublets, even in cases where one word is not a conventional form (Zyzik 2020).

### **2.3.2 CODE-SWITCHING**

Code-switching, a hallmark of bilingual speech, on the other hand, involves the alternation of two languages within the same segment of discourse, often at the phrasal or sentential level, which can (but not always) differentiate it from lexical borrowings. Code-switching is attested in a wide gamut of different genres such as conversation, songs, advertisements, magazines, cards, poetry, comedy, etc. Such switches can occur between sentences (inter-sentential) or within the same sentence (intra-sentential). In either case, code-switching is a highly regulated and regimented practice in which speakers obey the structural rules of both Spanish and English. Additionally, those who practice code-switching do so without being taught, and acquire the complex rules naturally, through face-to-face interaction within the community. Although a widespread linguistic practice for many bilingual speakers and communities, code-switching is a variable trait dependent on the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts at play in American Latinx speech. Community and societal norms as well as language ideologies, at all levels, closely regulate code-switching behavior, and thus play an important role in its usage, frequency, and dissemination throughout a particular community (Toribio 2002, 2011). For some, code-switching, and other types of language-mixing, encompassed within the term ‘Spanglish’ are a highly problematic practice. Some consider code-switching to be impure, hybridized, and incorrect, and espouse its elimination. As Lipski

(2008) explains in his overview of Spanglish, language purists decry the types of language-mixing that characterize contact varieties of Spanish and fear that they are corrupting the purity and comprehensibility of Spanish. Echeverría in particular, views Spanglish as a bona fide threat to the integrity of the Spanish language and associates it with marginalized, uneducated people who have submitted to the demands and power of Anglo-American language and culture. In an editorial promoting his negative views regarding Spanish-English language mixing, he (2003) argues that:

*La triste realidad es que el spanglish es principalmente el idioma de los hispanos pobres, que en muchos casos son casi analfabetos en ambos idiomas. El que incorpore palabras y construcciones del inglés a su habla cotidiana se debe a que carecen de la educación y el léxico español que podría ayudarles en el proceso de adaptación a la cambiante cultura que les rodea. (Echeverría 2003: 86)*

‘The sad reality is that Spanglish is mainly the language of poor Hispanics, who in many cases are almost illiterate in both languages. The incorporation of words and constructions from English into their daily speech is owed to a lack of education and Spanish lexicon that could help them in the process of adapting to the changing culture surrounding them.’

Thus, he associates code-switching, and other forms of Spanglish, with poverty and a lack of literacy in both Spanish and English. Along a similar vein, journalists such as Keller (1976) and Osio (2002) portray Spanglish as a language of the oppressed. In her sociolinguistic review of Spanish in the United States, Nieto (2010) cites an article

written by editorialist Keller (1976) in which he claims Spanglish to be a linguistic manifestation of Anglo-American domination and a painful and daily reminder of U.S. Latinxs' "imperialistic exploitation" and marginalization (Nieto 2010: 47; Keller 1976: 28). Likewise, in an infamous article in the *Houston Chronicle*, Editorialist Patrick Osio (2001:1) lambastes language-mixing in U.S. Latinx Spanish discourse and calls such phenomena 'useless hybrids' — as early as the title. He continues to refer to Spanglish as "an aberration" and states that any speaker of it should be put in "the hall of education shame (Osio 2002:1).

Despite widespread negative perceptions of code-switching, linguists argue for its linguistic complexity and adherence to the grammatical rules of both Spanish and English. Nieto (2010) refers to users as "adept bilingual juggles" (Nieto 2010:48), hence joining other linguists in promoting its linguistic intricacies and social significance (Lipski 2008; Bullock and Toribio 2009; Otheguy and Stern 2010; Toribio 2011; Otheguy and Zentella 2012). Such code-switches are often overt, in which the speaker inserts English words and phrases into their Spanish-language discourse in such a way that the phonological and/or morpho-syntactic forms are retained intact. I present an example of such overt mixing from my own data below:

2.10. *Que cambia muy fina, muy ah... muy... \*it flows really nice and it's... no está lo mismo.* 'That it switches really nicely, very ah, very.... It's not the same.'

Here, the speaker inserts an entire phrase from English that has maintained both the phonological and morpho-syntactic form of English, rendering it as unequivocally recognizable as such. Other switches are more covert in nature, and represent instances of

convergence, in which both languages in contact increasingly begin to resemble one another (Bullock and Toribio 2004). Toribio and Bullock (2016) also examine covert instances of language-mixing among HLS from the *Spanish in Texas Corpus*. One especially common instance of convergence they find includes the construction *agarrar* + NP. Here, speakers extend the meaning of the verb *agarrar*, which means ‘to grasp or grab’, to acquire various usages of the English verb ‘to get’. Below is an example they include from their data (Toribio and Bullock 2016:41):

2.11. *Necesita agarrar una experiencia en algo. Aunque sea en lavar trastes.*

*Pero necesitas agarrar una experiencia.*

‘You need to get experience in something. Even if it be washing dishes. But you need to get experience.’

Here, *agarrar* is not used to convey a physical seizure of experience, hence deviating from the standard usage of this verb. Instead, it uses a metaphorical sense of the English verb ‘to get’; indeed, one ‘gets’ experience in English, and so the speaker projects that usage of ‘to get’ to the Spanish verb *agarrar*. Through quantitative analysis and corpus methods, Toribio and Bullock (2016) find that this linguistic phenomenon stems from contact with English but also obeys social conditioning.

Other researchers find that speakers with reduced proficiency in Spanish, who also tend to be farther removed from immigration, often show especially high rates of each phenomenon that could also point to language shift (Lipski 1993, 2008, 2016; Silva-Corvalán 1994; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005). Such switches tend to consist mainly of ‘emblematic codeswitching’, a common practice in which speakers insert a Spanish

word, exclamation, or idiomatic expression into their English discourse for interactive or performative purposes and/or to project a Spanish-speaking identity; in such cases, the speaker is often incapable of producing longer stretches of discourse in Spanish and thus is limited to such tags and set phrases (Poplack 1980, 1987).

Shift becomes especially evident when core vocabulary in Spanish begins to be replaced by English. There are many documented cases of core vocabulary being borrowed in language contact situations (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Poplack et al. 1988; Myers-Scotton 2002; Tadmor 2007; Haspelmath 2008; Lapidus-Shin 2010). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that cultural pressure can exert serious pressure on a language minority to adopt loanwords from the dominant language. At stage 3 of their five-point scale of more intense contact, they find that the borrowing of core vocabulary starts to occur along with a higher degree of structural borrowing. Similarly, in his examination of the types of borrowing that occur in Southeast Asian languages, Tadmor (2007) found that speakers of Ceq Wong, a moribund and subordinate Austroasiatic language in Malaysia, have adopted many core vocabulary terms from Malay. As the socio-politically dominant language of Malaysia (and the most widely-spoken), Malay exerts significant cultural pressure on lesser-spoken indigenous languages of Malaysia (such as Ceq Wong, which has only about 480 speakers left), and as such, speakers of these languages have replaced much of their basic or core vocabulary with equivalents from the dominant language. While Spanish-speakers in the U.S. are certainly more numerous than Ceq Wong speakers, they are subject to the linguistic and cultural dominance of English, which could pressure speakers to abandon core words in Spanish



in favor of English.

As such, I include lone lexical items and code-switching as two additional variables that I investigate in the speech of my participants. If rates of both are higher in generations further removed from immigration and consist of core vocabulary, such results could add additional robust evidence of language shift. After gleaned interview transcriptions for the presence of English in participants' speech, I divided all tokens into two broad categories, which I define in Chapter 3, of lone lexical items and multi-item insertions.

#### **2.4. PURPOSE/CONTRIBUTIONS**

Most studies regarding language shift have tended to examine it from a demographic perspective via survey questions or interviews targeting language usage, perceived proficiency, persons with whom they speak Spanish, and domains of use (López 1982a, 1982b; Hartz-González and Feingold 1986; Solé 1987, 1990; Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez 1995; Hernández-Chavez, Bills, and Hudson 1996; Bills 2005; Carreira 2013). Fewer works have focused on the linguistic evidence of language shift (Silva-Corvalán 1994; García 1995; Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta, and Bayley 1996; Gutiérrez 1994, 2003; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005), while more have investigated the lexical and grammatical changes that have arisen in American Spanish-speaking communities without framing them within a language shift paradigm (Poplack 1987, 2018; Lipski 1993, 2008; Gutiérrez 1994, 2003; Lapidus-Shin 2010; Toribio 2011). Studies examining multiple manifestations of language shift are even more limited; to my knowledge, only Silva-Corvalán (1994) has produced such a study in which she

examined how language usage/proficiency, grammatical changes, and lexical changes varied by generation among three generations of Spanish speakers of Mexican descent in Los Angeles, California.

Studies examining the affective side of language shift are especially scarce or understudied/underemphasized. While some early work employed ethnographic methodology to examine language shift and thus touched on personal elements (Castellanos 1990; Pearson and McGee 1993; Torres 1997; Zentella 1997; Bayley 1999), this was not their focus, and the researchers did not provide any linguistic evidence of language shift. Velázquez (2019) has conducted the only study, to my knowledge, that has explicitly studied the affective side of language maintenance/shift. Despite not being the main goal of her study, she did survey participants regarding the affective/emotional motivations for teaching their children to speak Spanish, as well as the affective value of Spanish in their lives in a part of the U.S. where Spanish has especially low ethnolinguistic vitality. I have not encountered any studies that have examined the affective elements of language maintenance and shift in Texas. I thus aim to contribute to the field by humanizing the data in an understudied community for such issues. When one considers the personal costs of language shift, the issue becomes all the more relevant. In my own data, I have found that language shift can be a highly painful and emotional experience, one that is replete with various sociolinguistic issues such as linguistic insecurity, identity construction, and even elements of hegemony, in which speakers start to take on the interests of the oppressor as their own and willingly

contribute to language shift (Gramsci 1971; Pyke 2010; Potowski 2012; Showstack 2017). I present these themes in greater detail in Chapter 5.

As such, the current study fills a research gap in two ways. First, it provides a comprehensive, quantitative examination of intergenerational language shift via demographic and linguistic means to show that it is indeed a problem among Spanish speakers in Austin, Texas. Of greater significance, this study qualitatively examines language shift via affective means to humanize the problem and treats it as more than a series of numbers and trends as previous studies have done. Should speakers farther removed from immigration show a preference for English and reduced Spanish proficiency in tandem with higher rates of grammatical changes and English lexical insertions/code-switches to English, then I will consider such speakers to be undergoing language shift to English. They will also likely have had personal and traumatic experiences with language shift. Spanish in Texas represents a unique situation given the demographic salience of the Spanish-speaking population. Most language-shift scenarios do not involve a minority group as large as Spanish speakers in the United States, or one that continues to grow so quickly (Grosjean 1982; Sasse 1992; Batibo 1992; Tadmor 2007; Boas 2009). It should also be noted that only one study has examined language shift to English among Spanish speakers in Central Texas (Laosa 1975), which was conducted 42 years ago, which leaves room for significant change in language maintenance patterns. Such a paucity in studies on Spanish in Central Texas adds further value and relevance to my research.

### 2.4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the issues I have raised in the previous discussion, my overarching goal in the present study is to determine if there are significant intergenerational differences in the aforementioned linguistic variables and whether or not participants farther removed from the generation of immigration show evidence of language shift via higher rates of said variables. I am guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How do language usage and proficiency in Spanish and English vary by generation in Austin, Texas?
- 2) How do previously attested grammatical substitutions, lone lexical items, multi-item code-switches, invented forms, and loanshifts/semantic extensions vary by generation?
- 3) How do the results of this study align with previous language shift models? Do they show that language shift in Central Texas is as clear-cut and deterministic as most previous studies have found (Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez 1995; Hernández-Chavez, Bills and Hudson 2006; Bernal-Enríquez 2002; Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Wolford and Carter 2018)?
- 4) What social and societal factors caused participants to shift to English, and what are the resulting affective and personal consequences of such shift? What are the effects on Spanish speakers in Austin?

The next chapter describes the methods used to obtain data to these questions.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0. DATA COLLECTION**

In the previous chapters, I presented the issue of language shift from Spanish to English among Spanish-speaking communities throughout the United States and the sociohistorical factors that pressure families to assimilate linguistically and culturally. I also surveyed the salient grammatical and lexical features that characterize American dialects of Spanish that have emerged from this unique sociolinguistic landscape. The disparate power relationship between Spanish and English, the socioeconomic advancement associated with English, as well as anti-Spanish sentiment at all levels of society—which has become increasingly marked under the Trump administration—have created a situation in which Spanish-speaking parents prioritize their children’s English development, to the detriment of their Spanish. As such, intergenerational language shift to English has been documented among Spanish-speaking families of varying national and ethnic origin across the Southwest and greater United States, and I add to this research tradition by examining intergenerational language shift in Central Texas Spanish, an understudied area, via two methods of data collection:

- (1) an online questionnaire designed to measure language usage and proficiency in Spanish and English among native and heritage speakers of Spanish throughout the city of Austin;
- (2) semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews with the same participants to corroborate information regarding language use and to collect data regarding presence of English, grammatical innovations (both attested and unattested) in

Spanish, and awareness of/experience with language shift.

The following chapter presents the specifics of each measure; namely, the procedures of data collection, participants included, categories of data, and methods of data analysis.

### **3.1. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION**

#### **3.1.1. MEASURE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE**

At the onset of each interview, participants, all of whom were literate, were sent a link to a questionnaire that they were able to complete on their smart phones, computers, or other technological devices; all participants had such access. The questionnaire was available in both Spanish and English, although only one participant requested the Spanish version. Design, distribution, and administration of the questionnaire were all conducted online via the survey software program Qualtrics (Qualtrics 2021). The questionnaire targeted participants' language use patterns and proficiency in English and Spanish and contained 35 items presented in a multiple-choice or short-answer format that took between five to ten minutes to complete. The survey largely consisted of demographic/biographic questions similar to those asked of each speaker in Bullock and Toribio's (2012) *Spanish in Texas Corpus* (also known as *SpinTX Corpus*)<sup>18</sup> and included questions regarding participants': (a) sex; (b) date and place of birth; (c) place of parents' birth; and (d) language(s) of K-12 education. Like the *SpinTX* corpus, my participants were also asked to rate their Spanish proficiency on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is the

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<sup>18</sup> The *SpinTX* corpus, is an open corpus of interviews with 96 bilingual Spanish-English speakers from cities all over Texas: <http://spanishintexas.org/about-the-project/>

lowest and 5 is the highest) across all four language skills in Spanish and in English (i.e., speaking, listening, reading, and writing).

Other questions included in the survey were taken from the preliminary questionnaire administered to consultants in the *Texas German Dialect Project*. This project was founded in 2001 to record, document, and analyze what remains of Texas German, a unique dialect of German that presents linguistic features absent in other dialects of German. Unfortunately, Texas German is expected to go completely extinct within the next 20 years since exceptionally few speakers under the age of 60 speak it fluently (Boas 2009).<sup>19</sup> Due to the endangered status of Texas German, many of the questions were designed to measure language shift to English, and as such were relevant to include in the current study. The questions address: (a) language use and acquisition as children (of both Spanish and English); (b) languages spoken and frequency of languages spoken (always, often, regularly, sometimes, never) with family members (parents, grandparents, siblings), friends (Latinx and non-Latinx), and coworkers (Latinx and non-Latinx) as children and now. These questions were also designed to measure how language use varies by social network since affiliation to social networks can affect language use patterns. In their study of inner-city neighborhoods in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Milroy and Milroy (1992) found that social networks establish speech norms for its members; those with closest ties to the network tended to follow these norms the most. Velázquez (2019) found a similar effect in her study of language maintenance among 19

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<sup>19</sup> Such information comes from the Texas German Dialect Project, a project founded in 2001 that aims to document and preserve what remains of Texas German to better understand the dynamics of language variation and change. (The Texas German Dialect Project 2021, Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin: <https://tgdp.org/>)

Mexican families in Nebraska. Affiliation to local Mexican social networks required fluency in Spanish, unless mothers and families chose to interact more with Anglo networks, which would have been difficult given their limited proficiency in English. Spanish, then, was necessary to avoid social isolation in a new and foreign land.

Other items on the questionnaires targeted (a) language usage in different domains (e.g., church, school, home, businesses, family gatherings) as children and now (as well as how strongly they associate these domains with Spanish and English usage); (b) participants' educational background; and (c) whether participants listen to Spanish-language radio/watch Spanish language television programming or not. My questionnaire also included items from MacGregor-Mendoza's (2005) study of intergenerational language shift in New Mexico, in which she examined the language(s) in which her participants count, think, dream, and pray (MacGregor-Mendoza 2005). Finally, I included two original questions: (1) In terms of generations spent in the U.S., how would you classify yourself? and (2) Are you of Hispanic or Latinx ethnicity? I added question (1) to place participants in their respective generation, and question (2) was added to ensure that all participants were of Mexican descent. The questionnaire in its entirety is included in the appendix.

### **3.1.2. MEASURE 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEWS**

The second measure of this study involved semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews in Spanish. Upon completion of the online questionnaire, each interviewee heard a short explanation of the consent forms. After signing the forms, each interview, conducted in Spanish to the extent possible, commenced and lasted between 30 to 45



minutes. All interviews were audio-recorded via Audacity software on my 2015, or 2020 Mac Air computer. To control for sound, each participant spoke into an Inovat AUX Microphone cord clipped to their collar, and then I normalized the sound (through Audacity) of each interview to eliminate any sound inconsistencies or significant pitch contours. In sum, I analyzed 102,530 words across the 22 transcriptions.<sup>20</sup>

As stated above, for each interview, I used questions similar to those used in the interviews for the *SpinTX Corpus*. Such questions were largely drawn from *Historias*,<sup>21</sup> the Spanish-language portion of the National Public Radio StoryCorps. *SpinTX* interviewers then chose from nearly 70 questions that focused on topics designed to yield comfortable, naturalistic speech between friends and/or family members. Such questions included topics regarding family roots, childhood memories, relationships, work and/or school, plans/goals for the future, identity and language, among others (Toribio and Bullock 2016). I used a number of questions taken directly from the interviews in the *SpinTX Corpus* but tailored most of them to fit the current study better and/or modify the wording to be more comprehensible to participants. I also added a number of my own questions.

In terms of the order of questions, I incorporated aspects of Labov's (1984) field

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<sup>20</sup> I interviewed Lionel and Alejandra at the same time, and so there is only one transcription for the two of them. The co-presence of another participant proved to affect both the form and content of responses. For instance, towards the beginning of the interview, Lionel's presence resulted in more cautious responses on Alejandra's behalf as I discuss in Chapter 5. Towards the end, the two started to contradict each other and even argue a bit. At first then, their co-presence was a limitation, but as they both grew more comfortable throughout the rest of the interview (especially Alejandra), their co-presence helped fuel the conversation and resulted in more nuanced responses as the two grappled with my questions together.

<sup>21</sup> *Historias* is an oral history project that includes recorded Spanish conversations of American Latinxs about their life experiences.

methods for linguistic change and variation in order to avoid the infamous “observer’s paradox.” This occurs when the interview setting intimidates the speaker and causes them to closely monitor their speech as to meet the perceived formality of the interview. The speaker then, does not produce their natural speech, which is what the interviewer set out to study in the first place, hence largely defeating the purpose of the interview (Labov 1984; Winford 2003). Following Labov’s (1984) conversation module network, I began with demographic/biographical questions and questions regarding work and childhood memories, then progressed to questions targeting family, dating/marriage, and peers, and ended with more charged, emotionally complex questions regarding fear, dreams/plans for the future, childhood memories regarding Spanish use, religion, or danger of death. By beginning with more familiar topics, I hoped to ease participants into the interview so that I could ask more difficult, probing questions at the end; this question flow *usually* steered participants away from monitoring their speech and facilitated production of naturalistic speech. In total, I devised a list of 50 questions from which to draw but did not ask all questions in any interview; the full list of questions is in the appendix. With timid, more reticent participants, I included more personal questions to make them feel comfortable and focus less on being interviewed. With participants who were friends or acquaintances of mine, I adlibbed some questions regarding their personal lives and interests that I knew would yield unmonitored speech. For instance, one speaker was a yoga instructor, so I asked her questions about yoga, which she was happy to answer at length. In all of the interviews I conducted, I also posed questions regarding participants’ experiences with Spanish and English in Texas, as well as with language shift, as these

were the means with which I collected the qualitative data. I discuss this in greater detail in section 3.6.

### **3.2. PARTICIPANTS**

Table 3.1. presents the extralinguistic factors characterizing each of the 23 participants, including their: (a) name<sup>22</sup>; (b) generation; (c) self-rated proficiency (as indicated by the questionnaire); (d) sex; (e) age; (f) profession at the time of interview; (g) city the speaker considers to be home; and (h) number of words in each interview. As I explain in section 3.2.4, I included speakers from other parts of Central Texas in order to collect data from additional participants. While I focus on Austin, I included some speakers from San Antonio, but they needed to have either lived in Austin at the time of the interview or had spent a period of five or more years living in Austin to be included in the study. I included them because of their unique perspective regarding the status of Spanish in two demographically distinct cities; I return to this theme in Chapter 5. The participants who were relatively new to Austin (i.e., those who had lived a minimum of five years there and/or did not have family roots in the city) represent community shift and speak to the evolving demographics of the city of Austin; it is difficult to define what it means to be a part of the Austin community, since it is constantly changing. Given these circumstances, I was quite inclusive in how I gauged affiliation to Austin. Nonetheless, all speakers needed to have resided and worked in the Austin area for at least five years and have some degree of familial or social ties to the area. I determined this in part with the

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<sup>22</sup> To protect participants' identities and to comply with IRB regulations, I assigned everyone pseudonyms which are included in Table 3.1

recruitment procedures (which I discuss below), having only interviewed participants with ties to myself or ties to someone within my own social network, or with the interview questions. In cases where I was less familiar with the participant, I asked questions regarding their social life and participation in any clubs/organizations in Austin to determine if they were integrated into the greater Austin community.

**TABLE 3.1. PARTICIPANTS' EXTRALINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS**

SPEAKER	GENERATION	PROFICIENCY	SEX	AGE	PROFESSION	CITY OF RESIDENCE	WORD COUNT
<b>Ramona</b>	0	5	F	31	Program Manager-Tech Company	Austin	5273
<b>Beatriz</b>	0	5	F	41	Account Manager/Yoga Instructor	Torreón, Coahuila, MX	3901
<b>Damián</b>	0	5	M	29	Accountant	Austin	5394
<b>Diego</b>	0	5	M	32	Channel Support Account Manager	Austin	5069
<b>Raquel</b>	0	5	F	27	Store Manager	Austin	5933
<b>Josie</b>	0	4	F	32	Social Worker	Austin or San	4782

							Antonio	
<b>Lionel</b>	0	5	M	65	Custodian	Austin	5479	
<b>Antonio</b>	1	4.75	M	31	Communications Director	Austin	5190	
<b>Carmen</b>	1	3.25	F	18	Undergraduate Student	San Antonio	3916	
<b>Sonia</b>	1	4	F	25	Social Worker	San Marcos	3714	
<b>Genova</b>	1	4	F	18	Undergraduate Student	Austin	5572	
<b>Anabel</b>	1	4	F	27	Social Worker	Austin	5951	
<b>Alicia</b>	1	3.5	F	27	Curbside Groceries Team Manager	Austin	3656	
<b>Rigoberta</b>	1	4.5	F	32	Financial Aid Advisor/Graduate Student	Austin	3618	
<b>Esteban</b>	1	3.75	M	29	Bank Manager	Austin	4712	
<b>Alexa</b>	1	3.25	F	32	Parking Permit Analyst	Austin	4776	

<b>Alejandra</b>	2	5	F	61	Caretaker	Austin	5479
<b>Carla</b>	2	3.5	F	33	Elementary School Teacher	San Antonio	4156
<b>Mónica</b>	2	3.25	F	21	Undergraduate Student	San Antonio	4846
<b>Sam</b>	3	3.5	M	27	Bartender	Austin	3772
<b>Danilo</b>	3	3.75	M	31	Tech Company- Customer Support	Austin or San Antonio	4144
<b>Enrique</b>	3	2.75	M	31	Grant Assistant	Austin	3654
<b>Gloria</b>	3	1	F	33	Event Services	Austin	5022

### 3.2.1 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

In sum, I included 23 participants in this study, whom I contacted through the university or my own social networks.<sup>23</sup> As such, participants mainly comprised current university students and young professionals/recent graduates. To contact potential participants, I employed various recruitment tools, although no one was monetarily compensated for

<sup>23</sup> I want to draw the reader's attention to the fact that I had initially planned to include an additional 15 speakers from the *Spanish in Texas Corpus* to strengthen my data for the grammatical and lexical variables. Since I modeled much of my methodology from this Corpus, I did not foresee any issues with doing so, especially since the participants I chose met the same extralinguistic characteristics as my own participants. I therefore created two corpora of data: my own data and those from *SpinTX*. I employed the same coding procedures, descriptive statistics, and statistical models on each group separately to determine whether similar trends were at a play; if this were the case, I would have included those data in the current work. While results between my data and the *SpinTX* data were similar at the descriptive statistical level, the statistical models produced several differences that made the results pattern quite differently. As such, I chose to exclude the *SpinTX* speakers from this dissertation.

their time due to resource constraints. Three participants consisted of friends/acquaintances of mine, and thus were easy to contact. After interviewing them, I employed the ‘snowball sampling’ technique to contact additional participants, which yielded six more. First coined by Goodman (1961) in a statistical study, ‘snowball sampling’ is a widely used sampling method in qualitative sociological research, targeting subgroups and marginalized populations within the society at large. Also known as respondent-driven sampling, it involves the researcher using participants to aid in the recruitment process. After collecting data from an initial participant, the researcher then asks that participant if they know anyone with the same traits under study who would be willing to submit to an interview as well (Heckathorn 1971). I also attempted to recruit participants through Facebook and emails sent out to the listserv for the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at UT Austin; these tactics yielded only two participants despite the volume of emails I sent.

I contacted the majority of my participants (11) through my partner, Dani. A dual citizen from Sonora, México, Dani possesses the in-group membership that I myself lacked which I suspect hindered my own recruitment strategies as I discuss in Section 3.2.2. A fully fluent speaker of Spanish who is closely connected to Mexico where most of his family lives, Dani is much more integrated into the Austin Mexican Spanish-speaking community than I am. As such, he put me in contact with numerous people with whom he speaks Spanish regularly, such as friends of his, relatives of those friends, former coworkers from when he was a server, and current coworkers with whom he works at Apple. In some cases, I was an acquaintance or friend with such participants

myself and would see them at social events regularly, but Dani played an integral role in persuading them to meet me for an interview. In sum, Dani's connections and positionality facilitated data collection for me, and created opportunities that I most certainly lacked without him.

For all speakers, I controlled for the following extralinguistic factors: generation, proficiency-level, ethnicity, and geographic origin, as these factors could significantly affect a participant's variety of Spanish and degree of language shift. Those from a community on the border often have more access to Spanish (and Spanish speakers) than those farther away, so close proximity to the border can work as a revitalizing force (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Lipski 2008). I did not control for education level or gender, in order to be as inclusive as possible. Nonetheless, I contacted the bulk of my own participants through affiliations with the University of Austin at Texas or St. Edwards University. As such, most (but not all) had attained some level of higher education or were in the process of doing so at the time of the interview. This variability in educational attainment represents a limitation that may have altered the patterning of the linguistic variables, as education has been shown to play an important role in one's linguistic behavior. It is worth noting that although I did try to recruit an equal number of men and women to interview, women were generally more inclined to participate; as such, my study includes more female informants than males (15 females and 8 males).



### **3.2.2. POSITIONALITY STATEMENT**

Although a number of the participants are acquaintances and friends of mine, I am not a member of the Mexican-American community in Central Texas, nor am I viewed as such. Instead, I am a White male and native English speaker from upstate New York with no Latinx ancestry. This made data collection more difficult, which is consistent with Street and Giles' (1982) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). This theory examines the cognitive and affective factors that cause an individual to alter their speech in ways that converge or diverge from the speech of their interlocutor. In my case, given my out-group status, speakers may have been unwilling to converge linguistically with me by speaking Spanish, and instead diverged by declining to participate altogether. This effect was perhaps exacerbated by the especially hostile political and social climate towards Latinx communities across the nation at the time, as well as the historical oppression of Mexican-Americans in Central Texas by Anglo-Whites. As such, I conducted this dissertation from an etic, or outside, perspective (Kottak 2006). Despite this, I strove to minimize these differences as much as possible and tried to view language shift from the perspective of the community, which I discuss in section 2.1. I was also able to circumvent the limitations imposed by my positionality through my partner and his connections, as I described in section 3.2.1.

### **3.2.3 GENERATION**

In defining the generation variable, I did not determine generation by the age of the participant, but rather time spent in the U.S. To this end, I used MacGregor-Mendoza's (2005) generational division of participants in her study of language shift in a New

Mexican border town. Participants were thus divided according to the following framework:

**GENERATION 0:** The participant is a Mexican immigrant

**GENERATION 1:** One or both participant's parents are from Mexico

**GENERATION 2:** One or both participant's grandparents are from Mexico

**GENERATION 3:** One or both participant's great-grandparents are from Mexico

**GENERATION 4:** The participant's family has been in the United States for four or more generations

MacGregor-Mendoza's 'GENERATION 0' for immigrants is synonymous to Villa and Mills' (2009) 'contact generation', or the generation that first had contact with English. As in the Villa and Mills study, participants in my study needed only to be Mexican on one side of their family in order to qualify. All participants in the current study had stable, if not permanent, roots in the United States, and no one habitually went back and forth between the U.S. and Mexico; nor did their families. For participants with two Mexican parents belonging to different generations, I classified the speaker as belonging to the generation subsequent to that of their mother. Mothers tend to play a larger role in their children's Spanish linguistic development and socialization than fathers, so I assigned generation by the participant's mother only in such cases (Rivera-Mills 2000; Velázquez 2019). For example, if a participant had a GENERATION 1 father and GENERATION 2 mother, I considered him as belonging to GENERATION 3. If a participant had a GENERATION 1 mother and a GENERATION 2 father, then I considered her as

belonging to GENERATION 2. To assign participants a generation, I used their answers to the questionnaire item targeting this information, which is shown below. In my data, I include seven GENERATION 0 speakers, nine GENERATION 1 speakers, three GENERATION 2 speakers, and four GENERATION 3 speakers, for a total of 23 participants.<sup>24</sup>

### FIGURE 3.1. QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM TARGETING GENERATION

Q9 In terms of generations spent in the U.S., how would you classify yourself?

- First generation: you were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (1)
- Second generation: one or both of your parents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (2)
- Third generation: one or both of your grandparents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (3)
- Fourth generation: one or both great-grandparents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (4)
- Fifth generation or more: your family has been in the U.S. for four or more generations. (5)

### 3.2.4 PROFICIENCY

I determined proficiency through participants' answers to survey questions regarding their self-rated proficiency in the demographic questionnaire, which again, was gauged on a 5-point scale where 1 was the lowest and 5 was the highest. For quantification purposes, I averaged speakers' self-rated proficiency in each of the four skills of Spanish (i.e., speaking, listening, reading, and writing) to create a composite self-proficiency rating for each speaker. I did this in order to create a composite proficiency score for each generation and then compare such generational scores, as I discuss in section 3.5.1; I

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<sup>24</sup> While I intended to interview more participants, COVID-19 prevented me from being able to conduct interviews in person. While I was able to conduct a few via Zoom, this was a much less attractive option for potential participants; hence I ended up with a more limited number than I had planned.

considered participants' proficiency in each individual skill and compared them across generations as well. Within my scope, I included speakers with high productive and receptive competence across all four skills in Spanish, some of whom were native speakers from Mexico (i.e., GENERATION 0). I also included participants who met the social and demographic criteria used to define HLS of Spanish and who showed a wide range of proficiency in Spanish. To be as inclusive as possible, I did not impose an official minimum proficiency requirement. Doing so would exclude speakers in a more advanced state of shift, which in turn could misrepresent language shift as being less pervasive than it is. Nonetheless, in order to complete the interview portion, speakers needed to have at least been able to carry out at least a 30-minute conversation in Spanish, which I determined through my recruitment questions. I generally excluded speakers unable to perform this task, apart from two speakers who told me they could do the interview in Spanish, but then answered my questions mostly in English. I still chose to include these speakers however, as they expressed an important perspective regarding how language shift had affected them personally.

### **3.2.5 GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN**

All participants were current or former residents of the Austin Metropolitan Statistical Area (Austin MSA), which includes the counties of Bastrop, Burnet, Caldwell, Hays, Travis, and Williams. I interviewed the vast majority of participants in Austin proper, but I also conducted a few interviews in towns outside of Austin encompassed by the Austin MSA such as Pflugerville, Round Rock, and San Marcos (Austin Area Sustainability Indicators 2019). Controlling for geographic area is important, since the cultural context

and ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish can vary considerably from one city to another (Giles, Bourhis, Taylor 1977; Barker et al. 2001; Yagmur and Ehala 2011). All participants were either born and/or raised in Austin or had spent a minimum of five years living in the area, which I had determined was a long enough period of time to adapt to the sociolinguistic landscape of Central Texas. I also assigned each speaker a city in accordance with their answers to the questionnaire item: “Where do you feel most affiliated/established in terms of residence? Where is home for you?” Some speakers listed more than one city for this question, which I include in Table 3.1 along with other important extralinguistic information .<sup>25</sup> In a few cases, I included participants who also had roots in San Antonio, but such speakers met the aforementioned criteria for inclusion, and they shared important comparative information regarding the status of Spanish in Austin compared to San Antonio.

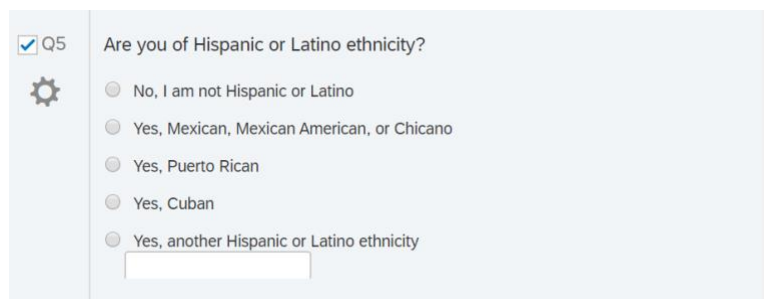
### **3.2.6 ETHNIC ORIGIN**

All speakers were of Mexican descent since Mexicans by and large represent the largest Hispanophone group in Central Texas and throughout the greater Southwest (U.S. Census 2010; Flores, López, and Radford 2017). I determined ethnic/linguistic origin through the following questionnaire item:

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<sup>25</sup> Two GENERATION 0 participants listed home as outside Central Texas, but it is important to note that they have lived in Austin for at least 5 years, so I still included them in the study.

**FIGURE 3.2. PARTICIPANT ETHNICITY**



The image shows a survey question titled "Q5" with a checkmark icon. The question is "Are you of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity?". To the left of the question is a gear icon. Below the question are five radio button options: "No, I am not Hispanic or Latino", "Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano", "Yes, Puerto Rican", "Yes, Cuban", and "Yes, another Hispanic or Latino ethnicity". Below the last option is a small, empty text input field.

While Mexican Spanish is considerably diverse, I needed to set a standard to which I could compare the grammatical variables gleaned from the interview transcriptions. That is, in order to be able to consider a token as an instance of grammatical substitution, it was necessary to choose a predetermined set of linguistic norms (in the form of a standard variety of Spanish) to apply to the token in question. Indeed, some of the grammatical features under study, such as subject pronouns and *estar* extension, show considerable dialectal variation. For instance, overt subject pronoun expression is more common in Caribbean varieties of Spanish, and if applying the norms of such a variety, tokens of overt subject pronoun expression could be the result of dialectal variation rather than language shift (Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert 2007, Lipski 2008). To avoid this issue,<sup>26</sup>I applied the linguistic norms of Southern High Plateau Mexican Spanish (*el español altiplano septentrional*), the variety of Spanish spoken in northern Mexico, and

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<sup>26</sup> In general, I used frequency of a particular grammatical realization to distinguish between substitutions and dialectal variants. That is, if a particular substitution was produced consistently in the same grammatical context by multiple speakers, I considered it a dialectal variant and not a substitution, and thus excluded it from my data. For example, when employing the present perfect, several participants consistently produced the third-person singular form *ha* 'he/she/it has' to refer to themselves in a first-person singular context (in lieu of *he* 'I have'). Given that this is a dialectal feature of southwestern varieties of U.S. Spanish, I did not consider it a substitution and did not include any such instances in my purview of tokens.

one that does not generally exhibit high rates of grammatical substitution in the variables under study (in comparison to other varieties of Spanish). This variety spans the eastern half of Chihuahua, Coahuila, western Nuevo León, most of San Luis Potosí, most of Zacatecas, eastern Durango, and the most northern part of Aguascalientes<sup>27</sup> (Blanch 1990). Two of the states represented by this dialect also accounted for the third and fourth highest percentages of Mexican immigrants who came to the United States between 2004 and 2014: Durango (8.4%) and Coahuila (6.9%). In total, the areas represented by Southern High Plateau Spanish accounted for 27.1% of Mexican immigration during this time. As such, it is likely that this dialect of Spanish served as at least one of the donor dialects for the Spanish spoken in Austin (Coubes, Aldama, and Rodriguez 2017).

### **3.3. PROCEDURES OF DATA ANALYSIS/CATEGORIZATION-**

The current section presents the scope of the linguistic variables under study and the criteria used to include or exclude potential tokens, as well as the procedures with which data were collected and categorized. I remind the reader that the linguistic variables under study include: (a) grammatical substitution in the form of gender concord; aspect; mood; copular verbs; *estar* extension; subject pronoun expression; and subject-verb agreement; and (b) presence of English in the form of lone lexical items; multi-item switches; loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms. To collect data regarding these features, I used the transcriptions from the interviews I conducted with each of the 23 participants. While such features are well attested in contact varieties of Spanish, few

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<sup>27</sup> This is based on the dialect regions and maps defined by Lope Blanch (1990) in his dialectological division of Mexico.

studies have classified the presence of these features by generation and how they may be used to indicate language shift to English. This short list includes MacGregor-Mendoza's (2005) study on preterit and synthetic future usage among different generations of Mexican-Americans living in a Bordertown in New Mexico, and Wolford and Carter's (2010) examination of gender concord in the Valley; and Wolford and Carter's (2018) examination of *estar* extension and present progressive expansion within this same community. Silva-Corvalán (1994) provides a comprehensive analysis among Mexican-American speakers in Los Angeles, an entirely distinct sociolinguistic context than Central Texas, but does not frame it within a language shift theoretical model. Additionally, no studies have provided such a comprehensive scope of how these features may indicate language shift in Central Texas.

### **3.3.1. GRAMMATICAL SUBSTITUTION**

I employed the following methods to gather tokens exhibiting grammatical substitution. I define 'grammatical substitution' as grammatical realizations that deviate from Standard Spanish grammatical conventions and would be deemed as 'errors' by prescriptivists. I avoid this term as it implies a value judgment, and such a stance can abet linguistic security for heritage language speakers.

#### **3.3.1.1. GENDER CONCORD**

I examine this feature to determine if participants further removed from immigration showed more instances of gender substitution (i.e., a lack of full gender agreement) than those closer to immigration. I divided this feature into the following two categories: (a) gender of the noun: masculine or feminine; and (b) domain of agreement: article and



noun agreement, and noun and adjective agreement. I categorized all variables according to a binary opposition: fully declined (i.e., *la casa bonita* ‘the pretty house’ and not fully declined (*\*el casa bonito*). Both definite and indefinite articles within my scope were included and only represent instances in which the article was immediately placed before a noun or at most separated by one word. If more than one word separated the article from the noun, I excluded it from the envelope of variation. The following examples from my data illustrate my coding procedures for this variable.

3.1. *el ambiente* ‘the environment’; *la palabra* ‘the word’; *los años*; ‘the years’

These examples are fully declined at the determiner level and were categorized as such. The following examples contain determiners that did not match the gender of the nouns they modify, and were coded as such:

3.2. *\*el profesión* ‘the profession’; *\*la idioma* ‘the language’; *\*los maestras* ‘the (female) teachers’

With respect to adjectives, I collected all instances of agreement between a noun and an adjectival form reflecting gender distinction to determine if the adjectives agreed with the nouns they were modifying. I included the following types of adjectives: (a) descriptive adjectives; (b) some possessive adjectives (e.g., *nuestro/a* ‘our’, but not *mi/s*, ‘my’ *tu/s* ‘your’ etc.); (c) demonstrative adjectives; (d) ordinal adjectives; and (e) quantifiers. I only included instances where the adjective immediately preceded or followed the noun, or where the adjective was separated from the noun by at most one word, usually an intensifier or adverb, e.g., *algo más largo* ‘something longer’. I excluded instances of

adjectival anaphora where an adjective is separated from the noun by several words, as this represents another linguistic variable and has been treated as such by previous researchers (Lipski 2008). Below is such an example from one of my interviews:

3.3. (*El sargazo*) *Había en las playas que no son muy bonitas, que deberían ser más bonitas.*

(Gulfweed) ‘It was on the beaches that aren’t very pretty, that should have been prettier.’

In this instance, the adjective *bonitas* is separated from the referent, *playas*, by four words in the first instance, and by seven words in the second instance. Nonetheless, the speaker correctly declined *bonitas* in both cases to reflect the number and gender of *playas*.

Additionally, if a noun was modified by more than one adjective, I counted both adjectives as two separate tokens. The following examples represent tokens that I consider to be fully declined at the adjectival level:

3.4. *católicos italianos* ‘Catholic Italians’; *muchos idiomas* ‘many languages’

The following examples are not fully declined since the adjectives do not fully agree in gender with the nouns they modify. I collected all instances of such incorrect adjectival gender agreement and quantified them as a separate category:

3.5. *gente \*bueno* ‘good people’; *pueblo \*pequeña* ‘small village’

### 3.3.1.2. ASPECT

I divided all past-tense actions into the preterit and the imperfect according to their respective usages and contexts in Mexican Spanish while applying the criteria outlined by

Montrul and Perpiñán (2011) in their examination of tense, aspect, and mood among HLS. Like them, I considered potential preterit tokens to denote: (a) completed actions in the past tense; (b) actions occurring at a specific point in the past tense; (c) the onset or end of an action; (d) actions occurring within a closed time-frame; (e) actions that occurred a specific number of times in the past tense; (f) a sequence of completed actions; and (g) actions accompanied by preterit temporal markers (e.g., *ayer*, ‘yesterday’, *la semana pasada* ‘last week’, *de repente* ‘suddenly’). I list an example of a correct preterit token from my data below:

3.6. *Yo fui a Universidad de Texas en San Antonio por dos años.*

‘I went to the University of Texas at San Antonio for two years.’

In contrast, and also in line with Montrul and Perpiñán (2011), I considered potential imperfect tokens to denote:

(a) incomplete past tense actions;

(b) habitual and repetitive past tense actions (but not repeated a specific number of times);

(c) ongoing actions in the past tense;

(d) two simultaneous actions in the past tense;

(e) actions accompanied by imperfect temporal markers (e.g., *siempre*, ‘always’, *todos los días* ‘every day’, *usualmente*, ‘usually’, etc.).

Below is an example from my data:

3.7. *Siempre recuerdo que mis padres tenían muchas fiestas en la casa.*

‘I always remember that my parents had many parties at the house.’

Any tokens that represented a departure from the expected standard norms of aspectual usage were coded as representing substitution. That is, if the preterit was used in lieu of the imperfect in a context where the imperfect would be used in standard Mexican Spanish, I coded that token as being an instance of aspectual substitution.

3.8. *\*Vivíamos en México por los primeros cinco años de mi vida.*

‘We lived in Mexico for the first five years of my life.’

Since this action denotes a completed action and one that occurred within a closed time frame, two preterit contexts outlined by Montrul and Perpiñán (2011), I considered it to be an instance of preterit substitution. Likewise, I considered any imperfective conjugation used in a perfective context as imperfect substitution:

3.9. *Y como cada fin de semana nos \*fuimos a San Antonio.*

‘And like every weekend we would go to San Antonio.’

It should be noted that it is not always easy to distinguish between an instance of substitution and a semantic nuance. Fairclough (2006:601) cites the following excerpt produced by a heritage language learner on a placement test as an example:

3.10. *Recuerdo que cuando fuimos de campamento, siempre cantábamos en las noches*

‘I remember when we went camping, we would also sing at night.’

Here, the speaker chose the preterit form *fuimos* instead of the imperfect form *íbamos*. At first glance, this would seem incorrect since the sentence implies a durative habitual action in the past tense and is accompanied by the imperfect temporal marker ‘*siempre*’ later in the sentence. However, Fairclough argues that this does not necessarily represent

substitution, but may be an optional semantic nuance added by the speaker. By using the preterit instead of the expected imperfect, the speaker chose to portray the event as non-durative and punctual, rather than durative as the imperfect would denote. Without more context, either aspect would be acceptable depending on how the speaker wanted to portray the action (as durative or non-durative). Given that so many of my participants were HLS and/or learners, I considered the greater context of every preterit and imperfect verb order to distinguish between a semantic nuance and just substitution.

### **3.3.1.3. MOOD**

I employed a similar binary opposition to code mood tokens and included all potential indicative and subjunctive tokens exhibiting the following canonical structure: principal clause + que + (subject change) + subordinate clause. Initially, I planned to include only simple present subjunctive and indicative tokens and exclude forms such as the present perfect subjunctive, the imperfect subjunctive, and the past perfect subjunctive. These excluded forms are more complex and nuanced usages of the subjunctive that have been found to be largely absent in the repertoires of English-dominant bilingual speakers farther removed from immigration (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Van Buren 2012). Nonetheless, throughout my own interviews, I found indicative and subjunctive tokens employing the aforementioned canonical structure to be exceedingly few, so for the sake of gathering more tokens to better examine this variable, I included all indicative and subjunctive tokens regardless of tense or aspect. I also found that the imperfect subjunctive was relatively common throughout the interviews and accounted for approximately one-fourth of all subjunctive tokens.

In collecting indicative and subjunctive tokens, I considered two of the five contexts established by Silva-Corvalán (1994) regarding mood choice for Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles. Therefore, I included only verbs in contexts in which the indicative mood was obligatory according to the conventions of standard Spanish (i.e., subordinate clauses introduced by verbs that indicate/report affirmation/assertion, knowledge, presupposition, contextual commitment, certainty, and in predicates where the truth value is asserted, as in beliefs, promises, or reported assertions; Pérez-Cortés 2016).

3.11. *Yo creo que hay algo más fuerte que nosotros.*

‘I believe there is something stronger than we [are].’

Likewise, for subjunctive tokens, I included only verbal forms in contexts where the subjunctive mood would be obligatory according to standard Mexican Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Jehle 2008):

- (a) in subordinate clauses introduced by verbs of influence, doubt, emotion, impersonal expressions indicating a subjective reaction;
- (b) adverbial causes introduced by *antes de que* ‘before’, *para que* ‘so that’, *a fin de que* ‘in order to’, *sin que* ‘without,’ *a menos que* ‘unless’, or *con tal de que* ‘provided that’;
- (c) future expressions/anticipated actions introduced by *cuando* ‘when’, *hasta que* ‘until’, *después de que* ‘after’ or *tan pronto como* ‘as soon as’;
- (d) adjectival clauses describing negative, nonexistent, or indefinite nouns, and clauses denoting an ‘unreal’ or ‘contrary-to-fact condition’.

Example (11) below exemplifies one such context:

3.12. *So, tengo miedo que cuando mi mamá fallezca.*

‘So, I am afraid of when my mom passes away.’

In terms of classifying incorrect forms, I considered any indicative token used in a subjunctive context or vice-versa to be a case of substitution. Thus, I classified example (3.13) to be indicative substitution (i.e., the indicative used in place of the subjunctive in a subjunctive context, and example (3.14) to an example of indicative substitution (i.e., the subjunctive used in place of the indicative).

3.13. *Entonces no creo que \*habló o aprendía*

‘So, I don’t believe that he spoke it or was learning it.

3.14. *Y ella tiene cinco amigos que \*compren mucho también*

‘And she has five friends who buy a lot as well’

I excluded any cases that did not fit into the obligatory contexts (i.e., the contexts listed in a-d above) established by Silva-Corvalán (1994) and where the choice of one mood or the other was optional and subject to the speaker’s discretion; such cases were incongruent with my binary classification. Finally, like aspect, I included the greater context of every indicative and subjunctive verb in a subordinate clause in order to distinguish between a semantic nuance and substitution (Fairclough 2006).

### **3.3.14. COPULAR VERBS**

Like previous researchers, I examine the usage of copular verbs (*ser* or *estar*) in adjectival predicates to examine whether participants extend *estar* to contexts traditionally reserved for *ser* (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Wolford and

Carter 2018). That is, I collected instances of *ser* and *estar* in adjectival predicates and considered any case in which *estar* was used in lieu of *ser* as the expected copula choice to be an instance of extension. Such instances include any usage of *estar* to denote a characteristic that is:

- (a) inherent/essential;
- (b) imperfective, defining;
- (c) abstract characteristic;
- (d) or one that is not reliant in immediate experience or prone to change.

(Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994, Wolford and Carter 2018)

Examples include:

3.15. *La gente \*está muy \*bueno.*

‘The people are very good.’

3.16. *So, creo que está interesting.*

‘So, I think it’s interesting.’

Both phrases contain the copular verb + adjectival predicate structure and denote inherent/essential characteristics of a noun for which *ser* would traditionally be used.

Likewise, I considered any tokens of *ser* used in these same contexts to be non-extended.

I coded all potential tokens as either representing extension or not. I also included any instances in which *ser* or *estar* was used in an erroneous fashion beyond the predicate + adjective structure such as *ser* usage to indicate location, among other examples:

3.17. *Pero español \*es everywhere aquí en Tejas.*

‘But Spanish is everywhere here in Texas.’



### 3.3.1.5. SUBJECT PRONOUNS

In line with previous researchers, I examined the presence of subject pronouns in the speech of participants and divided the variable into the binary opposition of null expression and overt expression. For all tokens, I included only noun phrases that exhibited SVO word order and were accompanied by a nominal or pronominal subject. While native Spanish speakers often manipulate word order for pragmatic-discourse functions, such usages were beyond the scope of the study; I excluded any such examples. Thus, in my envelope of variation, I included only noun-phrases exhibiting pre-verbal subjects since previous researchers have found a relationship between pre-verbal position and overt subject pronoun expression (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Zapata, Sánchez, and Toribio 2005; Lipski 2008; Raña-Rissó and Barrera Tobón 2018). I included any instances in which the speaker used a subject pronoun to be an instance of overt subject expression<sup>28</sup> and any token in which the speaker did not include a subject pronoun to be an instance of null subject expression (Lipski 1993, 2008; Livert & Otheguy 2010; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin and Otheguy 2013). Like Lapidus-Shin and Otheguy (2013), I limited tokens referring to animate subjects, and included tokens associated with verbs of all tenses, as well as those in contexts with variable pronoun expression. That is, I considered contexts in which a subject pronoun was used in one part of the sentence but not in another (or vice versa), or

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<sup>28</sup> It is worth mentioning that none of the participants are speakers of dialects known for higher usage of subject pronouns to compensate for the loss of word-final consonants (such as in dialects spoken throughout the Caribbean and Southern Spain) (Lipski 2008).

instances where absence or presence could have occurred with either verb. The following example from their data illustrates this:

3.18. *Yo veo varias novelas. Porque es en lo único que  $\emptyset$  me entretengo.*

‘I watch various soap operas. Because that’s the only way (I) entertain myself.’

(Shin and Otheguy 2013:464).

Here, the speaker used a first-person singular subject pronoun before the verb *veo* ‘I see’ but placed no subject pronoun before *me entretengo* ‘(I) entertain myself.’ The speaker could have used two subject pronouns, no subject pronouns, or one pronoun with the first verb but no pronoun with the second (or vice-versa). I therefore included such contexts in my own data, and coded tokens like *yo veo* as overt and  $\emptyset$  *me entretengo* as null. I excluded contexts in which a subject pronoun is almost always used as well as those where a subject pronoun is almost never used (such as with an inanimate subject) (Otheguy and Zentella 2012; Shin and Otheguy 2013). In many cases, speakers added two non-coreferential pronouns within the same sentence, something that native speakers seldom (if ever) do (Lipski 2008).

In contrast to Shin and Otheguy (2013), Lipski (2008) treats contexts in which the speaker omits a subject pronoun for the first verb but adds a subject pronoun to a verb later in the sentence (both with and without a referent change) as a different linguistic variable, or what he calls “backwards anaphora”:

3.19. *Alguien me habla en español, y  $\emptyset$  puedo entender pero \*yo contesto en inglés.*

‘Someone speaks to me in Spanish, and I can understand but I answer in English.’

(Lipski 2008:62)

He argues that in such cases, the speaker adds a subject pronoun with an anaphoric relation to a null subject pronoun earlier in the sentence, but without intentional emphasis or contrast to the overt pronoun. He claims that this is a common feature in heritage language Spanish and may indicate transfer from English (Lipski 2008:62). I did not distinguish such instances as backwards anaphora, but instead, like Shin and Otheguy (2013), I included such instances as regular null or overt subject pronoun expression, and coded instances like (18) in my own data as containing one overt token and one null token. The following instances represent null pronoun expression:

3.20.  $\emptyset$  *Gasté mucho dinero.*

‘I spent a lot of money’

3.21.  $\emptyset$  *Hemos estado juntos.*

‘We have been together.’

### **3.3.1.6. SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT**

With the subject-verb agreement variable, I employed a methodology similar to that of Lipski (1993, 2008) and Montrul (2011) by examining the correspondence between the subject and verb of each sentence. In collecting tokens, I included all conjugated and tensed verbal forms and did not discriminate in terms of tense, aspect, or mood. I did exclude infinitive verbs and gerunds, because those do not reflect verbal subject. I coded each verbal form according to the binary opposition of full agreement or no agreement.

Example (21) exhibits full verbal agreement, while example (22) exhibits a lack of agreement:

3.22. *Mi abuelo tuvo un negocio.*

‘My grandmother had a business.’

3.23. *(Yo) el otro día \*encontró una foto.*

‘The other day [I] found a photo.’

Table 3.2 on the next page displays a summary of the aforementioned variables and the binary coding I employed.

**TABLE 3.2. GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Coding</b>	<b>Coding</b>
<i>Gender: Determiner</i>	Full Agreement	No Agreement
<i>Gender: Adjective</i>	Full Agreement	No Agreement
<i>Aspect: Preterit</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Aspect: Imperfect</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Mood: Indicative</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Mood: Subjunctive</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Copulas: Ser</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Copulas: Estar</i>	No Substitution	Substitution
<i>Estar Extension</i>	No Extension	Extension
<i>Subject Pronouns</i>	Null	Overt
<i>Subject-Verb Agreement</i>	Full Agreement	No Agreement

### 3.4.PRESENCE OF ENGLISH

This current section presents the procedures of data analysis I used for tokens regarding lone lexical items and multi-item switches to English, as well as loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms.

#### 3.4.1. LONE LEXICAL ITEMS

I reviewed all interview transcriptions to collect tokens representing ‘lone lexical items’, the term I use to subsume any single word of English origin. In collecting tokens, I did not distinguish between lexical borrowings and single-item code-switches (Muysken 2000; Lapidus-Shin 2010; Poplack 2018). Numerous criteria have been proposed to determine the difference between the two, such as constituent size (i.e., single or multi-item switches), morphosyntactic integration, phonological integration, presence of hesitations, asides, quoting, or other flagging devices. Nonetheless, what truly distinguishes a lexical borrowing from a single-item code-switch remains a widely disputed empirical question and divisive issue within the field to date (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1987; Poplack et al. 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Winford 2003; Muysken 2013; Lipski 2014; Poplack, Sayahi, Mourad, and Dion 2015). Poplack (2018) systematically analyzes language mixing across a dozen language pairs and argues that the distinction between lexical borrowing and single item code-switches is often unclear. To illustrate, she cites the following phrase produced by a Ukrainian-English bilingual who inserts the English word ‘friend’ into an otherwise Ukrainian sentence:

3.24. “*Bo to ti divky maly bahato friend-Ø, a cej.*

‘Because those girls had many friends, and this one, he didn’t have any friends.’”

(Poplack 2018:24)

If one were to use the criterion of morphological integration alone to determine if ‘friend’ is a loanword or single-item code-switch, it would appear that it is a single-item code-switch since it lacks the accusative inflectional marking that standard Ukrainian requires for direct objects. However, colloquial Ukrainian oral discourse employs variable accusative marking and often presents nouns with null accusative marking. Poplack (2018) argues, then, that one token alone does not elucidate its status as a single-item code-switch or a borrowing that exhibits null case-marking. She thus advises readers to be cautious when analyzing language-mixing tokens, given that bilingual grammar presents high degrees of uncertainty and variability. To avoid such mistakes, she divides all potential tokens into single-item switches and multi-item switches. Within the former, she separates tokens into established “bona fide” loanwords (i.e., those attested in dictionaries and found in the speech of multiple speakers) and “ambiguous” single-item insertions consisting of nonce borrowings and single-item code-switches with varying degrees of morphological integration (Poplack 2018:26).

Along a similar vein, Muysken (2000) divides all language-mixing phenomena into three partially overlapping categories: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Insertion involves the integration of lexical items from one language into the frame determined by another language, the base or ‘matrix’ language which regulates the possible structure, order, and type of constituents of the phrase. In this case, Spanish would be the matrix language responsible for governing the structure, order, and type of

constituents in the phrase, while English is the embedded language from which insertions stem. In most cases, the matrix language is the speaker's dominant language, hence governing the overall structural of the phrase, while the embedded language tends to be the speaker's less dominant language (Myers-Scotton 2002). In his examination of code-switching behavior among low-proficiency heritage language learners of Spanish, Lipski (2014) uses Muysken's (2000) definition of insertion to encompass both lexical borrowings and single-item code-switches. He also uses a revised set of criteria (e.g., constituent size, word class, level of syntactic integration, switch site, presence of triggering, doubling, self-corrections) to distinguish between insertions, alternations, and congruent lexicalization, but not between borrowings and single item code-switches, which he quantifies as one and the same. Likewise, Lapidus-Shin (2010) refers to both single-item code-switches and lexical borrowings as "English Lexical Items" (ELIs) and does not distinguish between them, either (Lapidus Shin 2010:50).

In the current work, I have adopted an analogous approach by using my own term, "lone lexical items", to refer to all single item words of English origin that are (a) integrated into Spanish phonology and morphology to varying degrees; (b) followed by Spanish discourse; and (c) inserted into a Spanish language matrix frame (Poplack 1987; Poplack et al. 1988; Muysken 2000; Winford 2003). I therefore collected all such examples, and, like Lipski (2014), I did not distinguish borrowings from single item code-switches due, in part, to the controversy surrounding their distinction, and the fact that the distinction is not particularly relevant to the issue of intergenerational language



shift. To illustrate how I collected tokens, I present examples produced by my informants:

3.25. *Pero, pues, aprendí a ser muy responsable de, de pagar biles.*

‘But, well, I learned how to be very responsible and pay bills.’

3.26. *Al fin y al cabo lo que quiero hacer con ese degree.*

‘At the end of the day, what I want to do with this degree.’

In examples (3.25) and (3.26), the underlined words are lone lexical items that have been morphosyntactically integrated into a Spanish grammatical frame. Example (25) is also phonologically integrated and represents a loanword that is inflected with a Spanish plural morpheme; namely, it takes the English root ‘bil’ and is combined with the Spanish plural suffix ‘es.’ Example (26) is not phonologically integrated and is a ‘pure loanword’.

In my purview of potential tokens, I adopted the broadest definition of English origin possible, and included terms that were not of English etymological origin, but that entered Spanish discourse as a result of contact with English (i.e., ‘resumé,’ ‘trombone,’ ‘kindergarten’; Poplack et al. 1988). I included only words that had a clear semantic equivalent in English or Spanish (i.e., ‘high school’/*colegio*; ‘future’/*futuro*; ‘cucumber’/*pepino*), and excluded items that did not, and that seemed to fill a cultural void (e.g., ‘ultimate frisbee’). I excluded place names and brand names (e.g., HEB, Walmart, Nike) as well, since these are not true borrowings, nor do they fill a cultural void (Lapidus-Shin 2010). In addition to excluding place names and brands, I excluded discourse markers. Previous researchers have isolated and examined discourse markers as

a separate phenomenon, having often focused on the important pragmatic role they play in the conversation at hand (Serrano 2001; Specker 2008; Lipski 2008, 2014; Blas-Arroyo 2011). Given their separate treatment, and the fact that pragmatic functions are beyond the scope of the current work, I excluded them from my analysis. I also excluded calques, which, while they have been widely attested as recurring contact-induced phenomena in bilingual discourse, they were relatively uncommon in the speech of my own participants (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 1998; Lipski 2008; Toribio 2011).

In some cases, tokens consisted of multiple words but were used as a single lexical entry, which I did include (e.g., ‘high school,’ ‘law school,’ ‘forklift driver’). With regard to types of loanword, I included pure loanwords (i.e., ‘poster,’ ‘deadline,’ ‘expressway’) and loanblends (*cliqear*, ‘to click’ *parqear* ‘to park’). I collected both established borrowings used by multiple speakers and nonce borrowings that are not established and produced by only one speaker, but I did not distinguish between the two categories (Poplack et al. 1988).

### **3.4.2 MULTI-ITEM INSERTIONS**

I classify stretches of English discourse consisting of more than one English-origin item (and not used as a single lexical entry) as ‘multi-item tokens’ or ‘code-switches’. Poplack (2018) refers to such tokens as  $L_D$  sequences,<sup>29</sup> which she considers to be

“straightforwardly identifi[able] as code-switches” (Poplack 2018: 27) (examples are presented below). Muysken (2000) refers to such instances as ‘alternations’, since they

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<sup>29</sup>  $L_D$  refers to the language from which borrowed or switched items originate.

involve the insertion of longer segments from the  $L_D$  language and, as such, completely activate the second  $L_D$  grammar. In certain cases, multi-word stretches could also be instances of ‘congruent lexicalization’, a type of language-mixing that occurs when two languages in contact share a common grammatical structure. Speakers insert items from both languages into their discourse nearly to an arbitrary extent; this may be especially common for English-dominant speakers in GENERATIONS 2 and 3.<sup>30</sup> I do not distinguish between alternations and congruent lexicalization in the current work (Muysken 2000). Nonetheless, I do apply the following criteria that Muysken (2000) used to identify an alternation in his code-switching typology to characterize a **multi-item switch**: (a) length/constituent size: the stretch contains multiple English-origin words; (b) complexity: the internal structure of the phrase is hierarchical and has multiple lexical heads; and (c) the token contains words belonging to classes beyond just nouns, verbs, and adjectives, which tend to dominate borrowing (i.e. function words, conjunctions, adverbs). Additionally, to be considered a multi-item code-switch (and not a lone lexical item), tokens must be: (a) phonologically and morphologically adapted to English pronunciation and grammar conventions (Muysken 2000; Lipski 2014) ; (b) inserted into

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<sup>30</sup> In a study comparing the types of language-mixing behavior employed by fluent Mexican-American bilinguals and low-proficiency heritage language speakers in Sabine River, Louisiana, Lipski (2014) found that congruent lexicalization was the most common type of language-mixing behavior for the latter group. While congruent lexicalization is normally a hallmark of highly fluent bilinguals, Lipski extends Muysken’s traditional definition to include what he deems ‘low-proficiency congruent lexicalization’ in order to account for the phenomena he documented in his Sabine River participants. He argues that when such unbalanced bilinguals attempt to speak their weaker language (Spanish), they unintentionally project grammatical conventions of their dominant language (English) onto it; hence resulting in a highly convergent structure that is reminiscent of congruent lexicalization (Lipski 2014).

an English syntactic frame (Myers-Scotton 2002; Lipski 2014);<sup>31</sup> (c) preceded and succeeded by segments of Spanish discourse governed by Spanish grammar/pronunciation conventions; and (d) preceded perhaps by hesitation, asides, comments, such as *como dicen* ‘they say’, or other flagging devices (Pfaff 1979; Muysken 2000; Lipski 2014). For this feature, I simply examined the frequency of multi-item switches by generation to determine whether participants farther removed from immigration showed higher rates of such switches in comparison to those closer to immigration. Below are examples of English discourse that I subsumed under the category of ‘multi-item’ switches as well as a chart outlining the categories under study.

3.27. And she's very talented. Oh, *se me olvidó. En español.*

‘Oh, I forgot. In Spanish.’

3.28. *Pero me dijo, why are you crying, my little mister?*

‘But she told me, why are you crying, little mister?’

### **3.4.3. LOANSHIFTS/SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS AND INVENTED FORMS**

For loanshifts/semantic extensions, I collected all instances in which the speaker had projected an English semantic usage/meaning onto a Spanish lexical item. Within my scope of loanshifts/semantic extensions, I included both cognates and non-cognates and

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<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that such criteria apply better to longer stretches of discourse containing multiple English tokens. Multi-token stretches containing only two English-origin items do not fit all of the criteria proposed. In the following phrase, *‘Estaba en el... en the army’* ‘he was in the... in the army’, there is not enough English discourse to know for sure whether ‘the army’ is adhering to an English or Spanish syntactic frame, especially since the sequence ‘definite article + noun’ is an acceptable syntactic sequence in both Spanish and English. However, since it is at least clearly morphologically adapted to English and consists of more than item, I still consider it a ‘multi-item’ token and include such instances.

did not distinguish between them as some researchers have done; I did this to allow for maximal variability (Montes-Alcalá 2000; Rothman and Bell 2005; Nieto 2010). For invented forms, I collected all instances in which a word resembled a conventional form but varied to the extent where it was not registered in a dictionary of any Spanish-speaking variety. To confirm this, I searched such forms in both the *Diccionario de la lengua Española* ('The Dictionary of the Spanish Language') as well as the *Diccionario de americanismos* ('The Dictionary of Americanisms') both of which I accessed through website for the *Real Academia Española* ('The Royal Academy of Spanish'). For both loanshifts/semantic extensions and invented forms, I adhered to the same constraints as I did with lone lexical items. That is, the form in question needed to be both morphologically and phonologically integrated into Spanish, followed by Spanish discourse, and inserted into a Spanish language matrix frame (Poplack 1987; Poplack et al. 1988; Muysken 2000; Winford 2003). Examples of loanshifts/semantic extensions from my data include:

3.29. *Es el único tiempo que lo veo.*

'It's the only time I see him.'

3.30. *Para asegurar que nosotros no se olvidar cómo hablar, escribir, leer y cosas así.*

'To make sure that we don't forget how to speak, write, read, and things like that.'

Examples of invented forms are listed below, and I include the conventional form in parentheses:

3.31. *Me \*correctan (corrigen) directamente.*

‘They correct me directly.’

3.32. *Todos experiensan (experimentan) español.*

‘Everyone here experiences Spanish.’

### **3.5. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

This section details the quantification and statistical models I used for the following quantitative measures of language shift:

- (a) questionnaire data;
- (b) grammatical variables;
- (c) lexical variables.

#### **3.5.1. QUESTIONNAIRE DATA**

Quantification of participants’ answers varied by question type, which I present below in the following order:

- (a) self-rated proficiency in Spanish and English;
- (b) language(s) usage in counting, thinking, and praying;
- (c) language(s) of instruction in elementary, middle and high school;
- (d) childhood and adulthood Spanish usage with different interlocutors;
- (e) childhood and adulthood English usage with different interlocutors;
- (f) childhood and adulthood Spanish usage in different domains;
- (g) childhood and adulthood English usage in different domains;
- (h) Spanish-language media consumption.

For (a) self-rated proficiency in Spanish and English, I classified participants in accordance with the 5-point scale on which they rated their language skills in both English and Spanish: 1 represents the lowest value, and 5, the highest value (i.e., on a scale from 1 to 5, how would you rate your listening skills in Spanish?). I averaged the four skills together to create a composite mean proficiency score for each speaker, and then created generational averages based on these individual scores for GENERATIONS 0, 1, 2, and 3. I then subjected those mean scores to one-way ANOVAS and Tukey tests in R to determine statistically significant differences between generations.

For other questionnaire items, answers were alphabetic in nature, and as such I converted them to numbers in order to subject them to statistical models in R. This also varied by question type. For sections (b) language(s) usage in counting, thinking, and praying, and (c) language(s) of instruction in Elementary, Middle, and High School, I applied the following numeric values (i.e., In which languages language(s) do you count? and ‘in what language(s) were you taught in elementary school?):

Only Spanish: 5

Mostly Spanish: 4

Both Spanish and English: 3

Mostly English: 2

Only English: 1

Like the self-rated proficiency question in Spanish and English, I also created generational means for these questionnaire items and subjected them to one-way ANOVAs and Tukey-tests in R.

For sections (d) childhood and adulthood Spanish usage with different interlocutors, (e) childhood and adulthood English usage with different interlocutors, (f) childhood and adulthood Spanish usage in different domains, and (g) childhood and adulthood English usage in different domains, I applied these numeric values to the following alphabetical answers

(i.e., “During your childhood, how often did you speak Spanish to the following people?”; or “As a child, how often did you speak Spanish in the following places?”):

Always: 5

Often: 4

Regularly: 3

Sometimes: 2

Never: 1

Within each of these four sections, I present the childhood and adult usage rates (for Spanish and for English) separately and then compare them to show any statistically significant gains or losses. Like with other questionnaire items, I conducted descriptive composite mean scores for each set of interlocutors and each set of domains for each generation (i.e., the generational composite mean score for Spanish or English usage as children and as adults with parents, grandparents, friends, etc., and for Spanish or English usage as children and as adults at home, school, church, etc.). I then subjected these



means to one-way ANOVAs and Tukey HSD tests in R to determine any statistically significant differences between generations.

For the two questions regarding consumption of Spanish-language radio and television, I did not convert alphabetic responses (consisting of ‘yes’ or ‘no’) into numeric values. Instead, I subjected them to a chi-square test to determine any statistically significant differences between generations for these two questionnaire items.

### **3.5.2. GRAMMATICAL VARIABLES**

To measure grammatical substitution in the data, I once again used descriptive statistics to analyze the frequency of grammatical substitution across generations. That is, for each generation, I calculated the mean correctness rate for each grammatical variable for each generation using the following binary values:

- (a) Gender Concord: Determiner + Noun-Full Agreement or No Agreement
- (b) Gender Concord: Noun + Adjective-Full Agreement or No Agreement
- (c) Aspect: Preterit- Substitution or No Substitution
- (d) Aspect: Imperfect-Substitution or No Substitution
- (e) Mood: Indicative- Substitution or No Substitution
- (f) Mood: Subjunctive- Substitution or No Substitution
- (g) *Estar* Extension in adjectival predicates: *Estar* or *Ser*
- (h) *Ser* in other contexts- Substitution or No Substitution
- (i) *Estar* in other contexts- Substitution or No Substitution
- (j) Subject Pronoun expression- Overt or Null
- (k) Verb-Subject Agreement: Agreement or No Agreement

I then subjected the mean correctness rates to separate one-way ANOVAS and Tukey HSD tests. Multivariate analysis allowed me to: (a) quantitatively evaluate differences in descriptive statistics; and (b) provide a reliable statistical backing to my findings regarding generational language shift. Such an approach permitted me to determine whether generations farther removed from immigration indeed showed statistically significant higher rates of grammatical substitution than generations closer to immigration.

### **3.5.3. LEXICAL VARIABLES**

I conducted a similar methodology for the lexical variables. That is, for lone lexical items, multi-item insertions, semantic extensions/loanshifts, and invented forms, I tallied the total number of each variable across each generation to create mean frequency rates for each generation. Like the procedure for the grammatical variables, I then subjected these rates to one-way ANOVAs and Tukey HSD tests to determine whether such frequency rates for any and all variables differed to a statistically significant extent between generations.

For lone lexical items and multiple-item insertions, I also examined the presence of flagging devices, created mean frequency scores of flagging devices for each generation, and subjected the mean frequency scores to the same multivariate analysis. I define ‘flagging devices’ as any kind of pause, hesitation, aside, quotative speech, translated speech, or paralinguage (e.g., umm, uhh, ehm, *este*, *ay*) that accompanies a lone lexical item or multi-item English insertion. In my definition of flagging devices, I also include questions posed by participants (e.g., *cómo se dice* ‘how do you say?’),

meta-commentary regarding not knowing a word (e.g., *no sé cómo se dice* ‘I don’t know how to say it’), restarts, and reformulations. I examined the presence of such flagging devices to determine whether generations farther removed from immigration showed higher rates of flagged lone lexical items and multi-item insertions. Such flagging devices often indicate a lexical gap; if generations farther removed from immigration show higher rates of said flagging devices, I interpret this as more hesitancy with expressing the language, which may indicate additional evidence of language shift, or at the very least, linguistic insecurity (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1987; Poplack et al. 1988; Myers-Scotton 2002; Winford 2003; Martínez and Petrucci 2004; Lipski 2014).

### **3.6. QUALITATIVE PROCEDURES**

The previous sections explained the quantitative measures taken to examine language shift. I now present the methodology taken for the qualitative measures, the main interest of this work, which I employ to examine the affective consequences of language shift at the individual level. I remind the reader that most language shift studies examine the problem via questionnaires or interviews targeting language usage, self-perceived proficiency, domains of use, and other objective measures (Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, and Bills 1995; Hernández-Chávez, Bills, and Hudson 1996; Bernal-Enríquez 2002; Bills 2005; Taylor, López, Hamar, Martínez and Velasco 2012; Flores, López, and Radford 2017). There is a relative dearth of studies focusing on the affective consequences of language shift (Castellanos 1990; Pearson and McGee 1993; Torres 1997; Zentella 1997; Bayley 1999). Other works have examined some of the affective issues that HLS and learners face in and out of the classroom but did not frame them

within a language-shift paradigm (Zhou 2004; Klee 2011; Potowski 2012; Showstack 2017). While Velázquez (2019) examined the affective side of language maintenance/shift in her study on Mexican families in Nebraska, no studies to my knowledge have considered the affective consequences of language shift in Texas, the state with the second largest concentration of Spanish-speakers in the country (Flores, López, and Radford 2017). As such, I contribute an important qualitative perspective to the issue while focusing on an understudied population (for language shift). I also aim to humanize the data by moving beyond a quantitative analysis of language shift, which I feel abstracts the problem and eliminates the human element. When one sees the poignant emotional and personal toll language shift can take on people, the issue becomes harder to ignore.

Using Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977) as well as Fishman's (1991, 2001) Language Reversal Theory to contextualize and interpret the results, I employ microethnographic methods to examine participants' experiences and perceptions of Spanish and English as well as of language shift. Like Velázquez (2019), I consider both the objective measures (Giles et al. 1977) and subjective measures of ethnolinguistic vitality but focus on the latter for this qualitative section (Gao, Schmidt and Gudykunst 1994; Yagmur and Ehala 2011). I collected data from the same 23 semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews that I used to examine the grammatical and lexical variables. In particular, I used participants' answers to questions tailored to measure language shift. After asking general demographic questions to ease the participant into the interview, I moved to a series of questions that prompted participants to discuss their experiences

with English and Spanish throughout their lives, and how such experiences may have changed. These questions include:

(1) *Durante tu infancia, ¿qué lengua(s) hablabas en casa con tus padres?*

‘During your childhood, what languages did you speak at home with your parents?’

(2) *Durante tu infancia, ¿qué lengua hablabas mayormente con tus hermanos? ¿Con tus compañeros de escuela?*

‘During your childhood, what language did you speak mostly with your siblings? With your classmates?’

(3) *¿Hoy en día hablas español a diario? ¿Con quién(es)?*

‘Do you speak Spanish on a daily basis nowadays? With whom?’

(4) *¿Hoy en día hablas inglés a diario? ¿Con quién(es)?*

‘Do you speak English on a daily basis nowadays? With whom?’

The next set of questions<sup>32</sup> aimed to measure participants’ perceived importance of speaking Spanish and of bilingualism. In particular, I aimed to establish a link between commitment to Spanish and language shift, and whether participants’ degree of valuing Spanish or bilingualism played a role in intergenerational transmission of Spanish. The degree of their perceived importance of Spanish and of bilingualism could be indicators of Spanish’s subjective ethnolinguistic vitality in Central Texas. Again, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality plays an important role in a group’s ability to remain as a cohesive

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<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting that these questions were inserted intermittently into the modules I describe in section 1.1.2. That is to say, while posing these questions, I still followed Labov’s (1984) Conversation Module Network in order to avoid Observer’s Paradox as much as possible.

ethnolinguistic group (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). If a language minority views its own language as less valuable or important in relation to the dominant language, then the ethnolinguistic vitality of that group is bound to suffer. Additionally, Velázquez (2019) found that most of her participants predicated the value of Spanish onto English, in which they only saw value in Spanish as a supplemental boost on the job market. Very few participants in her study saw value in Spanish in and of itself, which also warns of lower subjective ethnolinguistic vitality; I included the bilingualism question in my interviews to determine if my participants felt similarly. Below are the two questions I posed to examine these themes:

1. *¿Piensas que es importante hablar español? ¿Por qué sí o no?*

‘Do you think speaking Spanish is important? Why or why not?’

2. *¿Piensas que es importante ser bilingüe? ¿Por qué sí o no?*

‘Do you think being bilingual is important? Why or why not?’

Finally, at the end of each interview I posed questions specifically targeting each participant’s awareness of and experiences with language shift. Such data are the main interest of this work and are designed to bolster significantly the quantitative results. With these questions, I started broadly and refined my scope with each subsequent question. That is, I began by asking participants if they thought language shift to English was common in general in the United States for multilingual people and then for Spanish-speaking communities in particular. After these two questions, I asked if participants knew of a specific Spanish-speaking community where language shift was widespread, and then if it was widespread in their own community. Next, I asked participants if they

knew of a family in particular who had experienced language shift and if anyone in their own family had undergone it. I ended by asking each participant if they themselves had experienced language shift in their own speech. Below are these questions:

1. *¿Conoces el desplazamiento lingüístico? O sea, cuando una persona deja de hablar una lengua, como el español, a favor de otra lengua, como el inglés, a lo largo del tiempo. Típicamente, es un proceso que toma tres generaciones para completar. ¿Piensas que el desplazamiento lingüístico es común en los Estados Unidos para las personas que hablan más de una lengua?*

‘Are you familiar with language shift? In other words, when a person stops speaking a language, like Spanish, in favor of another language, like English, over time. Typically, it is a process that takes three generations to complete. Do you think that language shift is common in the United States for people who speak more than one language?’

2. *¿Es el desplazamiento lingüístico común para las comunidades e inmigrantes hispanohablantes? ¿Por qué sí o no?*

‘Is language shift common for Spanish-speaking communities and immigrants? Why or why not?’

3. *¿Conoces a una comunidad hispanohablante específica en la que el desplazamiento lingüístico es común? ¿De qué modo? ¿Es el desplazamiento lingüístico común en tu propia comunidad? ¿De qué modo?*

‘Do you know a specific Spanish-speaking community where language shift is common? In what way? Is language shift common in your own community? In

what way?’

4. *¿Ha ocurrido en una familia que conoces bien? ¿Ha ocurrido en tu propia familia?*

‘Has it occurred in a family you know well? Has it occurred in your own family?’

5. *¿Lo has experimentado tú mismo? ¿De qué modo?*

‘Have you experienced yourself? In what way?’

Given the current anti-Latinx rhetoric and sentiment inculcated by the former presidential administration of the country, I also asked participants how they felt such a climate could affect Spanish language maintenance in future generations. In numerous cases, this theme emerged during the interviews without me having to prompt the speaker, which shows that it was a common concern for my participants. Below is an excerpt from a transcription in which I introduce the theme to a participant who had already expressed disapproval with Trump earlier in the interview:

*I: Y como hemos hablado bastante, estamos en época muy oscura al nivel de política en la América de Trump. Obviamente su administración ha atacado de muchísimas diferentes maneras a los latinos, y especialmente a los inmigrantes latinos. ¿Piensas que este contexto, este ambiente tan hostil hacia los hispanohablantes podría tener consecuencias intergeneracionales? O sea, ¿piensas que podría afectar el mantenimiento del español en generaciones futuras?*

‘And as we have discussed at length, we are in a very dark era at the political level in Trump’s America. Obviously, his administration has attacked Latinos,



and especially Latino immigrants, in many different ways. Do you think that this context, this hostile environment towards Spanish speakers, could have intergenerational consequences? That is, do you think it could affect language maintenance in future generations?’

The following overarching themes emerged from the interviews from the two groups upon which I elaborate in Chapter 5: (a) widespread awareness of and experiences with language shift; (b) the assimilatory power of schools; (c) the role of exogamous marriages; (d) *machista* norms in home-language decisions; (e) the role of internalized racism; (f) social isolation from Spanish-speaking friends and relatives; (g) fear to speak Spanish in post-Trump’s America; (h) the difficulties of raising a child bilingually.

### **3.7. CONCLUSION**

This chapter has presented the different methods, variables, tools, and statistical measures I used to gather data, analyze them, and measure language shift among my participants. As I have explained, I employ three separate quantitative measures that include: (a) survey methods to examine language practices among my participants; (b) variationist methodology to examine the presence of grammatical substitution across a suite of grammatical features in the speech of participants; and (c) variationist methodology to examine the presence of English in participants’ speech in the form of lone lexical items, multiple-item insertions, loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms. I use these quantitative measures to provide empirical evidence of language shift from a demographic and linguistic perspective via the aforementioned variables. I then progress to a qualitative analysis to contextualize these data in the experiences of participants who

have either witnessed it in others or experienced it themselves. To do so, I pose interview questions designed specifically to measure participants' experiences with Spanish and English, their perceived value of Spanish and of bilingualism, and their experiences/awareness of language shift at different levels. Such qualitative data significantly strengthen the quantitative data and paint a more complete picture of language shift. As I show in Chapter 5, language shift can be a painful process replete with affective consequences and sociolinguistic issues that are important to address despite a relative lack of attention in previous scholarly work. In the next chapter, I present the quantitative results of this study.

## **CHAPTER 4. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS**

### **4.0. INTRODUCTION**

Having presented the quantitative measures I employed to examine language shift in Austin in the previous chapter, I now report the data from such quantitative measures in three parts. Part I presents the data from the 33-item questionnaire that all 23 participants completed prior to their semi-structured sociolinguistic interview. In Part II, I address the grammatical variables culled from the transcripts of the sociolinguistic interviews, and Part III presents the lexical variables that I also culled from the interviews. For all three measures, I discuss the intergenerational differences using descriptive statistics as well as those that the statistical models showed to be statistically significant. I end each part with a discussion of the results and posit why they resulted in the way they did.

#### **4.0.1. SUMMARY OF RESULTS**

Because the following discussion of quantitative results comparing generations is rather dense, I begin here with a summary of the results, followed by a more detailed reporting. Across questionnaire items, statistically significant differences did emerge between generations. Namely, the vast majority of statistically significant intergenerational differences (for both Spanish and English usage) occurred between generational extremes, or between those closest to and furthest from immigration. The highest number of statistically significant differences (30) occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 3; the former favored Spanish in most cases, while the latter favored English completely. GENERATION 0 also showed two instances of significantly higher rates of Spanish and two instances of significantly lower rates of English usage than GENERATION 2. The second

highest number of statistically significant differences were found between GENERATIONS 1 and 3, the former of which showed five instances of significantly higher rates of Spanish than the latter, and five instances of significantly lower rates of English. There were only five statistically significant differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 1, and none between GENERATIONS 2 and 3. There were very few statistically significant differences between consecutive generations (i.e., between GENERATIONS 1 and 2 or between GENERATIONS 2 and 3). Such a lack of statistically significant differences between consecutive generations is consistent with the fact that most questionnaire items showed a lack of fully linear intergenerational differences in the descriptive means scores for each generation. In many cases, a generation further removed from immigration showed higher rates of Spanish usage or lower rates of English usage than the previous generation. Table 4.1 below presents the statistically significant differences found between generations across the questionnaire items.

**TABLE 4.1. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES BY QUESTION**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Questionnaire Item/Variable</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 + 3	Spanish proficiency (composite)	p=0.006
0 + 3	Spanish speaking	p=0.0209
0 + 3	Spanish listening	p=0.0464
1 + 3	Spanish listening	p=0.00602
0 + 3	Counting	p=0.0132

0 + 3	Thinking	p=0.032
1 + 3	Counting	p=0.0284
0 + 3	Elementary School language	p=0.0437
0 + 3	Middle School language	p=0.0481
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with parents	**p=0.000563
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.00468
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with friends	p=0.0253
0 + 2	Childhood Spanish with friends	p=0.0253
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0026
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with parents	p=0.0435
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0108
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with siblings	p=0.0184
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with friends	p=0.0125
1 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0397
0 + 2	Adulthood Spanish with friends	p=0.0436
0 + 3	Childhood English with parents	p=0.00938
0 + 3	Childhood English with grandparents	p=0.0397
0 + 3	Childhood English with siblings	p=0.0323
0 + 3	Childhood English with friends	p=0.00193
0 + 1	Childhood English with friends	p=0.0023
0 + 2	Childhood English with friends	p=0.0412

0 + 3	Adulthood English with grandparents	p=0.00153
1 + 3	Adulthood English with grandparents	p=0.00491
0 + 3	Adulthood English with siblings	p=0.0491
0 + 1	Adulthood English with siblings	p=0.0385
0 + 3	Adulthood English with friends	p=0.0471
0 + 1	Adulthood English with friends	p=0.0221
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at church	**p=0.000448
0 + 2	Childhood Spanish at church	p=0.00728
1 + 2	Childhood Spanish at church	p=0.0153
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish at church	**p=0.000833
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at home	**p=0.000366
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish at home	p=0.00255
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at school	p=0.00466
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish at home	p=0.0053
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish at church	p=0.0112
0 + 1	Adulthood Spanish at church	p=0.032
0 + 3	Childhood English at home	**p=0.000795
1 + 3	Childhood English at home	p=0.00874
0 + 1	Childhood English at school	p=0.0045
0 + 2	Childhood English at school	p=0.00704
0 + 3	Childhood English at school	p=0.0197

0 + 2	Childhood English at church	p=0.00146
0 + 3	Childhood English at church	p=0.0146
1 + 2	Childhood English at church	p=0.00274
1 + 3	Childhood English at church	p=0.00274

I now present the specific generational breakdowns for each generation for all variables, their associated composite means scores, and p-values in the rest of this chapter.

#### **4.1. PART I: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS**

##### **4.1.0. ORGANIZATION**

Data for this section are derived from the questionnaire provided to each participant at the onset of the sociolinguistic interview. In total, 23 participants completed the questionnaire, which comprised 33 items representing the categories below. I also employ this order in presenting the questionnaire results.

- 4.2.1. Self-rated proficiency in Spanish and in English
- 4.2.2. Language(s) used in counting, thinking, and praying
- 4.2.3. Language(s) of instruction in Elementary, Middle, and High School
- 4.2.4. Childhood and adulthood Spanish usage with different interlocutors
- 4.2.5. Childhood and adulthood English usage with different interlocutors
- 4.2.6. Childhood and adulthood Spanish usage in different domains
- 4.2.7. Childhood and adulthood English usage in different domains
- 4.2.8. Consumption of Spanish-language radio and television

To present results from the questionnaire, I include a series of tables that show the mean scores of Spanish and/or English usage across each generation for each questionnaire

item. For instance, when presenting childhood Spanish usage, I show each generational mean score for Spanish usage with parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends separately, and then across the four sets of interlocutors. I display the individual participant scores for each questionnaire item in the appendix. In cases where it is relevant, I utilize charts that include the p-values of statistically significant differences between generations, as well as the point-differences and percentage differences for that item. In other cases, I present tables demonstrating statistically significant differences (p-values, point-differences, and percentage differences) from childhood to adulthood language usage. All such tables are labeled accordingly.

Before presenting the results and how they varied by generation, I first draw the reader's attention to Table 4.2., which shows the number of participants representing each generation. As can be seen, there are more participants belonging to GENERATIONS 0 and 1 than GENERATIONS 2 and 3. <sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> It was much more difficult to recruit GENERATION 2 and 3 participants in comparison to GENERATION 0 and 2 participants. I posit that the participants representing generations farther removed from immigration were more reluctant to partake in a recorded interview in Spanish because of the higher degrees of linguistic insecurity they generally possess; I return to this theme in Chapter 5.



**TABLE 4.2. QUANTITY OF PARTICIPANTS PER GENERATION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Number of participants</b>
0	7
1	9
2	3
3	4
<b>N=23</b>	

#### **4.1.1. SELF-RATED PROFICIENCY IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH**

With regard to self-rated proficiency in Spanish, a mostly linear decline in Spanish proficiency is seen, with the exception of GENERATION 2 that showed a 0.1-point higher score than GENERATION 1 (this was not statistically significant). The largest differences, and the only ones found to be statistically significant, occurred between the immigrant generation and the generation furthest removed from immigration. That is, GENERATION 0 rated their Spanish the highest across all four skills, an almost perfect 4.6 out of 5, indicating that they were quite confident in their Spanish-language skills. GENERATION 3, on the other hand, rated their Spanish the lowest across all four skills, a 2.8 out of 5, which represents a 1.8-point or 39.1% decrease from GENERATION 0. This difference is statistically significant ( $p=0.006$ ).

**TABLE 4.3. SELF-RATED PROFICIENCY IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH ACROSS GENERATIONS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Spanish Composite</b>	<b>English Composite</b>
0	4.6	4.6
1	3.8	4.7
2	3.9	5
3	2.8	4.9

In examining proficiency skills individually (i.e., speaking, listening, reading, and writing alone), the starkest differences among generations were for speaking and listening alone, which are presented in the tables above. Table 4.2 shows the generational means for each skill, and Table 4.4 displays statistically significant differences between generations. As can be seen, a fully linear generational decline in Spanish proficiency is not evident for any of four proficiency skills given that GENERATION 2 indicated either the same or slightly higher scores than GENERATION 1.

**TABLE 4.4. GENERATIONAL SPANISH PROFICIENCY SCORES BY SKILL**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaking</b>	<b>Listening</b>	<b>Reading</b>	<b>Writing</b>
<b>0</b>	4.6	4.9	4.6	4.3
<b>1</b>	3.9	4.3	4	3.6
<b>2</b>	4	4.3	3.7	3.7
<b>3</b>	2.8	3	2.3	2.3

The only statistically significant differences, of which there were three, were found for speaking and listening; two between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 (speaking and listening), and one between GENERATIONS 1 and 3 (listening only), seen in Table 4.5. As such, clear intergenerational differences are seen between those closest to and furthest from immigration (the most statistically significant differences occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 3).

**TABLE 4.5. SPEAKING AND LISTENING SKILLS IN SPANISH**

<b>Generational Difference</b>	<b>Skill</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 and 3	Speaking	2.4	39.1%	p=0.0209
0 and 3	Listening	1.9	38.8%	p=0.00602
1 and 3	Listening	1.3	30.2%	p=0.0464

English proficiency across all four language skills indicated the inverse effect: the further removed from immigration, the higher the composite English proficiency score.

However, no intergenerational differences for English proficiency were found to be statistically significant by the Tukey test, neither for composite scores nor for individual scores. This result is consistent with the fact that all speakers, (with the exception of Lionel, a GENERATION 0 participant who readily admitted low English proficiency on his part), were quite confident about their English skills, as seen in their composite scores at a 3.8 or higher. Eighteen participants, or 78.3% of the sample size, rated their English skills as a 5 out of 5 across all four language skills, while only three participants did so

for Spanish, all of whom represented GENERATION 0. Additionally, in comparing the composite scores across all 23 participants for English and Spanish (i.e., the overall English average across the four scores for all 23 participants in comparison to the overall Spanish average), the English score was 0.9 points higher, or 18.8% (4.8 vs. 3.9); this difference was statistically significant ( $p=0.000524$ ). At the individual level, the English proficiency scores for 14 participants were higher than their Spanish skills and were evenly distributed throughout generations (one GENERATION 0 speaker, seven GENERATION 1 speakers, two GENERATION 2 speakers, and all four GENERATION 3 speakers). Such results further point to shift or, at the very least, widespread linguistic insecurity.

**TABLE 4.6. GENERATION AND ENGLISH PROFICIENCY SKILLS**

Generation	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
0	<b>4.7</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.4</b>
1	<b>4.9</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.7</b>
2	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
3	<b>4.7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>

#### **4.1.2 LANGUAGES USED FOR COUNTING, THINKING, AND PRAYING**

In the generational mean scores for Spanish for counting, thinking, and praying, clearly drawn, mostly linear intergenerational differences emerge. Showing the highest scores, GENERATION 0 preferred Spanish as the language in which they count, think, and pray, while GENERATION 3 showed the lowest scores, indicating that they overwhelmingly

prefer English, seen in Table 4.7.

**TABLE 4.7. SPANISH USAGE MEANS ACROSS GENERATIONS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Counting</b>	<b>Thinking</b>	<b>Praying</b>
0	3.4	2.9	4
1	1.7	2.3	3.2
2	1.7	2.3	2
3	1	1	1.3

Here, praying was the only questionnaire item of this set of questions to exhibit a fully linear cline across generations and showed a gradual decrease with each subsequent generation after GENERATION 0, yet no intergenerational differences were found to be statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). Such a lack of statistically significant differences between generations could indicate that Spanish was similarly important as a language of prayer across generations.

Only three intergenerational differences were statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ), however, as shown in Table 4.8 below. Once again, GENERATIONS 0 and 3 show the largest differences, in that the latter displayed statistically significant lower rates of counting and thinking in Spanish than the former, thereby further demonstrating the high degree of difference in Spanish usage between generational extremes.

**TABLE 4.8. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERATIONS IN FUNCTIONS**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Point difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 and 3	Counting	2.4	70.6%	p=0.0132
0 and 3	Thinking	1.9	65.5%	p=0.032
1 and 3	Counting	1.7	50%	p=0.0284

#### **4.1.3 LANGUAGE(S) OF SCHOOLING K THROUGH 12**

For these questionnaire items, I remind the reader that I converted the following alphabetic responses to numbers on a scale from 1 to 5, where a score of 1 meant exclusively English, and a 5 meant exclusively Spanish.

All Spanish: 5

Mostly Spanish: 4

Spanish and English: 3

Mostly English: 2

All English: 1

For instance, the 3.6 that GENERATION 0 indicated for their language usage in elementary school would classify as ‘Mostly Spanish’ when rounding up to the tenth. Contrarily, the GENERATION 3 score of 1 would classify as exclusive English usage. When looking at these numbers in Table 4.9, then, language shift is perhaps the most evident at the level of instruction in primary and secondary school. GENERATION 0, for instance, showed a

gradual increase in English-language instruction the farther the participants advanced in school. While their schooling in elementary school was largely in Spanish, English began to take over increasingly once they started middle school when Spanish language instruction decreased by 25% and then by an additional 14.8% in high school.

GENERATION 1 shows an even more dramatic decrease in Spanish-language instruction. In elementary school, GENERATION 1 participants rated their Spanish coursework as a 2.1 but this number drops by 52.4% as early as middle school, where it remained for high school. GENERATIONS 2 and 3, on the other hand, experienced all of their K-12 schooling exclusively in English, which is evidence of the fact that schools are a powerful assimilatory tool<sup>34</sup> (Boas 2009; Velázquez 2019).

While GENERATIONS 1, 2, and 3 patterned quite similarly, if not identically, for these questionnaire items, statistically significant differences emerged between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 for Spanish usage in elementary and middle school. That is, GENERATION 0 showed a higher Spanish rate of 2.5-points, or 72.2%, than GENERATION 3 with a p-value of  $p=0.0437$ . For middle school, this difference dropped slightly, with GENERATION 0 indicating a higher Spanish rate of 1.7 points, or 62.9%, in middle school than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.0481$ ). Such results, along with the fact that GENERATION 0 saw significant decreases in Spanish-language instruction as they grew older, speak to how quickly language shift can occur, as quickly as the contact generation. Indeed, throughout my interviews, three GENERATION 0 participants commented on how their schooling

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<sup>34</sup> Recall that two participants, Ramona, and Josie, attended bilingual schools in Mexico for elementary school, and did half of their elementary coursework there in English.

switched completely to English upon emigrating to the United States. Damián, for instance, explained that when his family emigrated to the United States, he was enrolled in subtractive bilingual classes in which Spanish was progressively replaced with English. He did the rest of his schoolwork entirely in English, and the home became the only place in which he consistently spoke Spanish.

It is worth mentioning that two GENERATION 0 participants did their schooling in Mexico before they emigrated to the United States as adults, which is perhaps why the mean scores for Spanish-language instruction are high for this generation. When excluding these two speakers, the mean scores for GENERATION 0's Spanish-language instruction drop to 3.4 for elementary school, and to 1.8 for both middle and high school. As such, for the other five GENERATION 0 speakers, English was by and large the main, if not sole, language of instruction.

**TABLE 4.9. LANGUAGE(S) OF INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY, MIDDLE, AND HIGH SCHOOL**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Elementary</b>	<b>Middle School</b>	<b>High School</b>
0	3.6	2.7	2.3
1	2.1	1	1
2	1	1	1
3	1	1	1



#### 4.1.4 CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS

##### 4.1.4.1 CHILDHOOD SPANISH

This questionnaire item asked how often the participants used Spanish as children with their parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends. Options included: always (5); often (4); regularly (3); sometimes (2); never (1). Table 4.10 below shows the results for childhood Spanish usage in the form of intergenerational mean scores for each of the interlocutor pairs as well as the mean scores across the four sets of interlocutors for each generation.

**TABLE 4.10. CHILDHOOD SPANISH USAGE WITH VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	4.7	5	3.6	3.9	4.3
1	4.3	4.4	2.8	2.3	3.5
2	2.7	3.5	1	1	2
3	1	2	1	1	1.3

As can be seen, the mean scores for Spanish usage across the four sets of interlocutors indicate a clear, linear language shift. GENERATION 0 produced the highest mean at 4.3, which gradually decreased with each subsequent generation until reaching GENERATION 3. The latter produced the lowest mean of 1.3, a 3-point drop (69.8%), from GENERATION 0. The following differences proved to be statistically significant as shown in Table 4.11 below:

**TABLE 4.11. INTERGENERATIONAL STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 and 3	3	69.8%	p=0.000549
0 and 2	2.3	43.5%	p=0.0107
1 and 3	2.2	62.9%	p=0.00788

As can be seen, the largest differences of statistical significance occurred between generational extremes, further cementing a lack of linearity in generational differences, despite the linear decrease in the mean scores.

Such trends are also evident when looking at individual sets of interlocutors. For one, we see that across generations, participants spoke the most Spanish with their grandparents and parents, and the least with their siblings and friends. GENERATION 0 showed the most robust childhood Spanish usage with their parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends, ranging from 3.6 to 5 out of 5 points, but such numbers gradually decreased with each subsequent generation until arriving at almost exclusive preference for English usage among GENERATION 3.

Table 4.12 below shows the differences that proved to be statistically significant between individual sets of interlocutors. For instance, GENERATION 0 showed statistically significant higher rates of Spanish usage as children than GENERATIONS 2 and 3.

GENERATION 1 also indicated a statistically significant higher rate of Spanish usage than

GENERATION 3. Interestingly, there were no statistically significant differences between any two generations for Spanish usage with siblings. Spanish usage in this context was relatively low across generations in comparison to usage with other interlocutors, and GENERATIONS 2 and 3 produced the same score of 1, indicating exclusive English use with siblings.

**TABLE 4.12. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES FOR CHILDHOOD SPANISH PER INTERLOCUTOR SET**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Interlocutor set</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 and 3	Parents	3.7	78.7%	p=0.000563
0 and 3	Grandparents	3	60%	p=0.00468
0 and 3	Friends	2.9	65.5%	p=0.0253
0 and 2	Friends	2.9	65.5%	p=0.0253
1 and 3	Grandparents	2.4	54.5%	p=0.0026

#### **4.1.4.2 ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE: PART I**

A linear intergenerational cline in Spanish usage across generations appears evident for parents, siblings, and friends individually, as well as for the mean scores across these four sets of interlocutors. As can be seen in Table 4.13 below, Spanish usage progressively decreases with each generation. These are some of the most linear results for the questionnaire data with regard to the raw generational means.

**TABLE 4.13. ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE WITH VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS: PART I**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	4.7	4	3.8	3.4	4
1	4.3	4.4	1.7	2.2	3.2
2*	3	N/A	1.7	1.7	2.1
3	2.3	2.7	1	1.5	1.9

\*GENERATION 2 had no data for this questionnaire item, as no participants have grandparents who are still alive.

A number of intergenerational differences were statistically significant, but did not occur between consecutive generations, as has been the case with other questionnaire items.

Most of these differences manifested between GENERATIONS 0 and 3; the former showed statistically significant higher rates of Spanish usage with each set of interlocutors than the latter, as shown in Table 4.14.

**TABLE 4.14. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERATIONS 0 AND 3**

<b>Interlocutor set</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>
<b>Score</b>	2.4	1.3	2.8	1.9
<b>Difference</b>				
<b>Percentage</b>	51.1%	38.6%	73.7%	55.8%
<b>Difference</b>				
<b>p-value</b>	p=0.0435	p=0.0108	p=0.0184	p=0.0125

The only other two statistically significant intergenerational differences for this category are as follows: GENERATION 0 also showed a 1.7-point higher score (50%) than GENERATION 2 with friends ( $p=0.0436$ ), and GENERATION 1 showed a 1.3-point (32.5%) higher score than GENERATION 3 for Spanish usage with grandparents ( $p=0.0397$ ).

Examining scores across the four sets of interlocutors produced statistically significant intergenerational differences for Spanish use, as well. That is, GENERATION 0 showed statistically significant higher means (1.9-point, 47.5% and 2.1-point, 52.5%) than GENERATIONS 2 and 3 ( $p=0.00381$ , and  $p=0.000424$ , the latter of which is the lowest p-value for this questionnaire item). GENERATION 1 also showed a 1.3-point (40.6%) higher rate of Spanish usage across interlocutors than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.0264$ ).

#### **4.1.4.3 CHILDHOOD VS. ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE**

In comparing Spanish usage rates from childhood to adulthood with the aforementioned interlocutors, only GENERATIONS 0 and 1 show declines. Across the four sets of interlocutors, they displayed mean decreases of 7% and 8.6%, respectively.

GENERATIONS 2 and 3, on the other hand, presented increases in their Spanish usage in almost every set of interlocutors. This was especially pronounced for GENERATION 3, who showed an overall 31.6% increase in their Spanish usage. Such data are consistent with qualitative information obtained from the interviews that I discuss in Chapter 5.

Numerous participants of GENERATIONS 2 and 3 attested to making concerted efforts to speak more Spanish with their parents and grandparents (in cases where they were still alive). Such findings provide tentative evidence of cyclical bilingualism, or previous language shift to English followed by some degree of Spanish reacquisition later in life (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2001). However, in subjecting these data to statistical models, no gains or decreases in Spanish usage from childhood to adulthood were statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ) for any individual set of interlocutors or for the mean score across interlocutors for any generation. As such, participants did not evince much language shift to English from childhood to adulthood with these interlocutors, which is one of the only pieces of evidence that does not support language shift. Cyclical bilingualism can also be discarded due to a lack of any statistically significant gains in Spanish usage.

#### **4.1.4.4. ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE: PART II**

In the questionnaire item targeting adult Spanish usage, I included three additional sets of interlocutors: coworkers, significant others, and children. Since these data are not

comparable to those of childhood Spanish usage (children lack such interlocutors), I present them here separately. A fully linear intergenerational cline is seen in Table 4.15 only in the mean scores across the 3 sets of interlocutors, where a gradual decline in Spanish usage with each subsequent generation is evident. However, no intergenerational differences in Spanish usage with any individual set of interlocutors or across interlocutors were found to be statistically significant ( $p>0.05$ ). The complete lack of statistically significant differences between generations suggests that English plays a dominant role in participants' conversational practices with these three sets of interlocutors across generations. With the exception of GENERATION 0's score for Spanish usage with coworkers (2.7/5, or 54%), no generation indicated a Spanish usage rate surpassing 48% with any set of interlocutors; most Spanish scores were 34% or lower. Indeed, GENERATIONS 2 and 3 indicated an almost exclusive usage of English at work, and GENERATION 3 indicated an even lower rate of Spanish-usage with their significant others. These results convincingly point towards language shift across generations, given that Spanish usage rates were so comprehensively low, even among the contact generation. It is also noteworthy that there were no statistically significant differences found between any two generations for Spanish usage with significant others and children ( $p>0.05$ ).

**TABLE 4.15. ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE WITH VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS: PART II**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Coworkers</b>	<b>Significant Others</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	2.7	2.3	2	2.3
1	2.4	1.7	2	2.0
2	1.5	2	2	1.8
3	1.5	1.3	N/A*	1.4

#### **4.1.5 CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

##### **4.1.5.1. CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE**

Childhood English usage yielded the most linear intergenerational cline for any questionnaire item. As expected, GENERATION 0 showed the lowest rates of English usage with their parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends, which gradually increased for each subsequent generation. GENERATION 3 showed the highest rates of English usage, ranging from 4.25 to 5 points, indicating exclusive usage of English on their behalf with their parents, siblings, and friends, and almost exclusive English usage with their grandparents; these descriptive statistical results are summarized in Table 4.16 below.



**TABLE 4.16. CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE WITH VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	1.6	1	2.7	2.5	1.9
1	2	1.5	4	4	2.9
2	3.4	1.5	4.3	4.3	3.4
3	5	4.3	5	5	4.8

Like results of other questionnaire items, the highest degree of statistically significant intergenerational differences occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 in which there were statistically significant differences for each pair of interlocutors ( $p < 0.05$ ).

These results are summarized in Tables 4.17:

**TABLE 4.17. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERATIONS 0 AND 3**

	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>
<b>Point difference</b>	3.4	3.3	2.3	2.5
<b>Percentage difference</b>	68.6%	76.7%	46%	50%
<b>p-value</b>	p=0.00938	p=0.0000983	p=0.0323	p=0.00193

As can be seen, English usage with parents and grandparents between these two generations showed especially high statistically significant difference, both in the raw

means as well as in the p-values. In fact, childhood English usage between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 showed the lowest p-value of any questionnaire item with a p-value  $p=0.0000983$ , which indicates the highest degree of statistical significance of any difference and represents a clear case of intergenerational language shift. GENERATION 1 also showed markedly different behavior than GENERATION 3 for English usage with parents and grandparents. With parents, they showed a 3-point higher score with a p-value of  $p=0.00231$  for Spanish use, and for grandparents, they indicated a 2.8-point higher score with a p-value of  $p=0.000339$ , another high degree of statistical significance.

GENERATION 1 also trended towards Spanish usage with parents and grandparents, but their English usage with friends and siblings was quite high, with a score of 4 points for each, and only varied slightly from GENERATIONS 2 and 3. For this reason, no differences between any of these generations for English usage with siblings and friends were statistically significant ( $p>0.05$ ). Such results point to the overwhelming reliance on English for language usage with friends across GENERATIONS 1, 2, and 3.

GENERATION 0, on the other hand, showed statistically significant lower rates of English usage with friends than all other generations. As seen in Table 4.18, the rates of English usage for GENERATION 0 ranged from 37.5% to 50% lower than the other generations and with p-values ranging from  $p=0.0023$  to  $p=0.000193$ , the lowest p-value for this questionnaire item. Yet with a score of 2.5 out of 5, even the participants among GENERATION 0 indicated that they use English about half of the time with their friends, which suggests that shift can start to occur to some degree as early as the contact/immigrant generation.

**TABLE 4.18. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERATION 0 AND OTHERS FOR ENGLISH USE WITH FRIENDS**

<b>Point</b>	<b>GEN 0 to 1</b>	<b>GEN 0 to 2</b>	<b>GEN 0 to 3</b>
<b>difference</b>	1.5	1.8	2.5
<b>Percentage</b>	37.5%	41.9%	50%
<b>difference</b>			
<b>p-value</b>	p=0.0023	p=0.0412	p=0.000193

When comparing generational mean scores across these four types of interlocutors, generations further removed from immigration showed statistically higher rates of English usage than those closest ( $p < 0.05$ ). For instance, GENERATION 2 showed a 1.5-point (42.4%) higher score than GENERATION 0 ( $p = 0.0226$ ), and GENERATION 3 showed a 1.9-point higher score than GENERATION 1 (a 39.6% difference:  $p = 0.00299$ ). There were no statistically significant differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 1 or between GENERATIONS 2 and 3 across these four sets of interlocutors, which indicates a lack of full linearity in statistically significant intergenerational gains in English usage as children. Such findings are bolstered by the fact that GENERATION 3 showed almost exclusive usage of English as children, with a mean score of 4.8 out of 5, indicating that they always use English with their parents, siblings, and friends, and mostly English with their grandparents. GENERATION 2 also used mostly English with their siblings and friends, rating their usage as 4.3 out of 5 for each set of interlocutors, and used English often with their parents (3.4 out of 5). It should also be noted that across all generations,

speakers showed the lowest rates of English usage with their parents and grandparents, and the highest rates with siblings and friends; even GENERATION 0. Again, this is an early sign of language shift (Otheguy, García, and Roca 2000; Bills 2005; Klee 2011).

**4.1.5.2. ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS: PART I**

When examining the questionnaire responses regarding adulthood English usage with parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends, a linear increase in English usage is evident across generations with parents and with grandparents, with the exception of GENERATION 2, who did not have any data for that category because all of their grandparents were deceased. There was no sense of linearity for English usage with siblings or with friends; indeed, quite the opposite, which is evident in Table 4.19 below.

**TABLE 4.19. ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE: PART I**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	1.7	1	2.9	2.7	2.1
1	2.1	1.6	4.7	4.3	3.2
2	2.3	N/A	3.7	3.7	3.2
3	3.8	4	5	4.5	4.3

Despite apparent linearity in English usage with ‘*parents*’, no statistically significant differences were established. The category of ‘*grandparents*’, on the other hand, yielded two statistically significant intergenerational differences. Like most items, GENERATIONS 0 and 3 showed statistically significant differences, in that the former scored 3 points lower (75%) with a p-value of  $p=0.00153$ . The second one emerged between

GENERATIONS 1 and 3, in which GENERATION 1 scored 2.4 lower than the latter (60% lower, also with  $p=0.00491$ ). With siblings, the Tukey HSD test yielded two statistically significant difference, once again between GENERATIONS 0 and 3. GENERATION 0 produced a 2.1-point lower score than GENERATION 3 (42% lower;  $p=0.0491$ ). GENERATION 0 also produced a statistically significant 1.8-point lower English score with ‘*siblings*’ than GENERATION 1 (38.2%;  $p=0.0385$ ), an uncommon generational comparison for statistically significant differences.

With regard to adulthood English usage with friends, two intergenerational statistically significant differences came to light despite a lack of linear differences. Once again, GENERATION 0 scored lower than GENERATION 3, with a 1.8-point lower score (40%;  $p=0.0471$ ). The other statistically significant difference occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 1, a less common site for such differences, in which GENERATION 0 produced a 1.6-point lower score (37.2%) than GENERATION 1 ( $p=0.0221$ ). Such a finding shows that English usage can increase considerably just one generation after immigration. Additionally, the fact that the most statistically significant differences occurred between the immigrant generation and the generation furthest removed from immigration suggests higher reliance on English with increased time spent in Central Texas, which in turn indicates intergenerational language shift.

#### **4.1.5.3. CHILDHOOD ENGLISH VS. ADULTHOOD ENGLISH**

In comparing childhood English rates to adulthood English, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 show increases in English usage across most sets of interlocutors, while GENERATIONS 2 and 3 displayed mostly decreases in English usage across these same sets of interlocutors. Such

results suggest longitudinal language shift by the two generations closest to immigration and cyclical bilingualism by those farthest from immigration; again, participants representing these generations did claim to make concerted efforts to use more Spanish on a daily basis. However, no decreases or increases in English usage from childhood to adulthood for any generation were statistically significant with any specific group of interlocutors or across interlocutors ( $p>0.05$ ). Such a lack of statistically significant differences suggests that English usage among the first two generations was similarly low (indeed, any increases seen in means are slight), and that English usage was similarly high for the two generations furthest from immigration, which again supports intergenerational language shift and not cyclical bilingualism as the descriptive mean decreases suggested.

#### **4.1.5.4 ADULTHOOD USAGE OF ENGLISH ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS: PART II**

Like results of adult Spanish usage, I separated results for these three sets of interlocutors (coworkers, significant others, and children) since they were not comparable to childhood English usage patterns; these results are presented in Table 4.20. As I found with adulthood Spanish usage, there were no statistically significant intergenerational differences for adulthood English usage by these interlocutors ( $p>0.05$ ). Such results, in tandem with the relatively high English usage scores across each set of interlocutors for each generation, show that all generations indicated considerably higher rates of adulthood English than Spanish usage with these interlocutors.

**TABLE 4.20. ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE WITH COWORKERS, PARTNERS, AND CHILDREN**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Coworkers</b>	<b>Significant Other</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	4.4	4.5	3.5	4.1
1	4.5	4.7	4	4.4
2	4.5	4	3	3.8
3	4.5	4.6	N/A	4.6

#### **4.1.6 CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD USAGE OF SPANISH ACROSS VARIOUS DOMAINS**

##### **4.1.6.1 CHILDHOOD SPANISH USAGE**

Like results from other questionnaire items, GENERATION 0 uses Spanish the most in each of these three domains, which progressively declines with each subsequent generation across all three domains with the exception of *school*. Below in Table 4.21, GENERATION 3 displayed a slightly higher rate of Spanish usage than GENERATION 2, although this difference was not statistically significant.

**TABLE 4.21. CHILDHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	4.9	3.9	4.5	4.4
1	4.1	2.4	4.1	3.5
2	3	1.7	1.7	2.1
3	1.3	1.8	1	1.3

*Church* produced the highest number (4) of statistically significant differences, three of which occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 2 or 3 and GENERATIONS 1 and 3.

Interestingly, GENERATION 1 produced a statistically significant higher Spanish score for *Church* than GENERATION 2, which has been an infrequent source of statistically significant differences, and one of two across all of the questionnaire data. *Home* produced two statistically significant differences and *School* only one, but all such differences patterned as normal (i.e., between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 or 1 and 3). The full results are summarized in Table 4.22.



**TABLE 4.22. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES FOR CHILDHOOD SPANISH AT CHURCH, HOME, AND SCHOOL**

<b>Generational Differences</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>P-value</b>	<b>Domain</b>
0 and 3	3.5	77.8%	p=0.000448	Church
0 and 2	2.8	62.2%	p=0.00728	
1 and 2	2.4	58.5%	p=0.0153	
1 and 3	3.1	75.6%	p=0.000833	
0 and 3	3.6	73.5%	p=0.000366	Home
1 and 3	2.8	68.2%	p=0.00255	
0 and 3	2.1	53%	p=0.00466	School

In comparing the mean scores across these three contexts for each generation, two statistically significant differences were found ( $p < 0.05$ ). The first occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 2, in which GENERATION 0 showed a 2.3-point difference (52.3%;  $p = 0.00716$ ). The second occurred between GENERATIONS 1 and 3, which showed a 2.2-point difference (62.9%;  $p = 0.00312$ ). Such mean scores across domains bolster the findings for individual domains in showing how differently GENERATIONS 2 and 3 patterned from GENERATIONS 0 and 1.

#### **4.1.6.2 ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

At the level of descriptive means, a lack of intergenerational linearity is evident since there are multiple instances of a subsequent generation using more Spanish than the

previous generation; these are bolded in Table 4.23.

**TABLE 4.23. ADULT SPANISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Work</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Businesses</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	3.9	2	2.6	4.5	2	2.9
1	2.6	<b>2.3</b>	2.6	1.7	<b>2.9</b>	2.5
2	<b>2.7</b>	2	2	<b>2</b>	2.5	2.3
3	1.3	1	2	1	1.75	1.5

This is further demonstrated by a general dearth of statistically significant differences between generations for each of these domains ( $p > 0.05$ ). For *Home*, the only statistically significant difference occurred between GENERATIONS 0 and 3, in which GENERATION 0 showed a 2.6-point difference, or 66.7% Spanish higher score, than GENERATION 3 ( $p = 0.0053$ ). *School* produced no statistically significant differences between any generations, which may be due to the fact that very few participants were still in school at the time of the interview. The domain of *Church* produced two statistically significant differences: between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 and GENERATIONS 0 and 1. In the first case, GENERATION 0 produced a 3.5-point difference, or 77.8% higher Spanish score, than GENERATION 3 ( $p = 0.0112$ ). In the second case, GENERATION 0 produced a 2.8-point difference, or 62.2% higher Spanish score than GENERATION 1 ( $p = 0.032$ ); this is one of few statistically significant differences between these two generations.

The domains of *Work* and *Businesses* showed no statistically significant differences between any two generations ( $p > 0.05$ ), which suggests that Spanish does not

play an important role in the daily lives of participants at work and/or in businesses across generations. When looking at the mean scores for these two domains for each generation, the scores varied from 1 to 2.9, which indicates exclusive use of English in these domains at worst, or occasional use of Spanish at best. These results underscore the power and omnipresence English plays in public domains.

#### **4.1.6.3 CHILDHOOD VS. ADULTHOOD SPANISH ACROSS DOMAINS**

When comparing adulthood usage means to childhood rates for each of the domains individually and all together (*Businesses* and *Work* are excluded since they were not included in the childhood domain usage questions), decreases in Spanish usage occurred in several cases. However, very few such declines were statistically significant. For individual domains, only GENERATION 1 saw statistically significant declines in the domains of *Home* and *Church* ( $p=0.0152$  and  $p=0.00179$ , respectively). Across these three contexts, only GENERATIONS 0 (despite showing no statistically significant differences in individual domains) and 1 showed statistically significant declines in Spanish usage from childhood to adulthood (with respective p-values of  $p=0.00299$  and  $p=0.0148$ ). GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed no statistically significant declines (GENERATION 2 even showed a slight increase), most likely because their rates of Spanish usage across these domains were already so low in childhood. As such, shift is evident in comparing Spanish usage across participants' lifetimes, but only for those closest to immigration; it was already too late for those furthest from immigration.

#### 4.1.7 CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS

##### 4.1.7.1 CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE

Like results of other questionnaire items targeting English, childhood English usage across domains shows an inverse cline from Spanish usage, in that each subsequent generation after GENERATION 0 shows higher rates of English usage at *Home*, *School*, and *Church*. GENERATION 0 showed the lowest rates of English while GENERATION 3 showed the highest. Intergenerational differences for this category were almost entirely linear, with the exception of GENERATIONS 2 and 3 who both rated their English usage at *Church* at a 5, as shown in Table 4.24 below.

**TABLE 4.24. CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS VARIOUS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	2.1	2.6	1.5	2.1
1	2.9	4.4	1.9	3.1
2	4	5	5	4.7
3	5	4.5	5	4.8

The domain of *Church* produced the highest number (4) of statistically significant differences between generations for the questionnaire item and revealed stark differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 1 and GENERATIONS 2 and 3. This questionnaire item also showed statistically significant differences between GENERATIONS 1 and 2, one of only a handful of such differences between these generations. *School* revealed three statistically significant differences in that GENERATION 0 showed statistically significant lower rates

of English here than all three other generations, even GENERATION 1. *Home* revealed only two statistically significant differences, but they represented the smallest p-values for this questionnaire item. All such differences are listed in Table 4.25 below.

**TABLE 4.25. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE**

**WITHIN DOMAINS**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Domain</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>P-value</b>
0 and 3	2.9	Home	58%	p=0.000795
1 and 3	2.1	Home	42%	p=0.00874
0 and 1	1.8	School	39.1%	p=0.0045
0 and 2	2.5	School	53.7%	p=0.00704
0 and 3	2.6	School	55%	p=0.0197
0 and 2	3.5	Church	70%	p=0.00146
0 and 3	3.5	Church	70%	p=0.0146
1 and 2	3.1	Church	62%	p=0.00274
1 and 3	3.1	Church	62%	p=0.00274

The generational mean scores across the three sets of domains produced similar results in that statistically significant differences emerge between GENERATIONS 0 or 1 and 2 or 3, but not between 0 and 1 or between 2 and 3. The most statistically significant difference was between GENERATIONS 0 and 3, with a 2.6-point difference, or 55% (p=0.000202).

Clearly, English played a dominant, if not exclusive, role across these domains,

especially at church, for GENERATIONS 2 and 3, which speaks to intergenerational language shift.

#### **4.1.7.2 ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

Despite some differences at the descriptive statistical level, no differences between any two generations were statistically significant for any individual domain ( $p > 0.05$ ). As seen in Table 4.26, any intergenerational differences for a particular domain and/or across domains are quite small, and scores were high overall, indicating English dominance in these domains. In almost all contexts, participants across generations rated their English usage at a 4 or higher, with the exception of *Home*, where GENERATION 1 rated their English as a 3.1, and *Church*, where GENERATIONS 0 and 1 rated their English usage as a mean of 3.7 and a 3.3, respectively. Such relatively high scores, combined with a lack of statistically significant differences between generations ( $p > 0.05$ ), provide clear evidence of language shift. Across all five domains, English was overwhelmingly the language participants used, even among GENERATION 0. There were also no incremental linear increases in English usage across generations, but almost uniform English usage, with some marginal declines (i.e., for work from GENERATION 0 to 1).

**TABLE 4.26. GENERATIONAL MEAN SCORES OF ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Work</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Businesses</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	3.1	4.5	4.7	3.7	4	3.96
1	4.1	4.6	<b>4.4</b>	<b>3.3</b>	4.4	4.3
2	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	4	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
3	4.8	5	4.8	5	4.8	4.8

\*Bolted numbers indicate an interruption of intergenerational linearity

#### **4.1.7.3 CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE VS. ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE**

In comparing childhood rates to adulthood English rates within and across the domains of *Home*, *School*, and *Church* (*Work* and *Businesses* were not included in the childhood language questions), shift is evident. That is, GENERATIONS 0, 1, and 3 showed gains in English usage in all three domains in most cases, but such gains were only statistically significant for GENERATIONS 0 and 1 within the domains of *Church* and *Home*, as shown in Table 4.27.

**TABLE 4.27. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT ENGLISH GAINS FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Domain</b>	<b>Point Difference</b>	<b>Percentage Difference</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0	Church	2.2	59.5%	p=0.0000398
1	Home	1.2	29.2%	p=0.0257
1	Church	1.4	42.4%	p=0.00123

These two generations also showed statistically significant gains in English usage across these domains ( $p=0.00661$ , and  $p=0.00183$ ), respectively, which provide more evidence of longitudinal language shift. These results also suggest that dramatic shift starts to occur as early as GENERATIONS 0 and 1, which further demonstrates the powerful assimilatory policies at work within American society and the pressure Spanish-speakers face to relinquish Spanish in favor of English. GENERATIONS 2 and 3, on the other hand, did not show statistically significant gains in English usage from childhood to adulthood within any individual domains or across the three domains, because their rates of English were already so high as children ( $p>0.05$ ); as such, participants did not show significant changes in their language usage throughout their lives in these domains. GENERATION 2 did show slight decreases in English usage at *School* and at *Church*, although not to a statistically significant extent ( $p>0.05$ ). It is also noteworthy that GENERATION 1 showed statistically higher rates of English usage at home; once English encroaches on the private domain of home, the context that is typically reserved for Spanish, language shift



is well underway (Valdés 2001; Boas 2009).

#### **4.1.8. CONSUMPTION OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA**

Sixteen of the 23 participants,<sup>35</sup> or slightly more than two-thirds (69.6%), indicated that they do listen to Spanish-language radio to some degree. As can be seen in Table 4.28.

below, a linear intergenerational decline did not occur for this questionnaire item.

Interestingly, this is the only questionnaire item targeting Spanish-language usage for which GENERATION 3 produced a higher score than GENERATION 0, which was also the highest score for this questionnaire item. However, no intergenerational differences were statistically significant, indicating that aural media consumption in Spanish was similarly high for each generation ( $p>0.05$ ); indeed, the mean percentages showed very small differences between generations. Such a finding provides tentative evidence against intergenerational language shift.

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<sup>35</sup> It should be noted that unlike other questionnaire items, the two questionnaire items discussed under this subheading did not measure the exact degree to which participants listen to Spanish-language radio or watch Spanish-language television, but whether they listen/watch it or not.

**TABLE 4.28. SPANISH-LANGUAGE RADIO CONSUMPTION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Number of Listeners</b>	<b>Rate of Listening per Generation</b>
0	5/7	71.4%
1	6/9	66.7%
2	2/3	66.7%
3	3/4	75%

The Spanish-language television variable revealed an even higher rate of consumption as can be seen in Table 4.29. That is, 18 of the 23 participants (78.3%) claimed to watch Spanish-language television, an 11.2% increase from Spanish-language radio consumption. In terms of intergenerational patterning, GENERATION 1 did show a notable 22.2% decrease from GENERATION 0, and GENERATION 3 indicated a 25% decrease from GENERATION 2, but GENERATION 2 revealed a 33.3% increase in Spanish-language television consumption from the previous generation; this result disrupts a fully linear intergenerational decline. Like results regarding Spanish-language radio, there were no statistically significant intergenerational differences for Spanish-language television consumption ( $p>0.05$ ), most likely because all generations showed similarly high rates of watching Spanish-language television. This, too, provides tentative evidence against language shift. Additionally, for television, viewing rates were consistently high across age groups in that my youngest and oldest participants alike indicated that they viewed

Spanish television; the few who did not were evenly distributed by age. For radio consumption, on the other hand, my youngest participants all indicated that they do not listen to Spanish. Of the seven participants who answered ‘no’ to listening to Spanish-language radio, four were under the age of 25. Indeed, as members of Generation Z, they are more likely to use smartphones or online platforms for their music and news.

It is also worth noting that it was not GENERATION 0 who showed the highest rate for Spanish television consumption, but rather GENERATION 2, a result that also deviates from those of other questionnaire items. The fact that GENERATION 3 showed the highest rate for Spanish-radio consumption and GENERATION 2 for Spanish-television consumption provides tentative evidence of cyclical bilingualism, or the reacquisition of Spanish after prior shift (Silva-Corvalán 2001; Anderson-Mejías 2005; Villa and Rivera-Mills 2009). Such findings are consistent with what participants of these generations claimed in their interviews with regard to using Spanish on a daily basis in their adult lives. Members of both generations explained that they seek out as many opportunities as possible to speak or listen to Spanish on a daily basis, which may explain the results for these last two questions on the questionnaire. Of course, living in Central Texas may have facilitated access to Spanish-language media for my participants. In a part of the country with such a large Latinx population, Spanish-language television and radio stations are much more readily available than in parts of the country with smaller Latinx populations like Vermont or Wisconsin with respective populations of 12,408 and 412,789. (*U.S. Census Quick Facts 2019*). Such relatively easy access may also have contributed to the high rates of consumption of Spanish-language media indicated by my

participants. However, the lack of intergenerational statistical significance for both of these questionnaire items, along with the small sample size for GENERATIONS 2 and 3, limits these conjectures.

**TABLE 4.29. SPANISH-LANGUAGE TELEVISION CONSUMPTION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Number of Viewers</b>	<b>Rate of Viewing per Generation</b>
0	6/7	85.7%
1	6/9	66.7%
2	3/3	100%
3	3/4	75%

#### **4.1.9. QUESTIONNAIRE DISCUSSION**

Overall, language shift appeared widespread and extensive across a wide range of interlocutors and contexts of usage throughout generations; 31 of the 33 questionnaire items produced evidence of intergenerational language shift to some degree. I now discuss the relevance of such findings but remind the reader that given the limited number of participants, especially in GENERATIONS 2 and 3, the following claims are preliminary and require a larger sample-size to validate them. Nonetheless, as evinced in the questionnaire data, generations closer to immigration show statistically higher rates of Spanish usage in their prayers, thoughts, and counting, as well as with various interlocutors and across domains than generations farther from immigration, who showed statistically significant higher rates of English usage and proficiency. Such results speak

to the dominant role English plays in the lives of participants farther removed from immigration, and how Spanish becomes increasingly less important the longer one's family spends in the United States. Such results are consistent with previous studies on language shift, (López 1982a, 1982b; Hartz-González and Feingold 1986; Solé 1987, 1990; Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson et al.1995; Hernández-Chavez, Bills, and Hudson 1996; Bills 2005; Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Wolford and Carter 2010; Carreira 2013).

Of particular relevance were the questions targeting Spanish and English usage with various sets of interlocutors, as their results are particularly supportive of language shift. In several cases, participants across generations indicated a strong preference for English, if not exclusive usage with their siblings and friends, both in childhood and adulthood. Castellanos (1990) and Pearson and McGee (1993) found such results among Generation 1 Miami Cubans, who tended to prefer English over Spanish with friends and even at home with siblings. Similarly, Otheguy, García, and Roca (2000) found that as many as 80% of second-generation Cubans preferred English on a daily basis with siblings and friends. While I, too, established similarly high rates of English among my GENERATION 1 participants, I found that English preference with siblings and friends started even earlier among my GENERATION 0 participants. I also found exclusive usage of English with friends and siblings among GENERATIONS 2 and 3 both in childhood and adulthood.

With regard to English usage among interlocutors, I established an even stronger effect in language usage among coworkers, significant others, and children. More specifically, most participants, irrespective of generation, indicated that they used much

less Spanish than English with their romantic partner, anywhere from 50% to 71.7% less than English; for GENERATIONS 1 and 3, these differences were statistically significant ( $p=0.000015$  and  $p=0.00211$ ). This is likely due to the fact that eight participants had entered exogamous relationships with a non-Spanish-speaking partner and, as such, tended to use English at the expense of Spanish. I return to this point in Chapter 5 where I provide qualitative evidence of such exogamous marriages.

The high rates of English usage with participants' children might also be a driving factor in language shift. In comparing rates of language usage with their children alone, GENERATION 0 indicated that they opt for English 42.9% more than Spanish, which was a significant difference ( $p=0.0308$ ). GENERATION 1 also showed a 50% higher rate of English usage with their children than Spanish, which was significant at  $p=0.00212$ . Such data are consistent with the experiences that participants shared in their interviews regarding their waning usage of Spanish on a daily basis, which I discuss in Chapter 5. These results stand in stark opposition to those of Velázquez (2019) who found that the children of immigrants in the communities she studied all commanded high degrees of productive Spanish competence and usage, largely due to their mother's efforts, and the fact that economic survival for them depended on their affiliation to their predominantly Spanish-speaking community.

In addition to almost exclusive English language usage with their children, the contact generation (GENERATION 0) in this study showed statistically significant decreases in Spanish usage or increases in English usage across the domains of home, school, and church from childhood to adulthood. This is noteworthy because in most previous

models, researchers have portrayed Spanish language shift as low or absent among immigrants and that it does not begin to manifest until the next generation (Castellanos 1990; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta, and Bayley; 1996; Zentella 1997; Bayley 1999; Valdés 2001; Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Mora, Villa, and Davila 2006; Taylor, López, Hamar, Martínez and Velasco 2012). My results suggest that language shift in Austin can occur more quickly than this, which highlights the omnipresent power of English here, and how it exerts pressure on Spanish-speakers to assimilate linguistically as early as the contact generation. Thus, despite the high degrees of Spanish proficiency and Spanish usage with grandparents and parents, GENERATION 0 indicated a high degree of reliance on English with their friends, siblings, romantic partners and children, which shows that they are not immune to shift. Put differently, these are the people with whom they presumably spend the most time, and if they are using mostly English with them, then English is likely the dominant language in their daily lives, which is evidence of shift. Such high rates of English usage may be related to their age and presence in the workforce. Six of my seven GENERATION 0 participants were 32 or younger at the time of the interview and working in jobs where they mostly use English—especially for the two participants working for tech companies. Here, they are especially exposed to the power and omnipresence of English which they evidently bring home.

Rivera-Mills (2000) found similar results in a small, mostly Mexican-American town in the Bay Area of California. Here she recorded evidence of language shift in the language usage patterns of her first-generation informants (GENERATION 0 in my generational division) as well; such studies are decidedly fewer in comparison to those

that portray shift as occurring over the course of multiple generations. The fact that I have documented language shift as occurring this early further demonstrates that Spanish-language maintenance is largely maintained by the continuous incoming waves of Spanish-speaking immigrants. Without such immigration, which has been severely limited throughout the Obama and Trump administrations, Spanish in the United States would likely die out within a single generation after immigration; the situation is more dire than we initially thought (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Lipski 2008; Nieto 2010). Alas, Bills (1989) famously warned in an early study documenting multigenerational language shift that “with a halt to immigration, a complete shift to English would likely occur within a generation or two” (Bills 1989:24).

One of the most striking findings was the nearly ubiquitous complete reliance on English in the domains of work, school, and businesses across generations to such an extent that there were no significant differences ( $p > 0.05$ ) between generations for either language. GENERATION 1, like GENERATION 0, also showed statistically significant decreases in Spanish usage and increases in English from childhood to adulthood within the domains of church and home. These results, in tandem with the high rates of English usage across generations with participants’ children, romantic partners, and colleagues indicate the dominance English yields in their lives in both public and private spheres, the latter of which has traditionally been a stronghold for Spanish usage. Thus, English plays a dominant role in participants’ lives, both within public and private spheres, which dismisses any opportunity for even diglossic language usage, and does not bode well for intergenerational language transmission (Ferguson 1959).



## 4.2. PART II: GRAMMATICAL SUBSTITUTION

The second measure I employed involved examining substitution across a series of grammatical variables known to present variation among varieties of U.S. Spanish. Using the transcripts of the semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews I conducted, I examined how correctness rates varied by generation, and I created mean scores across all of the participants within a single generation for each variable and for each of the four generations of participants. I then subjected these mean scores to one-way ANOVAs and Tukey tests to determine any statistically significant differences between generations. I employed this methodology for all variables, which include the following:

- 4.2.1. Determiner + Noun
- 4.2.2. Noun + Adjective
- 4.2.3. Preterit
- 4.2.4. Imperfect
- 4.2.5. Indicative
- 4.2.6. Subjunctive
- 4.2.7 *Ser*
- 4.2.8 *Estar*
- 4.2.9 *Estar* Extension
- 4.2.10 Verb-Subject Agreement
- 4.2.11 Overt Subject Pronoun and Null Subject Pronoun

Overall, only four variables in total showed a fully linear cline in substitution at the level of descriptive means: noun+ adjective, preterit, imperfect, and subjunctive. That is, GENERATION 0 showed the lowest substitution rates for the four variables; such substitution rates progressively grew higher with each subsequent generation. The following produced statistically significant results: (1) Determiner + Adjective; (2) Noun + Adjective; (3) Imperfect; (4) Subjunctive; (5) Overt and Null subject pronoun expression. Like the questionnaire data, the bulk of statistically significant differences for

these variables manifested at generational extremes (five between GENERATIONS 0 and 3, one between GENERATIONS 0 and 2, and five between GENERATIONS 1 and 3, and there were no statistically significant differences for any variables between GENERATIONS 0 and 1 or between GENERATIONS 2 and 3.

I now present each variable separately and discuss any statistically significant findings (or lack thereof) that came to light. I also provide concrete examples of grammatical substitution (i.e., grammatical forms that deviate from the norms of Southern High Plateau Mexican Spanish) produced by participants throughout the interviews. In many cases, the excerpts of speech also attest to language shift in participants' experiences. I discuss these at length in Chapter 5. Below, Table 4.30 presents the generational means representing correctness rates across each variable to show how they vary by generation. Table 4.31 presents the intergenerational differences that proved to be statistically significant between generations.

**TABLE 4.30. GRAMMATICAL PRECISION: GENERATIONAL MEANS**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Gen 0</b>	<b>Gen 1</b>	<b>Gen 2</b>	<b>Gen 3</b>
<b>Determiner</b>	99%	95.9%	77.4%	80.8%
<b>Adjective</b>	97.9%	91.8%	76.5%	60.2%
<b>Preterit</b>	99%	87.9%	86.4%	72.1%
<b>Imperfect</b>	96.7%	94.8%	67.1%	48.6%
<b>Indicative</b>	91.8%	80.9%	87%	100%
<b>Subjunctive</b>	93%	80.1%	26%	0%
<i>Ser</i>	99%	93.2%	88%	90.6%
<i>Estar</i>	86.2%	86.8%	77.6%	88.8%
<b><i>Estar</i> Extension</b>	5.4%	12.6%	8.3%	9.9%
<b>Verb-Subject</b>	98.7%	97%	88.9%	88.9%
<b>Overt</b>	22%	18.6%	32.7%	56.9%
<b>Null</b>	78%	81.4%	67.3%	43.1%

**TABLE 4.31. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES BY GRAMMATICAL VARIABLE\***

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>P-value</b>
0 + 2	Determiner + Noun	p=0.0111
1 + 2	Determiner + Noun	p=0.0296
0 + 3	Noun + Adjective	p=0.0131.
1 + 3	Noun + Adjective	p=0.0397
0 + 3	Imperfect	<b>p=0.0551</b>
1 + 3	Imperfect	<b>p=0.0682</b>
0 + 3	Subjunctive	p=0.00132
0 + 2	Subjunctive	p=0.00635
1 + 2	Subjunctive	p=0.0263
1 + 3	Subjunctive	p=0.00446
0 + 3	Overt Subject Pronouns	p=0.00517
1 + 3	Overt Subject Pronouns	p=0.00211
0 + 3	Null Subject Pronouns	p=0.00517
1 + 3	Null Subject Pronouns	p=0.00211

\*For the bolded items, I consider these p-values to be statistically significant despite

being slightly higher than  $p < 0.05$ , which I explain in section 1.3.4.

#### 4.2.1. DETERMINER + NOUN

This variable showed a linear decline in correctness rates from 0 to 1, which is slightly interrupted in GENERATION 3, which showed a slightly higher correctness rate than the previous generation (80.8% vs. 77.5%). Like most of the other questionnaire items, statistically significant differences emerged between generational extremes. That is, GENERATION 0 showed a 21.6% higher correctness rate than GENERATION 2, which was statistically significant ( $p=0.0111$ ). Interestingly, GENERATION 1 also showed an 18.5% lower substitution rate than that of GENERATION 2, a result that was also statistically significant ( $p=0.0296$ ); these two generations tended not to represent statistically significant differences between each other. Examples of determiners with the incorrect gender include:

- 4.1. *\*Un instalación*; ‘an installation’ (GENERATION 2)
- 4.2. *\*Un ciudad*; ‘a city’ (GENERATION 2)
- 4.3. *\*Los costumbres*; ‘the customs’ (GENERATION 3)
- 4.4. *\*Una pueblito*; ‘a village’ (GENERATION 3)
- 4.5. *\*La idioma*; ‘a language’ (GENERATION 1)

#### 4.2.2. NOUN + ADJECTIVE

This variable showed a fully linear decline, in that each generation after GENERATION 0 showed a progressive decrease in correctness rates: the highest correctness rate was seen in GENERATION 0 and the lowest in GENERATION 3. For this variable, GENERATIONS 0 and 3 once again showed a statistically significant difference, in which the former produced a 37.7% higher correctness rate than the latter ( $p=0.0131$ ). GENERATION 1 also showed a

statistically significant lower substitution rate than GENERATION 3 (31.6% lower;  $p=0.0397$ ). No other intergenerational differences were statistically significant. Examples of incorrectly declined adjectives (for gender) include:

4.6. \**Todo mi familia* ‘my whole family’ (GENERATION 2)

4.7. \**Otros ciudades* ‘other cities (GENERATION 2)

4.8. \**Esos razas* ‘those races (GENERATION 2)

4.9. \**Muchos memorias curiosos* ‘many curious memories’ (GENERATION 3)

4.10. \**primera lenguaje* ‘first language’ (GENERATION 1)

#### 4.2.3. PRETERIT

Despite showing a fully linear decline in correctness rates from GENERATION 0 to GENERATION 3, (99% → 87.9% → 86.4% → 72.1%), no intergenerational differences proved to be statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). This may be due to a relatively highly accurate score for all generations, especially for GENERATIONS 0 through 3. As such, there was not much room for statistically significant differences between generations ( $p > 0.05$ ), which indicates that preterit realization is not a variable indicative of language shift. Examples of the preterit used in lieu of the imperfect aspect are found in the following excerpts (the context was necessary to show that the preterit tokens were incorrect):

4.11. I: *Okey, qué bien. Y ¿qué tipo de estudiante eras?*

P: *Mmm (0.2), buen estudiante, \*hizo todo mi trabajo cuando era niña. Yo*

*\*llegué a mi casa, \*hice todo mi tarea, y después \*fui a jugar. (GENERATION 2)*

‘I: Okay, how great. And what type of student were you?’

P: Mmm (0.2), a good student, I would do all of my homework when I was a little girl. I would come home, do all of my work, and then I would go play.’

4.12. *Mis abuelos \*fueron mexicanos, y me enseñaron.* ‘My grandparents were Mexican, and they taught me.’ (GENERATION 2)

#### 4.2.4. IMPERFECT

Like the preterit, the imperfect showed a fully linear decline in correctness rates from GENERATION 0 to 3 (96.7% -> 94.8% -> 67.1% -> 48.6%). For all generations, correctness rates were lower for the imperfect than for the preterit, which was especially marked in generations furthest removed from immigration. At first glance, no intergenerational differences were statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). This is surprising given the large intergenerational differences in mean scores, such as the sharp 27.7% drop from GENERATION 1 to 2. However, the intergenerational difference between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 was very close to being statistically significant ( $p = 0.0551$ ). Since the p-value was so close to being lower than  $p < 0.05$  and because there was such a stark difference in the mean scores between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 (24.7%), I consider this p-value to be marginally statistically significant. The difference between GENERATIONS 1 and 3 was also close to being statistically significant ( $p = 0.0682$ ), with a mean difference of 15.7%; I also consider this difference to be marginally statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). Examples of the imperfect being used in lieu of the preterit include:

4.13. *Mis primer tres años, yo \*era maestra de bilingüe...Entonces hablé, or enseñé en los dos idiomas...Ahora solo hablo en español, I mean, perdón, en inglés con mis niños...So ahora, no estoy maestra de bilingüe.* (GENERATION 3)

‘My first three years I was a bilingual teacher... Therefore I spoke, or I taught in both languages. Now I only speak in Spanish, I mean, sorry, in English with my kids... So now I am not a bilingual teacher.’ (GENERATION 3)

4.14. \**Vivíamos en México por los primeros cinco años de mi vida.* ‘We lived in Mexico for the first five years of my life.’ <sup>36</sup>(GENERATION 1)

4.15. *Cuando vine de México, me \*daba cuenta que había mucha gente que parecían mexicano en mi alrededor y no entendía porque no hablaban español.*

‘When I came from Mexico, I realized that there were many people around me who looked Mexican, and I didn’t understand because they didn’t speak Spanish.’ (GENERATION 0)

#### 4.2.5. INDICATIVE

This variable produced a number of discrepancies. To begin, this was the only variable for which generations further removed from immigration produced higher correctness rates than those closest to immigration. In fact, GENERATION 3 showed the highest correctness rate of all with 100%, which was 8.2% higher than GENERATION 0’s rate. GENERATION 2 also produced a 6.1% higher rate than GENERATION 1, which would indicate a reverse correctness cline, were it not for GENERATION 1’s lower correctness rate than GENERATION 0; linearity in any direction is not evident here. None of these differences were statistically significant, however, and all p-values were higher than

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<sup>36</sup> For 4-14, the speaker was expressing a finite, perfective perspective regarding the event in question, in which they had lived in Mexico for the first five years of their life and then moved to the United States. Given this context, and the implication that it was a completed event, I considered this to be an instance of aspect substitution.

$p > 0.05$ . Examples of the indicative being used in contexts that require the subjunctive include:

4.16. ...yo quería que les \*enseña el español, pero no sé de él. 'I would like him to teach them Spanish, but I don't know about him' (GENERATION 1)

4.17. Como ellos no querían que yo y mi hermano \*tenían un acento. 'Like they didn't want my brother and me to have an accent.' (GENERATION 2)

4.18. Deseo que yo \*puedo hablar español más que, más que, que ahora. 'I wish I could speak Spanish more than more than [I do] now.' (GENERATION 3)

#### **4.2.6. SUBJUNCTIVE**

The subjunctive yielded results that were more consistent with the general trends established throughout this chapter. This variable showed a fully linear decline in correctness rates from GENERATION 0 to 3: 93% → 80.1% → 26% → 0%. As has generally been the case, GENERATIONS 0 and 3 produced the starkest difference, at 93% ( $p = 0.00132$ ); this was also the most striking difference between any two generations for any grammatical variable. Other statistically significant intergenerational differences include those between:

GENERATIONS 0 and 2: a 67% difference ( $p = 0.00635$ )

GENERATIONS 1 and 2: a 54.1% difference ( $p = 0.0263$ )

GENERATIONS 1 and 3: an 80.1% difference ( $p = 0.00446$ )

As such, the subjunctive, like other variables and the questionnaire items, showed the most statistically significant differences between generational extremes ( $p < 0.05$ ), but also revealed an additional statistically significant difference between GENERATIONS 1 and 2.



Combined with the linearity seen in the descriptive mean scores, the subjunctive thus is the variable that most reflects a fully linear cline. The largest intergenerational differences also emerged for this variable since GENERATIONS 2 and 3 produced such low correctness rates. GENERATION 3 did not produce a single correct subjunctive form, and GENERATION 2 produced only four in total. Examples of the subjunctive being used instead of the indicative include the following:

4.19. *Viviendo aquí, ves mucho como la gente se le \*olvide el español.* ‘Living here, you see a lot of how people forget Spanish.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.20. *Como en Austin, creo que mayoría de los actividades, hay mucho que \*pase en el centro de la ciudad.* ‘Like in Austin I believe [the] majority of the activities, there’s a lot that happens in the city center.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.21. *Creciendo en Zacatecas, si \*vaya a un pueblito, el español es muy diferente dependiendo del área.* ‘Growing up in Zacatecas if you go to a village, the Spanish there is very different depending on the area.’ (GENERATION 1)

#### **4.2.7. SER**

This variable showed a linear decline in correct usage rates until GENERATION 3, where there was a slightly higher correctness rate than GENERATION 2 (99% -> 93.20% -> 88% -> 90.6%). No intergenerational differences were statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ), which is not surprising given that all generations showed relatively high rates of correctness for *ser* usage. As such, this variable is not indicative of language shift. The reason I examined it as such was due to the number of incorrect contexts in which participants inserted *ser*. Examples include:

4.22. ... *mi abuela \*fue embarazado con gemelas*. ‘My grandmother was pregnant with twins’ (GENERATION 2)

4.23. *Que \*es súper cerca a donde vivimos*. ‘that is very close to where we live’ (GENERATION 1)

4.24. *Los niños que \*son en los clases bilingües*. ‘The children that are in the bilingual classes.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.25. *Este, todos \*fuimos hablando en inglés*. ‘Umm, we were all speaking English.’ (GENERATION 2)

#### **4.2.8. ESTAR**

Correctness rates for *estar* showed an inverse correctness cline for three generations, in that GENERATION 1 showed a slightly higher correctness rate than GENERATION 0, and GENERATION 3 showed the highest correctness rate of all. However, GENERATION 2 showed a 9.2% lower correctness rate than GENERATION 1, hence disrupting a fully reverse linear cline in correctness. No intergenerational differences for this variable were statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ), which may be due to the fact that correctness rates were comparably high for all generations; for GENERATIONS 0, 1, and 3, scores only differed from 0.6 to 2.6 percentage points. As such, *estar*, like *ser*, does not appear to be an indicator of language shift.

Below are examples of *estar* being used in contexts where *ser* would be required (this excludes adjectival predicates expressing an inherent quality, or the context in which I examine *estar* extension as a separate variable).

4.26. ... *\*Estoy un líder de grupo.* ‘I am a group leader.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.27. ... *Todas las cosas que \*estoy...* ‘All of the things I am...’ (GENERATION 3)

4.28. *No \*estoy maestra de bilingüe.* ‘I am not a bilingual teacher.’ (GENERATION 2)

#### 4.2.9. *ESTAR* EXTENSION

Intergenerational rates of *estar* extension showed the fewest linear differences of all.

While GENERATION 0 showed the lowest rate, GENERATION 1 showed the highest rate, GENERATION 2 showed a 4.3% lower rate than GENERATION 1, but GENERATION 3 showed a 1.6% higher rate than GENERATION 2. However, none of these differences were statistically significant, most likely because *estar* extension rates were so low across all generations. Therefore, this variable, like the other two copular variables, does not appear to be an indicator of language shift, either. Some examples of the sporadic instances of *estar* extension produced throughout the interviews are listed below:

4.29. *\*Estoy más viejo de todo lo primos*

‘I am older [than] all of the cousins.’ (GENERATION 3)

4.30.’ *Allí este, um, Tulum, Cancún, en esa área... Sí, \* está muy bonita*

‘There, um, um Tulum, Cancun, in that area. Yes, it’s very pretty.’

(GENERATION 1)

4.31. *Pero como, \*estoy muy blanca, entonces muchos piensan que \*estoy como americana*

‘But like, I’m very White, so many [people] think that I’m like American.’

(GENERATION 1)

#### 4.2.10. VERB-SUBJECT AGREEMENT

This variable did show intergenerational linearity in correctness rates from GENERATIONS 0 to 2, but GENERATIONS 2 and 3 produced the same rate. As can be seen, correctness rates were comparably high across all generations, with intergenerational differences ranging from only 0.7 to 9.8 percentage points. Like most variables, the generations closest to immigration showed the highest rates of correctness, and those furthest, the lowest rates. Nonetheless, no intergenerational differences were found to be statistically significant ( $p>0.05$ ), since correctness rates were so similarly high across the board.

Examples of the verb-subject substitution include:

4.32. *El otro día (yo) \*encontró una foto.*

‘The other day I found a picture.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.33. *Ya no (él) \*hablé español.* ‘He no longer spoke Spanish.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.34. *Y (yo) \*creció en un pueblo chiquita que se llama Cotulla.* ‘I grew up in a small town called Cotulla.’ (GENERATION 2)

Other common forms of substitution in verb-subject agreement occurred with verbs like *gustar*:

4.35. *Me \*gustaba mucho mis clases.* ‘I liked my classes a lot.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.36. *Ella no le \*gusta hombres.* ‘She doesn’t like men.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.37. *Nos \*encantamos viajar.* ‘We love traveling.’ (GENERATION 2)

#### 4.2.11 OVERT AND NULL SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Subject pronoun expression showed a mostly linear cline, in that GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed progressively higher rates of overt expression and lower rates of null expression

than GENERATION 0, but GENERATION 2 disrupts full linearity in showing a slightly lower overt rate and a slightly higher null pronoun rate than GENERATION 0. No differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 1 were statistically significant, which is consistent with the 3.4 (overt and null) percentage-point differences between them. However, statistically significant differences did emerge between other generations. That is, GENERATION 0 showed a statistically significant 34.9% lower rate of overt pronoun expression than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00517$ ), and GENERATION 1 showed a statistically significant 38.3% lower rate of overt subject expression than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00211$ ). Inversely, GENERATION 0 showed a statistically significant 34.8% higher rate of null pronoun expression than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00517$ ), and GENERATION 1 showed a statistically significant 38.2% higher null pronoun rate than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00211$ ).

Examples of overt subject pronouns being used in a context not expressing emphasis, contrast, or disambiguation are included below:

(39) *Y entonces, \*ellos no querían enseñarles español a sus hijos.* ‘And so, they didn’t want to teach Spanish to their children.’ (GENERATION 1)

(40) *Mi papá es alguien muy serio. \*Él es muy— \*él trabaja y descansa es lo que hace mi papá.* ‘My father is someone very serious. He is very—he works, and rests is all my father does.’ (GENERATION 1)

(41) *Así que, para ella, \*ella no quiere aprender inglés, y \*ella no lo quiere hablar.* ‘Therefore, for her, she doesn’t want to learn English, and she doesn’t want to speak it.’ (GENERATION 1)

#### **4.2.12. CONCLUSIONS: GRAMMATICAL SUBSTITUTION**

In general, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed lower rates of grammatical substitution than GENERATIONS 2 and 3 across variables. Only four variables in total showed a fully linear cline at the level of descriptive means: noun+ adjective, preterit, imperfect, and subjunctive. That is, GENERATION 0 showed the lowest substitution rates for the four variables, and such rates of substitution progressively grew higher with each subsequent generation. The following variables showed statistically significant differences between generations ( $p < 0.05$ ): (1) Determiner + Adjective; (2) Noun + Adjective; (3) Imperfect; (4) Subjunctive; (5) Overt and null subject pronoun expression. For these variables, generations closer to immigration showed statistically significant lower rates of grammatical substitution while generations farther removed from immigration showed statistically significant higher rates of grammatical substitution ( $p < 0.05$ ). I now discuss each variable, contextualize them within previous work, and postulate as to why some did not present statistically significant differences.

##### **4.2.12.1. DETERMINER + NOUN AND NOUN + ADJECTIVE.**

The results for these two variables were mostly consistent with what previous studies found, in that I established similarly high rates of gender concord substitution among these HLS of Spanish (i.e., my participants belonging to GENERATIONS 1 through 3.). It is well recognized that HLS commit widespread gender agreement substitution and my participants are no exception. There was almost no such substitution produced by my GENERATION 0 speakers, and relatively few produced by my GENERATION 1 participants, as I expected (Hensey 1973; Lipski 1993, 2008; Chaston 1996; Montrul, Foote, and

Perpignan 2008). These results also approximate what Wolford and Carter (2010) found in the Las Alas community, a small, predominantly Latinx town located between San Antonio and the Mexican border. They found widespread gender concord substitution among speakers, especially among those furthest removed from immigration, who tended to be English dominant. The researchers attribute this result to incomplete acquisition and/or language shift to English; like I, they do not differentiate between the two. As such, the variables Determiner + Noun as well as Noun + Adjective do seem to indicate language shift, given the statistically significantly higher rates found among GENERATIONS 2 and 3 in comparison to GENERATIONS 0 and 1 ( $p < 0.05$ ).

I also found that substitution with adjectives was less common than substitution with determiners, as did Chaston (1996) among HLS of Spanish at the University of Texas at Austin, as well as Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán (2008). However, gender substitution (both with determiners and adjectives) was evenly distributed among masculine and feminine nouns as well as among canonical and non-canonical nouns, especially among GENERATION 2 and 3 speakers. Such results differ from the aforementioned studies and suggest a more incompletely acquired or shifted system of gender concord on behalf of my participants.

#### **4.2.12.2. OVERT AND NULL SUBJECT PRONOUNS**

These results were also consistent with those of previous studies given that GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed statistically significant higher rates of null pronoun expression and lower rates of overt pronoun expression than GENERATIONS 2 and 3 ( $p < 0.05$ ). Lipski (1993, 2008), for instance, documented comparably high rates of overt subject pronoun

expression among English-dominant HLS in contexts not indicating emphasis, contrast, or disambiguation; my GENERATION 3 participants are indeed English dominant. Such results are also consistent with studies that have established higher rates of overt pronoun expression among speakers who spend more time in a contact setting and among speakers belonging to generations further from immigration (Livert & Otheguy 2010; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin and Otheguy 2013). Thus, subject pronoun expression does appear to be a potential indicator of language shift to English, given that rates are higher among those who have spent more time in the United States and are farther removed from immigration. Based on my results and those of previous studies, subject pronoun expression does seem to be affected by English-language dominance in proficiency and usage patterns, as evidenced by GENERATION 2 and 3 participants.

#### **4.2.12.3. SUBJUNCTIVE**

Subjunctive usage both replicated and deviated from other studies examining mood usage among U.S. Spanish speakers. It aligned with previous studies in the sense that generations closer to immigration produced statistically significant higher rates of correct subjunctive usage than those furthest from immigration ( $p < 0.05$ ) (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán 2011; Rodríguez 2017). GENERATIONS 0 and 1 also produced comparably high rates of correct subjunctive usage to the GENERATION 0 and 1 participants in the aforementioned studies. However, my GENERATION 2 and 3 participants produced considerably lower rates, indicating a more exaggerated intergenerational effect; indeed, GENERATION 2 showed only a 26% subjunctive



correctness rate, and GENERATION 3 did not produce a single correct subjunctive token across interviews. As such, participants belonging to GENERATIONS 2 and 3 appear to be in a more advanced state of subjunctive substitution, which, in tandem with the questionnaire results and other grammatical variables that show similar trends, I interpret as indicative of language shift. Such results suggest that my speakers, especially those belonging to generations farther removed from immigration, have a less fully acquired mood system than the participants in Silva-Corvalán's work. This is likely a result of their lower usage and proficiency, or my GENERATION 2 and 3 participants are in a more advanced state of shift. Velázquez (2019) found similar rates of subjunctive substitution among her GENERATION 2 participants. In a four-part proficiency test consisting of various questionnaires and a narrative productive task, she found that only two of her eight adolescent participants produced the subjunctive at all, while the other six avoided it completely despite the narrative production task requiring its use. She attributes this to simplification as a result of lower proficiency.

The remaining grammatical variables showed neither fully linear clines (with the exception of the preterit) across generations in the descriptive means, nor statistically significant differences between any two generations ( $p > 0.05$ ). These variables include: (1) *ser*; (2) *estar*; (3) *estar* extension; (4) verb-subject agreement; (5) preterit; and (6) indicative. Correctness rates were similarly high across generations for these variables; as such, they are not supportive of intergenerational language shift as I explain below in sections 4.3.12.4 through 4.3.12.8.

#### 4.2.12.4. *SER* AND *ESTAR*

The variables *ser* and *estar* (in contexts other than adjectival predicates that I examined separately for *estar* extension) showed neither intergenerational clines in correctness nor statistically significant differences between any two generations ( $p > 0.05$ ). To my knowledge, no studies have examined the relationship between these variables and language shift. Previous work examining copular verbs have tended to focus on the specific context of *estar* extension within adjectival predicates (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Salazar 2007; Wolford and Carter 2018). The only study that I am aware of to examine copular constructions outside of *estar* extension is that of Salazar (2007), who examined the contexts of *ser*+ adjective and *estar* + adjectives in New Mexican Spanish; yet even he did so with the overarching goal of examining *estar* innovation. He found higher rates of 53% among his New Mexico/Colorado corpus than in other varieties of Spanish and much higher than my own: 53% vs. 9.3%. He did not attest to variation in other contexts of usage that I found in my data, such as *ser* used with location (*que \*es súper cerca a donde vivimos* ‘that is very close to where we live’) or *estar* used with professions (*\*estoy maestra de bilingüe* ‘I am a bilingual teacher’). I included *ser* and *estar* as variables to examine as potentially indicative of language shift because of the variation I found among my GENERATION 2 and 3 participants in areas other than adjectival predicates, but such instances were not frequent enough to vary to a statistically significant extent between generations. Given the dearth of variability in copular realizations (outside of *estar* extension), and the lack of statistically significant differences between generations in my own data, such copular substitution appears not to

be predictive of language shift. Instead, they more liken a momentary lapse of correctness that did not pattern to a systematic extent; the participants who produced such substitution did not do so in a consistent manner. It is also possible in some instances that copular substitution more likened loanshifts. There were a number of instances in which a participant extended the uses of *ser* to express age in years instead of using the verb *tener* (*soy veinte años* ‘I am twenty years old’); in such instances, participants appeared to follow the English structure for expressing age in years. These were rare overall and most occurred in the speech of GENERATION 2 and 3 participants.

#### **4.2.12.5. *ESTAR* EXTENSION**

Like *ser* and *estar* as a whole, *estar* extension proved to be largely inconclusive. The comparably low rates of *estar* extension across all generations and lack of statistically significant intergenerational differences suggest that this variable is in a less advanced state in Central Texan Spanish than in other contact varieties of Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; Wolford and Carter 2018). Wolford and Carter (2018), for instance examined *estar* extension in the South Texas town of Las Alas, where they found progressively higher rates of the feature in generations further removed from immigration, prompting them to posit it as an indicator of language shift. While among my participants, GENERATION 0 showed the lowest scores, and GENERATIONS 1, 2, and 3 all showed higher scores, no intergenerational differences were statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ); as such, I cannot claim that this variable is indicative of language shift in Austin. Similarly, my results contrast with Silva-Corvalán’s (1986; 1994) work with Los Angeles Spanish as well as with Gutiérrez’s (1994) work with Houston Spanish, who do

attest a generational effect and/or contact effect. It would seem, then, that *estar* extension in Austin is neither common, nor does it show higher rates among generations farther removed from immigration.

My rates were also considerably lower than what previous work examining *estar* extension in Spanish-speaking communities throughout Mexico has found, ranging in areas from Mexico City (De Jonge 1993) to Cuernavaca, Morelos, (Cortés-Torres 2004) to Morelia, Michoacán (Gutiérrez 1994), as well as in varieties of Spanish spoken in Cuba (Álfarez 2012), Caracas, Venezuela (Díaz-Campos and Geeslin 2011), and even in Catalan, Basque, and Galician communities in Spain (Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes 2008). None of these aforementioned varieties of Spanish are representative of the speakers in the current study, who were of Northern-central Mexican descent. While I certainly found multiple examples of this variable across generations, my overall rates were much lower than what has been reported in previous studies (9.3% across generations, and no generation surpassed 12.6%). The only study that my results did align with was Besset's (2015) comparison of *estar* examination between Southern Arizona and Sonoran Spanish. She found similar rates of *estar* extension across her Sonoran participants (16.2%) as I did, and also found no statistically significant differences between the Sonoran and Arizonan group. There has not been any work regarding *estar* innovation in Central Texan Spanish, and as such, it is possible that this feature is a not salient trait of this variety of Spanish as it is in other varieties, or at the very least, language shift does not seem to lead to higher rates; such claims are tentative, however, given the small sample-size.

It is also possible that the general paucity of *estar* extension across participants relates to my positionality. For instance, one of my GENERATION 0 participants with whom I am close friends, Beatriz, frequently speaks Spanish to her friends and family in Mexico in my company. Beatriz was born and raised in Torreón, Coahuila, and moved to Austin in her twenties, where she lived for close to twenty years. She still has many family members and friends in Mexico (as well as in Austin), with whom she has maintained close contact. In the past, when I have overheard her conversations with Spanish-speaking friends and family, I have noticed that she employs several instances of *estar* extension in adjectival predicates, yet when I interviewed her, she produced only one such token throughout the entire interview. I am not an in-group member of Austin Spanish, on multiple fronts, and as such, perhaps Beatriz, along with other participants, unconsciously exhibited more standard-like grammar in my presence. Such low rates of *estar* extension across participants could also be another instance of the infamous ‘Observer’s Paradox’. That is, an interview is inherently unnatural, and may have elicited an effect that may have been exacerbated by my ethnolinguistic identity. In sum, such low rates of *estar* extension may be due to dialectal differences, my ethnolinguistic identity, and the Observer’s Paradox.

#### **4.2.12.6. VERB-SUBJECT AGREEMENT**

Verb-subject agreement also produced some surprising results. Previous work on verb-subject agreement on speakers of varying ethnolinguistic backgrounds attest much higher rates of verb-subject discord, especially with first-person singular and third-person singular forms and/or irregular forms (especially with the preterit), as discussed in section

2.2.6. The instances of substitution that I did find among GENERATIONS 1 through 3 tended to manifest as such (that is, in first-person singular, third-person singular forms, and/or irregular forms), but my participants showed much lower rates than previously attested (Lipski 1993; 2008; Montrul 2002; Polinsky 2008; Montrul 2011). Despite the fact that GENERATIONS 0 and 1 did display the highest correctness rates (nearly identical to one another) and GENERATIONS 2 and 3 the lowest, there were no statistically significant differences ( $p > 0.05$ ) between any two generations. These results suggest that verb-subject agreement is not a strong candidate for indicating language shift, like *estar* extension. The participants examined in the previous studies generally possessed lower degrees of Spanish proficiency, and data were elicited through different means, such as morphological recognition tasks or grammaticality judgment tasks (generally not semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews, with the exception of Lipski 1993, 2008). While my GENERATION 2 and 3 participants were unbalanced bilinguals, they were still able to partake in a 30-minute interview, during which they maintained discourse mostly in Spanish. As such, they seemed to possess higher proficiency than the participants in previous studies, or at the very least, had a more robust knowledge of subject-verb agreement.

#### **4.2.12.7. INDICATIVE**

Correctness rates for the indicative variable were unusually high among GENERATIONS 2 and 3, especially among the latter, which at first glance, stands in stark contrast to previous work on mood among U.S. Spanish speakers (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán 2011; Rodríguez 2017). Indeed, none of these studies found such

high correctness rates among English-dominant speakers and/or among the participants farthest removed from immigration. Such results are somewhat deceiving, however. GENERATION 3 participants produced virtually no instances of the subjunctive in their interviews, having relied solely on the indicative mood, similar to how Van Buren's (2012) participants relied solely on the preterit to express past-tense actions. GENERATION 3 participants also tended to avoid more advanced structures such as the conditional, synthetic future, as well as compound tenses such as pluperfect, or even past perfect; instead, they opted for the simple past, the simple present, and the periphrastic future. The only instances in which they employed more complex syntax that involved choosing between the indicative or subjunctive (i.e., main clause + *que* + subordinate clause) consisted of lexicalized phrases such as *yo pienso/creo que* 'I think/believe that.' They did correctly use the indicative in all such contexts, not necessarily because they knew that indicative belonged there, but rather because the indicative mood may have been the only option at their disposal. This may explain why their indicative correctness rate was so high and higher than that of all other generations; it was all they knew. Such avoidance of more complex morphosyntax suggests simplification, which, in tandem with higher rates of substitution in other grammatical areas and reduced Spanish proficiency and usage, is indicative of language shift.

#### **4.2.12.8. PRETERIT AND IMPERFECT**

The results for this variable were only consistent with previous studies in the sense that the preterit use was more accurate overall than the imperfect (Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñan 2008; Montrul and Perpiñan 2011; Van Buren 2012). More so, my data deviated

from previous studies since preterit correctness rates were so similarly high across generations that there were no intergenerational statistically significant differences ( $p>0.05$ ). Mendoza-MacGregor (2005), for instance, found much higher substitution rates among her New Mexico Spanish-speaking participants than I did among my own. She found that those farther removed from immigration showed progressively higher rates of incorrect preterit usage, especially in irregular forms. My results conflict somewhat with Van Buren's (2012) examination of aspect usage in HLS of Chilean descent, as well. She found that these speakers, especially the English-dominant speakers, tended to opt for the preterit in most past-tense contexts as the default mode, even in contexts in which the imperfect would belong. While I did find that that GENERATIONS 2 and 3 did opt for the preterit over the imperfect in several imperfective contexts, such rates were comparably low and did not show statistically significant generational differences in comparison to the (somewhat) more target-like realizations of GENERATIONS 0 and 1 ( $p>0.05$ ). In sum, the preterit was used more correctly across generations, generally speaking, which evinces more complete acquisition of aspect on behalf of my participants in relation to those of previous studies.

Unlike the preterit, the imperfect fell more in-line with previous work regarding this variable. Like Silva-Corvalán (1994), I found higher rates of imperfect usage in preterit contexts in generations further removed from immigration, who exhibited English dominance and lower Spanish proficiency. Silva-Corvalán (1994) proposed that such substitution occurred most frequently with stative verbs, and that lower-proficiency speakers opted for the imperfect with certain stative verbs in all cases-even in contexts



requiring the preterit. Put differently, such speakers never used forms such as *tuve* ‘I had’, *estuve* ‘I was’, *supe* ‘I found out’ and instead categorically chose imperfect forms like *tenía*, *estaba*, and *sabía*, regardless of the context. My speakers, on other hand, used the imperfect in preterit contexts to a similar extent with both stative and non-stative verbs.

The imperfect realizations among my participants also likened those of Velázquez (2019) who found similar rates of grammatical substitution in the children of immigrants in comparison to their mothers. More specifically, she established lower degrees of linguistic insecurity and higher rates of target-like aspect usage among the mothers, but higher rates of linguistic insecurity and aspect substitution (and other types of grammatical substitution) among their children. This effect was less pronounced for the older children, aged twelve to seventeen than it was for the younger children, aged five to ten, who tended to avoid the imperfect in their speech altogether.

#### **4.3. PART III: LEXICAL VARIABLES**

I employed the same methodology for examining presence of English across generations as I did for grammatical variables, but instead of scanning transcriptions for morphosyntactic substitution, I collected tokens of lone lexical items and multi-item English lexical insertions, as well as loanshifts/semantic extensions and invented forms. As I explain in Chapter 3, I do not distinguish between single item code-switches and borrowings, as it is beyond the scope of the current work. Instead, I focus on how the following lexical variables varied by generation to determine if they might be indicative of language shift:

4.3.1. Lone lexical items with and without flagging devices

4.3.2. Multi-item English insertions with and without flagging devices

4.3.3. Invented forms

4.3.4 Loan shifts/semantic extensions

I now present each of these lexical variables individually and discuss any statistically significant differences between generations or lack thereof. I discuss the results for each of the lexical variables below and include concrete examples. Like my analysis of results of grammatical substitution, I include the participant's generation but not their name.

Across the lexical variables, multi-item English insertions and invented forms showed fully linear increases from GENERATION 0 to GENERATION 3. Both lone lexical items and multi-item English insertions were relatively low across generations, but flagging rates were similarly high. Only two of the lexical variables, invented forms and loanshifts/semantic extensions, produced statistically significant differences. While statistically significant differences also tended to occur between generations furthest removed from immigration and those closest to it, there was one instance of linear statistically significant intergenerational differences for each variable (i.e., one between GENERATIONS 0 and 1 and one between GENERATIONS 2 and 3). Table 4.32 below represents the intergenerational differences that were statistically significant across the lexical variables I examined.

**Table 4.32. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES BY LEXICAL VARIABLE**

<b>Generational comparison</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 + 2	Invented Forms	p=0.00781
0 + 3	Invented Forms	p=0.00507
1 + 2	Invented Forms	p=0.0319
1 + 3	Invented Forms	p=0.0174
0 + 3	Loanshifts/semantic extensions	p=0.00265
1 + 3	Loanshifts/semantic extensions	p=0.0377
2 + 3	Loanshifts/semantic extensions	p=0.0295

#### **4.3.1 LONE LEXICAL ITEMS WITH AND WITHOUT FLAGGING DEVICES**

Table 4.33 on the next page lists the total number of flagged and unflagged lone lexical items (which I abbreviate as ‘LLI’ hereinafter) across generations. As can be seen, rates of unflagged LLI were relatively low across generations, indicating limited reliance on English in the form of LLI. GENERATION 0 produced the fewest examples while GENERATION 3 produced the most. However, these differences were not linear, as GENERATION 1 used on average 7.2 more LLI than GENERATION 0 (20.8 vs. 13.6), and GENERATION 2 indicated the same number as GENERATION 0 (13.6) which is contrary to what I expected to find. The fact that they did not follow the expected generational trajectory in unflagged LLI production may be related to their negative views regarding language-mixing that were similarly widespread across participants, regardless of

generation (although GENERATION 0 participants were the most opposed to it); I discuss this in greater detail in Section 4.5. This effect is supported by the complete lack of statistically significant differences between generations, ( $p>0.05$ ); because all participants tended to avoid language-mixing phenomena, their production rates were comparably low across generations. Additionally, in their interviews, GENERATION 2 participants indicated that they were making an effort to speak Spanish more frequently in their daily lives, so perhaps they worked harder to avoid English in their Spanish discourse than GENERATIONS 1 and 3. Thus, negative views regarding language mixing on their behalf, combined with their efforts to speak more Spanish may explain why GENERATION 2 participants produced the same rate of unflagged LLI as GENERATION 0 participants, who were especially against language-mixing and thus also avoided it in their speech.

The rates of flagged LLI, on the other hand, were relatively high across generations, especially for GENERATIONS 1 and 2, which could indicate hesitancy. While GENERATION 0 showed the lowest rate of flagged LLI, GENERATION 1 displayed the highest rate, followed by GENERATION 2, and GENERATION 3 indicated the second lowest score, all of which evinces a lack of linearity. None of the differences between generations were statistically significant here either ( $p>0.05$ ), further illustrating that LLI, both flagged and unflagged, do not vary intergenerationally. However, such high rates, in tandem with no statistically significant differences between generations, suggest that LLI were similarly marked by hesitation across generations, which could also be a form of linguistic compensation or a lack of confidence (i.e., they make up for lexical gaps) and

potentially indicative of shift; they could also simply indicate uncertainty in formulating their message.

**TABLE 4.33. LONE LEXICAL ITEMS (LLI)**

<b>GENERATION</b>	<b>UNFLAGGED LLIS (TOTAL NUMBER)</b>	<b>RATE OF FLAGGED LLIS</b>
0	13.6	17.5%
1	20.8	54.8%
2	13.6	44.2%
3	22.5	33.3%

Below are examples of LLI that I culled from my interviews (both unflagged and flagged):

**UNFLAGGED LLI:**

4.38. *No el Florida que todos conocemos, el, sur de los Estados Unidos en el panhandle.* ‘Not the Florida we all know, the United States south, in the panhandle.’ (GENERATION 0)

4.39. *Pero también tomé muchas clases de journalism.*

‘But I also took a lot of classes [in] journalism.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.40. *Por la otro posición, en la Departamento de Fraud<sup>37</sup> hablo mucho en español con personas, costumbres, y México.*

‘For the other position, in the Fraud Department, I speak a lot in Spanish with

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<sup>37</sup> The participant produced this token with English phonology.

people, [customers] and Mexico.’ (GENERATION 3)

#### **FLAGGED LLI:**

4.41. *Y mi papá, de mi papá tuvo (0.1) half-siblings.*

‘And my father had (0.1) half-siblings.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.42. *Empecé eh, eh (0.2), majoring en biología.*

‘I began eh, eh (0.2) majoring in biology. (GENERATION 1)

4.43 *También después de terminar eso, me lastimé la espalda así que no pude continuar con esa profesión y de allí saqué mi certificación de intérprete y de (0.1) ¿cómo se dice? uhh translating.*

‘Also, after finishing that, I hurt my back and so I couldn’t continue with that profession, and from there, I got my certification in interpreting and (0.1) how do you say? Uhh, translating. (GENERATION 1)

#### **4.3.2. MULTI-ITEM ENGLISH INSERTIONS WITH AND WITHOUT FLAGGING DEVICES**

Multi-item insertions, in contrast to lone lexical items, showed a fully linear increase across generations, in that GENERATION 0 produced only 7, which gradually increased by each generation up to 22.5, the largest number, found among GENERATION 3. No intergenerational differences were statistically significant for this variable, however ( $p>0.05$ ), despite the fact that GENERATION 0 produced 65.5% and 70% more multi-item insertions than GENERATIONS 2 and 3. Like the lone lexical items, numbers were comparably low across generations; hence the lack of statistically significant differences.

Flagged rates for multi-item insertions showed more linearity than lone lexical items, but interestingly, GENERATION 3 produced the lowest flagging rate, a 48.9% decline

from the previous generation. All other generations showed high rates of flagging, even GENERATION 1, ranging from 41.4% to 71.1%. No intergenerational flagging rate differences were statistically significant ( $p>0.05$ ), however, despite such high rates in GENERATIONS 0 through 2. Such a lack may be due to the comparably high rates in most cases, although it is surprising that no statistical significance emerged when comparing GENERATIONS 1 or 2 to GENERATION 3, the latter of which showed 44.5% and 48.9% lower rates than the former two. Thus, like lone lexical items, raw numbers of tokens were similarly low across generations, but so were rates of flagging, which suggests that multi-item English insertions may also represent hesitation or a form of linguistic compensation.

Such low rates of flagging among GENERATION 3 are surprising. It is possible these speakers were more accustomed to producing longer stretches of English in their Spanish discourse and were therefore less hesitant about doing so than other generations. As I discuss earlier, language-mixing phenomena is common in bilingual speakers whose families have spent multiple generations living in a contact situation (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Zentella 1997; Lipski 2008; Nieto 2010; Toribio 2011). As such, code-switching may be a more natural and less marked phenomenon for the GENERATION 3 speakers, which may explain the relative lack of flagging devices accompanying their multi-item switches; perhaps they exhibited less hesitation in their speech in the form of flagging devices because language-mixing is a more common practice in their speech communities.

Similarly, such low flagging-rates could also be due to their relatively low Spanish proficiency (2.8 out of across all four skills in Spanish). In addition to being more used to language-mixing, they may also be more accustomed to lexical gaps than other generations with higher Spanish proficiency. Switching to English to fill a lexical gap could then be more automatic for GENERATION 3 participants, hence the lack of flagging devices accompanying such switches. These results align with those of Lipski's (1987, 1988, 1990, 2014) work among vestigial heritage speakers of Spanish in the Sabine and Natchitoches Parishes of Louisiana, the descendants of Mexican soldiers who settled the area in the 1730s to incur encroaching French expansion. Unfortunately, their variety of Spanish has largely died out, and by the late 1980s, only about one hundred speakers had retained enough productive competence to partake in a sociolinguistic interview in Spanish. Such numbers are even lower today, and most residents of these communities have retained only passive competence and are generally unable to converse in Spanish for extended stretches of discourse (Lipski 2014).

Nonetheless, Lipski found that speakers proficient enough to partake in an interview produced fluid speech generally absent of flagging devices but full of grammatical substitution and atypical, infelicitous code-switching behavior (in comparison to balanced bilinguals) that broke previously determined code-switching constraints. He described his participants as not feeling "any inhibition about mixing in whatever English elements were necessary to produce complete sentences" (Lipski 2014:31). He also posited that their lack of formal education caused them to be unaffected by purist notions of grammatical precision, which also helped them feel



uninhibited in their production of non-standard speech (in Spanish and English). Perhaps similar factors were at play among my GENERATION 3 participants, whose Spanish discourse met many of the aforementioned characteristics, which may explain their low rates of flagging devices. Based on my data and that of Lipski, such behavior could be typical of unbalanced bilinguals. Like many of Lipski’s Sabine River informants, most of my participants were also lacking in formal Spanish-language education. The rates of flagged and unflagged multi-item insertions across generations are listed in Table 4.34.

**TABLE 4.34. MULTI-ITEM INSERTIONS**

<b>GENERATION</b>	<b>UNFLAGGED (TOTAL NUMBER)</b>	<b>RATE OF FLAGGED MULTI-ITEM INSERTIONS</b>
0	7.0	41.4%
1	12.6	66.7%
2	19.7	71.1%
3	22.5	22.2%

Below are examples of unflagged and flagged multi-item insertions culled from the transcriptions.

**UNFLAGGED MULTI-ITEM INSERTIONS:**

4.44. *Tienes que ver tu rabbi consistently.*

‘You have to see your rabbi consistently.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.45. *No quieren aceptar mi ayuda, my referral to housing, or my referral to this or that porque temen que va a ser, van a ser descubiertos.*

‘They don’t want to accept my help, my referral to housing, or my referral to this or that because they fear that [they’re] going to be discovered.’ (GENERATION 0)

4.46. *Yo no creo en todo de matrimonio y una persona is your soulmate y todo eso.*

‘I don’t believe in everything marriage and that a person is your soulmate and all that.’ (GENERATION 1)

**FLAGGED MULTI-ITEM INSERTIONS:**

4.47. *Les da uhm (0.2) asistencia uhm (0.1) financiera—like is that? Like scholarships para todos los alumnos.*

‘It gives them um (0.2) financial help—like is that? Like scholarships for all the students’ (GENERATION 1)

4.48. *No sé cómo se dice, sargazo. Gulfweed. The dead seaweed was washing up. Hay mucho sargazo ahorita.*

‘I don’t know how you say it, *sargazo*. Gulfweed. The dead seaweed was washing up. There is a lot of gulfweed right now.’ (GENERATION 1)

4.49. *No somos muy, umm, no muy (0.2) ‘¿cómo se dice?’ Not real close.*

‘We’re not very, umm, not very (0.2). How do you say it? Not real close.’ (GENERATION 1)

### 4.3.3. INVENTED FORMS

This variable showed a fully linear increase from GENERATION 0, which produced virtually no invented forms, and then each subsequent generation showed higher rates, the highest of which were seen among GENERATION 3. In comparing these rates between generations, several statistically significant differences emerged (the most for any of the lexical and grammatical variables). That is, GENERATION 0 showed statistically significant lower rates of invented forms than both GENERATIONS 2 ( $p=0.00781$ ) and 3 ( $p=0.00507$ ), as did GENERATION 1 ( $p=0.0319$  and  $p=0.0174$ , respectively). Such results evince more linearity than previous grammatical and lexical variables in that GENERATION 2 produced a statistically significantly higher rate of invented forms than GENERATION 1 ( $p=0.0319$ ). This was a relatively uncommon finding, as no other lexical or grammatical variables produced statistically significant differences between these two generations. Full linearity is lacking, however, as there were no statistically significant differences between GENERATIONS 2 and 3; the latter produced only two more invented forms on average than the former. Once again, the bulk of statistically significant differences occurred between generational extremes, which is supportive of intergenerational language shift, just not a fully linear fashion. The overall rates of invented forms and how they varied by generation are listed in Table 4.35 below:

**TABLE 4.35. INVENTED FORMS BY GENERATION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Average of Invented Forms</b>
0	0.14
1	2
2	9
3	11

Below are examples of invented forms that participants produced throughout the interviews; the dictionary-attested equivalent is included in parentheses. Unsurprisingly, GENERATIONS 2 and 3 were responsible for most of these, although two also came from GENERATION 1.

4.50. *Han tenido, you know, esa (0.1) persev-\*perservencia (perseverancia).*

They've had that, you know, that (0.1) persev-perserverance' (GENERATION 2)

4.51. *A mis primos o mis primas, de vez en cuando, así unas palabras en inglés-- digo en español--unas frases en español, pero por, por la \*mayoridad (mayoría) este, inglés.*

'To my male cousins or my female cousins, every now and then, like so some words in English —I mean in Spanish— some phrases in Spanish, but for the majority, umm English.' (GENERATION 1)

4.52. *Y mucho es diferencia y tengo nuevas experiencias cada fin de semana y necesito ir a otros ciudad para \*experimentar (experimentar) eso.*

‘And a lot is difference and I have new experiences every weekend and I need to go to other cities to experience that.’ (GENERATION 3)

#### **4.3.4. LOANSHIFTS/SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS**

While GENERATION 0 produced the lowest rate of loanshifts/semantic extensions and GENERATION 3 produced the highest, the average scores across generations did not show a fully linear increase, since GENERATION 2 showed 2.2 fewer loanshifts/extensions on average than GENERATION 1. Despite this result, intergenerational statistically significant differences did come to light. That is, GENERATION 0 showed a statistically significant lower rate of loanshifts/semantic extensions than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00265$ ), as did GENERATION 1 ( $p=0.0377$ ). Interestingly, GENERATION 2 also showed a statistically significant lower rate for this variable than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.0295$ ), which is the only instance of statistical significance between these generations throughout all of my data. Put differently, no questionnaire items, grammatical variables, or other lexical variables produced any other statistically significant difference between GENERATIONS 2 and 3. This also supports more linearity to the results for this item. Thus, loanshifts/semantic extensions do appear to be a potential locus of language shift, given the statistically significant higher rates seen in generations further removed from immigration. On the next page is a table summarizing the mean differences as well as concrete examples culled from the interviews. I present each example in context as well as the non-contact variety option in parentheses.

**TABLE 4.36. LOANSHIFTS/SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS BY GENERATION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Average</b>
0	1.5
1	6.2
2	4
3	16.5

4.54. *Me están enseñando \*cómo (a) leer, \*cómo (a) escribir.* ‘They are teaching me how to read, how to write.’ (GENERATION 2)

4.55. *Necesito hablar con los \*costumbres*<sup>38</sup>*(clientes), los um, (0.1) y necesito verificar todos problemas con los entregados, para, uhm, facilitar todo el proceso de la entrega.*

‘I need to speak with the [customers], the um (0.1), and I need to verify all of the problems with the deliveries, in order to, um, facilitate the delivery process.’

(GENERATION 3)

4.56. I: *Oh, qué bien. Entonces, ¿visitas con frecuencia a México?*

P: *Uh sí, por \*vacancia. Vamos a Monterrey, Guadalajara, Ciudad de México, la playa en Puerto Vallarta*

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<sup>38</sup> This speaker referred to clients at their job as *costumbres* in all instances (eight different times throughout the interview). Given the systematic nature of this form, and the fact that no other participants referred to clients at their work as ‘*costumbres*’, I considered this to be a loanshift/semantic extension rather than a momentary switch to ‘customers’ or a mistake. That is, because of the perceived similarity between the form *costumbres* and the English form ‘customers’, the speaker seemed to transfer the meaning of the word ‘costumer’ to *costumbre*, despite the fact that it has a distinct meaning in Spanish and means ‘custom.’ Similarly, I can attest that this is a common source for semantic extension on behalf of the students in the Spanish classes I have taught.

I: 'Oh, how nice. So, do you visit Mexico frequently?

P: Uh yes, for vacation. We go to Monterrey, Guadalajara, Mexico City, the beach in Puerto Vallarta.'

#### **4.4. CONCLUSIONS: LEXICAL DATA**

In sum, LLI and multi-item insertions both flagged and unflagged, were so similarly low across generations that they did not produce statistically significant differences between any two generations. Put differently, generations further from immigration did not produce statistically significant higher rates of these variables than generations closer to immigration ( $p > 0.05$ ). I found that, all together LLI and multi-item insertions accounted only for less than 1% of the 93,854 transcribed words across the interviews. Such results are contrary to what I expected to find. It seems that language-mixing is less prominent in my participants' Spanish discourse than Spanish-speaking communities throughout the Southwest such as those in: New Mexico (González 1999; Torres, Cacoullou, and Travis 2015); California (Lipski 1993; Silva Corvalán 1994); Houston (Lipski 1993, 2008); South Texas (Wolford and Carter 2010); East Texas/Northwestern Louisiana (Lipski 2014) as well as Spanish-speaking communities in New York City (Poplack 1980, 1987; Zentella 1997; Lapidus-Shin 2010) and in Chicago (Smead 1998, 2000). On the one hand, then, it would seem that in 2021, rates of language-mixing, at least among my participants, have decreased since these previous studies were conducted. On the other hand, such results do align with what Moreno-Fernández' (2007) found in the Spanish discourse of Latinx youth in Chicago, in which less than 7% of their lexicon was of English origin. Varra (2007) found similarly low

rates of borrowings and code-switches in her examination of English in the naturally-occurring speech of NYC Spanish speakers of Latin American origin. In the corpus of data she examined, she found that English words accounted for only 8.1 out of every 1000 words of spoken Spanish, or a borrowing rate of less than 1%. LLI and multi-item insertions also did not consist mainly of core vocabulary, either, which further suggests that they are not indices of language shift. Similar to what Smead (1998, 2000) found among his Chicago-based speakers, such phenomena tended to cluster in semantic fields and discourse themes relating to school, work, and leisure/sports, domains in which English exerts dominance. On the one hand, then, such results further speak to the power and omnipresence of English in public domains, but on the other hand, such results did not vary to a statistically significant extent between generations, which, along with a lack of representation of core vocabulary, does not seem to indicate intergenerational language shift.

Invented forms and loanshifts/semantic extensions, on the other hand, did show statistically significant higher results in generations farther removed from immigration, which is more supportive of intergenerational language shift. The statistically significant higher rates of these two variables among the two generations further removed from immigration are a consequence of their higher reliance on English. As indicated by their questionnaire results, such speakers tended to use Spanish significantly less and indicated relatively lower proficiency across all four language skills than the two generations closer to immigration. As such, their vocabulary and/or knowledge of derivational morphology were more limited, causing them to know fewer words (hence the higher rates of invented



forms). When in doubt, they relied on their more dominant language, English, especially with cognates. I discuss this point in more detail in section 6.3 of Chapter 6. Such results are consistent with their higher rates of grammatical substitution, which also speak to their relatively lower degrees of Spanish proficiency. Nonetheless, these were also relatively few across interviews, in which I collected only 68 invented forms and 111 semantic extensions.

Such results beg the question: why were language-mixing phenomena (across all four variables) so relatively few across generations? As I postulated with regard to *estar* extension, such low rates of language-mixing phenomena could relate to my positionality and the interview setting. Code-switching and borrowing play an important social role in bilingual communities and are often used among fellow bilinguals to perform and reflect their shared bilingual and bicultural identity (Toribio 2002, 2011; Nieto 2010). Code-switching is also sensitive to the linguistic and extralinguistic conditions at hand, and a formal interview likely discouraged language-mixing. Most simply, this could represent yet another limitation stemming from “Observer’s Paradox”, in which participants simply adhered to the formal interview setting in which I firmly established Spanish as the language of discourse, and hence tended to avoid English.

Contrarily, it is possible that my positionality played a positive role in this work, as it helped me better assess the Spanish spoken by my participants. As I have explained, my out-group status likely caused participants to exhibit less language-mixing with me than they would in a natural conversation with an in-group member. As a result, participants produced less English, and instead spoke mainly Spanish. While this resulted

in an overall lack of LLI and multi-item code-switches, my positionality may have resulted in more Spanish discourse than if I were I were a bilingual Texan of Mexican descent. Because I am not someone with whom participants would be likely to code-switch, they maintained almost exclusively Spanish discourse with me, which allowed me to get a better grasp on their degree of Spanish-language retention, one of the main focuses of this work. On the one hand, then, the data attest low rates of language-mixing phenomena, which is contrary to what I expected to find, but on the other hand, I was able to elicit more Spanish in my interviews, which provided me more data regarding language maintenance of Spanish in Austin. Indeed, despite any degree of grammatical substitution or lexical change, 21 out of the 23 participants were able to partake in a 30 to 45-minute interview largely in Spanish.

In addition to the formal interview setting, such low rates of English lexical variables may have stemmed from the fact that participants were overall quite disapproving of language-mixing. In all interviews, I posed a question regarding participants' perceptions of the varieties of Spanish spoken in Texas. Almost all participants, regardless of generation, expressed negative views regarding Texan Spanish because of its close contact with English. Such negative perceptions were especially strong among GENERATION 0 participants, who were the most disparaging of Texan Spanish and claimed to avoid language-mixing altogether (despite producing examples in their own Spanish discourse). As one GENERATION 0 participant explained in response to

my question<sup>39</sup> *¿dirías que hay dialectos distintos del español que se hablan en Tejas? ¿Como el Tex-Mex o algo así? ‘Would you say that there are distinct dialects of Spanish that are spoken in Texas? Like Tex-Mex or something like that?’*:

*P: Sí, es muy diferente, eh, el español de los chicanos de los que viven en la frontera. Es muy diferente que un mexicano que vivió en México o creció en México más adentro.... Pues, creo que el español de, de la frontera no es correcto y me da mucha risa cuando lo oigo. No sé, no me gusta, porque está mal...pues dicen muchas palabras que no son correctas que no son español, español mexicano o español en general o sea. Como ‘parqueadero’ de ‘parking.’ Parqueadero no está bien. Y mucha gente cree que está bien porque ya lo están oyendo, están acostumbrado.*

P: ‘Yes, it’s very different, eh, the Spanish of the Chicanos who live on the border. It’s very different than a Mexican who lived in Mexico or grew up deeper in Mexico... Well, I believe that border Spanish is not correct, and it makes me laugh when I hear it. I don’t know, I don’t like it because it’s bad. Well, they say many words that are not correct that aren’t Spanish, Mexican Spanish, or general Spanish or what have you. Like ‘parking lot’ from ‘parking’. ‘Parqueadero’ is not okay. And many people think it’s okay because they’re already hearing it, they’re accustomed to it.’

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<sup>39</sup> I intentionally did not include their name as to protect their identity and distance them from such negative views regarding language-mixing.

Such negative perceptions of language-mixing are common throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Hidalgo (1988), for instance, examined perceptions of the Spanish spoken in El Paso among Mexican residents of Ciudad Juárez, México, on the other side of the border. He found that 82% of participants viewed El Paso Spanish pejoratively and considered it to be incorrect due to contact with English. Sixty-one percent indicated that they did not like how code-switching sounded, and 61% indicated that it bothered them. Along a similar vein, Montes-Alcalá (2007) surveyed 64 native Spanish-speakers regarding what they considered to be the best and worst varieties of Spanish. She found that participants rated their own variety of Spanish as the best, often a variety spoken in Spain or Colombia, but rated Caribbean varieties of Spanish and U.S. contact varieties as the worst, due to what they perceived as pronunciation differences, a lack of speech clarity, and interference from English. Andersen (2010) replicated this study among six Latinx women living in Colorado, whom he found to be equally disparaging of U.S. contact varieties of Spanish.

Toribio (2002) also found a wide range of perceptions regarding code-switching among four bilingual Spanish speakers from Southern California. While one participant considered code-switching to be an important part of her bilingual/bicultural identity, others expressed more negative perceptions. Some had internalized its associated stigmas, others considered it a sign of reduced Spanish-proficiency, and one participant even considered it a bona fide threat to the integrity and purity of the Spanish language. Similarly, Muysken (2013) proposed what he deems a ‘quadrangle model’ to predict various situations of language contact and resulting linguistic consequences. He found

that factors such as the prestige and status of the languages in question, language-mixing norms in the community, and political distance between the majority and minority languages can affect the frequency and types of code-switching and borrowing behavior. Indeed, the general consensus across my participants was purist in nature and largely opposed to language-mixing. Such views, combined with the low prestige and status of Spanish in comparison to English, the politicization of bilingualism in the United States, and the recent political attacks on Spanish-speaking immigrants, may also help explain why lone lexical insertions and multi-item insertions were comparably low across my participants.

In sum, my participants aligned themselves with widely held negative perceptions regarding language-mixing, and thus produced such little evidence of it. Language-mixing responds closely to the norms and perceptions at play within that speech community, which, combined with the interview setting and my out-group status, all played a role in why my participants tended to avoid it in their Spanish discourse.

#### **4.5. OVERALL CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Throughout this chapter, I have shown how intergenerational language-shift manifested among my participants in the form of Spanish and English proficiency, language usage patterns, and in grammatical substitution and presence of English in participants' Spanish discourse. Almost all questionnaire items reflected some degree of language shift by showing statistically significant differences between generations, as did a number of grammatical and lexical variables, although not as many as I initially had expected. The grammatical and lexical results, in tandem with the questionnaire results, thus present

empirical evidence of shift among the two generations furthest from immigration, and even among the two closest to immigration in some cases (although decidedly fewer). In the next chapter, I present the qualitative findings that I use to humanize the quantitative data presented throughout the current chapter. Using the experiences and stories participants shared during their interviews, I develop a number of qualitative themes that I use to explain the dynamics of language shift in Austin. Such themes range from patriarchy, gentrification, internalized racism, and shame tactics that American-born Latinxs face from their families and communities.

## CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE RESULTS

### 5.0. FRAMEWORK AND PROCEDURES

The previous chapter presented the quantitative measures taken to examine language shift among the Texas Latinx population under study in this work. I now present the qualitative analysis, the main focus of this study, which I use to deepen the quantitative data on language shift in the following ways. I aimed first to show the empirical side of the phenomenon in Chapter 4, given that there is such a relative dearth of work in Central Texas with regards to language shift. Having explored this, I now aim to humanize these data by showing how language shift personally affects people, which decidedly fewer studies have done. I find that most language studies focus too closely on quantitative measures, which not only abstracts the personal elements of language shift, but also isolates those affected by it and separates their language-practices from their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs.

In general, most such studies are conducted through an etic lens and portray the problem as a purely objective, statistical phenomenon. Doing so not only limits speakers' individuality, but also obscures the complex and nuanced ways in which they integrate Spanish and English into their lives. Language shift is seldom an "all or nothing" process, as previous studies would suggest, but rather a *vaivén*, or coming and going of Spanish that responds closely to political, social, and cultural factors at play within a given community (Rivera-Mills 2000). Perhaps language shift, and its affective consequences, are too complicated to examine via questionnaires and other quantitative measures alone. As such, I aim to highlight marginalized voices, and provide them a platform to express

themselves and share their stories, which are often rife with sociolinguistic issues that have been ignored or underemphasized in most previous work (with the main exceptions of Zentella 1997 and Velázquez 2009, 2012 2019).

To begin, it is necessary to address the fact that I, too, have approached this issue from an etic perspective, which I worked to minimize as much as possible. Indeed, Velázquez (2009), in earlier work with language shift in Nebraska, cautions against outside perspectives when studying language maintenance/shift, and emphasizes how important it is to present the issue from an in-group perspective. Similarly, in their examination of two bilingual Mexican-American communities, Schecter and Bayley (2002) stress the need to differentiate between etic and emic conceptions of language maintenance. They claim that one must study bilingual communities and families from their own perspective to understand the issue fully. Bearing in mind their warnings, I argue that one can approach the issue from an outside perspective, as I did, by presenting first-hand accounts of language shift, to help understand why it occurred in their lives. In the rest of this chapter, I let participants share their own perceptions, understandings, and experiences with language shift. My main goal is to present the problem from the perspective of Mexican-Americans living in Central Texas as closely as possible. In doing so, I hope to humanize the data, and ground them in the everyday experiences of a significant proportion of the population in one of the largest metropolitan areas in the country.

Using Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977) as a qualitative lens to interpret results, I employ microethnographic methods to examine participants'



perceptions of and experiences with language shift to English in order to examine reasons why the shift is occurring and has occurred as stated by the people themselves. Namely, I analyze qualitative responses regarding language shift from the perspective that Spanish has a lower degree of objective ethnolinguistic vitality than English in Central Texas (as I show in Chapter 1), which can also lower the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Gao, Schmidt, and Gudykunst 1994; Yagmur and Ehala 2011). The two work together to facilitate language shift to English. Because of its lower status and prestige, Spanish-speaking parents in Central Texas often view Spanish as less vital and useful than English, and therefore teach their children English over Spanish as a safeguard for their future success. As I discuss later, other factors, such as assimilation and exogamous marriages, play an important role in facilitating language shift, as well.

While I draw from Velázquez' (2019) qualitative examination of language shift among Mexican immigrants and their families in Nebraska, whose work inspired me and helped inform the current study, I depart from her in an important way: she focused on first-generation immigrants and their children while I expand my generational scope to include first-, second-, third-, and fourth-generation speakers. As I explain, I found robust evidence of language shift among Spanish speakers in Austin; especially among those further removed from immigration. They represent a community in which language maintenance is more elusive than that found by Velázquez (2019) among immigrant families in Nebraska.

I also use Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social and cultural capital and Landry and Bourhis' (1997) theory of linguistic landscapes to examine the role that gentrification plays in language shift. As I will show, numerous participants complained about the negative effects of gentrification in Austin and how it can contribute to language shift. Gentrification not only lowers the social and cultural capital of Spanish in Austin, but it also removes it from the linguistic landscapes of communities. I extend Landry and Bourhis' (1997) notion of 'carry-over effects' (1997:29) to the current context. That is, an increasing absence of Spanish within the linguistic landscape of Austin, driven by non-Latinx gentrification, may contribute to participants using less Spanish across various domains with various in-group interlocutors—just as Landry and Bourhis found among French speakers in Anglo-dominant provinces of Canada. This can then have intergenerational consequences and further motivate Spanish-speaking parents not to transmit Spanish to the next generation. To illustrate these effects, I present a concrete example of a Spanish-speaking business that was forced to move due to gentrification, as well as a socioeconomic profile of an Austin neighborhood in which I conducted a number of interviews. This neighborhood has rapidly changed within the last few years and presents many contrasts.

Regarding methodology, I remind the reader that I conducted 23 semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews and used these same interviews from the quantitative measures to draw qualitative data. However, instead of focusing on grammatical substitution and presence of English in their speech as I did for the quantitative data, I used their answers as data regarding their experiences with English and Spanish throughout their lives, and

how such experiences may have changed. Throughout the interviews, I posed questions specifically targeting language shift to measure participants' awareness of and experiences of the issue in their communities, families, friends, and even in their own speech. Given the hostile climate towards Spanish-speaking Latinx, I also asked participants how they felt that the racist discourse and legislation enacted by the Trump administration could affect Spanish language maintenance in future generations. Almost all speakers felt passionately about this topic, and related poignant stories regarding how people close to them have been affected by it.

In presenting the qualitative results, I start with a discussion of awareness of language shift more broadly and then delimit my scope. The three overarching themes of this chapter include: (5.1) Awareness of language shift at the societal level; (5.2) Experiences with language shift at the community level; (5.3) Experiences with language shift at the familial and, in some cases, at the individual level. These three overarching themes govern the organization of this work, and within each broader theme, I discuss the following subthemes that emerge from the data. That is, in Section (5.1) I discuss: (5.1.1) The omnipresence of language shift in the U.S.; (5.1.2) The role technology can play; and (5.1.3) Fear of discrimination in Trump's America, and the consequences of such fear. In Section (5.2) I address: (5.2.1) Gentrification in Austin; (5.2.2) Participants' experiences with a rapidly growing and changing city; (5.2.3) Language shift in Austin compared to less gentrified cities in Texas; and (5.2.4) Language shift in Austin: personal testimony.

For the third overarching theme, Section (5.3), I take a slightly different approach. Here, I first survey language shift at the familial level across all participants and provide

interview excerpts and discussion of individual experiences that participants shared. I divide such experiences into the following two subthemes: (5.3.1) The assimilatory power of schools; and (5.3.2) The role of exogamous marriages. Within this same section, I then focus on the González and Zapata families and examine a series of additional subthemes that emerged from my interviews with them. For Section (5.4), The González Family, I present the following: (5.4.1) The social and linguistic background of the family; (5.4.2) The role of *machismo* in establishing the family language; (5.4.3) Language shift as a community norm; (5.4.4) Language shift as result of racism; (5.4.5) Language shift and hegemony; (5.4.6) The affective consequences of language shift for the González children; (5.4.7) Social isolation from Spanish-speaking relatives; and (5.4.8) Identity implications. Finally, in Section (5.5) The Zapata Family, I discuss two subthemes: (5.5.1) The challenges of raising a bilingual child; and return to the topic of (5.5.2) *Machista* roles in language shift. While *machismo* played a role in language shift in both families, as well as the pressures of assimilation, different subthemes emerged in each family from the experiences and stories the participants shared.

In presenting qualitative data from my research, I use the following notation: the letter {I} indicates the interviewer (myself) and I use the participant's first name (all pseudonyms) in presenting their quotes. I minimized the insertion of my voice as much as possible throughout this chapter, but in certain cases, my questions were relevant to include for context. Within each theme, I include excerpts from the interviews that correspond to each theme. In my notation, I number quotes according to their order in this text and include the participant's name. In some cases, I present two quotes from the

same participant when they both correspond to the theme at hand. I present quotes from participants mostly verbatim, with slight omissions of restarts, fillers, repaired speech, non-lexical utterances, and other speech disfluencies. I did this only when they distracted from the relevance of the quote and for more precision. I present all quotes in Spanish and then translate them into English. Within the English translations, I did modify participants' speech in some cases to accommodate better the speech conventions of English. In other cases, participants were unable to formulate their ideas in Spanish, but I knew what they were trying to say from the context. In such instances, I modified the English translations to capture what the participant intended to say, as to make the quotes easier to understand for the reader.

Data comprised participants' direct answers to questions I posed to them as well as conjecture and unprompted discourse on their behalf. I clarify whether the data were prompted by me or not for each example of quoted text I present. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss these themes at length and present personal accounts and direct quotes of how these issues have affected participants. As I show, language shift is a complex process, and at times contradictory in terms of its manifestations and even in participants' perceptions of the issue itself. It can also be a painful process replete with affective consequences.

### **5.1. AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL**

In the current section, I discuss participants' awareness of language at the societal level and their experiences with it a broader level. Unsurprisingly, language shift was a common concern for the participants in this study. Of the 23 people I interviewed, 21

were well aware of the issue and considered it to be a problem across the country in general. Some of the most concerned voices belonged to first-generation immigrants, some of whom expressed disbelief at the rapid pace at which language shift occurs for U.S. Latinxs, like Ramona.

### **5.1.1. THE OMNIPRESENCE OF LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE U.S.**

Ramona is a 32-year-old GENERATION 0 Mexican-American who was born and raised in Mexico City, and moved to the United States after completing high school. When I addressed the topic of language shift towards the end of our interview, she was quick to comment on the extent to which she has experienced language in her professional life:

5.1.Ramona:

*Sí, claro. Yo siento que es muy importante preservar el español, y a mí me da mucha tristeza si tres generaciones después de mí no hablaran nada español. Pues, es todo lo posible.... este, lo veo mucho con los latinos aquí en Facebook, ehm, hay gente que, sus papás son de México, no hablan español para nada. Entonces sí, lo veo.*

‘Yes, of course. I feel that it is very important to preserve Spanish, and it makes me very sad if three generations after me, they don’t speak any Spanish. Well, it’s all possible...umm, I see it a lot with the Latinxs here in Facebook. Ehm, there are people whose parents are from Mexico, and they don’t speak any Spanish. So, yes, I see it’ (GENERATION 0)

As an immigrant who moved to the States as an eighteen-year-old, she still commands full productive proficiency in Spanish and uses it on a daily basis to communicate with

friends and family in Mexico. Nonetheless, there are many American-born Latinxs who work with her at Facebook and do not speak Spanish at all. During our interview, when I asked her about her daily usage of Spanish, she explained that she has formed a small group of Hispanophone friends (from Spanish-speaking countries) with whom she has lunch every day and speaks Spanish. Excluding the times when she uses Spanish to communicate with clients in Spanish-speaking countries, her lunch dates represent her only other regular opportunity to speak Spanish at work. She has to go out of her way to speak Spanish here, and does so by participating in sporadic work-related Spanish-speaking clubs or events. Even at such events and clubs, the bulk of Spanish speakers are native speakers from Hispanophone nations like herself, since so many of her U.S.-born Latinx coworkers either do not speak Spanish, or overwhelmingly prefer English. This makes her sad, since she believes that maintaining Spanish is important. She cited one coworker in particular, who speaks no Spanish at all:

5.2. Ramona:

*Pero sí, eso fue creo que lo más choqueante de que su mamá, es de México. Toda su familia es de México. Sus abuelos no hablan inglés, y él no habla español. Él no habla español.*

‘But yes, that’s what I believe was the most shocking, that his mom, is from Mexico. His whole family is from Mexico. His grandparents don’t speak English, and he doesn’t speak Spanish. He doesn’t speak Spanish.’ (GENERATION 0)

Here, she expresses surprise that her coworker, despite having so many native Spanish speakers so close to him in his life, does not speak the language. This is unfortunately

quite common and shows how quickly language shift can occur, often within the span of one just one generation. In a context where Spanish has low ethnolinguistic vitality in relation to English, this has become an increasingly common experience for U.S. Latinxs.

Raquel, a 27-year-old GENERATION 0 immigrant from Reynosa, Mexico, also commented on how frequent it is for U.S. Latinxs not to speak Spanish, in her experience. When I asked about her experiences with language shift, she said that she considers it to be a problem, and proposed shame as a motivating factor that she laments:

5.3. Raquel: *Yo pienso eso sí es un problema, y lamentablemente, mucha gente, no sé por qué, se avergonzará o no sé. Como yo digo, yo estoy en contra porque honestamente, yo miro gente batalla todo el tiempo que no se pueden comunicar. Para mí, es frustrante, como, yo siempre miro en las tiendas, que una persona se mira totalmente hispana y no habla español ni un poquito, y la otra gente se quiere comunicar con ella y no entiende. Entonces yo siempre voy en medio y les digo ‘oh yo puedo ayudar’ porque yo practico mucho español, este, mi inglés no está muy, este, muy fuerte pero, sí sé hablarlo muy bien, pero siento que mi lenguaje más fuerte es el español.*

‘I think that it is a problem, and unfortunately, many people, I don’t know why, must be ashamed or I don’t know. Like I say, I am against it because honestly, I see people struggle all the time who can’t communicate. For me, it’s frustrating like, I always see in stores, that a person who looks totally Hispanic and doesn’t speak Spanish even a little bit, and the other people want to communicate with them, and they don’t understand. So, I always get in the middle and say “oh, I can



help,” because I practice Spanish a lot, umm, my English isn’t, um, very strong, but I do know how to speak it well, but I feel that my stronger language is Spanish.’ (GENERATION 0)

As a fully fluent speaker and fairly recent immigrant (in terms of generations), Spanish plays an integral role in Raquel’s life. As demonstrated in her pre-interview questionnaire (and throughout the interview), she uses Spanish on a daily basis across a variety of domains such as at work, in public and at home, as well as with a variety of interlocutors, such as her daughter, her parents, siblings and Latinx friends. For her, Spanish has a high degree of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality and social capital, and as such, she uses it frequently. Like Ramona, it upsets her that so many U.S.-born Latinxs do not speak Spanish, and she questioned this trend during our interview. She expressed that she is against language shift and commented on the frequency with which she has noticed communication issues arise as a result of it. In particular, she cited a common occurrence she has witnessed in the cell-phone store in which she works. She often sees a monolingual Spanish-speaker approach a U.S. Latinx person and start speaking Spanish to them, because they assume that they speak Spanish. As Raquel attests, the U.S. Latinx customer often does not speak Spanish and neither person can understand the other. In such cases, she intervenes and helps resolve communication issues by exercising her bilingual prowess. As she says, she practices Spanish frequently, and she considers it to be her stronger language, but still commands a high degree of proficiency in English.

Josie also commented on how widespread language shift from Spanish to English is in this country. Like Ramona and Raquel, she drew from her experiences at work to

justify her claims. Josie is a 32-year immigrant from Mexico City who moved to San Antonio with her family when she was nine years old. She lived there until she was twenty-five and worked as a teacher for a few years before changing careers in her early twenties. After attending graduate school in Tallahassee, FL, she moved to Austin where she has lived for the last five years. During our interview, she spoke at length of her own *vaivén* with Spanish and how as a teenager, she refused to speak Spanish as an act of linguistic divergence and rebellion against her parents. She feels this stunted her Spanish development, but she has made concerted efforts to reacquire her Spanish as an adult. As such, she is well familiar with language shift, having personally experienced it, and also sees it quite frequently with her clients at work. She explains:

5.4. Josie: *Yo trabajo con familias todo el día, hispanohablantes de Centroamérica, de Sudamérica, de México, y he notado que sus hijos ya más grandes, y primera generación aquí o segunda generación en Tejas no hablan. Algunos no hablan español y algunos sí. Pero tiene que ser como una intención muy fuerte de los papás. Tiene que haber un propósito, o un, este (0.2) ¿cómo se dice? (risas)...Los papas tienen que poner más esfuerzo para que sus hijos hablen el idioma, similar a lo que yo, a lo que me pasó a mí de chica.*

‘I work with Spanish-speaking families all day, from Central America, from South America, from Mexico, and I have noticed that their oldest children, and first generation here, or second generation in Texas don’t speak. Some of them don’t speak Spanish, and some of them do. But [there] has to be like a very strong intention [on behalf] of the parents. There has to be a purpose, or a, umm (0.2),

how do you say (laughter). The parents have to make more of an effort so that their children speak the language, similar to what I, to what happened to me as a girl.’ (GENERATION 0)

When we discussed language shift towards the end of our interview, Josie explained that she has noticed that it has become quite common for the children of immigrants from all over the Spanish-speaking world; certainly, language shift is not exclusive to Mexican-Americans. She also cites a generational decline in Spanish usage, especially the longer a family spends in Texas. Even as early as the second generation, she has seen that many of her clients’ children already do not speak Spanish, which is consistent with what Otheguy, García, and Roca (2000) found among second-generation Cubans in Miami. Josie argues that ensuring language maintenance falls on the parents, which Velázquez (2019) discusses at length. As Josie explains, it is largely the responsibility of the parents to teach their children Spanish, and they must make a concerted effort to do so, lest their children experience something similar to what she herself did. Her parents were permissive of her English-only rebellious phase, which has had a lasting impact on her Spanish. Josie’s experiences point to how difficult transmitting Spanish can be for Hispanophone families in this country. In many cases, language shift and cultural assimilation are the paths of least resistance.

Antonio, a 31-year-old GENERATION 1 speaker who has lived in Austin since he was six years old, was especially outspoken about the omnipresence of language shift. When I addressed the issue with him towards the end of the interview, he passionately expressed his concern for the issue and postulated potential causes:

5.5. Antonio: *Absolutamente sí, creo que es. Es trágico porque o sea, es, creo que, lo que a mí me gusta del mundo es que hay diferentes gentes que vienen de diferentes lugares, y que pueden, este, llevarse bien y lo que me, lo que me gustaba a mí, de ir a México, era, era muy diferente a aquí. Pero desde que empezó el globalization ahora ya tienen internet allá, ya tienen umm, programas de inglés allá. Entonces es casi como América. Entonces, creo que cuando la gente pierde su cultura, su lenguaje umm, (0.1) ayuda que la cultura se, se pierda.*

‘Absolutely yes, I believe it is. It is tragic because, or rather, it is, I believe, what I like about the world is that there are different people who come from different places, and that, like, can get along well, and what I, I liked about going to Mexico, was that it was very different from here. But since globalization started, now they have the Internet there, and they now have English programs there. So, it’s almost like America. Therefore, I believe when people lose their culture, their language, umm (0.1) helps them lose their culture’ (GENERATION 1)

Like Ramona and Raquel, Antonio thinks that language shift is sad, tragic even, since it represents a loss of linguistic diversity, which he values. Interestingly, he proposes that globalization has played a role in language shift to English. Because of globalization, the Internet has become increasingly accessible, and with it, the availability of English classes, which he believes encourages people to learn English at the expense of their native language, and which, by extension, will result in the loss of their culture. He claims this is a problem even in Mexico, which is “almost like America” now.

### 5.1.2. LANGUAGE SHIFT AND TECHNOLOGY

Antonio also sees technological advances in translation services as a potential threat to language maintenance. As he explains, he worries that people will stop learning and speaking new languages because computers and other technological devices are beginning to do it for them:

5.6. Antonio: *Pero me temo que con la tecnología la gente es menos inclinada a aprender lenguas, porque con un teléfono uno puede ir a Japón y tomar una foto de un anuncio...So entonces ya no tenemos que aprender lenguas, si tenemos un teléfono que lo hace por nosotros.*

‘But I fear that with technology, people are less inclined to learn languages, because with a phone, one can go to Japan and take a picture of an advertisement...So therefore we no longer have to learn languages, if we have a phone that does it for us.’ (GENERATION 1)

Antonio proposes what he sees as a more negative side to the increasing capabilities of smartphones. As he argues, why bother learning a new language, when your phone can do it for you in an instant?

Alexa, a 31-year-old GENERATION 1 participant born and raised in Austin, also sees technology as a facilitating force of language shift, not just for Spanish, but for all languages. When I asked her what factors might contribute to language shift to English, she said:

5.7. Alexa: *Uh sí, por español, pero otros lenguas también, you know, como italiano, o de los otros países. Pero you know, español es everywhere aquí en Tejas. Es triste que, you know los familias no pueden hablar con each other por los generations y you know, es importante, pero, (0.1) de ellos, no quieren. Porque tienen computadoras y el Google Translate para hacer you know, for them. No tienen un need, you know. Para enseñar.*

‘Uh yes, for Spanish, but for other languages, too, you know, like Italian, or from other countries. But you know, Spanish is everywhere here in Texas. It’s sad that, you know families cannot speak with each other for generations, and you know, it’s important, but (0.1), [for] them, they don’t want to. Because they have computers and Google Translate to it do it, you know, for them. They do not have a need, you know, to [learn].’ (GENERATION 1)

Citing Google Translate in particular, she echoes many of Antonio’s concerns. It is worth mentioning that Alexa spent a number of years working for Apple Maps and saw firsthand how technology makes the need to learn another language increasingly less necessary. Thus, she offers a well-informed perspective on the issue.

### **5.1.3. LANGUAGE SHIFT AS A RESULT OF FEAR IN POST-TRUMP’S AMERICA**

Three participants, who were all social workers at the time of the interview, also discussed seeing language shift among their clients, which they regard as a reflection of linguistic and racial ideologies at the societal level. Josie first drew my attention to the issue. As she says:

5.8. Josie: *Es cierto, muchos de mis clientes viven en miedo. No quieren aceptar mi ayuda, mi my referral to housing, or my referral to this or that porque temen que va a ser, van a ser descubiertos o no sé. Pero sí creo que es un miedo totalmente legítimo. Pero la gente se tiene que unir.*

P: 'It's true, many of my clients live in fear. They don't want to accept my help, my, my referral to housing, or my referral to this or that, because they fear they're going to be discovered, or I don't know. But I believe that it is a totally legitimate fear. But the people have to come together.' (GENERATION 0)

The previous sociopolitical climate under former President Donald Trump, which was ever more hostile to Spanish-speaking immigrants and BIPOC, incited a great deal of fear among her clients, many of whom were undocumented immigrants. As such, they were unwilling even to apply for housing referrals and other resources they need, due to fear of being discovered by authorities.

Sonia, another social worker and a GENERATION 1 Mexican-American from San Marcos, Texas, has noticed similar trends among her clients. When I asked her what role she thought Trump's America might have on Spanish language maintenance, she expressed a pessimistic view while drawing from her clients' fear:

5.9. Sonia: Well *yo lo digo de lo que mis clientes me dicen que, yo les digo* “vayan a clases de ESL” “vayan a clases de ciudadanía” y ellos me dicen, no, “es que tengo miedo.” *Que ellos no quieren participar en eventos, no quieren avanzar porque tienen miedo y yo pienso que es algo horrible, ¿verdad? So, no pienso que esté ayudando la situation.*

‘Well [I’ll] say from what my clients tell me, I tell them “go to your ESL classes”, “go to your citizenship classes”, and they tell me, “no, it’s that I’m afraid.” That they don’t want to participate in events. They don’t want to advance themselves because they are afraid, and I think that it is something horrible, right? So, I don’t think that this is helping the situation.’ (GENERATION 1)

Like Josie’s clients, Sonia’s clients were reluctant to seek out resources and opportunities that could help them. In Sonia’s case, her clients were no longer going to their ESL or citizenship classes, because they were afraid. As she explains, they stopped wanting to move forward in their citizenship goals out of fear, which she thinks is horrible and unlikely to foster Spanish-language maintenance.

Anabel, a GENERATION 1 Mexican-American from Austin, echoed many of Josie and Sonia’s claims. When I addressed how the anti-immigrant rhetoric and legislation inculcated by the Trump administration may affect Spanish-language maintenance, she said:



5.10. Anabel: *Así que con todos los comentarios que él ha hecho, igualmente con el trabajo que tengo ahora, hay muchas familias que no quieren aplicar para beneficios. No quieren aplicar pa' cualquier cosa, aunque lo necesitan, o es algo que necesitan, en la casa, como comida, como Food Stamps. Lo necesitan, pero ellos tienen el miedo que ¿qué va a pasar? Alguien va a venir a mi casa y nos va a buscar.*

‘So, with the comments he [Trump] has made, and [similarly] with the job I have now, there are many families who do not want to apply for benefits. They don’t want to apply for anything, even though they need it, or it’s something that they need, at home, like food, like Food Stamps. They need it, but they’re afraid that, what’s going to happen? Someone is going to come to my house, and they are going to search for us’ (GENERATION 1)

In all three cases, fear emerges as a common motif among their Spanish-speaking clients. They are afraid to apply for housing benefits or SNAP benefits. They are afraid to attend courses that will help solidify their immigration status in the United States or help them assimilate to American life. They would rather stay hidden than seek the resources they need, as doing so could reveal their undocumented status which could have disastrous consequences in the sociopolitical climate. As Anabel explains, even her clients who are documented immigrants were afraid, which is completely legitimate given that Trump attacked them, too. In 2019, his administration sought to terminate public assistance for legal immigrants and residents; this has received a great deal of legal “pushback” (Hauslohner, Miroff, Sacchetti, and Jan 2019). It would seem improbable

that parents in such circumstances would want to teach their children Spanish. Parents in much safer situations (like my participants) are reluctant to teach their children Spanish, as I discuss later in this work, even without fear of deportation. Anabel confirms this, and states that she believes that the climate would negatively affect language maintenance:

5.11. Anabel: *Muchos padres ahorita que están aquí legalmente tienen tanto miedo, que no van a querer que sus niños vayan a la escuela y hablen español a causa de razones que alguien pueda pensar 'oh,' ¿por qué este niño está aquí cuando los padres no están aquí legalmente?... So, creo que sí está afectando a nuestra comunidad, porque muchos padres tienen el miedo de que sus niños hablando el español los van a afectar, va a causar investigación y algo bien negativo va a pasar a la familia. Así que, creo que igualmente en la lengua, nos está afectando negativamente por esas razones. Mucha gente tienen miedo que alguien va a saber que están ilegalmente y mejor nos escondemos. Mejor prefiero que mis niños aprendan el inglés y se queden con el inglés.*

‘P: Many parents who are here legally now are very afraid, that they are not going to want their children to go to school and speak Spanish because of the reason that someone could think “oh, why is this child here when the parents are not here legally?” So, I do believe that it is affecting our community, because many parents are afraid that their children speaking Spanish will affect them, [that] it’s going to cause [an] investigation, and something quite negative is going to happen to the family.” So, I equally believe that the language is [being negatively affected] for those reasons. Many people are afraid that someone is going to know

that they're here illegally and it's best that we hide. I'd rather my children learn English and stick with English.' (GENERATION 1)

According to Anabel, parents have ceased speaking Spanish to their children in order to prevent them from doing so in public, as to better protect their families from probing questions into the family's immigration status. Spanish is an identity marker, one that marks their racial, linguistic, and national otherness, and could be and is used against them. It seems, then, that to prevent the worst-case scenario (an ICE raid and subsequent detention and familial separation), parents in such circumstances prefer linguistic assimilation for their children. They prefer their children conform to the linguistic norms of an Anglo-dominant society, in order to have a better life than they did, which they only see as possible through English, and they are not wrong. They would rather have monolingual English-speaking children who are safe and able to succeed in society, than Spanish-speaking children whose Spanish could reveal the family's precarious immigration status. Parents are afraid, for good reason, and in a hostile sociopolitical climate in which they are simply trying to survive and avoid deportation, Spanish is a luxury that many cannot afford. This unfortunately has continued into President Biden's administration. In the early months of his first term, racism and hate crimes were rampant across the country, deportation rates were even higher than during ex-President Trump's administration, and the humanitarian crisis on the border remained largely unresolved.

Ramona made similar points in our interview as those of Anabel. In fact, Ramona was the participant who first brought up the role that Trump's America could play in

language shift when we discussed it towards the end of our interview; she inspired me to investigate this theme across participants. As she says:

5.12. Ramona: *Supongo que a la gente le va a dar más miedo. Ehm ser identificados como latinos, y si hablas español, te identifican luego. Entonces es, la gente que conozco que, que sus papás hablan español, pero ellos no, es porque sus papás tienen miedo de que fueran bullied en escuela o singled out, o que los molestaran o que se burlaran de ellos por hablar español. Entonces, ellos no querían enseñarles español a sus hijos. Con Trump, supongo que el miedo...sería lo que se desplazará el, el idioma. No hablas español para que no sepan que eres latino o mexicano, o lo que sea....*

‘I suppose that people are going to be more afraid. Um, being identified as Latino, if you speak Spanish, they’ll identify you afterward. Then there’s people I know, who, who, their parents speak Spanish, but they don’t, it’s because their parents are afraid that they would be bullied or singled out, or that they would be bothered or made fun of for speaking Spanish. So, they didn’t want to teach Spanish to their children. With Trump, I suppose fear would be what displaced the language. You don’t speak Spanish, so they don’t know you’re Latino or Mexican, or whatever...’ (GENERATION 0)

Here Ramona confirms much of what Josie, Sonia, and Anabel, all said, but from a different perspective. She explains that she knows many U.S. Latinxs who do not speak Spanish because their parents intentionally did not teach it to them in order to prevent them from being made a target for bullying or public ridicule; this was before Trump

came to power in 2016. Many Spanish-speaking immigrants have been afraid to speak Spanish and are especially afraid even now. Ramona thinks this fear will inhibit language maintenance and intergenerational transmission. In such cases, the lack of institutional support for Spanish (not just a lack of support, but institutional attacks), along with its lower status in comparison to English, result in lower objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality for Spanish in Central Texas, despite Latinxs' demographic salience here. If one's language is a target for attack, a parent is unlikely to view that language in a positive light and transmit it to their children (Giles et al. 1977; Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Gao, Schmidt, and Gudykunst 1994; Yagmur and Ehala 2011). In sum, anti-Spanish mentality and monolingual language ideologies at the societal level, which have been especially heightened within the last few years, may negatively affect Spanish-language maintenance, as numerous participants believe.

## **5.2. LANGUAGE SHIFT AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL: THE LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF GENTRIFICATION**

### **5.2.1. GENTRIFICATION IN AUSTIN**

As I showed in the previous section, participants were well aware that language shift to English is a problem at the societal and personal level. It is not surprising, then, that they also cited the problem within their own communities and/or social networks; almost everyone testified to seeing its manifestations and consequences firsthand. Some saw it at church, in their neighborhoods, and at school where they watched their classmates and friends undergo language shift to English over the years. A number of participants also stated that they considered language shift to be especially rampant in Austin compared to

other cities in Texas. They proposed various causes for this phenomenon, but most agreed that gentrification was particularly to blame.

In Chapter 1, I discussed how gentrification has affected BIPOC communities in Austin and led to widespread displacement of low-income residents largely concentrated on the East Side but has spread to other parts of the city as well. To illustrate this, I provide an example of a gentrifying neighborhood with which I am well-acquainted: St. John-Coronado Hills, a majority Latinx, low-income neighborhood (66%) in North-Central Austin, close to where I live. My friend, Diego, and one of the participants in this study, lives there, so I visit the neighborhood frequently and conducted a couple of interviews there. Over the years, I have watched it transform in real time. Just down the block on the street where Diego lives, is a cluster of government mandated income-based homes where multigenerational families live in the same household. Facing these homes on the other side of street, however, are newly-constructed luxury condominiums valued up to \$500,000. Perpendicular to Diego's home is an immigration law office that has been enveloped by high-end apartments where the average unit costs \$1,500 a month. Now, luxury homes have sprouted up like weeds behind Diego's rented one-bedroom apartment, yet within a 10-block radius, one can find a number of ethnic food restaurants, grocery stores, and businesses catering to Mexican, Guatemalan, Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> In June of 2021, Diego was informed that he had to move out of his apartment by the end of the month so that it could be demolished to make space for more luxury condominiums. This makes him the fourth participant in my study to have been displaced by gentrification in Austin.

Such establishments have begun to be overtaken by newer Anglo establishments. Within this same 10-block radius, one can now find a vegan café, a hot yoga studio, a high-end event space, and a new bar specializing in craft beer/cocktails; it is very much a neighborhood in flux, both economically and demographically speaking. From 2012 to 2016, the neighborhood saw a 2% increase in White, non-Latinx residents<sup>41</sup> and a 9% increase in college-educated residents. Home values are now 11% higher than they were in 2012, business addresses have more than doubled since 2010 (320 to 667) and building permit valuation in the area increased by an astounding 1072% between 2015 and 2017. This is problematic, given the fact that 81% of residents are BIPOC (compared to just 47% in the Austin MSA), 30.5% of whom are cost-burdened<sup>42</sup>, and 37.5% are severely cost-burdened, which makes them easily displaced (Way, Mueller, and Wegman 2018).

One such business that closed because of gentrification was the discount tire shop called Leal's, a Mexican-owned and Spanish-speaking business I myself had patronized repeatedly (featured in imagine 5.1 below). Leal's was a local fixture on the East Side for decades and was renowned for its iconic murals on the building's façade that featured Aztec priests and pyramids, an homage to their Mexican roots. Sadly, the rising property costs of gentrification forced them to relocate to a less-gentrified part of the city, several streets away. In 2018, Larry Maguire and Liz Lambert, two Anglo-White Austin entrepreneurs (in)famous for their establishment of some of the most expensive hotels

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<sup>41</sup> This is significant when considering that the overall percentage of their population across the Austin Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) decreased by 7 percentage points.

<sup>42</sup> The Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University defines "cost-burdened" families as those who spend 30% of their income on housing costs alone, and "severely cost-burdened" families as those who spend more than 50% of their income on housing costs alone (Mathur 2016).

and restaurants throughout the city, purchased the property to establish a high-end bistro appealing to Anglo gastronomic tastes (featured in Image 5.2). In a misguided attempt to honor Leal's legacy, the owners preserved the murals, repurposed tires to be cacti planters, and included an 'In Memoriam' message in their menus. Interestingly, they also retained the *Bienvenidos* 'Welcome' message on the façade of the building despite not catering to a Spanish-speaking clientele or even serving Latinx cuisine which has been with widespread criticism (Cantu 2019; Friel 2019).

**ILLUSTRATION 5.1. LEAL'S TIRE SHOP**



Aztec murals at Leal's Tire Shop in 2007. Source: *The Austin Chronicle*



## ILLUSTRATION 5.2. LOU'S BODEGA



Lou's Bodega, formally Leal's Tire Shop. Source: Cantu (2019)

### 5.2.2. AUSTIN'S GROWING PAINS: PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES WITH A RAPIDLY CHANGING CITY.

Participants in this study were indeed aware of the negative effects that gentrification has brought to their communities in Austin and spoke openly about such effects. Rigoberta, a GENERATION 1 Mexican-American participant, spoke at length of the changes she has witnessed in Austin over the course of the fifteen years she has lived here. When I asked her if she liked living in Austin, she responded affirmatively, but that the city had changed extensively since she first moved here in 2005:

**5.13. Rigoberta:** *Sí (risas) yo recuerdo ah, (0.1) yendo, a la (0.1) no sé, a diferentes partes de ciudad, y no era tan, uh, tan largo de (risas) de tiempo de llegar uhm, y la ciudad, ha crecido bastante. El centro, los edificios...hay más, más de cuando vine, y bastantes negocios. Ahora vivo en sur, el sur de Austin, y también miro qué diferente es, esta parte de la ciudad cuando antes, era, uhm, no sé. No había tantos departamentos, uhm...Ahora sí miro que hay bastante, y uhm, no tanta familia cuando, uhm cuando yo—lo que yo recuerdo, había más familias, en, en diferentes lugares, y ahora son alumnos, personas más (0.1), no sé, uhm, (0.1) ya no miro muchas familias en la ciudad. Ahora, sí miro que las familias se han ido a otras ciudades como Buda, o Manor. Sí, sí, miro eso es más diferente aquí en el sur, el sur de Austin.*

‘Yes, I remember ah, (0.1) going to the (0.1), I don’t know, to different parts of the city, and it [didn’t take a long time] to [get there], and uhm, the city has grown a lot. Downtown, the buildings, there are more, more than when I arrived, and a lot of businesses. I now live [down] south, south Austin, and I also see how different it is, this part of the city when, before, it was, I don’t know. There weren’t so many apartments. Uhm... Now, I do see that there are many [apartments], and not as many families, uh, when I, [from] what I remember, there were more families in different places, and now, they’re students, people [who] are more (0.1), I don’t know, uhm, (0.1) now I don’t see many families in the city. Now, I see families that have left for other cities, like Buda, or Manor. Yes, yes, I see that it is more different here in the south, in south Austin.’ (GENERATION 1)

Here, she discusses how much worse the traffic has gotten in Austin (something that every single participant lamented), how the skyline has grown, and how apartment buildings have become increasingly common. She also commented on how she sees far fewer families now, many of whom have been forced to move to suburbs and cities surrounding Austin, such as Buda and Manor, where rent prices are lower. While not overtly mentioning gentrification, she mentions its effects, and how it has pushed families outside of Austin. She continues to describe the neighborhood where she lives:

5.14. Rigoberta: (0.3), *Sí, en el sur no tanto como en el este de Austin. Yo ahora vivo en el sureste, sí miro más familias hispanas de diferentes culturas aquí. Y no, (0.1), lo miro más en el este de Austin; más, más cambios.*

‘Yes, in the south, it’s not as [bad] as in east Austin. I now live in the southeast, and I do see more Hispanic families of different cultures here. And no (0.1), I see it more in East Austin, more changes.’

Here, she explains that she currently lives in Southeast Austin, East of Ben White Boulevard in one of the ever fewer bastions of Mexican culture and Spanish. She told me that her neighborhood has not yet experienced gentrification but is home to Latinx residents and Spanish speakers. However, she openly acknowledged that this was not the case for other parts of Austin, where she has seen significant growth and displacement of Latinx residents and businesses. She mentioned the East Side twice as being an area where she has seen especially drastic changes. She also mentions South Austin, and how that has changed considerably as well. At the beginning of our interview, when I asked her how long she had lived in Austin, she explained that she first moved here from the

Rio Grande Valley in 2005 to begin her bachelor's degree at St. Edward's, a small, Catholic liberal arts college in South Austin in a historically Latinx neighborhood. She continued to describe how the area in which she went to college in the early 2000s had completely transformed:

5.15. Rigoberta: ... *Yo fui a la universidad de St. Edwards... en esa área. Sí, sí miro cuanto ha cambiado en esa parte del sur...Ha cambiado bastante. Los negocios que estaban allí cuando yo, cuando yo era estudiante ya no están. Son diferentes, uhm, el restaurante "El Gallo" era uno de mis favoritos, y ya cerró. Creo que ya hace dos, tres años que cerró el restaurante...Pero era, estaba allí ya como veinte años, o más... Qué triste, pero, (0.1) muchos cambios que, que he visto allí cerca de St. Edwards. Y claro, el resto de la ciudad, pero, allí, porque yo siempre he vivido cerca de, del St. Edwards, umm, miro, miro todo, los cambios allí.*

'I went to St. Edward's University...in that area. Yes, yes, I see how much this part of south [Austin] has changed...It has changed a lot. The businesses that were there when I, when I was a student are not there anymore. They're different, uhm, the restaurant, "El Gallo" was one of my favorites, and it now [has] closed. I believe the restaurant closed two, three years ago, now. But it was there [for] like twenty years or more...How sad, but (0.1), I have seen many changes there by St. Edward's. And of course, the rest of the city, but there, because I always remember [that] I have lived near St. Edwards, umm, I see, see all of the changes there.' (GENERATION 1)

Here, Rigoberta describes a Mexican restaurant called “El Gallo” that she used to frequent with her friends, as it was within walking distance from St. Edwards. Abraham and María Kennedy (née González) opened El Gallo in 1957 on South Congress where they served affordable Tex-Mex food for over 60 years. Unfortunately, their son Abel, who had been running the restaurant, was forced to close it down in 2017; just two years after Maria’s death, due to rising operation costs and exorbitantly high property taxes (they increased from \$25,000 to \$145,000 over the last few years). The property, which has since been purchased by St. Edward’s University, has undergone significant expansion over the last few years (Chaudhury 2017; Hawkins 2019). Thus, “El Gallo” became another victim of gentrification, and another instance of the removal of Spanish from the cultural and linguistic landscapes of Austin, not only in the terms of signage, but also in terms of language usage. In addition to eating there frequently, Rigoberta mentioned that she and her Spanish-speaking friends would speak Spanish to the staff there as well as to each other. This in turn not only further depletes the social and cultural capital of Spanish in Austin, but can also discourage people from speaking Spanish, just as Landry and Bourhis (1997) found for French in Francophone neighborhoods where English dominated the linguistic landscapes.

### **5.2.3. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN AUSTIN COMPARED TO OTHER TEXAN CITIES**

Other participants were quite outspoken in expressing their negative views regarding Austin’s growth and change. Antonio, for instance, was forced out of Austin, like so many other Latinx residents, due to rising housing costs. Antonio moved from Dallas to Austin with his family when he was six years old, where he remained most of his life. He

did all of his schooling—both K through 12 and university coursework—in Austin, but when it came time for him to buy a home, he had to look elsewhere. To be able to afford to buy a house of his own, Antonio had to move to Pflugerville, a formerly German small town located 18 miles northeast of central Austin but now a suburb of the city, where I conducted our interview. He had been living there for a little over a year when I interviewed him, and I asked him how he thought Pflugerville compared to Austin, which prompted him to discuss the rising housing costs of Austin.

5.16. Antonio: *Este, creo que Pflugerville es mucho más tranquilo. Es muy, umm (0.2) affordable. Es-pues, una casa aquí... Austin, es muy, este, es una ciudad grande. Ha crecido mucho desde que yo era niño, entonces no es, fácil comprar casa pa' allí. Pero sí, me gusta Pflugerville.*

‘Well, I believe that Pflugerville is much calmer. It’s very, umm (0.2) affordable. It’s, well, a house here...Austin is very, well, it’s a big city. It’s grown a lot since I was child, so it’s not easy to buy a house there. But yes, I like Pflugerville.’

As he explained, Austin has become too expensive and too crowded for his tastes and economic means. I have known Antonio as a personal friend for a number of years and, as a deeply introverted person, he much prefers the slower place and affordability of Pflugerville, despite its distance from his job in downtown Austin. Such long commutes are becoming an increasingly common reality for many Latinx Austinites who have been similarly pushed out of Austin proper, and with them, the possibilities to speak and hear the Spanish language.

Alicia was one of the few participants who overtly cited gentrification as a problem in Austin. A GENERATION 1 Mexican-American, Alicia was born of Central Mexican immigrant parents who raised her older brother and her in San Antonio. She moved to Austin as a young adult where she lived for almost a decade and now lives in San Marcos, a small college town about 30 miles south of Austin. Like Antonio, she and her boyfriend Enrique (whom I also interviewed and will discuss later) decided to move outside of Austin for affordability reasons. Towards the end of our interview, we began comparing language shift in San Antonio and Austin, during which she expressed that she believes it is worse in Austin than in San Antonio. When I asked her why she thought this, she blamed gentrification:

5.17. Alicia (A): ...*Creo que en Austin es, es grande eso.*

I: *¿Es grande? ¿Es peor?*

A: *Sí, porque en San Antonio es (0.1) es diferente. Allá la mayoría son latinos, y aquí, no es. Es más americano que hispánico.*

I: *¿Piensas que esto empeora aún más la situación?*

A: *Creo que sí, porque ... con la gentrificación están sacando los latinos de aquí, so no hay mucho que queda.*

A: 'I believe in Austin, it is big, that [language shift]

I: It's big? Is it worse?

A: Yes, because in San Antonio, it's (0.1), it's different. There, the majority are Latinxs, and here, it's not. It's more American than Hispanic.

I: Do you think that this is making the situation even worse?

A: I believe so, because .... with gentrification, they are [forcing] all of the Latinxs out of here, so there is not much that remains.’ (GENERATION 1)

As Alicia explains, San Antonio has a significantly larger Latinx presence than Austin, where 56.9% of the population identifies as Latinx (compared to 34.5% in Austin). She believes this fact helps mitigate the effects of language shift (*U.S. Census Quick Facts 2019*); the high demographic salience of Latinx in San Antonio *should* boost the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in this city. Austin, on the other hand, Alicia argues, has a larger “American” or Anglo population, which she claims exacerbates language shift. Often ethnolinguistic minorities with low demographic salience tend to struggle more to maintain their language (Giles et. al 1977). Additionally, because of gentrification, Alicia explains, Latinx residents are being pushed out of Austin to such an extent that little remains by way of their language and culture.

Carmen, another GENERATION 1 Mexican-American from San Antonio, expressed similar concerns regarding gentrification in Austin. Carmen was born and raised in San Antonio, where she had lived most of her life until moving to Austin for college. At the time of the interview, she was a sophomore at the University of Texas at Austin and was recruited from an intermediate-level language class for HLS of Spanish. When I asked her how she felt about language shift in Austin as compared to San Antonio, she said the following:

5.18. Carmen (C): *Allá en San Antonio es muy umm, hay, no sé si sabes, pero en San Antonio cada abril hay una festival se llama “Fiesta.” Entonces, es como, es celebración de cultura hispana. Muchas calles allá son en español. Umm hay*



*mucha influencia hispana. Entonces, creo que allá no es muy umm, no es algo que el español, no, se tiene que olvidar más que aquí que aquí es más gentrification.*

*I: Y no pienso que tengamos ninguna fiesta similar en Austin.*

*C: Mmm mmm. Es algo único a San Antonio. No hay otra ciudad.*

C: ‘Down in San Antonio, it’s very umm, there’s, I don’t know if you know, but in San Antonio every April there is a festival called “Fiesta.” .... It’s like a celebration of Hispanic culture. Many streets there are in Spanish. Umm, there is a lot of Hispanic influence. So, I believe that there it’s not very, umm, it’s not something like, no, you don’t have to forget Spanish more than here, here it’s more gentrification.’

I: I don’t think we have a similar [event].

C: Mmm mmm. It’s something unique to San Antonio. There’s no other city.’

(GENERATION 1)

Here, she explains that language shift is not a problem in San Antonio because of the prominence and public visibility of Latinx culture in San Antonio. She cites the annual two-week festival called *Fiesta* in which Latinx culture is publicly and openly celebrated all throughout the city. As she says, it is an event unique to San Antonio that no other city has. Based on Carmen’s account, it would seem that the high degree of institutional support regarding Mexican culture here helps boost the ethnolinguistic vitality as well as the social and cultural capital of Spanish in San Antonio, hence acting as a preventative force against language shift. It is harder to lose one’s Spanish in a city where Latinx

culture is so present and celebrated. Austin, lacking in the cultural and demographic salience of Latinx culture and Spanish speakers, unsurprisingly has no such festival or equivalent event, which may contribute to more pervasive language shift here.

Spanish is more present in the linguistic landscape of San Antonio as well, according to Carmen, given its visibility in street names and signage, which helps foster language maintenance (Landry and Bourhis 1997). As such, she claims that language shift is a greater problem in Austin than in San Antonio due to an already smaller Latinx population that continues to be displaced by gentrification. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that in a study examining Spanish language declines across the 25 largest metropolitan statistical areas across the country, the Pew Research Center found that the San Antonio-New Braunfels MSA showed a higher decline in the percentage of participants over the age of 18 who spoke Spanish than the Austin-Round Rock Metropolitan Area: 9% vs 5%, respectively (Krogstad and Lopez 2017). Carmen also admitted that she and her friends from San Antonio have to work diligently to maintain Spanish and not completely shift to English. Her interview and questionnaire responses all indicate that English has displaced Spanish in most spheres of her life, forcing her to rely mainly on English in her daily interactions. When I asked if she spoke more Spanish on a daily basis in San Antonio than in Austin, she responded:

5.19. Carmen: *Umm de veras pienso que lo uso más aquí porque estoy tratando de usarlo más aquí porque no es algo que quiero olvidar. Entonces, en San Antonio, era algo normal nomás hablarlo con mi familia. Pero aquí, es algo que tengo que, like, trabajar más para hablar español. Como estudiar español, ir a*

*clubs donde hablamos español, encontrar lugares donde trabaje gente que habla español y hablar con ellos. Pero allá [San Antonio] nomás era con mi familia, pero entonces aquí, tengo que buscar dónde puedo hablar español.*

‘Umm, I really think that I use it more here because I am trying to use it more here because it is something I do not want to forget. So, in San Antonio, it was normal to speak it (Spanish) only with my family. But here, it’s something that I have to, like, work [harder] in order to speak Spanish. Like studying Spanish, going to clubs where we speak Spanish, finding places where people work who speak Spanish and speaking [it] with them. But there [San Antonio], it was only with my family, but then here, I have to look to find where I can speak Spanish.’

(GENERATION 1)

In this excerpt, Carmen admits to speaking more Spanish in Austin than in San Antonio. On the one hand, she explains that she has to exert significant effort to seek out opportunities to practice her Spanish, such as at Spanish-speaking businesses and extracurricular clubs; as she says, it is something she does not want to forget. On the other hand, seeking any opportunity to speak Spanish allows her to speak it more than she did in San Antonio where she almost entirely spoke in English with the exception of her parents with whom she indicated strained relations elsewhere in the interview. Thus, despite claiming that language shift is a larger problem in Austin than in San Antonio, she speaks more Spanish in Austin, an apparent contradiction. Nevertheless, the fact that she has to work so hard to maintain Spanish points to its shifting status across various domains, both in Austin and in San Antonio. Combined with Pew language usage data

across the city, it is evident that San Antonio, while perhaps not in as advanced a state as Austin in terms of language shift, is certainly not immune.

Carla, A 32-year-old GENERATION 2 participant, also discussed the demographic differences between San Antonio and Austin when I first addressed the theme of language shift. A GENERATION 2 Mexican-American, Carla grew up in Boerne, Texas, a small town about 30 minutes outside of San Antonio. The bulk of her family lives in San Antonio, so she frequently visits there since her childhood. It was clear in the interview that she is quite close to her family, both nuclear and extended, and often attends large family gatherings. After moving to Austin for school and work for close to a decade,<sup>43</sup> she moved back to be near family in San Antonio, where she has lived for the last five years. She says:

5.20. Carla: *Umm, en mi opinión, son muy diferentes porque aquí hay mucho más cultura latino, en como en Austin, hay (0.1), es un cultura muy diferente. Hay también cultura latino, pero no es como aquí. No hay mucho como aquí...*

‘Umm, in my opinion, they are very different because here there is much more Latino culture, and like in Austin, there’s (0.1), it’s a very different culture.

There’s also Latino culture, but it’s not like here. There’s not much like here.’

(GENERATION 2)

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<sup>43</sup> Despite being a current resident of San Antonio, Carla had spent close to a decade living and working as a bilingual teacher in Austin, which I determined was enough time to become acclimated to the sociolinguistic context of Austin. She also visits frequently, still has close ties to the city, and comes from the same social network as Dani, my chief participant recruiter. For these reasons, I chose to include her in this study. I also thought her perspective regarding bilingual education would be valuable.

While she does not overtly mention gentrification, Carla, like Carmen, cites the visibility and prominence of Latinx culture in San Antonio. She explains that while present in Austin, Latinx culture is not as pronounced as it is in San Antonio, and Austin has a very different culture altogether. Shortly after, Carla claimed that language shift, while being worse in Austin, is a widespread problem for Spanish speakers in San Antonio as well, drawing from her family's experience. When I asked her if she thought that it was common in San Antonio, she stated the following:

5.21. Carla: *Umm, creo que sí, voy a decir que sí. Como mis primos. No creo que ellos tomaron clases para aprender español correcto. Entonces, ellos, y mucho más de gente aquí, hablan más de Spanglish...no es, you know, no pueden hablar español formal, umm, y se hablan Spanglish porque (0.1), no sé, porque tiene que ser, you know, inglés. Muchos van a escuela que solo es en inglés. Apenas nuestros distritos de escuelas están empezando a, uhm ¿cómo se dice? provide clases de bilingüe. Umm, so creo que sí es común que los personas aquí, uhm, ¿cómo se dice? (0.1) les pierden a sus habilidades a hablar español.*

P: 'I believe it is, I'm going to say yes. Like my cousins. I don't believe that they took classes to learn correct Spanish. So, they, and many [other] people here, speak more Spanglish... It's not, you know, they can't speak formal Spanish, umm, and they speak Spanglish because it has to be English... Many go to school and it's only in English. Our school districts are just beginning to, uh, how do you say? Provide bilingual classes. Umm, so I believe that it is common for people

here, uhm, how do you say it? (0.1) They lose their ability to speak Spanish.'

(GENERATION 2)

A number of themes emerge from this quote. Citing her cousins' experiences, she explains how they never took classes to learn Spanish and thus never acquired a standard variety of Spanish. Instead, like many people in San Antonio, she explains that her cousins speak 'Spanglish', which she explicitly distinguishes from 'formal' Spanish, indicating that she may have internalized prescriptivist norms and attitudes that denigrate contact varieties of Spanish (Lipski 2008; Nieto 2010; Otheguy 2010). Otheguy and Stern (2010) problematize the term 'Spanglish', and argue that it alienates American Spanish speakers from other Hispanophone nations and implies a degree of incompleteness or hybridity of the varieties encompassed by this term.

Carla continues to state that many Latinx students have to speak English in school, where English tends to be the main, if not sole, language of instruction. Here, she speaks to the assimilatory power of schools, as it is at school where language shift often begins, and naturalistic acquisition of Spanish is interrupted (Lipski 2008; Boas 2009; Nieto 2010; Klee 2011; Zyzik 2016, 2020). Carla also explains that school districts in San Antonio have only just begun to offer bilingual coursework. This is surprising given the important demographic presence of Latinx residents in San Antonio. As a current elementary school teacher and former bilingual teacher with ten years of experience under her belt, Carla is well familiar with the bilingual curricula (or lack thereof) in public schools throughout San Antonio. For these reasons, Latinx San Antonians, too, tend to lose their ability to speak Spanish over time, which supports Pew research

documenting high rates of language shift in the San Antonio MSA, despite its Mexican historical legacy and high concentration of Latinx residents.

Alejandra, a GENERATION 2 Mexican-American born and raised in Austin (whom I discuss in greater detail in the next section), also claims that Spanish is more widely spoken in other parts of Texas than in Austin. When I asked her about perceptions regarding language shift, she argued that it is a larger problem in Austin than in other parts of Texas:

5.22. Alejandra: *Yo pienso que más sur, más hablan español... porque cuando vamos como pa' El Valle, cuando vamos a San Antonio, o vamos pa' sur, se oye más el español... El Paso. Por allá en la frontera, allí se hablan los dos, el español sí lo oyes.*

'I think that further south, they speak more Spanish...because when we go to the Valley, when we to San Antonio, or we go south, you hear more Spanish... El Paso, by the border they speak both, you do hear Spanish.' (GENERATION 2)

Alejandra thinks that language shift is less pronounced the further south one goes in Texas, and especially by the border, since she hears more Spanish spoken when she goes there. Generally speaking, she is correct. As geographic distance from the Mexican border increases, intergenerational Spanish language maintenance tends to decrease, as well as opportunities to use Spanish (Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Lipski 2008; Nieto 2010; Wolford and Carter 2010; Jenkins 2018). However, the report mentioned above lists the El Paso MSA as also having experienced declines in Spanish language usage. Despite its proximity to the Mexican border, the El Paso MSA showed the same degree

of decline as Austin. That is, between 2010 and 2016, 5% fewer speakers over the age of 18 claimed to speak Spanish at home in both metropolitan areas. Language shift studies conducted on the border corroborate these trends. Mendoza-MacGregor (2005) found widespread intergenerational language shift in a New Mexican town bordering Ciudad Juárez, as did Wolford and Carter (2010, 2018) in a small town on the Texan border with Coahuila.

#### **5.2.4. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN AUSTIN: PERSONAL TESTIMONY**

As demonstrated in the previous sections, a number of participants believed that because of gentrification, language shift is worse in Austin than in other Texan cities such as San Antonio or those close to the border with Mexico. As gentrification continues to displace Spanish-speaking residents, given that it has been concentrated in historically Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), neighborhoods in Austin, Spanish loses cultural and social capital as well as its demographic salience, all of which affect the likelihood of Spanish-language maintenance in the city. Gentrification also removes Spanish from the linguistic landscapes of such communities, where it was once common. This results in additional social, cultural, and capital gains for English while creating deficits for Spanish, in turn limiting opportunities for any remaining Spanish speakers to speak Spanish. It can also discourage Spanish speakers from speaking Spanish, which, in the long-term, could motivate parents to not teach it to their children. If one's language is constantly outcompeted and displaced by English, why would a parent want to teach their children that language?



While he did not directly link it to gentrification, Antonio spoke at the length of the effects of language shift he personally witnessed but did not himself experience. When I asked him if language shift was common in his community, he was quick to respond with an anecdote about his church. He explained that he attends a Mexican church in downtown Austin where language shift to English has become so rampant that staff have instituted measures to combat it.<sup>44</sup> In addition to normal Sunday school classes, they offer Spanish classes particularly geared towards children to help foment Spanish language maintenance. As Antonio explains:

5.23. Antonio: *Ah sí. Actually, voy al iglesia yo, cada, Saturday, cada Sunday. Es un iglesia downtown...es una iglesia que tiene dinero pero también van a los Projects para recoger a los niños que son de menos recursos y los traen para ir al iglesia y para hacer actividades. Y entonces, esos niños se están olvidando español...veo que hablan nomás inglés. Aunque son hispanos hablan solamente hablan en inglés.*

‘Ah, yes. Actually, I go to church every Saturday, every Sunday. It’s a church downtown... It’s a church that has money but [that] also goes to the Projects to gather [low-income] children and bring them to the church to do activities. And then, those children are forgetting Spanish. I see that they only speak English even though they are Hispanic. Even though they’re Hispanic, they only speak English.’ (GENERATION 1)

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<sup>44</sup> It is worth mentioning that the neighborhoods encompassed by downtown Austin are all in the late stages of gentrification or beyond, which likely exacerbates the widespread language shift Antonio attests (Wey, Mueller, and Wegman 2018).

Thus, not even the church in this case is a safeguard against language shift. The church, and by extension, religious services, are often an important line of defense against language shift (MacGregor-Mendoza 2005). Velázquez (2019), in her examination of language shift and maintenance among 19 families in Nebraska, found that the church was one of the few remaining strongholds of consistent Spanish input within the community. After surveying mothers regarding their motivations to teach their children Spanish, she found that religion was a huge motivating factor, and all the mothers she surveyed indicated that they pray with their children exclusively in Spanish. Additionally, she found that 94% of children in these families who were attending religious education classes did so entirely in Spanish.

Antonio, however, attested the opposite effect in his church. He cited a pair of young brothers whom the church took in (from one of the low-income neighborhoods he mentioned earlier) to provide them education and meals. Over the months, he noticed that they consistently spoke English in lieu of Spanish, and eventually asked them about it:

5.24. Antonio: *Yo les digo “Tú hablas español en tu casa?” y dicen, “yo sí, pero mi hermanito no, porque no le gusta.” Entonces sí, yo veo que está pasando.*

‘I say to them, “Do you speak Spanish at home?” and they say, “I do, but my brother doesn’t because he doesn’t like it.” So yes, I see it happening.’

(GENERATION 1)

In essence, then, Antonio attests to watching language shift to English occur in real time among the children of his church. He also describes the ‘descending staircase’ metaphor,

in which a younger sibling has lower Spanish competence than an older sibling (Bayley 1999). The little brother here also does not like Spanish, according to Antonio, and therefore avoids speaking it; if he continues at this rate, then it is unlikely that he will develop full productive competence in Spanish. These findings stand in stark contrast with the findings of Velázquez (2019), who did not study gentrifying communities in relation to language maintenance.

### **5.3. LANGUAGE SHIFT AT THE FAMILIAL LEVEL**

As I show in the previous sections, the participants in this study are indeed aware of language shift at the societal level and have described widespread language shift to English in their own communities, exacerbated by the demographic and socioeconomic changes caused by gentrification. It comes as no surprise, then, that participants have also experienced language shift at the familial level. Numerous interviewees shared stories documenting language shift in their own families, which I discuss in the current section. In particular, I present a series of individual experiences on behalf of participants and then proceed with the experiences of two families I interviewed: the González and Zapata families. Both families exhibit the ebb-and-flow dynamics of language shift, although in an Austin context, it appears that such dynamics consist more of an ebb. In particular, I explore how both parents and extended family play an important role in the linguistic socialization of their children. I also show how difficult ensuring language maintenance is in Austin, and more broadly, the United States, where monolingual, English-only sentiment, paired with strictly maintained diglossia, exert significant pressure on families

to favor English at the expense of Spanish. Such factors also lower the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish, which further endangers its maintenance.

Carla, for instance, testified to the effects of language shift in her family, and explained that it is especially widespread among those of her generation, and even in her own speech; indeed, she proved to be at one of the most advanced states of shift in terms of her language usage patterns, self-perceived proficiency, rates of grammatical substitution, and presence of English. I asked her about the language dynamics at such gatherings, to which she responded with a vivid depiction of how language usage isolates her cousins and her from the rest of her family:

5.25. Carla: ... *cuando tenemos como fiestas por la familia nuestros, los tíos y tías se sienten juntos, uhm, y allí están hablando en español. Pero nosotros, mis primos y yo, nos sentamos juntos también y estamos hablando en inglés. A veces van a decir como algo chiste, como algo, ah no sé, como “no mames”*<sup>45</sup> you know, slang words *en español. Pero mayoría de tiempo, están hablando en inglés. Y también, yo sé que no están enseñando a sus hijos español, o mucho español. Umm, también, puedo observar que ellos están hablando a sus niños en inglés.*

‘...when we have like parties for our family, the aunts and uncles sit together, uhm, and there, they’re speaking Spanish. But we, my cousins and I, we sit together as well and we’re speaking English. Sometimes, they’ll say like [some] joke, something like, ah, I don’t know, like “you’re kidding”, you know, slang

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<sup>45</sup> The colloquial expression *no mames*, literally, ‘don’t suck’, is a hallmark of various Mexican varieties of Spanish. It does not translate directly into English and has many different meanings and contexts of use. For example, it could mean ‘you’re kidding’.

words in Spanish. But [the] majority of the time, they're speaking in English. And also, I know that they're not teaching Spanish to their children, or [very] much Spanish. Umm, I also observe that they [speak] English to their children at home.'

(GENERATION 2)

As she explains, her parents, aunts and uncles all speak Spanish and prefer it as their language of choice among their generational cohort and with the generation above them. Carla and her cousins, on the other hand, all possess far greater productive competence in English than in Spanish. As such, they opt for the former among themselves in almost all cases, with the exception of the occasional emblematic code-switch to Spanish at the lexical or phrasal level (Poplack 1980). She essentially describes another "separate but equal" linguistic situation among her family (Nieto 2010). That is, the older, bilingual generation of her parents congregates and speaks Spanish to one another, while the younger, mostly monolingual generation of her cousins, gets together and speaks in English; Otheguy, García, and Roca (2000) attest the same effect in their examination of Miami-based Cuban families. The two groups, then, are not only separated by age, but by language. Carla adds that she knows for a fact that her cousins with children are not teaching them any Spanish and speak to them only in English, in turn assuring complete language shift to English by the fourth generation. I asked her if the linguistic differences between the two generations lead to conflict, to which she responded:

5.26. Carla: *Ahora, no, porque es, otra cosa que no mencioné es que nuestros tíos y tías hablan a nosotros en inglés. Mmhmm. Entonces como nuestros tíos y tías pueden hablar todo en inglés, you know, no hay (0.1) miscomunicación.*

P: 'Now no, because it's, another thing that I didn't mention is that our aunts and uncles speak to us in English. Mmhmm. So, like our aunts and uncles can speak all in English, you know, there's no (0.1) miscommunication.' (GENERATION 2)

Thus, her aunts and uncles avoid miscommunication through their own bilingual prowess, and switch to English to address their children, nephews, and nieces, who they know generally do not speak Spanish. While linguistically accommodating, such a practice seals the English-only fate of her cousins and their children. By addressing them only in English, the older generation inadvertently deprives the younger generation of the opportunity to develop or improve their Spanish skills.

### **5.3.1. THE ASSIMILATORY POWER OF SCHOOLS**

Like Carla, Danilo, a 31-year-old GENERATION 3 Mexican-American also from San Antonio who has lived in Austin for the last twelve years, attests language shift within his own family. When I initiated a discussion about this issue towards the end of our interview, Danilo explained that he has seen his own daughter undergo language shift. Danilo was once married to a Spanish-speaking woman of Puerto Rican ancestry with whom he had a daughter. The two separated five years ago, after which she moved back to her native San Diego, California, and took their daughter, who is now 11 years old, with her. Despite having a Spanish-speaking mother and living in a city bordering Mexico where 30.1% of the population identifies as Latinx, and 26.97% speaks Spanish

(U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts San Diego 2019), his daughter refuses to speak Spanish. He states:

5.27. Danilo: *Ella tiene once años y vive en San Diego, y su mamá es de Puerto Rico...ella (la madre) trata de hablar español con mi hija y mi hija no quiere nada con el español...siempre contesta en inglés.*

‘She is eleven years old and lives in San Diego, and her mother is from Puerto Rico...she (the mother) tries to speak Spanish to my daughter, and my daughter does not want anything [to do] with Spanish...she always answers in English.’

(GENERATION 3)

The tendency for children of immigrants to respond to their parents in English, despite being addressed in Spanish (Otheguy, García, and Roca 2000; Klee 2011; Velázquez 2019), is quite common. Several participants complained about this tendency in their own families or declared seeing it in other families with whom they are acquainted. There are a number of reasons as to why Danilo’s daughter, and other children of immigrant parents or grandparents, respond in English to questions posed in Spanish. One such reason could be the assimilatory power of schools that I discussed in the previous section (Boas 2009; Klee 2011). Such power has been especially strong in Texas. Historically, children have faced severe repercussions and even corporal punishment for speaking Spanish in school, memories that older Mexican-Americans are loath to forget (Alaya 2019). Even schools with bilingual programs tend to be subtractive, and once students see that the majority of their peers speak English, they switch to English not only because

they may lack sufficient productive competence in Spanish, but also because they want to fit in with their friends (Nieto 2010; Klee 2011).

Throughout my interviews, all participants born in the United States and at least one generation removed from immigration indicated speaking English mostly, if not exclusively, with their friends and peers in their questionnaire responses. Antonio proposes the adolescent preoccupation with being perceived as ‘cool’ as a contributing factor to language shift. In the interview, Antonio mentioned multiple times that his younger brother possesses much lower productive competence than his sister and he. When I asked him why he thought that was, he responded with:

5.28. Antonio: *Mi hermana habla español bien, pero mi hermano no; casi no porque él dejó de hablar español porque no era cool...Entonces, este, pero lo ahora está recogiendo otra vez, ahora que está en la universidad.*

‘My sister speaks Spanish well, but not my brother, well almost not at all, because he stopped speaking Spanish because it wasn’t ‘cool.’ So, like, but he’s now taking it again, now that he’s in college.’ (GENERATION 1).

As he explains, his brother did not see speaking Spanish as ‘cool’ when he was a child, and so he made little effort to speak it, thereby experiencing language shift to a greater degree than his older siblings. Perhaps he did not perceive Spanish as having the same associated social benefits as English, a result of the dominance exerted by Anglo culture at large in society and at school. Children from Spanish-speaking families, then, may not only switch to English because they have to in order to succeed in their coursework, but also because English is portrayed as the more socially prestigious language. It is at school



where children first become aware of the lower objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in relation to English, and that it does not carry the same weight as Spanish at the societal level. In their study of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality among Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest, Gao, Schmidt, and Gudykunst (1994) found that when an ethnolinguistic majority exerts a particularly strong degree of dominance (as is the case of English at U.S. schools), minority group members may begin to evaluate their own language negatively and adopt various coping strategies, often at the expense of the minority language.

Similarly, Yagmur and Ehala (2011) found that the less segregative a group is (i.e., they do not remain as a cohesive ethnolinguistic unit separate from the dominant group), the less likely they are to value maintenance of the minority language, which facilitates language shift to English in the next generation. Again, schools are where the first main disruption of naturalistic Spanish development for HLS of Spanish occurs as they begin their formal education exclusively in English as small children (Klee 2011; Potowski 2012; Zyzik 2016). Schools are also where Spanish-speaking children become socialized in Anglo cultural norms, which can cause them to be less segregative in their social networks, and by extension, their language usage, which further endangers their Spanish. Thus, to fit in schools where Anglo language ideologies rule, Latinx children may willingly sacrifice their Spanish in order to access the social benefits that accompany English, which may explain why Danilo's daughter and Antonio's brother are/were so resistant to speaking Spanish.

### 5.3.2. THE ROLE OF EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES IN LANGUAGE SHIFT

Raquel also speaks of language shift in her family, although not to the same extent as in Carla's family. When we discussed her experiences with language shift towards the end of our interview, Raquel explained that as a Mexican immigrant and single mother, she is highly committed to teaching Spanish to her own nine-year-old daughter, Angelica (pseudonym). As I discuss in section 5.2.1, Raquel is against language shift and does everything she can to keep Angelica from experiencing it:

5.29. Raquel: *Pero por eso es algo que yo quiero evitar para mi hija, como yo quiero que ella hable el español como, como si fuera totalmente mexicana. So entonces es algo que, este, yo, no le permito a la niña o, este, que no, "¿me estás hablando a mí en inglés? No, no, no. ¿En la casa?" "Háblame el español porque mami a veces no entiende." A veces le miento, sí le, que, a veces digo "no entiendo."*

'But that's why it's something I want to avoid for my daughter, like I want her to speak Spanish as if she were totally Mexican. So, then it's something that, umm, I won't allow for my daughter, or umm, that "no, you're speaking to me in English? No, no, no. At home?" "Speak to me in Spanish because mommy doesn't understand sometimes. Sometimes I lie to her, I do tell her sometimes, "I don't understand."' (GENERATION 0).

Raquel is intent on helping her daughter develop fluency in Spanish, and even pretends not to understand her when she speaks to her in English. If Raquel maintains this practice and continues to insist that Spanish be spoken at home, perhaps Angelica will avoid

experiencing language shift as she gets older. Raquel's sister on the other hand, is doing the opposite, she claims. When we discussed language shift towards the end of our interview, I asked her if she knew of anyone in her family who had undergone it. Without missing a beat, she explained that her sister is married to an Anglo-American man who insists that English be the main language of the house:

5.30. Raquel: *Mi hermana, este, ella está casada con un anglosajón. So, entonces ella, este, adoptó el lenguaje de inglés y entonces ahorita ella y yo nos comunicamos en inglés, y todos sus hijos usan inglés nada más también.... esta persona les prohibió el español a ellos todos. Y ella tiene cuatro niños, entonces a los cuatro niños les prohibió el español porque él no sentía a gusto porque no sabía qué estaban diciendo...*

'My sister, umm, she's married to an Anglo-Saxon. So, she like, she adopted the English language and now she and I communicate with one another in English, and all of her children [speak] only English as well. This person banned Spanish for all of them. And she has four children, so he banned Spanish for the four kids, because he didn't like it because he didn't know what they were saying.'

(GENERATION 0)

Here, Raquel describes the language policing her sister's Anglo husband enacts at home. According to Raquel, he does not speak Spanish, and prohibits his family from speaking a language he does not understand, thereby enforcing monolingual language ideologies at home. Indeed, exogamous marriages have been found to impact negatively the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority language. In his examination of language death in

Texas German, a unique but moribund variety of German once commonly spoken throughout Central Texas, Boas (2009) claims that exogamous marriage is often a facilitating factor in language shift. Namely, he argues that exogamous families tend to adopt the dominant language at the expense of the minority language.

Villa and Rivera-Mills (2009) reached a similar conclusion in their study of the language shift to English in Spanish-speaking communities throughout the Southwest, finding that over 25% of shifting speakers had married a non-Latinx (or non-Hispanophone) spouse. The Pew Research Center corroborated this trend in a 2015 survey targeting marriage practices among U.S. Latinx across the country. They found that 25.1% of newly wed Latinx married a non-Latinx spouse, and 18.3% of all married Latinx had a non-Latinx spouse; Latinx showed a higher intermarriage rate than either Whites or Blacks. Such an effect also showed a generational correlation, in that U.S. Latinx of generations further removed from immigration were more likely to marry a non-Latinx spouse. That is, the percentage of respondents who married a non-Latinx spouse rose from 7% among the immigrant generation to 37% in the second generation, and to 65% in the third generation (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, López 2017). When considering the fact that such respondents farther removed from immigration also show higher rates of language shift, it becomes clearer that exogamous marriage practices are yet another contributing factor to language shift to English, which Raquel reports occurring in her own family.

Rigoberta, too, attested to exogamous marriages in her family, and how that has helped contribute to predominant usage of English in her cousins' households. When I

asked her if anyone in her family has undergone language shift, she recounted what she has noticed among her cousins:

5.31. Rigoberta: *Miro que sus hijos no hablan español, o tienen nombres que no son [de] orígenes españoles, ...sí, sí miro eso en mi familia...miro que son de diferentes culturas, o sí son los padres hispanos, miro que los nombres de los hijos son diferentes, umm y no, no platican en español con sus hijos... Sí miro es como, con mis primos a sus hijos...Mis hermanos no; ni de nosotros tenemos hijos, umm, ahorita, pero, miro también que sí, eso sí también va a pasar en mi familia, si, si nosotros tenemos hijos. Porque ya miro en mis hermanos no hablan español mucho.*

‘I see that their children don’t speak Spanish, or they have names that are not [of] Spanish origin...yes, I do see that in my family...I see that they’re from different cultures, or if the parents are Hispanic, I see that their children’s names are different, umm and they don’t talk in Spanish with their children...I do see that it’s like [that] [for] my cousins [with] their children... My siblings, none of us have children, umm, for now, but I see that yes, this is going to happen in my family if, if we ourselves have children. Because I already see in my siblings [that] they don’t speak much Spanish.’ (GENERATION 1)

Here, Rigoberta states that many of her cousins have married non-Latinx spouses, and that those who did marry a Latinx spouse, have given their children Anglo names; these are all signs of cultural assimilation and a waning sense of a Latinx identification among American-born Latinx, as López, González-Barrera, and López (2017) discuss in their

report on identity and cultural practices among Latinx-Americans. She has also noticed that her cousins do not speak Spanish to their children, who, as a result, also do not speak Spanish; hence language shift has been realized by the third generation in this case (Rigoberta and her cousins are second-generation). While none of her siblings have had children yet, she expects a similar outcome, as they already do not speak much Spanish now. She continues to explain that she will have her work cut out for her if she eventually has children. While she says she would like to teach her children Spanish, she recognizes the challenges this presents, especially since her boyfriend, whom she hinted at marrying, is Anglo and does not speak Spanish. As such, she herself is likely to enter an exogamous marriage, which will make it harder to teach her children Spanish:

5.32. Rigoberta: *Si tengo hijos, sí, sí, sí me gustaría. Mi novio no habla español, y yo sé que sería difícil. Mi mamá prefiere hablar en español, y con su apoyo, o apoyo de personas que sí hablan español en mi vida, ojalá que sí. Uhm, y sí quisiera que mis hijos sí hablaran español.*

‘If I have children, yes, yes, yes, I would like to [teach them Spanish]. My boyfriend doesn’t speak Spanish, and I know that it would be difficult. My mom prefers to speak Spanish, and with her support, or support from people who do speak Spanish in my life, hopefully so. Uhm, and yes, I would like my children to speak Spanish.’ (GENERATION 1)

#### **5.4. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE GONZÁLEZ FAMILY**

Like Raquel’s sister’s husband, the González family also largely banned Spanish from the household, which has negatively affected their children from both a linguistic and

affective perspective. This family exhibits the intergenerational consequences that can stem from the parents' language choices, as well as how drastically productive competence in Spanish can vary from just one generation to the next. They also exemplify how the outcome of language transmission or shift is largely dependent on the attitudes and motivations of the parents, or other heads of household, who play a decisive role in the establishment of the family language at home. Such attitudes and motivations respond closely to language ideologies at the societal level as well as at the community level (Velázquez 2019). In the case of the González family, English-only ideologies at the societal and community levels, in tandem with experiences of discrimination, pressured them to raise largely Anglophone monolingual children. I discuss their story below.

#### **5.4.1. SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILY**

The González family has deep roots in South Austin, where they raised a family and have lived for over thirty years. The family consists of Lionel, 62, the breadwinner and head of household, Alejandra, 61, his stay-at-home wife, and their two children, Gloria and Enrique, both of whom are in their thirties and no longer live at home. Lionel also has three grown children from a previous marriage whom he raised alongside Enrique and Gloria; they all live outside Austin and were mentioned only in passing during our interview. I interviewed Lionel, Alejandra, Enrique, and Gloria, as well as Enrique's long-term partner, Alicia, a second-generation Mexican-American from San Antonio, with whom he lives in San Marcos. Both Alicia and Enrique commute to their jobs in Austin on a daily basis. As I discuss earlier, the rising housing costs caused by

gentrification in Austin forced them to move to San Marcos, roughly a 40-minute commute from Austin.

Lionel is a GENERATION 0 immigrant from Durango, México who moved to Austin as a young adult where he has lived here ever since. Alejandra on the other hand, was born and raised in Austin, where she has lived all her life. She is a GENERATION 2 Mexican-American, making Enrique and Gloria GENERATION 3 Mexican-Americans on the maternal side of their family. I remind the reader that in terms of classifying speakers by generation, I prioritize the participant's relationship to their mother in assigning generation. Like their mother, Enrique and Gloria were born and raised in Austin and have there their whole lives. Despite Lionel and Alejandra being fluent in Spanish (they rated their Spanish proficiency across all 4 skills as a 4.75 and 5, respectively), neither of the two children possess more than receptive skills at best. This is largely due to the language policies Lionel enforced at home. When I asked him what language(s) he spoke at home, he explained to me that while the children were growing up, both he and Alejandra imposed English as the sole language of the household, which, unsurprisingly, has resulted in largely monolingual children. As Lionel confirms:

5.33. Lionel: *Mis hijos, yo no les hablo en español ni ella tampoco. So, no saben muy bien el español, ¿me entiendes? Entonces, por culpa de nosotros, porque no, ella habla inglés, y yo también inglés, so no pueden saber muy bien hablar español. Lo saben un poco, pero no como debían saber.*

'My children, I don't speak to them in Spanish and neither [does] she. So, they don't know Spanish very well, do you understand me? So, it's our fault, because



she speaks English, and I do too, so they can't know Spanish very well. They know it a little bit, but not how they should know it.' (GENERATION 0)

Lionel admits fault for his children's lack of Spanish, blaming both himself and Alejandra for only speaking English to Enrique and Gloria both as children and as adults. Alejandra chimed in shortly afterwards to explain that they chose English as the sole language of the household; in part, to assist with her husband's English language development. Alicia and Gloria also mentioned this in their interviews, and Gloria recounted going to his ESL classes with him. When Lionel emigrated to the U.S. as an adult, he had not taken a single English class in his entire life, and thus spoke no English. For this reason, he has spent a number of years taking ESL classes for adults. He admitted that to date, he feels much more comfortable speaking in Spanish, and that English still presents a major challenge for him. He was also the only participant to request the Spanish versions for the questionnaire and all IRB forms. Alejandra explains:

5.34. Alejandra: *Yo pienso de que la razón porque yo le quería enseñar más el inglés, y como, yo hablaba más en inglés en ese tiempo, y le quise enseñar más a él (Lionel) porque él hablaba casi puro español...Pos, sí me di cuenta que, (risas) la importancia de que mis hijos—también les hablaba yo (0.1) el español porque, bueno, mis dos otros hijos que tengo, también no hablan—ni uno habla español, ¿okey? Claro, que me han dicho you know, ¿por qué no nos enseñaron español? (risas nerviosas) Es que, siento aquí casi se habla inglés, ¿verdad?*

'I think that the reason is because I wanted to teach them more English, and like, I spoke more in English [during] that time, and [that] I wanted to teach him

(Lionel) more (English), because he spoke almost [only] Spanish... Well, I realized that (laughter), the importance of children —I also spoke Spanish to them, well, my two other children that I have, also don't speak— [neither] of them speaks Spanish, okay? Of course, they've told me, you know, why didn't you teach us Spanish? (nervous laughter). It's that, I feel that here, English is spoken, right?' (GENERATION 2)

Here, Alejandra seems to express some degree of guilt for her complicity in her children's lack of Spanish acquisition, both here and elsewhere in the interview. She also somewhat contradicted Lionel's account by claiming that she would try to speak Spanish to them occasionally. Velázquez (2019) attested a similar degree of guilt among her own participants, although for different reasons. She found that many mothers, especially with their first-born children, were concerned that speaking Spanish would hinder their children's academic success, and thus were permissive of English usage at home as to encourage their children's linguistic development in English with the hopes that this would garner higher grades for them at school. Years later, after seeing the damage this inflicted on their children's Spanish development, they ended up highly regretting this decision, just like Alejandra.

#### **5.4.2. THE ROLE OF *MACHISMO* IN ESTABLISHING THE FAMILY LANGUAGE**

Based on other information and behaviors I observed, it seems that the González family raised their children in a traditional, Mexican, religious household, where patriarchal norms ruled. In their home, where I conducted the interview, there was a marked Catholic presence, in that the walls were covered in religious decor, iconography, and scripture.

When I asked them if they were religious, both Alejandra and Lionel said that they were devoutly Catholic and always attend Sunday mass as well as church services during the week. MacGregor-Mendoza (2005) and Velázquez (2019) found that religion can be a safeguard against language shift, as mass in Mexican-American churches is often conducted in Spanish. Gloria mentioned this in her interview and said that church was the only consistent source of Spanish in her life as a child. Despite their religious devotion, language shift occurred quite quickly in the González household, nonetheless.

At the onset of the interview, I noticed that Alejandra was a bit shy and hesitant to speak. She would first look to Lionel before saying something, almost as if she were waiting for his authorization to say something. Only after an approving nod from him would she answer my questions, and at first, she did so in a hushed tone. I interpreted their behavior, along with content from the interview, as potentially *machista* in nature. *Machista* norms in establishing the household language seemed to be a recurring theme across interviews, in that I encountered five separate instances of such behavior which I discuss throughout the remainder of this chapter. In the case of the González family, these *machista* norms would be consistent with their Catholic, traditional beliefs. As McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson (2000) explain in their investigation of marriage practices and parental socialization, traditional Latinx families tend to be heavily influenced by the cultural ideals encompassed by *marianismo* and *machismo*. *Marianismo* emphasizes a woman's maternal role in the family and exerts significant pressure on her to be both loyal and unabashedly self-sacrificing to her family.

*Machismo*, on the other hand, underscores the man's role as head of household and centers on his dominance and sexual virility as a man.

Similarly, Denner and Dunbar (2004) explore cultural expectations projected onto Mexican-American mothers, and how they are pressured to conform to a humble and selfless archetype who is culturally conditioned to teach her daughters that their main role in the home is to cook and clean. It would seem that such cultural expectations had permeated the González household. Indeed, Lionel was the breadwinner while Alejandra was the stay-at-home mom who took care of the children and maintained the home; she is now responsible for taking care of her dementia-afflicted mother. Lionel, already endowed with a culturally-and religiously-induced position of dominance, was also the one who determined the language in the house to which Alejandra and the children were expected to adhere. It seems, then, that patriarchy can play a role in the outcome of language acquisition for children in a particular household. In this case, it proved to be a facilitating force for language shift for the González children. This can also be seen in the case of Raquel whom I discussed earlier in this section. As she explained, her nephews and nieces are monolingual English speakers because her brother-in-law banned Spanish from the household. Although he is not Latinx, he exerted his male dominance in the household by establishing English as the sole language to be spoken, which resulted in language shift for his children; certainly, *machismo* and patriarchy are not unique to the Mexican-American culture.

Alejandra then shared a third instance of male-dominated language choices that she experienced while growing up in Austin: her grandfather. A GENERATION 0

immigrant and patriarch of the family, Alejandra's grandfather was dedicated to maintaining Spanish as the family language and insisted that his children and grandchildren spoke it in his presence. In contrast to Lionel however, he strictly imposed Spanish as the sole language of the home in which Alejandra was raised:

5.35. Alejandra: *Yo tuve un abuelo que siempre, que cuando yo estaba chica, él decía que aquí, no se habla (risas) no se habla inglés...Solo que allá en su casa, todos tenían que hablar español. Y aquí decía, "aquí no quiero ninguna palabra en inglés. Aquí somos mexicanos, y aquí se habla español (risas)."*

'I had a grandfather who always, when I was little, he would say that here, you don't speak, (laughter) English is not spoken. [When] at his house, everyone had to speak Spanish. And here he would say, "here, I don't want a [single] word in English. Here we are Mexican, and here Spanish is spoken (laughter)."'

(GENERATION 2)

Alejandra's grandfather's Spanish-only mandate resulted in the reverse outcome of Lionel's household: language maintenance in lieu of language shift. In spite of the positive results this had for Alejandra's Spanish linguistic development, it represents another instance of *machista*-driven language enforcement. In this case, Alejandra's grandfather enacted a successful strategy to ensure Spanish-language maintenance in his family, but this seems to be more the exception than the rule in Austin.

#### **5.4.3. LANGUAGE SHIFT AS A COMMUNITY NORM**

As the interview progressed, Alejandra became increasingly confident and outspoken. She stopped waiting for Lionel's approval to speak and began to assert her own views on

the topics at hand. As she grew bolder, she revealed more about her own language decisions in the household while her children were growing up:

5.36. Alejandra: *Y yo creo que como yo, que mi generación de que yo miro, ser (0.1) uhh Baby Boomers, este, todos fuimos hablando en inglés, pero nuestros papases y abuelos eran el español y ellos lo hablaban, por eso lo sabemos, ¿verdad? Pero ya, la edad mía es como que puro inglés, **puro inglés** y no les enseñamos a los hijos.*

‘And I believe that like I, that my generation, from what I see, being (0.1) uhh Baby Boomers, um, we were all speaking English, but our parents and grandparents [spoke Spanish], and that’s why we know it, right? But now [in] my age [group], it’s like all English, **all English**, and we didn’t teach Spanish to [our] children.’ (GENERATION 2)

Here, Alejandra explains that parents of her generation, the Baby Boomers, tended to prefer English, but still possessed Spanish-language skills, since their parents and grandparents spoke Spanish and taught it to them. However, given her generation’s preference for English, they tended not to teach their own children Spanish. As such, Alejandra situates and rationalizes her own language decisions at home as adhering to those of her generation and community. As she says:

5.37. Alejandra: *Es raro, el que sí...Es raro, el que sí de mi edad que sí les enseñó las dos idiomas.*

‘[Those who did were unusual]. It’s unusual [for someone my age] to [have been] taught both languages (English and Spanish).’ (GENERATION 2)

According to Alejandra, it was unusual for Latinx families in Austin to teach their children Spanish at the time; questionnaire data spanning multiple decades support such trends (Veltman 1988; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez, and Bills 1995; Ortman and Shin 2011; Taylor, López, Hamar, Martínez, and Velasco 2012; Stepler and López 2016; Flores, López and Radford 2017). Likewise, a person's community and/or social network can play a significant role in their own language practices and, by extension, linguistic change. In their study of inner-city neighborhoods in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Milroy and Milroy (1992) found that social networks establish speech norms for its members: those with closest ties to the network tend to follow these language norms the most, while those with weaker ties deviated from the norms of that community.

Velázquez (2019) attests a similar effect in her examination of language maintenance and shift among Mexican families in Nebraska. As she found, affiliation to local Mexican social networks in Anglo-majority Nebraskan towns required fluency in Spanish, lest mothers and families chose to interact more with Anglo networks, which would have been difficult given their limited proficiency in English. Spanish, then, helped to avoid social isolation in a new and foreign land. As such, mothers were essentially required to teach their children Spanish, in order to be in line with community language norms, and also to ensure their children's successful integration into the community and, by extension, survival. As Velázquez (2019: 72) explains, language choices “are not articulated in a vacuum, but rather they are the site where individual language choice meets larger, community-wide language ideologies.”

Language maintenance, of course, is easier when most parents are first-generation Mexican immigrants. It becomes harder the longer a family is separated from the source (Mexico), and the longer that family has spent in the United States, as in the case of Alejandra. In complete opposition from the communities in Velázquez' work, then, Alejandra's community in Austin, led by mothers her age, helped facilitate widespread language shift to English. Alejandra, who had close ties to this community of Mexican-American mothers, simply did what other mothers did, and prioritized her children's English linguistic development.

It is worth mentioning that the socioeconomic profile of the community can affect the outcome of language maintenance or shift as well. Citing Porcel (2011), Jenkins (2018) argues that social stratification and socioeconomic status play an important role in determining a group's degree of objective ethnolinguistic vitality. That is, the more sharply a particular society is socially stratified, and the lower the socioeconomic status of a particular ethnolinguistic minority, the more likely that group is to shift to English as a means of survival. Certainly, large wealth disparities separate Latinxs and White residents in Austin. For instance, the median income for Latinx households in Austin is approximately 44% less than that of White households (\$44,239 vs. \$78,629), and Latinx home values are worth half that of Whites (\$170,000 vs. \$340,000). Furthermore, only 35% of Latinx residents are homeowners (compared to 52% for Whites), and 29% have zero net-worth (compared to just 18% of white households) (Singh 2019). As such, the working-class community in which the González's raised their children may not have had the necessary resources at their disposal to dedicate to teaching their children Spanish;



when one is just trying to put food on the table, maintenance of a language that is perceived as less useful and valuable than English becomes secondary. Alejandra and Lionel were simply acting in accordance with community norms, then, in which the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish appeared to be low.

#### **5.4.4. LANGUAGE SHIFT AS A RESULT OF RACISM**

After situating her language choices within those of her community, Alejandra continues to rationalize her family's decision not to teach the children Spanish due to effects of racism. She explains:

5.38. Alejandra: *Y depende de qué tan, este, pienso yo, bueno, siendo de Austin, de aquí, es la ignorancia. Si (0.1) tú quieres que tus hijos sepan español, vas a hacer esa lucha de enseñar, porque vas a saber de que les va a servir bien, cuando crezcan ¿verdad? Y a veces es el orgullo de uno. No, pos yo nací aquí, y yo no soy de México, y, you know, es, es como una, mmm, like (0.1) prejudiced, or uhm, you become racist, you know? ... Aquí está, aquí se van a enseñar esta lengua, es el inglés, you know? Your mentality is like, you know, but, no tienes esa importancia de que, pos, mis antepasados, mis abuelos... If you don't have the value de dónde vienes, you know... entonces, comienzas, you know, diciendo, no, este, [el inglés]. Todavía mis antepasados, mis abuelos, fueron mexicanos, y me enseñaron [el español]... pos, quiero seguir al mismo, ¿me entiendes?*

‘And it depends on how, um, I think, well, being from Austin, from here, it’s ignorance. If you want your children to know Spanish, you are going to [make that effort] to teach [them] because you’re going to know that it’s going to serve

them well when they grow up. Right? And at times, it's one's pride. No, well, I was born here, and I'm not from Mexico, and you know, it's like a, mmm, like prejudiced, or uhm, you become racist, you know? Here, they're going to teach you this language, it's English, you know? Your mentality is like, you know, you don't have that importance of, well, my ancestors, my grandparents... If you don't have the value of where you come from, you know, saying, "no, this one [English]." My ancestors, my grandparents were Mexican, and they taught me [Spanish]...well, I want to continue doing the same. Do you understand me?"

(GENERATION 2)

Here, albeit in a somewhat convoluted manner, Alejandra touches on themes of ignorance and racism that stem, in part, from monolingual linguistic ideologies in the United States (Lippi-Green 1997; Zentella 1997; Hill 2009). She claims that being born in Austin can affect one's perception of the significance of Spanish. Bilingualism is not widely valued in the United States or in Austin, so she feels that it is easy for an American-born Mexican to absorb an anti-Spanish mentality. This in turn, she says, causes parents to devalue their Spanish and Mexican roots. She explains that this is what happened to her and is part of why she did not teach her children Spanish despite knowing the benefits of doing so. As a third-generation Mexican-American, she is two generations removed from immigration, and has had ample time to internalize the racial and linguistic ideologies of the United States; she therefore willingly contributed to her children's lack of Spanish development.

Jenkins (2018) argues that emic language attitudes towards the minority language, bilingualism, and cultural/linguistic diversity represent additional factors that affect the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority group. Out-group attitudes, and perceptions of the ethnolinguistic minority as a whole, are especially significant and can affect how minority group members themselves view their own ethnolinguistic identity. Unsurprisingly, then, racism and xenophobia towards an ethnolinguistic minority (and even within the ethnolinguistic group) severely impact both the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of language minority. On the objective level, they manifest in the form of rhetorical attacks and language policies or laws designed to harm the ethnolinguistic minority. Then, at the subjective level, such attacks can cause language minorities to evaluate their own language negatively (Jenkins 2018), hence causing families like the González's to abandon Spanish in favor of English.

As Alejandra explains, she and her husband did what other parents like them did in regard to their children's linguistic socialization. Alejandra justified their choices but expressed regret in her complicity in her children's language shift. Lionel, on the other hand, did not express any regret, and instead defended his decision in maintaining a monolingual English household. In response to my question asking him whether he thought language shift to English was a common problem in this country, he said:

5.39. Lionel: *No, yo digo que no, porque...porque está como el japonés, o el chino, que viene pa' acá pos. La lengua de ellos es, es de chino, ¿verdad? Pero, pero yo estoy seguro que...desean hablar inglés también, mejor, pos, yo quiero hablar mejor, pero ya no puedo, hablarlo, que ya soy viejo, ¿verdad? No puedo ir*

*a la escuela, pero, el, el inglés mío, quisiera saberlo, hablar mejor, y quisiera saber escribir inglés mejor. So, la lengua es importante. Se tiene que hablar todo el tiempo...*

‘No, I say [it’s] because...because it’s like the Japanese [person] or the Chinese [person] who comes here. Their language is, is Chinese, right? But, but I am sure that...they want to speak English too, better, well, I want to speak better, but I can’t speak it, because I’m already old, right? I can’t go to school, but, my English, I would want to know it, speak it better, and I would want to know how to write [in] English better. So, the language (English) is important. You have to speak it all the time...’

Here, Lionel expresses that he does not consider language shift to be an issue, but rather a natural consequence of assimilation, while drawing on his own experiences as an immigrant. He discusses his personal struggles with learning English and how he wishes he could speak and write it more proficiently. As he explains, the English language is important for one’s success in the United States and will be the language that immigrants and their children will have to speak all the time; hence he did not teach his own children Spanish, in order to prevent them from struggling like he did. Unlike her husband, Alejandra values maintaining a connection with her family’s history and culture. She is grateful that her parents taught her Spanish, and she wishes she had done the same with her children. On the one hand, then, Alejandra followed community norms, (and her husband’s lead) and did not teach her children Spanish, which she attributes to ignorance and anti-Spanish sentiment in Austin. On the other hand, she values her ethnolinguistic

roots, and feels that she has done a disservice to her children by not teaching them Spanish.

#### **5.4.5. LANGUAGE SHIFT AND HEGEMONY**

In societies marked by widespread discrimination towards a particular group, members of that group can suffer from internalization of racist norms, a common psychological consequence for minorities living in situations of inequality, such as Mexican-Americans in Central Texas. As a part of his theory of cultural dominance, Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (1971) coined the term “hegemony” to refer to the process by which a dominant group constructs reality through the production and perpetuation of stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies that are used to denigrate a minority group and normalize their oppression within that society. These permeate all levels of society and affect legislation, social norms, societal organization, and even everyday common sense. In addition to subjugating minorities, hegemony promotes the best interests of the dominant group and projects them onto subjugated groups to such an extent that they begin to adopt such interests as their own (Gramsci 1971). Monolingual English-only ideologies, present at all levels of American society, have pressured countless immigrant families to assimilate linguistically to mainstream American society at the expense of the immigrant language. In the case of Spanish in the United States, it has also been racialized and inextricably linked to a racial identity that is distinct to that of the dominant Anglo identity. Such ideals not only further marginalize and devalue Spanish and the people who speak it, but they also infiltrate Spanish-speaking communities through overt and

covert forms of discrimination (Urciuoli 1996; Hill 1998, 2009; Schwartz 2006; Pyke 2010).

One such covert form is “mental colonization,” in which white racist ideals subtly pervade the worldviews of subordinate groups without their awareness or consent (Pyke 2010: 556). Mental colonization can result in the indirect internalization of white racism through cultural myths and ideologies, such as the myth that Spanish weakens the national unity of American society, or that the United States is a single language-country (Hill 2009; Showstack 2017; Lynch 2018). Wolford and Carter (2010:112) include such notions in their definition of “Spanish-as-Threat” ideology. Spurred by the distorted image of undocumented immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries invading the US in droves, Spanish-as-Threat ideology espouses the view that Spanish-speaking immigrants, and Mexicans in particular, refuse to assimilate culturally and linguistically to the U.S. As such, the Spanish they bring with them represents a serious to threat to the English language and by extension, the United States, at the rhetorical, political, and cultural levels. Such myths and ideologies further elevate Whiteness and English at the expense of Latinxs and Spanish (Pyke 2010). Spanish-speaking parents internalize these norms, which lowers the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish, in turn informing their decision to transmit Spanish to their children or not. In a society where Spanish is undervalued (and openly discriminated against), the loss of Spanish almost seems like a natural consequence; surely parents want what they consider to be best for their children’s future. Parents like Alejandra, then, and her generational cohort, who are long separated from a direct link to Mexico and are well aware of the ethnolinguistic

discrimination against them, seem to have internalized these norms and therefore have chosen to teach their children English to the exclusion of Spanish.

Language shift, in such cases, could also be the result of ‘defensive othering’, another side-effect of societal White racism. Defensive othering occurs when members of particular minority group adopt negative and harmful stereotypes shared by the dominant group with the intent of disparaging and distancing themselves from other members within the same minority group (Schwalbe, Godwin, Holden, Schrock, Thompson, and Wolkomir 2000; Pyke 2010). For instance, it is common for some well-established Mexican-Americans to use pejorative and racist terms like “wetback” and “*pocho*” to refer to newly-arrived immigrants, an indication that they have internalized “Spanish-as-Threat” ideology (Wolford and Carter: 112). This in turn allows them to join the dominant group by showing that they, too, discriminate against Mexican immigrants, hence allowing them to take on the role of the oppressor (Pyke 2010).

With regard to language-shift, established Mexican-American families, who are well aware of the lower ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in relation to English, inadvertently (or intentionally in some cases) participate in defensive ‘othering’ by choosing to lose their Spanish in order to assimilate better to the dominant Anglo-American culture. In the aftermath of Trump’s America (and continuation into Biden’s America), where Mexican and Central American immigrants have been frequent targets of legislative and rhetorical attacks, the need for long-established families of Spanish-speaking descent to distinguish themselves from recent immigrants may have become especially pronounced and may help explain the results of the 2016 and 2020 presidential

elections. Indeed, in spite of his anti-Mexican rhetoric, 29% of Latinx-Americans across the country voted to elect Trump in 2016, and even more voted to re-elect him in the 2020 election in states such as Nevada, Florida, and Texas; in the South Texas counties of Starr, Jim Hogg, Kenedy, and Maverick, Trump gained over twenty percentage points from the last election (Sonneland and Fleischer 2016; Sonneland 2020; Friend 2020). Such results are confounding for experts and laymen alike, but defensive othering could represent one of many causes. Perhaps Latinx-Americans whose family roots in the U.S. span multiple generations joined Anglo, conservatives in discriminating against undocumented Spanish-speaking immigrants, whom they see as inferior.

This same vein of logic can contribute to language shift, or at least in the case of the González family. While they were not Trump supporters, they made a conscious choice not to teach their children Spanish in order to shield them from discrimination and to help distance themselves from recent immigrants, like Lionel himself. Across my interviews with the González family, everyone emphasized how difficult it has been for him as a Mexican immigrant in the United States. He therefore did everything he thought necessary to ensure his children did not face similar hardships, which he viewed as being possible only through English.

#### **5.4.6. THE AFFECTIVE CONSEQUENCES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT FOR THE GONZÁLEZ CHILDREN**

The impact of the English-only status of the González household became clear when I interviewed their children, Enrique and Gloria. Enrique has been a friend of mine for a number of years, and my partner Dani helped convince him to meet me for an interview.



In my recruitment questions, Enrique told me that he was able to participate in a 30-minute interview in Spanish. Upon commencing the interview Enrique admitted that he did not, in fact, speak Spanish, despite his answers to the recruitment questions. We began the interview in Spanish, but he switched almost exclusively to English after five minutes, with the exception of the occasional emblematic code-switch; this is evidence of shift in and of itself (Poplack 1980). While he did understand the vast majority of the questions in Spanish (I continued to pose questions in Spanish to examine his aural comprehension skills), indicating that his receptive aural skills in Spanish were strong, it was evident that his productive skills in Spanish were quite limited; he rated his speaking-skills in Spanish at only a 2 out of 5. As he explained in the interview, he spoke exclusively English as a child at home, which is consistent with the English-only sentiment in the home in which was he raised. He also did all of his K-12 coursework in English, and only now has started to speak some Spanish to his parents in the hopes of reacquiring it, but still communicates with them predominantly in English. As confirmed by his parents, he explained that his siblings do not speak Spanish either. In his language usage questionnaire, he indicated that he only sometimes spoke Spanish with his parents and grandparents when growing up, but never did with his siblings or friends, and that he always spoke English in school and at church. Overall, Enrique was forthcoming with his own experiences with language shift, and readily acknowledged that he had undergone it himself. When I began to address the theme towards the end of the interview by asking him if he thought it was common, he was quick to respond affirmatively:

5.40. Interviewer (I): *O sea, ¿piensas que es común?* ‘Do you think it’s common for speakers of other languages to shift to English in the U.S.?’

Enrique(E): Hmm, yeah, ‘cause personally.

I: Personally?

E: Yeah.

I: *Entonces, ¿puedes contarme un poco sobre tus experiencias con el desplazamiento lingüístico?* ‘So, can you tell me a little about your experiences with language shift?’

E: I mean, I wasn’t allowed to speak Spanish.

I: No?

E: Not necessarily allowed, they were just afraid to teach me Spanish.

I: Why?

E: Because of discrimination growing up. (GENERATION 3)

Enrique explained that his parents chose not to teach him Spanish because they were afraid that he would face discrimination for speaking Spanish like they did, a fear that most participants shared. Alicia, Enrique’s long-term partner, verified his claims. During our discussion of language shift towards the end of the interview, she repeatedly mentioned fear of discrimination as a catalyst for language shift to English, and cited Enrique and his parents as an example/consequence of such fear:

5.41. Alicia: *Oh no (0.1), no estoy (0.1), no voy a decir esforzando practicar eso, sino mis papás no me están diciendo qué tengo que hacer ya. O también tenemos, en el estado de Enrique, sus padres no quieren que te discriminen porque vas a hablar otro lenguaje que no...estás en los Estados Unidos, tienes que hablar inglés.*

I: *Y los padres de Enrique no le enseñaron a hablar español.*

A: *Ajá.*

I: *¿Y piensas que es por la discriminación? ¿Porque ellos querían evitar que él experimentara la discriminación?*

A: *Eh, sí. Eso y también estaban enseñando a su papá a hablar inglés, so esas dos cosas*

A: 'Or also we, in the [case] of Enrique, I'm not, I'm not going to say [forced] to practice that, but rather my parents aren't telling me that I have to do it now. Or we also have, in Enrique's case, his parents don't want you to be discriminated against because you're going to speak another language that's not...you're in the United States, you have to speak English.

I: And Enrique's parents didn't teach him to speak Spanish.

A: Uh huh.

I: And you think it's because of discrimination? Because they wanted to prevent him from experiencing discrimination?

A: Eh, yes. That and they were also teaching his father to speak English, so those two things.' (GENERATION 1)

Here, she explains that her own parents did not force her brother or her to speak in a particular language, but earlier in the interview, she explained that she spoke exclusively in Spanish at home as a child, and still speaks almost entirely in Spanish with her mother who has very limited English proficiency. She then draws on English-only ideologies as a motivator of language shift, and the fact that the United States is an English-speaking country where everyone is expected and required to speak English. To adhere to these expectations, and to prevent their children from being discriminated against, Enrique's parents only spoke to their children in English. Enrique's parents then, unlike Alicia's parents, established English as the sole language of the home.

Gloria, like her brother, has limited productive skills as a result of the home environment in which she was raised. She did prove capable of producing more Spanish

discourse than Enrique, including complete sentences adhering to the standard grammatical conventions of Spanish, but spoke almost entirely in English throughout the interview. Interestingly, she gave herself much lower self-rating proficiency scores than Enrique in the pre-interview questionnaire: a 1 out of 5 for her speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills in Spanish. Enrique gave himself a 2.75 out of 5 across all four skills. Unlike Enrique, Gloria took formal Spanish classes in college and completed most of the requirements of a foreign language degree at Austin Community College, yet possessed a much higher degree of linguistic insecurity than her brother. When I asked her about her language experiences growing up, she explained that they spoke almost no Spanish at home and postulated as to why this was the case:

5.42. Gloria: But my theory behind that is, of course, my father emigrated, [he] was trying, you know, to immerse himself and adapt to, you know, a lot of different pressures in American life at the time, and umm, you know, chasing that American Dream and like yeah. He wanted to make sure that we had an advantage and an opportunity, and that we weren't, umm, even possibly discriminated upon because of our language and our accent, and at the very same time we were growing up as small children learning the language, he was taking ESL classes through his job at the city.

After initially conveying disenfranchisement and resentment, she rationalizes her parents' choices as a consequence of the sociolinguistic climate of the time. She expresses awareness of the assimilatory pressure facing immigrants to the United States, and like her brother, she understands that her parents wanted their children to succeed and to

avoid the discrimination they themselves encountered. For her parents, like so many Spanish-speaking parents over the years, they felt the safest guarantee for their children's success and acceptance was through English at the expense of Spanish.

#### **5.4.7. SOCIAL ISOLATION FROM SPANISH-SPEAKING RELATIVES**

Despite their good intentions, the González' decision to not teach their children Spanish has negatively affected Enrique and Gloria's relationships with their extended family. Because of their underdeveloped productive competence in Spanish, both Enrique and Gloria expressed feeling isolated from their cousins, aunts, and uncles, and subjected to what Marcantoni (2015) refers to as "shame tactics". In his historical review of *latinidad*, Lynch (2018) cites Marcantoni's (2015) discussion regarding such "shame tactics" that the author and other HLS have experienced. As Marcantoni describes, native Spanish-speaking relatives would often mock and deride him (and others like him) for what they considered to be a lack of Spanish (or a lack of "correct" Spanish). Such ridicule in turn deters those like him from even wanting to try to speak Spanish, lest they face more rebuke. In Marcantoni's case, he was exceptionally motivated to learn Spanish. He studied the works of Gabriel García Márquez (in Spanish), and frequently sought opportunities to speak it, hence achieving a high degree of productive competence in Spanish. However, not all heritage speakers have the motivation or resources at their disposal to develop their Spanish to such an extent. In Enrique's case, he lacked the resources and support he needed. Regarding Gloria, while she was motivated enough to complete most of the classes toward a Spanish-language college degree, she still lacks confidence, which continues to represent a significant obstacle for her to date. As a result,

neither Enrique nor Gloria has close bonds with any of their extended family. As Enrique explains:

5.43. Enrique (E): *Pero todo los de mi familia*, ‘everyone in my family,’ besides my brothers and sisters, they all speak Spanish and English.

I: *Entonces, si te puedo preguntar, ¿son problemáticas las reuniones con tu familia extendida para ti porque no hablas español?*

‘So, if I may ask, are reunions with your extended family problematic because you don’t speak Spanish?’

E: Umm, they can be. I’m not Spanish enough or Mexican enough.

I: Because you don’t speak Spanish?

E: *Sí*. So, I’m made fun of, for not being Mexican enough. Yeah, it sucks.

I: *Entonces, ¿tus hermanos y tú son los únicos miembros de tu familia que no hablan español?*

‘So, your siblings and you are the only members of your family who don’t speak Spanish?’

E: Right. (GENERATION 3)

Gloria echoed her brother’s statements when I asked her about her relationship with her extended family:

5.44. Gloria: On my Dad’s side, like my cousins, they all spoke Spanish, and you know, I wasn’t raised to speak Spanish, and I have, you know, theories as to why, umm, but, I would always get it from them, that I was like ‘whitewashed’ (laughter)... like, I was teased, umm, for not being able to speak in Spanish and that kind of threw me for a loop....and like I said I would interact with my Dad’s side of the family, my cousins, umm, not as often as I would have liked to, but I

heard it spoken amongst them as well. Umm, but I went to church more often than I saw that side of the family.

Thus, as is evident from these quotes, both Enrique and Gloria have been hurt by such teasing by their Mexican family members. At family functions, their cousins would frequently speak solely in Spanish to one another, which prevented Enrique and Gloria from participating in any dialogue. Unsurprisingly, this would cause them to feel excluded and isolated from the rest of the family. Their cousins even went as far as to accuse them of being ‘whitewashed’ because of their lack of Spanish.

#### **5.4.8. IDENTITY IMPLICATIONS**

Comments and shame-tactics such as these have had a lasting impact on both Enrique and Gloria. Earlier in the interview, when I asked Gloria to discuss her language experiences growing up, she stated that she believes that speaking Spanish is a crucial part of a Mexican identity:

5.45. Gloria: *Sí, es importante hablar español. Uhh yo creo que*, (‘Yes, it’s important to speak Spanish. Uhh, I believe that’) you know, *la lengua es*, ‘the language is, it’s important to preserve, and I found myself even having grown up detached almost completely with the exception of through church, that’s what I thought, you know? That’s, I went to college with no direction, but I was like, I’m gonna go take foreign languages, and I’m gonna try and, you know, uhh, seek out this Spanish identity because I felt in a way, that I was displaced, you know? .... I never felt like better than anybody or anything like that, I just felt out of place and

almost like robbed, you know? Like, why wouldn't they teach me Spanish?

(GENERATION 3)

Here, Gloria laments not having been taught Spanish. She explains how this has made her feel disconnected from her culture. For her, Spanish forms an integral part of a Mexican-American cultural identity, which is common for HLS of Spanish. Showstack (2017) problematizes essentialized links between Spanish and a Latinx identity, or the conception that Spanish forms an unalienable and defining component of a Latinx identity. This implies that in order to be Latinx, one must speak Spanish, and if one does not, then their *latinidad* can be called into question, as happened to both Gloria and Enrique. Similarly, Ellison (2006) explores the perceived biological connection between language and one's identity, and how language is often considered to be biologically inherited, akin to race or ethnicity, and therefore an inherent, defining trait. As Anzaldúa (1987: 124) eloquently states in her seminal work exploring the intricacies of a bilingual and bicultural identity, "Ethnic identity is twin to linguistic identity—I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself". While pride-inducing for some, such notions further present Spanish as an inalienable characteristic of a Latinx identity, which can be damaging to HLS like Gloria. Many already possess high degrees of linguistic insecurity, which such notions can further exacerbate and lead to identity issues as well. Gloria admitted that she felt robbed of her culture because her parents did not teach her Spanish. She continued to elaborate on how not speaking Spanish has not only made her feel culturally deficient, but has also caused to question her identity:



5.46. Gloria: Umm, yeah. I think it has affected my identity for sure. Like, I do, I mean yeah, because it's like, you know, it's---everyone is like, I feel like myself, I speak for myself, I'm--where do I belong? Where do I belong? Umm, outside my family. You know, like, I'm not going to be with my family forever. I'm gonna go out into the world and create my own family and what have you... Like, yes, like I am, you know, Mexican-American, my father's from Mexico, my mother was born here. But there are like other cultures, not just Mexican, but even like, you know, Asian cultures, and African cultures, or what have you, that, there's some parallels here, like, it's the same struggle of trying to figure out like, kind of what it's like to be American, you know? (laughter). But yet you're going back to, like I'm saying like my cousins who were, either they were born in Mexico and they came over here, or they were born here, but their parents, they were like, 'I'm not gonna assimilate, like, I'm gonna maintain my Mexican, you know? (laughter) and raise my children that way.' And so, it's like, I don't belong there because they're making fun of me and calling me white-washed, but it's like I'm too brown or whatever it is, you know, to be like, American, you know? So, it's like, you know, having to go through that journey, identity journey of like, what am I? Where do I belong?" (GENERATION 3)

As she explains, the fact that her parents did not teach her Spanish continues to cause her inner turmoil as she struggles to define her own ethnolinguistic identity outside of her family. As a 32-year-old married woman launching her career, she is aware that she will soon have to leave her family and start her own, and she questions what that will entail

for her identity. On the one hand, she feels American because of her mother, but on the other hand, she feels Mexican because of her father, who is a Mexican immigrant. She has consistently questioned where she truly belongs, as she is not Mexican enough for her Mexican relatives who call her ‘white-washed’, but not quite American enough for Anglo-Americans who consider her to be ‘brown’ (although she is quite fair-skinned). She touches on many of the points raised in Zhou’s (2004) examination of assimilation among Asian Americans. As Zhou explains, and it is often quite difficult for bilingual and bicultural Americans to reconcile their dual ethnolinguistic identities and experiences. Gloria also compared her experiences to those of other bilingual/bicultural people belonging to different immigrant groups. Like them, she is trying to understand what it means to be ‘American’, and ultimately does not know what she is or where she belongs; not being able to speak Spanish has complicated this process further for her. In particular, her lack of Spanish, and the isolation and ridicule to which her Mexican family members have subjected her, have prevented her from feeling that she can truly identify as a Mexican-American woman. In sum, then, the linguistic and affective consequences that have stemmed from Lionel and Alejandra’s decision not to teach their children Spanish are extensive and continue to harm her and her brother to date.

##### **5.5. THE ZAPATA FAMILY: LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND**

The Zapata family, like the González family, exhibits the dynamics of language shift, but from a much earlier stage in the language shift process. The family consists of two young parents, Anabel and Esteban, and their five-year-old daughter whom I was unable to interview due to IRB constraints. Esteban, who was 28 at the time of our interview, is a

GENERATION 1 Mexican-American on his mother's side, who was born and raised in Mexico City and emigrated to the United States when his mother was 25. His father is a Salvadoran immigrant who came to the U.S. when he was 13 years old. Anabel was 27 at the time of our interview and is also a GENERATION 1 Mexican-American. Her parents are Mexican immigrants from Zacatecas, where their family has deep roots. Both Anabel and Esteban were born and have spent their entire lives in Austin where they attended the same high school; neither has ever left for an extended period of time. In terms of their own Spanish-language usage, Anabel and Esteban similarly attest to using Spanish on a daily basis. Anabel claims that she spoke entirely in Spanish as a child with her parents and siblings, and nowadays, she speaks Spanish with her parents about 90% of the time but speaks mostly English with her siblings. Her father played an integral role in her Spanish-language development and maintenance as child. He was a schoolteacher in Mexico before emigrating to the United States where he began a job as a construction worker. Despite his career shift, he kept his teacher tendencies at home and gave his children Spanish homework to do along with their assigned homework from school to ensure that they did not forget their Spanish.

Today, Anabel and her father speak English about 20% of the time, as he is actively trying to improve his English. The two work as language teachers for each other, in that Anabel helps him with his English, and he helps her fill in lexical gaps in her Spanish and correct any grammatical substitution she produces. Nonetheless, they still speak Spanish the vast majority of time. A similar theme emerges here as with the González family. In the household in which Anabel grew up, it was the man of the house

who decided the language policies and what language his children would speak. In this case, he enforced Spanish usage in the home, which in turn ensured that his children spoke Spanish, but the wife and children did not seem to have much of a choice in the matter, just like the González household. Esteban also claimed to speak Spanish to a similar extent as Anabel. He spoke almost entirely in Spanish as a child at home, and to date says he speaks Spanish approximately 90% of the time with his parents and only resorts to English when he forgets a word or has trouble saying something. He has several stepsiblings and half-siblings, all of whom speak Spanish, but when he communicates with them, which is seldom, it is mainly in English.

#### **5.5.1. THE CHALLENGES OF RAISING A BILINGUAL CHILD**

Despite speaking almost exclusively in Spanish as children and continuing to prefer Spanish with their parents, both Anabel and Esteban commented on the challenges of raising a bilingual child in Austin. Anabel, for instance, discussed her tendency to rely mainly on English as the language of the home. When asked if she thought it was important to speak Spanish, she gave the following response:

5.47. Anabel: *Así que, sí creo que es muy importante aprenderlo y continuar a hablarlo, y lo mismo que estamos haciendo con mi hija ahorita. Aunque sea difícil, porque sí, todo el día ella está alrededor del inglés y después de llegar a casa, y nosotros, estamos acostumbrados de hablar inglés todo el día, y se nos olvida...entonces, es difícil encontrar ese balance, pero sí es muy importante.*

‘Therefore, I believe that it is very important to learn it and to continue to speak it, and we’re doing the same with our daughter now. Although it’s difficult, because

yes, she's around English all day, and after coming home, and we are used to speaking English all day, and we forget. So, it's difficult to find that balance, but it's very important.' (GENERATION 1)

Here, Anabel expresses how important she believes it is to speak and maintain Spanish. She claims to make efforts to establish Spanish as the home language but remarks on how easy it is to speak English instead. She explains that she and Esteban spend the entire day surrounded by English, and often simply forget to speak Spanish when they come home. Anabel claims that she and her husband strive to maintain a good balance between Spanish and English, but she acknowledges the difficulties involved in striking such a balance. Her experience speaks to the omnipresence and power of English, as well as the low objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Austin by comparison. In order to combat the higher objective ethnolinguistic vitality of English, it takes concerted, sustained effort on behalf of the parents, which is often unrealistic with modern resource constraints. Anabel's experiences also highlight the diglossic condition of English and Spanish in Austin; English is the language of public domains, and Spanish, that of private domains (Ferguson 1959).

However, as Anabel and Esteban describe, English has begun to encroach increasingly on their family's private domains, which has already started to hinder their daughter's Spanish development. When I asked her whether her daughter spoke Spanish or not, Anabel initially responded affirmatively, but then qualified her answer by saying that her daughter tends to reply to her in English, which again, is incipient evidence of language shift (Castellanos 1990; Torres 1997; Otheguy, García, and Roca 2000; Rivera-

Mills 2000; Taylor, López, Hamar, Martínez, and Velasco 2012; Flores, López, and Radford 2017; Velázquez 2019). Raquel mentioned a similar problem with her own daughter, as I discuss earlier in this chapter, but Raquel pretends not to understand her daughter until she responds to her in Spanish. Anabel's mother has applied a similar approach, which she describes below:

5.48. Anabel: *Sí lo habla, el, lo chistoso, conmigo, si le digo algo en español, me contesta en inglés. Pero con mi mamá, porque no con mi mamá es más estricta con ella. Mi mamá, si no le contesta en español, mi mamá le ignora... Yeah, muy bien pero yo no puedo hacer eso (risas) A mí me duele... Sí, pero mi mamá habla todo en español y es chistoso porque... nomás dice, “no sé” le contesta “no sé”, es lo que mi mamá le dice. Y ella lo dice sí en español. Pero sí, con ella, todo en español y con mi papá, más o menos, porque mi papá no es tan estricto como mi mamá. Pero con nosotros, sí, es difícil. No sabe que ella me contesta en inglés, y está bien.*

‘Yes, she speaks it, the funny [thing is], with me, if I say tell her something in Spanish, she answers me in English. But not with my mom, because my mom is stricter with her. My mom, if she (the daughter) doesn’t respond in Spanish, my mother ignores her... Yeah, [it’s] very good, but I can’t do it (laughter). It hurts me... Yes, but my mom speaks all in Spanish and it’s funny because... she only says, “I don’t know”, [that’s] what my mom tells her. And [then] she says it in Spanish. But yes, with her, it’s all in Spanish, and with my dad, more or less,

because my dad is not as strict as my mom. But with us, it's difficult. She doesn't know that she answers me in English, and it's fine.' (GENERATION 1)

Anabel explains that she herself is rather permissive of her daughter's English responses to questions in Spanish. Her mother, on the other hand, is quite strict, and will outright ignore her granddaughter if she does not respond in Spanish. Anabel's mother only speaks to her granddaughter in Spanish and speaks more Spanish to her than do Anabel and Esteban, or even the grandfather. Anabel, on the other hand, expressed that it hurts her to ignore her daughter, so she responds even when the daughter addresses her in English, without consequence. Thus, the grandmother plays an important role in her granddaughter's Spanish development. Based on Anabel's and Esteban's interviews and questionnaire data, their daughter would likely seldom speak Spanish without her grandmother's intervention, which could lead to long-term negative linguistic and affective consequences. The grandmother's approach, while seemingly harsh from Anabel's perspective, is perhaps necessary in a sociocultural context in which language shift to English is so widespread and effortless. Interestingly, Anabel claims to speak more Spanish to her daughter than her husband, Esteban, does.

5.49. Anabel: *So él también, él es un poquito más difícil porque él creció con su mamá siendo--es mexicana, y el papá es salvadoreño, así que él tiene el español un poquito diferente dependiendo de unas cuantas palabras. Así que él igualmente se trata y se olvida y no la habla tanto con su mamá ahora. Su mamá le habla inglés un poco más que mis padres. Así que él se olvida más. Así que yo soy (0.1) yeah, yo soy la que le habla español lo más que él.*

‘So, he as well, he is a bit more difficult because he grew up with his mom being, she’s Mexican, and the dad is Salvadoran, so his Spanish is a little different depending on a few words. So, he equally tries and forgets and doesn’t speak it to his mom as much now. His mom speaks English to him a bit more than my parents. So, he forgets more. So, I am (0.1), yeah, I am the one that speaks Spanish to [her] (the daughter) more than he.’ (GENERATION 1)

Anabel explains that Esteban tends to forget to speak Spanish to his daughter, which she attributes in part to his father’s Salvadoran background, as well as his mother’s tendency to speak to him in English. As such, she claims to be the parent mainly responsible for their daughter’s Spanish development. Indeed, when I asked Esteban about his daily language usage, he admitted that English plays a dominant role in his life in a number of different domains with a number of different interlocutors, including his wife and daughter. He really only speaks Spanish when talking to his parents (contrary to what Anabel claimed regarding his language use with his mother) or at work with Spanish-speaking clients but such conversations are very ‘transactional’ and do not emulate true conversation. Based on this evidence, it would seem that Esteban is undergoing language shift himself, as he explains:

5.50. Esteban: *Desafortunadamente, en la casa, no mucho, digo, desafortunadamente, porque sí quiero practicar más, pero nada más porque quiero, quiero practicar más, pero no lo hago. Este, casi, si hablamos en la casa, es porque quiero decirle algo a mi esposa, que no quiero que entienda mucho mi niña. Y si lo entiende, pero hay otras cosas, o si hablo muy rápido, o hablo más*



*calladito, unas palabras que no entiende muy bien, este, es cuando hablo más español en la casa. En todos los días sí lo practico, porque en mi trabajo, estoy en Wells Fargo...este, van muchos hispanos. Entonces, cada día estoy hablando español. Pero también, este, las conversaciones son muy específicas al banco, ¿verdad? No son como...conversaciones que son muy largas. Son básicas, ¿cómo va su día? equis cosas, así, así. Más transactional.*

‘Unfortunately, at home, not much, I’ll say, unfortunately, because I do want to practice more, but just because I want, I want to practice more, but I don’t do it. Umm, almost, if we do speak Spanish at home, it’s because I want to say something to my wife, that I don’t want my daughter to understand. And if she does understand, but there are other things, or if I speak quickly, or if I say very quietly, some words that she doesn’t understand very well, um, is when I speak more Spanish at home. Every day I practice it, because at my job, I’m at Wells Fargo, umm, a lot of Hispanics go [there]. So, every day I’m speaking Spanish. But also, umm, the conversations are very specific to the bank, right? They’re not like...conversations that are very long. They’re basic. How’s your day going? X things, and so on. More transactional.’ (GENERATION 1)

Here, Esteban confirms his tendency to forget to speak Spanish at home and also paints a somewhat different picture than Anabel in terms of language usage. According to Esteban, he and his wife use Spanish quite sparingly, and only use for it for specific purposes; namely, to discuss something that their daughter will not be able to understand. This also speaks to the fact that her Spanish competence is low. When I asked him to

elaborate on the language(s) he speaks to his daughter, he expressed guilt for not playing a more active role her Spanish development:

5.51. Esteban: *Sí, definitivamente, sí a veces me siento como (0.1) guilty, que no le he enseñado más a mi niña, porque sé que, pues, le ayudaría mucho, y pues en realidad, es algo bonito, ¿verdad? Es parte de sus raíces y todo, ¿verdad?*

‘Yes, definitely, yes, at times I feel like (0.1) guilty, that I have not taught my daughter more, because I know that, well, it would help her a lot, and well, in reality, it’s something beautiful, right? It’s part of her roots and everything, right?’

(GENERATION 1)

Here, he claims to value speaking Spanish and that he likes how it could help his daughter better connect to her roots, yet, not enough to change his behavior. At no point in the interview did he indicate any motivation or concrete plans to increase his daughter’s exposure to Spanish. In fact, within this same stretch of discourse, he indicated the opposite and said that he does not want to enroll his daughter in Spanish-language coursework:

5.52. Esteban:

*Voy a tratar de hablar español con ellos y no meterlos en clases de español como yo ’toy haciendo ahorita.*

‘I am going to try to speak Spanish with them [his daughter and future children] and not put them in Spanish classes, like what I’m doing now’ (GENERATION 1)

Thus, Esteban prefers to leave his daughter’s Spanish language education to the family. As he and Anabel admit, they find this task difficult, and Esteban tends to speak to her

only in English. If these trends continue, it is unlikely that the daughter will develop high productive competence in Spanish since she will not be getting the exposure, she needs, either at school or at home.

### **5.5.2. MORE MACHISTA ROLES AND LANGUAGE SHIFT**

Like the González household, I noted a gender effect in terms of the language usage at home with the Zapata family. As I discuss above, Esteban tends to speak English to his daughter and expressed little interest in changing that. Anabel, on the other hand, while permissive of English, is much more invested in teaching her daughter Spanish. When I asked her what strategies she employs to encourage her daughter's Spanish development, she explained that she and her parents (and especially the mother) are highly motivated to teach the daughter Spanish:

5.53. Anabel: ... *Yo siempre me tengo que acordar, tengo que hablar español con ella, la tengo que enseñar y siempre, pero lo bueno, ella siempre se pasa tanto tiempo con sus abuelos. Ellos me ayudan tanto hablando nomás, solamente el español con ella. Pero sí, es muy importante que yo lo continúe, porque es mi hogar. Es mi niña, y la tengo que criar. Así que, sí es muy importante, siempre me acuerdo, tengo que acordar que le tengo que seguir hablando español y enseñándole.*

'...I always have to remind myself [that] I have to speak Spanish with her, I have to teach her, and always, but the good thing is, she always spends time with her grandparents. They help me so much [by] speaking only in Spanish with her. But yes, it is important that I continue it, because it's my home. She's my daughter,

and I have to raise her. Therefore, it is very important that I always remind myself, I have to remind [myself] that I have to keep speaking Spanish and teaching her.’ (GENERATION 1)

Here, Anabel discusses how she has to remind herself constantly to speak Spanish with her daughter, which reiterates the omnipresence of English in her life and its status as the default language in this country. Despite this, she expresses self-empowerment and agency in ensuring her daughter’s Spanish linguistic development. As she says, “...it’s my home...she’s my daughter, and I have to raise her”. Fortunately, Anabel receives quite a bit of help from her parents, who often spend time with their granddaughter, during which they speak exclusively in Spanish. Such motivation on Anabel’s behalf, in tandem with help from her parents, are powerful defenses against language shift.

Nonetheless, the discord between Anabel and her husband in terms of their language goals for their daughter is problematic. While his actions did not strike me as deliberate, Esteban’s indifferent approach to teaching their daughter Spanish has essentially been undermining his wife’s efforts. In addition to a clear lack of prioritization on his behalf, his habit of speaking almost exclusively in English at home as well as his decision not to enroll their daughter in Spanish-language coursework represent significant obstacles to her naturalistic acquisition of Spanish. Thus, for the fourth time in my data, a gendered response to language shift emerges, in that Esteban and Anabel have markedly different priorities regarding their child’s linguistic development.

In total, I found five instances in which the man of the house has distinct language goals for his children from those of his wife, yet he is the one who ultimately exerts his

authority by deciding which language(s) his family will speak at home; this falls in-line with *machista* norms that permeate Latinx culture. Such instances include Alejandra's grandfather enforcing Spanish-only discourse among his family, the González household's English-only policies, the especially hostile anti-Spanish attitudes of Raquel's brother-in-law, and the Zapata household as discussed here. This trend was also evident to an extent in the experiences of Alicia and Enrique. Despite Alicia's fluency in Spanish, she relies almost entirely on English to communicate with her partner Enrique, due to his lack of productive competence in Spanish. She therefore has had to relinquish her own Spanish in order to accommodate her boyfriend's linguistic needs. Enrique, on the other hand, has done little to accommodate Alicia, and has made very limited efforts to improve his Spanish for her sake, for which she expressed resentment in our interview. She complained that because of Enrique, she uses Spanish much less on a daily basis than she used to, and now really only speaks it with her mother (who speaks no English) and a handful of friends. As such, while tentative given the small sample size, it would seem that *machismo* can play a role in language shift and is worth examining on a larger scale.

To a certain extent, such results are consistent with Velázquez' (2019) work with Mexican immigrant families in Nebraska. She found that mothers played a more decisive role in their children's linguistic socialization than fathers, as they were typically the ones staying at home and speaking Spanish to the children as well as planning all of the children's activities and interaction outside of the home. The fathers, on the other hand, tended to work long hours outside of the home and would be available to interact with the children only at night or on the weekends. As such, the mother would necessarily have to

be “the de facto main source of transmission of Spanish” (Velázquez 2019:138).

However, she found that fathers also played a role in the children’s linguistic development, and in many cases, like Esteban, they would address their children mainly in English at home. After spending all day operating in English, it was also difficult for them to remember to speak Spanish. As both Velázquez and I found, men can be a major hindrance to their children’s Spanish development, in spite of their wives’ efforts and intentions.

## **5.6. CONCLUSIONS**

Throughout this chapter, I have examined participants’ experiences with language shift using the following theoretical background: Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977), Bourdieu’s (1986) theory of social and cultural capital, and Bourhis and Landry’s (1997) theory of linguistic landscapes, to examine language shift at the societal, community and familial/individual levels. As I discuss in Chapter 1 and throughout this chapter, the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Austin is low in comparison to other Texan cities with larger/more present Latinx populations, which, in tandem with powerful monolingual language ideologies at all levels of society, present significant challenges to intergenerational Spanish language transmission. That is, Spanish has lower status, demographic salience, and institutional support than English, the last of which was depleted considerably under the Trump administration. All but two participants were aware of rampant language shift from Spanish to English at the societal level. Ramona and Raquel, two GENERATION 0 immigrants from Mexico, expressed sadness and frustration at the speed in which it occurs, and lamented that it has made their

professional lives more difficult. Antonio and Alexa, two GENERATION 1 participants, felt similarly, and posited that advancements in translation technology actively contribute to hastening language shift. As they claim, people no longer need to speak another language, when their smart phone does it for them.

Most notably, discrimination and fear emerged as salient themes in this section, as numerous participants related stories of clients, acquaintances, and friends who have intentionally stopped speaking Spanish to protect their families from the constant legislative and rhetorical attacks launched by the Trump administration against the Latinx community. As explained by Josie, Sonia, and Anabel, the three social workers I interviewed, their clients were so afraid of deportation that they were no longer applying for the benefits they need, let alone teaching their children a language that could make them a target.

Participants had also experienced language shift at the community level in Austin, which many agreed is especially common here because of gentrification. Alicia and Carmen criticized gentrification for reducing the cultural and linguistic visibility of Spanish in Austin as well as opportunities to practice Spanish. Rigoberta spoke of the extensive changes she has witnessed in south Austin over the last fifteen years, such as the closure of her favorite Mexican restaurant, El Gallo, due to exorbitant property taxes. Antonio, Enrique, and Alicia discussed how they were personally displaced from Austin due to rising housing costs. As such, all three face excessive commutes to and from Austin on a daily basis from the small cities surrounding Austin in which they live. Antonio also sees language shift occurring in real time among the children in his church.

Because language shift is so widespread in Austin, several participants had also experienced it at the familial level and shared poignant stories relating how their own families have been affected by this issue. Several themes emerge from this section, such as pressure to assimilate, which is especially pronounced at school, and the role that exogamous marriage plays in hastening shift to English. Across multiple families, *machismo* seemed to play a role as well, in that, because of the traditional gender roles projected by *machismo*, it was the man of the house who decided which language was to be spoken at home. In the case of the González and Zapata families, this language was English, which led to complete shift in the next generation for the former family and is in progress for the latter family. Internalized racism can also be a powerful contributor to language shift. As Alejandra explained in our interview, when everyone in one's community has internalized anti-Spanish monolingual Anglo norms, it is easy to follow suit and raise one's children exclusively in English. Such norms, in tandem with the power and omnipresence English wields at all levels of society, make it increasingly difficult to raise a child bilingually, which Anabel attested as she struggles to teach her daughter Spanish.

In sum, through the diverse perspectives and experiences of the participants in this study, I have shown that language shift is a qualitatively complex and emotionally charged process that responds closely to the sociopolitical climate, attitudes, and language ideologies at play within society and one's speech community. It is a deeply personal process replete with affective consequences that range from linguistic insecurity and identity issues to isolation and derision from Spanish-speaking family members as



explained by Carla, Enrique, and Gloria. In the subsequent and final chapter of this work, I merge the quantitative and qualitative results and show how they represent different sides of the same coin. That is, I show how the two complement each other and together present a more complete analysis of language shift than previous studies have done. I argue that both perspectives are necessary to fully understand the issue and accurately portray it. As I have shown, language shift is a complex and dynamic process that requires both a quantitative and qualitative lens for interpreting its apparent contradictions.

## **CHAPTER 6: LANGUAGE SHIFT IN CENTRAL TEXAS: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **6.0. INTRODUCTION**

This dissertation has aimed to present a comprehensive sociolinguistic analysis of language shift to English among Spanish speakers living in Austin through both quantitative and qualitative measures. Chapter 1 of this work presented the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic settings of Spanish in the United States in Austin in order to contextualize language shift to English and explain why it is so widespread and happens within such a relatively short period of time. As I discuss, language shift is rampant in Spanish-speaking communities throughout Spanish-speaking communities across the United States. This is largely due to the fact that speaking Spanish is widely regarded as problematic due to monolingual ideals at all levels of society and anti-Spanish rhetoric that date back to Anglo settlement of the region. These attitudes became exacerbated under ex-president Donald Trump. Chapter 2 provided the sociolinguistic context of Spanish in Austin, and how gentrification has hastened language shift to English in an ever-increasingly White, English-dominated city. This same chapter also presented the linguistic traits that characterize contact varieties of Spanish as well as the lexical and morphosyntactic features under study in the current work. In Chapter 3, I presented the three quantitative measures I employed to examine language shift in Austin: (1) a questionnaire measuring language usage patterns and proficiency in Spanish and English throughout participants' lives; (2) instances of grammatical substitution culled from sociolinguistic interviews; and (3) presence of English in the form of lone lexical items and multi-item insertions, loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms, also culled

from the sociolinguistic interviews I conducted. This same chapter presented the qualitative measures I employed to examine the affective consequences of language shift.

In Chapter 4, I presented the quantitative results yielded by the measures explained in Chapter 3. Namely, I discussed the statistically significant differences that came to light between generations with regard to the aforementioned variables. Chapter 5 then examined the qualitative side of language shift and explored participants' awareness of and experiences with language shift, using ethnolinguistic vitality as an interpretive lens. In the current and final chapter, I summarize the salient quantitative and qualitative findings that show how language shift manifests on multiple levels: (1) language usage patterns; (2) grammatical substitution; (3) presence of English; and (4) the personal experiences of participants. I then explain that together, quantitative and qualitative analyses are necessary to understand language shift and present a more complete picture of the problem than previous studies have done. I end with some concluding remarks regarding the precarious future of Spanish in Austin.

### **6.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

I first return to the research questions guiding this work that are presented in Chapter 2 and answer them with the data I found in the quantitative and qualitative measures. In doing so, I also contextualize the data and discuss their relevance to the field. I remind the reader that the four research questions guiding this study include:

1. How do language usage and proficiency in Spanish and English vary by generation in Austin, Texas?

2. How do previously attested grammatical substitutions, lone lexical items, multi-item code-switches, invented forms, and loanshifts/semantic extensions vary by generation?
3. How do the results of this study align with previous language shift models? Do they show that language shift in Austin is as clear-cut, and deterministic as most previous studies have found? (e.g., Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez 1995; Hernández-Chavez, Bills and Hudson 2006; Bernal-Enríquez 2002; Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Wolford and Carter 2018)?
4. What social and societal factors caused participants to shift to English, and what are the resulting affective and personal consequences of such shift? What are the effects on Spanish speakers in Austin?

## **6.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ANSWERS**

### **1. How do language usage and proficiency in Spanish and English vary by generation in Austin, Texas?**

Language usage and proficiency in Spanish and English vary considerably between generations in that, in most cases, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 indicated higher Spanish proficiency and higher rates of Spanish usage across various interlocutors and domains than GENERATIONS 2 and 3. More specifically, some degree of shift was identified in all questionnaire items except for the two regarding Spanish-language media consumption. I now briefly summarize the intergenerational differences that were statistically significant and include p-values in cases where they were especially low; all p-values are listed by questionnaire item in the Appendix.

In the first place, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed higher rates of Spanish speaking and/or listening skills than GENERATION 3, and GENERATION 0 showed higher rates of Spanish proficiency across the four proficiency skills than GENERATION 3. In comparing the composite scores across all four language skills for each language (Spanish and English), the English scores were higher than the Spanish scores with an especially low p-value of  $p=0.000524$ . Similarly, both GENERATIONS 0 and 1 indicated that they count more in Spanish than GENERATION 3 and GENERATION 0 indicated that they think more in Spanish than GENERATION 3 as well. English was also reported as the dominant language for K through 12 schooling for all generations with the exception of GENERATION 0 in elementary school.

With regard to childhood Spanish usage with different sets of interlocutors, GENERATION 0 spoke considerably more Spanish than GENERATION 3 with parents, grandparents, and friends, and used more Spanish with their grandparents than GENERATION 2. GENERATION also 1 spoke more Spanish with grandparents than GENERATION 3. For adulthood Spanish, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 outperformed GENERATION 3 with regard to their Spanish usage across all four sets of interlocutors, as did GENERATION 0 with friends in comparison to GENERATION 2. However, no generation showed statistically significant declines ( $p > 0.05$ ) in Spanish usage with their parents, grandparents, siblings, and friends from childhood to adulthood, or significant increases ( $p>0.05$ ) in English usage with these same interlocutors. Such results stem from the fact that those closest to immigration showed comparably high rates of Spanish usage as children and adults, while those furthest from immigration behaved quite similarly by

opting for English in most cases. In comparing adulthood Spanish and English usage across generations with coworkers, romantic partners, and children, all four generations also preferred English to Spanish to a statistically significant extent ( $p < 0.05$ ) in each set of interlocutors.

Childhood English usage revealed significant differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 with parents, grandparents, (the lowest p-value for this questionnaire item), siblings, and friends. GENERATION 0 also showed lower rates of English usage than GENERATIONS 1 and 2, thus evincing the least amount of English usage than all generations with friends. With regard to adulthood English usage, GENERATION 0 showed lower usage rates than GENERATION 3 for grandparents, siblings, and friends. GENERATION 0 also showed lower rates of English usage than GENERATION 1 for siblings and friends. When comparing childhood English usage rates to adulthood English rates, no generation showed statistically significant decreases or increases ( $p > 0.05$ ), because usage among the first two generations was similarly low and English usage was similarly high for the two generations furthest from immigration, which further supports intergenerational language shift.

Language usage within and across domains presented additional convincing evidence of intergenerational language shift. For instance, childhood Spanish yielded differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 2 at church and between GENERATIONS 0 AND 3 within the domains of home and school; in all cases, GENERATION 0 claimed to speak more Spanish within these domains than the other two generations mentioned here. GENERATION 1 also indicated higher rates of childhood Spanish usage than GENERATION 2 at church and

GENERATION 3 at home, the lowest p-value for this item ( $p=0.000795$ ). Adulthood Spanish produced fewer statistically significant intergenerational differences between generations. Here, GENERATION 0 showed higher Spanish usage rates than GENERATION 3 at home and at church, and GENERATION 1 indicated that they use more Spanish at home than GENERATION 3. When comparing childhood to adulthood Spanish within individual domains, only GENERATION 1 showed declines in Spanish usage at home and church; no other generation showed statistically significant increases or decreases.

Childhood English usage across domains produced several intergenerational differences that were statistically significant. For one, GENERATION 0 evinced the least amount of English usage at school. At home, they scored lower than GENERATION 3, and at church, they scored lower than GENERATIONS 2 and 3. GENERATION 1 also indicated that they spoke English less as children than GENERATION 3 at home as well as GENERATIONS 2 and 3 at church. For adulthood English, no two generations showed statistically significant differences within or across domains, because rates of English usage were so similarly high across generations, indicating almost complete English dominance within these domains for participants as adults. In comparing childhood to adulthood English usage, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed statistically significant gains in church ( $p=0.0000398$  and  $p=0.00123$ , respectively) and/or home ( $p=0.0257$ ); GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed no statistically significant differences because their rates of English usage were already so high as children.

The domains of work and business revealed virtually ubiquitous English usage across generations to such an extent that there were no significant differences ( $p > 0.05$ )

between generations for either language. These findings revealed longitudinal language shift on behalf of GENERATIONS 0 and 1, who showed statistically significantly lower rates of Spanish and higher rates of English as adults than as children across the domains of home, school, and church. For GENERATIONS 2 and 3, shift had already manifested to such an extent to preclude any statistically significant ( $p>0.05$ ) increases or decreases in their Spanish or English usage; their rates of English were so consistently high across these domains both as children and as adults.

Overall, the questionnaire results indicated widespread evidence of language shift throughout participants' lives across interlocutors and domains. The questionnaire results also revealed that the bulk of statistically significant differences occurred between generational extremes, in that GENERATION 3 (and 2, to an extent) patterned so differently from GENERATIONS 0 and 1. Such results likely stem from the fact that speakers closer to immigration, i.e., those members of GENERATIONS 0 and 1, have spent less time in the United States in comparison to those of later generations. As such, they have had less exposure to anti-Spanish attitudes that date back to Anglo seizure of Mexican lands in the mid-1800s, and such attitudes have been bolstered and intensified by the English-only movement (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Hill 2009; Nieto 2010; Wolford and Carter 2010). Many of my GENERATION 0 and 1 participants still require Spanish to some extent in order to communicate with their mostly monolingual Spanish-speaking parents, grandparents in some cases, and extended family. I remind the reader that in her examination of language maintenance among GENERATION 0 and 1 Mexicans living in Nebraska, Velázquez (2019) found that Spanish was required for participants' admittance



to the local Mexican community and social network. For her participants, speaking Spanish was an essential requirement for their economic survival in an unfamiliar, English-speaking country. While their survival does not depend on their ability to speak Spanish, my GENERATION 0 and 1 participants still rely on Spanish to some extent in their daily lives, hence their higher Spanish usage rates across questionnaire items. Many, especially among GENERATION 0, also have close ties to Mexico where they have networks of friends and family with whom they communicate frequently (in Spanish) or even visit. Such connectedness to Mexico and relatively shallow roots in the United States perhaps ameliorate the assimilatory pressure they face from English-only ideals and anti-Spanish rhetoric and legislation at all levels of society.

GENERATIONS 2 and 3, on the other hand, who are more removed from immigration, have deeper roots in the United States and fewer, more distant connections to Mexico. No such participants mentioned family or friends in Mexico, or even visiting Mexico, save the occasional vacation to a beach resort in Cancun. Most were already a generation or two into language shift, having indicated (in their questionnaires and interviews) that their parents had already largely relinquished Spanish in their daily lives. Unlike GENERATIONS 0 and 1, most did not require Spanish to communicate with their parents or family members since most already spoke English, or their Spanish-speaking grandparents had already passed, and with them, opportunities to use Spanish. Such GENERATION 2 and 3 speakers have also had more time to internalize the aforementioned language ideologies, causing them to rely mostly, if not entirely, on English. Their families may also have accumulated more “racialization experiences” over the years by

facing linguistic and/or racial discrimination because of their ethnolinguistic identity; hence they would have avoided the language that further signaled their otherness, and Spanish was lost along the way. Such racialization experiences may further contextualize the low usage of Spanish in the questionnaire results among participants furthest removed from immigration (Telles and Ortiz 2008).

Additionally, GENERATION 2 and 3 participants tended to belong to different types of social networks than GENERATIONS 0 and 1. As Alejandra, a GENERATION 2 participant explained, their decision (hers and her husband's) not to teach their children Spanish was in adherence to community norms. Alejandra and Lionel belong to a community of Mexican-Americans whose families have been in Austin for multiple generations. Alejandra explained that when their children were young, almost no one in the community taught their children Spanish, so she and her husband followed suit and raised their children in English. As Milroy and Milroy (1992) and Velázquez (2019) confirm, an individual's community and/or social network often significantly impact their own language practices and, by extension, promote linguistic change. Other GENERATION 2 and 3 participants tended to associate mostly with Anglo-Americans with whom they spoke exclusively in English, hence their high rates of English usage with friends both as children and adults. Thus, GENERATION 0 and 1 participants belonged to different social networks than GENERATIONS 2 and 3, networks in which Spanish was more widely used and valued, in part due to their close affiliation with Mexico.

In sum, time spent in the U.S., in an Anglo-dominated city some 240 miles away from the nearest Mexican city, and adherence to different social networks with different

language norms, provide important context for the questionnaire results. These factors may explain why GENERATIONS 2 and 3, and especially GENERATION 3, showed so many statistically significant lower rates of Spanish usage and proficiency, and higher rates of English proficiency and usage, across interlocutors and domains in comparison to GENERATIONS 0 and/or 1. However, even the GENERATION 0 and 1 speakers evinced some degree of language shift in displaying statistically significant higher rates of English usage and lower rates of Spanish usage from childhood to adulthood. Such shift was especially evident in their language usage patterns with their siblings, friends, partners, and children, and gains in English usage from childhood to adulthood across interlocutors and domains. Unfortunately, monolingual English-only sentiment, anti-Spanish sentiment and legislation, or “Spanish-as-Threat” ideology (Wolford and Carter 2010:112), as well as the association of socioeconomic advancement with English, have also impacted GENERATION 0 and 1 participants, of course, but not to as large an extent as GENERATIONS 2 and 3, as indicated by the questionnaire results. These tendencies speak to the speed at which language shift to English in Central Texas can occur, as it can start to manifest as early as the contact generation.

## **2. How do previously attested grammatical substitutions, lone lexical items, multi-item code-switches, invented forms, and loanshifts/semantic extensions vary by generation?**

For grammatical variables, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 generally showed lower rates of grammatical substitution than GENERATIONS 2 and 3 across variables. The following variables varied to a statistically significant difference between generations ( $p < 0.05$ ): (1)

Determiner + Adjective; (2) Noun + Adjective; (3) Imperfect; (4) Subjunctive; and (5) Overt and null subject pronoun expression. I review these statistically significant differences below.

1. For Determiner + Noun, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed higher correctness rates than GENERATION 2 ( $p=0.0111$  and  $p=0.0296$ ).
2. For Noun + Adjective GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed higher correctness rates than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.0131$  and  $p=0.0397$ ).
3. The imperfect revealed the same intergenerational differences as the previous variable, with respective p-values of  $p=0.0551$  and  $p=0.0682$ . While these values are slightly larger than the  $p<0.05$  cut-off, I relaxed this constraint somewhat for two reasons: (a) the mean descriptive mean differences were relatively large between these generations (24.7% between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 and 15.7% between GENERATIONS 1 and 3); and (b) the resulting p-values were quite close to being lower than  $p<0.05$ , especially with the difference between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 ( $p=0.0551$ ).
4. The subjunctive revealed four statistically significant differences, the highest number of all grammatical variables. Both GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed higher correctness rates than GENERATIONS 2 ( $p=0.00635$  and  $p=0.0263$ , respectively) and 3 ( $p=0.00132$  and  $p=0.00446$ , respectively) for this variable. This represents the most linear correctness cline for any of the grammatical variables, since GENERATIONS 1 and 2 showed a high degree of difference ( $p=0.0263$ ), an uncommon source for statistically significant differences.

5. Subject pronouns also yielded statistically significant differences between GENERATIONS 0 and 3 and GENERATIONS 1 and 3. That is, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed lower rates of overt subject pronoun expression than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00517$  and  $p=0.00211$ , respectively). Put differently, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed higher rates of null subject pronoun expression than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00517$  and  $p=0.00211$ , respectively).

The remaining grammatical variables showed no statistically significant differences between any two generations ( $p>0.05$ ): (1) *ser*; (2) *estar*; (3) *estar* extension; (4) verb-subject agreement; (5) preterit; and (6) indicative. Correctness rates were similarly high across generations for these variables, and as such, they are not supportive of intergenerational language shift.

The lexical variables produced the smallest number of statistically significant differences between generations of the three sets of variables I used to examine language shift. LLI and multi-item insertions (despite showing linear intergenerational differences in the descriptive means), both flagged and unflagged, were comparably low across generations, and as such, did not reveal statistically significant differences between any two generations. Put differently, generations further from immigration did not produce statistically significant higher rates of these variables than generations closer to immigration, nor did they flag them more or less than any other generation ( $p>0.05$ ); these results are contrary to what I expected and attested lower overall rates than what some previous researchers found (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Bills 2005; Lipski 2008; Lapidus-Shin 2010). Invented forms and loanshifts/semantic extensions, on the other

hand, did show statistically significant differences between generations. For invented forms, GENERATION 0 displayed lower rates than both GENERATIONS 2 ( $p=0.00781$ ) and 3 ( $p=0.00507$ ), as did GENERATION 1 ( $p=0.0319$  and  $p=0.0174$ , respectively). For loanshifts/semantic extensions, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed a lower rate than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.00265$  and  $p=0.0377$ , respectively), and GENERATION 2 revealed a lower rate than GENERATION 3 ( $p=0.0295$ ); this latter difference was the only statistically significant difference between these two generations across all three sets of variables.

The clustering of said differences between generational extremes is a reflection of the disparate degrees of Spanish usage, and thereby proficiency, between generations closest to immigration and those furthest. That is, just as GENERATIONS 2 and 3 indicated such low rates of Spanish usage and proficiency and such high rates of English usage and proficiency, they also showed statistically significant higher rates of grammatical substitution in the areas of gender agreement, aspect, and mood, as well as higher rates of loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms than GENERATIONS 0 and/or 1. Likewise, because GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed comparably high rates of Spanish proficiency and usage, their rates of grammatical substitution, loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms were comparably low. And because GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed comparably low rates of Spanish proficiency and usage, their rates of these same variables were comparably high; in very few cases, grammatical and lexical differences between consecutive generations were statistically significant, just like the questionnaire results.

### **3. How do the results of this study align with previous language shift models?**

**Do they show that language shift in Austin is as clear-cut and deterministic as most previous studies have found (e.g., Veltman 1988, 2000; Hudson, Hernández-Chávez 1995; Hernández-Chavez, Bills and Hudson 2006; Bernal-Enríquez 2002; Mendoza-MacGregor 2005; Wolford and Carter 2018)?**

The data for the questionnaire as well as for the grammatical and lexical variables, while limited given the small sample size, both support and deviate from previous language shift models. They support previous models since all three variables produced some degree of empirical evidence of language shift in generations farther removed from immigration. The questionnaire data provided the most complex and robust support of language shift, followed by the grammatical variables, and the lexical variables provided the least support. However, these data deviate from previous models in a number of ways. For one, most questionnaire items, grammatical variables, and lexical variables showed a lack of fully linear intergenerational differences in the descriptive means scores from one generation to the next. In some cases, a generation further removed from immigration yielded higher rates of Spanish usage or lower rates of English usage than the previous generation.

For most variables, a generation further removed from immigration indicated higher rates of Spanish usage or lower rates of English usage than the previous generation. A lack of fully linear differences between consecutive generations occurred with most of the grammatical and lexical variables excluding determiner + noun, noun + adjective, preterit, imperfect, and subjunctive, unflagged multi-item switches, and

invented forms. That is, the majority of descriptive statistical increases in English usage, decreases in Spanish usage, and increases in the grammatical and lexical variables across generations did not show a neat, linear progression as in: 0 → 1 → 2 → 3. On the contrary, results were much more complicated, and the generational trajectory varied considerably by questionnaire question or by grammatical or lexical variable. This could be due in part to the small sample size, and to the fact that speakers of the same generation often differed to a large enough degree in their correctness rates to disrupt a fully linear decline from GENERATION 0 to GENERATION 3. For instance, one of the GENERATION 1 participants produced the highest grammatical substitution rate across variables of any generation, and much higher rates than all other GENERATION 1 participants. With the exception of those in GENERATION 0, who all showed comparably high rates of correctness, participants in all other generations displayed a wide array of correctness rates, and in several instances, a GENERATION 1 participant scored slightly lower than a GENERATION 2 speaker, or a GENERATION 3 speaker produced a slightly higher correctness rate for certain variables than a GENERATION 2 speaker. However, most differences between consecutive generations were not large enough to result in statistically significant differences.

Such a lack of linearity was also reflected in the results produced by the statistical models: no variables under study produced fully linear statistically significant increases or decreases from GENERATION 0 to GENERATION 3. Instead, across all three sets of variables, the vast majority of statistically significant intergenerational differences manifested between generational extremes, or between those closest to immigration

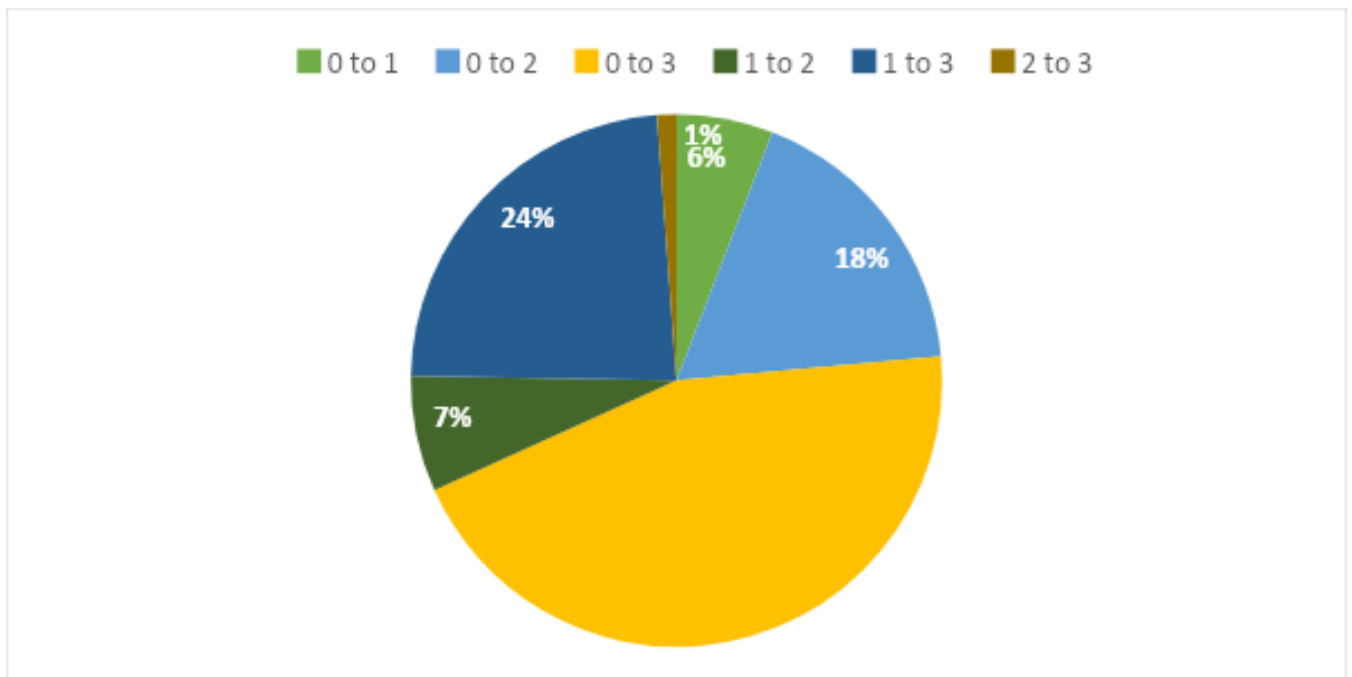


(GENERATIONS 0 and 1) and those furthest (GENERATIONS 2 and 3). Of the 85 statistically significant differences across the three sets of variables, 73 (85.9%) occurred between generational extremes, while only 12 (13.6%) occurred between consecutive generations. More specifically, with 38 (44.7%) instances of statistically significant differences, GENERATIONS 0 and 3 were responsible for the highest number and were followed by GENERATIONS 1 and 3, who produced 20 (23.5%) differences between them. GENERATIONS 0 and 2 differed to a statistically significant extent 15 (17.6%) times throughout the data, which represents the third highest number of such differences.

With regard to consecutive generations, there were far fewer statistically significant differences. That is, between GENERATIONS 0 and 1, there were a total of five (5.9%) statistically significant differences, and only six between GENERATIONS 1 and 2 (7.1%). In comparing GENERATIONS 2 and 3, only one statistically significant difference (1.2%) emerged across all three sets of variables (invented forms) in that the latter showed a higher rate than the former. As such, the two generations closest to immigration showed highly similar rates of language usage and proficiency in Spanish, as well as similarly low rates of grammatical substitution and English lexical variables in the form of LLI and multi-item insertions, invented forms, or loanshifts/semantic extensions. This was also the case for the two generations furthest from immigration although this effect was more pronounced; GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed at least indicated five statistically significant differences overall while GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed only one. This indicates that these latter two generations displayed virtually identical rates of grammatical substitution, lexical variables, and language

usage/proficiency in Spanish and English. As such, no questionnaire item, grammatical, or lexical variable revealed incremental statistically significant differences for all possible intergenerational comparisons (i.e., 0 to 1, 1 to 2, 2 to 3) which confirms a lack of linear intergenerational differences. The aforementioned statistically significant differences are represented in Chart 6.1.

**CHART 6.1. FRACTION OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERATIONS**



While I did document ample evidence of language shift between GENERATIONS 0 and 3, GENERATIONS 1 and 3, and GENERATIONS 0 and 2, I did not find abundant, clear-cut differences between consecutive generations (GENERATIONS 0 and 1, 1 and 2, and/or 2 and 3). Instead, I found a considerable amount of variation between consecutive

generations at the descriptive level, which speaks to the heterogeneity of HLS as a group, but these differences were minimal at best and were not large enough to result in statistically significant differences between them. This indicates similar, if not identical behavior from one generation to the next. Instead, change between consecutive generations was gradual and cumulative, most of which did not present statistically significant differences between generations until GENERATION 2 when comparing their data to GENERATION 0. Such statistically significant change culminated with GENERATION 3, as evident when comparing their data to GENERATIONS 0 or 1. Thus, the slight changes that occurred between GENERATIONS 1 and 2 and between GENERATIONS 2 and 3 were not large enough to register differences between them but were large enough to produce markedly different results in comparison to GENERATION 0 and/or 1 (both for GENERATION 3). These results challenge previous 3 generation language-shift models (cf. Fishman 1964; Grosjean 1982; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Sasse 1992; Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta, and Bayley 1996; Bayley 1999; Rivera-Mills 2000; MacGregor-Mendoza 2005).- Such models portray clear, delineated differences in language usage patterns between consecutive generations, and overwhelmingly attested to statistically significant declines in Spanish usage or progressive increases in English usage and/or proficiency with each subsequent generation after immigration. They claim the process to be predictable, and deterministic; one that ends in shift in most, if not all cases.

Based on a limited set of data, there is no evidence of linear changes over generations with regard to language shift in Austin that follow a neat, direct process. Instead, my results suggest an overall lack of differences between consecutive

generations, but drastic differences in comparing generational extremes. As such, I cannot present my data in a similar way to the aforementioned studies, since intergenerational clines in language usage, grammatical precision, or usage of lexical variables varied by question-type and variable. I also cannot say that complete shift was realized by the third or fourth generation like previous models. Despite being English-dominant, all GENERATION 2 participants and half of the GENERATION 3 participants were able to participate in a 30-minute interview mostly in Spanish. While I do not have enough data to propose an alternative model of language shift, I found similar trends among three distinct sets of variables, which suggests that the aforementioned three-generation language shift models may oversimplify the problem. I therefore join researchers like Valdés (2001), García, Morín, and Rivera (2001) Anderson & Mejías (2005), and Villa and Mills (2009), in calling for more complex language-shift models that comprise more than just three generations and that consider other factors. For instance, I remind the reader that within their revised language shift model, Villa and Mills (2009) allow for maintenance as well as shift and the possibility of reacquisition of Spanish later in life. Citing the social diversity of Spanish speakers in the U.S., they also re-define ‘generation’ to be more encompassing of such diversity and examine the role that endogamous or exogamous marriage practices play in predicting maintenance or shift. I agree that such factors are important to consider, but equally important are participants’ personal stories and experiences that may better account for the ebb and flow of language usage in their lives than ‘generation’ alone. Again, I did find some tentative evidence of cyclical bilingualism among my participants that are the result of

personal choices and changes that those participants made in their lives. Perhaps then, the static construct of ‘generation’, is not the best indicator of language shift, as suggested by the lack of statistically significant intergenerational differences between consecutive generations. I propose then, that more complex social and individual factors should be considered when assessing language shift, especially since so much variation can exist within a single generation. Indeed, participants within a single generation among my sample-size exhibited considerable variation in their life experiences and with Spanish. By relying mainly on the variable ‘generation’ to group the participants, I essentially masked these differences that proved to be quite important. Such differences that merit investigation include: (a) motivation to learn Spanish; (b) perceived value of Spanish and English; (c) experiences with each language and/or racialization experiences stemming from speaking Spanish (i.e., had they experienced discrimination for speaking Spanish); (d) connectedness to Mexico, or ability/frequency to travel there; (e) the participant’s social network and the ethnolinguistic affiliation of those close to them; (f) do they/are they able to use Spanish at work; among others. Velázquez (2019) examines some of these factors among others in her work with Mexican families living in Nebraska, and thereby more convincingly shows the complex dynamics of language maintenance and shift than most previous studies have done. Thus, while my sample-size was small, my results suggest that language shift is not a clear-cut process as most previous studies have suggested, and that generation is not enough to portray the phenomenon accurately.

Education level and socioeconomic status are important factors to consider, as well. In general, my more educated speakers of a higher socioeconomic background seemed to show reduced degrees of shift in comparison to those of a lower educational and socioeconomic background.<sup>46</sup> That is, the more educated GENERATION 0 and 1 speakers tended to use Spanish more on a daily basis across interlocutors and domains and showed lower rates of grammatical and lexical substitution; i.e., in comparison to GENERATIONS 2 and 3, that is. This was especially marked for the GENERATION 0 participants. Having done some if not all of their schooling in Mexico, these participants had some degree of formal education in Spanish, which proved to be a hindering factor for shift in their case. Indeed, a lack of formal education in Spanish is a common characteristic for HLS (Lipski 2008, 2016; Nieto 2010; Klee 2011; Zyzik 2016, 2020) and may help explain the increased rates of grammatical substitution evident in generations farther removed from immigration; all such speakers were HLS of Spanish with a lack of such access. All but one GENERATION 0 participants were also college graduates (or currently in college) and worked relatively high-paying jobs where Spanish was required to at least some degree in their daily professional lives (although English dominates their language use at work); this also seemed to have helped them maintain Spanish. As I discuss in my concluding remarks, financial struggle can be a facilitating force for language shift, in that when resources are limited, the language deemed more economically viable and required for survival (English) will always take precedence.

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<sup>46</sup> This was the case for GENERATIONS 0 and 1 participants. Shift had already manifested to a similar extent for the GENERATION 2 and 3 speakers regardless of their educational and socioeconomic background.

**4. What social and societal factors caused participants to shift to English, and what are the resulting affective and personal consequences of such shift? What are the effects on Spanish speakers in Austin?**

A wide array of social and societal factors interacted to induce language shift among my participants, and the resulting affective and personal consequences of such shift were extensive. All participants had either experienced a gradual loss of Spanish in their own speech throughout their lives, and/or knew someone close to them who had experienced it, such as a friend, coworker, neighbor, or family member. Several participants shared poignant stories relating their experiences and how language shift has affected them or their families. The following qualitative themes emerged across interviews:

- a. Gentrification, a growing problem in Austin (and in cities throughout the United States), has had a disproportionate effect on Latinx and/or other BIPOC families of color who have historically lived on the East Side of the city. Gentrification in Austin has caused Spanish-speaking families to be displaced to increasingly remote parts of the city, and with them, their language. Several participants mentioned gentrification during our interviews and how they believe it is exacerbating language shift to English in Austin.
- b. Schools play an important role in language shift as they are the first main source of assimilation that children experience. In school, English instruction interrupts naturalistic Spanish acquisition, English starts to take over contexts of usage once reserved for Spanish, and children begin to be socially conditioned by faculty and

- students alike to believe that English is the more advantageous language (Lipski 2008; Boas 2009; Nieto 2010; Zyzik 2016; Velázquez 2019).
- c. Exogamous marriages, common among participants, often hasten shift and result in the adoption of English as the language of the home. They contributed considerably to the death of Texas German, and are increasingly common among U.S. Latinx, which further exacerbates language shift from Spanish to English in such cases (Boas 2009; Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, López 2017).
  - d. A preliminary *machista* element to language shift is often driven by the man of the house who tends to be the one who determines the language his family is to speak. In five separate cases, participants spoke of male-dominated language decisions and practices in their home to which everyone had to adhere. In some cases, the man decided that everyone had to speak Spanish, which had a positive outcome in ensuring Spanish-language maintenance in the next generation. In other cases, the man facilitated language shift by consciously or unconsciously establishing English as the home language. This both hindered their children's linguistic development and created discord between husband and wife regarding their language goals for their children.
  - e. Internalized racism can cause parents to align themselves with oppressor norms and devalue and abandon Spanish, in part to shield their children from discrimination, which a number of my participants have faced. Hegemony, or the internalization of racist norms, is a common psychological consequence for minorities living in situations of sustained inequality and discrimination (Gramsci



- 1977; Pyke 2010). As such, hegemony also seems to play a role in language shift: many U.S. Latinx, already wary of the linguistic and racial discrimination, especially those have been in the United States for more than one generation, start to adopt anti-Spanish sentiment and do not teach their children Spanish.
- f. Raising a bilingual child in a society not only marked by a majority monolingual population (239 million vs. 67.3 million), but also one that is increasingly hostile to multilingualism, presents significant challenges (*U.S. Census Bureau 2019*). Teaching children to learn Spanish in the home while most experiences outside the home suppress the use of Spanish is an uphill battle that many parents will not have the desire, time, or energy to fight.
  - g. Language shift to English can result in communication issues at family gatherings in the best of cases, and feelings of exclusion, isolation, and shame in the worst of cases. Language shift can also cause serious identity issues for HLS, an already vulnerable group that often struggles to define their identity, as Gloria described and continues to struggle with to date (Nieto 2010; Klee 2011; Showstack 2017).
  - h. Fear was an especially salient theme. Deeply frustrated by the legislative and rhetorical attacks on Latinx-Americans inculcated throughout the former Trump administration, many participants remarked on how fear is further driving language shift: fear of discrimination, hate-crimes, and/or deportation. As explained by the three social workers I interviewed, their Spanish-speaking clients are so afraid that their undocumented status will be revealed that they do not even come into the office to apply for benefits they need and are eligible for, such as

SNAP benefits (commonly known as Food Stamps). Other participants expressed fear for their friends and family who are not American citizens. In such a hostile climate that is currently ongoing, Spanish-speakers, especially those of uncertain legal status, may do whatever they deem necessary to ensure their families avoid detection by authorities; this will likely involve abandoning Spanish, one of the most obvious signs used to ‘other’ them, which could have dire consequences for language maintenance in the coming years.

### **6.3. THE INTERSECTION OF THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESULTS**

As I have indicated throughout this chapter, intergenerational differences appear to some degree in all of the variables that I examined, but these differences were largely non-linear and manifested at generational extremes that raise questions about the deterministic nature of previous language shift studies. The qualitative data further demonstrated the complexities of language shift by showing how participants have been directly affected by language shift on a personal level. These data both humanized the quantitative data and contextualized them within the everyday experiences of my participants. While everyone shared a unique perspective on the issue, there were a number of overlapping motifs that further explained why my participants, especially those further from immigration, exhibited language shift in their language usage patterns, grammar, and lexicon. Participants farther removed from immigration in later generations come from families who have spent more time in the United States, and thus have had more time to internalize and absorb its linguistic and cultural ideologies. As I discussed in section 6.2, increased exposure and time in the contact setting has caused substitutions in Spanish

language proficiency and usage across various domains for various interlocutors, which, in turn, result in higher rates of grammatical substitution, loanshifts/semantic extensions, and invented forms as measured against the prevailing standard of Spanish to which I gauged the grammatical and lexical variables.

For instance, some of the questionnaire items for which English usage was especially high across participants (and especially pronounced in GENERATIONS 2 and 3) were those targeting language usage in school. Here, English not only begins its gradual replacement of Spanish, but also Spanish-speaking students are socialized by the social and economic value of English. As Boas (2009) shows, schools played an integral role in the prolonged death of Texas German in the state. Like German-speaking students decades ago, Latinx students face significant social pressure to switch to English at the expense of Spanish, lest they face rebuke from teachers (or even corporal punishment, which is legal in the state of Texas) and ridicule from fellow students; many of whom are often of a Spanish-speaking background themselves. At school, students learn that English, the language of their superiors and peers, is the language of both academic success and social acceptance; hence English usage rates were so comparably high for the language(s) used in K-12 schooling across generations, with the exception of the GENERATION 0 participants, most of whom did at least part of their schooling in Mexico (Klee 2011).

These students then bring English home and use it as their language of choice with friends and siblings, as evidenced by the nearly exclusive rates of English usage indicated by participants belonging to GENERATIONS 1 through 3 (even some GENERATION

0 participants). It is common for Spanish-speaking children to begin to respond in English to parents' questions that are posed in Spanish, as Anabel attested with her daughter. This of course can only occur in a home where the parents do speak Spanish, as was the case for most GENERATION 0 and 1 participants who indicated relatively high rates of Spanish usage with their parents in the home as children, a tendency that declined as they got older. In the homes of participants belonging to GENERATIONS 2 and 3, Spanish tended not to be spoken; hence they showed statistically significant lower rates of Spanish usage as both children and adults and higher rates of English across interlocutors and domains, which became exacerbated as adults. As I learned through the experiences of Alejandra, parents become aware of racist norms, anti-Spanish sentiment, and monolingual language ideologies present at all levels of society and make their families aware of them, too. This can be exacerbated in homes where *machista* and *marianista* roles are evident in the household language decisions (McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson 2000; Denner and Dunbar 2004). When the male head of household internalizes such ideologies, he may establish English as the sole family language, as in the case of the González family, or unconsciously undermine his wife's efforts to raise her daughter in Spanish, like in the Zapata household. In either case, the whole family suffers similar linguistic consequences, reflecting what occurred with Raquel's nieces and nephews, where only the oldest speaks any degree of Spanish, or with Enrique and Gloria. They indicated relatively low Spanish proficiency in their questionnaire results (2.75 and 1, respectively) and exceedingly low rates of Spanish usage and high rates of English usage in their daily lives across various interlocutors and in various domains.

Perhaps similar forces were at play in the homes of other GENERATION 2 and 3 participants like Carla, Sam, Mónica, and Danilo, who indicated similarly low rates of Spanish usage and high rates of English usage across interlocutors and domains.

Exogamous marriages/relationships, as I have explained, also help contextualize some of the high rates of English usage in adulthood across interlocutors and domains. Sonia, Rigoberta, Beatriz, Diego, Josie, Antonio, Sam, and Gloria (over one-third of my participants) were all in an exogamous relationship with an Anglo-American at the time of the interview and rated their English usage with their partner at a 4 or 5 and their Spanish at a 1 or 2; hence English rates with romantic partners were high and Spanish rates were low across generations. These relationships also help to explain the increases in English usage at home and decreases in Spanish usage from childhood to adulthood across generations (excluding GENERATION 2, whose English usage rate at home stayed the same, and GENERATION 3, whose Spanish usage rate also stayed the same at home).

Most of my partnered participants also lived with their significant other at the time of the interview, and thus spent most of their home lives speaking English. Once such exogamous couples have children, English often becomes established as the family language, which further cements English as the main, if not sole, language of the home. In most diglossic situations, home is a safe space for the minority language, but once English takes over there, it becomes increasingly difficult for speakers to find opportunities to speak Spanish. Indeed, of the participants who did have children at the time of interview, exogamous and endogamous couples alike indicated low Spanish usage scores with their children (none exceeding 2 for any generation) and relatively high

English scores (ranging 3 to 4). GENERATION 2 is excluded from this analysis because no participants had children at the time of the interview. Even in endogamous relationships, such as Esteban and Anabel, or Alicia and Enrique, consistent Spanish usage is not guaranteed. Instead, as is consistent with *machista* and *marianista* cultural norms, the language preferences and needs of the male partner tend to take precedence. In the case of Alicia and Enrique, they almost always spoke English to each other at home, since Enrique commands such low productive competence in Spanish, which requires Alicia to linguistically accommodate her partner's language needs. As such, she rated her Spanish usage with Enrique as only a 2 and English usage as a 5. Anabel and Esteban indicated similar experiences, but not due to any lack of productive competence on Esteban's behalf. Instead, Esteban prefers to speak English at home to Anabel and to his daughter (hence his high English scores and low Spanish scores with Anabel, his daughter, and in the domain of home as an adult), which has already had negative linguistic consequences for their five-year-old daughter's Spanish.

I now return to the fact that English was the overwhelming language of choice across all generations in public domains such as work, school, and businesses, to the point where there were no significant differences ( $p > 0.05$ ) between generations for Spanish or English. Recall that rates for Spanish were so comparably low and rates for English so comparably high. This was especially evident at work and in businesses, where intergenerational English usage scores ranged from 4 to 4.8, while Spanish scores were much lower, ranging only from 1.75 to 2. Such high rates are likely a result of the socioeconomic and political power of English as well as Spanish's status as an 'othered'

minority language. For many U.S. Latinx, English is also the language associated with socioeconomic advancement, and those that have found success have tended to do so by working in institutional settings that favor English over Spanish, which underscores the role that socioeconomic status can play in language shift. Certainly, anti-Spanish xenophobic sentiment and legislation and the ensuing fear over the last few years could have not helped encourage participants to speak Spanish at work (Bills 2005; Lipski 2008; Hill 2009; Nieto 2010; Velázquez 2019). As such, all participants, regardless of generation, used English mainly, if not exclusively, at work. Even fully Spanish-proficient GENERATION 0 participants like Beatriz, Ramona (who was quite outspoken about this during our interview), Diego, and Josie, who all use Spanish at work to communicate with Spanish-speaking clients, indicated higher rates of English than Spanish at work.

Gentrification in Austin may exacerbate this effect as it further supports the dominance of socioeconomic advancement associated with English. As gentrification displaces Spanish-speaking residents like Alicia, Enrique, and Antonio, or displaces and/or causes Spanish-speaking businesses to close due to exorbitantly high property taxes, like Leal's Tire Shop or the El Gallo restaurant on South Congress Avenue, domains in which interlocutors use Spanish become fewer and farther between. Spanish becomes increasingly sparse in the linguistic landscapes of communities where it was once common as its social and cultural capital and ethnolinguistic vitality wane (Giles et al. 1977; Bordieu 1986, 1991; Gao, Schmidt, and Gudykunst 1994; Landry and Bourhis 1997; Yagmur and Ehala 2011). Gentrification further marginalizes and relegates Spanish

to a lower status under English, of which Spanish-speakers are aware. At best, they avoid speaking it in public places (or simply lose opportunities to do so), and at worse, they may start to devalue it as they watch disenfranchisement befall their Spanish-speaking friends and neighbors. It is not surprising then that participants across generations indicated such low rates of Spanish and high rates of English in public domains like work and businesses, and with interlocutors with whom they tend to interact, such as friends and coworkers. While I did not address gentrification on the questionnaire, I posit that it has had a negative impact on participants' Spanish language usage patterns and frequency.

The omnipotence and omnipresence of English, which gentrification abets, make it more difficult to raise a child bilingually, as Esteban and Anabel expressed during their interviews. Because of a complex intersection of the aforementioned social factors, English is the main daily language of Esteban and Anabel's lives, and with modern resource constraints, it has been exceedingly difficult for them to provide enough Spanish input at home to ensure their daughter's Spanish linguistic development. They both indicated in their questionnaires and interviews that they speak mainly English at work, in school, in businesses, and with all interlocutors save their mostly monolingual Spanish-speaking parents. From childhood to adulthood at home, Anabel's Spanish usage decreased from a 5 to 3, and Esteban's decreased from a 5 to 2; in terms of their English usage, both experienced a 50% increase from 2 to 4. In a world where they are constantly and increasingly inundated by English, in part thanks to gentrification, bringing it home



and speaking it to their daughter are often unconscious and simply the path of least resistance.

Even church is not a guaranteed safe space for Spanish, which may also be a result of gentrification together with its encroaching Anglo cultural and linguistic norms. During our interview, Antonio posited such an effect after witnessing high rates of English usage among the children at his Mexican church downtown. When first examining language usage within religious spaces among participants, it seemed that this domain was resistant to language shift. Indeed, for the questionnaire item measuring language usage in prayer, participants indicated similarly high rates of Spanish in prayer across generations, which aligns with work done by MacGregor-Mendoza (2005) and Velázquez (2019), who also documented language maintenance in church. However, in other questionnaire items, my participants showed significantly lower rates ( $p < 0.05$ ) of Spanish usage at church, and significantly higher rates of English usage. For instance, in comparing childhood English rates to adulthood English rates at church, GENERATIONS 0 and 1 showed significant gains in English usage ( $p=0.000398$ , and  $p=0.00123$ , respectively). This finding, along with the high rates of English usage at church found for GENERATIONS 2 and 3, suggest that the church is vulnerable to language shift as well, despite what previous studies have found. Indeed, English usage rates were high in all generations, but the immigrant generation, which should show the most robust Spanish rates, revealed the highest and most statistically significant gains in English usage of all within this domain (MacGregor-Mendoza 2005; Velázquez 2009; 2019). The low rates of Spanish usage and high rates of English usage at church for GENERATIONS 2 and 3 (in

both childhood and adulthood) further cement this finding. It is worth noting that only about 64 Catholic parishes across all of Central Texas, ranging from College Station to Waco, offer mass in Spanish. Similarly, of the 1,676 religious organizations throughout the Austin Metropolitan Statistical Area, only 130 (7.6%) mentioned offering services in Spanish in the Yellow Pages and/or on their website (Hardy 2019). As such, Spanish services are not widely offered, which certainly does not help promote Spanish-language maintenance.

The overall statistically significant lower rates of Spanish usage across interlocutors and domains among GENERATIONS 2 and 3 in comparison to GENERATIONS 0 and 1 may also be due in part to the ridicule from extended family members living in Mexico, who have native-speaker productive skills in Spanish. Many HLS, of which all of my GENERATION 1 to 3 participants can be considered, suffer from high degrees of linguistic insecurity (Martínez and Petrucci 2004; Nieto 2010; Klee 2011; Zyzik 2016; Showstack 2017). Such insecurity can be significantly amplified by family members who mock them for what they consider to be inadequate levels of Spanish proficiency. This, in turn, can dissuade such HLS from even attempting to speak Spanish in spaces where they should be able to do so. In a city where Spanish-speaking opportunities have become increasingly fleeting, this is a larger problem, as evidenced by Gloria and Enrique who are largely estranged to their extended family because of their lack of Spanish and the hostile environment in which they tend to find themselves when spending time with their relatives. Such family shame tactics and/or unintended alienation are important factors that contextualize the low Spanish self-proficiency scores and usage rates evinced by the

two generations furthest from immigration, and even among some GENERATION 1 participants. Alexa (a GENERATION 1 participant) told a friend after our interview that she was a *vergüenza a la raza* ‘a shame to the race’ because of her self-perceived low productive proficiency in Spanish in relation to mine (as a non-native gringo). In essence, I inadvertently contributed to her sense of linguistic insecurity, for which I am quite regretful as this was not my intention.

Reduced usage and lower proficiency, a result of the aforementioned social and affective factors, were related to participants committing statistically significant higher rates of grammatical substitution in relation to GENERATIONS 0 to 1. Such instances of substitution proved to cluster in the areas of gender, aspect, and mood, areas that tend to be problematic for HLS and evince language shift or incomplete acquisition. For many such speakers, their questionnaire results and interviews indicated that they experienced a disruption in naturalistic Spanish acquisition when they started school, preventing them from fully developing systems of gender, aspect, and mood, which may explain why substitution in these areas were so relatively high (Fairclough 2006; Montrul 2007, 2010; Montrul, Foote and Perpiñán 2008; Montrul and Perpiñán 2011; Van Buren 2012; Wolford and Carter 2018). Similarly, the statistically significant higher rates of overt pronoun expression in GENERATIONS 2 and 3 in relation to GENERATIONS 0 and 1 may be a result of participants’ increased time in the contact setting surrounded by English. Indeed, previous work regarding subject pronoun expression in Spanish has found that immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries show a direct correlation between overt subject expression and time spent in an English-contact situation: the longer they spend

surrounded by English, the more subject pronouns they use in their Spanish discourse, which can increase significantly within the span of one generation (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Livert & Otheguy 2010; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Thus, my GENERATION 2 and 3 participants, who are multiple generations removed from immigration, experience a significant amount of their lives surrounded by English (due to the aforementioned social factors), and as such, they may project English subject pronoun conventions onto their Spanish to an extent.

Such reduced usage of Spanish, dominant usage of English, and higher English proficiency, also contextualize the lexical effects I found. With regard to loanshifts/semantic extensions, my English-dominant GENERATION 2 and 3 participants projected English semantic patterns onto certain Spanish words, a number of which were false cognates. Of the 111 semantic extensions, 27 were cognates (24.3%), which is consistent with the fact that false cognates are especially prone to semantic extension given the surface-level appearance between the two forms (Montes-Alcalá 2000; Rothman and Bell 2005; Lipski 2008, Nieto 2010; Toribio 2011). Similarly, reduced Spanish usage and proficiency may also explain the higher rates of invented forms among generations farther from immigration. Because of their reduced Spanish proficiency and usage, GENERATION 2 and 3 participants evinced instances of lexical gaps in their speech, which they needed to fill, and thus produced forms that, while similar to the standard word in Spanish, were non-existent in any Spanish dictionary.

Such results are consistent with what Zyzik (2020) found in her examination of derivational morphology knowledge and acceptability of creative forms by bilingual

Spanish-English HLS and monolingual Spanish speakers. She found that the monolingual group outright rejected creative forms such *mayoridad* ‘majority, or *profundez* ‘depth’, but that the bilingual groups were far more accepting, especially the English-dominant ones. Zyzik’s results help inform why I found the highest rates of creative forms among my English-dominant speakers and virtually no such forms in the speech of my GENERATION 0 participants, who were either Spanish dominant or balanced bilinguals. As Zyzik (2020) shows, English-dominant bilingual HLS often lack the formal Spanish education required to master Spanish derivational morphology, and because of their bilingual existence in which multiple forms of the same word exist, they are more accepting of such invented forms; these experiences also fit those of my participants representative of later generations. Many such invented forms were cognates as well (41/60, or 60.4%). Indeed, HLS often struggle to predict the morphological patterns of English/Spanish cognates, which prevents them from correctly forming the word they intend to use (Chaston 1996; Montrul 2010; Fairclough and Garza 2018).

Lima (2019) found this to be particularly common among HLS in her study at Texas Tech University. She found that speakers mostly produced the correct root of a word but tended to attach the wrong suffix according to standard Spanish norms. This practice is consistent with a number of the invented forms that I have shown in my own data. Such results are also evidence of participants’ reduced productive competence but relatively high receptive competence, another consequence of the social forces at play in their lives (Fairclough and Garza 2018).

#### **6.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

I have provided much evidence of shift across participants in the form of Spanish to English proficiency, language usage patterns, grammatical substitution, lexical phenomena, and participants' personal experiences with language shift. Together, all these factors present a broad portrayal of language shift in Austin, Texas. I provide the most comprehensive quantitative analysis of language shift of which I am aware. Only Silva-Corvalán has produced a similarly comprehensive examination, but she studied Spanish-speakers in Los Angeles and did not focus on language shift. Thus, I fill a research gap on language shift by providing multivariate empirical evidence on a relatively understudied speech community of Central Texas. As I explain in Chapter 2, most studies examining language shift have done so solely through questionnaire data, or through focusing on a specific grammatical variable or two. Others have examined borrowings and code-switching among varieties of U.S. Spanish, but with only a brief mention of language shift at best (López 1982a, 1982b; Hartz-González 1986; Solé 1987, 1990; Veltman 1988, 2000; Gutiérrez 1994, 2003; Hudson et al. 1995; Pease-Álvarez, Hakuta, and Bayley 1996; Hernández-Chavez, Bills, and Hudson 1996; Bills 2005; Lapidus-Shin 2010; Toribio 2011; Carreira 2013; Wolford and Carter 2018). I argue that none of these variables can be used alone to examine the phenomenon sufficiently, but rather that all three are needed to provide a comprehensive and convincing analysis of language shift. Using these data, I propose that language shift is a much more complicated process, one that is not as deterministic as many previous models have suggested. Again, my data, while limited due to the small number of participants, indicate

no evidence of such a neat, linear cline. Instead, my results align more with language-shift models that better account for such variability and present the phenomenon as more of an ebb and flow that responds closely to generational changes in language usage and linguistic ideologies as well as in participants' lives (García, Morín, and Rivera 2001; Mejías, Anderson, and Carlson 2002; Anderson and Mejías 2005; Mora, Villa, and Dávila 2006; Villa and Rivera-Mills 2009). As Josie, a GENERATION 0 participant, explained, she rebelled against speaking Spanish as a teenager to spite her parents. But now she highly values Spanish as an adult and has worked hard to speak it more frequently on a daily basis and regrets her negative adolescent attitude towards it. As my data show, language shift is a highly variable and dynamic process, so one measure of study is not enough to address or understand the phenomenon adequately.

However, even multiple quantitative measures do not fully portray the problem because the human element must also be taken into account. Few studies have examined the affective side of language shift, and only a handful of studies have addressed how participants have been impacted by language shift. For those studies that have, impacts on people experiencing language shift were presented as a tangential side effect (Castellanos 1990; Pearson and McGee 1993; Torres 1997; Zentella 1997; Bayley 1999). While Velázquez (2019) provides a comprehensive study examining, in part, the affective elements involved with language shift, she focused more on participants' motivations for teaching their children Spanish, their experiences with Spanish and English, and their associated attitudes and ideologies with each language; she focused much less on how language shift affected her participants on a personal level. I argue that the personal

effects of language shift are the most important of all, and thus I include a qualitative focus to this study to humanize the quantitative evidence of shift that I found. As I have discussed, the personal costs of language shift are high, and they cannot be overlooked in a comprehensive study of language shift such as this one. Understanding the affective consequences not only makes the quantitative data more relevant, but it also helps us understand them more fully. As shown throughout this chapter, the quantitative evidence of language shift I found stem from the societal, social, and affective processes that foster language shift. When considering the complex web of external factors that work together to cause language shift, the picture becomes more complicated. The participants in this study experience the nuances of speaking Spanish and being Latinx in the United States first-hand, on a daily basis. The social connotations associated with Spanish, like Spanish language usage itself, ebb and flow and respond closely to the sociopolitical context at hand, all of which informs their language usage choices and likelihood to transmit Spanish to the next generation. Failing to consider such perspectives limits understanding of how this phenomenon occurs and what it means to those who live this experience, who comprise the large majority of Spanish speakers in the United States. It also limits their agency by considering them as passive, inanimate cogs in a language-shift machine, which I believe I have shown convincingly is not the case. In a country that has historically wronged Latinx-Americans and their ancestors for centuries, I did not want to commit another injustice by not including their stories and how language shift has personally and individually affected them, so I aimed to do so in meticulous detail.



In reading some of their stories, it may seem easy to cast judgment at first glance, particularly on Spanish-speaking families who have chosen to raise their children mainly or exclusively in English. However, it is important to recognize that they may not have had much choice in the matter. Immigrant families must assimilate to mainstream American society in order to ensure their children's survival and success, which, for many, is only possible in English; for example, in the González household. Putting food on the table will always outweigh the need to transmit Spanish to the next generation, which sets the groundwork for intergenerational language shift. As Velázquez (2019) eloquently states in the introduction of her book chronicling the dynamics of language maintenance and shift in Mexican families living in Nebraska, language maintenance for such families, is a “luxury that language-minority parents do not share with their language-majority counterparts: for them, it is never a foregone conclusion that their children and grandchildren will speak their native language(s)” (Velázquez 2019:13). As the participants in this study have shown through their experiences and stories, it takes a village to raise a child bilingually. Both parents and the extended family must make a conscious, concerted, and sustained effort to maintain Spanish as the family language if they have any hopes of fighting against the omnipresence of English. A vibrant community full of Spanish speakers and opportunities to speak the language are also required to ensure a child's Spanish development, which are becoming increasingly sparse in Austin due to gentrification (Fishman 1991, 2001). Austin, along with the United States as a whole, continues to prioritize monolingualism and linguistic assimilation, which present significant challenges to Spanish-speaking families trying to

survive in a society that has become increasingly hostile towards their ethnolinguistic group(s).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that tens of thousands of Spanish-speaking immigrants still make the trek to the United States every year (witness the current humanitarian crisis on the border) and tens of millions of Americans still speak Spanish. Spanish-language curricula at all educational levels also continue to expand throughout the country, as HLS account for growing portions of the student body. It is far too early to tell if Spanish in Austin is moribund, and certainly, there are still vibrant pockets of Spanish-speaking communities throughout the city. However, they are becoming fewer and farther between as the linguistic and socioeconomic landscapes of the city continue to change. Indeed, the largest cities surrounding Austin that comprise the Austin Metropolitan Statistical Area (Round Rock, Pflugerville, Kyle, and San Marcos), have all experienced modest increases in their Latinx populations ranging from 0.4% to 5.31% from the 2010 to 2019 censuses (*Census Quick Facts 2019*). I also remind the reader that current demographic trends such as waning immigration rates from Spanish-speaking countries (in comparison to its peak in the early 2000s), declining Latinx birthrates, and increasing rates of displacement of Latinx residents due to gentrification continue to threaten the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Austin. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and legislation have also been gaining momentum since 9/11, culminating in the past Trump administration, which has created a culture of fear in immigrant communities across the nation.

As such, it is important to recognize the precarious situation of Spanish in Central Texas as evidenced in the language usage patterns, grammar and lexicon, and experiences of my participants. I again draw the reader's attention to the language death of Texas German. Following the two World-Wars, anti-German sentiment, combined with monolingual ideals, portrayed multilingualism as a threat to the national identity, which has largely contributed to the death of that language variety. Spanish in Texas represents a distinct sociohistorical and cultural context and is therefore not in a moribund state, but similar xenophobic and English-only rhetoric and legislation are at play today which continue to threaten the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish. I argue that it is important to consider such parallels and work to enact political and educational changes to prevent Spanish from ever reaching such a state, especially when considering the haste in which Texas German has been lost (Boas 2009). Furthermore, the long-term effects of Trump's America will be extensive (in multiple areas), but this dark, four-year chapter in American history presents ripe opportunities to study language maintenance and shift not only among Spanish speakers, but also among speakers of other immigrant groups who have faced similar legislative and rhetorical attacks. Longitudinal studies examining the generational effects of this period are necessary in order to establish the extent to which Trump's America has/will affect language maintenance. It could be potentially fruitful to return to my participants ten years from now and examine not only their own degrees of language maintenance, but also those of their children. Perhaps Anabel and Esteban's daughter will have developed full productive competence in

Spanish, or perhaps Gloria and Rigoberta will have taught their future children Spanish; based on their interviews and a wealth of scholarly work, this seems unlikely.

Indeed, I found only very limited, anecdotal evidence in support of cyclical bilingualism, or the reacquisition of Spanish later in life (Silva-Corvalán 2001). Some GENERATION 2 participants attested to making concerted efforts to use Spanish more on a daily basis in their lives, which was evident in the descriptive mean scores for the questions regarding Spanish-language media consumption, in which GENERATIONS 2 and 3 showed some of the highest scores. Danilo, for instance, thanks to the bilingual school he attended as a child, claims to speak Spanish better than both of his parents, as does Sam, another GENERATION 3 participant. However, there were no statistically significant gains in Spanish usage from childhood to adulthood for any generation across interlocutors and domains, thereby precluding any substantiated claims of cyclical bilingualism in the case of my participants. As such, I am not optimistic that the majority of my participants will be able to overcome the crippling monolingualism and racist history of the United States to transmit Spanish to their children and combat language shift. Instead, I fear that many will become a part of it, not due to any shortcomings of their own, but to the time and place in which they find themselves.

Alas, the United States is preceded by its reputation as a “language graveyard” (Rumbaut 2009: 35), but perhaps my more motivated participants will continue with their efforts to reacquire Spanish, as they claimed in their interviews. Raquel and her daughter present a particularly promising case, given how dedicated she is to raise her daughter in Spanish. Hopefully, ever-increasing Spanish-language media options and expanding

heritage language speaker curricula throughout the country will continue to make a positive impact and help HLS students like many of my participants reacquire Spanish and develop the confidence to use it on a daily basis across a variety of interlocutors and domains.

## APPENDIX A. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(These were addressed to participants in Spanish, but I include the English translations)

1. *¿Cuántos años tienes?* ‘How old are you?’
2. *¿Cuándo y dónde naciste?* ‘When and where were you born?’
3. *¿Dónde creciste y cómo era?* ‘Where did you grow up and how was it?’
4. *¿De dónde vienen tus padres y tus abuelos? ¿Puedes contarme una historia sobre la región de donde vienen tus padres o tus abuelos?* ‘From where are you parents and grandparents? Can you tell me a story about the region from where your parents or grandparents come?’
5. *¿Dónde vives ahora? ¿Cómo es? ¿Te gusta o no? ¿Por qué?* ‘Where do you live now? How is it? Do you like it or not? Why?’
6. *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacen/hacían tus padres o tus abuelos?* ‘What type of work do/did your parents or grandparents do/did?’
7. *¿Qué tipo de trabajo haces tú?* ‘What type of work do you do?’
8. *¿Cómo es tu trabajo? ¿Te gusta? ¿Por qué sí o no?* ‘What is your job like? Do you like it? Why or why not?’
9. *Cuéntame sobre tu educación.* ‘Tell me about your education.’
10. *¿Dónde hiciste la primaria? ¿Se impartían las clases en inglés o en español?* ‘Where did you do elementary school? Were you taught classes in English or Spanish?’
11. *¿Dónde hiciste la secundaria? ¿Se impartían las clases en inglés o en español?* ‘Where did you do secondary school? Were you taught classes in English or Spanish?’
12. *¿Te gustaba la escuela? ¿Por qué sí o no?* ‘Did you like school? Why or why not?’
13. *¿Qué tipo de estudiante eras?* ‘What type of student were you?’
14. *¿Asististe/asistes a la Universidad? ¿Dónde? ¿Qué estudiaste/estudiaste? ¿Cómo te fue la experiencia, o cómo es ahora?* ‘Did you/do you attend a university? What do you/did you study? How was the experience for you or how is it now?’
15. *Durante tu infancia, ¿qué lengua(s) hablabas en casa con tus padres?* ‘During your childhood, what languages did you speak at home with your parents?’
16. *Durante tu infancia, ¿qué lengua hablabas mayormente con tus hermanos? ¿Con tus compañeros de escuela?* ‘During your childhood, what language did you speak mostly with your siblings? With your classmates?’
17. *¿Hoy en día hablas español a diario? ¿Con quién(es)?* ‘Do you speak Spanish on a daily basis nowadays? With whom?’
18. *¿Hoy en día hablas inglés a diario? ¿Con quién(es)?* ‘Do you speak English on a daily basis nowadays? With whom?’
19. *¿Piensas que es importante hablar español? ¿Por qué sí o no?* ‘Do you think speaking Spanish is important? Why or why not?’

20. *¿Piensas que es importante ser bilingüe? ¿Por qué sí o no?* ‘Do you think being bilingual is important? Why or why not?’
21. *¿Hay dialectos distintos del español que se hablan en Texas? ¿Qué opinas de tales dialectos?* ‘Are there distinct dialects of Spanish that are spoken in Texas? What is your opinion on such dialects?’
22. *Cuéntame sobre tu mejor amigo/a. ¿Cómo es? ¿Cómo lo/la conociste? ¿Tienes alguna historia favorita de él/ella que quisieras compartir?* ‘Tell me about your best friend. What is she/he like? How did you meet her/him? Do you have a favorite story about him/her that you would like to share?’
23. *¿Tienes un buen grupo de amigos? ¿Cómo los conocieron? ¿Qué te gusta hacer con ellos? O sea, ¿cómo pasas un rato con ellos?* ‘Do you have a good group of friends? How did you meet them? What do you like to do with them? Or, how do you spend time with them?’
24. *¿Cómo es tu familia? Dime sobre ellos.* ‘What is your family like? Tell me about them.’
25. *¿Tienes una buena relación con tus padres? ¿Y con tus hermanos?* ‘Do you have a good relationship with your parents? And with your siblings?’
26. *¿Puedes contarme sobre las tradiciones culturales que celebras con tu familia? ¿Qué importancia tienen para su familia? ¿Por qué son importantes?* ‘Can you tell me about the cultural traditions you celebrate with your family? Why are they important?’
27. *¿Tienes novio/novia o esposo/esposa? ¿cómo lo/la conociste?* ‘Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend or a husband/wife? How did you meet him/her?’
28. *(para personas con novio/novia/esposo/esposa) ¿Cómo es tu novio/novia/esposo/esposa? ¿Tienes alguna historia favorita sobre él/ella que quisieras compartir?* ‘(For people with a boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse) What your boyfriend/girlfriend/husband/wife like?’
29. *¿Cómo supiste que era la persona correcta para ti?* ‘How did you know he/she was the right person for you?’
30. *(para personas con esposo/esposa) ¿Cómo le propusiste matrimonio o ¿Cómo te propuso matrimonio tu pareja?* ‘(For people with a spouse) How did you propose? Or how were you proposed to by your partner?’
31. *¿Quién fue la persona más importante en tu vida? ¿Me puedes contar acerca de él o ella?* ‘Who was the most important person in your life? ‘Can you tell me about him or her?’
32. *¿Tienes alguna historia favorita de tu infancia que puedes contarme?* ‘Do you have a favorite story from your childhood that you can tell me?’
33. *Cuéntame de tu memoria más feliz de tu niñez.* ‘Tell me about your happiest

- childhood memory.’
34. *Cuéntame de la memoria más triste de tu niñez (si quieres).* ‘Tell me your saddest childhood memory (if you want to).’
  35. *¿Cuál es la cosa más vergonzosa que te ha pasado en tu vida? ¿Qué te pasó? ¿En qué manera fue vergonzosa?* ‘What is the most embarrassing thing that has happened to you in your life? What happened? In what way was it embarrassing?’
  36. *Dime sobre el mejor día de tu vida hasta ahora. Descríbemelo. ¿Cuándo fue? ¿Con quién(es) estuviste? ¿Qué hacías? ¿Por qué fue el mejor día de tu vida?* ‘Tell me about the best day of your life so far. Describe it to me. When was it? With who were you? What did you do? What were you doing? Why was it the best day of your life?’
  37. *Si ganaras la lotería, ¿qué harías? ¿Cómo sería diferente tu vida?* ‘If you were to win the lottery, what would you do? How would your life be different?’
  38. *¿Cuál es el trabajo de tus sueños y por qué?* ‘What is your dream job and why?’
  39. *Cuéntame sobre tus planes para el futuro. ¿Qué harás? ¿Qué será tu profesión? ¿Dónde vivirás? ¿Con quién(es) vivirás?* ‘Tell me about your plans for the future. What will you do? What will your job be? Where will you live? With whom will you live?’
  40. *¿Te arrepientes de algo?* ‘Is there anything you regret?’
  41. *¿Cuál es tu temor más grande y por qué?* ‘What is your biggest fear and why?’
  42. *Descríbeme el mejor sueño que has tenido en tu vida. ¿Qué pasó en el sueño? Descríbeme todo: la escena, los acontecimientos importantes, los colores, los personajes, los sentimientos que te dio el sueño, etc.* ‘Describe to me the best dream you’ve ever had. What happened in the dream? Describe to me everything: the setting, the important events, the colors, the characters, the feelings it gave you, etc.’
  43. *Descríbeme la peor pesadilla que has tenido en tu vida. ¿Qué pasó en tu pesadilla? Descríbeme todo: la escena, los acontecimientos importantes, los colores, los personajes, los sentimientos que te dio la pesadilla, etc.* ‘Describe to me the worst nightmare you’ve ever had. What happened in your nightmare? Describe to me everything: the setting, the important events, the colors, the characters, the feelings that the nightmare gave you, etc.’
  44. *¿Eres una persona religiosa? ¿Cuál es tu religión? ¿Con qué frecuencia asistes a la iglesia? ¿Con qué frecuencia rezas?* ‘Are you a religious person? What is your religion? How often do you go to church? How often do you pray?’
  45. *¿Cuál ha sido el momento espiritual más profundo en tu vida? Descríbemelo.* ‘What has been the most profound spiritual moment of your life. Describe it to me.’



46. *¿Has experimentado algún milagro? ‘Have you experienced a miracle?’*
47. *¿Qué es la cosa más aterradora que te ha pasado en tu vida? ¿Qué pasó y en qué manera te asustó? ‘What is the scariest thing that has happened to you in your life? What happened and in what way did it scare you?’*
48. *¿Hay alguna vez que casi moriste? ¿Qué pasó? ¿Cómo evitaste la muerte? ‘Is there a time that you almost died? What happened? How did you avoid death?’*
49. *Describeme las vacaciones más ideales para ti. ¿Adónde viajarías? ¿Con quién(es) viajarías? ¿Qué actividades harías? O sea, ¿Cómo pasarías el viaje? ‘Describe to me your ideal vacation. Where would you travel? With whom would you travel? What activities would you do? How would you spend the trip?’*
50. *¿Conoces el desplazamiento lingüístico? O sea, cuando una persona deja de hablar una lengua, como el español, en favor de otra lengua, como el inglés, a lo largo del tiempo. Típicamente, es un proceso que toma tres generaciones para completar. ¿Piensas que el desplazamiento lingüístico es un problema en los Estados Unidos para las personas que hablan más de una lengua? ‘Are you familiar with language shift? In other words, when a person stops speaking a language, like Spanish, in favor of another language, like English, over time. Typically, it is a process that takes three generations to complete. Do you think that language shift is a problem in the United States for people who speak more than one language?’*
51. *¿Es el desplazamiento lingüístico un problema para las comunidades e inmigrantes hispanohablantes? ¿Por qué sí o no? ‘Is language shift a problem for Spanish-speaking communities and immigrants? Why or why not?’*
52. *¿Conoces a una comunidad hispanohablante específica en la que el desplazamiento lingüístico es un problema? ¿De qué modo? ¿Es el desplazamiento lingüístico un problema en tu propia comunidad? ¿De qué modo?’ Do you know a specific Spanish-speaking community where language shift is a problem? In what way? Is language shift a problem in your own community? In what way?’*
53. *¿Es un problema en una familia que conoces bien? ¿Es un problema en tu propia familia? ‘Is it a problem in a family you know well? Is it a problem in your own family?’*
54. *¿Lo has experimentado tú mismo? ¿De qué modo? ‘Have you experienced yourself? In what way?’*

## **APPENDIX B: LANGUAGE USAGE QUESTIONNAIRE**

(This was administered to participants online via Qualtrics at the onset of each interview)

### **Demographic Survey**

#### **Survey Flow**

**Block: Default Question Block (35 Questions)**

Page Break

### **Start of Block: Default Question Block**

IRB USE ONLY

Study Number: 2018-03-0003

Approval Date: 6/12/2018

Expires: 6/12/2019

### **Consent for Participation in Research**

**Title: Shift in the Heart of Texas: An Intergenerational Investigation of Language Shift in Austin**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. The person performing the research will answer any of your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to be involved in this study, this form will be used to record your consent.

#### **Purpose of the Study**

You have been asked to participate in a research study about language shift to English. The purpose of this study is to examine Spanish-usage in Spanish-speaking families in Austin, Texas, a relatively understudied city for linguistics research. Previous studies have shown that after the initial immigration generation, many Spanish-speaking families tend to stop speaking Spanish, often by the third generation. This study aims examine to shift to English across generations among Mexican-Americans via a questionnaire targeting language experience and usage and a series of grammatical tasks.

#### **What will you be asked to do?**

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

- fill out an online questionnaire that will target: (a) demographic information (i.e. age,

place of birth, where you grew up, ethnicity); (b) language usage in Spanish and English (i.e. how often do you speak Spanish and English on a daily basis with whom and where); and (c) perceived proficiency in Spanish and English (i.e. how fluent to you consider yourself in Spanish and English)

This questionnaire will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete, and will include approximately 30 study participants.

**What are the risks involved in this study?**

There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study, and no personal information will be required, so your privacy will be completely protected.

**What are the possible benefits of this study?**

You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study. However, by participating, it is hoped that your results will help address the reversal of language shift to English which in turn could help encourage the maintenance of Spanish across generations.

**Do you have to participate?**

No, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusing to participate will not affect your relationship with The University of Texas at Austin (University) in anyway.

If you would like to participate in this study, print and sign your name on the third page and hand back the original form to the investigator. You will receive a copy of this form.

**Will there be any compensation?**

You will not receive any type of payment participating in this study.

**How will your privacy and confidentiality be protected if you participate in this research study?**

Your privacy and the confidentiality of your data will be protected by the investigator via the following measures: Firstly, you will not be required to include any personal information other than your gender and ethnicity in the demographic portion of the questionnaire. You will not be asked for your name, contact information, or any other personal or sensitive information at any point in the questionnaire, so your answers will be completely confidential and unable to be linked back to you personally. They will also be stored by Qualtrics, a password protected software, so no party other than the researcher will have access to them.

If it becomes necessary for the Institutional Review Board to review the study records, information that can be linked to you will be protected to the extent permitted by law. Your research records will not be released without your consent unless required by law or

a court order. The data resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate it with you, or with your participation in any study.

**Whom to contact with questions about the study?**

Prior, during or after your participation you can contact the researcher **Patrick Eklund Lawrence** at **518-421-8880** or send an email to **peklund723@gmail.com** for any questions or if you feel that you have been harmed.

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University Institutional Review Board and the study number is 2018-03-0003.

**Whom to contact with questions concerning your rights as a research participant?**

For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at [orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

**Participation**

Having read this form, please remember that if you choose to participate, your participation is entirely voluntary, and your privacy and confidentiality will be completely protected. Feel free to print this page for your own records. If you have decided to participate, you may begin the survey now.

- Yes, I have read and acknowledged the consent form (1)

Q1 What is your age?

---

Q2 Are you currently a university student?

- Yes (1)  
 No (2)

Q3 If you answered no to the previous question, have you at least completed a bachelor's degree from an accredited University?

- Yes (1)  
 No (2)

Q4 What is your sex?

---

Q5 Are you of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity?

- No, I am not Hispanic or Latino (1)
  - Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano (2)
  - Yes, Puerto Rican (3)
  - Yes, Cuban (4)
  - Yes, another Hispanic or Latino ethnicity (5)
- 

Q6 Where were you born and raised? Please specify if you were born and raised in different places.

---

Q7 Where do you live now and how long have you lived there?

---

Q8 Where do you feel most affiliated/established in terms of residence? Where is home for you?

---

Q9 In terms of generations spent in the U.S., how would you classify yourself?

- First generation: you were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (1)
- Second generation: one or both of your parents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (2)
- Third generation: one or both of your grandparents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (3)
- Fourth generation: one or both great-grandparents was/were born abroad and emigrated to the U.S. (4)
- Fifth generation or more: your family has been in the U.S. for four or more generations. (5)

**For questions 10-17, rate your language abilities in each of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) in both Spanish and English.**

**These questions will employ the following rubric:**

**1= very low**

**2= low**  
**3= average**  
**4= high**  
**5= very high**

Q10 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your listening skills in English?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q11 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your speaking skills in English?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q12 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your reading skills in English?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q13 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your writing skills in English?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q14 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your listening skills in Spanish?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q15 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your speaking skills in Spanish?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q16 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your reading skills in Spanish?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q17 On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate your writing skills in Spanish?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)

Q18 In which language(s) do you count numbers in your head?

- Only Spanish (1)
- Mostly Spanish (2)
- Both Spanish and English (3)
- Mostly English (4)
- Only English (5)

Q19 In which language(s) do you think?

- Only Spanish (1)
- Mostly Spanish (2)
- Both Spanish and English (3)
- Mostly English (4)
- Only English (5)



Q45 In which language(s) do you pray?

- Only Spanish (1)
- Mostly Spanish (2)
- Both Spanish and English (3)
- Mostly English (4)
- Only English (5)
- I don't pray (6)

Q21 In what language were you taught in elementary school?

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Q22 In what language were you taught in middle school?

---

Q23 In what language were you taught in high school?

---

Q24 During your childhood how often did you speak Spanish to the following people:

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not Applicable (6)
Your parents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your grandparents (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your siblings (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your friends (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q25 During your childhood how often did you speak English to the following people:

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not Applicable (6)
Your parents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your grandparents (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your siblings (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your friends (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q26 How often do you speak Spanish to the following people now?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not Applicable (6)
Your parents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your grandparents (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your siblings (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your friends (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your coworkers (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your spouse/significant other (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your children (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q27 How often do you speak English to the following people now?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not Applicable (6)
Your parents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your grandparents (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your siblings (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your friends (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your coworkers (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your spouse/significant other (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your children (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q28 As a child, how often did you speak Spanish in the following places?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not applicable (6)
Home (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q29 As a child, how often did you speak English in the following places?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not applicable (6)
Home (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q30 How often do you speak Spanish in the following places now?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not applicable (6)
Home (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Businesses (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q31 How often do you speak English in the following places now?

	Always (1)	Often (2)	Regularly (3)	Sometimes (4)	Never (5)	Not applicable (6)
Home (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Businesses (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q32 Do you listen to Spanish language radio?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q33 Do you watch Spanish language television programming?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

## APPENDIX C. QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS.

(The following charts list participants' individual answers to all questions)

**TABLE E.1. SPANISH PROFICIENCY ACROSS PARTICIPANTS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Speaking</b>	<b>Listening</b>	<b>Reading</b>	<b>Writing</b>	<b>Composite</b>
0	Diego	5	5	5	5	5
0	Beatriz	5	5	5	5	5
0	Josie	4	5	4	3	4
0	Damián	5	5	5	5	5
0	Raquel	3	4	3	3	3.3
0	Ramona	5	5	5	5	5
0	Lionel	5	5	5	4	4.8
1	Antonio	5	5	5	4	3.8
1	Rigoberta	4	5	5	4	4.5
1	Alicia	3	4	4	3	3.5
1	Esteban	4	4	4	3	3.8
1	Sonia	4	5	4	5	4.5
1	Anabel	4	5	4	3	4
1	Carmen	4	4	2	3	3.3
1	Genova	4	4	4	4	4
1	Alexa	3	3	4	3	3.3
2	Carla	4	4	3	3	3.5
2	Alejandra	5	5	5	5	5
2	Mónica	3	4	3	3	3.3
3	Danilo	4	4	5	2	3.8
3	Gloria	1	1	1	1	1
3	Enrique	2	3	3	3	2.8
3	Sam	4	4	3	3	3.5

**TABLE E.2. ENGLISH PROFICIENCY ACROSS PARTICIPANTS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Speaking</b>	<b>Listening</b>	<b>Reading</b>	<b>Writing</b>	<b>Composite</b>
0	Diego	5	5	5	5	5
0	Beatriz	5	5	5	5	5
0	Josie	5	5	5	5	5
0	Damián	5	5	5	5	5
0	Raquel	5	5	5	5	5
0	Ramona	5	5	5	5	5
0	Lionel	3	4	2	1	2.5
1	Antonio	5	5	5	5	5
1	Rigoberta	5	5	5	5	5
1	Alicia	5	5	5	5	5
1	Esteban	4	4	4	4	4
1	Sonia	5	5	4	4	4.5
1	Anabel	5	5	5	4	3.8
1	Carmen	5	5	5	5	5
1	Genova	5	5	5	5	5
1	Alexa	5	5	5	5	5
2	Carla	5	5	5	5	5
2	Alejandra	5	5	5	5	5
2	Mónica	5	5	5	5	5
3	Danilo	5	5	5	5	5
3	Gloria	5	5	5	5	5
3	Enrique	4	5	5	5	4.8
3	Sam	5	5	5	5	5

**TABLE E.3. LANGUAGE(S) OF COUNTING, THINKING, PRAYING**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Counting</b>	<b>Thinking</b>	<b>Praying</b>
0	Diego	5	4	
0	Beatriz	4	3	4
0	Josie	1	1	
0	Damián	1	1	1
0	Raquel	4	4	5
0	Ramona	4	3	5
0	Lionel	5	4	5
1	Antonio	1	3	3
1	Rigoberta	2	2	
1	Alicia	2	3	2
1	Esteban	2	2	4
1	Sonia	1	3	
1	Anabel	3	3	4
1	Carmen	1	1	5
1	Genova	2	2	1
1	Alexa	1	2	
2	Carla	1	2	1
2	Alejandra	3	3	3
2	Mónica	1	2	2
3	Danilo	1	1	1
3	Gloria	1	1	2
3	Enrique	1	1	
3	Sam	1	1	1

\*For Tables E3 through E12, a blank score indicates a lack of participant response

**TABLE E.4 LANGUAGE(S) OF K-12 SCHOOLING**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Elementary</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>High School</b>
0	Diego	5	1	1
0	Beatriz	3	5	5
0	Josie	1	1	1
0	Damián	3	1	1
0	Raquel	5	1	1
0	Ramona	3	5	5
0	Lionel	5	5	
1	Antonio	1	1	1
1	Rigoberta	1	1	1
1	Alicia	3	1	1
1	Esteban	5	1	1
1	Sonia	1	1	1
1	Anabel	5	1	1
1	Carmen	1	1	1
1	Genova	1	1	1
1	Alexa	1	1	1
2	Carla	1	1	1
2	Alejandra	1	1	1
2	Mónica	1	1	1
3	Danilo	1	1	1
3	Gloria	1	1	1
3	Enrique	1	1	1
3	Sam	1	1	1



**TABLE E.5 CHILDHOOD SPANISH ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	5	5	5	4	4.8
0	Beatriz	5	5	3	4	4.3
0	Josie	3	5	1	2	2.8
0	Damián	5	5	1	2	3.3
0	Raquel	5	5	5	5	5
0	Ramona	5	5	5	5	5
0	Lionel	5	5	5	5	5
1	Antonio	5	5	1	2	3.3
1	Rigoberta	5	5	3	5	4.5
1	Alicia	5	5	5	4	4.8
1	Esteban	5	5		4	4.7
1	Sonia	5		2	1	2.7
1	Anabel	5	5	3	1	3.5
1	Carmen	5	5		1	3.7
1	Genova	3	4	3	2	3
1	Alexa	1	1		1	1
2	Carla	1	2	1	1	1.3
2	Alejandra	5	5	1	1	3
2	Mónica	2		1	1	1.3
3	Danilo	1	1	1	1	1
3	Gloria	1	2	1	1	1.3
3	Enrique	1	1			1
3	Sam	1	4	1	1	1.8

**TABLE E.6 ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Coworkers</b>	<b>SO</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	5		5	4	4	2		4
0	Beatriz	5		5	4	4	1		3.8
0	Josie	3	5	1	2	3	2		2.7
0	Damián	5	5	1	2	2			3
0	Raquel	5	5	5	3	2		3	3.8
0	Ramona	5	5	5	5	3			4.6
0	Lionel			3	4	1	4	1	2.6
1	Antonio	5		1	2	2	1		2.2
1	Rigoberta	4		2	4	2	2		2.8
1	Alicia	5		2	2	2	2		2.6
1	Esteban	5	5		2	3	2	2	3.2
1	Sonia	5			1	4	1		2.8
1	Anabel	5	5	1	2	2	2	2	2.7
1	Carmen	5	5		2	1			3.3
1	Genova	3	4	2	2	2			2.6
1	Alexa	2	3	2	3	4			2.8
2	Carla	2		1	1	2	1		1.4
2	Alejandra	5		2	2		3	2	2.8
2	Mónica	2		2	2	1			1.8
3	Danilo	5		1	2	2	1		2.2
3	Gloria	1	2	1	1	1	1		1.2
3	Enrique	2	2	1	2	1	2		1.7
3	Sam	1	4	1	1	2			1.8

**TABLE E.7 CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	2	1	2	3	2
0	Beatriz	1	1	3	2	1.8
0	Josie	4	1	5	4	3.5
0	Damián	1	1	5	3	2.5
0	Raquel	1	1	2	2	1.5
0	Ramona	1		1		1
0	Lionel	1	1	1	1	1
1	Antonio	1	1	5	4	2.8
1	Rigoberta	1	1	4	3	2.3
1	Alicia	1	1	3	3	2
1	Esteban	2	1		4	2.3
1	Sonia	2		4	5	3.7
1	Anabel	1	1	4	5	2.8
1	Carmen	2	1		5	2.7
1	Genova	3	2	3	4	3
1	Alexa	5	4	5	3	4.3
2	Carla	5	2	5	5	4.3
2	Alejandra	2	1	3	3	2.3
2	Mónica	3		5	5	4.3
3	Danilo	5	5	5	5	5
3	Gloria	5	5	5	5	5
3	Enrique	5	4	5	5	4.8
3	Sam	5	3	5	5	4.5

**TABLE E.8 ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS INTERLOCUTORS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Grandparents</b>	<b>Siblings</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Coworkers</b>	<b>SO</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	2		2	4	4	4		3.2
0	Beatriz	1		2	2	4	5		2.8
0	Josie	3	1	5	4	3	4		3.3
0	Damián	1	1	5	4	5			3.2
0	Raquel	1	1	2	2	5		2	2.2
0	Ramona	2	1	2	1	5			2.2
0	Lionel			2	2	5	2	5	3.2
1	Antonio	1		5	4	4	5		3.8
1	Rigoberta	2		5	5	5	5		4.4
1	Alicia	1		4	5	5	5		4
1	Esteban	2	1		4	4	4	4	3.2
1	Sonia	2			5	5	5		4.3
1	Anabel	1	1	5	5	5	4	4	3.6
1	Carmen	2	1		4	5			3
1	Genova	3	2	4	4	4			3.4
1	Alexa	5	3	5	3	4			4
2	Carla	3		5	5	4	5		4.4
2	Alejandra	1		2	2		3	3	2.2
2	Mónica	3		4	4	5			4
3	Danilo	1		5	4	4	5		3.8
3	Gloria	5	5	5	5	5	5		5
3	Enrique	4	4	5	4	5	4		4.3
3	Sam	5	3	5	5	4			4.4

**TABLE E.9 CHILDHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	5	4		4.5
0	Beatriz	5	5	5	5
0	Josie	4	2	2	2.7
0	Damián	5	2	5	4
0	Raquel	5	4	5	4.7
0	Ramona	5	5	5	5
0	Lionel	5	5	5	5
1	Antonio	4	3	5	4
1	Rigoberta	4	3	4	3.7
1	Alicia	5	4	3	4
1	Esteban	5	4	5	4.7
1	Sonia	5	1	4	3.3
1	Anabel	5	2	5	4
1	Carmen	5	1	5	3.7
1	Genova	3	2		2.5
1	Alexa	1	2	2	1.7
2	Carla	1	1	1	1
2	Alejandra	5	3	3	3.7
2	Mónica	3	1	1	1.7
3	Danilo	1	3	1	1.7
3	Gloria	1	1	1	1
3	Enrique	2	1	1	1.3
3	Sam	1	2	1	1.3

**TABLE E.10 ADULTHOOD SPANISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Work</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Businesses</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	5		4		2	3.7
0	Beatriz	1		2		2	1.7
0	Josie	2		4		2	2.7
0	Damián	5		2	4	1	3
0	Raquel	5	2	2	5	2	3.2
0	Ramona	5		3		2	3.3
0	Lionel	4		1	3	3	2.8
1	Antonio	4		4	2	4	3.5
1	Rigoberta	2	2	2		2	2
1	Alicia	2	1	2		2	1.8
1	Esteban	2		4	2	3	2.8
1	Sonia	1		4		4	3
1	Anabel	3		2		1	2
1	Carmen	4	4	1	1	3	2.6
1	Genova	3	2	2			2.3
1	Alexa	2		2		4	2.7
2	Carla	2		2	1	2	1.8
2	Alejandra	3		3	3	3	3
2	Mónica	3	2	1		2	2
3	Danilo	1		3	1	3	2
3	Gloria	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	Enrique	2		1		1	1.3
3	Sam	1		3	1	2	1.8

**TABLE E.11 CHILDHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	2	4		3
0	Beatriz	2	2	1	1.7
0	Josie	4	2	2	2.7
0	Damián	3	5	3	3.7
0	Raquel	1	2	1	1.3
0	Ramona	2	2	1	1.7
0	Lionel	1	1	1	1
1	Antonio	4	4	1	3
1	Rigoberta	3	4	3	3.3
1	Alicia	3	5	2	3.3
1	Esteban	2	3	1	2
1	Sonia	2	5	1	2.7
1	Anabel	2	5	1	2.7
1	Carmen	2	5	1	2.7
1	Genova	3	4		3.5
1	Alexa	5	5	5	5
2	Carla	5	5	5	5
2	Alejandra	3	5	5	4.3
2	Mónica	4	5	5	4.7
3	Danilo	5	4		4.5
3	Gloria	5	5	5	5
3	Enrique	5	5	5	5
3	Sam	5	4	5	4.7

**TABLE E.12 ADULTHOOD ENGLISH USAGE ACROSS DOMAINS**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Work</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Businesses</b>	<b>Mean</b>
0	Diego	3		5		5	4.3
0	Beatriz	5		4		5	4.7
0	Josie	4	4	4		4	4
0	Damián	2		5	3	1	2.8
0	Raquel	2	5	5	5		4.3
0	Ramona	2		5		4	3.7
0	Lionel	4		5	3	5	4.3
1	Antonio	4		4	4	4	4
1	Rigoberta	5	5	5		5	5
1	Alicia	5		4		5	4.7
1	Esteban	4		4	5	3	4
1	Sonia	5		5		5	5
1	Anabel	4		4		5	4.3
1	Carmen	2	5	5	1	5	3.6
1	Genova	3	4	4		3	3.5
1	Alexa	5		5		5	5
2	Carla	4		4	5	4	4.3
2	Alejandra	5		3	3		3.7
2	Mónica	3	4	5		4	4
3	Danilo	5		5		5	5
3	Gloria	5	5	5	5	5	5
3	Enrique	4		5		5	4.7
3	Sam	5		4	5	4	4.5



**TABLE E.13 SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA CONSUMPTION**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>Answer</b>	<b>Yes</b>
0	Diego	Music	Yes	Yes
0	Beatriz	Music	No	
0	Josie	Music	No	
0	Damián	Music	Yes	Yes
0	Raquel	Music	Yes	Yes
0	Ramona	Music	Yes	Yes
0	Lionel	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Antonio	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Rigoberta	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Alicia	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Esteban	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Sonia	Music	No	
1	Anabel	Music	Yes	Yes
1	Carmen	Music	No	
1	Genova	Music	No	
1	Alexa	Music	Yes	Yes
2	Carla	Music	Yes	Yes
2	Alejandra	Music	Yes	Yes
2	Mónica	Music	No	
3	Danilo	Music	Yes	Yes
3	Gloria	Music	Yes	Yes
3	Enrique	Music	No	
3	Sam	Music	Yes	Yes
0	Diego	Television	Yes	Yes
0	Beatriz	Television	No	
0	Josie	Television	Yes	Yes
0	Damián	Television	Yes	Yes
0	Raquel	Television	Yes	Yes
0	Ramona	Television	Yes	Yes
0	Lionel	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Antonio	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Rigoberta	Television	No	
1	Alicia	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Esteban	Television	No	

1	Sonia	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Anabel	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Carmen	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Genova	Television	Yes	Yes
1	Alexa	Television	No	
2	Carla	Television	Yes	Yes
2	Alejandra	Television	Yes	Yes
2	Mónica	Television	Yes	Yes
3	Danilo	Television	Yes	Yes
3	Gloria	Television	Yes	Yes
3	Enrique	Television	No	
3	Sam	Television	Yes	Yes

**TABLE E.14. STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BY QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM**

<b>Generational Comparison</b>	<b>Questionnaire Item/Variable</b>	<b>p-value</b>
0 + 3	Spanish proficiency (composite)	p=0.006
0 + 3	Spanish speaking	p=0.0209
0 + 3	Spanish listening	p=0.0464
1 + 3	Spanish listening	p=0.00602
0 + 3	Counting	p=0.0132
0 + 3	Thinking	p=0.032
1 + 3	Counting	p=0.0284
0 + 3	Elementary School language	p=0.0437
0 + 3	Middle School language	p=0.0481
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with parents	**p=0.000563
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.00468
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish with friends	p=0.0253
0 + 2	Childhood Spanish with friends	p=0.0253
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0026
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with parents	p=0.0435
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0108
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with siblings	p=0.0184
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with friends	p=0.0125
1 + 3	Adulthood Spanish with grandparents	p=0.0397

0 + 2	Adulthood Spanish with friends	p=0.0436
0 + 3	Childhood English with parents	p=0.00938
0 + 3	Childhood English with grandparents	p=0.0397
0 + 3	Childhood English with siblings	p=0.0323
0 + 3	Childhood English with friends	p=0.00193
0 + 1	Childhood English with friends	p=0.0023
0 + 2	Childhood English with friends	p=0.0412
0 + 3	Adulthood English with grandparents	p=0.00153
1 + 3	Adulthood English with grandparents	p=0.00491
0 + 3	Adulthood English with siblings	p=0.0491
0 + 1	Adulthood English with siblings	p=0.0385
0 + 3	Adulthood English with friends	p=0.0471
0 + 1	Adulthood English with friends	p=0.0221
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at church	**p=0.000448
0 + 2	Childhood Spanish at church	p=0.00728
1 + 2	Childhood Spanish at church	p=0.0153
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish at church	**p=0.000833
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at home	**p=0.000366
1 + 3	Childhood Spanish at home	p=0.00255
0 + 3	Childhood Spanish at school	p=0.00466
0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish at home	p=0.0053

0 + 3	Adulthood Spanish at church	p=0.0112
0 + 1	Adulthood Spanish at church	p=0.032
0 + 3	Childhood English at home	**p=0.000795
1 + 3	Childhood English at home	p=0.00874
0 + 1	Childhood English at school	p=0.0045
0 + 2	Childhood English at school	p=0.00704
0 + 3	Childhood English at school	p=0.0197
0 + 2	Childhood English at church	p=0.00146
0 + 3	Childhood English at church	p=0.0146
1 + 2	Childhood English at church	p=0.00274
1 + 3	Childhood English at church	p=0.00274

## APPENDIX D. GRAMMATICAL SUBSTITUTION RESULTS

### TABLE E.15. TARGET RATES BY GENERATION

Gen.	Part.	Det	Adj	Pret.	Imperf.	Indic.	Subj.	Ser	Estar	Ext	Verb	Overt	Null
0	Diego	100%	96.70%	100%	98.30%	92.90%	100%	100%	95.10%	4.40%	99.10%	13.80%	86.20%
0	Beatriz	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	93.80%	3.70%	99.70%	14.40%	85.60%
0	Josie	99.50%	99.20%	97.80%	97.60%	87.50%	100%	99.20%	94.10%	2.30%	98.40%	20.70%	79.30%
0	Damián	99.10%	97.40%	100%	100%	100%	100%	95.40%	87%	12.50%	99.30%	23.30%	76.70%
0	Raquel	98.30%	97.20%	100%	95.70%	88.90%	96.60%	98.40%	82.60%	7.10%	97.10%	37.10%	62.90%
0	Ramona	98.60%	98.20%	93.10%	96.60%	73.30%	86.40%	100%	91.30%	2.10%	99.50%	16.40%	83.60%
0	Lionel	100%	96.70%	100%	88.90%	100%	66.70%	97.60%	60%	5.90%	97.80%	28.60%	71.40%
1	Antonio	96.70%	96.90%	95.50%	99.20%	90.50%	94.10%	93.90%	95.70%	1.33%	98.30%	22.90%	77.10%
1	Rigoberta	93.90%	95.60%	97.90%	97%	87%	77.80%	96.50%	85.20%	10.20%	95.80%	13.50%	86.50%
1	Alicia	100.00%	92%	95.20%	100%	100%	87.50%	100%	76.20%	33.30%	99.20%	24.30%	75.70%
1	Esteban	94.90%	94.10%	81.10%	100%	20%	83.30%	86.40%	88.90%	10.50%	97.90%	17.10%	82.90%
1	Sonia	99.50%	96.80%	94.50%	96.40%	81.30%	89.50%	99.10%	88.70%	11.80%	98.70%	23.10%	76.90%
1	Anabel	96.10%	95.10%	97.80%	98.10%	82.60%	88.90%	96.00%	90.60%	8.80%	98.70%	13.80%	86.20%
1	Carmen	84.04%	55.60%	33%	65%		0%	78.10%	100%	0%	87.20%	29.30%	70.70%
1	Genova	100%	100%	95.80%	100%	85.70%	100%	92.70%	59.10%	37.50%	97.90%	7.80%	92.20%
1	Alexa	98.03%	100%	100%	97.40%	100%	100%	96.40%	96.60%	0%	99.70%	15.20%	84.80%
2	Carla	96.90%	97.10%	95.20%	95.40%	100%	50%	95%	66.70%	12.50%	96.40%	38.90%	61.10%
2	Alejandra	60.30%	69.80%	95%	23.10%	83.30%	28.60%	78.40%	73.90%	10%	74.80%	35.30%	64.70%
2	Mónica	75%	62.50%	69.10%	82.70%	76.20%	0%	92.05%	92.30%	2.30%	95.60%	23.90%	76.10%
3	Danilo	67.40%	42.30%	80.90%	8.30%	100%	0%	88.90%	95.70%	11.11%	81.30%	78.90%	21.10%
3	Sam	94.20%	78%	63.20%	88.90%	100%	0%	92.20%	81.80%	8.70%	96.50%	34.80%	65.20%
3	Enrique	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	Gloria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

\*These scores represent the ratio of target-like realizations (i.e., no substitution) for each grammatical variable for each speaker

\*Enrique and Gloria have no data for this table because they did their interviews in English and thus did not produce any grammatical or lexical tokens

APPENDIX E. LEXICAL VARIABLES

TABLE E.16. LEXICAL VARIABLE FREQUENCY BY GENERATION

Generation	Participant	ELI	Multi	Single Flag	Multi Flag
0	Diego	42	17	3	1
0	Beatriz	3	3	0	2
0	Josie	14	0	1	0
0	Damián	15	2	7	2
0	Raquel	4	4	1	4
0	Ramona	9	22	3	10
0	Lionel	5	1	1	1
1	Antonio	27	16	13	9
1	Rigoberta	23	8	6	4
1	Alicia	28	25	5	3
1	Esteban	10	18	9	17
1	Sonia	15	17	1	3
1	Anabel	38	21	11	9
1	Carmen	45	14	55	28
1	Genova	6	4	2	1
1	Alexa	1	2	1	2
2	Carla	5	17	2	10
2	Alejandra	20	29	10	23
2	Mónica	16	13	6	9
3	Danilo	20	2	11	1
3	Sam	25	9	4	9
3	Enrique	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	Gloria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

\*Enrique and Gloria have no data for this table, either, again, because they only spoke in English during their interviews

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