Spanish Language Shift in Chicago

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Abstract

Over 800 Latino high school and college students in Chicago, Illinois, reported via a written questionnaire that they used Spanish 75% of the time or more with their parents and other adults in the family. However, Spanish use with siblings, friends, cousins, and their own children averaged just 45% and was negatively correlated with length of residence in the U.S. This combined with overall low levels of daily Spanish use point to a language shift to English. The factors that appear to hold back a complete shift to English include positive attitudes toward Spanish, allegiance to Spanish-language music artists, reported high levels of Spanish proficiency, and the recontact opportunities offered by the influx of young Spanish-speaking immigrants to Chicago.*

Introduction

The Hispanic population in the U.S. grew 58% between 1990 and 2000, climbing from 22.4 million to 35.3 million (United States Census 2000). Since approximately 40% of this population was born in Latin America, the nation's increasing number of Latinos is due in part to new immigration from Spanish-speaking countries. However, members of the second and third generations constitute the other 60% of U.S. Latinos, and most of these individuals have learned English: Overall 51% of U.S. Hispanics claimed to speak English "very well." Given that high proficiency in English has been found to correlate to less extensive use of Spanish (Bills, Hudson &

Hernández-Chávez 2000) and the general tendency for heritage languages in the U.S. to cease being spoken by the third generation, continued examination of Spanish language maintenance is useful.

The majority of Spanish maintenance research in the United States has taken place in the Southwest, New York, and Miami. Floyd's (1985) review of eight Southwest language use surveys published between 1970 and 1984 found evidence of a process of language shift from Spanish to English, particularly among younger speakers. More recent studies in the Southwest have also found evidence of Spanish loss and shift to English (Rivera-Mills 2001; Bills, Hudson & Hernández-Chávez 2000; Bernal Enríquez 2000; Bills, Hernández-Chávez & Hudson 1995). Silva-Corvalán's (1996) data indicate that third generation Spanish speakers in Los Angeles have considerably reduced Spanish verbal systems, which undoubtedly has important effects on language transmission and change. Although Hidalgo (1993) concluded that among students in a Mexican border high school, "the values and functions of Spanish have not been dislocated but have only been minimized" (65-66), the majority of evidence from the Southwest points to language shift to English.

New York and Miami have also seen a good deal of Spanish maintenance research. Among Puerto Ricans in New York City, Zentella (1997) and Pedraza (1985) found a definite shift to English, but one that was accompanied by domains in which Spanish was preferred (such as childrearing), a high degree of loyalty to Spanish, and a concept of Latino identity that did not require Spanish proficiency. García et. al. (1988) found that Dominicans in two New York neighborhoods reported using significant amounts of Spanish (between 84-98%) with siblings and parents, and only slightly less (between 66-72%) with children and friends. The middle-class group used more English in public than the working-class group, which the authors attributed to the need for linguistic minorities to "respond to the language surround in which they are immersed" (1988:508), including the fact that that speakers of stigmatized varieties of Spanish may prefer to

abandon Spanish in favor of English. Another sign of shift in that study was that Puerto Ricans and Cubans used considerably less Spanish with children and friends than with parents. However, publications about Spanish maintenance in New York appear slightly more optimistic than those in the Southwest, probably due to the recency of Hispanic immigration on the East coast.

In Miami, Lynch's (2000) observations that Spanish use is robust among Cuban-Americans are countered by evidence that English is replacing Spanish to a significant degree (García & Díaz 1992; Portes & Schauffler 1996; Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993). Contrary to the correlation between higher social class and English use found by García et. al. (1988) in New York, Lambert and Taylor (1996) found that middle-class Cubans maintain Spanish to a greater degree than working-class Cubans, who were shifting to English in an attempt to gain economic stability. Portes & Schauffler (1996) found that higher socioeconomic levels in Miami correlated in some ways with Spanish retention and in other ways with a shift to English. They also found that "even among youths educated in bilingual schools at the core of an ethnic enclave, linguistic assimilation is proceeding with remarkable speed" (21-22) and that:

> Even highly educated immigrant parents do not stand much of a chance of transmitting their language to their children. Their hopes of communicating with their children and grandchildren in their native language likely will be disappointed. … Only where immigrant groups concentrate physically, thus sustaining an economic and cultural presence… will their languages survive past the first generation. In the absence of policies promoting bilingualism, even these enclaves will be engulfed… in the course of 2-3 generations (p. 28).

Similarly, García & Otheguy (1988) claim that in Cuban-American communities, only demographic growth appears favorable to Spanish maintenance, while sociocultural, economic, ideological, and political factors are leading to a shift to English.

Discrepancies in language use findings point to the impossibility of assigning either/or values to a phenomenon as complex as language shift. They may also reflect methodological

differences. For example, studies that interpret census data may be problematic because when respondents claim to "speak Spanish in the home," there are no details on the quantity of that Spanish use. Self-reports specifically designed for language research may be reliable indicators of bilingual usage (Fishman et. al. 1971) and may lead to more accurate interpretations than census data, but they will not produce infallible results in a given community or across communities. Interviews and long-term ethnographic observation (e.g. Zentella 1997) are likely to provide more reliable measures of language shift, although they are more time-consuming, tend to use smaller sample sizes, and are not free from some degree of researcher bias.

The Midwest is home to only 9% of U.S. Latinos. However, the 81% growth of the Latino population in the Midwest between 1990 and 2000 (Center for Family and Demographic Research 2002) was the largest reported for all United States geographic areas. There had been several studies of Spanish use in the Midwest previous to this growth period. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, second generation respondents reported much less Spanish use than first generation respondents, although second and third generation Mexicans' Spanish language and cultural values were being revitalized by the influx of recent arrivals (Cisneros & Leone 1983). Wherrit & González (1990) examined Spanish use in a small Iowa town, where respondents reported 90% Spanish use with their parents, under 80% with siblings, and 60% with their children.

Closer to Chicago, the largest urban center of the Midwest, Attinasi (1985) compared self-reports of language use and attitudes of Latinos in Northwest Indiana (immediately outside of the metropolitan Chicago area) and in New York. He found evidence of "a stage of bilingualism with greater fluency in English" (1985:54) that included very positive attitudes toward bilingual education and cultural allegiance to the Spanish language. However, shift to English was further along in Northwest Indiana than in New York, and the low Spanish use and proficiency reported in

Northwest Indiana led the author to conclude that it was unlikely that Spanish would be transmitted to future generations.

The present study seeks to fill a gap in sociolinguistic research by examining Spanish use in Chicago, Illinois, where the census-reported Latino population grew 38.1% between 1990 and 2000 (U.S. Census 2000).

Spanish-Speaking Chicago

Chicago's 753,644 Hispanics constitute just 26% of city's population, but make it the third largest Hispanic city in the United States (U.S. Census 2000). The two largest Latino groups are Mexican (70%) and Puerto Rican (15%), forming the second largest U.S. Mexican population after Los Angeles and the second largest Puerto Rican population after New York City (U.S. Census 2000)[1]. Mexican immigrants began arriving to Chicago in the early 20th century to work in the steel, meatpacking, and railroad industries, and World War I saw the influx of large numbers of Mexican workers under the *bracero* program (Casuso & Camacho 1995). Puerto Rican immigration to Chicago, as to many other U.S. locations, began in the late 1940s, also linked to the steel industry and other blue-collar work, and was heavily encouraged by the Migration Division Office (G. Pérez 2001). According to G. Pérez (2001), Chicago is the only place where large numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans of several generations live together, work together, and marry each other[2]. Approximately 52% of the 1990 Census-reported Mexican population in Chicago was born abroad, while 43% of Chicago's Puerto Ricans were born in Puerto Rico (U.S. Census 1990).

Chicago's 77 residential communities are notoriously segregated – 22 of them are over 90% African-American – yet no Chicago neighborhood reports a reported Hispanic population of over 90%. Chicago's five most concentrated Latino neighborhoods are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1, Chicago's Six Largest Hispanic Communities

Geographical Area	Latino Population	% MX and PR , 2000	% MX and PR, 1990
Lower West Side ("Pilsen")	89% (44,031)	92% MX 2% PR	95% MX 3% PR
Hermosa	84% (22,574)	50% MX 37% PR	35% MX 54% PR
South Lawndale ("La Villita")	83% (75,613)	92% MX 2% PR	93% MX 4% PR
Logan Square	65% (53,833)	50% MX 35% PR	40% MX 48% PR
Humboldt Park	48% (31,607)	51% MX 37% PR	38% MX 55% PR
West Town	47% (40,966)	53% MX 36% PR	52% MX 42% PR

Source:Census 2000 and 1990

However, there is likely considerable undercounting of undocumented individuals in official Census reports – Lowell & Suro (2002) reported that there are 4.5 million undocumented Mexicans in the U.S.– particularly in the Lower West Side and South Lawndale, which are two long-standing Mexican ports of entry to Chicago. These areas probably have higher percentages of Hispanic residents than those reported in Table 1. For example, one high school in this study has a Hispanic student population of 97.5%, most of which is Mexican. The communities of Humboldt Park, Hermosa, and Logan Square, whose Latino populations used to be at least 50% Puerto Rican, have seen an influx of Mexicans in the past decade. In total, almost 15% of Chicago's 77 residential communities have Latino populations of 50% or greater. Several suburban areas outlying Chicago also have considerable Hispanic populations, such as Cicero (77%), Carperntersville (41%), Berwyn (38%), and Elgin (34%).

By several accounts, Chicago's Latino population is unlike the predominantly middle-class and professional Cuban population described by Zurer Pearson & McGee (1993) and Lynch (2000). Of census-counted Chicago Hispanics, 25% live in poverty (although this is below the national Hispanic average of 31%), 36% hold laborer and fabricator occupations, almost one third do not have health insurance, and just 7% hold a bachelor's degree (U.S. Census, 1990). Mexican males are highly visible in the city's restaurant industry as kitchen help and busboys. On the other hand, Chicago has a number of Latino professional organizations and in 2003 there were many Hispanic elected and appointed officials including one U.S. Congressman, several state officials, eight city aldermen, and a Board of Education member. It is worth noting that businesses along 26th Street in *La Villita* (South Lawndale) produced more tax revenue than any other retail strip in Chicago except the upscale Michigan Avenue Mile (Robinson 1998).

Spanish does have considerable visibility and commercial support in Chicago. One can be attended to in Spanish over the telephone and in person for many basic services including the Department of Motor Vehicles, police, hospitals, utility companies, banks, fast-food restaurants, supermarkets, many libraries, and both airports, either because Spanish service is officially offered by the organization or because it employs individuals who are Spanish-speakers. Spanish is also widely present in media and the arts. There are three widely circulating Spanish-medium weekly newspapers in Chicago: *Éxito*, a free publication by the *Chicago Tribune* (circulation over 87,500), *La Raza* (circulation 150,000) and *Hoy*. Inserted into these newspapers are Spanish-language ads for large department stores and supermarkets, and many billboards along the city's streets are in Spanish. There are also numerous smaller newspapers produced written totally in Spanish or bilingually, and several Chicago communities produce telephone directories in Spanish. National bookstore chains carry Spanish- language books, and many large supermarket chains carry tabloids, *People* magazine, and greeting cards in Spanish. There are three free-access Spanish-language

television channels and nine radio stations in Spanish. The International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago hosts the annual Latino Film Festival, and Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood is home to the largest Latino art institution in the U.S.

Although Spanish-speakers in Chicago may in fact be able to "…go through life without having to speak English at all" (Morgan 1985, quoting former Miami mayor Ferré), 46.4% of Chicago Latinos who reported speaking Spanish in the home said they spoke English "very well," while only 10% said "not at all" (U.S. Census 2000). Lack of English proficiency in Chicago almost certainly excludes individuals from higher-level jobs.

Surprisingly, there have been few publications examining Spanish use and maintenance in Chicago. MacGregor-Mendoza (1999) studied the self-report data of 262 Chicago Mexicans who were high school students, college students, or high school dropouts. She found that high school students reported using Spanish exclusively for almost 30% of their conversations, while college students and high school dropouts reported using more English. However, with increased academic levels, respondents showed greater willingness to incorporate Spanish in a wider variety of contexts and displayed greater loyalty to Spanish, although loyalty to English was also high, particularly among the dropouts. In addition, Spanish held both affective and instrumental value for the students, which the author claimed was contrary to many Southwestern populations that do not attribute instrumental value to Spanish. In addition to her primary conclusion that Spanish proficiency did not hinder academic achievement, MacGregor-Mendoza (1999) found that Midwestern Mexican youth prefer to use both languages rather than favor one over the other.

Chicago was one of the ten U.S. cities in which Ramírez (1991) distributed language use questionnaires. Chicago adolescents reported higher levels of Spanish use with parents, with school friends, and during recreational activities than adolescents in the other nine cities in that study. They were also within the top three groups for Spanish use with grandparents, siblings, in the

neighborhood, and at church. In addition, the Chicago group reported the highest levels of Spanish television, radio, and newspaper consumption. Attempting to explain these findings, Ramírez (1991) noted that the Chicago group had been in the U.S. for an average of only 3.56 years and had received on average 6.92 years of schooling in Spanish, while the San Antonio, Texas and the Carson, California groups had been in the U.S. for an average of 15 years and had received approximately 2.5 years of schooling in Spanish (time in the U.S. and number of years of schooling in Spanish was not reported for the other seven cities). Despite the optimistic Chicago data and the positive attitudes toward Spanish expressed in all ten cities, the author concluded that in these cities, Spanish was used primarily for talking with parents and grandparents, and that Hispanic youth consume media mostly in English.

Several other studies related to Spanish use have been carried out with individuals from Chicago. Elías-Olivares et. al. (n.d.) measured the use of the subjunctive through semi-directed conversation and a sentence completion test among 47 adult respondents in the Mexican neighborhood of *La Villita*. They concluded that the high use of the subjunctive offered an optimistic outlook for Spanish maintenance in the area (n.d.:9). Montrul (2002) examined the production and interpretation of the preterit and imperfect tenses of 31 bilingual college students from the Chicago area. She found that those who had begun learning English before the age of three performed less accurately than later-onset bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals, suggesting incomplete acquisition of the Spanish tense and aspect system. Farr (forthcoming) gathers work on Spanish language and literacy as they relate to identity issues of Chicago Latinos.

Chicago's large number of Hispanics, the fact this population includes approximately equal numbers of residents born in Latin America (41.4%) and born in the U.S. (Census Supplementary Report 2001), and its Pan-Latino heterogeneity all point to a pressing need to explore language practices of Spanish-speaking communities in the city.

Methodology

Self-report questionnaires have been widely used to study U.S. Spanish (cf. Amastae 1982; Aguirre 1982; Floyd 1982; García et. al. 1988; González and Wherritt 1990; García & Díaz 1992; Hidalgo 1993; Ramírez 1991; Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993; Lambert & Taylor 1996) because they provide a manageable means of determining individuals' perceptions about the amount of Spanish and English they speak and hear in their daily lives. Many of these questionnaires have asked respondents to indicate their language use with given interlocutors by selecting from options such as "All Spanish," "Both languages" and "All English". The question format used in the present study most closely approximates that used by Zurer Pearson & McGee (1993), who asked junior high school students to indicate whether their Spanish use to and from their parents, with siblings, and with friends was "always, 80%, 50%, a few words" or "never."

Instead of asking students to select form predetermined categories, we asked them to write the actual percent of Spanish and English they used with different individuals. In addition, to better understand home language use, we asked students to list the people that lived in the home with them and then report their language use with these people. This approach allowed us to avoid making assumptions about who lived in students' homes. I was present at almost all questionnaire administrations in order to facilitate its completion.

Self-reports of language use, particularly those obtained through written questionnaires, have limitations. First, respondents may not fully understand the instructions. In fact, several questionnaires had to be discarded because students indicated that they used "70% Spanish and 70% English" with a single person. Second, respondents may respond in ways they think will please or annoy the researcher. Third, people may be unable to accurately estimate their language use quantitatively. Even experienced bilingual researchers may struggle to estimate percentages of their

own language use with different people, so there is no reason to assume that students' accounts will be totally accurate. Fourth, it is difficult to account for codeswitching behavior. Finally, asking people the overall percent of time they use Spanish with a given person does not allow them to take into account different contexts in which language use can vary widely, such as the home, the mall, or at church[3].

Despite their limitations, self-reports of language use can be of considerable value. If a person reports hearing 100% Spanish from her father yet responding to him in Spanish 80% of the time, we can conclude with some certainty that she uses slightly less Spanish with him than he uses with her. And when she reports that her Spanish use with friends is just 20%, we have good reason to believe that her peer group language use takes place mostly in English.

The Respondents

A total of 815 Chicago students (457 female and 358 male[4]) completed the questionnaire. 669 respondents were students at eleven different high schools, and 146 respondents were students at two local colleges. Table 2 displays information about these thirteen schools.

Table 2, Schools of Respondents

High School	N =	Recent arrivals (<3 years)	Location in city	% Students Hispanic*	% LEP*	% Low income*
# 1	78	5 (6%)	Central	81.5%	9.4%	86.4%
# 2	34	6 (18%)	South	53.0%	5.9%	80.6%
# 3	114	17 (15%)	South	97.5%	14.7%	90.2%
# 4	113	10 (9%)	South	88.4%	17.1%	88.3%
# 5	39	23 (59%)	South	42.3%	7.9%	74.3%
# 6	25	0 (0%)	North	40.6%	0.4%	58.8%
# 7	31	1 (3%)	North	18.6%	2.2%	55.6%
# 8	11	6 (55%)	West/Central	13.8%	1.7%	76.7%
# 9	82	0 (0%)	West/Central	44.6%	7.2%	86.0%
#10	78	47 (60%)	North	36.7%	21.3%	89.2%
#11	64	9 (14%)	North	32.4%	16.5%	89.9%
Total HS	N=669	124 (19%)	------	------	------	avg=79.6%
Chicago School District	426,273*	------	------	36.1%	14.3%	85.3%

College						
#12	20	------	South	38.0%	------	------
#13	126	------	Central	13.6%	------	------
Total College	146	------	------	------	------	------

*Source: 2002 Illinois School Report Card

The area covered by the Chicago Public School District was divided into four main quadrants: *north, south, west*, and *central*. The dividing lines were north of Fullerton Avenue, south of Roosevelt Avenue, and west of Kedzie Avenue. Schools located inside of these boundaries were labeled *central*. The various locations ensured that the sample came from different points in the city[5]. Comparing the data for these schools to the city average ("Chicago School District") shows that they represent fairly typical Chicago high school environments. Seven of the eleven schools have Hispanic populations slightly above or slightly below the citywide average of 36.1%, while four of them have student populations above 50% Hispanic (with three of these above 80%). School #5 and School #10 had relatively large numbers of recent arrivals that had been in the U.S. fewer than three years. Yet both of these schools, one in the South and the other in the North, have overall student populations of only around 40% Hispanic. These neighborhoods may be turning into new points of entry of Hispanic immigration to Chicago.

The U.S. Government label *LEP* refers to students with limited proficiency in English, which in Chicago refers mostly to Spanish-speakers but also a number of other languages including Polish, Hindi-Urdu, and Vietnamese, which contribute to School #10's high LEP population. Students labeled *low income* by the Chicago Public Schools come from families receiving public aid, who live in foster homes, or who are eligible to receive free or reduced-price lunch. It is reasonable to assume that the sample of students from each school contains a percent of low-income students that is at least equal to the low-income population at the entire school. By this measure, an average of 79.6% of the students sampled come from low-income households.

Less information is available for postsecondary institutions. The two colleges in this study are both public, one a community college and the other a research university. It was not possible to locate Hispanic enrollment data for all colleges and universities in Chicago, but School #12 is 38% Hispanic and School #13 is 13% Hispanic.

All respondents were enrolled in Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) courses in order to fulfill their foreign language requirement. This may skew the sample since these students may spend a greater portion of the day using Spanish than their counterparts not enrolled in SNS courses. We could not locate data on the percentage of Chicago Public Schools Hispanic students enrolled in foreign language courses, but of those who do enroll in Spanish courses, 75% take specialized SNS courses instead of Spanish as a foreign language.

The self-report questionnaire

The questionnaire, written in both Spanish and English, contained a total of 24 items about demographics, language use, and attitudes. Students indicated their age, gender, and number of years they have been in the United States and in Chicago. They reported the country in which their parents were born and the age at which their parents immigrated. For language use, students listed who lived in their home and then reported, on average, what percent of the time they spoke to and were spoken to in Spanish and English with each person[6]. Students were then asked to report on their Spanish and English use with up to five family members outside of the household, with their best friend, and overall on an average day. Finally, they rated their own Spanish and English proficiency, indicated how often they read and listened to Spanish-language media, and wrote the names of their two favorite music groups. The questions that attempted to elicit students' attitudes toward Spanish included how important they though knowing Spanish was at school, in the neighborhood, at work, and with the family, and whether they thought their future children would know as much Spanish as they did.

The average age of the high school respondents was 16.3 years, college respondents averaged 21.3 years, and the average age of all 815 respondents was 17.3 years. It is important to study the language use patterns of individuals in this age group (cf. Galindo 1991; Ramírez 1991; Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993) in order to predict whether Spanish will be maintained in successive generations, particularly since many studies have shown that younger speakers use less Spanish than older ones. However, given that teenagers may underreport their current Spanish use (Lynch, personal communication 2003) and because their future Spanish use may be higher than what they themselves predict (Pedrasa et. al. 1980; Zentella 1997), we must interpret self-report data with caution.

Approximately half of the students surveyed were born in the U.S. and the other half were born abroad, reflecting the origins of Chicago Latinos generally. Of the students born in the U.S., over half of their mothers and/or fathers were born in Mexico, and of students born abroad, almost 90% were born in Mexico. This large percentage of Mexican respondents makes our sample less heterogeneous than the Latino population in Chicago. Interestingly, approximately equal numbers of students were born in Ecuador and Puerto Rico, although Ecuadorians totaled just 1.2% of the Chicago population in the 2000 Census. Table 3 displays information about the ages at which students born abroad arrived in the United States.

Table 3, Students' Age of Arrival

Age of arrival				
Before 3	**3-5**	**5-10**	**Over 10**	**Total**
12.6% (45)	8.7% (31)	19.3% (69)	59.4% (212)	100% (357)
7.1% (1)	7.1% (1)	14.3% (2)	71.4% (10)	100% (14)
30.8% (4)	15.4% (2)	38.5% (5)	15.4% (2)	100% (13)
8.7% (2)	21.7% (5)	30.4% (7)	39.1% (9)	100% (23)

Of Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Others, the majority arrived after ten years of age, but most Puerto Ricans arrived before the age of ten (and one third arrived before the age of three). Students who arrive after age ten probably have higher Spanish proficiency and use more Spanish than those who arrived before beginning school. Similarly, Casuso & Camacho (1995:352) suggest that most of the Puerto Rican population in Chicago is born in the U.S. and is assimilated to mainstream U.S. culture, while Mexicans are more oriented to Mexico and more Spanish-retentive. Since there were so few Puerto Rican and Ecuadorian respondents in our study, no calculations could be done according to students' country of origin, leaving an interesting area for future research.

Another way to examine the data in Table 3 is according to how long students have been in the U.S. (Table 4).

Table 4, Number of years in U.S. (Students Born Abroad)

Less than 3 years	3-8 years	8-12 years	Over 12 years	Total
28.7% (117)	35.1% (143)	15.5% (63)	20.6 (84)	100% (407)

Table 4 shows that the majority of the immigrants (28.7% + 31.5% = 63.8%) have been in the U.S. fewer than 8 years, indicating that Spanish in Chicago is bolstered by the arrival of young people from Latin America. In this paper we report language use according to the number of years that students have been in the U.S., so it is important to keep in mind that of all students who have been in the U.S. over twelve years, 17% (84) were born abroad and the other 83% were born in the U.S.

Table 5 presents the age at which U.S.-born students began learning English.

Table 5, Age At Which Students Born in the United States Began Learning English[8]

Began learning English…	Number of students	% of U.S.-born students
Before 3	152	37.4%
Between 3-5	126	30.8%
Between 5-10	88	21.7%
After 10	27	6.4%
No answer	15	3.7%
Total	408	100.0%

Of the students born in the U.S., 68% began learning English before five years of age, which is normally when children enter kindergarten. Zurer Pearson & McGee (1993) found that only 40% of the 110 surveyed Miami junior high school students had begun learning English before age 5, leading them to conclude that such students' homes were predominantly exclusive Spanish-speaking domains. In our study, almost 70% of U.S.-born Chicago Latinos learned English before age 5, with 37% reporting that they began learning English before age three, suggesting that they had learned it in the home. Therefore, among this population, there appears to be little evidence of a diglossic relationship in which Spanish is the only home language. However, it may also be true that more of the Chicago students attended English-speaking preschools than the Miami students. In either case, Bernal Enríquez (2000) argues that use of English in the home during the preschool years correlates to lower Spanish proficiency later in life (which is supported by Montrul 2002), making intergenerational Spanish transmission more difficult.

Findings

Table 6 presents findings of students' language use to and from their parents. Students reported fairly equal language use to and from their mothers and fathers, with slightly higher Spanish use from their mothers than from their fathers. Overall, students use Spanish 8.2% less often when speaking to their parents (74.8%) than their parents use when speaking to them (83.0), a

trend also found by Elías-Olivares et. al. (n.d.) in Chicago, Hidalgo (1993) and Amastae (1982) in the Southwest, and Zurer Pearson & McGee (1993) in Miami. This was true regardless of how long students have been living in the United States. The gap between parent and child Spanish use is greatest when children have been in the U.S. for more than 12 years; recall that in this study, 82.9% of all students who have been in the U.S. for over twelve years were in fact born here.

Table 6, Percent Spanish Use To and From Parents by Length of Residence in U.S.

Amount of time in US	To mother	From mother	To father	From father	To parents	From parents
Fewer than 3 years (N=127)	90.1	94.2	86.0	89.1	88.2	91.6
3-8 years (N=151)	87.6	93.0	85.3	89.3	86.5	91.3
8-12 years (N=66)	88.1	94.9	83.5	89.5	86.1	92.5
Over 12 years (N=471)	67.8	70.0	64.6	74.6	66.2	76.9
Average (N=815)	76.2	85.0	73.3	80.8	74.8	83.0

With Siblings

Table 7 displays students' reported language use with their parents, siblings[9], best friend, and overall. Students averaged 46% Spanish use with their siblings. Lower Spanish use with siblings than with parents was also found in the Southwest (Floyd, 1982; Amastae, 1982; Hidalgo, 1993), in Miami (Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993), in New York (in four of the groups studied in García et. al. 1988), and in the Midwest (González & Wherrit 1990; Elías-Olivares et. al. n.d.). But again, considerable differences in students' Spanish use with siblings were found for differing lengths of residence in the U.S., with longer residence correlating directly with less Spanish use. This appears to be another sign of language shift to English. Some students reported 80% or more Spanish use with one sibling and 30% or less with other siblings. One explanation for this variation in Spanish use among siblings is that respondents may use more Spanish with older siblings than

with younger ones (Garland Bills, personal communication, 2003). This pattern was found by Skrabanek (1970), although Aguirre (1982) and Ramírez (1991) did not find considerable differences between Spanish use to older and younger siblings. Students in the present study were not asked to indicate the ages of their siblings.

Table 7, Percent Spanish Use: Parents, Siblings, Best Friend, Overall[10]

Amount of time in U.S.	To parents		Siblings		Best Friend		Overall Daily Spanish Use	
	% N=	s.d.	% N=	s.d.	% N=	s.d.	% N=	s.d.
Less than 3 years	88.6 N=116	20.3	77.2 N=114	26.0	77.6 N=123	27.5	79.0 N=126	19.4
3-8 years	86.8 N=141	18.4	63.6 N=136	26.4	65.3 N=150	29.5	64.3 N=152	22.4
8-12 years	86.2 N=63	19.7	45.7 N=62	29.0	44. N=65	32.1	45.7 N=66	22.1
Over 12 years	65.5 N=444	32.2	30.0 N=400	25.9	29.2 N=467	27.1	37. N=469	20.3
Average	74.6 N=764	29.6	45.5 N=712	32.4	44.5 N=805	34.2	49.3 N=813	26.3
p value	<.001		<.001		<.001		<.001	

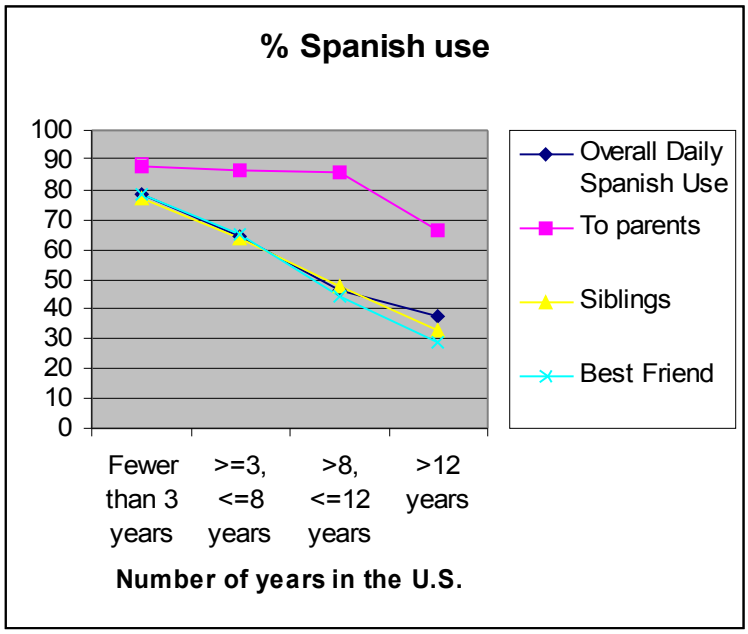
With Best Friend

Young people, particularly adolescents, spend a good deal of time with their friends, who may influence them as much or more than their parents do. As Table 7 indicates, language use with best friends, as with siblings, showed a steady decline according to the number of years students have been in the U.S. If we assume that students find their future mates from within their peergroup, these findings suggest that these students will use mostly English with their future mates, although they may begin using more Spanish once they have their own children (c.f. Zentella 1997).

Overall Spanish Use

Students' Spanish use with siblings and with their best friend, which decline the longer students have been in the U.S., stand in contrast to their Spanish use with their parents. This difference is not very large for students who have been in the U.S. for less than three years, but it increases dramatically to the point that students who have been here eight years or longer report using Spanish overall only half as often as they use Spanish with their parents. Students' overall daily Spanish use, therefore, depends significantly on their high Spanish use with their parents and other household adults. Their overall Spanish use very closely resembles their Spanish use with their best friend and with their siblings, suggesting that they spend most of their time speaking with these interlocutors. These findings also suggest that students who had been here fewer than three years at the time of this study will report much less Spanish use once they have been here over eight years. Figure 1 displays these findings visually.

Figure 1, Percent Overall Daily Spanish Use



With Children

Thirty-five respondents already had children. Their reported language use with their children is presented in Table 8.

Table 8, Percent Spanish Use with Children

Amount of time in US	To Children
Fewer than 3 years (N=1)	10.0
3-8 years (N=5)	81.0
8-12 years (N=3)	58.3
Over 12 years (N=26)	41.0
Average (N=35)	47.3

Apart from the sole respondent who has been in the U.S. for fewer than three years and who reported speaking to her child just 10% of the time in Spanish, the other three groups of students reported speaking less Spanish with their children the more time they have been in the U.S. Therefore, children of fairly recent arrivals may hear Spanish consistently during their youngest years, but their parents' Spanish use may decrease with time. For example, children of the students that have been here between three and eight years may indeed hear 81% Spanish from their parents, but their parents' Spanish use may drop to 41% once they have been here over twelve years. It would seem that such children would develop fairly complete Spanish systems, but the children born to immigrants who have been here over twelve years (or to individuals who were born in the U.S.) receive on average less than half of their parental input in Spanish and probably do not develop high levels of Spanish proficiency.

With Other Family Members

Since students were allowed to list up to eight members in their household, we were able to compile the language use data in Table 9. Across all categories of length of residence, Spanish use is reported to be 69.1% or higher with household adults (uncles, aunts, and grandparents). However, with cousins, who are probably close in age to the students, Spanish use was as low as with siblings and friends for respondents in the U.S. over 8 years. According to Hidalgo (1993:48), "…Spanish use in the household (between adults and children and between children themselves) is a moderate predictor of the language to be used by future generation speakers," and in Miami, L. Pérez (1996) found a direct correlation between living with a grandparent and immigrant youths' language proficiency. By this indication, there are signs of Spanish maintenance among this sample. However, students' lower Spanish use with siblings, cousins, and with their own children point to a shift to English.

Table 9, Percent Spanish Use with Other Family Members Living in Household

Amount of time in US	**Cousin N=125**		**Uncle N=96**		**Aunt N=75**		**Grand-mother N=58**		**Grand-father N=18**	
	To	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To	From
Fewer than 3 years	81.1	79.4	87.5	85.5	95.9	89.4	89.3	96.5	66.7	100
3-8 years	77.9	78.8	80.3	87.6	75.3	67.7	90.0	93.5	90.0	55.0
8-12 years	58.8	74.0	75.6	83.1	78.6	73.6	100	100	85.0	85.0
Over 12 years	49.5	50.9	71.6	76.0	69.1	76.0	88.4	89.9	76.0	75.0
Average	66.7	68.1	79.4	82.2	79.8	78.4	89.2	92.0	77.0	78.0

Students were asked to list up to five additional family members who did not live in their household and estimate how much Spanish they spoke with them. The most often-mentioned family members not living in the household were cousins, aunts and uncles, and grandparents.

There were negligible differences in language use with family members living in the home and with those living outside of the home.

Television Viewing, Newspaper Reading, and Music Preferences

Students were asked to indicate whether they watched Spanish television and read Spanish newspapers "every day," "once or twice a week," "very rarely" or "almost never." These categories are problematic because "Every day" can mean once a day for 20 minutes or once a day for two hours, but the question as formulated does provide a general sense of frequency of interaction with these media[11]. Many adolescents and young adults identify themselves strongly through their musical preferences, so students were also asked to list the names of their favorite music groups. The results are presented in Tables 10 through 12.

Table 10, Spanish-Language Television Viewing

Amount of time in U.S.	Almost Every Day	Once or twice a week	Very rarely	Never
Fewer than 3 years N=118	77.1% (91)	13.6% (16)	8.5% (10)	0.8% (1)
3-8 years N=148	75.7% (112)	17.7% (26)	6.1% (9)	0.7% (1)
8-12 years N=66	63.6% (42)	21.2% (14)	15.2% (10)	0% (0)
Over 12 years N=455	40.6% (191)	30.8% (140)	23.7% (108)	3.5% (16)
Total N=787*	100% (436)	100% (196)	100% (137)	100% (18)

**Note: Totals are lower than N=815 because not all students answered this question.*

The large majority of students reported watching Spanish-language television almost every day. There is a decrease in reported Spanish language television viewing as students have been in the U.S. for a longer time, but even 40% of the students who have been here over 12 years watch Spanish television broadcasting almost every day. Only 2.3% of all students reported never

watching it at all. This is unlike the findings of Zurer Pearson in Miami (1993) where 58% of junior high school students reported that they never watched television in Spanish.

Table 11, Spanish-Language Newspaper Reading

Amount of time in US	Almost every day	Once or twice a week	Very rarely	Never
Fewer than 3 years N= 116	9.5% (11)	26.7% (31)	40.5% (47)	23.3% (27)
3-8 years N= 148	10.8% (16)	27.7% (41)	45.3% (67)	16.2% (24)
8-12 years N= 65	7.7% (5)	30.8% (20)	33.8% (22)	27.8% (18)
Over 12 years N= 453	3.5% (16)	24.9% (113)	51.7% (234)	19.9% (90)
Total N=787	48	205	370	159

The majority of respondents read a Spanish-language paper rarely or never, although adolescents are not generally large consumers of newspapers in any language. Fairly equal numbers of students in each category of length of residence reported reading it once or twice a week. The three major Spanish-language newspapers in Chicago are published weekly, so few responses were expected in the "almost every day" category. Better results would likely be obtained by asking respondents about reading in general, instead of limiting the question to newspapers.

Students were asked to list their two favorite music artists or groups. The groups were coded as either "Both Spanish," "One Spanish and one English" or "Both English."[12] Results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12, Favorite Music Groups

Amount of time in US	Both Spanish	One Spanish, One English	Both English	Total*
Fewer than 3 years	62.0% (74)	20.8% (25)	17.5% (21)	100% (120)
3-8 years	65.1% (95)	21.9% (32)	13% (19)	100% (146)

8-12 years	41.5% (27)	29.2% (19)	29.2% (19)	100% (65)
Over 12 years	35.3% (158)	25.4% (114)	39.3% (176)	100% (448)

**Note: Totals are lower than N=815 because not all students answered this question.*

Students' favorite music groups did not show the same trend as their reported language use, where time in the U.S. was directly correlated with less Spanish use. Slightly over 60% of students who have been in the U.S. fewer than eight years reported that both of their favorite music groups sing in Spanish. Some of them reported that both of their favorite groups are English-medium, but even young people living in Spanish-speaking countries claim English-language groups as their favorite artists. Students in the U.S. over eight years had a more even distribution among "Both Spanish," "One Spanish, One English" and "Both English." Only students who have been here over twelve years reported more "Both English" favorites than the other two categories. However, over a third of this group (35.3%) reported that both of their favorite artists sing in Spanish, and another 25% said at least one of their favorite artists did. This indicates that even students who were born in the U.S. or have lived here most of their life listen to Spanish music, an activity that promotes cultural and linguistic connections to Spanish.

Language Attitudes

We attempted to understand more about students' attitudes about Spanish through questions about how important Spanish was in four different aspects of their lives: with family, in the neighborhood, at school, and at work. This set of questions was given to 450 of the 815 students. Findings are displayed in Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13, How important is Spanish at with your family and in the neighborhood?

I=Important, NVI=Not Very Important, NI=Not Important		
	With Family	**In Neighborhood**

	I	NVI	NI	I	NVI	NI
Fewer than 3 years N=80	92.5% (74)	6.3% (5)	1.3% (1)	70% (56)	28.8% (23)	1.3% (1)
3-8 years N=98	86.7% (85)	13.3% (13)	0% (0)	67.3% (66)	28.6% (28)	4.1% (4)
8-12 years N=34	94.1% (32)	5.9% (2)	0% (0)	47.1% (16)	52.9% (18)	0% (0)
Over 12 years N=238	82.8% (197)	15.5% (37)	1.7% (4)	41.6% (99)	51.3% (122)	7.1% (17)

Table 14, How important is Spanish at work and at school?

I=Important, NVI=Not Very Important, NI=Not Important						
	At Work			At School		
	I	NVI	NI	I	NVI	NI
Fewer than 3 years N=80	73.8% (59)	20% (16)	6.3% (5)	78.8% (63)	20% (16)	1.3% (1)
3-8 years N=98	73.5% (72)	23.5% (23)	3.1% (3)	71.4% (70)	24.5% (24)	4.1 (4)
8-12 years N=34	76.5% (26)	23.5% (8)	0% (0)	61.8% (21)	38.2% (13)	0% (0)
Over 12 years N=238	88.2% (210)	11.3% (27)	0.4% (1)	53.4% (127)	42.0% (100)	4.6% (11)

There were two categories in which students' length of residence in the U.S. did not affect their responses: with family and at work. The large majority of students feel that Spanish is "important" with their families; even of the 238 respondents who have been in the U.S. over twelve years, only four responded that it was "not important". At work, approximately three quarters of the students said that Spanish was important. Interestingly, the group with the largest percent responding "important" at work (88.2%) were those that have been here over twelve years. Since these students are already fluent in English, perhaps they feel more acutely the use for Spanish skills on the job. Students who have been in the U.S. fewer than twelve years are likely to be more focused on acquiring English in order to get a well-paying job.

As for the importance of Spanish in the neighborhood and at school, the longer students have been in the U.S., the less they rated Spanish as important in these two contexts. However, it was a pleasant surprise to find that half of the students who have been in the U.S. for over twelve years said that Spanish was important in school, which may be due in part to the fact that they were enrolled in Spanish for native speakers courses.

Another indicator of students' attitudes toward Spanish is whether they believe their own children will speak it. 544 students (67% of the entire sample) were asked, "Do you think your future children will know as much Spanish as you do?" and to explain their answer. Their answers were coded into one of four categories: *Yes, better than I do; Yes; I hope so/It depends*; and *No*. Results are reported in Table 15.

Table 15, "Do you think your future children will know as much Spanish as you do?"

	Better than I do	**Yes**	**I hope so/Depends**	**No**
Fewer than 3 years N=84	1 Row: 1.2% Column: 2.2%	64 **Row: 76.2%** Column: 16.8%	7 Row: 8.3% Column: 24.1%	12 Row: 14.3% Column: 13.8%
3-8 years N=110	4 Row: 3.6% Column: 8.7%	76 **Row: 69.1%** Column: 19.9%	7 Row: 6.4% Column: 24.1%	23 Row: 20.9% Column: 26.4%
8-12 years N=41	4 Row: 9.8% Column: 8.7%	32 **Row: 78.0%** Column: 8.4%	1 Row: 2.4% Column: 3.4%	4 Row: 9.8% Column: 4.6%
Over 12 years N=309	37 Row: 12.0% Column: 80.4%	210 **Row: 68.0%** Column: 55.0%	14 Row: 4.5% Column: 48.3%	48 Row: 15.5% Column: 55.2%
Total N=544	46 Row: **8.5%**	382 Row: **70.2%**	29 Row: **5.3%**	87 Row: **16.0%**

The majority of students (78.7% of the group who answered this question) claimed that their future children will know Spanish (70.2%) or will know it better than the respondents themselves (8.5%). Students within all four categories of length of residence gave "Yes" as their most frequent answer. Some of their explanations were related to heritage, such as "It is important that they learn about their roots," and "They should speak Spanish because we're from Mexico and one should

never forget where one comes from." Several students who had arrived within the last three years said that their children would have to know Spanish "or else they would be unable to communicate with me." Some students in the 8-12 year range, in addition to heritage-related reasons, gave more instrumental motivations for speaking Spanish to their children, such as "It is important in our society" and "It will help them in life." These responses suggest a desire to transmit Spanish to successive generations, but in order for students to carry through with these intentions, they must have enough commitment, Spanish proficiency, and support of their immediate community.

Almost half of those who responded "I hope so" or "It depends" were in the group of students who have been in the U.S. over twelve years, and the other half of these responses were evenly split between the two groups of more recent arrivals. These students did express a desire for their future children to know Spanish, but they were ambivalent about whether this would actually happen. They cited reasons such as "I hope they will know more than me, but if I don't learn Spanish then I doubt they will," and "It depends on who I marry."

Overall, only 16% of the respondents said that their future children will not know Spanish as well as they do. The group with the highest percentage of "No" answers (20.9%) were not the students who have been in the U.S. over twelve years, but rather those who have been here between three and eight years. Students from all four groups who answered "no" gave explanations such as, "I don't know Spanish well enough to teach it to my kid," "I use only English," "Each generation speaks less Spanish," and "In this country, English is more important." These young people seem destined not to transmit Spanish to their children, much as the majority of actual parents we saw in Table 9, where those in the U.S. over eight years averaged under 50% Spanish use with their children.

Students were asked to rate their own global Spanish and English proficiency as *excellent, very good, good, not very good*, or *bad* and indicated whether one was their stronger language or if

they were equally strong (Tables 16 and 17). Clearly this question did not allow students to reflect on their specific abilities in reading, writing, listening, and speaking in Spanish. For students in the U.S. over 8 years, there was no strong correlation between reported English proficiency and reported Spanish proficiency. That is, knowing more English did not necessarily correspond to knowing less Spanish, since 87.3% of respondents in the U.S. over 12 years said their Spanish was at least "good." This suggests that we cannot assume that use of or proficiency in English is not accompanied by use of and proficiency in Spanish. Given that respondents' educational level and socioeconomic status can influence their estimates of their own language proficiency (García et. al. 1988; MacGregor-Mendoza 1999), research that utilizes more objective measures of Spanish proficiency among U.S. Latinos and compares them to individuals' self-reports will make an important contribution to the field.

Table 16, Self-Reported Language Proficiency

	Spanish					English				
	Excel.	Very good	Good	Not v. good	Bad	Excel.	Very good	Good	Not v. good	Bad
Fewer than 3 years N= 119	30.3% (36)	12.6% (45)	21.8% (26)	8.4% (10)	1.7% (2)	4.2% (5)	5.9% (7)	17.6% (21)	57.1% (68)	15.1% (18)
3-8 years N= 151	31.1% (47)	36.4% (55)	29.1% (44)	2.6% (4)	0.7% (1)	4.6% (7)	15.9% (24)	43.7% (66)	28.5% (43)	7.3% (11)
8-12 years N= 66	21.2% (14)	42.4% (28)	34.8% (23)	1.5% (1)	0% (0)	15.2% (10)	43.9% (29)	34.8% (23)	6.1% (4)	0% (0)
Over 12 years N= 464	6.5% (30)	30.6% (142)	50.2% (233)	11.4% (53)	1.3% (6)	37.5% (174)	41.6% (193)	19.8% (92)	1.1% (5)	0% (0)
Total N= 800*	127	270	326	68	9	196	253	202	120	29

**Note: Total is lower than N=815 because not all students answered this question*

Table 17, Self-Reported Language Dominance

	English	Spanish	Equal
Fewer than 3 years N= 121	9.1% (11)	83.5% (101)	7.4% (9)
3-8 years N= 145	2.8% (4)	77.9% (113)	19.3% (28)
8-12 years	28.8%	31.8%	39.4%

N= 66	(19)	(21)	(26)
Over 12 years N= 465	61.3% (285)	8.2% (38)	30.5% (142)
Total N= 797*	319	273	205

**Note: Total is lower than N=815 because not all students answered this question*

As might be expected, the large majority of students in the U.S. under eight years reported that Spanish is their stronger language, while 61% of the students who have been in the U.S. over twelve years claim to be English dominant. However, 30% of the group in the U.S. over twelve years says their Spanish and English are equal, which is a sign of Spanish maintenance.

Travel to Spanish-speaking countries provides opportunities for students to further develop their Spanish proficiency. Table 18 displays how often these respondents traveled to the countries that their families were from.

Table 18, Frequency of travel to Spanish-speaking country

# of years in the U.S.	**2x per year**	**1x per year**	**Every 2 years**	**3 times or more**	**1-3 times**
12 or more (N=471)	0.8% (4)	13% (60)	8% (39)	39% (186)	21% (100)
Fewer than 12 (N=344)	3% (12)	4% (13)	1% (4)	7% (23)	63% (215)

Table 18 shows that of students who had been living in the U.S. for twelve years or more, fully 80% reported having visited a Spanish-speaking country at least once: slightly over 20% visit once or twice a year, almost 40% reported having visited anywhere from three to ten times during their lives, and 21% reported visiting one to three times. The length of these visits lasted from two weeks to three months, with an average length of visit of one month. The fact that approximately 40% of this group, whose average age was just 17.3 years, had spent a month in a Spanish-speaking country 3 or more times in their lives (and many of them had gone between 5 and 7 times) indicates

fairly frequent contact with monolingual varieties of Spanish, which likely has the effect of increasing students' proficiency and domains of use.

Students who had been living in the U.S. fewer than 12 years reported slightly less frequent visits, which may be due to the relative recency of their arrival. In order to take into account recency of arrival, students who reported never having visited a Spanish-speaking country were separated into those who had been in the U.S. fewer than 5 years and greater than five years. The majority of students who reported never having visited a Spanish-speaking country (145) had only recently immigrated from such a country within the past 5 years; only 75 students who had been here over 5 years (9% of the entire sample of respondents) reported never having made such a trip.

Generation

Thus far, the present study has reported language use according to the number of years that respondents have been in the U.S. However, two individuals who have been in the U.S. for 10 years may belong to different "generations," given that one may have arrived at the age of four (and belong to G2) and the other may have arrived at the age of fourteen (and belong to G1). In this section, we examine several aspects of reported language use according to students' generation. Following convention (Silva-Corvalán 1996), individuals who arrived after 11 years of age are "G1," those who were born in the U.S. to parents born abroad (or who were brought to the U.S. before five years of age) are "G2," and those born in the U.S. to at least one U.S.-born parent are "G3." The 145 students who had arrived to the U.S. between five and eleven years of age are called "G 1.5" [13]. Table 19 shows language use according to students' generation.

Table 19, Percent Spanish Use with Parents, Siblings, and Best Friend According to Generation

Generation	To	Siblings	Best

in US	Parents		Friend
G1 N=210	88.0	74.4	74.0
G 1.5 N=145	86.1	52.9	50.8
G2 N=394	72.7	36.6	32.0
G3 N=66	33.6	19.1	24.3

Examining reported language use by generation reveals a much steeper decline in Spanish use than by examining the number of years that students have been in the U.S. G3 students use only 33% Spanish when talking with parents, 19% with siblings, and 24% with their friends. This is much less Spanish use than that of students who have been in the U.S. over twelve years, who reported 66% with parents, 31% with siblings, and 29% with friends. Clearly the G3 subgroup of the "over twelve years" students use less Spanish than students who have been here over twelve years but whose parents were born abroad. Therefore, the shift to English that may be concluded from the data from the "over twelve years" group reported in previous sections is, in fact, even stronger for students of the third generation.

However, the marked difference in sibling Spanish use across generations stands in contrast to the Miami findings of Zurer Pearson & McGee (1993), who found that G1 students used Spanish with siblings at rates that approached the G3 rate (90% of G3 students reported using at least 50% English with their siblings). It is unclear why G3 students reported slightly greater Spanish use with their friends than with their siblings

Conclusions

The present study in Chicago, like many others in the United States, points to language shift among Latinos. The longer that respondents had been living in the U.S., the less Spanish they used with their siblings, friends, and overall. Despite positive attitudes and claims that

they would teach Spanish to their children, respondents reported low levels of Spanish use with their children, which does not bode well for intergenerational transmission of the language.

However, there are also several signs that Spanish will not be completely displaced. Students claimed high levels of Spanish proficiency and bilingualism, and Spanish use with their parents and other adults in the household was relatively high. Adolescents may use more Spanish as they enter adulthood and especially motherhood (Zentella 1997), although in this study respondents used English with children more than half of the time. Most importantly, unlike in Martineztown (Hudson-Edwards & Bills 1982), there is a sustaining effect of the continuing influx of young Spanish-speaking immigrants to Chicago, particularly visible in the large numbers of students at High Schools #5 and #10 who had arrived within the last three years. These students offer their U.S. born counterparts a situation of recontact with Spanish-dominant interlocutors. Students in this study also claimed allegiance to Spanish-language music artists.

Long-term ethnographic data and carefully designed Spanish proficiency tests are necessary to determine the true vitality of Spanish in Chicago or in any area; only then can we discern the degree of Spanish maintenance and shift and, in conjunction with community members, determine whether a program of language planning can be implemented successfully. Two potentially useful theoretical constructs that lend themselves to ethnographic exploration of language use patterns and reversal of language shift are the construction of identity and the sociology of immigration.

Personal and collective identities are intimately connected to language use. The concept of identity investments (Norton 2000) may prove to be more useful than previously utilized constructs of integrative and instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert 1972), which have not yielded clear results regarding language use. Norton (2000) posits that learners "invest" in a language when they feel they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources (such as friendship, education, and money) and access to things that were previously unavailable to them. Additionally,

they must see the return on their investment as worth the effort expended. Individuals' investments in using a given language can seem at times contradictory, depending on power relationships vis a vis particular interlocutors and the facets of their identity they wish to portray at a particular moment. The cultural and economic capital afforded by the English language in the U.S. is indisputable; researchers who explore Latinos' investments in Spanish (cf. Potowski 2004) may find insight into their language use patterns and paths toward encouraging Spanish maintenance. Researchers have already observed that speakers of a stigmatized variety of Spanish may shift more quickly to English to rid themselves of their low-prestige ways of speaking (García et. al. 1988).

In the U.S., the identity of many Latino groups has grown independent from the Spanish language. According to Fasold (1984), a successful language planning policy includes measures to influence people's self-identification so that the identity of the target language population becomes desirable. Yet is it feasible or desirable to encourage identification with Latin American countries of origin among youth born and raised in the United States? Spanish maintenance advocates run the risk of misplacing our good intentions if we do not understand the beliefs, aspirations, and attitudes toward Spanish of bilingual individuals and communities. One example of an attempt to influence Spanish use by addressing community values is the brochure developed by Zentella et. al. (1998), which addresses the concerns most frequently expressed by Spanish-speaking parents in the U.S. Another potential approach is through Spanish television programming. Ramírez (1991) underscores the importance of television in influencing adolescent attitudes about Spanish. Despite the high levels of Spanish television viewing reported by our Chicago sample, most *novelas* (soap operas) and other offerings in Spanish on public television stations may not be appealing to bilingual adolescents living in the U.S. Television programs in Spanish that target youth, such as South Florida's cable channel for children in Spanish, should be imported from Latin America and

developed by Spanish-speaking communities in the U.S., and their effects on language maintenance efforts studied empirically.

A second and related approach is to examine recent theoretical developments in the sociology of immigration. This field emphasizes the significance of social class, labor demands, networks, human capital, social proximity to hometowns, and the development of collective identity in the behavior of immigrant groups. It is generally assumed that newcomers from more advantaged educational and occupational backgrounds fare better in the US, but the utilization of their individual resources depends on whether the local social context permits them to do so. For example, professional Nicaraguan immigrants in Miami, lacking the legal status of their Cuban counterparts, find their human capital seriously devalued and face employment and educational barriers (Portes & Schauffler 1996). Contact with other ethnic groups can also influence immigrants as they shape their identities, either to distinguish themselves from the locals – for example, many first generation black West Indians differentiate themselves from African-Americans, but the second generation often yields to pressure from African-American peers to adopt their speech and behavior – or to try to fit in, as do many Central Americans in the Southwest who attempt to pass as Mexican-Americans in order to avoid deportation. These constructs will undoubtedly advance our understandings of community language practices, because "It is the character of the immigrant community – its internal diversity, history, and cohesiveness – that seems to hold the key to whether second generation children successfully combine two languages" (Portes & Schauffler 1996:25).

Finally, there are many lesser-studied Spanish-speaking areas of the U.S. that merit further research. Because over 90% of U.S. Latinos live in urban areas (Pew Hispanic Center 2002) and the fact that urbanization may play a role in language shift (cf. Skrabanek 1970; Thompson 1974), sociolinguistic research should continue in Los Angeles, New York, and Miami, and should

increase in cities like Chicago, Houston, San Francisco, Detroit, and Washington D.C., but Spanish-speaking communities in non-urban areas are also growing very quickly. From 1990 to 2000, the Hispanic population in North Carolina's grew an astounding 440%, followed by Georgia at 324% and Arkansas at 337%, yet we know relatively little about the Spanish-speaking communities in these areas. Oregon, Nevada, Missouri, and Connecticut are also under-researched regarding Spanish use, despite the fact that Hartford, Connecticut's 40% Latino population makes it the most concentrated Latino city in the East after Miami (von Zielbauer 2003). Given that bilingual communities and engage in complex linguistic practices that differ from one area to another and from one individual to another, language use surveys must be followed by ethnographic engagement and case studies in order to arrive at an accurate portrait of Spanish use in the U.S. and to guide us developing useful measures to encourage Spanish maintenance.

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Notes

[1] Other groups include Guatemalan (1.8%), Ecuadorian (1.2%) and Cuban (1.1%).
[2] See Rua (2002) on the cultural experiences of the children of these Mexican-Puerto Rican unions, an area which merits linguistic research.
[3]A pilot questionnaire attempted to elicit this kind of data by asking students to indicate under what circumstances they used each language with each person. The majority of responses were too general, such as "When I'm talking," indicating that students did not understand what was being asked of them. Since determining patterns of language choice was too complicated for a written questionnaire (c.f. Pedraza et. al. 1980), the question was eliminated.
[4] Gender was not correlated to reported Spanish use in this study.
[5] We do not report school locations according to the city areas listed in Table 1 in order to preserve the anonymity of the schools.
[6] It is possible to speak 100% in Spanish with a given individual, but only talk to that person very infrequently. We asked students to estimate how many hours per week they spoke with each person they listed, but these estimations did not appear to be reliable.
[7] Of the students who reported the Mexican states in which their parents were born, 21% were born in Michoacán, 14% in Guerrero, and 12% each in Guanajuato and Jalisco.
[8] Some students may not remember accurately the age at which they began learning English, which may explain some of the 26 students who say they were born in the United States but did not begin learning English until after the age of ten.
[9] There were almost no differences between reported language use "to" and "from" siblings, so we report language use as "with" siblings. The questionnaire used the term "with friends," assuming that friends use similar language patterns with each other.

[10] One-way ANOVAs conducted on the data in Table 7 revealed that all four groups were statistically different from each other ($p < 0.01$ for all): Parents = $F(3,760) = 39.038$; Siblings = $F(3, 708) = 124.258$; Friend = $F(3, 801) = 130.732$; Overall = $F(3, 809) = 168.415$. Additionally, a Pearson correlation showed that reported Spanish use was highly correlated across all interlocutors.
[11] The same problem can be attributed to language use self-reports of Spanish use such as the one used in Hidalgo (1993) with a five-item frequency scale including "every day, a few times per week, a few times per month, almost never, never," because an answer of "every day" can mean the respondent says just one sentence per day in Spanish.
[12] Artists who sing in both Spanish and English, such as Marc Anthony and Shakira, were coded half of the time as "Spanish" and half of the time as "English".
[13] Once such students reach adulthood, they may have spent enough of their formative years in the U.S. to be considered G2, but most of our respondents were still teenagers.