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NATIVE SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE USE OF SPANISH BY NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS: FROM GEORGE W. TO J. LO

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ABSTRACT. This investigation of native speakers' attitudes toward the use of Spanish by non-native speakers considers the following questions: Do native speakers consider the public use of Spanish by non-native speakers to be inappropriate? Do Latino non-native speakers provoke a more favorable response? Do native speakers believe Latinos have an obligation to know Spanish? What factors correlate with native and heritage speakers' attitudes toward ethnicity and language choice? Data were collected via a questionnaire distributed to students at post-secondary institutions in ten states. The findings provide insights into the attitudes of native and heritage speakers, a rapidly growing population in the language classroom. The data also contribute to discussion of a larger issue: heritage-speaker criticism of the public use of Spanish by non-native speakers as a form of cultural appropriation.*

INTRODUCTION.¹ In recent years there have been multiple opportunities to observe reactions to the use of Spanish in the public domain, not only during the last presidential campaign but also in the world of popular music. When considering non-native speakers of Spanish, different standards are often applied to

*I would like to express my gratitude to Joe Miller for the graphic design and production of the survey and for other logistical help, to all of the colleagues at participating institutions for their role in the survey distribution, to all of the students who took the survey, and to the three anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹The title of this article is adapted from the title of the questionnaire used to gather the data on which this paper reports. One survey respondent asked: 'Why is your title "Speaking Spanish in U.S.: You, George W. and J.LO"? Is it meant to be sarcastic?' Although the survey was anonymous, the respondent provided an email address. My reply, reproduced here, gives the rationale for the title's wording:

The title is not meant to be sarcastic. My research seeks to find out what native and heritage speakers of Spanish (You, that is, those filling out the survey) think

Latinos and non-Latinos. One often hears that Latinos should learn and use the language, and non-Latinos should stick to English. Thus, Christina Aguilera is criticized for not being able to speak Spanish², while George W. Bush and others are admonished to 'Stop speaking so much Spanish and give me more substance' (Ostrom & Thomma 2000). Even though politics and entertainment are two different spheres of activity, the fact remains that non-native speakers provoke different reactions depending on their ethnicity.

A word in regard to the labels NATIVE SPEAKER and NON-NATIVE SPEAKER is in order. In the case of the foregoing statement that non-native speakers provoke different reactions according to their ethnicity, the terms are based on traditional standards of language competence and order of acquisition, however problematic those criteria may be. In other parts of this paper, however, while not totally discarding the competence-based definitions, the terms NATIVE SPEAKER and NON-NATIVE SPEAKER are intended to be more or less synonymous with IN-GROUP and OUT-GROUP MEMBER. An in-group member for the present purposes is a person who acquires the native-speaker label by way of inheritance in the sense employed by Rampton (1995:342): 'Inheritance occurs within social boundaries, while affiliation takes place across them'. Non-Latinos who learn Spanish have a connection to the language by affiliation, whereas Latinos with various degrees of proficiency in Spanish have a connection by inheritance.

1. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES. A comprehensive review of language attitude research is outside the scope of this paper.³ Previous research on native-speaker reactions to non-native speakers, which is the topic of this study, has focused on what types of errors in non-native speech are acceptable or unacceptable to native speakers and what factors in the listeners' backgrounds may influence their response to non-

about the use of Spanish by public figures who are non-Latinos (for example, George W. Bush), and public figures who are Latino non-native speakers of Spanish (for example, Jennifer López). The names were chosen to be representative and also for maximum recognition.

The last point, that the names were chosen for maximum recognition, makes sense in the context of the constraints under which data were gathered. Questionnaires were sent to language departments in which an instructor was willing to distribute them in the classroom. But in most cases they were not filled out in the classroom nor collected by the instructor; rather, it was up to the respondents to fill out the questionnaires on their own time and send them back to me. Given these circumstances, I considered it essential that the title attract attention.

²Retrieved June 17, 2002, from <<http://www.latinbayarea.com/2001/PagesF-M/grammys2001.htm>>; <<http://www.lamusica.com/main/feedback.shtml>>.

³For a general overview, see Agheyisi and Fishman 1970, Carranza, 1982, and Zahn & Hopper, 1985. See also 'Bibliographies on Language Attitudes: December 6 2000', retrieved July 8, 2002 from <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/540/attitudes/attitudes.html>>. For a list of studies about the language attitudes of U.S. Latinos, see Ramírez, Milk, and Sapiens (1983:418).

native speech (Galloway 1980, Ludwig 1982, Gynan 1985a,b, Schairer 1992, Llorca 1995). Research on language attitudes in relation to Spanish in the United States has focused on Latinos' and Anglos' attitudes toward non-standard varieties of Spanish in comparison to standard Spanish, Chicano English, and standard English (Carranza & Ryan 1975, Zerda Flores & Hopper 1975, Ryan & Carranza 1977, Ramírez, Milk & Sapiens 1983). Such information has great relevance for the field of language pedagogy, and the current project also has implications for language teaching in that it provides insights into the attitudes of a rapidly growing population in the language classroom: native and heritage Spanish speakers. Of central concern to this study are the latter group's attitudes toward the use of Spanish—the very act of speaking Spanish—by non-native speakers and what influence the ethnicity of the non-native speaker may have on the listener's attitude.

Language attitude research with a pedagogical focus has grouped learners' motivations into instrumental and integrative (Gardner & Lambert 1959, 1972). Some researchers have shown integrative motivation to correlate with more successful outcomes in second language acquisition while others have pointed out the limitations of this dichotomy (Ely 1986, Baker 1992:35, Bialystok & Hakuta 1994:139). We can acknowledge that motivations assigned to these two categories have some overlap, and we treat them more as a continuum. Of interest to the present study is whether the acquisition of Spanish for an instrumental motive, such as a politician who uses it to address a Hispanic constituency or a musician who records an album in Spanish to profit from the popularity of Latin music, will be viewed more or less favorably by respondents who rate their own reasons for maintaining their Spanish more toward the integrative or instrumental end of the scale. Of interest also is the role that ethnicity plays in this matter. There are Latino as well as non-Latino public figures who learn Spanish for instrumental reasons. For example, when the actor Erik Estrada crossed over from English-language media into Spanish-language television, starring in the Mexican telenovela *Dos mujeres, un camino*, he took an intensive course in Spanish at Berlitz (Prodigy 1997). Bill Simon, Anglo candidate for governor of California in 2002, ran commercials on Spanish-language television and radio, taking private lessons in Spanish to prepare (Kurtzman 2002). In the present study, we are concerned to discover whether a respondent who strongly agrees with the statement that 'Knowing Spanish is important to me because it will increase my earning power and help me achieve a higher professional status' will be more sympathetic to such uses by public figures, even those who are not Hispanic.

2. LANGUAGE AND ETHNICITY. Ethnicity is difficult to define and in fact has no absolute measurement. Ethnic membership can depend on a combination of ascribed and achieved characteristics. What constitutes these characteristics is subjective and may be non-consensual (Fishman 1997:329). It can be based solely or

collectively on race, language, national origin, or religious or cultural affiliation. In the case of Latinos, one or various of these criteria may contribute to an individual's self-classification.

In the present study, ethnic identity turned out to be an important independent variable. On the questionnaire it was left open-ended, so that respondents could acknowledge all groups of which they considered themselves to be members as well as to elicit their own labels for those groups. On the role of language in ethnic membership, Giles and Johnson (1981:236) say:

... members of an ethnic group will alter their linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries... so as to maintain or to assume a high level of overall perceived boundary hardness. For example, if an ethnic group softens its linguistic boundaries because the group for economic reasons needs to communicate with another ethnic group, the members may harden their non-linguistic boundaries ... Alternatively, if an ethnic group senses that its non-linguistic boundaries are softening, and for example, members are being lost through intermarriage, then the group may attempt to harden its linguistic boundaries in an effort to counteract this trend.

3. ETHNIC DISTINCTIVENESS. Hispanic ethnicity bestows the non-native speaker with a right to participate in spheres of Latino influence. A customer reviewing Christina Aguilera's Spanish language album, *Mi Reflejo*, remarks 'Since Aguilera had Venezuelan [sic; other sources cite Ecuadorian] heritage, recording a Latin pop album was appropriate, even if she didn't know how to speak the language'.⁴ However, others criticize the singer for her lack of proficiency in Spanish and her ethnic inauthenticity and accuse her of trying to take advantage of the popularity of Latin music.⁵ Compare this to Brazilian actress Sonia Braga's remarks that 'she was bothered by the fact that [Jennifer] López is labeled a Latino'. According to Braga, 'she [López] is not Latino, because she was born in New York, grew up in the Bronx, and was educated in the United States, speaking English' (Rodas 2002:26).

Reactions are mixed when those speaking Spanish are neither native speakers nor Latino. There seems to be more acceptance of non-Latino, non-native speakers in popular music than in politics. The band 'N Sync's singing in Spanish on the 2001 Latin Grammy awards program was praised by one commentator: 'With NSYNC's popularity this had to raise the status of Spanish in the eyes [of] both Hispanic's and non-Hispanic youth. The positive message sent by NSYNC's performance will do much to raise the self-esteem and create positive perceptions of

⁴Retrieved June 17, 2002 from <<http://music.barnesandnoble.com/search/product.asp?ean=78636932323>>.

⁵Retrieved June 17, 2002, from <<http://www.latinbayarea.com/2001/PagesF-M/grammys2001.htm>>; <<http://www.lamusica.com/main/feedback.shtml>>.

Hispanic youth among themselves and their peers' (Aragón Ulibarrí 2000). However, others criticized the group's appearance on a program intended to celebrate Latinos' achievements: 'También participará el grupo 'N Sync, quienes, al no ser Latinos, no tienen otra razón aparte de su relación con los Estefan para estar presentes' (Colón 2000).⁶

4. LANGUAGE AND OWNERSHIP: MINORITY LANGUAGE AS A WE-CODE. On the first episode of the science fiction television show *Enterprise* (rebroadcast January 13, 2002, UPN), the character of the ship's translator, a young woman named Hoshi Sato, expresses gratitude to another young woman, ship science officer T'Pol, in Vulcan, T'Pol's native language. Officer T'Pol answers curtly, 'I was instructed to speak English on this mission, and I'd appreciate it if you would respect that'. Toward the end of the two-hour episode, after the two women have gone through a team-building experience, T'Pol signals solidarity with Hoshi by addressing her in Vulcan. I cite a television show not to trivialize this issue but to demonstrate how it forms part of popular culture and, thus, is a part of a collective social frame of reference.

The use of code switching into a minority language as a technique to signal ethnic identity has been well documented (Gumperz & Hernández-Chávez 1975:154, Gumperz 1982:72, Sánchez 1983, Blommaert 1992:67). The native speaker has a stake in controlling availability of the minority language because of what it can symbolize: admission to an in-group, or at least acceptance of a non-native speaker's use of the code that represents such admission. Examples of this have been reported across various language pairs in which one of the pair is identified with speakers of a certain ethnicity. Woolard (1989) comments at length on Catalan-speakers' unwillingness to use Catalan with non-native speakers, and Weyers (1999) reports on Spanish as an ethnic marker in El Paso, Texas. Hewitt (1982), Rampton (1995, 1998), and Sebba and Wootton (1998) examine the interaction between adolescent speakers of British Black English and Jamaican Creole in London with their white peers.⁷

5. CULTURAL APPROPRIATION. CULTURAL APPROPRIATION is a term that has been used to characterize the diffusion of an art form associated with a minority population throughout the socioeconomically dominant culture, especially when this involves business interests and product consumption (e.g. Álvarez 1998, Pellarolo 1999). For example, charges of cultural appropriation have been leveled at white rap singers (Arnold 2002). Graphic designers' use of icons from indigenous cultures also comes under scrutiny (J. Miller, personal communication, June 8, 2002).

⁶The group 'N Sync will also participate, who, not being Latinos, have no other reason to be present apart from their relationship with the Estefans.' [My translation.]

⁷See also Edwards (1989, p. 367).

Does minority language use by non-minority members constitute cultural appropriation? Inasmuch as the minority language functions as an identity symbol of an exclusive resource and symbol of group membership for its native speakers, its use by out-group members may be considered a form of usurpation. The concern for the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness via the symbolism of language is seen in the comments of both consultants and researchers. For example, on the functions of *caló*, a Chicana respondent observed that, unlike standard Spanish, *caló* is still reserved for in-group members: 'The language provides a way of communication that can't be penetrated, that can't be taken away. It won't die. There's so many gabachos (Anglos) that speak Spanish. I don't think they'll do that with *caló*' (anonymous consultant quoted in Galindo 1992:26). In regard to two-way language immersion programs in the schools, García (1993:80) says:

Under the pressure of English-only, Spanish has stopped being claimed as the resource of the Latino community, and educators who still dream of developing the Spanish of Latino children have begun to hide behind the mask of doing so also for Anglo children. As maintenance bilingual programs started retreating, dual language programs involving both Latinos and Anglos came into being ... But it is important to recognize that these dual language programs precisely destroy the link between Spanish and a Latino identity, by taking Spanish away from Latino lips and souls and spreading it thin among everybody ...

6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS. The following research questions were posed.
- (1) Do native and heritage speakers of Spanish consider the public use of Spanish by non-native speakers to be inappropriate?
 - (2) Do native and heritage speakers consider it more appropriate for Latino non-native speakers to use Spanish than it is for non-Latino non-native speakers?
 - (3) Do native and heritage speakers believe Latinos have an obligation to be able to speak Spanish?
 - (4) What personal factors correlate with native and heritage speakers' attitudes on issues of ethnicity and language choice?

It was predicted that respondents would rate it more acceptable for Latino non-native speakers to use Spanish than for non-Latino non-native speakers to do so. Certain relationships among variables were anticipated. The dependent variable of a negative attitude toward the use of Spanish by non-native non-Latino speakers was expected to correlate with a high importance assigned to ethnic-group membership and Spanish-speaking ability for self-identity. Other independent variables for which a correlation with a negative attitude was predicted were birth in the U.S. and lower proficiency in Spanish.

In contrast, a positive attitude toward the use of Spanish by non-native non-

Latino speakers was expected to correlate with less importance assigned to ethnic-group membership and Spanish-speaking ability for self-identity and a higher proficiency in Spanish. Some of these variables correlate with one another: The children and, especially, the grandchildren of immigrants tend to have less Spanish language proficiency than individuals raised and educated in a Spanish-speaking country. Individuals raised in a Spanish-speaking country will naturally have more proficiency in the language and, not having grown up in a situation in which it marks membership in a separate group, may be less possessive of it than those whose abilities and opportunities for Spanish language use are more unstable.

Evidence from previous studies motivates these predictions. Carranza and Ryan (1975) found more critical attitudes toward Anglos among Latinos who were second- or third-generation Americans than among recent immigrants from Mexico. Recent arrivals and visitors have been found to be more accepting of non-native speakers' speech. In a newspaper poll conducted during the 2000 presidential campaign, a third of the respondents said they might vote for a candidate who advertised in Spanish or spoke the language, and this figure rose to 55 % among voters coming from households where mostly Spanish was spoken (Ostrom & Thomma 2000). In a study by Schairer (1992:311), monolingual Spanish speakers were more accepting of non-native speakers' Spanish. Galloway (1980:430) found that non-teaching native speakers were more tolerant of grammatical errors in non-natives' Spanish than were Anglophone teachers of Spanish but that the former were 'relatively critical (through their comments) of those [non-native speakers] who communicated with apparent ease and grammatical accuracy'. These cases point to multiple correlations: more recent arrival in the U.S., more daily use of Spanish, and more positive attitude toward non-native speakers' use of Spanish.

7. METHOD. Data were collected in Fall 2002 via a questionnaire distributed in Modern Language and Spanish and Portuguese departments at universities in California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Kansas, Wisconsin, Maryland, Georgia, and Florida. The selection criteria for the universities contacted were the presence of native and/or heritage speakers of Spanish and the institution's location. An effort was made to obtain a sample with participation from the major geographic regions in which Spanish is spoken in the United States; however, a disproportionate number (65%) came from California and the remaining 35% from the other states. The majority of the respondents were enrolled in classes of Spanish for Spanish speakers, although some were students in upper-division linguistics or literature courses, and a few were graduate students. The target population was individuals with some degree of proficiency in Spanish and some degree of self-identification with a Latino ethnic group. Based on the investigator's experience as a student and teacher, as well as correspondence with the departments contacted, it was decided that respondents meeting these two criteria would be

found in SNS (SPANISH FOR NATIVE SPEAKERS) classes as well as upper-division content courses taught in Spanish. The sample was a convenience rather than random sample: The use of university students with their instructors as intermediaries facilitated access to a wider geographic region than would otherwise have been possible.⁸ However, students were also selected as respondents in order that the study ultimately have some pedagogical implications. Out of 39 departments contacted by e-mail, 24 responded and 18 of these agreed to distribute the questionnaire. A total of 177 questionnaires were returned by respondents or their instructors.

The questionnaire is divided into five parts, each with a title to orient respondents to its contents.⁹ Part One, entitled *Who Speaks What When: Practices and Preferences*, consists of four items. The first asks for respondents' language choices for use with four types of interlocutors: family, friends, co-workers, and strangers. The second asks respondents in which language they prefer to be addressed by people in the same four categories, based on whether their interlocutors are native or non-native speakers of Spanish. In the two final items respondents are asked to rate the appropriateness of the use of Spanish by public figures in various contexts, again based on whether the speaker is a native or non-native speaker. The responses to this section of the survey are the subject of another report and are not further discussed in this paper.

Part Two, *Language, Ethnicity and Identity*, is a series of twelve statements, listed below, with which respondents indicate their degree of concurrence on a five-point Likert-type scale.

- (1) It is appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is Latino to use Spanish in public appearances.
- (2) It is not appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is not Latino to use Spanish in public appearances.
- (3) A politician who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.
- (4) A politician who is not Latino should not use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.
- (5) An entertainer who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.
- (6) An entertainer who is not Latino should not use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.

⁸This study was undertaken with no institutional or outside funding.

⁹Following Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson (1992, pp. 14, 23-4), my intention in providing section titles in the questionnaire was to avoid any appearance of deception or patronization.

- (7) Non-Latino musicians who record albums in Spanish are stealing Latino culture.
- (8) The Spanish language does not belong to any ethnic group in particular.
- (9) Latinos who do not speak Spanish should learn Spanish.
- (10) Non-Latinos who do not speak Spanish should learn Spanish.
- (11) Being able to speak Spanish is a very important part of who I am.
- (12) My ethnic group membership is a very important part of who I am.

Part Three, *The Personal Importance of Spanish*, consists of eight items probing instrumental and integrative motivation for respondents' interest in Spanish language maintenance (Baker 1992:31-5):

- (1) It will help me earn more money.
- (2) It enables me to understand Spanish language TV and music.
- (3) It enables me to read books and newspapers in Spanish.
- (4) It will help me fulfill a university requirement.
- (5) It enables me to talk to family members in Spanish.
- (6) It enables me to talk to friends in Spanish.
- (7) It helps me fit in better in my community.
- (8) It enables me to know my culture better.

Part Four, *Linguistic and Demographic Information*, collects data regarding sex, age, number of years' residence in the United States (Carranza 1982), country of birth for respondent and respondent's parents and grandparents, ethnic group, education and income levels, languages of instruction from elementary school to the present, languages of general use at home, work, and school, and asks respondents to rate their proficiency in English and Spanish (Ryan 1979:155, Woolard 1989:134, Baker 1992:49-55).

Part Five, *Your Comments*, solicits comments on any issue raised in the questionnaire.

Indirect methods of elicitation have sometimes been preferred over direct attitude questionnaires for their ability to 'reveal judges' more private reactions' (Lambert 1972:215). Direct questions, it is argued, may not always yield subjects' true attitudes. Especially in face-to-face interviews, respondents may give answers designed to make themselves appear more socially attractive. In this study the questionnaire was anonymous and involved no contact with the investigator or fellow participants. It is hoped that this served to reduce the bias that might otherwise occur in either direction, either toward the researcher's or the respondent's in-group when each belongs to a different group.

Nevertheless, future investigations could incorporate more indirect methods for comparison of results. Participants could be asked to rate various characteristics

of public figures, chosen to represent Latinos and non-Latinos using Spanish as well as ordinary citizens in some of the situations described in the present study's questionnaire. It should be noted, however, that SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES such as those commonly used for this type of task require a certain suspension of belief since they ask for individual members of a given group to be evaluated in general terms. In short, respondents are required to stereotype. Negative reactions to this type of survey item have been noted. For example, Nocon (1995:52), in regard to a semantic differential item that asked respondents to complete the sentence 'Spanish speakers are generally ...' notes that 'Several instructors who administered the questionnaire reported that some of the respondents had expressed verbal outrage at what they perceived as a racist question'. After a conference presentation entitled 'Attitudes of teachers toward varieties of spoken Spanish', an audience member asked if any of the participants had refused to use a rating scale described as part of the study on the basis of its stereotypical choices (Gutierrez-Candelaria 2000).

8. FINDINGS. Quantitative results do not demonstrate that native speakers consider the use of Spanish by non-native speakers to be inappropriate in certain contexts. Responses to Part Two, *Language, Ethnicity and Identity*, of the questionnaire are shown in Table 1. [NB: In the Tables, 'Group I' consists of respondents who consider themselves to be members of a Latino ethnic group; 'Group II' consists of respondents who do not consider themselves to be members of a Latino ethnic group.]

| ITEM | RESPONSE FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE (Scale of 1-5 'Strongly Disagree' to 'Strongly Agree') | | | | | MEAN FREQUENCY |
|------|---|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 1 | 1 (.01) | 9 (.06) | 40 (.26) | 68 (.44) | 35 (.23) | 3.8 |
| 2 | 36 (.24) | 61 (.40) | 36 (.24) | 16 (.10) | 4 (.02) | 2.3 |
| 3 | 2 (.01) | 3 (.02) | 13 (.08) | 42 (.28) | 93 (.61) | 4.4 |
| 4 | 40 (.26) | 57 (.37) | 26 (.18) | 25 (.16) | 5 (.03) | 2.3 |
| 5 | 4 (.02) | 3 (.02) | 18 (.13) | 51 (.33) | 77 (.50) | 4.3 |
| 6 | 35 (.23) | 65 (.43) | 33 (.22) | 13 (.08) | 7 (.04) | 2.3 |
| 7 | 40 (.26) | 65 (.43) | 27 (.18) | 15 (.10) | 6 (.03) | 2.2 |
| 8 | 14 (.09) | 21 (.14) | 27 (.18) | 57 (.37) | 34 (.22) | 3.5 |
| 9 | 3 (.02) | 11 (.07) | 53 (.34) | 42 (.28) | 44 (.29) | 3.7 |
| 10 | 6 (.03) | 16 (.11) | 89 (.58) | 27 (.18) | 15 (.10) | 3.2 |
| 11 | 1 (.01) | 1 (.01) | 3 (.02) | 18 (.12) | 130 (.85) | 4.8 |
| 12 | 1 (.01) | 2 (.01) | 13 (.09) | 28 (.18) | 109 (.71) | 4.6 |

TABLE 1. *All Responses, Group I (Members of a Latino Ethnic Group)*

A total of only 12% ($n = 20$) agreed with the statements that 'it is not appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is not Latino to use Spanish in public appearances' (item 2) and that an entertainer who is not Latino should not use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience (item 6). Only 13% ($n = 21$) agreed with the statement that 'non-Latino musicians who record albums in Spanish are stealing Latino culture' (item 7). A slightly larger number (19%, $n = 30$), but still in the minority, agreed with the statement that 'a politician who is not Latino should not use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience' (item 4). In response to the statement that 'the Spanish language does not belong to any ethnic group in particular' (item 8), 59% ($n = 91$) expressed agreement, 18% ($n = 27$) were neutral, and only 21% ($n = 35$) were in disagreement. The hypothesis that respondents would rate it more acceptable for Latino non-native speakers to use Spanish than for non-Latino non-native speakers to do so was, therefore, discarded. However, qualitative evidence in the form of respondents' comments does point to some conditions placed on the acceptance of non-Latinos' use of Spanish (see Sections 10.1 and 10.4).

Affirmation of the second research question, whether native and heritage speakers consider it more appropriate for Latino non-native speakers to use Spanish than it is for non-Latino non-native speakers, also failed to receive strong quantitative support. The two statements on the questionnaire that measure attitudes toward this question have inverse wording. The response was likewise inverse. The first statement, that 'it is appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is Latino to use Spanish in public appearances' (item 1), elicited 67% agreement ($n = 103$) and 10% ($n = 7$) disagreement. The second statement, that 'it is not appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is not Latino to use Spanish in public appearances' (item 2), found only 12% ($n = 20$) in agreement but 64% ($n = 97$) in disagreement.

The third research question was whether native and heritage speakers believe Latinos have an obligation to be able to speak Spanish. The statement most related to this question was posed directly: 'Latinos who do not speak Spanish should learn Spanish' (item 9). While just 9% ($n = 14$) disagreed with this statement, a bare majority of 57% ($n = 86$) agreed while fully 34% ($n = 53$) were neutral. Two other statements relate indirectly to research question three, although they assess attitudes toward Latinos' use of Spanish in certain contexts and not explicitly their ability to speak it. However, agreement with these two statements implies an assumption of Spanish-speaking ability. The first, 'a politician who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience' (item 3), elicited 89% ($n = 135$) agreement. The second, 'an entertainer who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience' (item 5), found 83% ($n = 128$) in agreement.

No correlation of a negative attitude toward the use of Spanish by non-native non-Latino speakers with a high importance assigned to ethnic group member-

ship and Spanish-speaking ability for self-identity was found, due to the uniformity of agreement with the statements measuring the latter two variables. That is, an overwhelming majority of respondents assigned high importance to ethnic group membership and Spanish-speaking ability for self-identity. Ninety-seven percent ($n = 148$) agreed with the statement that 'being able to speak Spanish is a very important part of who I am' (item 11), and 89% ($n = 137$) agreed with the statement that 'my ethnic group membership is a very important part of who I am' (item 12). Nor were there significant differences between respondents' attitudes according to generation in the U.S., except in response to one statement, described below. This one case corresponded to a positive rather than negative attitude toward the use of Spanish by non-native speakers.

Self-reported lower proficiency in Spanish proved to correlate with a significant difference in response to two statements. Respondents who reported greatest speaking proficiency in English had slightly lower mean scores than those who reported equal speaking proficiency in English and Spanish. These statements were not ones measuring attitudes toward the use of Spanish by non-native non-Latino speakers but rather toward its use by Latino speakers when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience. Self-reported greater proficiency in Spanish did not prove to be associated with any significant differences in responses.

The fourth research question concerned which factors correlate with native- and heritage-speakers' attitudes on issues of ethnicity and language choice. The overall uniformity of responses to items measuring the dependent variables made it difficult to draw clear correlations. However, some correlation of responses with generation of immigration, reported language of greater proficiency and reported ethnic-group membership did emerge. These responses are reported by subgroup in Table 2.¹⁰ While all groups disagreed with the statement that 'non-Latino musicians who record albums in Spanish are stealing Latino culture' (item 7), first-generation immigrants disagreed most strongly. In regard to the statements that a politician or entertainer 'who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience' (items 3 and 5), there was significantly stronger agreement among respondents reporting equal speaking proficiency in Spanish and English than among those reporting themselves as English dominant. Reported ethnic group membership yielded the most correlations: On seven out of twelve statements in Part Two of the questionnaire, the group of respondents not considering themselves to be members of a Latino ethnic group had lower scores. The differences were significant in five cases. For each of the following statements, the non-Latino group's mean was in the neutral range, whereas the group of respondents who considered themselves to be members of a Latino ethnic group had averages in the high neutral to mid-agreement range:

¹⁰Shaded cells in all tables indicate statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences in mean scores, established by 2-tailed t-tests.

- (1) It is appropriate for a non-native speaker of Spanish who is Latino to use Spanish in public appearances.
- (3) A politician who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.
- (5) An entertainer who is Latino should use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience.
- (9) Latinos who do not speak Spanish should learn Spanish.
- (12) My ethnic group membership is a very important part of who I am.

| ITEM | RESPONDENT GROUP | | | | | | | | TOTALS | |
|------|------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|--------|------|
| | I.F | I.M | I.1st | I.2nd | I.3rd | I.E | I.S | I.S/E | I.T | II.T |
| 1 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 3.3 |
| 2 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.3 |
| 3 | 4.5 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 3.8 |
| 4 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.4 |
| 5 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.1 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 3.8 |
| 6 | 2.4 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.5 |
| 7* | 2.3 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| 8 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.5 | 3.7 |
| 9 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.3 |
| 10 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.3 |
| 11 | 4.8 | 4.7 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.8 | 4.5 |
| 12 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 3.1 |

Shaded cells = $p < .05$, 2-tailed *t*-tests

*Difference is significant between I.1st and I.2nd and between I.1st and I.3rd; not significant between I.2nd and I.3rd.

I.F = Female ($n = 117$)

I.M = Male ($n = 36$)

I.1st = First generation ($n = 42$)

I.2nd = Second generation ($n = 90$)

I.3rd = Third generation (or beyond) ($n = 21$)

I.E = Most proficient in English for speaking ($n = 49$)

I.S = Most proficient in Spanish for speaking ($n = 20$)

I.S/E = Equally proficient in English and Spanish for speaking ($n = 84$)

I.T = Total of Group I: Members of a Latino ethnic group ($n = 153$)

II.T = Total of Group II: Not members of a Latino ethnic group ($n = 24$)

TABLE 2. Mean Scores (Group I Subsets, Group I Total, and Group II)

Response clusters also failed to yield dramatic differences. Three clusters were tested, and the results are shown in Table 3. Cluster One consists of the average of the sum of the ratings for statements 1, 3, 5 and 9 on Part Two of the questionnaire. A high score, on a scale of one to five, indicates a positive attitude toward the public use of Spanish by Latinos as well as agreement that this is an obliga-

tion for members of that ethnic group. Cluster Two consists of items 2, 4, 6, and 7 with the responses reversed, along with items 8 and 10. A high score on this cluster reflects a positive attitude toward the public use of Spanish by non-Latinos, as well as agreement that non-Latinos should learn Spanish. Cluster Three consists of the same statements as in Cluster Two, this time with the response values reversed for statements 8 and 10 only. A high score on Cluster Three indicates disapproval of the public use of Spanish by non-Latinos and disagreement with the assertion that non-Latinos should learn Spanish.

Reported ethnic group membership once again proved statistically significant, as could be predicted from scores on individual statements noted above. The group of respondents not considering themselves to be members of a Latino ethnic group (Group II) had a lower total score (II.T) on Cluster One, as highlighted in Table 3.

| CLUSTER | RESPONDENT GROUP | | | | | | | | TOTALS | |
|---------|------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|--------|------|
| | I.F | I.M | I.1st | I.2nd | I.3rd | I.E | I.S | I.S/E | I.T | II.T |
| One | 4.1 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 4.2 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 4.1 | 3.6 |
| Two | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| Three | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 |

Shaded cells = p < .05, 2-tailed t-tests

I.F = Female (n = 117)

I.M = Male (n = 36)

I.1st = First generation (n = 42)

I.2nd = Second generation (n = 90)

I.3rd = Third generation (or beyond) (n = 21)

I.E = Most proficient in English for speaking (n = 49)

I.S = Most proficient in Spanish for speaking (n = 20)

I.S/E = Equally proficient in English and Spanish for speaking (n = 84)

I.T = Total of Group I: Members of a Latino ethnic group (n = 153)

II.T = Total of Group II: Not members of a Latino ethnic group (n = 24)

TABLE 3. *Clustered-Item Mean Scores for Group I Subsets, Group I Total, and Group II*

We now turn to Part Three of the questionnaire, in which eight items tested instrumental and integrative motivation for respondents' interest in Spanish-language maintenance. As shown in Tables 4 and 5, some correlations did emerge between ethnicity and instrumental and integrative motives for learning and maintaining Spanish. Non-Latino respondents' mean scores are significantly lower on two of the integrative items, which ask respondents to indicate their agreement with the statements that 'Spanish is important to me because... It enables me to talk to family members in Spanish' (item 5) and 'It enables me to know my culture better' (item 8). The overall integrative score is significantly higher for the Latino respondents than for non-Latino respondents; this same score is also significantly higher than the Latino respondents' overall instrumental score. In con-

| ITEM | RESPONSE FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE (Scale of 1-5 'Strongly Disagree' to 'Strongly Agree') | | | | | MEAN FREQUENCIES | |
|------|---|----|----|----|-----|---------------------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | I.T | II.T |
| 1 | 1 | 8 | 32 | 65 | 47 | 4.0 | 4.1 |
| 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 63 | 78 | 4.4 | 4.1 |
| 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 59 | 87 | 4.5 | 4.3 |
| 4 | 9 | 18 | 22 | 55 | 49 | 3.8 | 3.7 |
| 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 40 | 106 | 4.6 | 3.2 |
| 6 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 52 | 88 | 4.4 | 4.2 |
| 7 | 5 | 11 | 40 | 36 | 61 | 3.9 | 3.5 |
| 8 | 4 | 4 | 13 | 34 | 98 | 4.4 | 3.1 |

Shaded cells = $p < .05$, 2-tailed *t*-tests

TABLE 4. All Responses, Group I;
Comparison with Mean Scores from Group II

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| I. Instrumental 4.1 | I. Integrative 4.3 |
| II. Instrumental 4.0 | II. Integrative 3.5 |
| I. Instrumental 4.1 | II. Instrumental 4.0 |
| I. Integrative 4.3 | II. Integrative 3.5 |

Shaded cells = $p < .05$, 2-tailed *t*-tests

TABLE 5. Comparison of Instrumental and
Integrative Mean Scores for Groups I and II

trast, the non-Latino group's overall instrumental score is significantly higher than its integrative score. There is no significant difference between the two groups in overall instrumental scores (as shown by the non-shaded area of Table 5).

9. STUDY LIMITATIONS. The dependent variables in this study were: (a) attitudes toward the public use of Spanish by Latinos, non-Latinos, native speakers and non-native speakers, (b) importance of Spanish-speaking ability to self-identity, (c) importance of ethnic-group membership to self-identity, and (d) instrumental and integrative motives for Spanish language maintenance.

The independent variables were (a) gender, (b) generation of immigration, (c) reported language of greater proficiency for speaking, and (d) reported ethnic-group membership.

With a larger and more evenly distributed study population, additional variables could be incorporated to test their effects on attitudes expressed. These include population density, proximity to the Mexican border, and political party affiliation. Of particular interest would be a comparison between Southwestern

populations with those concentrated in the Northeast. The researcher is currently engaged in a study of language attitudes in New York City, involving direct observation of language choice in interethnic encounters between strangers.

10. RESPONDENTS' COMMENTS. On the final page of the questionnaire, respondents were invited to write comments about any of the items on the survey. Nearly a third provided comments, and some also wrote notes on other pages of the questionnaire. The content of their remarks can be grouped into six major themes.

10.1. COMMENTS ON THE USE OF SPANISH BY NON-LATINOS. The topic on which there was the largest number of comments was the use of Spanish by non-Latinos. Some respondents considered such usage to be unconditionally positive. Others emphasized the need for such speakers to show respect for their audience and to possess a high degree of fluency. This call for respect echoes Hill (1995:205-7), who cites a special register that she calls JUNK SPANISH, used by certain non-Latino public figures to give their speech a colloquial tone. According to Hill (1995), its effect depends on the listener's or reader's awareness of a negative stereotype of Spanish speakers in the United States. A well-known example is the phrase *hasta la vista*, which, like 'I'll be seeing you' in English, is a form of leave-taking that can imply a sincere hope to meet again. After its use in the film *Terminator II: Judgment Day*, however, it has been co-opted for use as an insult that expresses the exact opposite.

Mentions of fluency recall studies in which non-native speakers' fluency or lack thereof has been found to have a negative influence on their reception by native speakers. As Ludwig (1982:275) points out:

... comprehensibility and irritation are intricately linked. While a given error type may be more or less likely to cause irritation, this same error may not invariably interfere with comprehensibility in equal measure. But, in general, higher comprehensibility implies lower irritation.

Sample comments on the use of Spanish by non-Latinos are given in examples 1-9.

- (1) CAm.16¹¹
I think that is great that other people non-Latino are spending time trying to learn the language of Cervantes.
- (2) FLf.1
I think it is flattering when a non-native (non-Latino) speaks Spanish in front of an audience of 'only Spanish' speakers. It shows them the speaker is concerned about them even if they aren't the same.

¹¹Codes refer to sex and state of origin of the respondent; the number is arbitrary. For example, CAm.16 is a male from California. A code of 'E' refers to a respondent from Group II, that is, respondents excluded from Group I, for which self-identification with a Latino ethnic group was the criterion.

- (3) Ef.24(CA)
I love the Spanish language and I think anyone should be allowed to speak it as long as they do so respectfully.
- (4) Ef.7(CA)
My only comments are about the questions where you ask if it is appropriate for non-native speakers of Spanish to use Spanish in public appearances or when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience. I agree with that *only* if the person is respecting the people and the usage of their language and culture. The same opinion goes for the non-Latino musicians who record albums in Spanish. As long as there is respect for other people's cultures and languages, it shouldn't really matter what language you are using.
- (5) Ef.3(CA)
I would like it if celebrities/public figures, native and non native speakers alike, worked on their accents before speaking Spanish in a speech, in music, etc. so that it seems a little less like they are pandering to a Latino audience, even though it is clear that they are sometimes. If they sounded as though they took the time to develop their speaking ability (accent, grammar, vocabulary) it would convey more of a sense of caring and concern.
- (6) Ef.4(CA)
I believe if a non-Latino is going to use Spanish when addressing a Spanish-speaking audience, he must use it respectfully. He must make an effort to learn the language, not just words here and there like "amigo" and "gracias". Otherwise, I don't think he should use Spanish.
- (7) CAf.6
I do not like Americans who think they can speak Spanish to speak Spanish to me because their tendency is to translate from English. This makes it grammatically incorrect and it bothers me to hear all the grammatical errors. I've always requested all materials to be in English for the same reason. The Spanish is terrible.
- (8) WIm.7
If you are *not* [double underscore] fluent in a second language, please [do] not even try!
- (9) CAf.27
Anyone who *fluently* [triple underscore] *speaks* [double underscore] Spanish should use it whenever.

10.2. THE USE OF SPANISH BY LATINOS. The use of Spanish by Latinos also drew comments. Themes included the use of Spanish in the presence of non-Spanish speakers, the relationship between Spanish-speaking ability and Latino ethnicity, and the duty of Latinos to use Spanish. These themes are exemplified by 10-13.

(10) NMf.4

My mother is of Hispanic origin and my father of Caucasian. In New Mexico I am called a coyote (a mix). Both cultures interact in my family. Mostly English is used because my father and brother don't speak Spanish. I don't speak Spanish, but I understand a lot. I think it is rude to use languages around those who don't understand it. Sometimes there are certain situations in which it is appropriate.

(11) CAf.81

I just believe that Hispanics should continue to enforce their native language and that if they speak Spanish and are with a group of Spanish speaking people they should speak Spanish and not try to neglect the language by saying that they don't understand or can't speak it when in fact one can tell that they are Hispanics. I also believe that public figures should address their public in Spanish when the public are Spanish speakers—if it's the case. Many times what happens they become so Americanized that many public figures or even people forget where they came from.

(12) CAf.87

Just because someone is Latino and does not know Spanish, does not make that person any less Latino and should not be required to know Spanish (as some people think).

(13) CAf.89

I think it's very important that Latinos know Spanish and even non-Latinos, because it teaches people about our culture. And Latinos are often forgotten, so we need a voice.

10.3. ETHNICITY. Ethnicity and ethnic category labels were the central theme of many respondents' comments.¹² Respondents took the opportunity to clarify their own ethnic identification and to express frustration with ethnic labels in current use, as shown in 14-18. The remarks of one respondent, Em.22(CA) (example 18), illustrate popular misconceptions about the distinction between ethnicity and race and the tendency to equate the two. On U.S. government forms, the only catego-

¹²Recall that no categories were included on the questionnaire; respondents wrote in what they considered to be their ethnic group. For a discussion of the history of labels used to categorize people by race and ethnicity, see Rodríguez (2000).

ries for 'Ethnicity' are 'Hispanic or Latino' and 'Not Hispanic or Latino', with instructions to 'Choose one response'. These are followed by five categories for 'Race'—'American Indian or Alaska Native', 'Asian', 'Black or African American', 'Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander', and 'White'—with instructions to 'Select one or more'.

(14) Ef.15(KS)

What exactly do you understand by 'LATINO'? Does it include French, Italians, Portuguese, Brazilians, and Rumanians since their native languages also come from LATIN?

(15) KSm.6

It can be hard to include yourself in an ethnic group. In my case, I'm from Spain. Does that make me Hispanic? Technically, yes. Does it make me 'white not of Hispanic origin' or 'white of Hispanic origin'? It all sounds very artificial and sometimes this kind of categorization is not even helpful.

(16) NMf.5

No soy Latina. Soy (coyotita) una palabra Nuevo Mexicana que describe las personas con sangre mexicana (1/2) y sangre anglo-sajona. La cultura es lo que hace la diferencia. Gracias a la cultura Nuevo Mexicana me identifico [más?] como Mexicana/Chicana/Coyotita que Anglo-Sajona.¹³

(17) Ef.10(CA)

It may be confusing that I'm white of European (mainly) origin, but I speak Spanish so much at home. That's because I'm married to a man from Mexico and we speak both languages pretty interchangeably at home.

(18) Em.22(CA)

I think the classification and qualification of 'Hispanics' or 'Latinos' as a race is absurd. If Argentina was switched geographically with Mexico, everyone here in California would have to carry papers on them at all times to distinguish Argentines from U.S. citizens. The border checkpoints down here in San Diego are pure racial profiling and it is hideous that we rely on such backwards methods such as racial profiling to 'protect our borders' in this day and age. I also don't consider an Argentine person or any person from Latin America that

¹³'I am not Latina. I am (coyotita) a New Mexican word that describes people with Mexican blood (1/2) and Anglo Saxon blood. Culture is what makes the difference. Thanks to the New Mexican culture, I identify [more?] as a Mexicana/Chicana/Coyotita than as an Anglo Saxon.' [My translation.]

may have the same racial roots as me i.e.: Swedish Scottish, German to be a different race because they live in Latin America and not North America. A white Argentine should not be grouped together with a mulatto or black Cuban or Dominican or Puerto Rican. The language one speaks has nothing to do with the race that they are,

10.4. THE USE OF SPANISH BY POLITICIANS. The use of Spanish by politicians was also specifically remarked upon (examples 19-22). This was a prominent topic in the questionnaire and a major impetus for the study, the focus of which was on the public use of Spanish. Again, the preference that speakers have at least some fluency is mentioned.

(19) CAf.20

It is bothersome to see politicians struggle with their Spanish, however I do understand that they are only trying to get an edge on their running mate. One must try a new medium to get ahead and it is understandable.

(20) CAf.80

If there is one thing that really bothers me, it's politicians of Latino descent who are ashamed of their background and do not learn Spanish. But, yet when it comes to gaining votes they attempt to conquer the Latino audience with minimal, incorrect, and ridiculous uses of the Spanish language in their public appearances.

(21) FLf.7

I feel very offended when non-native Spanish-speaking politicians speak in horrible unpracticed Spanish in hopes of attracting a larger Spanish speaking support. I think that it insults the intelligence of native Spanish speakers to be only spoken to in Spanish; just because they speak Spanish more fluently does not mean that they cannot comprehend a different language.

(22) CAf.7

If a person can speak Spanish, they should not be afraid to use it. It can only be beneficial for them. Since the majority of people in California are Mexican (Spanish-speaking) it would be extremely beneficial for a politician to know Spanish to gain support of the majority.

10.5. SPANISH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE. Spanish-language maintenance and the respondent's status and experiences as either a native or heritage speaker was also a major theme. Although one of the survey questions asked respondents to indicate which language they considered themselves to be most proficient in for speaking, listening, reading and writing, this was not a prominent topic in the survey itself. That respondents took the opportunity to comment on it indicates its im-

portance to the sample surveyed (which, recall, consisted primarily of students in Spanish for Native Speakers classes). Several comments on Spanish language maintenance are given in 23-33.

(23) CAf.20

I tend to use Spanish with people who can only express themselves in Spanish more than with people who are not fluent in Spanish. Native Spanish speakers tend to intimidate me. Only if I am comfortable with the relationship can I let my guard down. I feel most comfortable speaking with other bilingual students, friends, co-workers because we have the same hang-ups. I think that it is great to start off speaking in English and end up speaking in Spanish without a wink. If I lack a word in Spanish it is substituted with English.

(24) CAf.22

It is a shame to see or to know people that were brought up with the Spanish language and now seen it all disappear due to lack of practice and/or ignorance to the importance of it.

(25) CAf.33

Taking this class, Spanish for native speakers, as well as your questionnaire has made me realize how I'm slowly letting go of my Spanish. Both my parents speak Spanish and English, mostly they communicate to us (family) in Spanish, but somehow English has been the language I use to communicate, speak, as well as write. It's amazing to me that the language I knew as a child is not used in my daily life. It's a very sad thing really.

(26) CAf.42

I am a native born Spanish speaker. But, throughout the years of not practicing Spanish, I feel I am not at the level that I should be. I only talk Spanish to my parents, and at work when a Spanish speaker has a question. I regret that my parents never showed me how to read/write in Spanish when I was young. This is why I strongly encourage that there should be schools that have classes on how to read and write in Spanish.

(27) CAf.52

It was a difficult experience for me enter the university coming from a homogenous community of Latinos (mostly Mexicans and Mexican-Americans... some Central-Americans as well) not only the language differences, but also the ethnic differences; this was the first time I realized I really was a minority. I have to admit that Spanish is the dominant language in my family and with friends but not in the work-

place and university life. When people hear me speak Spanish I notice they give me disgruntled looks (especially if the person is non-Latino).

(28) CAF.98

I feel that second generation Hispanic/Latino children should be encouraged to learn Spanish proficiently.

(29) CAF.1

I didn't know how to answer how Spanish is important to me. I think it is because I'm a native Spanish speaker. Therefore, Spanish is inside me, it is part of me, in fact it is me. It is also not my choice. It just happened to be like that.

(30) CAF.3

I am Latina. My mom never spoke Spanish to us and I feel that that held us back from our roots. I always wanted to learn Spanish since I was a little girl and learned some from my friends' house. In high school is when I took my first class. I was determined to learn Spanish and decided to make it my major in college in order to do so. I can now understand it pretty well but I still feel nervous about speaking it because I need more oral practice. My friends that speak to me in Spanish probably wonder why I answer back in English but it's because I'm embarrassed to mess up. I am most comfortable in speaking Spanish to a native-Spanish speaker who can speak little or no English because they are more understanding and helpful to fix the phrases and mess-ups, and in order to communicate I can't resort to English. So I have to try harder. It is my goal to become completely fluent.

(31) CAm.4

I believe that learning another language such as Spanish is great. It breaks down racial/ language barriers and helps stop racism because you learn culture and history. My mom's first language was Spanish but back in the 60s the school called my grandparents and told them to stop speaking Spanish to my mom because she couldn't grasp English. Now 40 years later Spanish has been extinguished in my family. That is why I am ... taking Spanish classes. My goal is to learn Spanish and bring it back to my family. My kids *will* speak both English and Spanish.

(32) FLm.6

Spanish is a very beautiful language. Even though I live in the United States I'm trying my best to remain proficient in it, so that one day I can speak to my children (or even grandchildren) in my first true tongue.

(33) FLf.10

I live in Miami and it's mainly Hispanic. My friends who are of other ethnic groups have picked up some form of the Spanish language. I also know Hispanics who don't speak it at all. I feel Spanish is important to you if it is instilled at a young age by your family.

10.6. SPANISH LANGUAGE AND HISPANIC POPULATION GROWTH. The importance of the Spanish language in the context of Hispanic population growth was mentioned by several respondents; this is an issue that is recognized by Latinos and non-Latinos alike in the United States (see 34-39).

(34) CAf.52

For me my language is very important because without it how can I communicate with my family being first generation Americans as well as living in L.A. [Los Angeles] where Latinos are the largest growing ethnic minority.

(35) CAf.62

I think that people who work for communities with a great Spanish speaking population should learn Spanish in order to communicate better with the people in the community. For example, all those jobs that provide a service like policemen, doctors, nurses or firemen. It makes their job easier if they can communicate with each other.

(36) CAm.68

Living in a community in which 70% of the people are Hispanic, and middle class, it's very important to speak Spanish. In some cases there is no option, you must speak Spanish due to the fact that most of the population in my community don't speak English.

(37) CAf.74

The only comment I have is that to me, the Spanish language is very beautiful and important to this country because of the enormous and rapid growing Hispanic population.

(38) CAf.80

Learning Spanish is everyone's individual choice, but considering that Spanish has become a dominant language in our culture due to the increasing number of Latin American immigrants, there is a necessity and it is in everyone's best interest to learn Spanish.

(39) CAf.10

I think everyone should know some Spanish. It would be good to know all the languages but it's very important in the U.S. to know Spanish. Many advantages to it.

11. **IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.** One aim of this project was to provide insights into the attitudes of a rapidly growing population in the language classroom: native and heritage speakers of Spanish. Of particular interest is the finding that, while instrumental motives for knowing Spanish are significantly more important to non-Latino students and integrative motives are significantly more important to Latino students, both groups attribute nearly identical importance to instrumental motives. In other words, even though Latino respondents as a group assigned more importance to integrative motives, they also assigned high importance to instrumental motives.

The results of this study are also relevant to an understanding of the dynamics of interaction between native and heritage-speaker students and the so-called traditional foreign-language learner. For example, what effect could native-speakers' negative attitudes toward the use of their language by non-native speakers have on those learners with integrative motives?

Citing Genesee, Rogers, and Holobow (1983), Baker (1992:36) says

[The researchers] ... found that a student's expectation of motivational support from the target 'second language' group was a powerful predictor of second language proficiency.

... The integrative attitude must be viewed in a group and cultural context. Where a pupil is required or encouraged to learn a minority language (e.g. Welsh, Irish or Scottish Gaelic), cultural sanctions, perceived economic demands, religious affiliation and the target language group's expected reactions are all potentially important. That is, the presence of an integrative attitude may be kept latent if perceptions of reactions to the enactment of that attitude are negative. The best of intentions can be thwarted by the worst of conditions.

This investigation's findings indicate a more positive, or at least benign, attitude on the part of the target language group toward out-group members' use of their language than some publicly expressed attitudes indicate.

There are implications for the Spanish-language teaching profession in the area of sociolinguistic competence in multilingual settings. A question educators may want to address is that of out-group members' responsibilities in the use of an in-group language. As noted in respondents' comments, these include the importance of respect and a reasonable degree of fluency.

It is hoped that the data will also contribute to discussion of a larger issue: the criticism of non-native speakers' public use of Spanish in the United States as a form of cultural appropriation (cf. García 1993, Álvarez 1998, Arnold 2002) and what language educators' response to the matter should be. Little quantitative evidence was found of a belief on the part of native and heritage speakers of Spanish that non-native speakers who use Spanish are guilty of cultural appropriation (see Table 1, responses to item 7).

This study has afforded a glimpse of language attitudes among native and heri-

tage speakers of Spanish in the United States. More work remains to be done. A future investigation should try to reach a larger sample of the population with a more even geographic distribution, and it should include respondents of different ages and educational backgrounds. Interviews with selected respondents might provide additional insights into the complex relationship between language and ethnic identity as manifested in the interactions of English and Spanish and their speakers in the United States.

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