



Farah Ali
DePauw University

CODE-SWITCHING AMONG HERITAGE LEARNERS OF SPANISH: ATTITUDES, PRACTICES, AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Abstract:

Code-switching is perhaps one of the most salient linguistic practices among Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S., and therefore widely investigated. (Bailey, 2000; Kern, 2019; Lipski, 2014). While code-switching is typically associated with bilinguals who are highly proficient in two languages (Balukas & Koops, 2014; Benevento & Dietrich, 2015; Poplack, 1980; Rangel et al., 2015), it is crucial to also highlight the code-switching practices of bilinguals who may have unequal levels of proficiency in each language, such as in the case of some heritage language (HL) learners. The present study examines socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching among heritage learners of Spanish. Using data from questionnaires and interviews, this study looks at instances of and attitudes towards code-switching. Findings indicate that code-switching was generally viewed favorably among participants, and commonly practiced by most of the participants in a variety of social contexts. Interview data also suggests that code-switching serves various socio-pragmatic functions for participants. Given the double stigma attached to both code-switching (Rangel et al., 2015) and to Spanish in the U.S. (Showstack, 2012)—which often informs HL pedagogy—it is crucial to examine this linguistic practice in the context of HL learners in the U.S. in order to give code-switching a more prominent place and offer further legitimization of this practice, both in and outside the classroom.

Keywords: Code-switching ♦ bilingualism ♦ heritage Spanish speakers ♦ language attitudes ♦ linguistic identity

Introduction

Spanish is the most widely spoken language in the United States after English, and includes speakers of diverse backgrounds, including native, second, and heritage speakers of Spanish. Among the many linguistic features and practices that characterize these speakers, code-switching among Spanish-English bilinguals has remained a topic of interest in sociolinguistics. (Bailey, 2000; Kern, 2019; Lipski, 2014). However, code-switching is typically associated with high proficiency bilinguals (Balukas & Koops, 2014; Benevento & Dietrich, 2015; Poplack, 1980; Rangel et al., 2015), largely due to the view that this practice requires a high degree of linguistic competence in more than one language (Poplack, 1980). For heritage language (HL) learners, proficiency can vary greatly, ranging from minimal to full proficiency in Spanish. As such, less advanced bilinguals may codeswitch less and/or produce fewer syntactically complex switches if their abilities in their HL are not as advanced as those in their non-HL and they are compensating for limited productive skills. Nonetheless, it is critical to also highlight the linguistic practices of these speakers that make up a significant portion of the bilingual population in the U.S. Moreover, given the development of HL programs in many universities in the U.S, it is especially important to examine how these linguistic practices can inform HL pedagogy. The present study looks at socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching using mixed methods that showcases the individual profiles of Spanish-English bilingual speakers. Specifically, I use questionnaire and interview data from ten heritage Spanish speakers of varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds in order to examine their self-reports on code-switching practices and attitudes, the socio-pragmatic functions of their actual switches, and the possible implications that these findings have for heritage language pedagogy. Given the continued stigma attached to code-switching (Rangel et al., 2015) and the lower status assigned to Spanish in comparison to English in the U.S. (Showstack, 2012), it is crucial to examine this linguistic practice among HL learners in the U.S. in order to give code-switching a more prominent place and offer further legitimization of this practice. Furthermore, much of the existing research—including the present study—shows code-switching to be an important component of both the linguistic behavior and identity of many Latinx individuals, and, as such, forms an arguably critical component of developing HL pedagogies for Spanish speakers. This study is therefore relevant to both scholars interested in bilingualism in the United States and to educators interested in how code-switching can inform HL pedagogy.

Background

Spanish as a Heritage Language in the U.S.

Latinx communities account for a significant portion of the U.S. population as a whole and have maintained a growing presence over the years. Over 60 million people—or 18% of the population—identified as Latinx (United States Census Bureau, 2019). While many members of Latinx communities are monolingual speakers of Spanish or English, many more identify as bilingual in both languages. Furthermore, because many of these bilinguals are second- or even third-generation immigrants, the study of Spanish in an HL context is crucial to understanding how Latinx bilinguals in the U.S. use language to interact with identity. HL broadly refers to a minority language with which an individual holds a cultural connection (Fishman, 2001). While this definition does not necessitate that individuals have any degree of proficiency in the HL, the scope of the present study analyzes linguistic practices of HL learners of Spanish, and thus utilizes a narrower definition of HL speakers; specifically, “individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (Valdés, 2000, p. 381).

Investigating language use among HL speakers—particularly in the context of Spanish in the U.S.—has extended across linguistic disciplines. From an acquisition perspective, HL speakers have demonstrably different experiences from L1 and second language (L2) speakers (Fishman, 2006; Lynch, 2003; Montrul, 2006; Pascual y Cabo, 2018; Potowski et al., 2009; Rao & Ronquest, 2015; Valdés, 2005). These distinctive experiences may in turn inform HL pedagogy, whether as part of an L2 or separate HL program (Ali, 2021; Brinton et al., 2008; Helmer, 2011; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). From a sociolinguistic perspective, language use among HL speakers is often shaped by disparities in attitudes towards and valuation of Spanish and English, both within and outside Latinx communities. Historically, these disparities have been rooted in an essentialized connection between Spanish and Latinx identity, where proficiency in Spanish is often assumed of individuals who identify as Latinx (Showstack, 2018), along with ideologies about race and ethnicity. Specifically, Spanish may be devalued in comparison to English, but only with regard to Latinx Spanish speakers in the U.S., while “standard” Spanish as taught to and spoken by L2 speakers is often more positively evaluated (Burns, 2018; Pomerantz, 2002), thus perpetuating the ideology that U.S. Spanish is not a legitimate or valuable variety of Spanish (Torres et al., 2017). Additionally, these ideologies can be upheld by the racialization of Spanish. Rosa (2019) points out that Latinx identity is often associated with Spanish even in contexts where Latinxs use English in what may be otherwise perceived as an unmarked or monolingual style. In addition to language use, Leeman (2012) argues that Latinx identity has been discursively linked to linguistic proficiency to the extent that ‘Latinx’ as an identity marker is used almost interchangeably with the Spanish language. Leeman further indicates that negative iterations of Spanish use—such as mock

Spanish—discursively construct Spanish as the language of a “racialized underclass” (p. 48) within a predominantly white social space. Together, these stigmatizing ideologies contribute to negative associations with Spanish that shape Latinx identity construction (Showstack, 2018), as well as index whiteness as the unmarked, normative identity (Hill, 1999).

Beyond a broad devaluation of Spanish and Latinx Spanish-speakers, variation in Spanish often goes unrecognized in HL courses (Ducar, 2009; Burns, 2020), and various studies focusing on attitudes and ideologies illustrate that even specific varieties of Spanish—as well as their speakers—may also be targeted as less prestigious than other varieties. Particularly relevant to the setting of the present study is research that has focused on Spanish speakers in New York, which found that negative attitudes as well as linguistic insecurities are especially prevalent among Dominican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers (García et al., 1988; Zentella, 2002), and that Dominican Spanish is regarded as one of the most stigmatized dialects, both in the U.S. (Büdenbender, 2010) and in the Dominican Republic (Toribio, 2000). While this stigma can further contribute to linguistic insecurities when positioned alongside other varieties of Spanish that are perceived as more prestigious (Zentella, 2002), Dominican Spanish also appears to hold covert prestige as an identity marker (Toribio, 2000), and is often used as a way for Dominican Americans to differentiate themselves from African Americans (Bailey, 2000; Blake, 2016).

Code-switching

Bilingual linguistic behavior among HL speakers of Spanish can be characterized by various practices. This can include oscillating between Spanish and English in interactions with monolinguals via translating and interpreting. Often, this comes in the form of language brokering, where young bilinguals facilitate communication for monolingual adult family members. This practice has been shown to have mixed impacts on bilingual individuals: it can enhance academic performance (Dorner et al., 2007), assist in language maintenance (López et al., 2019), but also be a stressor for children, particularly when handling complex social, linguistic, and/or cognitive demands (Kam, 2011). As for bilingual practices during interactions with other bilingual speakers, code-switching is one of the most common linguistic phenomena present in the speech of bilingual HL speakers (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). While a significant amount of code-switching research has been dedicated to dealing with the typological features and constraints that govern this practice, a good deal of scholarship has also taken a sociolinguistic approach to code-switching, focusing on its pragmatic functions as well as its connection to language attitudes and identity. Code choice among bilinguals is notably an important identity marker, as illustrated by Gumperz (1982), who has used the terms “we-code”

to refer to ethnic minority languages that are used within a minority speech community; and “they-code” for the socially dominant language reserved for interactions outside the minority community. Such a distinction between two codes and two speech communities thus acts to construct two distinct identities to be enacted reflexively in each community via code choice. Furthermore, Heller (1995) argues that while socially dominant groups may rely on specific languages as a means of maintaining social power, minority or subordinate groups may employ code-switching to contest such domination. As such, code-switching within the same discourse and with a single or group of interlocutors can also be seen as moments of identity construction. Auer (2005) argues that code-switching can represent both ethnic and social identities, “in semiotic constellations such as local versus regional versus national, urban versus rural, autochthonous versus colonial, minority versus majority, etc. However, these constellations may be enacted under different circumstances in different ways” (p. 403). This is evident in empirical studies such as De Fina (2007), whose work focuses on identity among Italians and Italian Americans in an all-male card playing club in the U.S. The study illustrates that among a group of participants who represent diverse social backgrounds, origins, and proficiency in Italian, code-switching into Italian is used to negotiate ethnicity as part of the group’s collective identity. Velásquez (2010) similarly examines code-switching among participants of diverse backgrounds and varying levels of proficiency, focusing on Latinx high school students in Canada, and demonstrates that participants use code-switching between Spanish and English to construct multiple identities as immigrants, Latinxs, students, and bilinguals.

Code-switching among bilinguals—or the absence of it—can also mark an individual’s language attitudes. Various studies over the years point to negative attitudes towards this practice (see Bentahila, 1983; Chana & Romaine, 1984; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Liu, 2019), and Dewaele & Li Wei (2014) argue that such attitudes are often the result of monolingual ideologies that push for the use of a single language in any given interaction. Attitudes towards code-switching, however, appear to be changing, particularly in the case of Spanish: Badiola et al. (2018), whose study examines the effects of code-switching attitudes in Acceptability Judgment Tasks (AJT) among Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S., shows a positive correlation between attitudes and acceptability, where the more positive the attitudes among participants, the higher the AJT ratings given to code-switching instances. In an attitudinal study set in Puerto Rico, Guzzardo Tagardo et al. (2019) similarly found that participants appeared to be accepting of specific code-switches: namely, insertions, and intrasentential switches. However, whether attitudes towards code-switching impact the production of switches remains questionable. Toribio (2002) suggests that the presence of code-switching can mark social identity, while the absence of it in a bilingual speaker’s repertoire can reflect either

not being part of a community that code-switches, and/or the acceptance of the stigma associated with code-switching. However, in a study on how attitudes towards code-switching impacts types of code-switching, Montes-Alcalá (2000) indicates that—while code-switching is perceived as more acceptable in oral narratives than written ones—variance in attitudes towards code-switching did not appear to affect the production of switches; specifically, those with more negative attitudes towards code-switching did not necessarily produce fewer or less complex switches than those with more positive attitudes.

Finally, another aspect of code-switching that remains a critical point of discussion is *why* speakers switch. Various scholars over the years have proposed a multitude of pragmatic and social functions that code-switching may serve. Beyond indexing identity and language attitudes, one of the early efforts to categorize functions of code-switching includes that of Valdés (1976), who has noted that switches may be situational, contextual, triggered, isolated items, pre-formulations, discourse markers, proper nouns, quotations and paraphrases, sequential responses, or symmetrical. Other scholars have since proposed additional functions, such as adding authority, raising status, filling a lexical gap, excluding someone from conversation (Grosjean, 1982), addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, personalization versus objectivization (Gumperz, 1982), as well as more recent additions such as crutching, footing, emphasis and appeal (Zentella, 1990). Montes-Alcalá (2005) has also examined functions of code-switching in a variety of written contexts, and points out that written switches perhaps serve the same purposes as oral switches, and proposes additional categories such as elaborations, tags, emphatic switches, and free switches. Code-switching may also have specific functions in the classroom context, where instructors may code-switch for the purposes of classroom management, developing interpersonal relationships, and expressing personal affective meanings (Cahyani et al., 2016). Still, while research continues to explore the functions of code-switching and these compilations lay important groundwork in understanding this practice, there is neither a definitive nor exhaustive typology for classifying code-switch functions. One of the possible explanations for this is that many models of code-switching assume that individuals have separate and non-overlapping linguistic systems. In the last few decades, however, research on multilingualism has begun to offer other perspectives regarding cognitive processing of language, such as the possibility that there is only one linguistic system, or multiple, overlapping systems. The latter forms the basis of translanguaging, a multilingual practice that assumes multiple language use to be part of an integrated communication system (García & Li Wei, 2013). Some models of translanguaging view code-switching as separate from or entirely incompatible with translanguaging, in part because translanguaging shifts away from the emphasis on equal proficiency often assumed of

bilinguals employing code-switching (García, 2009). However, an integrated model of translanguaging considers code-switching to be an aspect of translanguaging, since an individual's internal linguistic systems are considered overlapping with one another (MacSwan, 2017). This perspective also has important pedagogical implications, as it shifts away from traditional approaches to HL and L2 instruction in that it does not view an L1 as a crutch, but rather as an asset that can give multilingual students an advantage in their learning experiences (Hult, 2012). For example, Lewis et al. (2012) argue that students engaging in translanguaging in the classroom setting may have a better understanding of content and can use their dominant language to assist in developing their weaker language. In the context of an HL classroom, it is especially crucial to recognize translanguaging practices—particularly code-switching—as part of many HL speakers' linguistic repertoire. Thus, for the purposes of this study, code-switching as discussed and practiced by participants is regarded as a translanguaging practice.

Present Study

In recent years, language programs across all levels of education in the U.S. have slowly begun to recognize and prioritize the needs of HL learners, whether through the development of more inclusive pedagogies for mixed HL/L2 classrooms or through the development of separate HL curricula. In light of this direction in language pedagogy, this study aims to expand on and reexamine some of the findings of previous studies to determine whether the stigma attached to Spanish and multilingual practices such as code-switching remain unchanged, or if newer generations of HL speakers have shifted their linguistic attitudes. In the context of this study, I focus on the linguistic practices of heritage Spanish speakers who identify as HL learners through their active participation in HL courses.

This exploratory study examines socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching, attitudes towards code-switching practices among HL learners of Spanish, and the relevance that code-switching practices may potentially have for developing heritage language pedagogy. Specifically, this investigation is guided by the following research questions:

1. How do intermediate-level heritage Spanish speakers enrolled in a university HL course code-switch? With what frequency, and what pragmatic functions do these switches serve?
2. How are participants' attitudes towards code-switching reflected in their language use (i.e., frequency and/or types of switches) and/or linguistic identity? How are these attitudes reflected in their discourse about their own linguistic behavior?

Methods

Tasks

Participants completed an initial background questionnaire detailing their personal, linguistic and cultural background, the responses of which have been summarized in Tables 1 and 2 below. This questionnaire also consists of a series of 12 Likert-scale statements that I developed, which relate to linguistic identity and code-switching, with response options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Participants also completed two structured interviews, conducted at the beginning and end of the academic term, and averaged approximately 20 minutes in length. These interviews centered around themes relating to heritage identity and language learning for the purposes of another study (see Ali, 2021). Interviews were initiated in Spanish; however, participants were told that they were not restricted to Spanish and may use English at any point. In order to reiterate this point and encourage participants to feel comfortable with code-switching, as the interviewer, I code-switched between Spanish and English throughout all of the interviews when it felt natural to do so. All but two participants—Lola and Victoria—code-switched during their interviews.

Participants

Participants of this study consist of ten heritage Spanish speakers who were recruited through an intermediate-level Spanish course for heritage speakers at a university in upstate New York. While participants represent diverse heritage backgrounds, the majority report having Dominican heritage. This is a strong reflection of the demographics of the local Spanish-speaking communities, given that approximately 47% of the Dominican American population reportedly lives in New York state—59% of whom live upstate (United States Census Bureau, 2019). Additionally, all but one participant—Lola—indicate that Spanish is the primary language used at home. All participants indicate that they code-switch between Spanish and English (an example of code-switching was provided to participants in order to clarify this specific term). Table 1 summarizes participants' basic background information:

Table 1. Participant background

Participant Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Birth/age at the time of arrival to U.S.	Heritage	Home language	Code-switches
Shana	female	20	U.S.	Peruvian/Mexican	Spanish	Yes
Danilo	male	18	DR; 6 years	Dominican	Spanish	Yes
Nico	male	18	U.S.	Salvadoran/Honduran	Spanish	Yes
Marcela	female	19	Colombia; 3 years	Colombian	Spanish	Yes
Lola	female	19	U.S.	Dominican	English	Yes
Navarro	male	21	U.S.	Dominican	Spanish	Yes
Victoria	female	18	U.S.	Dominican/German	Spanish	Yes
Beatriz	female	18	U.S.	Dominican/Honduran	Spanish	Yes
Tania	female	19	Argentina; 4 years	Argentine	Spanish	Yes
Juan	male	19	Peru; 2 months	Peruvian	Spanish	Yes

Participants were also asked to complete a self-evaluation of their level of proficiency in Spanish by rating their reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills on a scale from 1 (weak) to 10 (strong) at the start of the study. While participants' actual proficiency will not be a point of focus in the present study (this data was collected for the purposes of another study and therefore did not include self-evaluations of proficiency in English), understanding how participants perceive their own proficiency can shed some light on their code-switching behavior and attitudes. Responses are summarized below in Table 2:

Table 2. Self-reported Spanish skills (1-10)

Participant	Reading	Writing	Speaking	Listening
Shana	8	8	8	8
Danilo	7	5	6	10
Nico	9	9	8	9
Marcela	9	8	10	10
Lola	10	7	6	10
Navarro	8	6	6	8
Victoria	8	6	5	9
Beatriz	9	8	8	8
Tania	6	6	8	9
Juan	7	7	8	9

Researcher positionality

As the researcher and interviewer, my own participation in the present study merits acknowledgement, as the data collection and subsequent observations and analyses are shaped by my personal relationship to this topic of study and the participants with whom I interacted. While participants were recruited through a course in which they were enrolled, I was not their instructor, but attended their course regularly in order to develop some familiarity and ease between investigator and participants when it came time to conduct interviews, which were held outside of class time. Additionally, as a second-generation immigrant and HL speaker of a language other than Spanish, my positioning simultaneously converges with and diverges from the present topic and from the experiences of my participants. At times, much of the experiences shared by the participants during interviews certainly spoke to my own experiences as an HL

speaker, particularly with regard to our relationship with code-switching and heritage identity. However, while code-switching practices involve Spanish and English in the case of these participants, my own code-switching practices as an HL speaker involve Urdu and English, and my Spanish-English switching occurs in my role as an L2 Spanish speaker. These differences in background may have thus negatively affected participants' willingness or desire to code-switch.

Method of analysis

One of the goals of the analysis is to highlight the individual backgrounds and linguistic practices of each of the participants of this study. As such, the analysis will first summarize participants' responses to the Likert-scale statements and will focus on what participants report about their code-switching attitudes and practices. Because the interviews were focused on discussions relating to language use, this portion of the analysis will also draw on interview content when relevant, in order to shed additional light on participants' perspectives on code-switching. Next, the analysis will shift to actual code-switching instances that occurred during the interviews. For this portion of the analysis, I transcribed interviews, noted all instances of switches from Spanish to English, and assigned a pragmatic function based on preexisting categorizations (see Grosjean, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Montes-Alcalá, 2005; Valdés, 1976; Zentella, 1990). These pragmatic functions included:

Clarification: Elaboration on content

Contextual: Situation, topic, settings etc. that are linked to a specific language

Direct/indirect quotes: Language not used by the original speaker

Emphasis: Calling attention to a word/phrase/idea

Free switches: No obvious, single reason for switch

Idiomatic expressions: Expressions that are language-specific and cannot be literally translated

Interjections: Sentence fillers

Lexical need: Word or phrase is not immediately available to speaker

Parenthetical comments: Further explains, qualifies or clarifies a comment

Reiteration: Repetition

Topic construction: Highlight background information

Triggered switches: Due to preceding or subsequent utterances

For most of these functions, it was important to examine the content holistically and occasionally relisten to the audio recordings of the interviews in order to better understand the context of each switch (e.g., switches stemming from lexical need often occurred when

participants paused momentarily; clarification-related switches referred back to previous content in the interview). As the sole investigator in this study, I reviewed all code-switching data twice in order to ensure intra-rater reliability.

Results

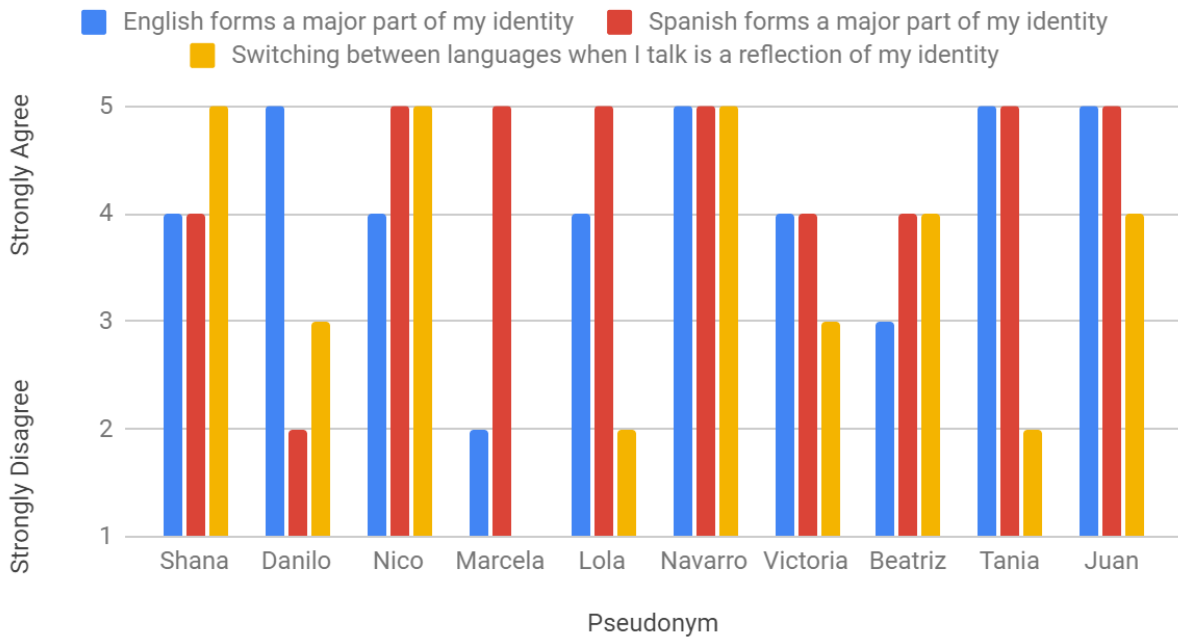
In this section, I first present participants’ questionnaire responses, and follow with an analysis of code-switching instances from the interviews. Beginning with questionnaire responses, the Likert-scale statements that I included are grouped into three categories: linguistic identity, reported code-switching usage, and attitudes towards code-switching. These will be discussed in turn, and further supplemented by interview data when relevant.

Linguistic Identity

Three statements on the questionnaire focus on linguistic identity; specifically, the extent to which English, Spanish, and code-switching form part of participants’ identities:

1. “English forms a major part of my identity.”
2. “Spanish forms a major part of my identity.”
3. “Switching between languages when I talk is a reflection of my identity.”

Figure 1: Linguistic Identity



As participants’ responses indicate in Figure 1, almost all of the participants agree that English

is a significant part of their identities, with the exception of Beatriz, who expressed neutrality, and Marcela, who disagreed. By comparison, Spanish appears to be more strongly associated with identity, as evidenced by the majority of participants indicating “strongly agree,” with only Danilo disagreeing. In the two cases of disagreement (Marcela and Danilo), it is also worth noting that both participants—while providing opposite responses for English and Spanish—similarly selected “disagree” for one statement while selecting “strongly agree for the other,” which suggests the unlikelihood of identifying with code-switching as an important part of their respective linguistic repertoires. This is confirmed when examining participants’ responses to the statement on code-switching, where Danilo expresses neutrality towards code-switching forming a part of his identity, and Marcela strongly disagrees. These two participants, however, are not in the minority; only half of the participants in this case—Shana, Nico, Navarro, Beatriz, and Juan—indicate any agreement with this statement. In almost all of these cases, participants agree that both Spanish and English are a part of their identities. Conversely, among the five participants who disagree with or are neutral towards this statement, three of them—Lola, Victoria, and Tania—do indicate that both Spanish and English are part of their identities, suggesting a possible separation between these two identities.

Connecting language to identity can be tied to linguistic proficiency, or even perceived proficiency. Danilo and Victoria, for instance, do not strongly identify with Spanish and also rate themselves low for productive skills. While they are the only participants whose questionnaire responses correspond in this manner, Juan explicitly states in his interview that his identity was directly connected with his language skills:

Excerpt 1. Juan

...a veces yo pensaba que era más americano porque yo sabía más el inglés, pero cuando yo...aprendía español más...yo decía que yo soy peruano. (sic)

...sometimes I thought that I was more American because I knew more English, but when I...learned Spanish more...I would say that I am Peruvian.

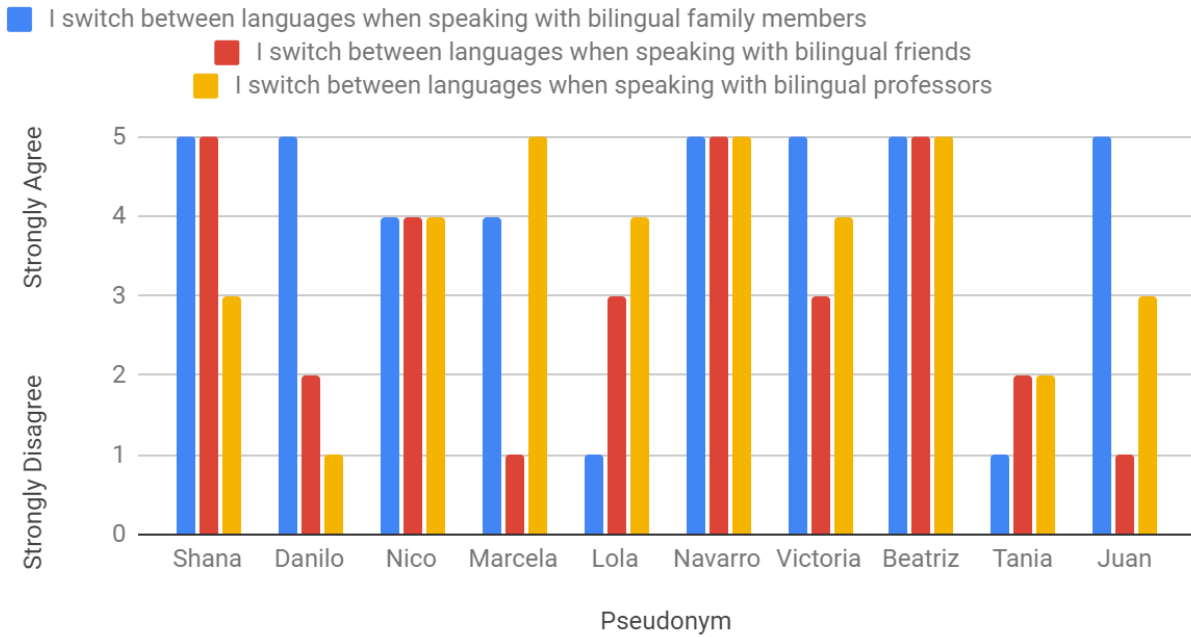
While he states identifying more as an American because of his superior English skills, his connecting his Peruvian identity to his reported improvement in Spanish also corresponds to his questionnaire response of strongly identifying with Spanish. This response also approximates ideologies of monolingualism, where each identity is associated with a single language.

Reported code-switching

The remaining Likert-scale statements focus entirely on code choice and code-switching. In this first group, participants indicate with whom they code-switch, if at all:

1. “I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual family members.”
2. “I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual friends.”
3. “I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual professors.”

Figure 2: Reported Code-switching



Here, almost all participants report that they code-switch, although their choice of interlocutors with whom they switch varies. While almost all of them indicate code-switching with family members, fewer of them indicate definitively (“strongly agree” or “agree”) that they code-switch with friends. Given the increased formality that may be assumed when interacting in an academic setting, an unexpected result here is that more participants report code-switching with their professors than with their friends. Despite several participants reporting as such, this does not necessarily correspond to positive evaluations of this practice, particularly in an academic setting. As noted above, Shana’s response is neutral regarding code-switching with professors. In one of her interviews, she expands on the topic of code choice and code-switching in the context of her HL class:

Excerpt 2. Shana

La cosa es que...porque estudiamos tantos años en..um..like, en escuela solamente en inglés, que es diferente en la clase, like en español, porque quieres decir más cosas, pero estás pensando en como...en inglés...so it's like...para mí, it takes me two minutes longer cause I'm like, wait..porque...es no como hablar con mi abuela o mis tíos o tías, de noticias o de algo...que pasó conmigo...pero con la clase de español it's like...información, like that you have to like, process...like schoolwork and it's just like...es diferente...it just takes me longer to process because I'm just like...thinking in English, so...yeah...yo creo like, todos están en la misma página, like, we're all on the same page, porque todos saben que like, I don't know, we all think in English, pero sabemos cambiar a español, pero en la clase, depende de la tónica...like it's just like...I want to say it in Spanish, but how do you say it - porque puedes decirlo en inglés like, very fancy, like, um...I forget what...very like, proper statement in English, pero estás like, tratando decirlo en inglés...it's like, how do you say that in English, I mean en español..and like, a lot of people have that problem.

The thing is that...because we study so many years in...um...like, in school only in English, that it's different in class, like in Spanish, because you want to say more things, but you're thinking in like...in English...so it's like...for me, it me, it takes me two minutes longer cause I'm like, wait...because...it's not like speaking with my grandmother or my uncles or aunts, about the news or something...what happened to me...but with Spanish class it's like...it's different...it just takes me longer to process because I'm just like...thinking in English, so...yeah...I think like, everyone is on the same page, like, we're all on the same page, because everyone knows that like, I don't know, we all think in English, but we know how to switch to Spanish, but how do you say it, because you can say it in English, like, very fancy, like, um...I forget what...very like, proper statement in English, but you're like, trying to say it in English...it's like, how do you say that in English, I mean in Spanish...and like, a lot of people have that problem.

Here, Shana relates her language use to her experiences in the HL classroom, and how linguistic behavior is connected to certain topics of conversation or specific domains; namely, associating school/coursework with English. She then positions code-switching to English as problematic, and as being the result of not being able to express oneself in Spanish with the same complexity and depth that one might be able to accomplish in English.

Among all participants, however, only three—Nico, Navarro, and Beatriz—indicate in their questionnaire responses that they code-switch with all three groups of interlocutors, while only Tania indicates that she does not code-switch with anyone. It is also worth noting that it is only

with family that she indicates “strongly disagree,” which is also further reflected in one of her interviews:

Excerpt 3. Tania

...en casa siempre, siempre se habla el español...con mis padres...bueno, con mi hermano pequeño, entre nosotros hablamos inglés, pero mis padres no me dejan hablar con ellos en inglés, siempre tengo que hablar español.

...at home Spanish is always, always spoken...with my parents...well, with my little brother, between us we speak in English, but my parents don't let me speak with them in English, I always have to speak Spanish.

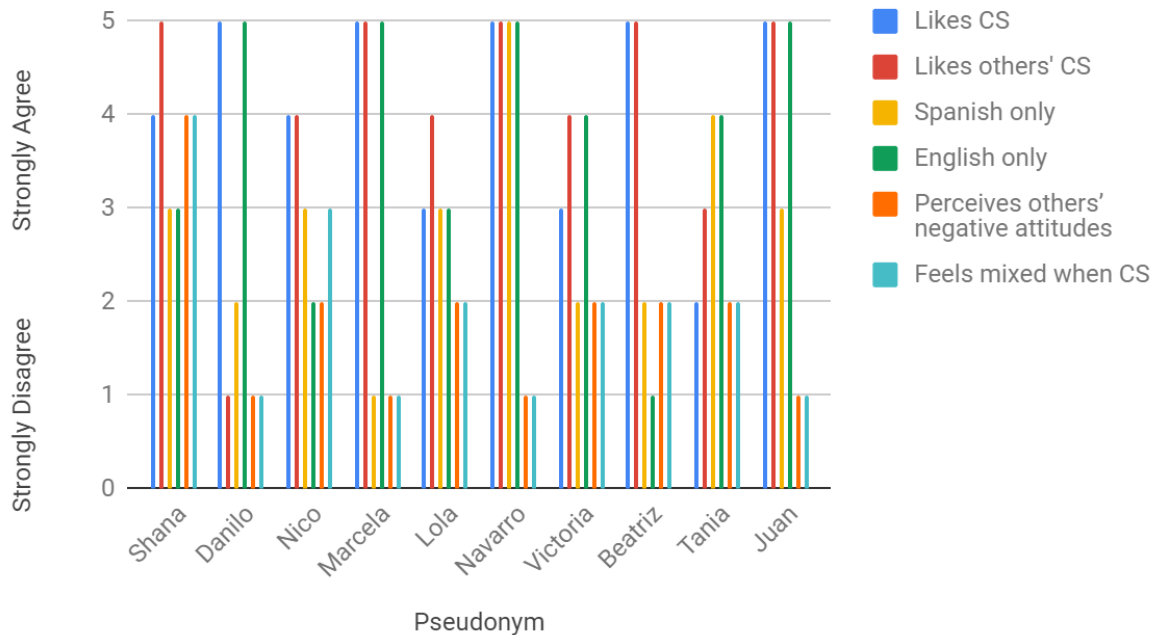
Here, Tania explains that her parents have always required her to speak Spanish with them and was the only participant to report this in her interviews. While she does not elaborate beyond the above excerpt, this indication of having specific interlocutors for each language may also help to explain her disinclination towards code-switching, which is further evidenced in the proceeding section. Moreover, much like in Excerpt 1 of Juan, Tania’s comment also evokes monolingual ideologies that may have been present in her upbringing; despite all members of her family being bilingual, Spanish is designated as the primary language to be spoken at home.

Attitudes toward code-switching

The final set of Likert-scale statements center around attitudes towards code-switching, and includes statements that focus on both code-switching and single code use, each of which are abbreviated in Figure 3:

1. “I like switching between languages during conversations with other English-Spanish bilinguals.”
2. “I don't mind when other English-Spanish bilinguals switch between languages during conversations.”
3. “I prefer to speak in Spanish and stick to Spanish when speaking with other English-Spanish bilinguals.”
4. “I prefer to speak in English and stick to English when speaking with other English-Spanish bilinguals.”
5. “I think people look down on me if/when I switch between languages during a conversation.”
6. “I feel mixed up when I switch between languages during conversations with other English-Spanish bilinguals.”

Figure 3: Attitudes towards Code-switching



As evidenced by responses shown in Figure 3, participants generally indicate favorable attitudes towards code-switching. This is most evident in participants’ responses to the first two statements, where seven participants agree that they like code-switching themselves and eight respond that they do not mind when others do so as well. Despite these positive attitudes, however, several participants also report a preference for using only one language when speaking with other Spanish-English bilinguals. While only Navarro and Tania indicate preferring Spanish, the majority of participants (including Navarro and Tania) show a stronger preference for English-only communication. Given participants’ generally positive attitudes towards code-switching, their reported use of it, and their identifying comparably more strongly with Spanish than with English, these reported preferences appear to be at odds with participants’ other responses. This dissonance is further underscored when looking at how participants perceive others’ attitudes towards code-switching, as well as whether or not participants feel any confusion when code-switching. In both cases, only Shana indicates agreement with these statements; however, as evidenced from her other questionnaire responses —as well as her actual code-switching practices—neither of these factors impede her code-switching.

Attitudes towards code-switching may also be domain-specific, where, as noted previously, code-switching may be viewed less favorably in more formal settings like the language classroom:

Excerpt 4. Shana

Yo creo, um...que es mejor para todos...que pueden hablar español..porque yo sé...hay muchas que...well...muchos que uh...hablan Spanglish en la clase, y yo creo es mejor si todos hablen español en la clase en vez de Spanglish. Like, yo sé que Spanglish es para como...um...latinos en los EEUU, but...porque todos saben las palabras y todo eso and like, I don't know...es como uno para hablar el spanglish con amigos pero yo creo en un clase es mejor solamente hablar español, porque..solamente mejora...it's like, it's better for them. (sic)

I believe, um...that it's better for everyone...that they can speak Spanish...because I know...there are a lot who...well...a lot who uh...speak Spanglish in class, and I believe it's better if everyone speaks Spanish in class instead of Spanglish. Like, I know that Spanglish is for like...um...latinos in the U.S., but...because everyone knows the words and everything like that and like, I don't know...it's one thing to speak in Spanglish with friends but I think in a class it's better to only speak Spanish because...it only improves...it's like, it's better for them.

In Shana's view, Spanglish (and perhaps by extension, code-switching) is not appropriate in a classroom setting, including the HL class in which she was enrolled at the time of this study, as she believes that it is not conducive to improving one's Spanish. Given the distinction that Shana assigns to Spanglish and Spanish, this may suggest less favorable attitudes towards the former, thus accepting its stigma in more formal settings. However, Shana still recognizes Spanglish as being part of many people's linguistic repertoire in more informal contexts. The belief that monolingual Spanish use is the standard for HL classroom is shared by other participants, though this standard appears to also be connected to negative experiences in the classroom:

Excerpt 5. Lola

We did a debate, and we had to present in front of the class and there's...I was just like nervous to mess up, because I feel like there's a pressure in that class, kind of...like, almost to...know, like be able to speak Spanish, even though some of us like, can't really like, speak fluently...there's just like, more repression in class because everybody is like, of a Hispanic background...a little more like, holding back with trying to talk in front of everybody because like I can't really carry on a conversation with somebody.

Lola's comment here suggests that there is an expectation in her HL class for students to speak Spanish "fluently," and perhaps with that, an expectation to not rely on English to communicate

effectively. This, as Lola points out, results in less participation among students because—as also noted in Shana’s previous comment (see Excerpt 2)—students may feel hesitant to contribute if they cannot express themselves in Spanish with the same complexity that they would be able to in English.

Code-switching in practice

This section focuses on code-switching in practice and examines participants’ actual speech productions during interviews. As mentioned previously, Lola and Victoria completed their interviews in English; therefore, data in sections relies on switches made by the other eight participants. Table 3 summarizes the frequency and types of switches among each participant:

Table 3. Code switches

Pseudonym	Clarification	Contextual	Direct/indirect quote	Emphasis	Free Switch	Idiomatic Expression	Interjection	Lexical Need	Reiteration	Topic Construction	Triggered Switch	Total	% of discourse code-switched
Shana	52	2	19	2	22	20	132	32	21	3	11	317	5.40%
Danilo	8	-	1	-	2	1	1	2	-	4	1	20	1.40%
Nico	-	-	-	-	1	7	5	5	1	-	-	19	0.80%
Marcela	6	-	1	-	-	-	4	11	2	-	-	24	1.40%
Lola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%

Navarro	1	-	2	-	-	2	20	9	2	1	-	37	1.80%
Victoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Beatriz	14	-	1	-	6	3	3	4	2	3	-	36	0.70%
Tania	-	-	1	-	1	3	3	6	-	-	-	14	0.40%
Juan	8	-	-	-	1	1	3	10	3	3	-	29	0.90%
Total	87	2	25	2	33	37	171	79	31	14	12	496	

Perhaps among the most striking elements in this data set are Shana’s switches. While one of Shana’s interviews ran somewhat longer than those of other participants (33 minutes, compared to the 20-minute average), Shana produced significantly more switches than any other participant, and is in fact responsible for almost 64% of oral switches. Given her extensive use of code-switching, it is unsurprising that her switches appear to serve a variety of functions, and in fact span over all of the functions included in this study. However, notwithstanding Shana’s data, there are instances of code-switching among all participants who chose to speak in Spanish during their interviews, with participants’ respective totals ranging between 14-37 switches. Among these switches, the most frequent include switches that reflect interjections, clarifications, and lexical needs. Shana, for instance, who produced the most interjections during her interviews, typically made these insertions in English, frequently using fillers such as *well*, *so*, and *like*:

Excerpt 6. Shana

Cuando yo era niña...no me gustaba mi español, porque...well, la única razón era mi acento americano.

When I was a little girl...I didn't like my Spanish, because...well, the well, the only reason was my American accent.

This type of switch, however, is present among all participants who code-switched, and often such insertions appear in Spanish:

Excerpt 7. Navarro

Como...let me say it así: como en la cultura dominicana, y si tú no conocía (sic) a alguien todavía, eh, hello, hola, cómo estás, amigo, y allí es más rápido hacer amigos con gente porque somos más amables.

Like...let me say it this way: like in Dominican culture, if you didn't already know someone, eh, hello, hello, how are you, friend, and there it's faster to make friends with people because we're nicer.

After interjections, clarifications are the most frequent type of switch, where participants either clarify or elaborate on a topic of discussion. Besides Shana, Beatriz produced frequent clarifying switches in both of her interviews:

Excerpt 8. Beatriz

Si tengo que decir algo en la clase, yo siempre lo digo, y si tengo una opinión, lo (sic) digo. Basically, if it's relevant and I'm thinking about it, and I think it would be...like, it would like, stir more conversation, or...you know, like add to like, conversation, I participate.

If I have to say something in class, I always say it and if I have an opinion, I say it. Basically, if it's relevant and I'm thinking about it, and I think it would be...like, it would like, stir more conversation, or...you know, like add to like, conversation, I participate.

Here, Beatriz responds to a question relating to her participation in the HL course in which she is enrolled, explaining first in Spanish that she is not shy about participating, and then switches to English to explain further that she participates if she can contribute to class conversations in a relevant way. The third most frequent switch among participants is to serve a lexical need. This can refer to a lexical gap in an individual's knowledge that is either a reflection of a temporary memory lapse, unacquired or attrited knowledge, or simply being able to retrieve a word or phrase more quickly in one language over another:

Excerpt 9. Marcela

Cada día en clase, hacemos como...group activities, hablamos en grupos, y - o sea - es muy cómodo.

Each day in class, we do like...group activities, we speak in groups, and - that is - it's very comfortable.

In this brief excerpt, Marcela uses the filler *como* and then pauses before switching to English, suggesting that perhaps this switch resulted from being unable to retrieve the Spanish equivalent, *actividades*, before accessing the English *activities*. This is further evidenced by her switch back to Spanish—*hablamos en grupos*—a reiteration which may reflect an attempt at circumlocution in Spanish.

Discussion

One of the central aims of this study is to build on existing scholarship relating to Spanish-English code-switching by examining HL speakers' individual linguistic practices and ideologies. First, it is evident that the findings of this study offer further support to the notion of code-switching as a critical component to individual linguistic identity for bi/multilinguals, as argued in previous research (Auer, 2005; De Fina, 2007; Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1995). For instance, most participants code-switched during each of their interviews; among them, Shana, Nico, Navarro, Beatriz, and Juan all reported in their questionnaire responses that this practice formed a part of their identities, and further expressed positive attitudes towards code-switching as well. Conversely, Lola and Victoria did not indicate identifying with code-switching, and expressed neutral attitudes towards this practice. In both cases, these participants chose to conduct their interviews entirely in English and did not code-switch at all. However, code-switching may not always mark identity; both Danilo and Marcela code-switched with some frequency in each of their interviews, yet Danilo indicated neutrality towards code-switching being part of his identity, while Marcela disagreed entirely. Still, both participants reported positive attitudes towards code-switching, acknowledged that they did it, and only partially preferred single-language use, with both of them expressing positive attitudes towards English-only interactions, but not for Spanish-only interactions. Together, these attitudes may contribute to the presence of code-switching in Danilo's and Marcela's linguistic repertoire, despite not identifying with this practice. Taking these results together—along with Lola's and Victoria's lack of code-switching from English—these findings further suggest that Spanish and English appear to have unequal footing for participants in terms of how Spanish and English may or may not intermingle. In other words, the above results indicate that participants do not rely on Spanish when interacting in English but rely on English when interacting in Spanish. This in turn raises the question of how code-switching practices might emerge had the interviews been

conducted in English, or if indeed code-switching would have occurred at all, as was the case for Victoria and Lola.

As argued by Montes-Alcalá (2000), attitudes may not always be an indicator of language practices. While attitudes and actual code-switching practices appear to align for most participants, it is worth noting that even Tania code-switched during her interviews despite being the only participant who expressed negative attitudes towards code-switching and reported not code-switching with anyone. As shown in the results, Tania certainly produced the fewest number of switches (with the exception of Lola and Victoria, who completed their interviews in English); however, her productions are not significantly lower than her peers and the functions of her switches are only slightly less varied than theirs. When considering some of the primary functions of Tania's switches—quotes, idiomatic expressions, lexical need—one possible explanation for the presence of code-switching in her speech despite her negative attitude towards it is that many of her switches can be more broadly categorized as switches relating to efficiency. Specifically, the functions noted above often occur because a word or phrase may be more easily accessible in one language over another, whether it be because the speaker cannot retrieve the word(s) in a given language at a specific moment or because translating a set utterance (a quotation or an idiomatic expression) requires more effort for the speaker than simply code-switching.

While Tania's switches are less varied and appear to serve more efficiency-related purposes, the majority of participants produced switches with greater frequency and with more varied uses during their interviews. One function, however, that appeared to be present among all speakers' switches was that of lexical need. While these findings are unsurprising for a group of HL learners of varying proficiency levels (and/or self-confidence in abilities, given the self-reported nature of this data), participants' switches were still generally varied in terms of the functions they served, where total switches fell into no fewer than five different categories for any participant who code-switched. This variety in socio-pragmatic functions is an important illustration of how HL speakers with varying degrees of self-reported proficiency may engage in code-switching with a complexity that is comparable to higher proficiency bilinguals. This is further supported when compared against the findings of Toribio's (2002) study in which the quantity and quality of code-switching also varied considerably depending on participants' proficiency. Additionally, the distribution of code-switch functions shown in the present study are similar to those examined in Montes-Alcalá's (2005) work, whose participants identified as proficient Spanish-English bilinguals. Given the differences in reported proficiency between our studies, it is interesting to note that lexical need and clarifications were similarly among the most common types of switches. This complexity—in the context of this study—refers more

specifically to the wide array of functions that participants' switches serve. While this complexity does not extend to the syntactic aspects of participants' switches, further investigation focusing on these structural components can give insight into HL speakers' threshold for code-switching.

Pedagogical Implications

As participants who were enrolled in a Spanish course for HL learners at the time of the study, their participation in this course was certainly relevant to their linguistic practices and attitudes. This section addresses how the findings of this study can inform current HL pedagogy. First, both interview and questionnaire data show that several participants reportedly code-switch in classroom interactions, though at times this practice is perceived negatively and as detrimental to advancing their proficiency in Spanish. These findings suggest that, first, code-switching has a clear presence in the HL classroom, regardless of how learners and/or instructors view the practice. However, given that participants report favorable attitudes towards code-switching, partake in it themselves, and possibly relate this linguistic practice to their identities, code-switching must play a role in the development of best practices in HL pedagogy. While this linguistic practice is often included in HL curricula as a topic of academic discussion, HL instructors also need to consider how this practice—along with other multilingual practices—may fit into HL learners' experiences in the HL classroom. When we consider some of the ideologies that previous literature has illustrated, such as essentializing the connection between Spanish and Latinx identity (to the exclusion of English), and the belief that U.S. Spanish (with its English influences) is not legitimate, it would appear that setting a standard for monolingual Spanish usage may further perpetuate these beliefs. This ideology is reflected in some of the data provided by Shana: while she identified Spanish, English, and code-switching as part of her identity, reportedly engaged in and held favorable attitudes towards code-switching, she still indicated in one of her interviews that Spanish should be the primarily language used in an HL classroom. While it is certainly important to focus on developing proficiency in any language class, it is also equally crucial to recognize that using monolingual standards for bilingual HL learners is incongruous. Furthermore, as demonstrated in some of the interview excerpts, pressure to maintain monolingual interactions in the HL classroom can evidently impede some learners from contributing in class activities. If course goals involve encouraging HL learners to actively engage, it would be to their advantage if they felt comfortable actively engaging their entire linguistic repertoire, rather than attempting to fit into a monolingual mold that they cannot fit into as bilinguals.

One of the principal classroom applications, then, is to create a learning environment that recognizes and draws on the bilingual abilities that HL learners bring to the classroom, rather than attempting to recreate a monolingual environment in which learners are pressured to suppress parts of their identities. Whether it be in the form of code-switching or translanguaging, HL learners can benefit from the use of both Spanish and English in the classroom, and as educators, it is critical to recognize that these practices are a natural means of using one's own linguistic repertoire for effective communication. Given that many learners may associate a specific language with a specific task (e.g., conversing with one's peers/friends in English), removing the stigma from English usage in the HL classroom can facilitate efficient and effective communication, which can be especially helpful to HL learners who with low proficiency in Spanish. Not only that, putting popular HL course topics into practice (e.g., "bilingualism," "Spanglish," "code-switching") also serves to validate learners' bilingualism and helps them recognize the value of having multiple languages within their reach. This can be accomplished through offering learners guided instruction on which language they might find most useful for particular tasks, such as allowing for the use of English during smaller group activities in which they interact with their peers, before reporting back to the entire class in Spanish. These differentiated expectations can also be applied to more formal, graded tasks, such written work. These tasks can be positioned as either "writing to learn" or "learning to write" (Manchón, 2011), where the former may involve the use of Spanish and English so that students can use their full linguistic repertoire to recall, interpret, and/or question content that they are attempting to learn, while the latter provides an opportunity for more targeted practice with specific writing conventions in Spanish.

Additionally, in order to effectively enable learners' use of Spanish and English, it is critical to understand HL learners' linguistic backgrounds, and to do so as early as possible during an academic term. This can be done through asking learners to complete an autobiography, such as that described in Beaudrie et al. (2015), in which the writing prompts issued to students elicit details about learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In my own courses, this assignment is accompanied by a questionnaire about their perceived proficiency and self-reported language use. Soliciting this information—along with the completion of autobiographies—can assist in better understanding not only learners' reported/actual proficiency, but also the extent to which they use Spanish and English in their daily lives and if there are communicative domains in which they are accustomed to using both. Furthermore, even in a classroom designated specifically for HL learners, proficiency levels and the extent to which learners feel comfortable using Spanish may not always align on the individual level, and rarely across an entire group of learners. As such, it is also necessary to observe learner behavior and participation in the

classroom, particularly those who may be hesitant to speak in Spanish but may participate more readily if offered opportunities in English. Noticing such patterns can also be useful in determining which specific learning moments or tasks might be more conducive to translanguaging or code-switching for such learners.

Another helpful addition to HL curricula that may serve to validate learners' bilingualism, support their diverse linguistic backgrounds, and de-center standard Spanish is focusing on developing learners' metalinguistic awareness through a sociolinguistic lens. This means including the study of linguistic variation among Spanish speakers as an integral part of the curriculum, which could entail not only acknowledging linguistic variants that exist in Spanish, but also developing learners' critical awareness of how notions of prestige and stigma shape perceptions of different varieties or specific linguistic variants (Burns, 2020). This awareness can come in the form of activities that encourage noticing (e.g., using a reading that employs a specific variety of Spanish), as well as in explicit grammatical instruction (e.g. including *voseo* when teaching verbal conjugations).

Conclusion

The linguistic practices of HL learners of Spanish, who comprise a significant portion of the bilingual population in the U.S., are critical to understanding bilingualism in the U.S., as well as developing best practices in HL pedagogy. Code-switching is a demonstrably key aspect of bilingual speech among HL Spanish speakers, which this study sought to highlight through an examination of ten HL speakers' linguistic attitudes and practices. Given the small sample size, the findings of this study are certainly not conclusive, particularly with regard to quantitative analysis being limited to the descriptive level. As such, this limits the ability to verify data reliability or internal consistency using statistical tests. Similarly, while I relied on intra-rater reliability in my analyses, an inter-rater reliability test would allow for more well-grounded analyses. However, as an exploratory study, participants are shown to generally hold positive attitudes towards code-switching, view it as part of their linguistic identity, and report code-switching themselves in various social contexts. Reported attitudes, however, certainly tell only part of a story, as evident in the fact that—in spite of neutral or negative attitudes towards code-switching in some cases—some participants code-switched numerous times during interviews conducted in Spanish. Because HL speakers may represent a wide range of oral proficiency, their code-switching practices may be viewed as less complex and/or out of need rather than choice; however, this study demonstrated that participants' switches served an array of socio-pragmatic functions. Examining the functions of code-switching, however, can be fraught with complications that result in conclusions that may only be limited to conjecture, such as in the

case of the present study. Unless participants themselves are able to state why they code-switch in particular instances, researchers' methods of assigning different socio-pragmatic functions are limited to hypothesizing. While this study did not allow for participant feedback for switches, participants' self-reported data shed some additional light on the matter. Moving forward, further study that takes into account speakers' reflections on their code-switching may help to elucidate the functions of this linguistic practice. Additionally, given that one participant in particular—Tania—had appeared to code-switch for generally efficiency-related purposes, the distinction between switches that reflect efficiency, obligation, and/or stylistic choices merit further exploration. These different directions of code-switching research are crucial not only to understanding bilingualism in the U.S., but also to offer further legitimization to what is still considered a stigmatized practice. This stigmatization may also extend to HL and L2 classroom settings, where code-switching is often discouraged or given little value. This study has shown how code-switching can and should have a place in HL curricula, such that both educators and learners can recognize and appreciate the validity of this practice, both in and outside the HL classroom.

References

- Ali, F. (2021). Identity and investment in language learning: A case study of heritage Spanish speakers. *Spanish in Context*, 18(3), 430–458.
- Auer, P. (2005). A post-script: Code-switching and social identity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 403–410.
- Badiola, L., Delgado, R., Sande, A., & Stefanich, S. (2018). Code-switching attitudes and their effects on acceptability judgment tasks. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, 8(1), 5–24.
- Bailey, B. (2000). "Language and Negotiation of Racial/Ethnic Identity among Dominican Americans." *Language in Society*, vol. 29, pp. 555–62.
- Balukas, C., & Koops, C. (2014). Spanish-English bilingual voice onset time in spontaneous code-switching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 19(4), 423–443.
- Beaudrie, S., Ducar, C., & Potowski, K. (2015). *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice*. McGraw Hill.
- Benevento, N., & Dietrich, A. (2015). I think, therefore digo yo: Variable position of the 1sg subject pronoun in New Mexican Spanish-English code-switching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 19(4), 407–422.
- Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco*. Multilingual Matters.

- Blake, R. (2016). Toward heterogeneity: A sociolinguistic perspective on the classification of Black people in the twenty-first century.” In S. Alim, J. Rickford, & A. Ball. (Eds.) *Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race* (pp. 153–170). Oxford University Press.
- Brinton, D., Kagan, O., & Bauckus, S. (2008). *Heritage language education. A new field emerging*. Routledge.
- Büdenbender, E-M. (2010). Comparing Dominican linguistic (in)security in the Dominican Republic and in the diaspora. In C. Borgonovo (Ed.), *Selected Proceedings of the 12th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* (pp. 148–159). Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Bullock, B., & Toribio, A. J. (2009). *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching*. Cambridge University Press.
- Burns, K. (2018). Marginalization of Local Varieties in the L2 Classroom: The Case of U.S. Spanish. *L2 Journal*, 10(1), 20–38.
- Burns, K. (2020). Beyond the idealized native speaker in L2 Spanish contexts: Standard language ideology, authenticity, and consequences for learner identity construction. In B. Dupuy & K. Michelson (Eds.), *Pathways to paradigm change: Critical examinations of prevailing discourses and ideologies in second language education* (pp. 32–52). Cengage.
- Cahyani, H., de Courcy M., & Barnett, J. (2018). Teachers’ code-switching in bilingual classrooms: exploring pedagogical and sociocultural functions. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 21(4), 465–479.
- Chana, U., & Romaine, S. (1984). Evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code-switching. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 5, 447–473.
- De Fina, A. (2007). Code-switching and the construction of ethnic identity in a community of practice. *Language in Society*, 36(3), 371–392.
- Dewaele, J-M., & Li Wei. (2014). Attitudes towards code-switching among adult mono- and multilingual language users. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(3), 235–251.
- Dorner, L., Orellana, M., & Li-Grining, C. (2007). ‘I helped my Mom,’ and it helped me: Translating the skills of language brokers into improved standardized test scores.” *American Journal of Education*, 113(3), pp. 451–478.
- Ducar, C. (2009). The sound of silence: Spanish heritage textbooks’ treatment of language variation. In M. Lacorte & J. Leeman (Eds.), *Español en Estados Unidos y otros contextos de contacto: Sociolingüística, ideología y pedagogía/ Spanish in the United States and*

- other contact environments: Sociolinguistics, ideology and pedagogy* (pp. 347–367). Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Fishman, J. (2001). 300-plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In J. Peyton, D. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.) *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81–97). Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Fishman, J. (2006). Acquisition, maintenance and recovery of heritage languages. In G. Valdés, J. Fishman, R. Chávez, & W. Pérez (Eds.), *Developing minority language resources: The case of Spanish in California* (pp. 12–22). Multilingual Matters.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Blackwell.
- García, O., & Li Wei. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism, and education*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- García, O., Evangelista, I., Martínez, M., Disla, C., & Paulino, B. (1988). Spanish language use and attitudes: A study of two New York City communities. *Language in Society*, 17(4), 475–511.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages*. Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Guzzardo Tamargo, R., Loureiro-Rodríguez, V., Acar, E. F., & Vélez Avilés, J. (2019). Attitudes in progress: Puerto Rican youth's opinions on monolingual and code-switched language varieties. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(4), 304–321.
- Heller, M. (1995). Code-switching and the politics of language. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge University Press.
- Helmer, K. (2011). 'Proper' Spanish is a waste of time: Mexican-origin student resistance to learning Spanish as a heritage language. In L. Scherff & K. Spector (Eds.), *Culturally relevant pedagogy: Clashes and confrontations* (pp. 135–164). Rowan and Littlefield.
- Hill, J. (1999). Language, race, and hite public space. *American Anthropologist*, 3, 680–689.
- Hornberger, N., & Wang, S. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners? Identity and biliteracy in heritage language education in the United States. In D. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Backus (Eds.), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging* (pp. 3–35). Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Hult, F. M. (2012). Ecology and multilingual education. In C. Chapelle (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of applied linguistics* (Vol. 3, pp. 1835–1840). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kam, J. (2011). The effects of language brokering frequency and feelings on Mexican-heritage youth's mental health and risky behaviors. *Journal of Communication*, 61(3), 455–475.
- Kern, J. (2019). Like in English and como, como que, and like in Spanish in the speech of Southern Arizona Bilinguals. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 24(2), 184–207.
- Lawson, S., & Sachdev, I. (2000). Codeswitching in Tunisia: Attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(9), 1343–1361.
- Leeman, J. (2012). Investigating language ideologies in Spanish as a heritage language. In S. Beaudrie & M. Fairclough (Eds.), *Spanish as a heritage language in the United States: The state of the field* (pp. 43–59). Georgetown University Press.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 641–654.
- Lipski, J. (2014). Spanish-English code-switching among low-fluency bilinguals: Towards an expanded typology. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 8(1), 23–55.
- Liu, H. (2019). Attitudes toward different types of Chinese-English code-switching. *Sage Open*, 9(2).
- López, B., Lezama, E., & Heredia Jr, D. (2019). Language brokering experience affects feelings toward bilingualism, language knowledge, use, and practices: A qualitative approach. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 41(4), 481–503.
- Lynch, A. (2003). The relationship between second and heritage language acquisition: Notes on research and theory building. *Heritage Language Journal*, 1, 1–18.
- MacSwan, J. (2017). A multilingual perspective on translanguaging. *American Educational Research Journal*. 54(1), 167–201.
- Manchón, R. (Ed.). (2011). *Learning-to-write and writing-to-learn in an additional language*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Montes-Alcalá, C. (2000). Attitudes towards oral and written codeswitching in Spanish-English bilingual youths. In A. Roca (Ed.), *Research on Spanish in the U.S.* (pp. 218–227). Cascadilla.
- Montes-Alcalá, C. (2005). ¡Mándame un email!: cambio de códigos español-inglés online. In L. Ortiz López & M. Lacorte (Eds.), *Contactos y contextos lingüísticos* (pp. 173–185). Iberoamericana Vervuert. Cascadilla.

- Montrul, S. (2006). On the bilingual competence of Spanish heritage speakers: Syntax, lexical- semantics and processing. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 10, 37–69.
- Pascual y Cabo, D. (2018). Spanish as a heritage language in the US: Core issues and future directions. In K. Geeslin (Ed.) *The Cambridge handbook of Spanish linguistics* (pp. 437–466). Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, A. (2002). Language ideologies and the production of identities: Spanish as a resource for participation in a multilingual marketplace. *Multilingua*, 21(2/3), 275–302.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español. *Linguistics*, 18, 581–618.
- Potowski, K., Jegerski, J., & Morgan-Short, K. (2009). The effects of instruction on linguistic development in Spanish heritage language speakers. *Language Learning*, 59, 537–579.
- Rangel, N., Loureiro-Rodríguez, V., & Moyna, M. (2015). 'Is that what I sound like when I speak?': Attitudes towards Spanish, English, and code-switching in two Texas border towns. *Spanish in Context*, 12(2), 177–198.
- Rao, R., & Ronquest, R. (2015). The heritage Spanish phonetic/ phonological system: Looking back and moving forward. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 8(2), 403–414.
- Rosa, J. (2019). *Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad*. Oxford University Press.
- Sánchez-Muñoz, A. (2016). Heritage language healing? Learners' attitudes and damage control in a heritage language classroom. In D. Pascual y Cabo (Ed.), *Advances in Spanish as a heritage language*. (pp. 205–218). John Benjamins.
- Showstack, R. (2012). Symbolic power in the heritage language classroom: how Spanish heritage speakers sustain and resist hegemonic discourses on language and cultural diversity. *Spanish in Context*, 9(1), 1–26.
- Showstack, R. (2018). Spanish and identity among Latin@s in the U.S. In K. Potowski (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Spanish as a heritage language*. Routledge.
- Toribio, A. (2000). Nosotros somos dominicanos: language and self definition among Dominicans. In A. Roca (Ed.), *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic issues and challenges*. Cascadilla Press.
- Toribio, A. (2002). Spanish-English code-switching among US Latinos. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 158, 89–119.

- Torres, J., Pascual y Cabo, D., & Beusterien, J. (2017). What's next? Heritage language learners shape new paths in Spanish teaching. *Hispania*, 100(5), 271–278.
- United States Census Bureau. (2019). American Community Survey. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=hispanic%20population&tid=ACSDP1Y2019.DP05&hidePreview=false>. Accessed 2/10/2021
- Valdés, G. (1976). Social interaction and code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish/English alternation. In G. Keller, R. Teschner, S. Viera (Eds.), *Bilingualism in the bicentennial and beyond* (pp. 53–85). The Bilingual Press.
- Valdés, G. (2000). Teaching heritage languages: An introduction for Slavic-language-teaching professionals. In O. Kagan & B. Rifkin (Eds.), *Learning and teaching of Slavic languages and cultures* (pp. 375–403). Bloomington.
- Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized? *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 410–426.
- Velásquez, M. (2010). *Language and identity: Bilingual code-switching in Spanish English interviews*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto.
- Zentella, A. (1990). Integrating qualitative and quantitative methods in the study of bilingual codeswitching. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 583, 75–92.
- Zentella, A. (2002). Spanish in New York. In O. García & J. Fishman (Eds.) *The multilingual apple: Languages in New York City* (pp. 167–202). Mouton de Gruyter.

Appendix

Background questionnaire

1. Name: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Gender identity: _____
4. Previous university Spanish courses: _____
5. Are you currently enrolled in a Spanish course? Yes / no
 - a. Course # or name: _____
6. Heritage background: _____
7. Country of birth: _____
8. Age when you moved to the U.S., if not born here: _____
9. Have you ever lived abroad? Where and for how long?

10. Did you grow up in a Spanish-speaking household? Yes / no

11. Prior to beginning school, what language was used the majority of the time in your home? _____
12. Did that change once you began attending school? Yes / no
13. Presently, what language is used the majority of the time in your day to day life?

14. Rate your Spanish abilities on a scale from 1 (lowest) to 10 (highest):
 - a. Reading: _____
 - b. Writing: _____
 - c. Speaking: _____
 - d. Listening: _____
15. Do you switch between languages during a conversation with other bilinguals? (for example: “I was going to go shopping this morning, pero empezó a nevar y no quería salir de la casa.”) _____ yes / no

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)

16. I like switching between languages during conversations with other English-Spanish bilinguals.
1 2 3 4 5
17. I feel mixed up when I switch between languages during conversations with other English-Spanish bilinguals.
1 2 3 4 5
18. I don't mind when other English-Spanish bilinguals switch between languages during conversations.
1 2 3 4 5
19. I prefer to speak in Spanish and stick to Spanish when speaking with other English-Spanish bilinguals.
1 2 3 4 5
20. English forms a major part of my identity.
1 2 3 4 5
21. I prefer to speak in English and stick to English when speaking with other English-Spanish bilinguals.
1 2 3 4 5
22. I think people look down on me if/when I switch between languages during a conversation.

1 2 3 4 5

23. Switching between languages when I talk is a reflection of my identity.

1 2 3 4 5

24. Spanish forms a major part of my identity.

1 2 3 4 5

25. I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual family members.

1 2 3 4 5

26. I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual friends.

1 2 3 4 5

27. I switch between languages when speaking with bilingual professors.

1 2 3 4 5

Interview #1

1. De niñez, ¿hasta qué punto usabas español? ¿Con quién? ¿Frecuencia?
2. Cuando eras niño, ¿cómo te sentías por el español? ¿Te gustaba usarlo/escucharlo? ¿Lo evitabas? ¿Preferías inglés (u otro idioma) sobre él?
3. ¿Te considerabas más (herencia) o americano/estadounidense? ¿Por qué?
4. ¿Y la cultura de herencia vs. americana? ¿Había ciertos aspectos que (no) te gustaban de cada? ¿Cosas que apreciabas o no entendías?
5. ¿Eras parte de la comunidad de herencia? ¿Hasta qué punto?
6. Como adulto, ¿ha cambiado esto? (pensando de conexiones con la comunidad, usar español fuera de clase, interés en español o cultura)
7. ¿Sientes que tu identidad ha cambiado como adulto - no solo la identidad de herencia, pero cualquier aspecto de tu identidad?
8. Pensando de tu crecimiento e interacciones con la familia y la comunidad de herencia, ¿has experimentado presión/expectativas de otros en cuanto a como debería ser tu identidad, o cual debería ser tu rol como (heritage) o como estadounidense, como hombre, mujer, etc.?
9. ¿Por qué decidiste inscribirte en una clase de LH? Algunas expectativas o metas específicas?
10. A este punto, ¿se cumplen tus expectativas? ¿Algunas sorpresas?
11. ¿Cómo describirías tus habilidades en español: leer, escribir, hablar, escuchar/entender? ¿Algunas dificultades/fortalezas?

12. ¿Algunas veces tienes problemas/dificultades participar en la clase, como en cuanto a hacerte oír, dudas en participar, comunicarte con tus compañeros o con el/la instructor/a, sentirte incómodo? Algunas veces te sientes excluido/a?

Interview #2

1. Como hombre/mujer/otro, ¿cómo es diferente tu experiencia como (herencia) en comparación con el otro género?
2. Pensando de tus expectativas en el comienzo del semestre, ¿cómo va el semestre en cuanto a satisfacer esas expectativas?
3. ¿Cómo describirías tus habilidades en español: leer, escribir, hablar, escuchar/entender? ¿Algunas dificultades/fortalezas?
4. ¿Cómo ha avanzado tu español a través del semestre?
5. ¿Cuáles son las cosas más importantes que has aprendido en tu clase de LH?
6. ¿Hay algunas cosas que querías que hubieran hecho diferente en la clase de LH, como las materias, el currículo, la instrucción, la interacción con los compañeros de clase?
7. ¿Algunas veces tienes problemas/dificultades participar en la clase, como en cuanto a hacerte oír, dudas en participar, comunicarte con tus compañeros o con el/la instructor/a, sentirte incómodo? Algunas veces te sientes excluido/a?
8. ¿Has tenido algunas experiencias específicas que han determinado tus actitudes hacia la lengua/cultura de herencia?
9. ¿Piensas que tus experiencias en tu clase de LH han cambiado tu relación con tu lengua/cultura/identidad de herencia? Cómo?