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BILINGUALISM AND IDENTITY: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF NATIVE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

By

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ABSTRACT

BILINGUALISM AND IDENTITY: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF NATIVE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

By

Catherine L. Fleck

This sociolinguistic study focused on the relationship between proficiency in English as a second language and identity, for native Spanish-speaking children in an agricultural community in California. The expected results were that there would be a strong positive correlation between the two main variables in the study—English proficiency and identity. Data was drawn from 41 subjects, who were generally grouped into three age groups: six year olds, eight year olds, and ten year olds. The range of grammatical features that were operationalized as English proficiency reflect deep structural differences between Spanish and English; these features cover syntactic configuration (Noun-noun compounds), morphological attachment (tense doubling), as well as several different functions of a core grammatical element (articles). Identity was operationalized as a bundling of social factors—a constellation of symbolic information, and preferences, focusing on the following 5 general categories: Favorite food(s), favorite music, sports, holiday foods eaten by the family, preference for place—México or the local California community. In addition, participants were asked about any English-only speaking associates they have. Scores were derived for both variables, which were then correlated.

The results obtained from the correlation analysis were not as expected. The results showed very little correlation: (.119). Given these unexpected results, separate

ANOVAs were run on the sub-categories of the identity variable and English proficiency, with the aim of identifying trends in the data. Not one of these ANOVAs was significant. However, one of the sub-categories of the identity variable, "number of English-only speaking associates" showed somewhat significant results, (0.076). This sub-category, referred to as EO, was reconsidered as an measure of social networks; as such, it appears to be a good predictor of English proficiency, similar to several other factors used in this study—age, sex, and SES--all of which are large group identity factors.

Ethnolinguistic identity theory emerges as important to the discussion of the results of this study; this theory claims that people in a subordinate group will hold on to their ethnolinguistic identity, if certain conditions exist. One of these conditions, ethnolinguistic vitality, is a measure that is based on several components, including 1) demographic strength (group numbers, birthrates, migration, concentration and distribution in the community), 2) institutional support for the language (in the education system, the media, the government), and 3) status (social, political, economic, linguistic prestige). Given the demographic data presented in this study, as well as the descriptions of the educational support programs available within the school district (bilingual and migrant programs), combined with the results of this research, it would appear that the ethnolinguistic vitality of these participants is high, resulting in these participants holding fast to a Mexican-oriented identity. The question of how this vitality affects whether or not these children become fully proficient in English is a matter for future research.

This work is dedicated to Daniel Vico, who has been with me the whole time.

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INTRODUCTION

Languages do not recognize political boundaries. With fewer than 200 countries in the world today, and an estimated number of languages between 6,000 and 10,000, it is inevitable that different languages will come into contact. In fact, one might argue, given such pressures in the world as increasing population movements, due to immigration and a globalized world economy, that the phenomenon of *languages in contact* is fundamental to the human experience. One obvious result of language contact is bilingualism/multilingualism. While the estimate for the number of bilingual or multilingual speakers in the world today varies according to one's definition of bilingualism, the general consensus is that there are many more bilingual people than monolingual. Given this, it would not be unreasonable to argue that understanding bilingualism is a key component of any comprehensive view of the linguistic nature of human beings.

While there are multiple approaches to the study of bilingualism, most researchers argue that this phenomenon can only be understood in relation to social context. It is understood that bilingualism is quite complex, a result of the interaction of many factors, social and linguistic; bilingualism is seen to be a behavioral pattern of linguistic practices that are modified by, and relative to, many aspects of the speakers' lives. For the most part, bilingual individuals live within communities of languages in contact—bilingual communities that are such because they are composed of people who *have reasons* for being bilingual. The complicated interplay of social and linguistic factors involved in bilingualism makes this a fascinating area of research, but also, an extremely difficult one.

One area of focus within the study of bilingualism is the formation and re-formation of ethnic identity within bilingual communities. This research considers ethnicity and identity to be tightly bound, generally regarding ethnicity as a construct within which social identities are created. Another social factor that is key in the development of bilingual communities is migration, as noted. This also has much bearing on issues of identity formation. As the immigrants move between worlds, whether to permanently remain in the new (host) country, or whether to stay only for a particular work cycle, as migrant workers do, and then to return "home," how are their identities impacted? Do these people display patterns of cultural persistence, or of shift?

The close relationship between ethnicity and identity, as mentioned, is well established. Adding dimension, however, to this relationship is the role language plays in the mix; it can be argued that one's social identity is primarily established and maintained through language. At this point, the questions become even more interesting, and complicated: How is language related to any patterns of persistence or shift? Are there aspects of language shift that are related to identity (re)formation? It is this added complexity that makes the relationship between language and identity a particularly rich area of research. And a bilingual community, with well established migrant patterns, becomes a prime location for investigating the relationship between proficiency in a *second language*, and identity.

Watsonville, the community this study took place in, is agricultural, drawing many migrant workers to the area from México. Generations of migration have resulted in a community that is largely Hispanic. This study draws its data from participants who are children, and who are bilingual, with Spanish as their dominant language and English

as their second. The majority of the 41 participants in this research were classified as migrants by the school district they were enrolled in—they were the children of migrant workers. All of the children, with the exception of one, were born in Watsonville, and the majority of their parents were born in México. Migrancy affects these participants' social lives; as migrants, they make annual trips to México from Watsonville, during the school year, and they participate in migrant academic support programs provided by their school. Presumably, these children's social identities are shaped by their movement between places, across national borders. All of these factors combined drove the central focus of this research, which was the relationship between these children's proficiency in English and their identities.

It is not clear to what extent we can generalize the questions or the results related to language proficiency and identity. At some level, it is almost certain that there is some generalization possible—we just don't know where. It may be that at this point the only meaningful questions that can be raised, and answers that can be obtained, are fairly specific. If it turns out that this relationship is highly idiosyncratic, then it may be that the only sort of question that can be asked is how some particular group of subjects' identity is related to their second language proficiency, at some particular time and place. But such extreme idiosyncracy is probably not the case. Perhaps at the least, we could ease the restriction on 'specific group of subjects' and 'specific time' and safely ask the question generalized to the point of considering similar groups in the same community, but at different historical times, and so on. We can conceive of this as a sort of continuum:

Table 1: Continuum of Generalizability

Worst Case	Specific Community	Generalized Community	Further Generalized	Best Case
X	X	X	X	X
Everything idiosyncratic	*Keeping demographic content constant—different subjects, but of the same sort, demographically; different timeframe; same community (within reason: we don't expect things to be the same 100 years hence—as long as the community is the same politically and geographically).*	*Might be able to abstract features of the community, the population, and the subjects: North American agricultural community Community with migrant farm workers from México Spanish-dominant: First language for parents; home language Etc.*	*As we attempt to generalize further, suppose we find a community that is similar to (B) in every respect except we now have different languages involved—say the immigrant language is different. So the obvious question would be: Would the finding be the same, that is., would the generalizations hold?*	*Can broadly generalize to everybody. An example of such a generalization would be something like the following idea: Every normal person raised in a discourse community will have at least one language.*

The reader can imagine for herself the myriad ways that the conditions could be different:

- Different languages
- Different communities
- Different social classes
- Different dominance relationships within the community

In such research, the only common factor would be that there are children under study, and that second language acquisition is occurring.

Because such research entails multiple sets of social and linguistic factors, definitive answers to these fantastically complex questions are not available. However, we can hope to gain insight by careful study and analysis of specific situations, combined

with theoretical frameworks that have been developed by other research. There is, after all, a symbiotic relationship between these theoretical frameworks and each new empirical study, such that the insights from each study provide ideas and insight for theory.

I have approached my work from this position. The study that follows was designed and implemented from this perspective. Generative linguistic theory and much work in sociolinguistics gives us plenty of reason to believe that, indeed, there are many aspects of linguistic behavior that are common across humans. But on the other hand, I also recognize that the enormous complexity of social and linguistic factors involved in the kind of research proposed here makes it necessary to be extremely cautious in generalizations. On the one hand, there is the hope of being able to generalize from the findings of a study; on the other, there is respect for the enormous complexity of the task. My approach, therefore, was to do careful, focused study in one community, where I did both empirical and qualitative research, in the hope of contributing to the solving of this puzzle.

My interest in this community, in these people, is not just academic. Before returning to graduate school, I was a bilingual teacher in this community. During that time, I became ever increasingly interested in the patterns of acquisition of English that my students—themselves very similar to the participants I studied here—were displaying in my classroom. In addition, I got to know their families, their parents, their neighborhoods. I looked forward each February to the return of my migrant students, and to the tales of México they would inevitably bring with them. These students, this community, were actually one of the reasons I returned to school to study linguistics.

Clearly, there is a measure of personal curiosity at stake for me, in this study, as a result of my own personal involvement with the community. This involvement benefited me in many ways; through it, I gained access to the participants, the school site, and the school records. But in addition, this involvement also serves to highlight the tension remarked upon above—that between a stark scientific perspective, where all factors can be abstracted and generalized, and the appearance on the ground, where everything is rich and complex, and everything is idiosyncratic—where every second is like no other.

The general plan for this study was to operationalize grammatical competence in English, and identity, and then to perform an empirical study to investigate the correlation between these two variables. Theoretically, both of these concepts are very broad—linguistic competence encompassing mastery of pragmatics, grammar, lexis, phonology, etc., and identity crossing the bounds of several fields, such as sociolinguistics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Practically, however, research is forced to operationalize such concepts by choosing a set of indicators. Of course, there are limitations to this necessary reduction; those relevant to this research are discussed later in this study.

From my understanding of identity theory, most of the literature supports the claim that there is a strong positive correlation between identity and language. This also seems commonsensical; language is emblematic of social factors. Importantly for this research, many studies indicate that increased competence in a second language promotes identification with that second language community. In Watsonville, which, as noted, is predominantly Hispanic, several factors come together to encourage the acquisition of English. While Spanish is a language that is spoken in many of the homes, and

throughout the community, English is the language of the official business. As the language of the state, and of the country, English carries prestige. In addition, the acquisition of English is the goal of the education system in the community. Given all of these facts, it would not be unreasonable to expect that there would be a strong positive correlation between the (second language) English proficiency and the identity of the participants studied, such that the higher the English proficiency, the more Anglo the identity. In a perfect theoretical world, that is, one in which there were no confounding factors, this "expected" model would predict a perfect linear correlation between these variables.

Research Questions:

At one level, I was curious about the relationship between language and identity, but, as noted above, I am not sure that we can even ask such general questions. However, at the very least, we can ask specific questions, such as how these particular subjects' identities were related to their second language acquisition, at this time and in this situation. But then, the question remains: to what extent can these specific questions be generalized? As a result of this, the following research questions emerged for me:

- What is the nature of the relationship between identity and English proficiency for the participants in this study?

This entails a sub-question:

  - To what extent can such questions and answers be generalized?

Hypothesis

Given the theoretical frameworks and the research that informed me regarding the strong correlation between language and identity, I began with a hypothesis that there would be a strong correlation between identity and language proficiency, with my particular subjects. Working from the "expected model," then, I hypothesized that there would be a strong correlation between Anglo identity and English proficiency, as operationalized in the Methodology section of this study, for these particular subjects.

Indeed, I imagined that my study would contribute specifics relating to particular linguistic features and particular social factors, all within the expected model. I also hoped that as a result of doing this particular empirical study, I would gain some insights into the question about generalizability. However, as we will see, things proved to be not so straight forward.

Organization of the Dissertation:

- Chapter 1: Literature Review
    - Bilingualism
    - Immigration/Migrancy
    - The Community
    - Identity
    - Language Features Studied
- Chapter 2: Methodology
    - The Subjects
    - The School Site
    - Preliminary Preparation for the Study

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research was hybrid in nature, in that its main focus brought together two areas—second language English proficiency, and identity; the key concern in this work was the relationship between English proficiency and identity. However, questions pertaining to these issues are necessarily embedded within the larger context of bilingualism, and so a discussion of bilingualism is also warranted. In addition, there are two other aspects of the lives of the children who participated in this study that impact the larger discussion. These are their status as migrants, and the community within which they live. This Literature Review, therefore, has five sections: 1) Bilingualism, 2) Identity, and 3) Immigration/Migrancy, 4) The Community, and 5) The Language Features Studied.

Bilingualism

In the world today, it is inevitable that different languages will come into contact, quite simply because there are many more languages than there are discrete discourse communities. This is not to claim that languages outnumber discourse communities. For one thing, it is extremely difficult to get an accurate count of discourse communities because these are extremely fluid. Moreover, it is probably almost always the case that individuals are members of numerous discourse communities, dropping out of some and joining others, as their circumstances change. The issue then, is not numbers of discourse communities versus numbers of languages, but rather, whether the discourse communities are discrete, that is, linguistically insulated from all other discourse communities. Certainly one can imagine times and places where such discourse communities could

have occurred. But, as the world grows smaller and transnational contact increases, such discourse communities are probably rare to non-existent.

Among the linguistically naïve, or worse, the linguistically oppressive, languages are expected to be rigidly correlated with nationality. France, for example, has a long history of attempts to eradicate unrecognized languages and dialects and to keep the language "pure," within that particular political boundary. Phillipson (1992) claims that the defense of French can be traced back to 1883, with the establishment of the Alliance Française, and describes its work as having "intolerance of dialects and minority languages within national borders, [and for promoting a] xenophobic national linguistic purity" (p.106). In fact, as a result of many factors, including such oppression as the establishment of and strict adherence to a national, "pure," language, as well as imperialism, many of the world's languages are being lost; Skutnabb-Kangas argues that today languages are "being killed and linguistic diversity is disappearing at a much faster pace than ever before in human history" (1999, p. 188). Many linguists see this phenomenon as an issue of human rights, and are working hard to understand it, and to stanch its flow (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999; Phillipson, 1992; Kontra, 1999a, 1999b; Tollefson, 1991; Crystal, 1997). However, while this is a very urgent topic for consideration, it is for another dissertation. What is important to the discussion here is the fact that, linguistic imperialism and oppression aside, languages do not recognize political boundaries. Rather, languages occur and vary according to the demand of the speakers in the discourse communities in any particular region. The distinction between discourse community and national affiliation becomes clear, when we compare estimates for the number of languages in the world to the number of countries. Linguists (for

example, Romaine, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999; Wei, 2000), estimate the number of languages between 6,000 to 10,000, while the number of countries can be cited at fewer than 200. Hamers and Blanc (2000) argue that the phenomenon of *languages in contact* is actually an integral part of human behavior, citing such pressures for it as globalization and increasing population movements because of immigration, as well as greater social and geographical mobility.

One of the outcomes of language contact is bilingualism/multilingualism. While there are no precise figures on the number and distribution of bilingual or multilingual speakers in the world, in part the number estimated depends on one's definition of bilingualism. Grosjean (1982) estimates that approximately half of the world's population is bilingual; however, Wei (2000) claims that if the entire range of possible situations in which more than one language is used—for example, those in which two or more languages are used regularly for work, family life, or leisure; those in which a language(s) other than the L1 is occasionally used; those in which the foreign languages learned in school are used for specific purposes, etc.—is to be considered to characterize instances of bilingualism, then monolingual speakers actually make up a tiny minority in the world today.

According to Mackey (2000), since the beginning of the 20th century the definition of bilingualism has become continually broader. For a long time, bilingualism was considered to entail equal mastery of two languages. As an example of a proponent of this view, Mackey cites Bloomfield (1933, p. 56, cited on p. 26), who claimed that bilingualism was "the native-like control of two languages." Later, Haugen claimed that bilingualism includes the ability to produce "complete meaningful utterances in the other

language" (1953: vol. 1, p. 7, cited in Mackey, 2000, p. 26). The current view of bilingualism includes even passive knowledge of the written language, or any "contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language" (2000, p. 26, citing Diebold, 1961, p. 111). Mackey defines bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual, and argues that this broadening of the concept is a result of the realization that the point where a person becomes bilingual is either impossible to determine, or arbitrary.

Another factor that Mackey (2000) stresses is the interdisciplinary nature of the study of bilingualism, claiming that it cannot be wholly described within the science of linguistics. Romaine (1995), further notes that while there are related disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, or education, which have been interested in aspects of bilingualism—from its effects on cognitive processing, to bilingualism as an element of culture conflict, or its relationship to intelligence, or to public policy—all too often within these disciplines, following the dominant linguistic paradigm, bilingualism has been seen as a deviation from the norm of monolingualism. For example, while many cognitive psychology texts treat language extensively, bilingualism is rarely mentioned, except in special cases (1995). According to Romaine, taken separately, the various disciplines interested in aspects of bilingualism can add little to our understanding of the phenomenon; it is the interdisciplinary perspective advocated by Mackey—in which the various psychological, linguistic, and social interrelationships involved in bilingualism complement one another—that is the most promising avenue of research. Romaine (1995) argues that bilingualism cannot be understood except in relation to social context,

and therefore it falls within the field of sociolinguistics, a discipline concerned with how language is used in society.

The relationship of bilingualism to the general field of linguistics is an interesting one. Given even the more conservative estimate of how many bilingual speakers there are in the world, noted above, it would not be unreasonable to claim that a comprehensive understanding of the linguistic nature of human beings *must* entail a discussion of bilingualism. In fact, Jakobson claimed that "bilingualism is...the fundamental problem of linguistics" (1953, cited in Romaine, 1995, p. 1). The idea, however, that bilingualism may not in fact be a deviation from a norm of monolingualism, and may in fact be for many (if not most) humans the normal linguistic state, departs radically from the Chomskyan framework, which has informed much of modern linguistic theory. Within this framework, the characterization of competence—or the knowledge of the rules of grammar—is the central concern, and the starting point is the assumption of the monolingual ideal speaker-listener. This research paradigm adamantly holds to the idea that issues such as pragmatic competence, or the knowledge of the rules of social interaction, for example, must be kept separate from the endeavor to characterize linguistic competence, if progress in linguistic theory is to be made (e.g., Chomsky, 1986, 1995).

While this theoretical model has proven to be a very productive one—a lot has been learned about core grammar—it does not, however, begin to address the issues raised within the study of bilingualism. As noted, within the field, bilingualism is not seen to be a simple result of the acquisition of parameters but instead, a very complex phenomenon that is a result of the interaction of many factors—certainly including

competence in the Chomskyan sense, but also many other, social factors (Romaine, 1995; Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

As would be expected, there are varying approaches to the study of bilingualism, which only serves to underscore the complicated nature of the endeavor. For example, Hakuta (1986) argues that the field should not only study the individual, but the circumstances which lead to the creation of bilingualism, its maintenance, and/or its attrition. Hamers and Blanc (2000) claim that when two or more languages are in contact, of utmost importance is the relative functional use of these languages; in such language contact situations, most often the different languages are used in different domains and for different functions. Interestingly, Mackey (2000) argues that an individual's use of more than one language supposes the existence of two language communities, but not the existence of a bilingual community. In this sense, bilingualism is the property of the individual; "the bilingual community can only be regarded as a dependent collection of individuals who have reasons for being bilingual" (2000, p. 26).

Mackey (2000) argues that the study of the phenomenon of bilingualism must consider it as something entirely relative, and any description of bilingualism should be done in terms of four criteria. The first, *degree*, refers to how well the individual knows the two (or more) languages involved; the second, *function*, refers to what the languages are used for, and in which domains; *alternation*, the third criterion, speaks to the issue of code-switching between the languages; and the fourth, *interference*, focuses on the issue of one language influencing the other. Mackey's point is that bilingualism is a behavioral pattern of linguistic practices which mutually modify each other, and which vary in terms of the four characteristics mentioned above (2000).

In a general sense, this research falls within the domain of the study of bilingualism. The participants were all bilingual, according to the current definition of the term, as described above—the alternate use of two languages by the same individual: These children were all Spanish-dominant, and while at varying points of proficiency, were all able to use English as their second language. One of the strands of this study centered on the participants' acquisition of English as their second language. In assessing this L2 acquisition, this study utilized two of the four criteria, mentioned above, that Mackey (2000) suggests are important to any study concerned with bilingualism—*degree* and *interference*; this will become clear in the Methods section of this dissertation. More specifically, this research focused on the *relationship* of proficiency in a second language, and identity. As a study involving the notion of identity, this work is necessarily located within a framework of interacting social factors; the attempt to characterize the relationship between the variable, identity—itself an assembly of social facts—and targeted linguistic facts, brings this study into the domain of sociolinguistics.

One of the social factors that has much bearing on the lives, and the identities, of the participants in this study is their status as migrants. We now turn to a discussion of relevant issues surrounding immigration and migrancy.

Immigration/migrancy

There can be a tendency to think of national status dichotomously, that is, a person is either a native of country X or an immigrant. However, a third very important status is that of the migrant. In this case, we are talking about people who live part time in their native country and part-time in the "host" country, usually because of seasonal work in the host country. Politically, these people may be considered aliens, or

occasionally they may be nationalized in the host country. However, political designation is only a small part of their social and ethnic status; arguably, their own sense of identity and others' perception of them is even more important, and this is particularly true of children because children generally are little aware of bureaucratic designations, though they are acutely sensitive to their local social milieu. The majority of the participants in this study were officially classified as migrants by the school district they were enrolled in, the Pájaro Valley Unified School District; it is therefore important to understand a little bit about migrants in the United States and how they fit into the overall patterns of immigration to this country.

The early part of the 20th century, right before World War I, marked a peak period of immigration to the United States. Rumbaut (1996) claims that the experiences of these "white ethnics" (Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russian Jews) were shaped by class, not color, and resulted in widespread social mobility and intermarriage. Citing Gans (1979); Alba (1990); and Waters (1990), Rumbaut claims that this has lead to these groups' sense of ethnicity as being symbolic, and exercised through optional, familial, leisure-time forms of activity. In contrast, the more recent and rapidly accelerating immigration to the United States is unprecedented in its diversity of national origin, color, and class. The 1990 census reported an all-time high number of immigrants, 19.8 million, most of whom reported themselves to be non-white (1996). The trend toward diversity is clear: "the proportion of white immigrants declined from 88 percent of those arriving before 1960, to 64 percent in the 1960s, to 41 percent in the 1970s, and to 38 percent in the 1980s" (1996, p. 121). By 1990, for the first time in U.S. history, Europeans were no longer the largest immigrant population in the country, having been replaced by people from Latin

America and the Caribbean, with over half of these non-European immigrants arriving during the 1980s alone (1996). Immigrants from one of these Latin American countries, México, have accounted for 22% of the total number of immigrants since 1970, and as a result, make up the largest Hispanic immigrant group in the U.S. today (Rumbaut, 1996; Durand & Massey, 1999).

Interestingly, Weber (2000), citing Hoerder (1994), points out that all immigrants to the U.S. have historically tended to participate in "intense localism" (p. 930), which has had the effect of these groups maintaining part of the "home-community social structure and relations in migration" (p. 930). With the earlier immigrant groups, while thousands of them maintained meaningful ties to their home communities—contributing financially, participating in family decisions—many were cut off because of distant and slow communication (2000).

However, this does not describe the experience of the Mexican immigrant. For generations, "Mexican immigrants have traveled northward on migratory arteries formed long before either Mexico or the United States became nations" (Vasquez et al., 1994, p.15), and have created communities that are some of the oldest and most widespread in the history of the United States, with numbers that have steadily grown (1994). Because these immigrants' place of origin is more local than those of the immigrants from the earlier wave (in fact, México is "right next door"), their patterns of integration into the United States have been different, at least in part because many of them come to the U.S. as migrant workers.

The majority of these immigrants come to the southwestern part of the United States, from the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, San Luis Potosí, and

Zacatecas, contiguous states in the central and western part of México. Combined, these states compose the most important migrant-sending region in México (Durand & Massey, 1999), with many of them making their way to California. Weber describes how "Mexican communities in California of the 1920s were formed out of and based on social ties which often had their beginnings in Mexico" (2000, p. 935). Mexicans migrated to communities where they had family and friends, with newer immigrants first living with family, and then moving close by, "lacing whole areas with families and social groups from towns in Mexico" (2000, p. 935).

Santiago-Rivera & Santiago (1999) draw a distinction between place-to-place, return, and circular migration:

> Place-to-place migration occurs when an individual moves from point A to point B. Return migration occurs when an individual moves from point A to point B and then back to A. Circular migration is illustrated by a move from point A to B to A and then back to B (p. 229-10).

Circular migration, which reinforces the kind of community described above, is of particular interest in this research. As noted, the majority of the participants in this study were classified as migrants (at least 75.6%, and perhaps as much as 85.4% of them—the school was in the process of determining whether 9.8% of them qualified); that is, they were the children of migrant workers. In order to qualify for this status, and therefore participate in the Migrant Education program, there are several criteria that must be met by the families. The first pertains to the parents' employment—they must work in some officially recognized migrant occupation, for example, in the fields, the canneries, or the nurseries in the area. Once qualified, the children are designated as migrants for two years, after which they need to requalify, every year. To remain qualified, parents need

to demonstrate that they are still doing migrant work, and that they go to México every year, and remain there for at least 20 days (I. Vizcaíno; personal communication, December, 2000[1]).

The Migrant Education program is federally funded, and is designed to help students and their families overcome hardships they may encounter because of poverty or disrupted schooling. This program has been funded since 1966 through amendments to Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In California, the Migrant Education program provides services to students in thirty-six districts in San Benito, Santa Cruz (the county this study took place in), Santa Clara, San Mateo, San Francisco, and Alameda counties. The services provided through this program are designed to

> help migratory children overcome educational disruption, cultural and language barriers, social isolation, various health-related problems, and other factors that inhibit the ability of the children to do well in school (California Department of Education [CDE], 2003, Migrant Education Program, para. 6)

The common pattern of migration for the migrant workers in Watsonville is circular, whereby they spend most of the year in Watsonville, and then return to their places of origin annually, generally in the middle of December when the crops have been harvested. They then return again to Watsonville, at the end of January of each year, to begin the cycle again (I.Vizcaíno, personal communication, December, 2000). An additional note of interest is that most (at least 75%) of the students at the school site under study who were designated as migrant go and return from the same state in

[1] Isabel Vizcaíno was the school site's Migrant teacher; I interviewed her about the programs that the migrant students were involved in, as well about relevant aspects of their history, travel patterns, requirements for participation in the migrant program, etc.

México, Michoacán (I. Vizcaíno, personal communication, December 2000), one of the states in the most important migrant-sending regions, noted above.

Because of the generational layering of this circular migration, when these immigrants initially travel to the host community, where their relatives and friends have already established roots, they settle into a place that is rich with networks of social relations that are similar in culture and language to the communities they left behind in México. These new communities become "ports of entry" (Vasquez et al., 1994, p.15) for these immigrants, providing them "with opportunities for work and integration into the mainstream of American culture" (Vasquez et al., 1994, p.15).

But what about the children of these immigrants? How are their lives impacted by their parents' lives being lived between two worlds? Almost all of the children in this study were born in the United States, but travel regularly to México with their parents (which is *back* to México for the adults, because almost all of them were born there), spending several weeks at a time there. The home language, and therefore the native language, for these children is Spanish, but all of them are bilingual, speaking English as their second language (to varying degrees of proficiency). What is the relationship between their proficiency in this second language and their identities? How does their acquisition of English impact their identities—do they identify more with Anglo culture, or with Mexican?

Rumbaut (1996) argues that we don't know much about the children of the more recent immigrants to the United States, claiming that research on their adaptation processes is fragmentary. He further claims that

> even less is known about the subjective aspects of the children's experience...including their modes of ethnic or national self-

> identification, perceptions of discrimination, aspirations for their adult futures, cultural preferences, forms of intergenerational cohesion or conflict within their families, self-esteem and psychological well-being, and how all these may be related to more objective indices of their experience, such as their school and work performance and language shifts from the mother tongue to English, in given social contexts (p. 122)

It is at this intersection that this research comes in. As noted, the primary focus here is the interaction of (i.e., the nature of the relationship between) the participants' identity and the acquisition of English as their second language. Before discussing the two major areas of focus for this work—*Identity* and *English Proficiency*—I would like to present a snapshot of the community, Watsonville, since that is the matrix within which much of the action happens. I will return to a discussion of Watsonville, and how the ineffable and rich social factors found within it interact with the language, the bilingualism, of the community, in the Results and Discussion section of this dissertation.

The Community

Watsonville is in the Pájaro Valley, an agricultural region of central California, approximately 90 miles south of San Francisco, inland from the Monterey Bay approximately 5 miles. Over its history, this area has seen a range of settlement and resettlement patterns. The first Europeans to explore this land were led by the Spaniard Gaspar de Portola, in 1769. Included in his party were native Mexicans. The party's charge was to discover sites for the expansion of the Baja California chain of Missions into the region. It is reported that when Portola and his expedition crossed into what is now known as the Pájaro Valley, they saw a large straw-stuffed bird at the river crossing.

and named the river accordingly: *Río del Pájaro* (River of the Bird) (Watsonville Public Library, 2003, para. 2).

After the Mexican Independence from Spain, in 1821, former Mission-held lands were given over to Mexican citizens, and the lands became ranchos. "Seven ranchos were in the immediate vicinity of present Watsonville—San Andres, Los Corralitos, Bolsa de Pajaro, Bolsa de San Cayetano, Salsipuedes, Laguna de Calabasas, and Vega del Rio del Pajaro" (Watsonville Public Library, 2003, para. 2). These lands remained Mexican until the U.S.-Mexican war, from 1846-1848, when they were lost to the U.S., along with nearly half of the total Mexican territorial holdings—what is now the present American southwest, from Texas to California. California became a state in 1850, as the population surged because of the Gold Rush. Even after the Rush subsided, many immigrants—Northern and Southern Europeans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos—continued to move to the Pájaro Valley region because the rich and fertile soil provided many opportunities for work in agriculture—growing and harvesting increasingly diverse crops (Watsonville Public Library, 2003. Pajaro Valley Local History, para. 5).

Watsonville incorporated as a city in 1868. There are at least two stories about how Watsonville came to be named. Some have it that it was named for all of the Watsons living in the area at the time; others say that the name is derived from a Judge who filed a famous claim against Sebastian Rodriguez, the owner of one of the large ranchos in the region, Rancho Bolsa de Pájaro. Perhaps it was a bit of both. While Judge John Watson lost the claim, ostensibly making his not the best name-choice, perhaps the name stuck anyway, not only because of the notoriety of the claim, but because there were so many Watsons in the area. The city continued to thrive as an agricultural area,

attracting more and more immigrants. A description of the city, just one decade later, hints at some of the changes the city was going through:

> Pajaro Street became known as Main Street as shops and businesses moved in. By the mid-seventies, there were ten grocery stores, six doctors, a dentist, two livery stables, three harnessmakers, four blacksmiths, three wagonmakers, three meat markets, seven hotels, eight saloons, two telegraph offices, one bank, the Bank of Watsonville, one foundry, one newspaper and one bakery in town. The young ladies' group called the Butterfly Club raised money for a fountain to be built in the middle of the Plaza (Santa Cruz Library Weekly, 2003, para. 7).

By the late 1880's, the Pájaro Valley region had grown to about 7,500 residents, with Watsonville's population at 2,800. One of the neighboring communities, Freedom—which had until 1877 been called Whiskey Hill, because of its many saloons—offered "the local cowboys, Mexican and Indian vaqueros from the neighboring ranchos, and no doubt a patron or two from Watsonville, the chance to relax or kick up their heels" (Santa Cruz Library Weekly, 2003). The activities that these vaqueros engaged in included "Saturday night dances, fights, knifings, horse races along Corralitos Creek" (Santa Cruz Library Weekly, 2003), but most interestingly, the largest festivities were held on September 16, in celebration of Mexican Independence Day (Santa Cruz Library Weekly, 2003).

In the final pages of this dissertation, we will revisit Watsonville's Main Street and Plaza, for an updated perspective on the place.

The five tables that follow are all drawn from data contained in various tables in the U.S. Census Bureau's 2000 census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003. Fact Finder, 2000 Census). According to the 2000 census, by then, the total population of Watsonville had grown to 44,265. Seventy five percent of this total, or 33,254, claimed to be Hispanic or

Latino, with most coming from México; the following table gives the breakdown, including numbers for the state of California, and the United States as a whole, which show that Watsonville is a community that is populated by many more Hispanics/Latinos than is typical.

Table 2: 2000 Census Data on Race/Ethnicity for Watsonville, CA, and US

HISPANIC OR LATINO	Number	Percent
Total Population	44,265	100.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	33,254	75.1
Mexican	29,953	67.7
Puerto Rican	39	0.1
Cuban	25	0.1
Other Hispanic or Latino	3,237	7.3
Not Hispanic or Latino	11,011	24.9
California: Total population	33,871,648	100.00
California: Hispanic or Latino	10,966,558	32.4
California: Mexican	8,455,926	25.0
U.S.: Total population	281,421,906	100.0
U.S.: Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	12.5
U.S.: Mexican	20,640,711	7.3

The table below, also compiled from the 2000 census, provides an overview of several economic characteristics of this population. Of those over 16 years of age (30,909), 63.9% are in the labor force, with a 7.9% rate of unemployment. When focusing solely on females 16 years and over, we see that 56.1% of this population is in the labor force, with the same rate of unemployment. The census further shows that in 61% of households, both parents in the family are in the work force. The unemployment rate in Watsonville, as compared to that for California and the U.S. overall, is markedly higher—more than twice the national rate:

Table 3: 2000 Census Data on Employment Status

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Number	Percent
Population 16 years and over	30,909	100.0
In labor force	19,739	63.9
Civilian labor force	19,739	63.9
Employed	17,285	55.9
Unemployed	2,454	7.9
Not in the labor force	11,170	36.1
Females 16 years and over	15,434	100.0
In labor force	8,658	56.1
Civilian labor force	8,658	56.1
Employed	7,432	48.2
Unemployed	2,454	7.9
Not in the labor force	6,776	43.9
Families, in which both parents are in labor force	2,488	61.0
California rate of unemployment (population 16 years or over)	1,110,274	4.3
U.S. rate of unemployment (population 16 years or over)	7,947,286	3.7

While not specifically indicating migrant status, occupational information derived from the 2000 census shows that of the employed population 16 years and over, those claiming the occupation category of "farming, fishing, and forestry" were 17.0% and those claiming "agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining" were 17.6%. Although it is not possible to know how much overlap there is between these two categories, they are indicative of how agricultural work fits into the overall occupational picture for Watsonville. For a full breakdown of the other categories reported on this census, please see Appendix A. Another source of information, the *Pajaro Valley Unified School District Data Source Book, 2000-2001*, provides data that helps to flesh out the category of "migrancy." According to this source book, the total number of

students enrolled in the district was 18,445 (p.91). The total number of students in the district participating in the migrant education program was 9,184 (p. 93), which is approximately 50% of the total number enrolled. Again, while this information is based on a targeted slice of the population of Watsonville, it is nonetheless indicative of the importance of agriculture to this area; as already noted, in order to qualify for the migrant program within the district, one of the criteria that parents need to meet is employment in officially recognized migrant occupations, such as the agricultural fields, the canneries, or the nurseries. In fact, according to the City of Watsonville, in Santa Cruz county (again, the county that the Pájaro Valley is located in), there are 815 local farms, each averaging 68 acres, and "agriculture and food processing remain the mainstay of the Pajaro Valley economic structure" (City of Watsonville, 2003. para. 6)

Those in Watsonville claiming to be private wage and salary workers were 83.4% of the working population, with 10.9% working for the government, and 5.4% self-employed (table below compiled from 2000 census):

Table 4: 2000 Census Data on Class of Worker

CLASS OF WORKER	Number	Percent
Private wage and salary workers	14,423	83.4
Government workers	1,881	10.9
Self-employed workers in own not incorporated business	928	5.4
Unpaid family workers	53	0.3

The household income for Watsonville, compiled from the 2000 census, is listed on the following table, including information for California and the U.S. When

comparing median family income and per capita income, we see that Watsonville is well below the state and national averages:

Table 5: 2000 Census Data on Income for Watsonville, CA, US

INCOME IN 1999	Number	Percent
Households	11,478	100.0
Less than $10,000	1,051	9.2
$10,000 to $14,999	772	6.7
$15,000 to $24,999	1,636	14.3
$25,000 to $34,999	1,816	15.8
$35,000 to $49,999	1,934	16.8
$50,000 to $74,999	2,245	19.6
$75,000 to $99,999	1,112	9.7
$100,000 to $149,999	586	5.1
$150,000 to $199,999	129	1.1
$200,000 or more	197	1.7
Median household income (dollars)	37,617	
Median family income (dollars)	40,293	
Per capita income (dollars)	13,205	
California median family income (dollars)	53,025	
California per capita income (dollars)	22,711	
U.S. median family income (dollars)	50,046	
U.S. per capita income (dollars)	21,587	

The number of families in Watsonville below poverty level was 1,381, or 15.4% (compared to: California, 10,6%; U.S., 9.2%); those families with children under 18 years of age that were below the poverty level were numbered at 1,233, or 19.7% (compared to: California, 15.3%; U.S. 13.6%); the number of families below poverty level with children under 5 years of age was 693, or 23.5% (compared to: California, 19%, U.S., 17%). In all three categories, Watsonville had higher rates of poverty than were found in either California or the United States as a whole.

The educational level of this community is shown in the table below, with comparative figures for California and the U.S., again drawn from the 2000 census. The numbers show that the educational attainment for the population in Watsonville is far below the state and national averages:

Table 6: 2000 Census Data on Educational Attainment for Watsonville, CA, US

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	Number	Percent
Population 25 years or over	24,045	100.0
Less than 9th grade	8,746	36.4
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	3,500	14.6
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	4,819	20.0
Some college, no degree	3,951	16.4
Associate degree	939	3.9
Bachelor's degree	1,429	5.9
Graduate or professional degree	661	2.7
Percent high school graduate or higher		49.1
Percent bachelor's degree or higher		8.7
California population 25 years or over	21,298,900	100.0
Less than 9th grade (California)	2,446,324	11.5
Percent high school graduate or higher (Calif.)		76.8
Percent bachelor's degree or higher (Calif.)		26.6
U.S. population 25 years or over	182,211,639	100.0
Less than 9th grade (U.S.)	13,755,477	7.5
Percent high school graduate or higher (U.S.)		80.4
Percent bachelor's degree or higher (U.S.)		24.4

The language of the "official" business of Watsonville (government, general business, infrastructure) is English—as it is in the wider context of California. However, within the local Pájaro Valley Unified School District (PVUSD), there has been a tradition of institutionalized support for the non-native English speaking school children in this community, including bilingual education programs, and migrant services. The

bilingual education programs have been for the most part transitional programs, which have the goal of transitioning the students into English instruction by third, fourth, and fifth grades—approximately to a 50% level by third, a 75% level by fourth, and fully transitioned by fifth. While the emphasis is on English acquisition, in especially the earlier grades, such a program provides native-language support for the acquisition of literacy, and other academic skills, concurrent with English language development.

However, in 1998, California voters passed a ballot initiative, Proposition 227, which set in motion the dismantling of the bilingual education programs, statewide. The goal of this initiative has been to track the state's language minority students into English immersion programs within one year of their beginning school, regardless of their level of proficiency in English (with limited structured support in native language, depending on proficiency in English). The putative goal of this initiative was to improve the acquisition of English by the state's non-native population. Across the state, the reaction to the requirements of Proposition 227 has been varied; while there are districts that have moved to be in complete compliance with the proposition, others have worked to maintain what they deem to be successful bilingual programs (Krashen, 2001). Some schools in the Pájaro Valley Unified School District have had a strong parent response against Proposition 227; these parents have worked with the schools their children attend to initiate waivers to the requirements of the Proposition, stating that they desire that their children remain in bilingual programs. According to the district's Bilingual Coordinator, 12 of the 16 elementary schools in the district have some level of the waiver process in

effect (L. Verde-Rivas, personal communication, December, 2000[2]), including the school site under study.

Identity

Already discussed has been the inevitability of language contact in the world, and the resultant bi- and multilingualism—given such pressures as globalization and immigration. As immigrants move from one geographical location to another, many complex processes are involved, at many levels, including psychological, cultural, and social. Immigrants can "experience displacement, relocation, and redefinition of self and community as they confront the necessity of classifying the world around them (Goldin 1999, p. 1-2). In these "transnational" contexts, identities are formed and re-formed.

While discrete or distinct ethnic or racial groups are as elusive as discrete discourse communities (noted above), nevertheless, people *believe* that they live in a world made up of such groups, and ground this belief in the terms of identity; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller argue that these "terms function as symbols ready at hand for identities to hang on, providing the links between individuals and groups, the instruments therefore of identification" (1985, p. 208). Ethnicity, much like gender and class, has long been, and is commonly taken to be, a construct within which social identities are created. Tajfel's (1982) work in social identity theory has informed many studies. According to this theory, people tend to categorize their social world into groups, which consist of two kinds—those that are made up of others who are similar to oneself, and those that are made up of others who are different. Ethnic identity is a combination of this knowledge of membership of social groups, and the value and emotional significance attached to the

[2] I interviewed Dr. Lupe Verde-Rivas regarding the district's bilingual programs, and the effects of Proposition 227 in the district.

that membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Phinney (1990) claims that perhaps the best way to view ethnic identity is as a subjective feeling—one of belonging to a certain ethnic group. Fishman (1997) defines ethnicity as macro-group "belongingness" (p. 329). Fishman warns, however, that as a term, "ethnicity" should not be taken to mean "culture." Ethnicity is narrower than culture; there are many aspects of culture, for example, artifacts such as books, that are not identificational—that is, they are not indicative of ethnicity. Fishman also claims that ethnicity is more *perspectival* than culture, in that it is "fundamentally subjective, variable and very possibly non-consensual" (1997, p. 329). Clearly, ethnicity and identity are tightly bound.

Yet, in attempting to understand identity, it is not sufficient to focus solely on ethnicity, despite the close relationship between these constructs. It is through language, for the most part, that one's social identity, and ethnicity, are established and maintained (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Tabouret-Keller, 1997); further, because people can be members of more than one group simultaneously, language becomes a means for social comparison. It is through language that one or another of the various group memberships a person belongs to becomes salient (Giles & Johnson, 1987). As one of the most noticeable characteristics of ethnic groups, spoken language is perhaps the preeminent point of reference for understanding issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social processes. According to Dorian,

> although many behaviors can mark identity, language is the only one that actually carries extensive cultural content. The distinctive sounds uttered in speaking a particular language encode meaning, and the link between ethnic group and ethnic language becomes much more important at this level (1999, p. 31).

Moreover, the link between language and identity is experienced as vital, and as primal; in fact, "almost every aspect of language is replete with ethnic significance and associations" (Fishman, 1997, p. 340). Inclusion in, or exclusion from, particular social groups is regularly done on the basis of linguistic features, even a single phonemic feature (e.g., the well known third person singular verb form without overt *–s* morphology, in AAVE). According to Tabouret-Keller,

> language features are the link which binds individuals and social identities together. Language offers both the means of creating this link and that of expressing it. Such features imply the whole range of language use, from phonetic features to lexical units, syntactic structures, and personal names" (1997, p. 317).

However, just as ethnicity is variable, so is the link between language and identity. It is constructed by circumstances—contextual, historical, and social. Because of this, many linguists interested in sociolinguistic variation have investigated this link, often referred to as ethnolinguistic identity. An outcome of such research has been the confirmation that ethnolinguistic identity is not unidimensional, and that it "is not invariant but changes from one occasion to another" (Fishman, 1999). According to Tabouret-Keller (1997), these changes occur through the process of identification, whereby a person takes on, either unconsciously or consciously, aspects of another person's or another group's behavior. Tabouret-Keller claims that identification is one of the reasons for the close link between language and identity. Language in use provides the largest set of easily adoptable features for this identification process, making it a prime target for variation, and for studying.

Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) is an important work that focuses on language and identity, and which draws on earlier work done in Accommodation Theory (Giles,

1979). According to them, their work is similar to Giles' work, in that it is also concerned with issues of ethnicity and people's perceptions of one another, but it differs in important ways. Accommodation Theory centers on interactive behavioral events, and how these reflect the way people accommodate linguistically to one another, or more specifically, their perceptions of one another. In contrast, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's work focuses on how people ascribe linguistic attributes to their perceptions of other people, and groups (1985). Pushing further, they assume that linguistic items are not just attributes of communities or groups, but that "they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves and identify with others" (p. 5), and that linguistic behavior is "a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (p.5). In these acts, identities are born and disintegrate, through processes Le Page & Tabouret-Keller characterize as *focusing* and *diffusion.* Focused groups are those comprising closely interactive, and tightly-knit communities, within which greater regularity in speech is manifested; with diffuse groups, it is the opposite—more loosely-knit communities, and more linguistic variation. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller borrow the concept of *networks* from Milroy's (1980) work, claiming that there is a high correlation between the degree of focusing around a particular set of linguistic features or norms, and dense and multiplex social networks. Interestingly, however, when Le Page & Tabouret-Keller did the research for their study, they were not aware of Milroy's work with networks, and admit that had they been familiar with it, they "might well have used it [themselves]" (p. 116).

According to Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, "focusing" can be promoted by several factors; the first is daily and close interaction in the community; the second is a sense of

common cause—brought on by, for example, an external threat or danger; the third is a powerful model of some sort, such as religious teachings or symbols, a leader, or a prestige group; and finally is the education system of the community (1985).

These researchers argue that our ability to get into "focus" with the people or the groups we want to identify with is constrained, and that these "constraints upon our acts of identity" (p. 182) can be categorized in four ways; we can get into focus with those we want to identify with "to the extent that

1)
a) we can identify the groups

b) we have both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyse their behavioural patterns

c) the motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups

d) we have the ability to modify our behaviour" (p. 182).

Of these categories, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller found positive and negative motivation to identify with groups to be the most predictive of linguistic behavior, which is not surprising, considering the work of linguists such as Labov, Trudgill, and Milroy, who show similar results regarding language variation and group solidarity and/or the desire to be distinguished from others. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller further argue that multilingual communities provide rich, and obvious environments, in which such motivation becomes even more apparent; in these environments, the linguistic rule-system (or aspects of it) of the group that is perceived to be socially desirable is adopted (1985). Tabouret-Keller (1997) further claims that environments in which there is language contact provide good cases for studying language and "identity fusion or disjunction" (p. 323).

Noels et al. (1996) is another study that is relevant to this research. These researchers claim that increased competence in a second language promotes identification with that second language community. They further argue that "for minority group members, the development of second language skills and of a second ethnic identity may undermine the original ethnic identity" (1996, p. 248). This notion is obviously key to the current study, which at the outset, predicted that as the participants' English proficiency increased, so would their Anglo identity. Further supporting these expectations is a general frame of language use in Watsonville. While the community is predominantly Hispanic, English is nonetheless a language of prestige—it is the language of "official" business, shored up certainly by the state-wide adoption of Proposition 227; and while there is a tradition of institutional support for bilingual education programs in the community, which support native-language instruction in the earlier grades, the goal of such programs is clear—the acquisition of English.

Nonetheless, acculturation does not necessarily follow one straight path. Indeed, there is a range of possible patterns for this process. Noels et al. (1996) cite Berry (1980, 1990) as providing an explanatory model of possible types of acculturative processes involved with re-identification. These include:

2)

a) separation (i.e., relatively exclusive involvement in the native ethnic community)

b) assimilation (i.e., relatively exclusive involvement in the target ethnic community)

c) deculturation or marginalization (i.e., rejection of both cultures as ethnic reference groups)

d) integration (i.e., high levels of implication in the native ethnic group as well as high levels of involvement in the other ethnic community).

According to Noels et al., Berry and his colleagues, in their research on attitudes toward the process of acculturation, have generally found that individuals prefer to experience *integration* [as opposed to separation, assimilation, or deculturation] (citing Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki,1989).

Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) expand on their notion of a person's ability to modify their behavior (one of the constraints on a person's ability to get into "focus" with, or identify with, others, noted in 2.d. above), claiming that as second language speakers receive new linguistic data, it is perceived in terms of models that they have already constructed. They assert that in multilingual communities "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (p. 181). Importantly, for this study, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller claim that for children, these processes of accommodation, of creating linguistic patterns resembling the groups they identify with, are far less difficult than they are for adults. This is not to imply that joining a group is not complicated. Tabouret-Keller (1997) argues that this is actually itself a very complex process that involves much of a person's history—subjective and intimate—as well as multiple social factors, such as status in society. Accordingly,

> identity is rather a ***network*** of identities, reflecting the many commitments, allegiances, loyalties, passions, and hatreds everyone tries to handle in ever-varying compromise strategies. These imply language use to mark group affiliation, to reveal permitted or forbidden boundaries, to exclude or include, etc. (1997, p. 321). (italics mine)

Given the protean nature of identity, captured across the discussion above, any attempt to formally study the processes of identification and acculturation is bound to fall

short in numerous ways. Because a lot of the processes concerned are internal and hidden, it is practically a certainty that much will be missed. However, as stated at the outset of this project, perhaps an accumulation of well-crafted studies which attempt to isolate and operationalize the variables involved can bring us closer to a true picture of the enormously complex process of identity formation.

Identity Operationalized

Identity, as operationalized in this study, is a bundling of social factors—a constellation of symbolic information, and *preferences*. Again, it is frankly admitted in this study that any such classification is a violation of sorts, because it will inevitably leave out many important nuanced factors that are operating and interacting in highly complex ways. Nonetheless, because studies involving the social aspects of being human are important, many researchers have grappled with this problem, resulting in fairly well-established techniques to discover and classify identity.

Researchers who have studied ethnic identification in children often use a technique that requires the children to identify their preferences between dolls or pictures that represent members of their own ethnic group, and those representing other groups (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, citing Genessee, Tucker & Lambert, 1978 as an example). This study borrows from this idea, but extends it to include concepts beyond people, as indicators of group membership. That is, in questioning the participants in this study about their preferences, I concentrated on aspects of cultural practices, instead of on particular members of the respective groups, focusing on the following 5 general categories:

- Favorite food(s)
- Favorite music
- Sports
- Holiday foods eaten by the family
- Preference for place—México or Watsonville

This research investigated the nature of the relationship between two variables, identity and the acquisition of a second language; I now turn to a discussion of the language features that were studied.

Language Features Studied[3]

The range of grammatical features that were examined in this study were chosen because they reflect deep structural differences between Spanish and English, and therefore would provide a good snapshot of the developing bilingual grammars of the participants involved; as such, these features cover syntactic configuration (Noun-noun compounds), morphological attachment (tense doubling), as well as several different functions of a core grammatical element (articles). Moreover, because these are "core" features, arguably, they can be used as a reasonable measure of proficiency.

Certainly a concern when investigating the grammars of children is whether or not developmental factors are interacting with the data. A seminal child acquisition study (Chomsky, C., 1969), which focused on children between the ages of five and ten, questioned the common assumption that by age five children have mastered native language syntax; her study claims that in fact, at age five, syntax is not fully formed, and that between the ages of five and ten syntactic development continues. Chomsky's study centered on the acquisition of structures which were termed linguistically complex, that

[3] All Spanish used in this research was reviewed by two native speakers of Spanish, one (a linguist) from Spain, and the other from México.

is, ones in which the grammatical relations holding among words are not necessarily reflected in surface structure, of the type (1969, p. 26, 33):

3) John is easy to see

4) Bozo tells Donald to hop up and down

5) Donald promises Bozo to hop up and down

Using dolls in her experiment, for items such as in 1) above, Chomsky told the children to make the dolls "easy to see," and for items such as 2) and 3), told them to make them "do it." She found, with the first type of sentence, that almost all of the five year olds answered incorrectly, and all the nine year olds answered correctly, while the six, seven and eight year olds showed mixed results. With the *tell/promise* sentences, only half of the children knew the test structures.

Another important child language acquisition study (Goodluck, 1991), acknowledges that Chomsky's notion that syntax is late in developing became popular, due to her influential study. However, Goodluck claims that since its publication, much evidence for very early syntactically based grammars in children has been compiled (citing, for example, Gordon, 1985; Gleitman, 1989). Goodluck argues that Chomsky's 'syntax is late' hypothesis really can't be maintained in any strong form because all but one of Chomsky's tests involved lexically restricted phenomena—such as rules "for interpreting the missing (PRO) subject of a complement clause ('promise vs. 'tell') and the distribution of missing object constructions ('easy'/'eager')" (1991, p. 106).

Goodluck concludes that children from as early an age as two to three years have syntactic systems that are tuned to the syntax of the language around them, and which reflect the core underlying principles which govern adult grammars; she further adds that

by age three or four, children have "acquired the basics of complex syntax (phrase structure configurations appropriate to their language) and interpret sentences using structurally-based principles" (1991, p. 106). Goodluck concedes that it may well be that a child's grammatical system is not exactly the same as an adult's until a few years into their schooling, but claims that the notion that a child's syntactic system is "fundamentally impoverished or non-existent for any extended period" is untenable, given the evidence (1991, p. 107).

Given the research discussed above—which indicates that at an early age children have robust core syntactic systems, with some variation for lexical restriction—combined with the fact that the youngest group of children I tested had a median age of 7, with the youngest at age 6.1, I did not expect to encounter developmental issues.

Before describing the grammatical features studied in this research, I would like to briefly mention the elicitation methods used to collect data on these features. For N/N Compounding and Article usage, two methods were used: 1) Repetition, and 2) Picture Task, with the goal of eliciting spontaneous, unmonitored speech containing the targeted linguistic structures. Wolfram & Fasold (1974) and Lust, et al. (1996) argue that with children, imitation is not merely a passive copy, but in fact reflects cognitive competence; they claim that the oral production elicited through repetition tasks appears to quite accurately represent children's grammatical competence. Radford supports this idea, claiming that there is a conventional assumption in the field "that children can consistently imitate only those items whose morphosyntax they have mastered" (1990, p. 86). The other technique, the use of pictures in elicitation, is one of the methods most commonly used to assess children's linguistic capabilities (McDaniel et al., 1996). The

strategies I used to collect the Tense Doubling data were a bit more complicated; these are discussed in more detail in the Methodology section of this research.

Noun/Noun Compounds

Noun/Noun (N/N) compounding is a very productive process in English; in fact, according to Ryder, this type of compounding "has been on the increase at least since 1750" (1994, p. 4, citing Leonard, 1984). In addition, and important to this study, Ryder claims that N/N compounding in English is also one of the earliest derivational processes used by children (1994, p. 4, citing Derwing, 1979). Supporting this, Clark (1995) states that children as young as age two form novel nouns, the earliest typically being compounds formed from two nouns, as in *crow-bird* and *taxi-car* (1995, p. 401). She cites additional N/N compounds produced by two and three year olds, for example, *car-smoke* and *fire-dog* (1995, p. 405-6).

In contrast, in Spanish, N/N compounding is not a productive process. Related to this difference between Spanish and English is the fact that in English there are two ways of expressing possession, the Saxon genitive (*'s*), and the Norman genitive (also called periphrastic genitive), which uses the NP of NP structure (Carreiras & Clifton, 1993); Spanish has only the Norman genitive. For example, in Spanish, the English N/N compound, *dog house* is realized with an NP of NP structure: *casa del perro* (*house of the* dog).

With N/N compounding in English, it is easy to assume that a term, such as *the orange 's juice*, using the Saxon genitive, could become *the orange juice*, through a simple process of phonological reduction. There are English N/N combinations in which the first noun ends in the genitive *–s* that are puzzling because their status as either

inflected genitive constructions or compounds is ambiguous (Warren, 1978). Examples of these follow, taken from Warren (1978):

6) driver's seat

7) pastor's cap

In her study, Warren's focus is on the semantic class of such structures and she states that whatever the function of the *–s* morphology is in these elements, they belong to either the semantic class of Purpose (6. above) or Possession (7. above). While a detailed analysis of N/N compounding in English is well beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth briefly noting that we can also find current examples of type 7) above, in which the *–s* suffix has been reduced, as in the following:

8) bachelor pad

While not completely relevant to this discussion on N/N compounds, it is interesting to note that Spanish does have a very productive word formation process that also results in compounds that are always nominal, but these are composed of verbal elements and their complements (Lloyd, 1968). A couple of examples follow, taken from Lloyd (1968):

Spanish	English
9) picaflor *prick/puncture flower*	hummingbird
10) correfaldas *run skirts*	woman chaser

Through the process of lexicalization, N/N compounded elements make their way into Spanish; the difference between these structures and the ones found in English, though, is the direction of the head to the modifying element. In the English N/N

compounds, the modifying element precedes the head; in Spanish, it is just the opposite, as can be seen in the following:

English	Spanish
11) swordfish	pez espada *fish sword*
12) woodpecker	pájaro carpintero *bird carpenter*
13) wallpaper	papel tapiz *paper tapestry*

This difference in head direction reflects deep syntactic configuration, and was therefore an ideal area of focus for this study. I expected that the students who were less proficient in English—those whose grammars would be more Spanish-like—would show more evidence of the structure of head+modifying element in their production of English N/N compounds (i.e., they will be more likely to say *bed flower* for *flower bed*) than those more proficient in English.

Articles

While the distribution of articles in Spanish and English is similar in certain respects, there are points of difference that make article usage another good area to investigate in this study. In general form, both Spanish and English have two sets of these determiners—definite and indefinite articles, with generally similar distributions: the definite article refers to someone or something already contextualized (by previous mention; by being unique to the culture; etc.), the indefinite article refers to an item or person not contextualized. Beyond this, however, there are various ways in which article usage in Spanish and English differs.

The analysis that follows, and the majority of the data used in the examples on article usage, are drawn from a volume in a series of studies undertaken in the early 1960s by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), which focused a careful contrastive structural analysis between English and the five foreign languages most commonly taught in the United States at the time: French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish (Stockwell et al., 1965).

One of the ways that article usage in Spanish and English differs is with regard to several aspects of quantification. First of all, there can be discrepancies in class assignment—mass or count—for semantically equivalent lexical items. What in English is a mass noun, can be a count noun in Spanish.

English		Spanish	
Mass noun	*Mass noun w/countable element*	*Plural count noun*	*Singlular count noun*
14) thunder	a clap of thunder	truenos *thunders*	un trueno *a thunder*
15) advice	a piece of advice	consejos *advices*	un consejo *an advice*
16) furniture	a piece of furniture	muebles *furnitures*	un mueble *a furniture*

Interestingly, English accommodates speakers' need to refer to particular instances of these nouns by resorting to periphrastic constructions (*a piece of...*). The fact that this regularly occurs shows two things: 1) English deeply resists conversion of mass nouns to count, and 2) speakers do not need to refer to particular instances of these nouns, but will respect their grammatical properties when they do so. Again, these facts suggest deep structural properties in English that prevent conversion of mass to count nouns.

In contrast, converting mass nouns to count constructions is quite productive in Spanish:

English mass	Spanish mass or count nouns	
17) two bars of soap	dos pastillas de jábon *two bars of soap*	dos jabones *two soaps*
18) two pieces of wood	dos trozos de madera *two pieces of wood*	dos maderas *two woods*
19) two bits of information	dos puntos de información *two bits of information*	dos informaciones *two informations*

A particular ramification of this difference pertains to mass nouns that can be equated in both languages; Spanish, unlike English, requires the definite article with the following mass nouns:

English mass noun	Spanish mass noun	Spanish count noun
20) (the) applause	el aplauso *the applause*	dos aplausos *two applauses*
21) (the) laughter	la risa *the laughter*	dos risas *two laughters*
22) (the) support	el apoyo *the support*	dos apoyos *two supports*

Another area within article usage that shows variation between Spanish and English is that of specificity—regarding definiteness and indefiniteness. According to the *Contrastive Structure Series*, mentioned above (Stockwell et al., 1965), this aspect of article usage is what causes learners of English and Spanish the most difficulty; as shown below, this phenomenon ranges over a) nouns showing mere identification:

English	Spanish	
23) He is a doctor	Es médico *He is doctor*	*Es un médico *(a)*

24) He is a friend of mine	Es amigo mío *He is friend mine*	*Es un amigo mío
25) She is a teacher	Es maestra *She is teacher*	*Es una maestra

(Note: The Spanish sentences in the third column are starred as sentences with predicates that indicate identification; if these same sentences were meant to indicate individualization, or emphasis, the article would be used: *Es un médico=He is a doctor; Es un amigo mío=He is my friend.* Also, in situations of additional modification (*Es un buen médico/He is a good doctor)*, or in figurative speech (*Es un lobo/He is a wolf)*, an article would be used [1965]).

and b) nouns referring to all of something:

English	Spanish
26) Man is mortal	El hombre es mortal *The man is mortal*
27) Children are innocent	Los niños son inocentes *The children are innocent*
28) I don't like rice	No me gusta el arroz *No(t) me pleases the rice*

Another fact related to the issue of specificity is that in Spanish, when personal titles are used, the definite article is obligatory; this use of a double determiner—which contrasts sharply with English—makes this an important feature of article usage to examine:

English	Spanish
29) Mr. Brown is here	El señor Brown está aquí
30) Professor Phillips said so	La profesora Phillips lo dijo

The last aspect of variation of article usage between Spanish and English focused on in this study has to do with inaliable possession. In Spanish, when possession is obvious, as with body parts especially, the definite article is used instead of a possessive pronoun, which is the form used in English; number 33) below indicates that this tendency to mark obvious possession with a definite article is not limited to body parts:

English	Spanish
31) Your feet are very dirty	Tienes los pies muy sucios *You have the feet very dirty*
32) My whole body aches	me duele todo el cuerpo *Me hurts all the body*
33) Take your shirt off	Quítate la camisa *You take off the shirt*

While there are environments in Spanish in which this restriction is loosened, for example with some verbs that don't require clitic pronouns, it is nonetheless quite robust (A. Martínez, personal communication, September, 2000[4]):

34) *Me duele mi mano
Me hurts my hand

35) Me duele la mano
Me hurts the hand

36) Levantó la mano
He raised the hand

37) Levantó su mano
He raised his hand

In closing this section, I would like to briefly return to the question, raised above, of potential developmental issues involved in the acquisition of the grammatical elements under study. A theoretical perspective that has bearing on the acquisition of articles is one held by Radford (1990, 1995). Radford argues that in the earliest stages of child language acquisition, the structures children acquire are *lexical-thematic*, and lack the functional/nonthematic I, C, and D constituents. He further asserts that from around two years of age, these functional category systems are acquired, and claims that they are implemented concurrently. While not all linguists working on these questions agree with

[4] Asunción Martínez, a linguist and a native Spanish speaker, was a former committee member for this dissertation. I conferred with her on all of the Spanish grammatical elements studied in this research.

this latter claim (e.g. Clahsen, & Penke; Roeper; Verrips & Weissenborn, as cited in Meisel, 1992), Radford (1995) does provide convincing evidence for his position.

Radford acknowledges that while these functional category systems appear to be *acquired* from around two years of age, children this age have not *mastered* all of the morphosyntactic complexities of these systems, and seem to go through a transitional stage towards mastery. The important point here, for purposes of this study, is that articles, which are part of the Determiner (D) System, a functional category, seem to be acquired early. Radford cites data (1990, p. 284-288), drawn from 13 participants ranging in age from 26 to 27 months, all of whom display quite productive use of articles. Supporting this is data contained in another study concerned with maturational issues in the acquisition of syntax (Borer & Wexler, 1987, p. 147). While these data are drawn from a section of Borer & Wexler's study focusing on the acquisition of verbal passives, they nonetheless provide more evidence for early acquisition of articles. These come from subjects aged 24-48 months:

38) the tree's smashed

39) the window's breaked again

Even at this very early age, these children are using articles, which is interesting because, arguably, articles are semantically empty, which shows that these children have grammar at work at this age, and not just semantics.

Again, my expectation with the *article data* was that my subjects whose grammars were more Spanish-like would evidence more Spanish-like structures in their article use.

Tense Doubling

The final aspect of grammatical difference between English and Spanish investigated here I generally refer to as *tense doubling*, although these data include other grammatical features as well. In Spanish Wh-questions, the main verbs are morphologically marked for number and tense, while in English the auxiliary *do* bears the tense and the main verb is in its bare form:

English	Spanish
40) What did Joe buy	Qué compró José *What bought José*
41) Where did María go	Adónde fue María *To where went María*
42) How did Elena travel	Cómo viajaba Elena *How traveled Elena*

Tense doubling shows up regularly in English Wh-question formation by less proficient L2 English speakers whose native language is Spanish, who often produce strings such as

43) What did Joe bought

instead of

44) What did Joe buy

In 43), both the main verb and the auxiliary are morphologically marked for tense.

There are multiple linguistic factors that I could have focused on in these tense doubling data; the two variations shown in 43) and 44) are not the only possibilities with the construction of this type of string. In addition to the variation in tense, there can also be variation in the use of the auxiliary; that is, it can be present in the data or not, or it can have been moved, or not. The table below shows the range of responses that are possible. The first example response listed shows no auxiliary present, and no past tense marked

on the main verb, the second shows no auxiliary present, but with the main verb marked with past tense, and so on:

Table 7: Possible Range of Responses for Tense Doubling Data

Auxiliary *-0- = not present* *M = movement* *T = past tense*	Main Verb --- = no past tense + = past tense	Example
-0-	---	what Joe buy
-0-	+	what Joe bought
+M +T	---	what did Joe buy
+M +T	+	what did Joe bought
+M –T	---	what do Joe buy
+M –T	+	what do Joe bought
-M +T	---	what Joe did buy
-M +T	+	what Joe did bought
-M –T	---	what Joe do buy
-M –T	+	what Joe do bought

In this study, however, my focus was strictly on whether or not there was evidence of tense doubling in the strings produced by the participants in this study. That is, whether they produced strings such as in

46) What did Joe buy

or whether they produced strings with the tense doubled, as in

47) What did Joe bought

Again, the question of potential developmental factors interacting with the tense doubling data is of possible concern. As noted, the production of sentences like 46) necessarily entails more than just knowledge of the distribution of tense in such questions in English—Wh-movement is also involved, as is the use of the auxiliary *do*, which could potentially confound the tense doubling results, if there were developmental factors

involved. Radford's (1990) argument (mentioned above) that functional categories are acquired from about two years of age has direct bearing on this issue, because if he is right, then the functional category systems involved in Wh-movement and the use of the auxiliary *do* would be acquired by the age of my youngest subjects. Relating to the issues involved in the production of these sentences, and providing evidence for Radford's claim, is work by De Villiers (1978), who claims that the full auxiliary system of English is in play around age four, and that simple past tense is one of the earliest verb expansions learned by children. Radford (1995) adds additional support, providing data from children aged 26 months, who evidenced acquisition of auxiliaries such as *do*, tense and agreement affixes, and auxiliary inversion. Data from another De Villiers (1995, p. 519) study, which is drawn from children ranging in age from 2;10 to 5;5 years, shows the production of sentences like:

48) What do you wanna eat

49) Who do you want to take a walk

which speaks to the question of the acquisition of Wh-movement.

With the tense doubling data, I expected to find evidence of morphological attachment on the main verbs in the English Wh-questions of my subjects, again progressing from more of it (i.e., more Spanish-like morphological attachment) to less of it, depending on proficiency in English.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The participants in this study were Spanish/English bilingual children who are Spanish dominant, drawn from three different grade levels—first grade, third grade, and a fourth/fifth grade combination class, in an elementary school in Watsonville, which is located in an agricultural region of California. Forty one subjects participated in this study, with the following breakdown, by *total number at each grade level, age,* and *sex*:

Table 8: Participant Age and Sex, by Grade

Grade level	# of participants	Median Age	Sex	
			Female	Male
First	13	7	5 (38.5%)	8 (61.5%)
Third	14	9	6 (43%)	8 (57%)
Fourth/Fifth combo	14	10	6 (43%)	8 (57%)
TOTAL/AVERAGE	41	8.7	17 (41.5%)	24 (58.5%)

Taken together, this pool of participants represents a fairly homogeneous group, with regard to several factors, for instance, location of birth. The majority (90%) of these children are first generation American-born, with the majority of their parents being immigrants from México. And of these, 31 of the 41 children, or 75.6%, were born in Watsonville. For all of the participants, and their parents, the information on birth location was drawn from school records; while the data on the participants is complete, two of the 41 participants' parents' information is missing. The table below breaks down the detail of these data.

Table 9: Birthplace of Participants and Parents

PARTICIPANTS			
Where born	***Total number***	***%***	Cumulative %
Watsonville	31	75.6%	75.6%
Other location in California	6	14.6	90.2%
México	4	9.8	100%
TOTAL	41	100%	
PARENTS			
Where born (Parent 1/Parent 2)	***Total number***	***%***	***Cumulative %***
México/México	37	87.8%	87.8%
México/California	1	2.4%	90.2%
México/Unknown	1	4.9%	95.1%
Unknown/Unknown	2	4.9%	100%
TOTAL	41	100%	

All of the 41 participants in this study, across all grade levels, began their schooling in kindergarten, in the same school district as their current school, indicating that most of them have lived only in Watsonville, given the data in Table 9 above. Further, 27 of the 41 participants, or 65.9%, have attended only this school, indicating that they have lived in the same neighborhoods since they started school.

Another factor complicates this picture, however. While a majority of these participants were born and raised and have attended school in Watsonville, a majority of them are also classified as migrants. The following table illustrates four classifications of these participants within the category of migrant status, as determined by the school.

Table 10: Migrant Status

Category	Number	%	Cumulative Total
Migrant	31	75.6%	75.6%
Not yet decided	4	9.8%	85.4%
No longer Migrant	2	4.9%	90.3%
Non-migrant	4	9.8%	100%
TOTAL	41	100%	

Those classified as migrants (75.6%) are shown in the first row of this table. The second row in the table represents those participants the school was still in the process of deciding about—the migrant program personnel were investigating whether or not the family met the criteria, mentioned above in the Literature Review, for migrant status. The third row in the table indicates those participants who once were classified as migrants, but who have been reclassified because their families no longer meet the requirements to qualify for this status; finally, the fourth row shows the participants who were classified as non-migrant—9.8%.

Another classification that the school uses with its student population is whether or not they qualify for free or reduced lunches. This determination is based on family income and follows the criteria set forth in the California Department of Education's "Income Eligibility Guidelines for Free and Reduced Price Meals or Free Milk," in this case, guidelines that are effective from July 1, 2000 through June 30, 2001 (see Appendix B). The table below shows the breakdown for the students in this study, with a majority of them, 73.2%, qualifying for free lunch, and another 14.6% qualifying for reduced lunch, for a combined total of nearly 90% of the students:

Table 11: Free/Reduced Lunch Status

Category	Number	%	Cumulative Total
Free Lunch	30	73.2%	73.2%
Reduced Lunch	6	14.6%	87.8%
Denied	3	7.3%	95.1%
No Data	2	4.9%	100%
TOTAL	41	100%	

My assumption, given the information detailed in Table 9 above, was that the home language for at least the majority of these participants would be Spanish. To confirm this, I embedded questions about home-life into my casual conversations with these participants. Essentially, I asked them whether they spoke Spanish or English at home, and with whom. I coded their responses as either 1=Spanish; 2=Spanish and English (with Spanish mentioned first, and/or more often); and 3=English and Spanish (with English mentioned first, and/or more often). The table below indicates, according to each participant's reporting, the breakdown on home language; all participants reported Spanish to be a language of the home, with 66% claiming solely Spanish, and another almost 30% claiming Spanish before English:

Table 12: Home Language

Category reported	Number	%	Cumulative Total
Spanish	27	65.9%	65.9%
Spanish/English	12	29.3%	95.1%
English/Spanish	2	4.9%	100%
TOTAL	41	100%	

School Site

The Pájaro Valley Unified School District has 24 schools in total, 16 of which are elementary schools. The school where all data for this study were collected is one of these elementary schools. It is an older school, built in the middle of last century. Over the years, because the original buildings could no longer accommodate the growing student population, additional classrooms have been added to the school site. In addition, there is a large multi-purpose room that is used as a lunchroom daily, and when needed, as an auditorium for school assemblies, parent meetings, etc. The schoolyard is also large, with a separate play-area designated for the youngest students, the kindergarteners. In the larger yard, there are swings and a jungle-gym located in a sandy area. There is also a black-top area, containing several basketball courts. Another prominent feature of the yard is a large grassy field, which is used for various sports—soccer being the game I most often saw played there. Recesses are staggered by grade-level: the first, second, and third graders have recess at one time, and the fourth and fifth graders at another.

At the time of data collection, there were just over 600 students enrolled at this school. These students were enrolled in 28 classes in total, 11 of which were bilingual classes, 8 structured English immersion classes, and 9 English-only classes. The class levels ranged from kindergarten through fifth grade. The following table, drawn from data contained in the Pájaro Valley Unified School District Data Source Book, 2000-2001, reflects several demographic characteristics of the students enrolled at this school:

Table 13: School Site Demographics

DEMOGRAPHICS	% of Total Enrollment
Race	
% Hispanic	89.6
% White	9
% Other	1.4
Socio-Economic Level	
% Free and reduced lunch	80
English Proficiency	
% Limited English	62
% Fluent English (designation for NNS of English)	12
% English Only	26
Migrant Status	
Migrant students	39

Preliminary Preparation for the Study

Because of my previous affiliation with The Pájaro Valley Unified School District, arranging for data collection was somewhat easier than if I hadn't had any contacts in the district. Having taught there for four years, at two different schools, I knew that the district was the kind of place that would provide the opportunity for me to collect the type of data that I was targeting. That is, I knew that I would find a population and a community within the district that met my basic criteria—that the participants be Spanish dominant, and that the community be at least somewhat agricultural, so that data on migrant children could be collected.

I contacted an administrator at one of the elementary schools in the district. Although I had never worked with this person, I had worked with several teachers at that site. After one of these teachers briefly told the administrator about me, I sent her an email, introducing myself and the project. Although she at first expressed some interest

in having me collect data at her school, she ultimately did not allow this to happen, claiming that she really wanted the research done at her school to be done by the school's own teachers.

I subsequently learned that one of the colleagues I had taught with, at both of my previous school sites, had been recently appointed as a school site administrator within the district. I contacted this person and briefly explained my project to her—including logistical criteria I had, such as which grade levels I wanted to target, etc. I was very pleased with her response to my request; she was not only willing to have me collect my data at her school site, but was happy for me to do so, saying that she very much supported such work. She did, however, leave the final decision up to the three classroom teachers that would be involved. She herself framed the project for these teachers, and luckily obtained permission from them for me to spend one week in each of their classrooms collecting data from their students. Each of these teachers turned out to be as cooperative as the school principal had been—they opened their classrooms and their files to me.

Methods

The data collected for this study were of three general types: 1) linguistic information, obtained from experimentally controlled data; 2) information on participants' identities, gained through casual conversation; and 3) demographic information, obtained from school records.

Starting with the older students, I worked my way through the designated class levels, spending one full week in each. In each class, the teachers had chosen 15 students to participate in my study. I spent recesses and lunch periods with all the students from

each class, and in addition, pulled the students who were targeted for my study out of the classroom, one-by-one, for audio taped data collection sessions. For this, the school principal set me up in an office that was not in use. There I was given a desk, where I set up my instruments and my tape recorder. Each student visited me in that office several times, for the experimental sessions, and for the casual conversations, all of which were audio recorded. In the experimentally controlled sessions, participants responded, in English, to a series of experimental tasks that targeted the morpho-syntactic units outlined above. In addition, I also recorded, in a field notebook, data obtained through conversations with the children on the schoolyard or at lunch.

Elicitation Methods

In the collection of the N/N Compounding and the Article data, this study used two elicitation techniques: 1) Repetition, and 2) Picture Task. These were designed to elicit spontaneous, unmonitored speech containing the targeted linguistic structures (c.f. Wolfram & Fasold, 1974; McDaniel et al., 1996; Radford, 1990).

In the tasks that used repetition, after being instructed on how to proceed, the participants repeated the target sentences, after I had stated them. With the picture tasks, the participants responded to questions such as, "What is this?" or "What happened here?", while looking at particular pictures. For a list of the actual target structures, elicitation sentences, elicitation techniques, questions, and pictures used for the N/N Compounding and the Article Usage data, please see these Appendices:

- Appendix C: Noun-noun compounding data
- Appendix D: Article usage data

The elicitation of the Tense Doubling data was less straightforward. In order to elicit the targeted structure, for example,

50) What did Joe buy

(repeated from above, #40 in the Literature Review), I had to create a context for the participants to ask such a question in. I began with a practice session or two with each participant, being very careful to not produce the targeted structure in my set-up. For example, I explained to the participants that we were going to play a game in which I was going to tell them about some event from last night, and they were going to ask me a question about that event. I then said, for example, "The dog wanted to chew something last night, so he did," and told the participants to ask me a question, based on the information I'd given them, starting with *what*.

The older participants, the 5th, 4th and most of the 3rd graders, were able to proceed right through this task, after one or two examples of how it was done, though some of the 3rd graders required several examples up front, to be able to complete the task. However, many of the 1st graders were not able to understand the set-up, or what it was that they were to do in our sessions; with these participants, I changed strategies. I set the targeted context up in English, and then asked, *in Spanish*, the question I wanted them to ask in English; these participants were to translate the question I had produced, into English. While this elicitation strategy, used with the 1st graders, is different from the one I used with the older participants, I was nonetheless able to assess their ability to construct the targeted questions in English, and more importantly, to assess whether or not there was tense doubling in their questions. An example of the procedure used with the younger participants follows:

a. *I set up the context:* "John went to the store last night and wanted to buy something, so he did."

b. *I ask the question, in Spanish:* "¿Qué compró Juán anoche?"
What did Juan buy last night?

c. The participant translates this question into English.

The structures used with all participants in the collection of these Tense Doubling data, regardless of elicitation method used, varied along several dimensions:

- The amount of linguistic material between the head noun in the matrix clause of the given context, for example, the difference between 1) and 2) below:

  1) a. John went to the store last night and wanted to buy something, so he did

     b. *What did John buy last night?*

  2) a. The boy in the yellow hat went to McDonald's last night and wanted to buy something, so he did

     b. *What did John buy last night?*

- The type of Wh-question used: *what, where, how*

- The type of verb used as the targeted main verb in the question response; these verbs were of three general types:

  1) completely irregular: buy/bought

  2) alveolar: play/played

  3) bisyllabic: want/wanted

For a list of the actual questions used in the collection of these data, as well as what type of verb was used, and in what environment, please see Appendices E and E.1.

In collecting the identity data, I engaged in several casual conversations with each participant, across the period of data collection, and in both English and Spanish. Questions targeting the identity information were embedded in these conversations. The

variable I operationalized as *Identity* reflects the participants' preferences across cultural practices that break down into the following 5 general categories:

- Favorite food(s)
- Favorite music
- Sports
- Holiday foods eaten by the family
- Preference for place—México or Watsonville

In addition to these general categories, I also asked the participants whether or not they had any friends who spoke only English. The nine sub-categories for the identity questions I asked are as follows:

51) a. Favorite food
b. Favorite singer
c. Favorite soccer team
d. Favorite American football team
e. Preference for soccer or American football
f. What the family ate for Thanksgiving
g. Preference for living in México or Watsonville
h. Which is better—México or Watsonville
i. How many English-only (E/O) friends

The demographic information collected on each participant was provided by the school and included the following categories:

52) a. Sex
b. Grade level
c. Age
d. Where born
e. Where parents born

f. Migrant status

g. Grade first entered US school

h. Where first entered US school

i. Free lunch

j. Home language, as reported by subject

k. Whether go to México (regularly)

l. When/how often go to México

In addition to these demographic data, I also obtained information from the school on the school's language scores for each participant. These scores were of two types:

1) Assessment of the student's oral English language ability, and oral Spanish language ability, as tested by the school's Bilingual Resource Teacher

2) Assessment of each participant's English, by his/her classroom teacher, along the following measures: listening, speaking, reading, writing

Scoring

As noted, in the experimental portion of this study, I elicited data from the 41 participants in English, targeting the language features described above, which instantiate deep structural differences in English and Spanish: N/N compounds, article usage, and morphological attachment (tense doubling). After scoring each response, I derived a "total grammar" score, which I operationalized as a measure of each participant's proficiency in English. Although the grammatical data in this study are rich with detail, for this research, I scored the responses as either "target-like," or "non-target-like," for each set of grammatical structures as follows:

Table 14: Scoring Rubric for Language Features Studied

Language Feature	Scored as:		# of items	% of total score, by structure
	Target-like	Non-target-like		
N/N Compounding	1	-0-	16	24%
Articles	1	-0-	38	58%
Tense Doubling	1	-0-	12	18%
Total	1	-0-	66	100%

In scoring the identity data, I was primarily interested in whether my subjects' identities were more Mexican or more Anglo—according to the categories I had used to operationalize this variable. To this end, I scored the 9 sub-categories (listed above in #51, repeated here) in the following way:

Table 15: Scoring Rubric for Identity Data

Identity sub-category	Range of scores possible
	Mexican ⟷ *Anglo*
I.1. Favorite food	-2=Mex; -1=Bicult/Mex; 0=Bicult/Mixed; 1=bicult/Anglo;2=Anglo
I.2. Favorite singer	-1=Mex; 0=Mixed; 1=Anglo
I.3. Favorite soccer team	-1=Mex; 0= Other; 1=US
I.4. Favorite American football team	-1 don't have/don't like fb; 1=have fav
I.5. Preference for soccer or American football	-1=socc; 0=same; 1=football
I.6. What the family ate for Thanksgiving	-2=Mex; -1=Bicult/Mex; 0=Bicult/Mixed; 1=bicult/Anglo;2=Anglo
I.7. Preference for living in México or Watsonville	-1=Mex; 0=same; 1=Wats
I.8. Which is better—México or Watsonville	-1=Mex; 0=same; 1=Wats
I.9. How many English-only (E/O) friends	-1=none; 1=1 or more
TOTAL SCORE POSSIBLE	-11 ⟷ +11 *Mexican* *Anglo*

All of the grammatical and identity data were transcribed from the audio tapes and compiled from my field notebook, and scored. These data, along with a score for each of the categories of the demographic data, and the school and teacher language scores, were entered into an Excel spreadsheet.

In addition to this formal analysis of the grammatical and the identity data, I was concerned throughout the data collection to gather the children's subjective impressions about the various communities that they interacted in. Toward this end, after I had asked each participant the identity questions concerned with "place," that is, the items 51.g) and 51.h) above, I asked each one this set of questions:

1) What is the same about México and Watsonville

2) What is different about México and Watsonville

These questions were designed to elicit open-ended responses; that is, I made no attempt to classify them according to any pre-determined categories. I will discuss these data in the Results/Discussion chapter of this dissertation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The central concern of this study has been the relationship between the acquisition of English as a second language and identity. The prediction, at the outset, was that there would be a strong correlation between English proficiency and Anglo identity. Before addressing the main question of this research, which involves the two variables, Total Identity Score and English Proficiency Score, let's look at each of these separately.

Frequency Data: Total Identity and Total English Proficiency

First, considering identity, we can see from Table 16 below, that these data have a fairly normal distribution. The total range possible for this score was -11 to +11, with the negative numbers indicating Mexican identity and the positive numbers Anglo. The range of scores for the participants in this study were from –10, on the Mexican identity side, to +6, on the Anglo. The table below shows that 63% of the participants demonstrated varying levels of Mexican identity, almost 10% were neutral (scoring –0-), and 27% demonstrated varying levels of Anglo identity.

Table 16: Total Identity Score—Frequency

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
-10	1	2.4	2.4
-8	1	2.4	4.9
-7	3	7.3	12.2
-5	2	4.9	17.1
-4	2	4.9	22.0
-3	4	9.8	31.7
-2	5	12.2	43.9
-1	8	19.5	63.4
0	4	9.8	73.2
1	2	4.9	78.0
3	5	12.2	90.2
4	2	4.9	95.1
5	1	2.4	97.6
6	1	2.4	100.0
Total	41	100.0	

Drawing from similar frequency data, we see from Table 17 that the English proficiency data also show a fairly normal curve. The total range possible for this score was from 0-66. The range of scores found for the participants in this study was from 23 to 61. It is interesting to note that all of the participants' scores were in the upper 2/3 of the range possible, with no one falling into the lower 1/3, indicating that all of them were at least somewhat proficient in English.

Table 17: English Proficiency Score—Frequency

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
23	1	2.4	2.4
25	1	2.4	4.9
26	1	2.4	7.3
29	1	2.4	9.8
31	1	2.4	12.2
33	1	2.4	14.6
34	1	2.4	17.1
35	2	4.9	22.0
36	2	4.9	26.8
39	2	4.9	31.7
40	1	2.4	34.1
41	3	7.3	41.5
43	1	2.4	43.9
45	4	9.8	53.7
46	1	2.4	56.1
47	1	2.4	58.5
48	2	4.9	63.4
50	1	2.4	65.9
51	1	2.4	68.3
52	1	2.4	70.7
53	2	4.9	75.6
54	2	4.9	80.5
55	1	2.4	82.9
56	2	4.9	87.8
57	1	2.4	90.2
58	1	2.4	92.7
59	1	2.4	95.1
60	1	2.4	97.6
61	1	2.4	100.0
Total	41	100.0	

In attempting to get as broad a sense of these data as possible, I conducted various analyses of variance (ANOVA) among different groupings of the data, looking for significant and non-significant differences among the groups. What follows is, 1) analyses of the identity variable, compared across several other categories of the data, and 2) analyses of the English proficiency variable, across the same set of categories.

ANOVAs: Total Identity Score and Five Factors

Considering first the total identity score as the dependent variable, I compared this with several standard sociolinguistic categories—themselves larger group identity factors: sex, age, and socioeconomic status. Table 18 below shows the difference between sex and identity, which was not significant (p=0.875). As noted above, the total range possible for the identity score was -11 to +11; male mean identity score was –1.17; female mean identity score was –1.35.

Table 18: ANOVA, Total Identity Score and Sex

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.345	1	.345	.025	.875
Within Groups	533.216	39	13.672		
Total	533.561	40			

The participants in this study were grouped into three categories, according to age: 6-7 year olds; 8-9 year olds; and 10-11 year olds, a grouping that theoretically allows for enough distinction to show trends, if they exist. The mean identity score for the 6-7 year olds was –1.83; for the 8-9 year olds, it was –1.36; and for the 10-11 year olds, it was 0.67. These differences were not significant (p=0.715). Table 19 below reflects this:

Table 19: ANOVA, Total Identity Score and Age

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	9.347	2	4.673	.339	.715
Within Groups	524.214	38	13.795		
Total	533.561	40			

The measure I used to gauge socioeconomic status was whether or not the participants qualified for the free/reduced school lunch program. As noted in the Methods section above, this qualification is based on the California Department of Education's "Income Eligibility Guidelines for Free and Reduced Price Meals or Free Milk," in this case, guidelines that are effective from July 1, 2000 through June 30, 2001 (see Appendix B). These participants were classified dichotomously, as either qualifying for free or reduced lunches, or not. The mean identity score for those qualifying for free/reduced lunch was –1.36, those denied had a mean identity score of –1.33. Again, the difference between these scores is not significant (p=0.990). The table below shows the results of the ANOVA.

Table 20: ANOVA, Total Identity Score and Lunch Status

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.002	1	.002	.000	.990
Within Groups	514.972	37	13.918		
Total	514.974	38			

In addition to these variables, I also conducted ANOVAs on home language and identity, and migrant status and identity. Neither of these showed significant differences. As noted above, the data for the home language variable were categorized in three ways:

1) respondents who claimed Spanish as the home language; 2) respondents who claimed Spanish and English, listing Spanish first, or as most-often used; and 3) respondents who claimed English and Spanish, with English listed first. The mean identity score for the first group was –1.11, for the second, -1.50, and for the third, -1.50 as well. These differences were not significant (p=0.951). Table 21 below reflects this.

Table 21: ANOVA, Total Identity Score and Home Language

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.394	2	.697	.050	.951
Within Groups	532.167	38	14.004		
Total	533.561	40			

The data for the migrant status variable were coded dichotomously; the participants were classified as either 1) migrant, or 2) all others. This latter category included those who a) were no longer migrants (parents no longer working in the officially recognized migrant occupations, or the family no longer making annual treks to México), b) were classified by the school as non-migrant, and c) the school was still deciding about. Those classified as migrants had a mean identity score of –1.35, and those who were not had a score of -.90, a difference that is not significant (p=0.737), as shown in the table below.

Table 22: ANOVA, Total Identity Score and Migrant Status

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.564	1	1.564	.115	.737
Within Groups	531.997	39	13.641		
Total	533.561	40			

All five of the above listed ANOVAs were one-way, in that they operated on only one independent variable. As we see, not one of the five larger group identity factors tested showed significant difference, when compared with the identity variable in this study.

A Closer Look at 3 of the 9 Identity Sub-categories

Before moving on to the analyses of the English proficiency data, I would like to briefly describe an aspect of the identity variable, discussing here three of the nine sub-categories of this measure. These centered on preferences with regard to sports, designed to elicit participant responses as to 1) *their favorite soccer team*,[5] 2) *whether they had a favorite American football team,* and *3) whether they preferred soccer or football.* When I had originally designed the elicitation questions for the identity sub-categories, I wanted to focus one section on sports, since there tend to be strong allegiances around this cultural practice. I deemed that soccer would be a good measure, and asked the participants who they would like to see win the World Cup. Naively, I assumed that their responses would fall into the super-category of nation—either México or the United States. What I found, however, was that not one of the respondents associated soccer with the United States. Instead, the teams that they named, that is, Atlas, Cruz Azul, Chivas, and América, were regional teams from within México (actually, the first three listed are affiliated with Guadalajara and México City, and the last, América, is a national team). While I found this fact to be quite interesting, I nonetheless had to develop other questions to get at the data I wanted. Because soccer was so clearly affiliated with

[5] The assumption I made with regard to favorite soccer team was that their choices would be either Mexican or American teams

México for these respondents, I surmised that juxtaposing it to another obvious cultural symbol, American football, would serve my purpose. So, I asked the participants what their favorite American football team was, and then further, which sport they preferred. The tables below reflect the frequency data on these sub-categories.

In Table 23, we note that almost 98% of the participants have a favorite soccer team that is Mexican. The one person whose response was coded as "other" named Brazil as his favorite team. When interviewed on this topic, most of the respondents named their favorite team quickly and with much animation, boys and girls alike.

Table 23: Favorite Soccer Team—Frequency

Team	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Mexican	40	97.6	97.6
Other	1	2.4	100.0
Total	41	100.0	

Table 24 below shows the responses on the question about American football. Here, in contrast to the soccer data, almost 37% of the participants indicated that they don't have a favorite team, or that they don't like American (which they called "tackle") football.

Table 24: Have Favorite American Football Team—Frequency

Responses	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Have	26	63.4	100.0
Don't have/don't like	15	36.6	36.6
Total	41	100.0	

The data in Table 25 reflect the same trend of a preference for soccer over football. Sixty eight percent of the respondents prefer soccer, 24% prefer football, and 7% like both.

Table 25: Prefer Soccer or Football—Frequency

Preference	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Soccer	28	68.3	68.3
Both	3	7.3	75.6
Football	10	24.4	100.0
Total	41	100.0	

ANOVAs: Total English Proficiency Score and Five Factors

Turning now to the other main variable in this study, English proficiency, additional one-way ANOVAs were conducted, using this measure as the dependent variable, and the same five independent variables listed above (sex, age, socioeconomic status, home language, and migrant status). Again, the total range possible on the English proficiency score was from 0-66. The mean English proficiency scores for sex have the following breakdown: males—45.21, females—43.53. These differences are not significant (p=0.612), as shown in the table below.

Table 26: ANOVA, English Proficiency Score and Sex

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	28.050	1	28.050	.261	.612
Within Groups	4190.194	39	107.441		
Total	4218.244	40			

Age, on the other hand, does show a significant difference (p=0.000). The mean English proficiency score for the 6-7 years olds was 34.92, the mean score for the 8-9 year olds was 45.36, and for the 10-11 year olds it was 51.40. Table 27 below shows the results of this ANOVA test.

Table 27: ANOVA, English Proficiency Score and Age

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1826.513	2	913.256	14.510	.000
Within Groups	2391.731	38	62.940		
Total	4218.244	40			

Rounding out this picture on the age variable is data obtained from each of the classroom teachers whose students were under study. These teachers had recently assessed their students' English language ability, on a measure that ran from 1 through 20 possible points. The table below reflects a crosstabulation of these data:

Table 28: Crosstabulation of Teacher's Overall English Score

	Teacher Current Overall English Score: Range 1-20																
Grd ↓	:	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	**Tot Part** ↓
1		**2**	**5**	**3**	**2**		**1**										13
3	**1**			**2**	**2**	**3**	**5**	**1**									14
4/5									**1**	**2**	**6**	**2**		**1**	**1**	**1**	14
Total	1	2	5	5	4	3	6	1	1	2	6	2		1	1	1	41

The general trend with the combined teacher data is that the older students demonstrate more proficiency in English than the younger ones. This, combined with the

results from the ANOVA run on age and English proficiency, discussed above, seemingly indicate that these participants' acquisition of their second language, English, is progressing over time, which is to be expected. Of course these data do not confirm this, because they don't reflect these participants' proficiency over time. However, the data in the table that follows do speak to this issue. These are data from the English language tests that were administered to these participants by the school when they first enrolled, which for most was in kindergarten. For the first grade participants, that was only one year before; however for the older children, these initial Enlish assessments done by the school date back several years. Table 29 below shows that 34 of the 41 participants, or 83%, received scores in the lowest two levels of this test; thirty two, or 78% of the total, scored in the lowest category.

Table 29: Crosstabulation of School Initial English Scores

GRADE ↓	School Initial English Scores: Range 1-5				**TOTAL** ↓
	1	2	3	4	
1	**7**	**2**	**1**	**3**	13
3	**13**			**1**	14
4/5	**12**		**2**		14
Total	32	2	3	4	41

Adding to the developing picture of these participants' language, Table 30 below shows their Spanish language, as assessed by the school, again when they first enrolled. These data show that these students were Spanish dominant, in that 98% scored in the highest two levels.

Table 30: Crosstabulation of School Initial Spanish Scores

GRADE ↓	School Initial Spanish Scores: Range 1-5			TOTAL ↓
	3	4	5	
1		**10**	**3**	13
3		**10**	**4**	14
4/5	**1**	**9**	**4**	14
Total	1	29	11	41

Returning to the set of ANOVAs that were run with English proficiency as the dependent variable, when compared with the third factor, socioeconomic mean scores (as measured by free/reduced lunch qualification), we find again that there is no significant difference (p=0.734), as shown in Table 31 below. The mean English proficiency scores for this measure were: 1) for those qualifying for free/reduced lunch—44.22, and 2) for those denied—46.33.

Table 31: ANOVA, English Proficiency Score and Lunch Status

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	12.342	1	12.342	.117	.734
Within Groups	3904.889	37	105.538		
Total	3917.231	38			

The mean English proficiency scores for the home language data were as follows: those claiming Spanish—44.41, those claiming Spanish and English—44.67, and those claiming English and Spanish—45.00. These differences are not significant (p=0.995):

Table 32: ANOVA, English Proficiency Score and Home Language

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.059	2	.529	.005	.995
Within Groups	4217.185	38	110.979		
Total	4218.244	40			

Finally, we look at migrant status, compared with English proficiency. Here, we do find a significant difference (p=0.004). As noted in the Methodology section of this research, 31 of the 41 participants (75.6%) were classified as migrants. These participants had a mean English proficiency score of 41.97, out of a total possible score of 66, while those not classified as migrant had a mean score of 52.40. The results of this ANOVA are reflected in the table below.

Table 33: ANOVA, English Proficiency Score and Migrant Status

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	822.876	1	822.876	9.452	.004
Within Groups	3395.368	39	87.061		
Total	4218.244	40			

These results are to be expected. As discussed above, the school's criteria for being classified as migrant include having parents who work in an officially designated migrant occupation, and traveling to México annually. This last criterion is further specified: In order to qualify for the migrant program, these students need to stay in México for *at least 20 days*, every year; as noted above, most of these migrants leave in mid-December and return to Watsonville at the end of January (I. Vizcaíno, personal communication, December, 2000). Given this, by definition, the participants in this study

who were classified as migrants spend less time in an environment where English competes with their Spanish; when in Watsonville, even though the majority of these participants' home language is Spanish, and they are predominantly Spanish speakers, they also receive much English input. At school, they are involved daily in English language development programs, they associate with classmates and teachers who are English speakers, the language of the official business of the city they live in is English[6], much of the television they have access to is in English, etc. In contrast, during the time that they are in México, they are immersed in Spanish, whether or not they attend school during their stay there. It would seem obvious that these participants' English language development and levels of proficiency would be affected by these trips to México, making the results above not surprising.

Correlation: English Proficiency and School/Teacher Scores

In addition to the analyses above, I wanted to assess the relationship between the scores derived from the measure I used for English proficiency and those obtained through the school's testing of oral English proficiency (administered by the bilingual coordinator), as well as those obtained through the teachers' testing of the overall English ability (which included both reading and writing scores) of their students. To this end, I ran correlations between my measure and these two others. There was a fairly strong correlation (.680) between the English proficiency score I obtained, and the school's; this was significant at the ($p=0.01$) level. The figure below displays a scatterplot analysis of this correlation:

[6] Several of the students remarked that they often had to act as translators for their parents, having to use their English in conversation with people who would visit their homes—mail carriers and other delivery people, for example.

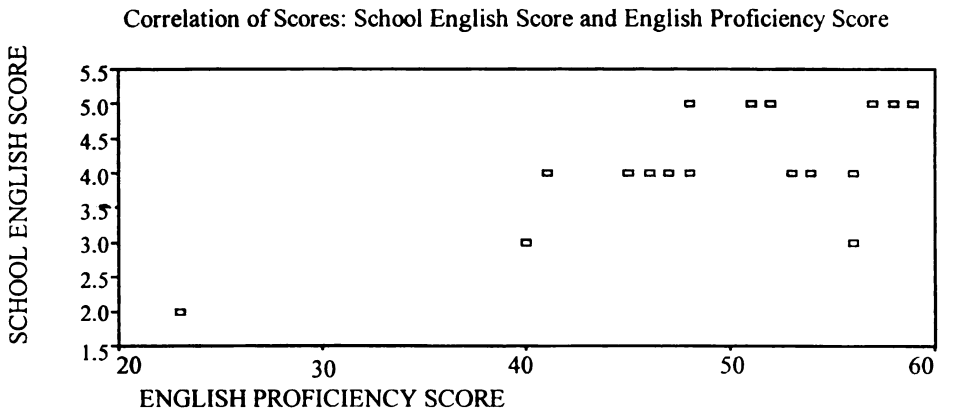

Figure 1: Correlation of Scores—School English and English Proficiency

As is clear from this graph, there is quite a bit of overlapping of scores on these two measures, by participant. In addition, there is one possible outlier, which may be affecting the results. This participant scored 23 on the English proficiency score (total range possible 0-66), and 2 on the school English score (total range possible 1-5). I decided to remove this participant's information, and rerun the correlation. This run showed a moderate correlation of .409, which was not significant.

The other correlation I ran, between my English proficiency scores and those of the teachers, was strong (.689), and significant (p=0.01). The scatterplot analysis for this is shown in Figure 2:

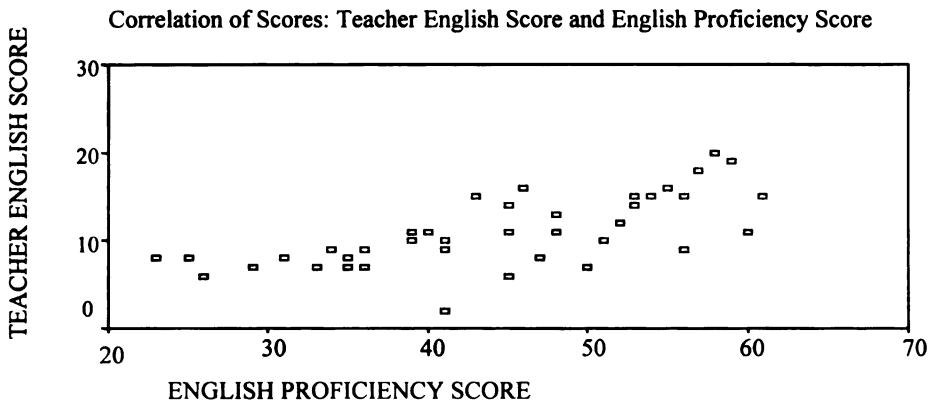

Figure 2: Correlation of Scores—Teacher English and English Proficiency

While the English proficiency measure used in this study, and the school's assessment of these participants' English was only moderately correlated (Figure 1), the strong correlation between the teachers' assessment of their students' English provides a measure of external validity to the English proficiency variable used in this study.

Correlation: Total English Proficiency and Total Identity

Now, with a broader sense of how the two main variables (English proficiency and identity) interact with other classifications of the data in this study, we move to an assessment of the relationship *between* these two variables, which, again, was the central focus of this research. As noted in the Literature Review of this study, it was expected that there would be a strong correlation between English proficiency and Anglo identity. To test this, I ran a correlation between these two variables. The results of this analysis show very little correlation: (.119), which is not significant. Figure 3 below shows the scatterplot analysis for these data:

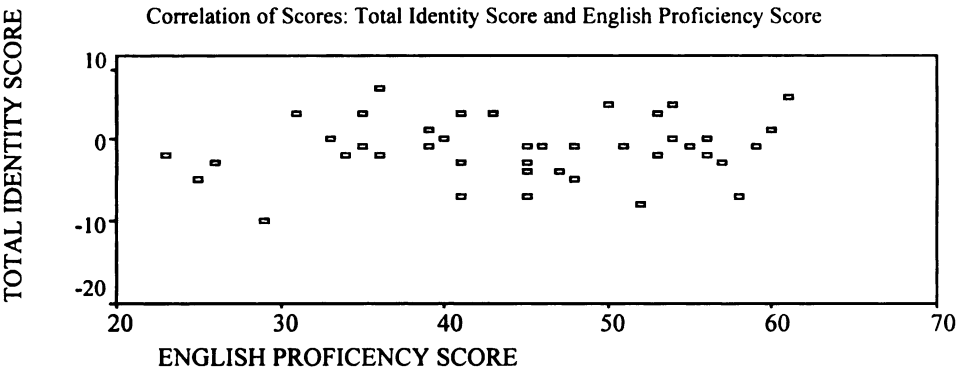

Figure 3: Correlation of Scores—Total Identity and English Proficiency

These unexpected results caused me to wonder about each of these main variables, and to move to assess them separately.

Unexpected Results: Assess English Proficiency Variable

First, considering the English proficiency scores, these showed a strong correlation (0.689) with the teachers' assessment of the participants' overall English (Figure 2 above), which, as noted, gives them some external validity—arguably indicating that this variable actually measures proficiency. In addition, the three sub-categories of the English proficiency scores (article usage, noun-noun compounding, and tense doubling), when compared separately with the identity variable, still showed very little correlation; these results are shown in the correlation matrix in Table 34 below, and indicate that taking these sub-scores together as a total score is not unreasonable. It is true that the article usage and noun-noun compounding variables do each show slight correlations with identity, while the tense doubling data is slightly *negatively* correlated with identity; however, none of these results are significant.

Table 34: Correlation—Total Identity Score/three sub-categories of Engl. Prof. Score

	Article Usage	N-N Compounding	Tense Doubling	Total Identity Score
Article Usage	1	.573**	.403**	.231
N-N Compounding	.573**	1	.640**	.210
Tense Doubling	.403**	.640**	1	-.138
Total Identity Score	.231	.210	-.138	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

We can also see from the table above that the three sub-categories are all modestly correlated with one another. Still, there are differences among these data that are worth considering briefly. The following three frequency tables show the range of scores for each grammatical element. The article data had a total score possible of 38; the participants' scores ranged from 22-38, with 12 of the 41 subjects (approximately 30%) receiving the two highest scores possible, 37 or 38. Another 30% received the next highest score of 36, reflecting that approximately 60% of the participants received scores in the 95th percentile or above.

Table 35: Articles—Frequency Data

Scores	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
22	1	2.4	2.4
25	1	2.4	4.9
26	1	2.4	7.3
28	1	2.4	9.8
29	1	2.4	12.2
30	1	2.4	14.6
31	1	2.4	17.1
32	2	4.9	22.0
33	2	4.9	26.8
34	2	4.9	31.7
35	4	9.8	41.5
36	12	29.3	70.7
37	7	17.1	87.8
38	5	12.2	100.0
Total	**41**	**100.0**	

The noun-noun compounding data had a total score possible of 16; the participants' range was from 0-14, which indicates that this feature was more difficult for them than the articles were. Approximately 50% had a score of 6 or below (38th percentile or below):

Table 36: Noun-noun Compounding—Frequency Data

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	4	9.8	9.8
1	3	7.3	17.1
2	4	9.8	26.8
3	3	7.3	34.1
4	2	4.9	39.0
5	4	9.8	48.8
6	1	2.4	51.2
7	3	7.3	58.5
8	3	7.3	65.9
9	3	7.3	73.2
10	2	4.9	78.0
11	4	9.8	87.8
13	3	7.3	95.1
14	2	4.9	100.0
Total	**41**	**100.0**	

The tense-doubling data had a total score possible of 12; the scores the participants received ranged from 0-11, with almost 66% scoring at 5 or below (40th percentile or below).

Table 37: Tense-doubling—Frequency Data

Scores	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	18	43.9	43.9
2	3	7.3	51.2
3	1	2.4	53.7
4	2	4.9	58.5
5	3	7.3	65.9
7	3	7.3	73.2
8	2	4.9	78.0
9	5	12.2	90.2
11	4	9.8	100.0
Total	**41**	**100.0**	

The scores listed above seem to indicate that these participants are much more proficient in article use than in the use of the other two features studied. This could mean that the articles were acquired early for these participants. However, there is another possible explanation for the differences in the scores. Perhaps the elicitation task was faulty. As can be seen in Appendix D, four of the five sub-categories of the article variable used repetition to elicit responses; the fifth, *inaliable possession* used a picture-task[7]; although repetition tasks are purported to assess grammatical competence (as discussed in the Literature Review of this study), perhaps because in most of the prompts given to the participants by the researcher the targeted element was one of the first words spoken, it became overly salient to the participants in their repetition of the strings. Unfortunately, the determination of which of these factors may be more at play here is beyond the scope of this work. Moreover, given the general acceptance of repetition tasks as a measure of grammatical competence, coupled with my desire to have as broad

[7] The other variables did not use repetition; the noun-noun compounding data was elicited using only picture tasks (please see Appendix C), and the tense-doubling data required that the participants produce novel strings, not repeat ones given by the researcher (Appendix E).

a picture of the English grammatical competence of these participants as possible, I retained all three grammatical features in my measure of English proficiency.

Unexpected Results: Assess Identity Variable

I continued my investigation into the unexpected results of a very weak correlation between English proficiency and identity with a focus on the identity variable. Based on advice from the statistical consultant in the MSU computer center, I pulled this variable apart, running separate ANOVAs on each of the nine sub-categories of identity, and comparing these with the English proficiency scores. The aim here was to review the mean scores of these measures, and to look for trends. I suspected that perhaps these sub-categories were pulling in different directions, and therefore neutralizing the total effect. Again, these sub-categories were:

53) a. Favorite food

b. Favorite singer

c. Favorite soccer team

d. Favorite American football team

e. Preference for soccer or American football

f. What the family ate for Thanksgiving

g. Preference for living in México or Watsonville

h. Which is better—México or Watsonville

i. How many English-only (E/O) friends

Not one of these tests was significant, and as expected, the scores did pull in different directions. What follows are three sets of tables, each set including one table

that groups the sub-categories of identity that show similar trends, followed by the ANOVA source tables for each of these sub-categories.

Non-significant Trends in the Data

The first set of tables show the mean scores for those sub-categories of the identity variable that show a trend that is *opposite* what was expected in this study, that is, for those participants showing more Mexican identity, as measured in this study, and higher English proficiency scores; again, the highest score possible for English proficiency was 66:

Table 38: Mean Scores for Identity Sub-scores with trends opposite expected

Sub-category: Which is better—México or Watsonville		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
México	19	45.42
Same	5	45.20
Watsonville	17	43.29
Sub-category: Favorite soccer team		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
México	40	44.73
Other	1[8]	36.00

The ANOVA source tables for each of these measures follow:

Table 38: ANOVA—Better/México or Watsonville and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	43.283	2	21.641	.197	.822
Within Groups	4174.961	38	109.867		
Total	4218.244	40			

[8] As noted, this one person who did not name a Mexican team as his favorite, named Brazil.

Table 39: ANOVA—Favorite Soccer Team and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	74.269	1	74.269	.699	.408
Within Groups	4143.975	39	106.256		
Total	4218.244	40			

The scores for three of the sub-categories of the identity measure showed non-linear trends. Below is a table showing the mean English proficiency scores for these:

Table 40: Mean Scores for Identity Sub-scores with non-linear trends

Sub-category: What the family ate for Thanksgiving[9]		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
Mexican food	10	46.30
Bicult/Mex food	1	33.00
Bicult/Mixed food	15	42.67
Bicult/Anglo	1	31.00
Anglo	14	47.00
Sub-category: Preference for soccer or American football		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
Soccer	28	44.89
Same	3	41.67
Football	10	44.30
Sub-category: Preference for living in México or Watsonville		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
México	18	44.06
Same	1	45.00
Watsonville	21	44.62

[9] The responses regarding Thanksgiving food were coded as a) Mexican, b) Bicult/Mex, c) Bicult/Mixed, d) Bicult/Anglo, and e) Anglo. Responses like *tacos al pastor, pozole,* were scored as Mexican; responses naming foods from places such as McDonald's and Burger King (which are well established in México) were scored as Bicultural; responses such as *turkey, mashed potatoes, pumpkin pie* were scored as Anglo; responses with a mixture of Mexican and Anglo foods were scored as Mixed.

The ANOVA source tables for each of these measures follow:

Table 41: ANOVA, What family ate for Thanksgiving and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	484.811	4	121.203	1.169	.341
Within Groups	3733.433	36	103.706		
Total	4218.244	40			

Table 42: ANOVA, Pref. for Soccer or Amer. Football and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	28.799	2	14.399	.131	.878
Within Groups	4189.445	38	110.249		
Total	4218.244	40			

Table 43: ANOVA, Preference for living in México or Watsonville

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.478	2	1.739	.015	.985
Within Groups	4183.897	37	113.078		
Total	4187.375	39			

Finally, four of the nine sub-categories of the identity variable showed scores that had trends in the expected direction. That is, the higher the scores were in English proficiency, the more Anglo the identity. The table below shows the mean English proficiency scores for these four sub-categories:

Table 44: Mean Scores for Identity Sub-scores with expected trends

Sub-category: Favorite singer		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
Mexican	5	42.33
Mixed	7	43.57
Anglo	24	45.17
Sub-category: Favorite American football team		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
Don't have/like	15	43.33
Have fav team	26	45.19
Sub-category: Favorite food		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
Mexican food	5	39.40
Bicult/Mex food	13	45.38
Bicult/Mixed food	21	46.29
Bicult/Anglo	1	23.00[10]
Sub-category: How many English-only (E/O) friends		
Type of response	*Number*	*Mean English proficiency score*
No EO friends	25	42.24
1+ EO friends	16	48.06

The source tables for each of the ANOVA tests run on these four sub-categories of the identity variable are listed below:

Table 45: ANOVA, Favorite singer and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	44.538	2	22.269	.195	.823
Within Groups	3876.381	34	114.011		
Total	3920.919	36			

[10] This one participant's score does not show the same trend as the others in this category. I reran an ANOVA with this person's scores removed. The results were still not significant (0.385). I've included the information from the original ANOVA test here in this table for accuracy.

Table 46: ANOVA, Favorite American football team and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	32.872	1	32.872	.306	.583
Within Groups	4185.372	39	107.317		
Total	4218.244	40			

Table 47: ANOVA, Favorite food and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	669.337	3	223.112	2.265	.098
Within Groups	3546.563	36	98.516		
Total	4215.900	39			

Table 48: ANOVA, English-only Friends and English Proficiency Score

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	330.746	1	330.746	3.318	.076
Within Groups	3887.497	39	99.679		
Total	4218.244	40			

Before discussing the results above, I would like to further comment on the identity variable from two other points of reference, in order to more fully frame this measure.

Crosstabulation of Total Identity Scores by Grade

First, a crosstabulation of the identity scores for all of the 41 participants, by grade level, shows that these scores are fairly widely distributed (Table 41 below). The first grade identity scores range from the lowest to the highest scores given (-10—+6). The scores for the other two levels are also fairly spread out, even though there is some clustering around –1 or -0-:

Table 49: Crosstabulation of Total Identity Scores by Grade Level

	Total Identity Score															
Grd	-10	-8	-7	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Tot
1	**1**		**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**			**1**	**1**		**1**	13
3		**1**	**1**		**2**		**1**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**					14
4/5			**1**	**1**		**1**	**2**	**4**	**1**			**2**	**1**	**1**		14
Tot	1	1	3	2	3	4	4	8	4	2	2	3	2	1	1	41

When these identity results are compared to those for English proficiency, their wide distribution across grades stands out. Below are three tables, which are derived from a crosstabulation of English proficiency scores by grade level, for comparison. Because the range of these scores is from 23-61, I was not able to capture these data in one table, and had to distribute them across three. Still, it is quite clear that, unlike the identity data above, the English proficiency data generally cluster by grade/age level.

Table50-a, b, c: Crosstabulation of English Proficiency by Grade Level

	English Proficiency Scores: Range 23-50											
	23	25	26	29	31	33	35	36	41	45	50	Total ↓
1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	13

	English Proficiency Scores: Range 34-60											
	34	35	39	40	41	45	47	48	51	52	56	60	Total ↓
3rd	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14

	English Proficiency Scores: Range 43-61											
	43	45	46	48	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	61	Total ↓
4th/5th	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	14

The second issue I would like to comment on is regarding the validity of the identity variable.

Validity of the Identity Variable

Given the unexpected results, perhaps the measure itself is faulty, and is not actually measuring identity. Research done by Cuellar et al. (1995) speaks a bit to this issue, in a round-about way. This work, which focuses on acculturation and the interactions of culture and personality, has resulted in the establishment of several successful scales for measuring acculturation. One of these is relevant to the current study; this is the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II) (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995), which is composed of two sub-scales, an Anglo Orientation Subscale and a Mexican Orientation Subscale, with total scores in either direction indicating orientation toward the targeted group. While Cuellar et al.'s work with this measure focuses on different social behavior than this study does, that is, personality traits and characteristics, and is therefore not wholly relevant to this discussion, the scale itself is. Although the ARSMA-II scale (please see Appendix F) is not identical to the measure used here for identity, it has some bearing on the assembly of social facts chosen to make up this variable. The ARSMA-II scale differs from the identity variable used here in that it targets adults versus children, and in that it overtly asks question about identity/identification—as opposed to the more covert method of elicitation of identity information used in this study, which centered on the children's preferences. Nonetheless, there is a fairly good overlapping of the type of information sought in both measures. As noted, there are six general categories that the nine sub-categories of the identity variable used in this study fall into, repeated again here:

- Favorite food(s)
- Favorite music
- Sports
- Holiday foods eaten by the family
- Preference for place—México or Watsonville
- English speaking friends

While the The ARSMA-II scale does not use the categories of sports and preference for place, it does target three of the above-mentioned categories (four, if favorite food and holiday foods are considered to be part of one general category—food) in its questions—food, music, and English speaking friends. Given the good overlap of sub-categories between the measure used here for identity and the well-established ARSMA-II scale, I feel fairly confident that the identity variable used in this study is valid.

Summary Tables

Several points fall out from the analysis above. Below are two summary tables of the results from the ANOVA tests listed above, which provide accessible reference points for the discussion that follows. The first table references the results from both the identity score and the English proficiency score, each compared with five factors:

Table 51: Summary—ANOVA Results for Identity/English Prof. + Five Factors

ANOVA Results: Identity Score and Five Factors	
Factor	*Significance*
Sex	0.875
Age	0.715
Socioeconomic Status	0.990
Home Language	0.951
Migrant Status	0.737
ANOVA Results: English Proficiency Score and Five Factors	
Factor	*Significance*
Sex	0.612
Age	0.000*
Socioeconomic Status	0.734
Home Language	0.995
Migrant Status	0.004*

To briefly review, not one of the five factors listed in Table 51 above, when compared with identity, showed any significant differences. However, when these five factors were compared with English proficiency, two out of the five, age and migrant status, showed significant differences (these are marked in the table). These results were to be expected, as discussed above.

Recall that, given the unexpected result of no correlation between the two main variables in this study (English proficiency and identity) separate ANOVAs were run on the sub-categories of the identity variable and English proficiency, with the aim of identifying trends in the data, if they existed. The summary table for the results of these ANOVAs follows:

Table 52: Summary—ANOVA results for Engl. Prof. + 9 sub-categories of Identity

ANOVA Results: English Proficiency Score and Nine Sub-categories of Identity	
Category	*Significance*
Trend opposite than expected:	
Which is better—México or Watsonville	0.822
Favorite soccer team	0.408
Non-linear Trend:	
What the family ate for Thanksgiving	0.341
Preference for soccer or football	0.878
Preference for living in México or Watsonville	0.985
Trend as expected:	
Favorite singer	0.823
Favorite American football team	0.583
Favorite food	0.098
How many English-only (EO) friends	0.076

Please note that while this table maintains the distinction between trends in the data in order to remain consistent with the earlier tables, this does not imply significance; all of the data in this table reflect non-significant differences. Nonetheless, one of the sub-categories listed, *how many English-only (EO) friends*, shows a significance of (0.076), which is close to the accepted level of (0.05). With not much of a stretch, one could argue that these results were somewhat significant[11]. The discussion of this variable (which I will heretofore refer to as EO) that follows, proceeds from this assumption.

A Closer Look at the EO Variable

The EO score is interesting, in that in some sense, it is very much like a network score, as characterized by Milroy (1980). Milroy's important research in sociolinguistics

[11] The sub-category listed above this one, *favorite food,* shows a significance level of (0.098). It is tempting, because these results are also not "too far" from the accepted level, to wrap this variable into the discussion of reasons for significance; however, because these results are twice the distance from the accepted level than those for the *number of E/O friends* variable, this may be too much of a stretch, and I will not include this variable in my discussion.

has established the notion that analysis of social networks can be used very successfully to study individual linguistic behavior in communities. This work itself draws on earlier research by Boissevain (1974), which is based on the idea that in their social lives, individuals behave meaningfully not only as members of groups such as sex, class, particular occupations, etc., but as individuals. Importantly, individuals act to create and maintain key social relationships, in what Boissevain characterizes as exchanges. Milroy takes these ideas further, claiming that the social network

> becomes a mechanism whereby pressures, resulting from obligations contracted within the network, are applied to influence an individual's behaviour. If the individual wishes to protect social relationships, these constant obligations must be honoured (1980, p. 49).

Milroy states that when considering the influence of a social network on behavior, the structural and content characteristics of these networks become important, the most important structural characteristic being density. A dense network is one in which the people an individual associates with, or has links to, also have links to one another; in contrast, a person with a network of low-density would have contacts, none of whom knew each other. Another important dimension of a network is its interactional or content characteristics, which, according to Milroy can be either multiplex or uniplex. In a network, people who are connected in a single capacity only are said to have relationships that are uniplex; a person who is linked to another in varying capacities—for example, as a classmate, a neighbor, a friend, or a family member, etc.—is said to have multiplex network ties. According to Milroy, "multiplexity and density are conditions which often co-occur, and both increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism" (p. 52). As noted earlier, there is much overlap between

Milroy's characterizations of social networks and Le Page & Tabouret-Keller's sense of groups as being either focused (closely interactive and tightly knit) or diffuse (loosely-knit, entailing more linguistic variation).

In this study, recasting the EO variable in terms of network can only at this point be metaphorical, as a description of social relationships, because detailed analysis of the participants' networks was not done. However, given the demographic distribution of the participants in this study, we can assume that most of them have dense and relatively multiplex social networks: they live in the same neighborhoods, have extensive family ties in the neighborhood, have the same socioeconomic status (SES), attend the same schools, have the same home language, etc., and therefore the linguistic norm of their community, Spanish, is being reinforced. Those with EO friends, by definition, have broader relationships that are less dense, some of which may be uniplex; this factor could be implicated in their higher English proficiency scores.

Considering EO as a measure of social networks in this way, in a sense reclassifies it as a large group identity factor, similar to several other factors used in this study—age, sex, and SES (see Table 51 above). Like one of these, Age, EO appears to be a better predictor for English proficiency than the other sub-categories of the identity variable. In this way, it is also like the migrant status variable (also listed in Table 51 above), which is another large group identity factor that appears to be a good predictor of English proficiency. One might at this point think, then, about removing the EO sub-category from the identity variable, because it better fits the other grouping. However, this move would not be as straightforward as it would seem. EO also differs from age, sex, SES, and migrant status in an important way. While the other factors do not involve

personal choice, EO very much does. And in this way, EO is like the other eight sub-categories of the identity variable that it was originally grouped with; all of these factors reflect individual patterns of choice.

Large Group Identity Factors vs Factors Entailing Individual Choice

In a certain sense, then, EO is a hybrid category, spanning two domains—that occupied by the other large group identity factors of age, sex, SES, and migrant status, and that of the variables entailing personal choice. This second factor has already been discussed. As noted, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) found motivation to identify with groups (which involves personal choice) to be quite predictive of linguistic behavior. That is, it is not just the opportunity to identify with groups, but the desire to do so, that is crucial to predicting linguistic behavior. Given this, one might be tempted to argue that the assembly of social facts operationalized in this study as identity, because it includes only variables that entail personal choice, should have been a strong predictor of English proficiency. However, motivation/personal choice can be a double-edged sword. It can exert its pressure either positively or negatively. That is, it can drive movement toward a group norm, or away from it (c.f. Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Milroy, 1992; Trudgill, 1972; 1974). In addition, while this factor has been shown to predict linguistic behavior, it is also, by nature, highly variable. Recall the wide distribution of identity scores by grade level in this study (see Table 49). In fact, given most of the evidence here, it would appear that the lower level ethnic identity factors used in this research are not very revealing at all. Thus, it may be that the EO variable is significant primarily because it is a large group identity factor.

Ethnic Identity: Can We Assess This?

In considering ethnic identity, one might continue to move away from the lower level factors in the discussion. We've seen that ethnic identity can be thought of as a construct of various features and/or categories. Yet it can also be thought of as a super-category itself. In that sense, this study could have proceeded without an assessment of ethnic identity at all, but rather with the assumption that the ethnic identity of all of the participants was the same—that of California Mexican-American. I could have categorized them as such, and focused on other aspects of the bilingual lives of these children, and perhaps come away with a less murky picture. However, I would have been no closer to understanding the relationship between public identity categories, such as California Mexican-American, and the lower level ethnic identity factors that inevitably entail personal choice, and which presumably are a truer reflection of identity. Moreover, as Fought (2002) remarks, assigning speakers to a category like ethnicity cannot take the place of careful study of the social practices that such a category is made up of, claiming that such classification "is useless to us without an understanding of the construction of ethnicity by individuals and communities" (p. 444). This leaves us in a tough position, because while ethnic identity is extremely difficult to study, in order to gain any insights at all, such study must not ignore the lower level identity factors. An example of this fact was highlighted earlier (see Results and Discussion section, sub-section *A closer look at 3 of the 9 identity sub-categories)* in this study. As noted, my assumption that the participants' responses regarding their preferences for soccer team would fall into the super-category of nation did not come close to capturing the nuanced cultural information actually represented in their real team preferences. These participants had strong

allegiances (as shown in their responses) to particular regional teams in México—teams that they claimed their families supported also.

At the outset of this study, I expressed hope that some insight into the relationship between the English proficiency and ethnic identity of these participants would be gained through this study. While neither clear answers nor expected results were obtained on this issue, I did obtain results, albeit perhaps obvious and to be expected, with regard to the categories of age and migrant status, and how they relate to English proficiency for the participants in this study; this, in addition to confirming expectations, also provides a point of departure for future study. Additionally, it appears that as a measure of English proficiency, the one constructed here may be worth using again, or parts of it. However, because there was a difference in the range of scores obtained for the three sub-categories of this measure, before using it again as is, I would want to investigate the possible reasons for the high scores on the article usage. The variable regarding how many English-only speaking associations the participants had was telling, especially when conceived of as a type of network score; these data hint at perhaps a fruitful avenue for future research. It could be very worthwhile to study these participants (or ones like them, that is, from the same community/neighborhoods/school) again, with a focus on social networks.

In spite of the enormous complexity involved in the study of the formation of ethnic identity, or perhaps because of it, I am left still intrigued about the social lives of these participants. Ethnic identity is not, as Zentella (1997) notes, automatic, nor is it simply a compilation of group customs, practices, cultural artifacts or linguistic features; social identities are instead, actively constructed, in particular communities. These

California Mexican-Americans, migrants most, children all, have a particular story to tell. It is clear that their experience, which includes their language experience, is "a complex phenomenon that defies a characterization based on simple comparisons" (Vasquez, O., et al., 1994). While Watsonville itself contains a generational, stratified community—including recent arrivals and established immigrants from México, alongside other ethnic groups (see Table 2 above)—the participants in this study represent a slice of this community, not one that cuts across categories, but one that perhaps contains a type. This makes them not a random sampling of the community at large, but a snapshot of a particular moment in Watsonville history. These children, both at the individual level and at the group, are second generation Americans with an active, living memory of the land of their parents: México. Studding the experience of assimilation/integration for most of these participants is the experience of being migrants who make annual treks to and from México. But, even more poignantly for the lives of these children, because of the generational and circular migration into and out of this community, México has bled into Watsonville, creating a dynamic exchange of cultures, and languages. This exchange encompasses not only these participants' own local social networks, but the world outside—a world that they are exposed to through the media, their schools, etc. In this way, these children become "increasingly fluent in an Anglo cultural Milieu at the same time that they become more fluent in a *local* Mexican culture" (Rosaldo, 1985, p. 12 (italics mine). This sense of the world(s) that these participants live in is congruent with recent research that centers on transnational identities (Goldin, 1999). This work moves away from characterizing the processes of identity formation across borders through simple distinctions—such as geographical location, or national designation, such as

Mexican and American—and toward more "unbounded concepts" (p. 2). Goldin's sense is that the processes of identity formation are fluid in nature, but yet are designated within the broader concepts of homogenization and differentiation; it is then, through these inter-connected processes that "groups and individuals draw the lines of commonality and differences" (1999, p. 5).

And, these lines are drawn in particular places. In addition to the quantitative data collected during this study, I also wondered about the impressions the children had of their communities in Watsonville and in México. Did they distinguish between the two places, and if so, in what ways? During the casual conversations I had with them, in both Spanish and English, I embedded two questions, 1) What is the same about México and Watsonville, and 2) What is different about México and Watsonville? Attempting to get uncluttered responses, I asked only these very open-ended questions, and waited for their responses, which I did not guide in any way. I asked first what was the same, and then moved to the question about differences. All of the respondents answered both of these questions easily and quickly, except for the one who was born in the community, near Watsonville, and who claimed he had never been to México.

What follows is a compilation of the responses that these participants gave to these two questions. Qualitative in nature, these data are included here as a supplement to the larger discussion of this project. The impressions that these children have of the two places they inhabit are quite telling, and do in fact reflect a blurring of borders, an overlapping of worlds; their impressions describe not so much distinct communities, but "porous, web-like ethnoscapes" (Goldin, 1999, p. 3).

Impr

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Impressions: People, Food, and Vampires

The participants, across all three grade levels, reported much similarity between México and Watsonville along physical lines. They claimed that the houses, the churches, the stores, the plants, the trees, the ranchos, the mountains, the parks, and the cars are the same. One fifth grader provided some detail with regard to the ranchos, claiming that in México the ranchos had mainly cows, and in Watsonville, mainly strawberries. Another thing he mentioned, in the next breath (perhaps triggered by his mention of the strawberry fields), was that in Watsonville they work a lot, but in México, no. The participants also claimed that the games they play in both places are the same—Nintendo and soccer were named. Several of them did mention, however, that in México, kids were more "free" (to play unattended; to explore at will). Many stated that the two places had the same animals—dogs, cats, cows; an exception to this was two of the first graders, who reported that México has bulls and burros, and Watsonville doesn't have either.

Food was also reported to be the same in both places by several of the children, who specifically named enchiladas, beans, and rice. One of the third graders said that while the food is the same, the cheese and the tortillas in México are much better than in Watsonville. One difference noted by one of the fifth graders was that in México food is cooked outside, but in Watsonville, people liked to eat inside, at places like McDonald's and Burger King.

The children's responses got particularly interesting when they spoke of the people and language(s) in both places. Not one said that the people were different in the two places, and several of them claimed this as one of the similarities about México and

Watsonville. In fact, one third grader reported that "*las personas son iguales*," ("the people are exactly the same") in both places. While none of the first graders mentioned language, quite a few of the third and fifth grade participants reported this as either a similarity or a difference, with varying responses; several spoke in terms of "more" Spanish in México than in Watsonville, and another mentioned, referring to Watsonville, that "they speak Spanish here, too." One of the fifth graders claimed that "a lot talk in Spanish in México, and in Watsonville, some of them talk in English and some in Spanish." Another fifth grader reported that "more people speak Spanish in Michoacán, and more people speak English here." Another mentioned school with regard to language, claiming that in México only Spanish is used in the schools, but here both English and Spanish are.

At a more abstract level, more differences emerged, interestingly, with the older students—the third and fifth graders—and not the younger ones. Two of the third graders mentioned that the flag and the country for each place were different, and one fifth grader mentioned that money was different in each place. Another fifth grader mentioned the pledge of allegiance as being different in both places, saying that he didn't know México's, but his Dad did; he was able, however, to tell me that "it's about going to war and fighting people who want to take your land." The fact that these differences were mentioned by the older students most likely reflects an emergent awareness of difference at a more abstracted level of nationhood, but overall these participants' strongest impressions seem to be that there is a lot of overlap between the two places, especially on issues that most directly affect their lives.

While my descriptions above make mention of the place names, most often in their responses the children made reference to the two places through the use of the terms "here" and "there," (*acá* and *allá*) instead of to "México" and "Watsonville." While this might be a stretch, this could reflect a sense of the two places as being quite proximate, and not as being separated by thousands of miles and an international border. Given their impressions—that these are two places that in general look very much alike, are inhabited by the same people, who eat the same kinds of foods, play the same kinds of games, and where their native language, Spanish, is spoken by many, if not all—perhaps for these children the more intimate terms of *acá* and *allá* best capture their sense of the span of these inter-connected communities; perhaps reflected in their impressions is a sense that the edges of their transnational worlds are fuzzy, so that that which runs between them is in many ways a "borderless border" (Bonilla, et. al., 1998). For these young people, the lines of commonality and difference seem to be measured differently; several remarked that the main difference between the places was that *acá* everything is covered in cement, and *allá* there is much more dirt—on the roads, and in the fields; another young girl said that the only difference was how the two places smelled. One first grade boy's impression was most revealing—perhaps of a secret truth. This one, when asked about what was different between the two places, looked at me rather scornfully, as if I had just asked him a question that anyone should know the answer to. He exclaimed, "*pues, allá hay vampiros,y acá,¡ no!*" ("well, over there, there are vampires, and here, no!").

Return to Main Street

In closing, I'd like to return focus to the community in which these participants have drawn many of their lines of commonality and differences; what follows is a series

of descriptions and still-shots of parts of Watsonville. As promised earlier—in the section of this research that gave a historical overview of Watsonville—we revisit Main Street, and the center of downtown Watsonville for an updated view. For convenience, I've copied again below the passage from the section above on Watsonville history, which contains a description of the city in the 1870's:

> Pajaro Street became known as Main Street as shops and businesses moved in. By the mid-seventies, there were ten grocery stores, six doctors, a dentist, two livery stables, three harnessmakers, four blacksmiths, three wagonmakers, three meat markets, seven hotels, eight saloons, two telegraph offices, one bank, the Bank of Watsonville, one foundry, one newspaper and one bakery in town. The young ladies' group called the Butterfly Club raised money for a fountain to be built in the middle of the Plaza (Santa Cruz Library Weekly, 2003, para. 7).

Today, the center of town signals a strong Mexican influence, which mixes with the also apparent Anglo presence. The Plaza is still a focal point, but the fountain designated by the Butterfly Club is not at its center. Instead, there is a gazebo, ringed by walk-ways lined with benches. The messages in this public space, marked on trash-cans and recycling bins, for example, are all bilingual—Spanish and English. Below is a picture of this Plaza, which I took on a weekend morning; this picture shows the gazebo, a few folks on a bench, and the bilingual trash receptacles.

Figure 4-a: Watsonville Plaza

Figure 4-b: Trash Bin—Spanish & Figure 4-c: Trash Bin—English

As I moved away from the Plaza and onto Main Street, I noticed another bilingual public announcement from the City. In its campaign to keep the streets safe and drivers within the speed limit, the City hung bilingual banners encouraging people to "Share the road, with caution, considerately, and with respect." Below is a shot of one side of this banner—the Spanish side.

Figure 5: Bilingual Watsonville City Banner

Continuing down Main Street with my camera, I ran into one of the locals, who, seeing that I was taking pictures of the area, boldly asked to have his picture taken (in Spanish). Posing there, in his Stetson and leather boots, this man seemed to me to be the quintessential vaquero. As I was taking his picture, a small boy came out of one of the stores along the street, and smiled at me until I took his picture as well. In preparation, he climbed up onto the back of a pick-up truck parked just there and posed for the shot. Below are these pictures.

Figures 6-a & b: El Vaquero, and Child on Pick-up Truck

Across the street I noticed two adjacent storefronts, each with signs that were not bilingual, but which were in English and Spanish, respectively. These caught my eye; side-by-side, each reflected official business. One was the Social Security Administration office, and the other was a fairly fancy jewelry store. Each, with its business being declared through a sign that was written in only one of the two main languages of the community seemed to send a particular message; however, taken together, as two buildings close enough to have a common wall, on a street among other building that carried bilingual signs, that message of one language-only appeared to be over-ruled.

Figure 7: Social Security Administration Office and Joyería

I noticed two other business signs along Main Street that seemed to convey this same spirit—of marking one's own message in a particular language, but within a domain that recognizes the other. The first of these two signs is below:

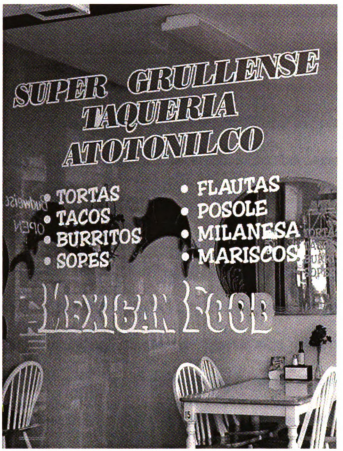


Figure 8: Super Grullense Taquería Atotonilco

This sign, for *SUPER GRULLENSE TAQUERIA ATOTONILCO*, was on the window of a taquería (taco stand), and is very interesting in that the detailed cultural content conveyed is in only one language. That is, the name of the place, and the list of the various foods served in this establishment were all in Spanish, and not translated into English. One of the words in the name, *Grullense*, means person from El Grullo, which is a town in

Jalisco, México. Another word, *Atotonilco*, a Nahautl (indigenous language of México) name, is also a place in Jalisco. Jalisco, as noted above, is one of the states that compose the most important migrant-sending region in México, and many of the people in this community come from there. None of this detail, nor that of the different foods listed, is captured in the catch-all phrase at the bottom of the sign, which is the English term, *Mexican Food.* What I find interesting here is that while it is obvious that a particular population is being targeted by the advertisement for this restaurant in Spanish, there is also an acknowledgement (a tipping of the hat, if you will) of another segment of the community—the English Speakers.

The second picture, below, demonstrates the same phenomenon, but in reverse. In it, we see cultural content that is marked in English only, but again, a translation of sorts is found at the bottom of this sign—this time, as a single Spanish term, *carnicería*, which means butcher shop; interestingly, this term in Spanish does not necessarily imply custom cutting and smoking of meat. The English message, like the Spanish one in the picture above this one, seems to be targeting a particular population—perhaps the ranchers or hunters in the area; however in this sign there is also a nod toward another segment of the population—people who, whether or not they are interested in custom-smoked meat, are speakers of Spanish.

Figure 9: Stevie G's Meats

In addition to the goal of walking down Main Street to document evidence of the bilingual/bicultural world the participants in this study lived in, I also had another objective. At one end of this street there was a taquería that I had come to know years before, when I worked in the community. I wondered if it was still there, and if the tacos they served were still just like the ones I had eaten so many times in México. I made my way toward where I remembered this taquería to be, and was happy to find it there, bustling with business. In addition to the various tacos served there, because it was a weekend, both pozole and menudo were on the menu. These stews, made with hominy and either pork (pozole) or tripe (menudo), which are very commonly eaten on the weekends in México, are famous for their ability to cure a hangover. As I lined up to

place my order for *tacos de carnitas* (roast pork), I noticed a woman in front of me, with her pot to be filled with either pozole or menudo, to take home with her. I also noticed that I was the only Anglo around. All around me Spanish was being spoken, and Mexican music was playing; this, mixed with the smells of the meats being grilled for the tacos and of the pozole simmering away, made me momentarily forget where I was.

I attempted to capture that moment in the picture below, but wasn't very successful:

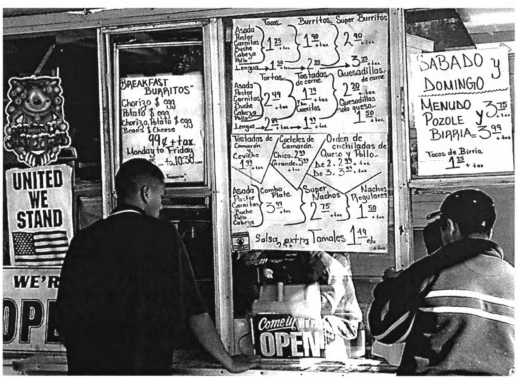


Figure 10: Taquería on Main Street

Still, in this picture, we see more evidence of the dynamic cultural and linguistic mix that is Watsonville: the weekend advertisement, in Spanish, for pozole or menudo and the various other foods offered; the breakfast burritos, served Monday through Friday mornings (apparently targeting those rushing off to work), advertised in English. And off

to the left of the menu, taped to a corner of the plate-glass window, a tell-tale sign that provides a back-drop for this particular context—one displaying the American flag and the words, "united we stand."

Concluding remarks, on the generalizability of the findings

Because of the seemingly idiosyncratic nature of identity as operationalized here, it is possible that this study falls under the category of "worst case" on the continuum of generalizability reviewed on the introductory pages of this research (Table 1, page 4). That is, given that the identity variable was composed, for the most part, of lower level identity factors that are ultimately reflections of individual choice, and therefore by nature, idiosyncratic, perhaps the results from this study are not generalizable. However, it is possible to see a study such as this one as a baseline of sorts for research on the relationship between English proficiency and identity, in this community; subsequent research could be implemented replicating this work, either very closely, or in a model that would hold varying factors constant. Another framework for subsequent research in this community would be to run a longitudinal study, following these participants over several years, and tracking potential shifts in their English proficiency, and their identities. The results of this kind of work could provide insights into trends and patterns that are generalizable within this community. If such work were done, that would bring this study along on the continuum of generalizability (Table 1, p. 4), and into the second column, that referring to a specific community.

There is work that has been done in this community that is relevant to this discussion. Matute-Bianchi (1986) studied high school students in Watsonville, and the interrelatedness of school performance, minority status, and ethnic identity. While

Matute-Bianchi's research focused on different issues than this study did, and is therefore not completely applicable here, certain insights from her study are, because they range over participants from the same community as the ones studied in this research, but who are 5-10 years older. Matute-Bianchi claims that there are five categories that most of the Mexican-descent students in the high school can be placed into. These are:

- Recent-Mexican immigrant
- Mexican-oriented
- Mexican American
- Chicano
- Cholo

Matute-Bianchi assigned the students she interviewed to these categories, and asked them about the categories, and to identify themselves, according to them. She found that the "recent-Mexican immigrants," who were predominantly Spanish speaking, claimed an identity of Mexicano, and think of México as their home; further, the majority of these respondents claimed that it was economic opportunity that brought them to the U.S. Those students categorized as "Mexican-oriented" were most often bilingual; these students also claimed an identity of Mexicano, but had strong ties to both the U.S. and México. In addition, they saw themselves as distinct from the other categories. The third category, "Mexican-American" students, were born in the U.S., and according to Matute-Bianchi, were much more American-oriented than the first two groups. These respondents claimed differences between themselves and the people in the other groups; interestingly, Matute-Bianchi notes that these students find the terms "Chicano" and "Cholo" offensive. The group, the "Chicanos," made up 40-50% of the Spanish-surname

students; these identified themselves as Mexican or Mexicano, and did not find the term "Chicano" offensive. Finally, the "Cholos," who, according to Matute-Bianchi, make up a very small and disappearing group, are identified by others as gang-oriented or gang-sympathetic. Interestingly, in her study, Matute-Bianchi does not report how those categorized as "Cholos" identify themselves.

I've described the categories from Matute-Bianchi's study in some detail because this description highlights issues that are relevant to this study; while it is acknowledged that it is difficult to compare the two studies because they assessed variables that were different, and were operationalized differently, they nonetheless each drew participants from the same community, and both were concerned with issues of identity. The categories of identity, both those assigned and those claimed by the respondents in Matute-Bianchi's study, are of interest. In their range, these potentially corroborate the discussion above on the variability and porousness of identity; but more importantly, these may be indicative of possible paths of development that the participants in this study could follow. A longitudinal series of studies that could track this, and the development of English proficiency, could be of some interest, and potentially could result in findings that are generalizable within this community.

Beyond the community of Watsonville, there is research that has been done in the same agricultural region of California; Vasquez et al., (1994), drew its data from a community that is also predominantly "Mexicano," and describes a community that is very similar to Watsonville. As a study that is concerned with the relationships between language, culture, and learning, Vasquez et al. (1994) overlaps a bit with this study; however, the orientation, which includes pedagogical implications of language learning,

is different. Nonetheless, this community could serve as a point of reference for future research done in Watsonville.

Clearly, the potential generalizability of the results from this study depends on follow-up work. However, there are frameworks, themselves generalized from other research, that can be implicated in the results found here, and as such, can add to their explanation. Ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles & Johnson, 1987) claims that people in a subordinate group will hold on to their ethnolinguistic identity, and will most often not become fully proficient in the dominant language of their community, if the following conditions exist:

- They identify themselves strongly as members of a group, and language is an important symbol for identity
- They are aware of alternatives to their social status
- They perceive the ethnolinguistic vitality of their group to be high
- They perceive the boundaries to their ethnic identity and language to be closed
- They don't identify with many other social groups

Of these conditions, ethnolinguistic vitality is particularly pertinent to this discussion; this is a measure that is itself based on several components, including 1) demographic strength (group numbers, birthrates, migration, concentration and distribution in the community), 2) institutional support for the language (in the education system, the media, the government), and 3) status (social, political, economic, linguistic prestige).

Given the demographic data presented in this study, as well as the descriptions of the educational support programs available within the school district (bilingual and migrant programs), combined with the results of this research, it would appear that the ethnolinguistic vitality of these participants is high. Because of this, these participants, in

this community, appear to be holding fast to a Mexican-oriented identity, while becoming more proficient in English. The question of how this vitality affects whether or not these children become fully proficient in English (a claim entailed in the Ethnolinguistic identity theory, noted above), is a matter for future research.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Watsonville Occupation Characteristics

(From 2000 Census)

DP-3. Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000
Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) – Sample Data
Geographic Area: **Watsonville city, California**

Subject	Number	Percent
Employed civilian population 16 years and over	17,285	100.0
OCCUPATION		
Management, professional, and related occupations	2,899	16.8
Service occupations	3,093	17.9
Sales and office occupations	3,438	19.9
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	2,940	17.0
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations	1,707	9.9
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	3,208	18.6
INDUSTRY		
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	3,039	17.6
Construction	1,193	6.9
Manufacturing	2,364	13.7
Wholesale trade	1,082	6.3
Retail trade	1,952	11.3
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	533	3.1
Information	276	1.6
Finance, insurance, real estate, and rental and leasing	398	2.3
Professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management services	1,310	7.6
Educational, health and social services	2,570	14.9
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation and food services	1,390	8.0
Other services (except public administration)	738	4.3
Public administration	440	2.5

Appendix B: Income Eligibility Guidelines for Free Lunch

California Department of Education
Nutrition Services Division

April 2000

INCOME ELIGIBILITY GUIDELINES
FOR FREE AND REDUCED PRICE MEALS OR FREE MILK
(Effective from July 1, 2000 through June 30, 2001)

Children from households with incomes at or below the following levels may be eligible for free or reduced price meals.

	FREE ELIGIBILITY SCALE			REDUCED PRICE ELIGIBILITY SCALE		
	Lunch, Breakfast, Milk			Lunch, Breakfast		
HOUSEHOLD SIZE	YEAR	MONTH	WEEK	YEAR	MONTH	WEEK
1	$10,855	$ 905	$209	$15,448	$1,288	$ 298
2	$14,625	$1,219	$282	$20,813	$1,735	$ 401
3	$18,395	$1,533	$354	$26,178	$2,182	$ 504
4	$22,165	$1,848	$427	$31,543	$2,629	$ 607
5	$25,935	$2,162	$499	$36,908	$3,076	$ 710
6	$29,705	$2,476	$572	$42,273	$3,523	$ 813
7	$33,475	$2,790	$644	$47,638	$3,970	$ 917
8	$37,245	$3,104	$717	$53,003	$4,417	$1,020
For each additional family member, add:						
	+$3,770	+$ 315	+$ 73	+$ 5,365	+$ 448	+$104

- BOTH of the above scales appear in the Sample Media Release
- ONLY the Reduced Price Eligibility Scale may appear in the Letter to Households (for those schools participating in the National School Lunch Program).
- ONLY those schools that participate in the Special Milk Program, and offer free milk should publish the free eligibility scale in both the Sample Media Release and the Letter to Households

Appendix C: Noun/Noun Compounding

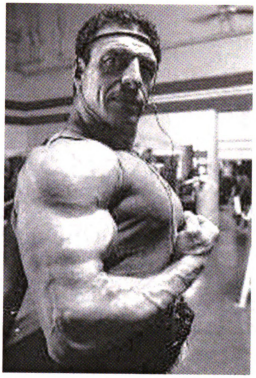
Noun/Noun Compounds: 16 Items

- For each of the 16 N/N Compound items, the elicitation technique used was "Picture Task," in which a different picture was shown to each subject, and the question, "What is this?" was asked.

- Copies of the pictures used for this task are included in this Appendix B, following this page. The pictures are labeled Appendix B.1 through Appendix B.16. The order of these pictures follows the order found in the table below.

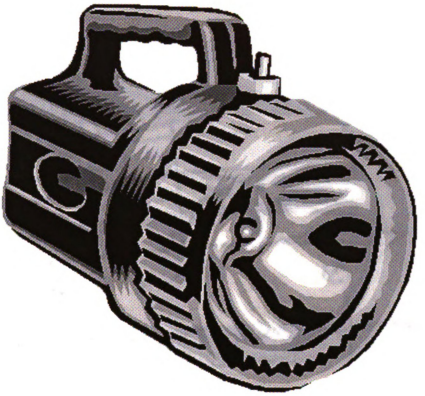
Target Noun/Noun Compound
Muscle man
Fire truck
Flashlight
Houseboat
Key-chain
Kite-tail
Doghouse
Paper-bag
Raincoat
Anteater
Mousetrap
Handcuffs
Banana peel
Chocolate Rabbit
Bird cage
Remote control

Appendix C.1: Muscle man

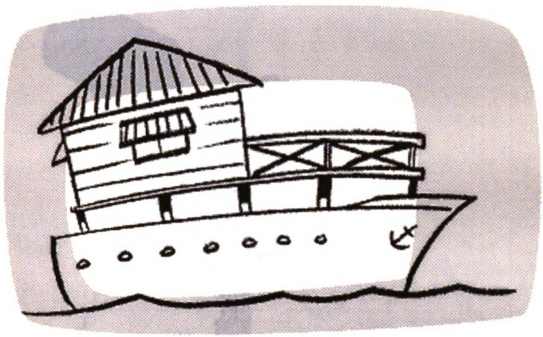


Appendix C.2: Fire truck

Appendix C.3: Flashlight

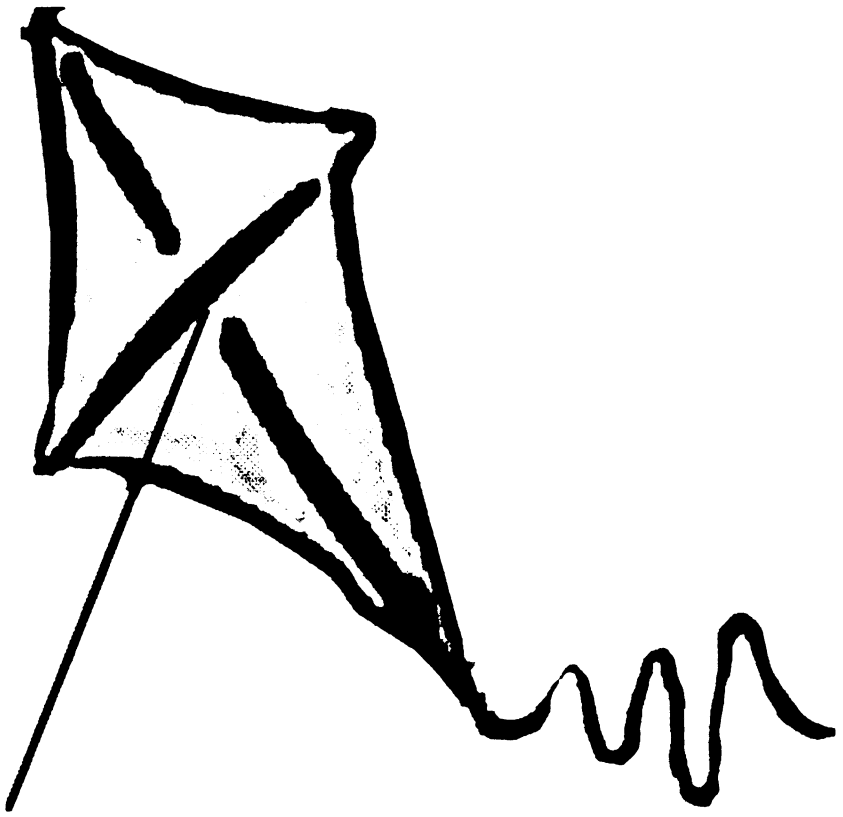


Appendix C.4: Houseboat



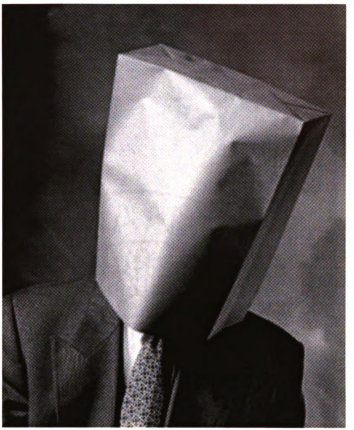
Appendix C.5: Key-chain

Appendix C.6: Kite-tail



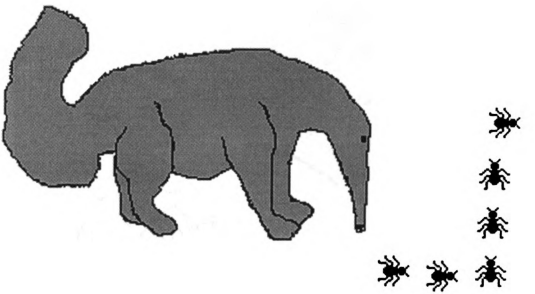
Appendix C.7: Doghouse

Appendix C.8: Paper-bag

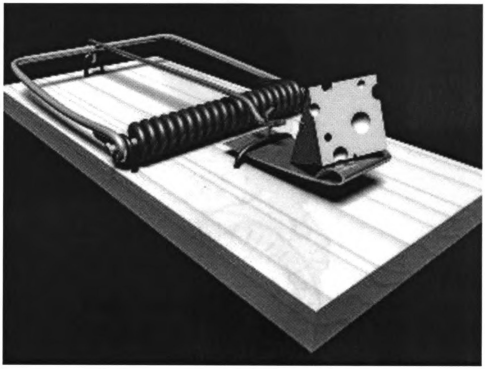


Appendix C.9: Raincoat

Appendix C.10: Anteater

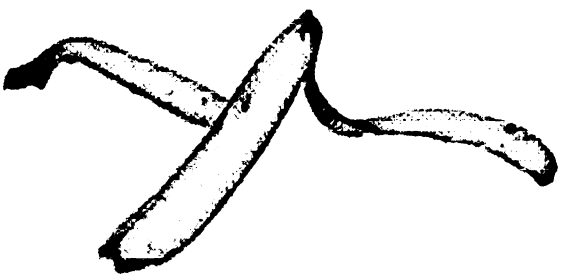


Appendix C.11: Mousetrap



Appendix C.12: Handcuffs

Appendix C.13: Banana peel



Appendix C.14: Chocolate Rabbit

Appendix C.15: Bird cage

Appendix C.16: Remote control

Appendix D: Article Usage

A) Mass nouns: 9 Items
- Spanish requires the definite article; English disallows articles

Target Mass Noun	Elicitation Sentence	Elicitation Technique
Meat	my dog eats (the) meat	Repetition
Music	Mary loves (the) music	Repetition
salt	my brother cooks with (the) salt	Repetition
Sand	the beach has lots of (the) sand	Repetition
People	(the) people are funny	Repetition
Air	the balloon is filled with (the) air	Repetition
Snow	(the) snow is cold	Repetition
Honey	I like (the) honey in my tea	Repetition
Bread	(the) bread is made with flour	Repetition

B) Specificity regarding mass nouns referring to ALL of something: 5 Items
- Spanish requires the definite article; English disallows articles

Target Noun	Elicitation Sentence	Elicitation Technique
children	(the) children are friendly	Repetition
rice	I don't like (the) rice	Repetition
dogs	(the) dogs bark loudly	Repetition
coca-cola	(the) coca-cola is delicious	Repetition
ice crean	I like (the) ice cream	Repetition

C) Specificity regarding personal titles: 6 Items
- Spanish requires the definite article (double determiner); English disallows articles

Target title	Elicitation Sentence	Elicitation Technique
Mr. Martinez	(the) Mr. Martinez is here	Repetition
Mr. Brown	(the) Mr. Brown is old	Repetition
Father Sanchez	(the) Father Sanchez went home	Repetition
Mr. Brown	This is for (the) Mr. Brown	Repetition
Ms. Evans	(the) Ms. Evans came to the party	Repetition
Father Sanchez	That is for (the) Father Sanchez	Repetition

Please note: The Elicitation Technique used for items D) and E) below was "Picture Task." Copies of the pictures used for these tasks are included in this Appendix D, following this page. The pictures for items in D) below are labeled Appendix D.1

through Appendix D.9. The pictures for items in E) below are labeled Appendix D.10 through Appendix D.18. The order of these pictures follows the order found in the tables in D) and E), below.

D) Specificity regarding nouns showing mere identification: 9 Items

- Spanish disallows articles*; English requires an article

Target Noun	Elicitation Sentence	Elicitation Technique
Doctor	He is (a) doctor	Picture Task
teacher	She is (a) teacher	Picture Task
baseball player	He is (a) a baseball player	Picture Task
Nurse	She is (a) nurse	Picture Task
Writer	He is (a) writer	Picture Task
waitress	She is (a) waitress	Picture Task
Musician	He is (a) guitar player, etc.	Picture Task
Musician	He is (a) musician, etc.	Picture Task
astronaut	He is (an) astronaut	Picture Task

*(Note: Regarding this type of construction, as noted in #23 in the main document, repeated here Spanish disallows the article:

23) Es médico *Es un médico
He is doctor (a)

However, if this same sentence were meant to indicate individualization, or emphasis, the article would be used: *Es un médico=He is a doctor*. Also, in situations of additional modification (*Es un buen médico/He is a good doctor)*, or in figurative speech (*Es un lobo/He is a wolf)*, an article would be used [Stockwell et al., 1965]).

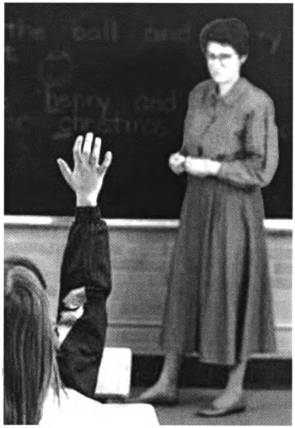
E) Inaliable possession: 9 Items

- Spanish, with possession obvious, requires the definite article; English requires a possessive pronoun

Elicitation Sentence	Elicitation Technique
He hurt (his) head/tooth	Picture Task
He hurt (his) whole body	Picture Task
He is raising (his) hand	Picture Task
She hurt (her) feet	Picture Task
She broke (her) arm	Picture Task
He has dirt on (his) feet	Picture Task
He took off (his) shoes	Picture Task
He hurt (his) neck	Picture Task
She is combing/brushing (her) hair	Picture Task

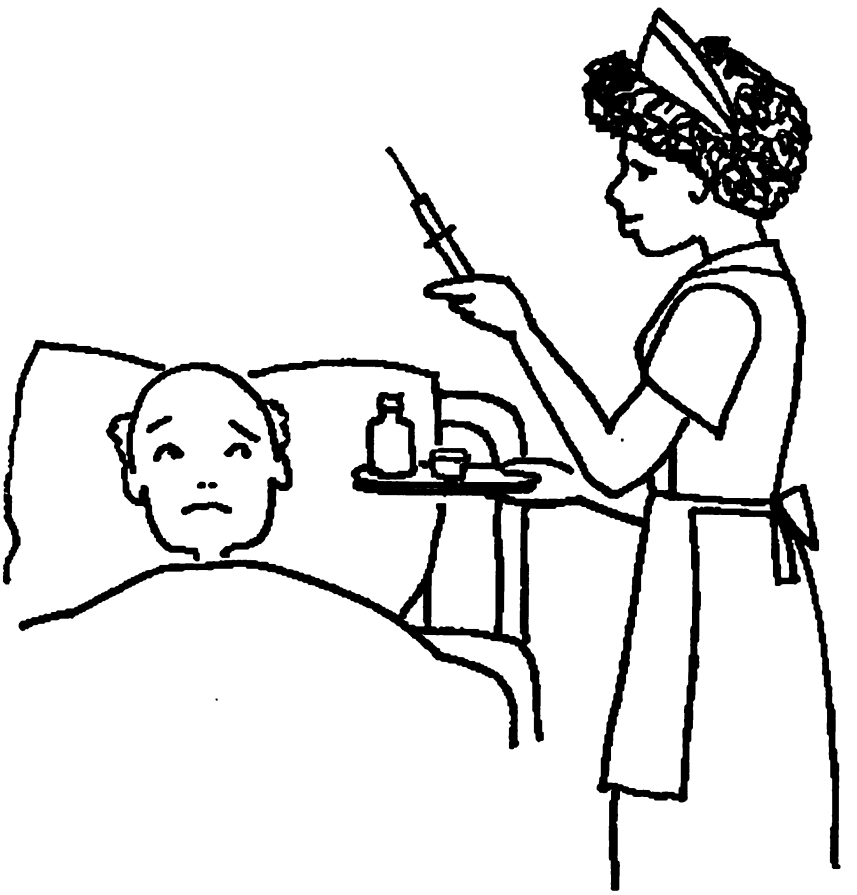
Appendix D.1: Doctor

Appendix D.2: Teacher



Appendix D.3: Baseball Player

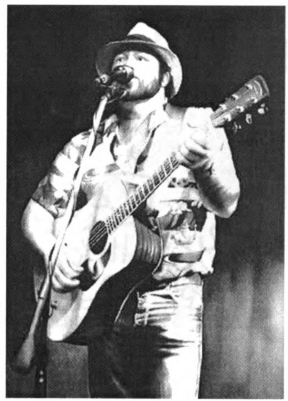
Appendix D.4: Nurse



Appendix D.5: Writer

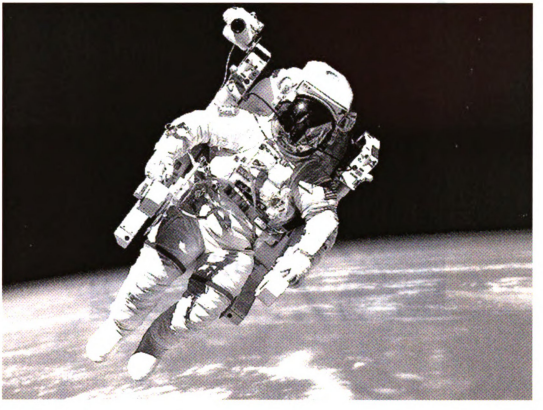
Appendix D.6: Waitress

Appendix D.7: Guitar Player

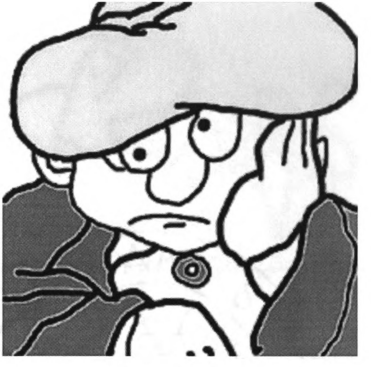


Appendix D.8: Musician

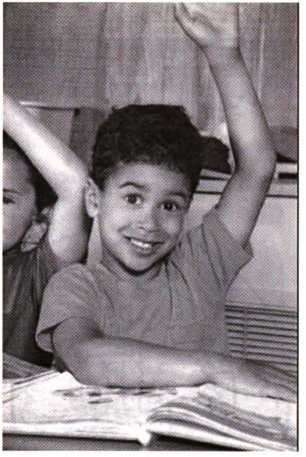
Appendix D.9: Astronaut



Appendix D.10: He hurt (his) head/tooth



Appendix D.12: He is raising (his) hand



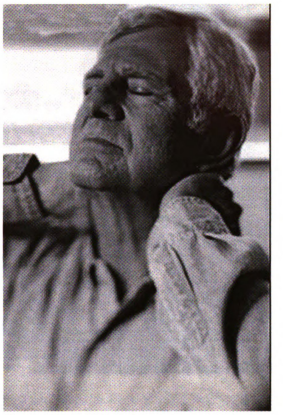
Appendix D.13: She hurt (her) feet

Appendix D.14: She broke (her) arm

Appendix D.15: He has dirt on (his) feet

Appendix D.16: He took off (his) shoes

Appendix D.17: He hurt (his) neck



Appendix D.18: She is combing/brushing (her) hair

Appendix E: Tense Doubling

- Tense Doubling Structures: 12 Items

Listed below, in A) and B), are the two elicitation methods used—one for the older subjects, and one for the younger—as well as the actual structures used.

A) Elicitation method used with the older subjects—with those from the 4th/5th combination class, and the 3rd grade class:

- Context given by researcher in English (items listed in a. below)
- Subjects ask question in English, based on the context given; researcher prompts subjects with the first word in the targeted question, e.g., *what, where, how, who* (target structures listed in items b. below)

1. a. John went to the store last night and wanted to buy something, so he did

   b. *What did John/Juan buy last night?*

2. a. The boy with the yellow hat on wanted to eat something last night, so he did

   b. *What did the boy in the yellow hat eat last night?*

3. a. The girl with the brown hair wanted to drink something yesterday, so she did

   b. *What did the girl with the brown hair drink yesterday?*

4. a. The boy in the yellow hat went to McDonald's last night and wanted to buy something, so he did

   b. *What did the boy in the yellow hat buy last night?*

5. a. Juan wanted to eat something last night, so he did

   b. *What did John eat last night?*

6. a. Maria wanted to drink something yesterday so she did

   b. *What did Maria drink yesterday?*

7. a. The boy in the yellow hat wanted to go somewhere yesterday, so he did

   b. *Where did the boy in the yellow hat go yesterday?*

8. a. The girl with the brown hair saw her boyfriend last night and wanted to dance perfectly for him, so she did

   b. *How did the girl with brown hair dance last night?*

9. a. John wanted to play some game last night, so he did

   b. *What game did John play last night?*

10. a. The woman with the red dress on wanted to play some game last night, so she did

    b. *What game did the woman with the red dress on play last night?*

11. a. The man wanted three tacos last night

    b. *What did the man want last night?*

12. a. The very old man wanted three apples last night

    b. *What did the very old man want last night?*

B) Elicitation method used with the younger subjects—with those from the 1st grade class

- Context given by researcher in English (items listed in a. below)
- Researcher asks the target response question *in Spanish* (items listed in b. below)
- Subjects translate this question into English, based on the context given, and the question in Spanish; if necessary, researcher prompts subjects with the first word in the targeted question, e.g., *what, where, how* (target structures listed in items c. below)

1. a. John went to the store last night and wanted to buy something, so he did.

   b. **¿Qué compró Juán anoche?**

   c. *What did John/Juan buy last night?*

2. a. The boy with the yellow hat on wanted to eat something last night, so he did

   b. **¿Qué comió el niño de la gorra amarilla anoche?**

   c. *What did the boy in the yellow hat eat last night?*

3. a. The girl with the brown hair wanted to drink something yesterday, so she did

   b. **¿Qué tomó la niña del pelo café ayer?**

   c. *What did the girl with the brown hair drink yesterday?*

4. a. The boy in the yellow hat went to McDonald's last night and wanted to buy something, so he did

   b. **¿Qué compró el niño de la gorra amarilla anoche?**

   c. *What did the boy in the yellow hat buy last night?*

5. a. Juan wanted to eat something last night, so he did

   b. **¿Qué comió Juán anoche?**

   c. *What did John eat last night?*

6. a. Maria wanted to drink something yesterday so she did

   b. **¿Qué tomó María ayer?**

   c. *What did Maria drink yesterday?*

7. a. The boy in the yellow hat wanted to go somewhere yesterday, so he did

   b. **¿Adónde fue el niño de la gorra amarilla?**

   c. *Where did the boy in the yellow hat go yesterday?*

8. a. The girl with the brown hair saw her boyfriend last night and wanted to dance perfectly for him, so she did

   b. **¿Comó bailó la niña del pelo café anoche?**

   c. *How did the girl with brown hair dance last night?*

9. a. John wanted to play some game last night, so he did

   b. **¿Qué juego jugó Juán anoche?**

   c. *What game did Juan play last night?*

10. a. The woman with the red dress on wanted to play some game last night, so she did

    b. **¿Qué juego jugó la mujer del vestido rojo anoche?**

    c. *What game did the woman with the red dress on play last night?*

11. a. The man wanted three tacos last night

    b. **¿Qué quería el hombre anoche?**

    c. *What did the man want last night?*

12. a. The very old man wanted three apples last night

    b. **¿Qué quería el hombre muy viejo anoche?**

    c. What did the very old man want last night?

Appendix E.1

As noted in the Methodology section of this dissertation, the structures used for data collection on Tense Doubling vary, along the following dimensions:

- The amount of linguistic material between the head noun in the matrix clause of the given context, and the verb that becomes the targeted main verb in the question response
- The type of Wh-question used: *what, where, how*
- The type of verb used as the targeted main verb in the question response

Below is a table that breaks down each of the structures used, listed in Appendix D, according to the three ways these varied:

Item #	type of verb used	type of Wh-question used	Yes/No: extra linguistic material
1	verb type 1-buy/bought	What	N
2	verb type: 1-eat/ate	What	Y
3	verb type: 1-drink/drank	What	Y
4	verb type: 1-buy/bought	What	Y
5	verb type: 1-eat/ate	What	N
6	verb type: 1-drink/drank	What	N
7	verb type: 1-go/went	Where	Y
8	verb type: 2-dance/danced	How	Y
9	verb type: 2-play/played	What	N
10	verb type: 2-play/played	What	Y
11	verb type: 3-want/wanted	What	N
12	verb type: 3-want/wanted	What	Y

Appendix F: ARSMA-II (Acculturation Scale)

Below is a representation of the ARSMA-II, drawn from Cuellar, I., Arnold, B., & Maldonado, R. (1995). There is also a version of this scale in Spanish.

The responses are according to the following Likert scale:

(1) Not at all
(2) Very Little/Not very Much
(3) Moderately
(4) Much/Very Often
(5) Almost Always/Extremely Often

1.	I speak Spanish.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
2.	I speak English.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
3.	I enjoy speaking Spanish.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
4.	I associate with Anglos.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
5.	I associate with Mexicans and/or Mexican Americans.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
6.	I enjoy Spanish language music.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
7.	I enjoy listening to English language music.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
8.	I enjoy Spanish language TV.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9.	I enjoy English language TV.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
10.	I enjoy English language movies.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
11.	I enjoy Spanish language movies.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
12.	I enjoy reading books in Spanish.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
13.	I enjoy reading books in English.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
14.	I write letters in Spanish.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
15.	I write letters in English.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

16.	My thinking is done in the English language.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
17.	My thinking is done in the Spanish language.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
18.	My contact with Mexico has been.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
19.	My contact with the USA has been.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
20.	My father identifies or identified himself as "Mexicano".....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
21.	My mother identifies or identified herself as "Mexicana".....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
22.	My friends while I was growing up were of Mexican origin.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
23.	My friends while I was growing up were of Anglo origin.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
24.	My family cooks Mexican foods.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
25.	My friends now are of Anglo origin.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26.	My friends now are of Mexican origin.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
27.	I like to identify myself as an Anglo American.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
28.	I like to identify myself as an Mexican American.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
29.	I like to identify myself as Mexican.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
30.	I like to identify myself as Mexican.....	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

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