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Composition and Formation of Social Networks during Study Abroad Programs and Bidialectalism and Language Attitudes: A Case Study of a Bolivian-Argentine Family in the United States

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and

Bidialectalism and Language Attitudes: A Case Study of a

Bolivian-Argentine Family in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Composition and Formation of Social Networks during Study Abroad Programs
and
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Students who participate in study abroad programs have the opportunity to interact with native speakers in a variety of settings. "Composition and Formation of Social Networks during Study Abroad Programs" explores the kinds of social networks that students form while abroad focusing on the areas of host families, church, school, community, and friends from the program. The kind of network that students form is heavily influenced by the nature of their program. Students from the same program often have social networks similar to those of their peers in the same program. Students who went abroad generally made friends in categories that were most accessible to them. Apart from the program structure, individual initiative also plays an important role in the size and composition of a student's social network. Also, students who had more intense friendships were found to be more likely to create second order networks and meet more friends through their established friendships.

Children who grow up exposed to two dialects of the same language may become bidialectal giving them an extra set of choices when they speak. The decision of which dialectal features to use is often socially motivated and demonstrates the speaker's perceived identity. In "Bidialectalism and Language Attitudes: A Case Study of a Bolivian-Argentine Family in the United States," two sisters were interviewed regarding their language use and attitudes. One of the sisters felt a strong connection to her Argentine heritage and thus chose to use an accent and words that would identify her as Argentine. The other sister in this study does not feel the need to identify herself as Argentine and prefers to simply fit in. She thus strives to employ a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish when she speaks. Both sisters are able to accommodate their speech to that of their interlocutors, but have preferred dialectal features based on their language attitudes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Composition and Formation of Social Networks during Study Abroad

Programs

Each year large numbers of university students participate in study abroad programs for the purpose of studying and learning a foreign language. Many students have the expectation that learning the target language will be easy once they are "immersed" in the culture. However, not all students make significant language gains while abroad and some make almost no progress at all. Interactions with native speakers of the target language are typically seen as one of the principal benefits of a study abroad. As students form relationships with native speakers they are able to practice the target language and increase their language abilities. Failing to interact with and use the target language with native speakers will keep students from progress abroad. Since interacting with native students is crucial to the study abroad experience, forming friendships abroad becomes a very important task for students. Students develop friendships in a variety of ways and to varying degrees while they are abroad. The aim of this study is to see what kinds of social networks students form during a study abroad program. This study will take into account the size of students' social networks, the kinds of social networks they form, and the intensity of those friendships.

Review of the Literature

The degree to which students learn the target language while on a study abroad depends largely on the student. While students are ultimately always responsible for their own learning, they are provided with greater opportunities to learn and use the target language while abroad. Miller and Ginsberg (1995) stated, "In the classroom, of course, the instructor to a large extent

calls the tune. But outside the classroom, during study abroad in particular, it is the learner's views that matter, for they shape the learning opportunities that arise and the learning strategies that will be employed" (p. 243). Moreover, Pellegrino (1998) affirms that "they [study abroad participants] often fail to realize and take full advantage of the unique opportunities offered by the in-country environment for developing communicative competence in the L2" (p. 96). Failing to take advantage of the unique opportunities afforded in a study abroad will result in students not reaching their language potential.

One of the greatest opportunities study abroad students have is the chance to interact with competent native speakers. Interactions with native speakers allow students to discover their language gaps, receive feedback on their speech, and increase their motivation to be attentive to native speakers (Keats, 1994). Pellegrino (1998) agrees that interaction with native speakers is beneficial to language learning. She stated, "Popular opinion holds that SA is an effective means of second language acquisition in part because of the extensive opportunities it offers for authentic communication in the L2 and personal interaction with NSs" (p. 111). Thus, for students to get the most out of their study abroad experience they must interact with native speakers often. Lafford and Collentine (2006) emphasize the importance of authentic interaction in the target language whether students are at home or abroad. Developing relationships with native speakers will help students speak more fluidly as they focus on content in addition to form. In time, corrective feedback, if given, will help students learn correct forms as well. However, not all students make gains in the same ways. Ife, Vives Boix, and Meara (2000) found in their study that students' pre-study abroad proficiency affected the kinds of language gains that they made during their program. Intermediate students learned more discrete vocabulary while advanced students learned more associated vocabulary. Since advanced students had a larger

language base, they learned new words from context with very little effort while intermediate students had to exert more effort to learn new words.

Whatever a student's level of proficiency, interaction with native speakers in an unstructured environment is likely to increase that student's proficiency. Lafford (2004) states that one of the hindrances to language acquisition in a classroom setting is the relationship between the teacher and the students. This relates to what Brown and Gilman (1960) have written about the power axis and the solidarity axis. In the classroom the teacher is seen as an authority figure and is on an unequal plane with his or her students. This is the power axis. Thus, all interactions with him or her tend to be more formal than interactions with one's peers. Students treat each other as peers and have an informal relationship with each other because they are all on the same social level. This is the solidarity axis. In a classroom setting the teacher is the only native or near native speaker in the room, but is not treated as an equal. Because of this unequal relationship, students do not have the opportunity to interact with a native speaker in the same way they would with their peers. In a classroom, students typically have much more interactions with their classmates who are also learning the language and are not as capable of giving corrective feedback or demonstrating correct forms as a native speaker. Students who study abroad are given the opportunity to interact with native speaker who are at their same social level.

Firth and Wagner (2007) discuss the social-interaction approach to second language acquisition which states that, "learning is an inseparable part of ongoing activities and therefore situated in social practice and social interaction" (p. 807). True acquisition of a foreign language is the result of meaningful social interactions in the target language. Firth and Wagner go on to say, "To us, acquisition cannot and will not occur without use. Language acquisition, we would

argue, is built on language use" (p. 806). Finding opportunities to interact with speakers of the target language is necessary for language acquisition to occur. Swain and Lapkin (1998) illustrate the effectiveness of learning through communication even when both participants are L2 learners. In their study they paired up two French learners and gave them a set of tasks to complete in the target language. Despite that fact that neither of the students were native speakers, they worked together to negotiate meaning and create new forms. One of the students was using the wrong word for *alarm clock* and without being explicitly told the correct word he began using the correct word simply by hearing it. Meaningful communication, even between language learners, helps students to negotiate meaning and learn correct forms.

The statements made by Firth and Wagner are corroborated in a study conducted by Isabelli-García (2006). She studied the motivation, language use, and social networks of four Americans participating in a study abroad in Argentina. She found that the students with the deepest social networks achieved the most language gains according to ACTFL's OPI standards. In this study *depth* refers to meeting friends through the friends one already has. One of the students had a very small social network consisting almost exclusively of her host family and most of her Spanish speaking time was spent talking with children. Due to her lack of interaction with expert native speakers her OPI score remained the same throughout her study abroad experience. Isabelli-García stated, "When learners are in a context where interaction occurs with a more expert speaker, they notice new or correct structures in the expert speaker's language or feedback" (p. 232). This lack of interaction with expert native speakers hindered her language progress while participants in the study who formed larger, deeper social networks progressed more.

However, interaction with native speakers alone may not prepare language learners for every situation that they may encounter in the target language. For example, Regan (1998) commented on a study she conducted with French learners studying abroad in France. All of the participants were enthusiastic about learning French because they planned on living in France long term in the future. These students, in an effort to assimilate to French culture, spent significant amounts of time with their classmates in and out of class. The result of spending so much time with their peers was that they overgeneralized the use of informal forms, even in contexts when formal forms would have been more appropriate. Since they had mainly used the target language among friends they had failed to differentiate between the two forms despite their ability to speak fluidly. Thus, it is essential that L2 learners interact with native speakers in numerous settings so that they can interact effectively in many different situations.

Kruse and Brubaker (2007) emphasize the importance of creating organized situations for students to interact with native speakers while abroad. For many students it is difficult to get out of their comfort zone in order to interact with native speakers. Engle and Engle (2002) report that many American students abroad lose their cultural open mindedness once they realize that living abroad is not as romantic as it seems. They conclude that programs must orient students in order for them to be successful in the host country. If left to form relationships on their own, many students may never take the necessary steps to form relationships with native speakers that will help them become confident speakers. Kruse and Brubaker suggest that program facilitators create opportunities for interaction with native speakers. These interactions should not be unstructured meetings in which students and native speakers converse about whatever they want, but should be well structured and goal oriented. Recommended activities include playing a sport, learning to cook a meal, or performing some kind of service. All of these activities encourage

communication and will help students develop communicative strategies. The authors state, "Students who are initially hesitant often enjoy interactive cultural investigation assignments or homestays that almost force them to interact with host nationals. These students appear to gain confidence and over time function increasingly well in the host country and language." Thus, goal centered inactions with native speakers not only help students learn the target language, but also help them to function well in the host country. Students who are actively involved with native speakers will likely become proficient speakers of the target language as well as gain cultural knowledge and sensitivity.

Further evidence of the importance of meaningful interactions is provided in an article by Rivers (1998) in which he asks the question "Is being there enough?" He analyzed data from over 2,000 students who had participated in study abroad programs in Russia in the 70s, 80s, and 90s. All of the participants had lived in dormitories during their program in the 70s and 80s, but in the 90s the dorms were replaced with a homestay program. The homestay program intuitively seemed superior to the dorm program since learners would be living with Russian families and thus have more opportunities to use the language. However, Rivers discovered that the students who stayed with families showed less improvement than those who lived in the dorms. One of the explanations for this is that both the homestay families and the students were frustrated with the low level of fluency of the students and did not put much effort into communicating. Communication between students and families was reduced to necessary, everyday topics and never reached a level of discourse that truly benefitted language learners. Simply being around native speakers does not ensure progress in the language. Learners and native speakers must interact and communicate in meaningful ways for true language gains to be achieved. According to Isabelli-García (2006), students that developed more complex social networks tend to achieve

more significant language gains than those who do not. Forming social networks with native speakers gives students the opportunity to interact in the target language and use it for authentic communication.

Dewey et al (under review) conducted a study of students participating in study abroad programs in Jordan and Morocco. This study found that it was not the size of the social network that most predicted language gains, but the depth of friendship. Students who had more close friends as opposed to many acquaintances were more likely to have higher language gains. Another interesting finding of this study is that English was a useful tool for learning Arabic. Students would offer to swap English lessons for Arabic lessons which introduced them to many Arabs. After getting to know the Arab student, the American student would be introduced to the Arab's friends and thus be able to interact in a group that used Arabic as its language of communication. No matter how students create their social networks, strong social networks will provide them with more opportunities to use the target language.

Milroy (1980) began the study of social networks and defined many key terms for the field. A uniplex network is one in which a person interacts with a variety of people, but always in the same capacity. A multiplex network is one in which a person interacts with multiple people in a variety of situations. High density networks are networks in which a person's friends are also friends with each other. Uniplex networks allow learners to become experts in one type of interaction since that is all they encounter, while multiplex networks allow learners to use the target language in a variety of situations and thus learn more. Also, students create first order networks by forming friendships with the people with whom they interact and meet directly. A second order network is created by meeting native speakers that are part of a friend's first order

network. As students become integrated into the networks of native speakers they have greater opportunities to use the target language and thus achieve greater language gains.

Research questions

These research questions form part of a larger study being conducted at Brigham Young University. They focus on the composition of students' social networks abroad and the kinds of friendships that students form.

1. What is the nature of social networks that students form while abroad in terms of number of native speakers and depth of friendship?
2. Do the students with a higher percentage or second order networks form closer relationships with native speakers while abroad?
3. How did students form social networks during their study abroad?

Methods

Participants

Table 1		
Program	**Length**	**Class Level**
Mexico	2 months	300 and 400 level
Spain	2 months	300 and 400 level
Russia	4 months	200, 300 and 400 level
China	4 months	300 and 400 level
Egypt	4 months	300 level

All participants in this study are BYU students who participated in study abroad programs in Mexico, Spain, Russia, China, and Egypt during 2010. The students in the Spain and Mexico programs were in-country for two months and the students in Russia, Egypt, and

China were in-country for four months. All students in all programs had previously taken classes in the target language, but were at differing levels of proficiency. Students were selected for this study based on their completion of the Social Interaction Questionnaire. All students from these programs who completed the questionnaire were included in the qualitative analysis.

Instruments

The main data source for this study was the Social Interaction Questionnaire which is used to understand the size and nature of students' social networks abroad. On the Social Interaction Questionnaire participants listed by name all the native speakers in their social network and recorded how they met each person with whom they socialized during the study abroad. This information was used to discover patterns of how students formed social networks while abroad and whether or not they were integrated into native speakers' social networks by being introduced to friends of friends. Apart from this, students also ranked the level of their friendships ranging from acquaintance to confidant. This information was used to gauge the intensity of the students' social networks. The Social Interaction Questionnaire also contains six open ended questions asking students what obstacles they faced while making friends abroad, what they did to make friends, what kept them from speaking the target language with their friends, what advice they would give to future study abroad students, etc.

Data Analysis

RQ. 1: What is the nature of social networks that students form while abroad in terms of number of native speakers and intensity of friendship?

The information regarding the size of students' social networks was gathered from question 1 on the Social Interaction Questionnaire in which students listed all of the people in their social network abroad. This formation was used to find the average size of students' social

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networks by program. The information regarding the depth of friendship in students' social networks was collected from question 5 in which participants rated the level of intensity of each of their friendships on a scale from 1 to 8. This information was averaged to figure out the average level of friendship intensity per program.

RQ. 2: Do the students with a higher percentage of second order networks form closer relationships with native speakers while abroad?

This information was gathered from question 3 on Social Interaction Questionnaire in which students described how they met each of the people in their social network. When students reported meeting a friend through another friend, that friend was marked as being from the student's second order network. The size of each student's second order network was correlated with the information in question 5 which asks students to describe the intensity of their friendship.

RQ. 3: How did students form social networks during their study abroad?

This information was collected from question 3 on the Social Interaction Questionnaire in which students described how they met each of the people in their social network. Based on their responses, each friend was placed into one of five categories: host family, church, school, community, and program. The total number of friends from each category was calculated for each student and these numbers were then averaged to see how students in each of the different programs developed friendships by category. Students' responses from question 8-12 were also used. These questions are open ended and ask students what kinds of things their program did to help them make friends, what obstacles they faced, etc.

<center>**Results**</center>

Size of Social Networks

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Table 2			
Program	**Average**	**Smallest**	**Largest**
Spain	9.14	2	20
Egypt	10.65	3	20
China	11.25	2	20
Mexico	15.3	1	20
Russia	16.75	11	20
Total	**10.76**	**1**	**20**

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On the Social Interaction Questionnaire students were asked to record the names of the people that comprised their social network while abroad. They were also asked to briefly describe how they met each person. The Social Interaction Questionnaire only provided enough space for twenty people to be listed. Of the 80 students that filled out the Social Interaction Questionnaire, 20 of them had social networks of 20 people. It is possible that some of these participants had social networks that consisted of more than 20 people, but who only listed 20 due to the limitations of the questionnaire.

Out of all the participants in this study, the average social network size was 10.76 people with the largest social networks consisting of 20 individuals and the smallest consisting of only one individual. Each study abroad program had at least one participant who had a social network of 20 individuals while the number of individuals comprising the smallest social network in each group showed much more variation.

Composition of Social Networks

      Host families.

Table 3		
Program	**Average number of host family members in social network**	**Percent of network from host family**
Russia	1.25	8.2%
Mexico	3.86	25.7%
Spain	4.1	66.6%

For many students, their social network begins with their host family. Living with a host family gives students an environment in which to use the target language by interacting with native speakers on a regular basis. Host families can also introduce students to other native speakers thus expanding the student's social network. Out of the five programs included in this study, only three of them had students live with host families. In the Egypt and China programs, students lived with other study abroad participants from the same program.

In each of the programs that included living with a host family, the number of host family members in a student's social network remained fairly constant in each of the programs. Typically, host families consisted of three or four people with some of the host families being quite large with seven or eight members and the smallest only having one member. While the host families in each of the programs had an average of three or four members, the percentage that host families made up of students' social networks varied greatly. For example, host families comprised 66.6% of students' social networks in the Spain program, but only 8.2% of students' social networks in Russia.

Church friends.

Table 4		
Program	**Average number of church related friends in social network**	**Percent of network from church**
China	0	0%
Egypt	0.13	1.8%
Spain	0.9	12.6%
Mexico	5.57	34.7%
Russia	6.75	41.0%

Apart from one's host family, church is another common venue for enlarging one's social network and developing friendships. Church goers are often amiable and welcoming making it easy for an outsider to find people with whom to socialize. All of the participants in this study are BYU students meaning that the majority, if not all of them, are Latter-day Saints. LDS participants share common beliefs and practices with local church members helping them to bridge many cultural gaps. Local LDS congregations are found in Spain, Mexico, and Russia, but are not found in China or Egypt. While there are not local LDS congregations in China or Egypt, some students reported meeting friends at other Christian churches in those countries. In the countries where local LDS congregations exist, participants not only met natives during Sunday services, but in many cases attended weekday religion classes and other church sponsored activities where they could meet and mingle with native speakers.

Students from the Spain program had relatively small social networks making the roughly one church related friend per network account for 12.6% of the total network. Students in Mexico had an average of 5.57 church friends in their social network making up 34.7% of their network. Some students in Mexico listed up to 11 church related friends while others claimed as few as zero. Students in Russia also had a large percentage of church related friends with the average 6.75 friends per social network accounting for 41% of their total network. Interestingly, each respondent from the Russia program listed a fair number of church related

friends with the smallest number being five. Only three participants in the Egypt program listed

meeting a friend at church. Because of this, church related friends only comprised 1.8% of their

total social networks. No one from the China program recorded having met a friend at church.

School friends.

Table 5		
Program	**Average number of school related friends in social network**	**Percent of network from school**
Spain	0.33	3.7%
Egypt	1.19	10.9%
Mexico	2.57	13.9%
China	4.0	36.0%
Russia	5.0	29.6%

Students in each of the study abroad programs took classes while abroad. School related

friends refers to classmates, teachers, teaching assistants, and language tutors. The Spain

program had the smallest number of school related friends with an average of less than one. In

fact, the majority of the students in the Spain program did not list any school related friends with

such friends making up only 3.7% of their total social network. The Egypt program also had low

numbers of school related friends with an average of 1.19 friends making up 10.9% of the total

social network. Many of the students in the Egypt program did not list any school related friends.

The Mexico program showed a higher percentage of school related friends with an average of

2.57 friends making up 13.9% of their total social networks. The Russia and China programs

had the highest percentage of school related friends with an average of five and four friends

respectively. In the Russia program school related friends made up nearly one third of students'

social networks at 29.6%. In the China program school related friends made up more than one

third of students' social networks at 36.0%.

Program friends.

Table 6		
Program	**Average number of friends from SA program in social network**	**Percent of network from program**
Egypt	0	0%
Spain	1.0	7.3%
Russia	1.25	6.3%
Mexico	1.42	7.1%
China	4.86	24.6%

The Social Interaction Questionnaire asked participants to list only their friends who were native speakers of the target language. Despite this instruction, a large number of respondents listed fellow program participants. None of the students in the Egypt program listed other program members as part of their social network. Each of the other programs showed a lot of variation in the number of participants that listed program members in their social networks and those that did not. In the Spain program for example, only three respondents listed other program members in the social network with one person listing 13 program members while the rest responded with zero making the average number of friends from the program one. About half of the respondents from the Mexico program did not list any program members while the other half did making the average 1.42 program members per social network. All of the respondents from the Russia program except for one did not list any program members in their social network. However, the one respondent who did list program members made the average 1.25 program members per social network. The China program showed significant variation with just fewer than half the respondents reporting zero program friends and others reporting as many as 11 or 17 making program members a majority of their social network. The average number of program members in the China group was 4.86 making them 24.6% of the overall social network.

Friends from the community.

Table 7		
Program	**Average number of friends from the community in social network**	**Percent of network from community**
Spain	0.52	9.9%
Mexico	2.86	17.1%
Russia	3.0	18.4%
China	3.66	30.1%
Egypt	9.43	93.1%

While many of the participants in this study interacted with native speakers of the target language in organized settings, a large number of participants met native speakers simply by interacting with people in the community. Community is a broad category that includes service workers such as store clerks, doormen, landlords, and maids, but also includes friends made in clubs, on the street, or through other friends. The Spain program had the lowest average of friends met in the community at less than one person on average making up 9.9% of students' social networks. The Mexico and Russia programs had roughly the same levels of community related friends with an average of about 3 friends per student comprising around 18% of students' social networks. The China program had an average of 3.66 friends from the community making up 30.1% of students' social networks. The most intriguing program is Egypt since friends from the community made up 93.1% of students' social network or 9.43 friends per social network.

Second order networks.

Table 8		
Program	**Average number of friends from 2nd order network**	**Percent of network from 2nd order network**
Russia	0.5	4.5%
Spain	0.52	7.9%
China	0.57	3.0%
Mexico	0.71	3.6%
Egypt	4.39	35.1%

A second order network is one which a person expands their social network through their already existing network. This typically happens when one meets new friends through the people that he or she is already friends with. In the study abroad programs being studied, students developed second order networks by being introduced to friends of friends and relatives of friends. The students in the Egypt program developed more second order friends than any of the other programs with their second order network on average comprising 35% of their total social network. Students in Egypt had an average of 4.39 second order friends in their network. Each of the other programs had significantly smaller second order networks with an average of less than one person per social network in each of the other programs.

Friendship Intensity

Table 9		
Program	**Average level of intensity**	**Average of most intense friendship**
Mexico	4.52	6.78
Spain	4.82	6.52
China	4.95	6.83
Egypt	4.97	7.27
Russia	5.41	7.67

On the Social Interaction Questionnaire students were asked to indicate their level of friendship with each of their friends on a scale from 1 to 8 with 1 being an acquaintance, 4 or 5 being a friend, and 8 being a very close friend or confidant. Table 9 shows the average level of friendship intensity by program as well as the average of the highest rated friend. The average of students' most intense friendship is a useful tool to see if students made a lot of acquaintances while abroad or if they formed at least one very close friendship. The average level of intensity does not vary greatly between the different programs with the Mexico program having the lowest average intensity at 4.52 and the Russia program having the highest average at 5.41. The Russia

program also had the highest average for the most intense friendship at 7.62 with the Spain program at the lowest at 6.52.

Discussion

Each program varied greatly in the kinds of social networks that students developed. The individual program is probably the greatest predictor of the kind of social network that students will form while abroad. For example, many students who lived with host families had very host-family-centered social networks. Students who attended schools that only foreigners like them attended did not make many school related friends. When students were given assignments to go out into the community and make friends they did, but when they were not given that assignment, they generally did not. While there was individual variation among programs, students tended to form social networks similar to those of participants in the same program.

Host Families

Host families varied in importance in the social networks of the students that lived with them. For example, students in Spain had significantly smaller social networks and relied more heavily on their host families than students in Russia and Mexico. Out of the 19 students from the Spain program, five of them had social networks that were comprised of only their host family. All of the participants except for two had social networks in which at least 50% of their friends were their host family. The reason for students' heavy reliance on host families in Spain is unclear, but may be the result of students' fears. When asked what obstacles she faced, Elizabeth from the Spain program said, "My own lack of confidence also kept me from trying with the chance of failing." Jennifer responded to the same question by saying, "Fear of saying something wrong, and them constantly cutting me off." These fears could explain why students

often did not branch out from their host families. Jennifer also mentions that being constantly cut off was an obstacle for her. It is more acceptable in Spain than in the United States to interrupt someone while they are talking and this cultural difference made speaking difficult for her. However, having the host family comprise such a large portion of one's social network may have limited the variety of interactions that students had in the target language. Interacting with a variety of people in multiple settings is likely to enhance and facilitate language learning while only interacting with native speakers in one setting likely will not.

Students in the Russia program had social networks that were not very heavily influenced by their host families. They had an average social network size 16.75 people, yet most participants only listed one host family member. One respondent from the Russia program did not list any members of her host family on the Social Interaction Questionnaire. The reason for her not listing her host family is unclear. Even though they were not listed, this student must have had frequent interactions with the members of her host family in the target language. The low numbers of host family members listed by participants in the Russia program may be the result of students not feeling close to their host families or simply not thinking of them as being part of their social network. When asked what obstacles kept her from speaking Russian, Doris said, "My limited vocab. If I didn't like talking about a certain topic I struggled more, my listener's lack of patience in talking with me." Doris's comment is similar to the findings of Rivers (1998) who found that students' low level of proficiency made it difficult for them to interact with their host families. Although students were around them each day, their inability to say what they wanted to say coupled with their interlocutors' impatience may have kept them from forming a close relationship with their host family. Also, on the Social Interaction Questionnaire there was only room to list a respondent's top 20 friends. The participant who did

not list her host family in her social network listed 20 friends which did not leave her room to include her host family. Thus, while her host family may have formed part of her social network, it is possible that she was not as close to her host family as she was to others in her social network. Unlike the Spain and Russia programs, the students in the Mexico program had much more balanced social networks with host families making up roughly one fourth of their networks.

Church Friends

Predictably, very few church related friends were made in China and Egypt where there are no local LDS congregations. The two Spanish programs in Spain and Mexico both demonstrated a relatively high percentage of church related friends although participants in Mexico had nearly five times as many church friends as participants in Spain. Participants in the Spain program had social networks that consisted mainly of their host families and church friends with these two groups making up roughly 80% of their total social networks. Many students from the Spain program expressed how much they enjoyed attending church in Spanish. They also felt integrated into the congregation because they were given assignments by the local leaders. Cynthia said, "I played the piano in the children's class at church and that led me to make many friends." A number of students also commented on how much they enjoyed attending church activities and how they wished they could have attended more.

The participants in the Mexico program had much more balanced social networks than their Spain counterparts, but still felt that church was an important way to make new friends. Issac said, "Going to church was a big help." Maria expressed similar feelings and said, "We went to church together and made friends with [church] members, whom we saw at least once a week." Weekly interaction with the same group of people is likely what made church such a

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popular place to make friends. With 26% of their social network being made up of their host families, 35% made up of church related friends, 14% made up of school related friends, 7% being made up of program participants, and 17% being made up of community members, the Mexico participants were able to interact with a number of people in a variety of situations.

For the students in Russia, church was seen as the best place to make friends. When asked what she did to make native friends during the program, Doris said, "Church helps a lot. The only other way I know is at the American center." Doris can only think of two things that she did to make friends with the first one being through church. Mo said, "Going to church helped the most." It appears that students in the Russia program saw church as the most effective way to meet locals. When asked what advice they would give to future study abroad participants, Doris said, "Go to [church] activities," and Josh said, "Go to church."

School Friends

Attending school in a foreign country provides students with the opportunity to have native instructors as well as interact with native speakers from the student body. Students from each of the programs not only listed classmates on the Social Interaction Questionnaire, but also listed teachers, TA's, language tutors, and conversation partners as forming part of their social network. Students in the Russia and China programs took advantage of this opportunity the most with an average of five and four friends respectively per social network in each of the programs. The high number of school related friends in these two programs compared to the lower numbers of the other programs is probably the result of the structure of the programs in Russia and China. In Russia, for example, the school had native Russians introduce themselves to the American students in class. Mo said, "The program had students introduce themselves to us a couple of times a week so we would get to know more and more students." Mo, as a boy, found this to be

an effective way to meet natives, but Doris disagreed. She said, "The academy introduced us to some of the students, but most of them were girls and I felt like they didn't really want to get to know girls in the group. They were mostly interested in American boys." Doris's comment is consistent with the findings of Brecht (1990) who reported on a study of American students in Russia during a six year period. He found that American male students in Russia consistently demonstrated more language gains than their female counterparts. This phenomenon was likely the result of communication interactions in-country based on gender roles. Thus, the Russia program provided opportunities for American and Russian students to interact, but these opportunities did not always result in friendships.

The program in China assigned each American student a native Chinese study buddy with whom to practice speaking. The China program, just like the Russia program, provided students with a simple way to meet natives at school. Almost every student in the China program included their study buddy in their social network. However, just like in Russia, not all students benefitted from their school introducing them to natives. James said, "I did not end up actually doing as much with my study buddy. He was a doctoral student and had a very advanced vocabulary. I felt embarrassed to ask him to dumb down his Chinese." Even though they were provided with the opportunity to socialize with a native speaker, it was the individual student's choice to take advantage of this opportunity or not. Overall the study buddy program was very successful in helping students in China form social networks. When asked what their program did to help them develop friendships almost every student mentioned the study buddy program. These results are similar to those of Kruse and Brubaker (2007) who also found that structured interactions with native speakers were beneficial to students. Their study coupled

with this study suggests that facilitating organized meetings with students and native speakers will aid students in their language learning.

Students in Spain were not given the same opportunities as the students in Russia and China to interact with native speakers at school. Of the 19 participants in Spain, only three listed school related friends. Each of the school related friends was a teacher meaning that no one in the Spain program became friends with a native Spanish speaking peer while at school. The reason that students in Spain did not make many friends at school is that they did not attend any classes with native speakers making their teachers the only natives that they frequently came in contact with there. When asked what more the study abroad program could have done to help them make native speaking friends, Carol responded, "Put us in classes with natives." Linda said, "We were pretty isolated. We went to class with the group in a school that native speakers did not attend." The university that students attended in Spain was not part of a central campus and was separate from other areas of the school. Attending a school that native speakers did not attend did not provide the study abroad students with the opportunity to interact with native peers at school. From the comments made by the participants, it is evident that students would have preferred attending a school with native Spanish speakers.

The Mexico program had a similar school situation to the Spain program in that they did not attend classes with native speakers. Students in Mexico also expressed that they would have preferred having the opportunity to take classes with native speakers as well. However, despite not taking classes with native speakers, some of the participants made as many as seven or nine friends at school while others reported not meeting anyone at school. While American students did not take classes with Mexican students, they did have many opportunities to interact with native speakers while at school. For example, students were often on campus during lunch and

many students would eat in the cafeteria and socialize with native speakers there. There were also days when students would have to wait one or two hours between classes and many students took advantage of this time to meet native speaking students. In addition to these opportunities, students also rode the bus to school. Some students used the time they spent waiting at the bus stop to socialize and interact with native speaking students. Even though students did not have structured opportunities to interact with native speakers at school, they did have a number of opportunities to make friends on their own.

With no organized way for American students to interact with Mexican students, it was the personal desire of the students to interact with native speakers that led them to expand their social networks on their own. Despite not having organized meetings with native students, the structure of the program allowed study abroad students to interact with native students during their free time. Gary said that "the program itself didn't provide us that many opportunities to speak with the natives, it was individual initiative that did it." He continued by saying, "Many students didn't even talk to the natives that much the whole time they were there." Gary's statement is similar to the findings of Miller and Ginsberg (1995) who state that it is the learner's beliefs and attitudes that most influence what he or she will learn on a study abroad. Although formal interactions with native speakers were not organized by the program, simply being on the same campus with natives gave them opportunities to meet and become acquainted with them. Some students took the initiative and interacted with native speakers on their own, while others did not. A few students went out of their way to learn about special events, dances, and activities going on and they would email all of the study abroad participants and coordinate so that they could all attend. This extra effort by the students to be involved coupled with the structure of the

schools explains why students in Mexico were able to develop larger social networks at school than their counterparts in Spain.

The Egypt program had many participants report making zero friends at school with only a few making one friend. Like the Spain program, most of the friends made at school in the Egypt program were teachers which means that study abroad participants did not interact with native peers at school. This is due to the nature of the school that the students attended. The study abroad students did not attend a university; rather they attended a language institute that only taught Arabic classes. The school was very small and only foreigners took language classes there. The teachers and some of the staff were Egyptians and spoke Arabic natively, but other than that there were not any other opportunities to meet natives at school.

It appears that the structure and culture of each program are reflected in the number of friends made at school. For example, in the Spain and Egypt programs very few people made any friends at school and those that did only listed their teachers. On the other hand, everyone in the China and Russia groups and almost everyone in the Mexico group made multiple friends at school, often with peers. In China, students were assigned study buddies which gave them an easy contact at school. Much like the Mexico program, some students in China met and interacted with students on campus during free time and were able to make friends at school even though they did not attend the same classes as native speakers. Thus, the nature of the program and the dynamics of each group likely contribute to this discrepancy. For example, if the study aboard participants attend classes that are only taught to study abroad participants then it is likely that they will not interact with native peers at school. But if they take classes with natives or are assigned natives to practice with then the likelihood of their becoming friends with native speakers at school increases.

Group dynamics can also play an enormous role in the creation of social networks. If a study abroad group is particularly close knit then participants may not feel the need to branch out and make friends with native speakers. Cynthia from the Spain program commented that she wished that she had lived alone with her host family instead of having a roommate. She said that it was easier for her to stay in her shell and spend time with her roommate speaking in English instead of interacting with her host family in Spanish. Janet from the Mexico group mentioned that her program had a Spanish-only rule that all the participants had agreed to follow. However, when the American students were alone the Spanish-only rule "went out the window almost immediately." According to Janet, a precedence to speak English with Americans was set which alienated the group from native Spanish speakers. It was especially difficult for students who are shy or who do not like to leave their comfort zone to branch out from their study abroad group. The language programs that do not facilitate interaction with native speakers are not likely to achieve it.

Program Friends

Out of all the programs, the participants in the China program had the highest percentage of program participants in their social networks. This could be accounted for by fewer opportunities to interact with native speakers than most of the other programs had. For example, the Spain, Mexico, and Russia programs all included homestays with host families and attended local LDS congregations. Church and host family interactions alone accounted for the majority of native speaker contact for students in Spain, but the students in the China program did not have these same opportunities to interact with native speakers. It is logical that students would compensate for the lack of interaction in one area with increased interaction in another. Thus, while students in Spain became close to the host family that they lived with, students in China

formed relationships with the other students that they lived with. The students in the Egypt program, like the students in the China program, did not live with host families or attend church services with a local LDS congregation, but did not list any of their friends from the program on the Social Interaction Questionnaire. This is because they, unlike the respondents in the China program, were explicitly asked not to include students from their program in their social network. It is expected that given the similar circumstances of the two groups, had they been told to fill out the questionnaire in the same way they would have had similar results.

Friends from the Community

The category with the greatest difference between study abroad programs is friends made in the community. Friends made in the community are friends that students came in contact with in unstructured ways such as at clubs, on the street, in parks, in stores, or on public transportation. Friends made in the community also refers to interactions with landlords, doormen, taxi drivers, and friends of friends that do not occur in an organized setting like the ones already discussed in this paper. The Spain program showed the lowest level of community based friends with less than one person on average per social network. More than half of the group did not list any friends from the community and almost all of the friends listed were friends of friends. Thus it appears that the participants in the Spain program did not go out of their way to befriend locals. In fact, not one person from the program became friends with someone in an unstructured environment.

The structure of the Spain study abroad is most likely the reason that students in the that program did not form friendships with members of their community in unstructured settings. Students in Spain spent a significant amount of time touring the country with their group which was enjoyable and yet a source of frustration. When asked what more the study abroad program

could have done to help students make native speaking friends, Barbara said, "Less travel, more time with our families and time for [church] activities." Brittany also expressed frustration that traveling kept them from attending church activities that she had wanted to attend. Responding to the same question, Jennifer said, "We were actually really busy because we traveled so much so there wasn't much time to hang around and make friends." When asked what obstacles kept her from speaking the target language, Nancy said, "Not being home/ traveling." To these students, frequently being out of town hindered them from forming friendships.

The previous comments from Spain study abroad participants demonstrate the belief held by many students in this program that they had to be "home" to make friends and learn the language. When asked what the study abroad program had done to help them make native speaking friends almost every participant in the Spain program mentioned being placed in a host family and attending church in Spanish. These two settings, home and church, were seen as the places where they formed relationships. With 66.5% of their friends being their host families and 12.6% being from church, students emphasized these two ways of forming relationships while not taking advantage of others. Some students recognized these missed opportunities wishing that they had been more prepared to interact with native speakers in the community. Elizabeth said, "I would have liked to speak with natives a lot more in the streets, in stores, etc. That's not so much under the programs control. I would feel more confident with more 'street training' before, like what to say in grocery stores or restaurants, etc." Thus, students relied on their host families and church members because they were seen as a great way to build relationships, but did not venture out into the community because they felt unprepared or lacked confidence for such interactions in the community.

The Egypt program behaved very differently than the Spain program with over 93% of students' social networks being comprised of friends made in the community. This may seem like an unusually high percentage, but not when the situation of the students in Egypt is compared to that of the other programs. Students in the Egypt program were required to speak Arabic for two hours a day with a native speaker Monday through Friday. At the end of each day as well as at the end of each week students submitted a report on these conversations and received a grade for them. The daily reports as well as the grade provided enough of an incentive for students to venture into the community and talk to strangers. The two hours a day speaking requirement was the main impetus for students' meeting people in the community. The success of this assignment corroborates the findings of Engle and Engle (2002) who found that students benefit from having their program orient them and help them become part of their host country. Commenting on her motivation to speak with natives, Denise said, "It was my homework, I got graded on it." Given the intense requirement to converse with natives for two hours a day, the program enrolled all students in a local recreation club. The club included recreation facilities such as a pool and sports courts, but also included restaurants, crochet, and places to socialize. Many people from the community would come to the club just to read the newspaper and chat with friends. Eugene said, "[The program] helped us to acquire memberships at the local club which was extremely helpful for me to be able to meet people because I'm a generally shy person." Gabe said the club was the highlight of his summer because "it's where people are always meeting and socializing." Olivia added, "I loved being a member of the club. That was the main source of speakers for me." The program gave the students a demanding assignment, but provided them with easy access to native speakers that allowed students to interact with native speakers and develop relationships with them.

Students in other programs expressed desires for a similar assignment in their respective programs. When asked what more her program could have done to help her develop friendships, Makayla from the China program said, "We could have had more assignments to talk with people our age around campus." Gorden, also from the China program said that the program could have required them to interact more with native speakers by providing "more assignments requiring us to go out and use our Chinese." Lack of accountability was also an issue in the China program. Avery said, "[The program] could have followed up with [the] study buddy program. Some students didn't interact much with study buddies or they ended up speaking a lot of English." Responding to the same question, Amy from the Mexico program said, "Maybe giving us challenges like 'talk to one person on the bus each day or week' or something of the sort to motivate us." Some students commented that they were too shy to talk to random strangers and wished that their program had encouraged them to get out into the community more. Based on the success of the Egypt program's two hours per day speaking requirement, other study abroad programs could have similar success by requiring students to speak with native speakers each day, providing a venue for them to find native speakers similar to the club, and requiring students to report each day. Not only did this assignment get students in Egypt interacting with native speakers, but they also enjoyed the opportunity. Students from the other programs wished they had had similar opportunities.

Second Order Networks

In every program, except for the China program, students reported having expanded their social networks by meeting the friends of other study abroad participants. These friends were often the host families of the other participants in the program, but were also friends met at school, church, or in the community. The majority of the students in the China program did not

form second order networks, but those who did listed meeting second order friends through teachers, study buddies, and through their maid. When asked what advice he would give to future study abroad students, Blaine from the China program said, "Get ahold of your study buddy and become friends with his friends." Having recognized the importance of using a native contact to meet other natives, Blaine recommends that future study abroad students do the same thing.

The students in the Spain program typically had small second order networks or no second order network at all. Less than one fourth of the students in Spain formed a second order network. Out of the students who did have second order networks, almost every person in that network was a friend of the student's host family or the host family of a friend from the program. This result is not surprising given that 66% of students' social networks in Spain were comprised of their host family. It is only natural that it would be the host family who would be the main source for second order friends for them. When asked what sorts of things she did to make friends with native speakers, Susan from the Spain program said, "I made sure to build a relationship with my host family. We would laugh and tease each other and it was like we were really part of their family." When asked what advice she would give to students going on a study abroad, Cynthia responded, "I would say get to know your family, make an effort to get to know them. Go places with them, that will help you make friends with other locals." Responding to the same question, Susan added, "Be friendly and get to know your host family. They will introduce you to others and it will force you to speak the language." Both of these girls from the Spain program recognized the benefit of using their host families as a way to get to know other native speakers. Students in the Mexico and Russia programs followed the exact

same pattern as the Spain program with all of their second order friends being made through their host family or through an American friend.

Students in Egypt generally formed much larger second order networks than students in the other programs. While the majority of the students in the other programs did not make any second order friends, only two students in Egypt did not form a second order network. About half of the students in the Egypt program had small second order networks consisting of only one or two people. The other half had much larger second order networks ranging in size from five people to 14 people. Isabella from the Egypt program explained how she formed her second order network. She said, "I went to different shops and volunteered at different places to meet new people, and when you meet one person you begin to meet all of their friends and family and acquaintances." For Isabella, second order networks were formed naturally and simply once she had established friendships. Roughly half of Isabella's friends were made through other friends. Students in Egypt also used their American friends to meet native speakers just like the students in the other programs did. Blake described how he used other Americans to meet new people and form a second order network. He said, "[I] tried making friends with my friends from the program. Like make friends with other students' speaking partners." Blake was able to make new friends and create a second order network by gaining access to native speaking friends of his American friends. Students in the Egypt program used their Egyptian friends and their American friends to meet new people and form larger second order networks than students in the other programs.

One of the aims of this paper is to discuss the relationship between second order networks and the intensity of friendships. The data show that students who formed second order networks were 26.7% more likely to have more intense friendships. This is logical because

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students who have formed a close relationship with a friend are likely to spend a lot of time with them and come in contact with the friends of their friend. Also, once a person is introduced to their friend's friend, they are likely to come in contact with the original friend more often as well. Thus, second order networks may result from an already existing intense friendship or the original friendship may be intensified by creating a second order network through that person. Second order networks are beneficial to study abroad students because they help them to become part of a native speaker's social network. This interaction will give the student more opportunities to develop friendships and master the target language.

Limitations

When filling out the Social Interaction Questionnaire students were asked to only include native speakers of the target language in their social network, however, many students listed participants of their study abroad program in their social network even though they were not native speakers. Since all students spent large amounts of time with other program participants it is expected that they each would have made friends within the program. However, the data here are inconsistent since some students listed program participants as being part of their social network while others did not even though they most likely were friends with their fellow study abroad participants. This means that some social networks only contain native speakers while others contain program participants as well. In order to have concrete information regarding the role that fellow program participants have in students' social networks another survey would need to be administered with more explicit instructions. Despite this weakness, the data still provide an in depth view of the kinds of friendships that student formed during their study abroad programs. While it is not possible to view the social network data as only including

native speakers, we are still able to obtain a better understanding of the kinds of social networks students formed during their study abroad with this data.

Conclusion

This paper has been an overview of the social networks formed by BYU study abroad students in Spain, Mexico, Russia, Egypt, and China during 2010. In each of the programs studied, students formed different kinds of social networks. Students' own initiative combined with the structure of the program seemed to influence the formation of social networks. No program forced students to form second order networks leaving that possibility up to the students. The creation of social networks during the study abroad was also heavily influenced by the structure of the program. Students in Egypt, Spain, and Mexico who did not attend school with native speakers formed very few school related friendships. Students in Russia and China attended schools that introduced them to native speakers and they made more school related friends. Students in Egypt made many friends in the community because their program required them to speak with natives for two hours a day. Students from the other programs did not have this assignment and thus had fewer friends from the community. The China program had the highest percent of school related friends at 36.0%, Spain had the highest percent of host family friends at 66.6%, Russia had the highest percent of church related friends at 41.0% and Egypt had the highest percent of friends from the community at 93.1%. It is important for students to use the target language in a variety of settings in order to master it as much as possible. It would be beneficial for these programs to look at each other's strengths and apply them to their own program so that students can have the best experience possible.

Appendix

Social Interaction Questionnaire (Part 1)

Your Name (First and Last):

Email address:

In this questionnaire you will be asked about people you spoke with in your target language (the language spoken in your study abroad country) and in English while participating in study abroad. Please respond carefully to each of the items based on your recollections of your experience abroad. Your best recollections are acceptable.

On the back of this page you will find a table where you will list the names of people you became acquainted with while abroad. Please fill out that table according to the instructions given and use it to answer the questions on the second part of this survey (Pages 3-10—stapled together separately so you can flip through the pages and keep your list of names separate for reference).

In the table on page 2 (see back), please write, from memory, the names of friends or acquaintances who you spoke with in your target language (the language spoken in the country where you studied abroad). You may also write the names of native speakers with whom you regularly spoke in English who fit the following description:

- You at least occasionally spoke your second language to them.
- You know them well enough to have spent at least some time socializing with them.

If you had more than twenty friends with whom you at least occasionally spoke your second/target language, please simply list the twenty with whom you that language most regularly.

To help you think about individuals you could name, think about people you met at school, at clubs or formal organizations, in the community, through internships, etc. Think also of people you lived with, as well as people you were introduced to through friends or others.

These names are for your reference only and will not be used by the researchers in their reports, etc. For this reason, you may use first names, last names, initials, etc. The purpose is to help you think about the people you associated with.

Again, you will use this part of the survey (Part 1) to fill out the rest of the survey (Part 2).

1. Give the names of the native speakers you became acquainted with, following the instructions on the first page (see reverse side).

	Name (first, last, or both)
Person 1	
Person 2	
Person 3	
Person 4	
Person 5	
Person 6	
Person 7	
Person 8	
Person 9	
Person 10	
Person 11	
Person 12	
Person 13	
Person 14	
Person 15	
Person 16	
Person 17	
Person 18	
Person 19	
Person 20	

Please keep this page handy so you can use it to fill out the questions in the second part of this survey

Social Interaction Questionnaire (Part 2)

2. Please circle the option below that describes how well each person in your list spoke English (English Proficiency). Refer to your list on Page 2, Part 1.

	Level of English Proficiency
Person 1	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 2	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 3	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 4	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 5	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 6	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 7	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 8	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 9	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 10	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 11	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 12	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 13	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 14	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 15	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 16	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 17	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 18	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 19	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well
Person 20	1-Not at all 2-Poorly 3-OK 4-Somewhat Well 5-Very Well

3. In the boxes below, briefly describe how you met each person. For example, you might write statements like "She was my host mother," or "He was a friend of my American roommate, who introduced us" or "He lived in the same dormitory."

	How you met (e.g., "She was one of the study buddies our program set us up with.")
Person 1	
Person 2	
Person 3	
Person 4	
Person 5	
Person 6	
Person 7	
Person 8	
Person 9	
Person 10	
Person 11	
Person 12	
Person 13	
Person 14	
Person 15	
Person 16	
Person 17	
Person 18	
Person 19	
Person 20	

	On average how many hours did you spend with this person per week?	What percentage of that time did you spend doing activities in the target language? (speaking, doing homework, listening to music, watching movies or TV, etc.)	What percentage of that time did you spend doing activities in English. (speaking, doing homework, writing, listening to music, watching movies or TV, etc.)
Person 1			
Person 2			
Person 3			
Person 4			
Person 5			
Person 6			
Person 7			
Person 8			
Person 9			
Person 10			
Person 11			
Person 12			
Person 13			
Person 14			
Person 15			
Person 16			
Person 17			
Person 18			
Person 19			
Person 20			

5. For each of the people in your list, please indicate the level of your friendship, ranging from mere acquaintance to very close friend/confidant.

Note that in terms of communication, level of friendship ranges from engaging in occasional friendly exchanges (low on the scale) to sharing one's deepest feelings or asking for advice regarding personal challenges (high on the scale). Refer to the diagram below to help interpret the range.

Acquaintance			Friend			Very Close Friend/Confidant	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
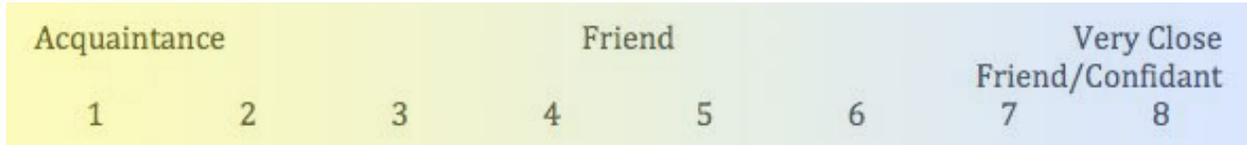
	Level of friendship (1-8)
Person 1	
Person 2	
Person 3	
Person 4	
Person 5	
Person 6	
Person 7	
Person 8	
Person 9	
Person 10	
Person 11	
Person 12	
Person 13	
Person 14	
Person 15	
Person 16	
Person 17	
Person 18	

Person 19	
Person 20	

For the items 6-12, if you need more paper, feel free to attach additional sheets (be sure to number your answers).

6. Choose three people from your list above that you marked as being the closest of friends (highest score). Pease tell why you think you were able to develop good friendships with these people? What allowed you to move up the scale from acquaintance to friend, etc.

7. Choose three people from your list above that you marked as being lowest in terms of friendship level. Please tell why you think you were not able to develop stronger friendships with these people? Describe anything that may have inhibited friendships with these people.

8. What were some obstacles that kept you from speaking your second language with these people?

9. What did your study abroad program do to help you make native speaking friends or acquaintances while abroad?

10. What more could your study abroad program have done to help you make native speaking friends or acquaintances while abroad?

11. What sorts of things did *you* do to make friends with native speakers of the target language?

12. What advice would you give to students who participate in the study abroad program after you regarding how to make friends with locals?

SOCIAL GROUPS

For this item you will help us identify which people know each other and how they know each other by grouping together the people you listed according to where they should know each other from (and possibly where you got to know them). For example, if three of the people are host family members, you would group them together by writing their names in the box "Group 1" and labeling it "Host Family." If four of the people worked at your internship site and knew each other as a result, you would group them together by dragging their names to the "Group 2" box and then giving the box "Group 2" the label "Internship Site" in the blank below. Clubs, community organizations, etc. could also be used as group labels.

If people belong to more than one group, go ahead and write them in to each group, but mark what you would consider secondary groups (not as important for that person) by placing a number 2 next to the person's name for secondary groups.

As you list people to their groups, please be sure to define each group by writing the group name in the box so that we can understand how the people know each other. If you have more groups than there are boxes, please write these on a separate sheet of paper and attach them to your survey.

Group 1 Label:	Group 2 Label:	Group 3 Label:
Group 4 Label:	Group 5 Label:	Group 6 Label:

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Bidialectalism and Language Attitudes: A Case Study of a Bolivian-Argentine Family in the United States

Human beings are infinitely complex which makes describing them and their behaviors a challenge. Teschner (1980) stated, "Human behavior is complex, bilingual human behavior even more so" (p. 54). When children grow up in an environment in which they are exposed to two languages and/or two different dialects of one language they are given an extra set of choices. This paper will discuss the bidialectal phenomena that occur in a Bolivian-Argentine family from the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area. It is a qualitative analysis and will focus on the linguistic experience of the two daughters in the family and the language choices that they have made. As such it constitutes a case study and the findings presented herein may or may not be generalizable to other bidialectal families.

Review of the Literature

Bidialectalism Through Education

The term *bidialectism* has been used in education to mean teaching lower-class students, particularly African American students, how to speak standard English as well as their native dialect (Di Pietro 1970, Elifson 1977). O'Neil (1972) shares what he calls "some facts and some pretty good hunches about language and language learning" (p. 433). One of these facts is that linguistically speaking, no language or dialect is superior to another. Linguists cannot claim that British English is better than American English or that Korean is better than Japanese. However, societal views and norms or personal views may claim that one dialect is superior to another or that the grammar and vocabulary of dialect *x* is more prestigious than the grammar and

vocabulary of dialect *y*. Speakers of Spanish, for instance, may view Argentine Spanish as being superior to Mexican Spanish if they are from Argentina while a person from Mexico may have exactly the opposite point of view. O'Neil goes on to explain that "though dialects are from the point of view of their grammars partially separate but equal, they do exist in social, cultural, political, and economic settings that wash away their linguistic equality" (p. 435). Thus, the supposed superiority or inferiority of a language or dialect is not inherent, but is imposed by society.

Dialects of the same language are often mutually intelligible, but they may not be. Although differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar occur between dialects, speakers of different dialects are typically able to understand each other employing perceptual strategies. Speaking of teaching minorities another dialect of English, O'Neil (1972) states that "it will be extremely difficult (because it serves no purpose) for the speakers of one dialect to learn to produce rather than simply understand the other dialect" (p. 434). O'Neil questions the efficacy of teaching speakers a second dialect of a language that they already speak because there is no apparent need for it and if two speakers can understand one another then there is no need for them to learn another way of communicating. The differences between the two dialects may be salient, but communication will proceed unhindered.

O'Neil (1972) opposes the idea of teaching a standard dialect to lower class individuals and worries that such an undertaking would erode the core identities of individuals that speak a less prestigious dialect. He states that bidialectalism "is part of the social and political machinery meant to control" (p. 438). He fears that imposing a majority dialect on the minority will give the minority a sense of inferiority as they perceive that their way of speaking is

incorrect. O'Neil asserts that no one should be taught that one dialect is better or more preferred than another since all dialects can communicate effectively.

O'Neil's view of the bidialectalism that results from teaching a standard dialect to a minority is strongly opposed by Zale (1972). Zale is of the opinion that teaching Standard English does not diminish one's sense of identity; rather it opens doors for future opportunities. He also states that minority children recognize the value of speaking the standard dialect because they told him that they wanted to learn Standard English. He says that being able to speak Standard English will "enable them to get through their classes, to handle the communication related to their Co-operative Education assignments, to graduate from college, to get a job, to keep that job, and to succeed with that job" (p. 3). Thus, both Zale and his students see the ability to speak Standard English as an important component for success in the real world.

Supporting the teaching of Standard English in the classroom does not imply that minority dialects are wrong or of lesser value. Zale (1972) states, "Dialect is part of a person's identity, and it should not automatically be labeled as wrong, or inferior" (p. 7). Speaking of his minority students Zale goes on to say that "they are in college and mature enough to know what their dialect means to them in terms of present classroom success, and future success on the job, the decision about the future of that dialect rightfully belongs to them, and only to them" (p. 7). As well as supporting the teaching of a standard dialect, Zale adamantly supports the continued use of minority dialects as they reflect a sense of identity and community. He also feels that it is important to expose students to a more Standard English that they can use if they choose. The ability to speak like the majority will propel students farther and give them more opportunities.

O'Neil and Zale have conflicting views about the importance and benefit of teaching Standard English to speakers of a minority dialect. O'Neil believes that adopting a standard

variety is not only unnecessary, but can also be detrimental to minorities. Zale believes that the

standard variety should not be forced on anyone, but if one chooses to learn and use it there will

be more opportunities available to him or her. The kind of bidialectalism discussed thus far is

the kind that occurs educationally in a classroom setting. There are instances, however, of two

dialects being acquired simultaneously.

Accent and Dialect Mobility

Giles (1972) discusses what happens when a community with one accent lives near a

community with a separate, distinct accent. He studied accent mobility in Great Britain where

each particular region is known for having a unique accent. He mentions accent borders, which

are locations where one accent subsides in dominance while another becomes dominant. People

who grow up in such regions are often exposed to two unique dialects and may be able to use

either accent freely. Most speakers are also able to standardize their speech meaning that they

will make the regional differences of their accent less salient. At the same time they can make

their accent more regionalized by emphasizing the distinct accent of their home region.

Regionalizing and standardizing an accent are done for social reasons and show that the speaker

belongs to a certain speech community.

Given the right circumstances, speakers will reduce the pronunciation dissimilarities

between them and their interlocutor through what is known as *accent convergence*. It is the

result of a speaker's desire to sound more like their interlocutor and typically occurs when a non-

standard dialect comes into contact with the standard dialect (Crystal, 2003). Accent

convergence can happen in one of two ways. If the speaker's accent belongs to a regional

variety or dialect that is considered to be of lower prestige than the dialect spoken by his or her

interlocutor then the speaker may assume the higher prestige accent. This may be done in an

attempt to seem more educated or simply to fit into the social sphere of the interlocutor. The opposite can also occur when a speaker of a high prestige dialect adjusts his or her speech to be like that of a lower prestige accent. This may be done as a way to reduce social distance or to reduce tension between the speakers. It is important to note that not only are speakers able to adjust their accents, but that the adjustment is socially motivated (Giles 1972).

Dialect Choice

Fairclough (2005) affirms that the kind of bidialectalism described above is not only possible, but that it is also common. For those who are bilingual, choosing which dialect to use could easily fall within the realms of pragmatics and social competence. Speakers know that they cannot speak in the same way to every person that they come in contact with. Linguistic competence and communicative competence are required to know how to act in each given situation. For example, one would not speak to a potential employer the same way that one would speak to his or her child. In the same way those who have come in contact with and acquired more than one dialect of a given language can speak in the dialect that best fits their circumstances.

Fairclough (2005) discusses two highly important aspects of bidialectalism which are the opportunity to use a dialect and one's sense of identity. For example, someone from Argentina who uses the pronoun *vos* may choose to employ the more standard pronoun *tú* when interacting with people from other parts of the Spanish speaking world. This may be done with the intention of appearing more educated, as a way to mask one's place of origin, or simply to fit in. Yet when talking with others from their home town they will speak as their peers do. However, not everyone will choose to adopt a standard dialect since assimilating to the mainstream may be seen as abandoning one's heritage.

Teschner (1981) discussed the linguistic environment in El Paso, Texas by reporting on the language use of two of his Mexican-American students. Both of his students came from almost exactly the same background with similar family situations and even grew up in the same neighborhood. Despite being so demographically similar they have developed markedly different speaking habits. One of them saw maintenance of Spanish as a top priority for his family while the other viewed English as being more important. These differing attitudes have influenced them to use Spanish in different ways. Despite their many similarities, their differing linguistic attitudes have led them to value their heritage language differently.

Accommodation

The term *accommodation* refers to a speaker's altering of accent or dialect as a result of interactions with a speaker of another dialect. Unlike with accent convergence, accommodation can refer to a speaker making their speech less like that of their interlocutor. Accommodation can result in accent convergence, but is seen as being a temporary response to external factors (Crystal, 2003). However, over time a person may acquire another dialect or features of another dialect if accommodations are frequent enough. Features of the new dialect may enter into their speech and may even replace features from their original dialect. It is also possible that the person will be able to handle both dialects with ease and switch back and forth as circumstances and personal preferences dictate (Chambers, 1992). Thus, accommodation may occur when someone who speaks one dialect interacts with someone who speaks another. For example, a Mexican who grew up speaking a rural dialect of Spanish might strive to use a more standard Mexican dialect when in a formal setting if he or she had had sufficient exposure to the standard dialect.

Bidialectialism and Dialect Contact in New York

Otheguy, Zentella and Livert (2007) analyzed the complex dialect contact that is occurring in New York City. New York City's population is roughly 25% Hispanic with Spanish speakers speaking many different dialects in the same area. Not all Hispanics in New York speak Spanish since many families have been in the area for generations and have shifted over to English. Many families are in the process of shifting from Spanish to English and new families arrive every year that speak little or no English. Thus, the makeup of the Hispanic community in New York is complex and changing as Spanish speakers from every corner of the Spanish-speaking world interact and acquire English in New York City.

Otheguy, Zentella and Livert (2007) wanted to see what effect the dialect contact in New York was having on the different dialects represented there. They formed a sample of speakers who had immigrated from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico. While each of these countries forms its own speech community, the researchers decided to group them together into broader dialect regions. The Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban were grouped into the Caribbean dialect and the Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Mexicans were grouped into the Mainland dialect. The rational for this grouping being that the Caribbean dialects have a number of dialectal features that differentiate them from the mainland dialects.

Caribbean dialects are known for using overt preverbal pronouns more frequently than mainland dialects. The authors of the study hypothesized that contact with English as well as contact with Caribbeans who use overt pronouns such as *yo, tú* and *nosotros* more frequently would cause the Mainlanders to use overt pronouns more frequently as well. Two generations of Mainlanders and Caribbeans were compared to see how their use of pronouns had changed. The recently arrived Caribbeans used overt pronouns 36% of the time and the Mainlanders only 24%

of the time. However, the New York born Caribbeans used overt pronouns 42% of the time and the Mainlanders 33% of the time. These results are consistent with the authors' hypothesis and show that overt pronoun use is increasing in both groups. Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert (2007) propose that the Caribbeans' increase in overt pronoun use is due to contact with English, which always uses subject pronouns. They also conclude that the increase in Mainlander overt pronoun use results from contact with English as well as contact with the Caribbean dialects that use overt pronouns much more frequently. They state, "These results support the idea that Spanish-speaking New York constitutes a single speech community at some level, in that all of its members show evidence of the impact of English on their pronoun rates" (p. 787). Thus, speakers from unique dialects have joined to form one speech community in New York. The authors concluded that dialect contact has led to accommodation among the constituents of the community.

Zentella (1990) conducted another study in New York City where she examined the differences in lexical items of Spanish speakers based on country of origin. She found that words for common items varied greatly based on the dialect of the individual. She also noted that certain dialects such as those spoken in Colombia and Cuba are considered prestigious while those spoken in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico are not. She found that certain speakers who had been raised speaking a lower status dialect adopted different dialectal patterns in an effort to elevate their social status. She also noted that certain speakers of higher status dialects would purposefully speak a lower status dialect in order to show affiliation to that group instead of to the group that they were raised in. Once again we see that speakers who are exposed to multiple dialects can choose which dialect they use based on social pressures and preferences.

Linguistic Attitudes

Linguistic attitudes are important in the study of bidialectalism because they reveal a lot about the person who holds them. Linguistic attitudes show, for example, what social group a person belongs to or at least which group that person would like to belong to. Attitudes can be either positive or negative and can help researchers predict the future of certain phenomenon. For example, if a person grows up in an area such as Buenos Aires where *vos* is used instead of *tú,* that person is likely to have a positive attitude and perception of *vos*. He or she may see *vos* as being part of his or her heritage or may simply enjoy using it as a way to fit in to the speech community. Because of this person's positive attitude, he or she will likely continue using *vos* and pass it on to the next generation. However, if one is raised by parents who use *vos,* but in an area where *tú* is the standard, this person may have a negative perception of *vos* and prefer the pronoun *tú*. This negative attitude may lead the person to ultimately reject the form used by his or her parents and not pass it on to the next generation. Whatever the source of a linguistic attitude, it will influence the way that a person speaks and ultimately dictate which forms get passed on and which do not (Silva-Corvalán, 2001).

Familial Bidialectalism

Bidialectalism does not always occur later in life when a person who speaks one dialect comes into contact with a person who speaks another dialect, but can happen as a child is acquiring language. Children can acquire two dialects simultaneously if members of their immediate family speak different dialects. Potowski (2008) studied the language use of Hispanics in Chicago that had a Puerto Rican parent and a Mexican parent. She refers to these people as *MexiRicans.* Potowski looked at the pronunciation, vocabulary, and idioms employed by the MexiRicans of Chicago and found that many of them could use both the Mexican and the

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Puerto Rican varieties of Spanish. However, she discovered that the MexiRicans were far more likely to employ the dialect of their mothers as opposed to the dialect of their fathers. Thus, a family with a Mexican mother would produce a family of children that predominately speak a Mexican variety of Spanish while the opposite would be true for a family with a Puerto Rican mother. Since children are likely to spend much more time with their mothers than with their fathers it seems natural that they would be more likely to adopt their mother's form of speech as opposed to their father's.

As mentioned previously, identity plays an enormous role with regards to dialect usage. Ghosh Johnson (2005) studied a number of high school students and questioned them about their perspectives on their identity. She found that among the Spanish speakers there was a Mexican group and a Puerto Rican group. While they shared a common language, each group was autonomous and separate from the other. One girl, although not Puerto Rican, said that she was *considered* to be Puerto Rican by the Puerto Rican group. She had been able to assimilate into that group although she did not belong there at first. Ghosh Johnson's study shows how teenagers can change and assimilate in order to be part of a group and how the way one talks and acts reflects group affiliation. Thus, it is easy to see why someone would maintain a certain dialect in order to show membership in the group from which they originated or change their dialect in order to be affiliated with a new group.

As stated previously, mothers play an enormous role in the dialect spoken by their children, but as children grow and develop an identity separate from their family, their peer group begins to play a large role in their speech. Speaking of dialect choice, Kerswill and Williams (2000) stated, "The main factor is the child's orientation toward the peer group" (p. 94). While the mother exercises a large measure of influence over her children when they are young,

the strength of this influence wanes as the peer influence strengthens. An Argentine mother who

lived with her family in Mexico would have children who spoke Argentine Spanish until they

formed peer groups in their community and shifted to speaking Mexican Spanish. These

children might use one dialect at home while using another with friends. However, Spanish

heritage speakers in the United States do not always have the same access to the Spanish

speaking world as do children who are raised in a Spanish speaking country.

Spanish speakers in the United States often do not live in communities where Spanish is

widely spoken. And even when they do live in largely Hispanic communities or attend dual

immersion schools, interactions among adolescents overwhelmingly take place in English

(Potowski, 2004). This means that dialect choice is quite variable and depends greatly on the

individual circumstances of each speaker. Heritage speakers who speak a minority variety of

Spanish at home, but who do not speak Spanish much with their peers are more likely to

maintain their home variety. It is also possible that speakers will develop the characteristics of

each dialect and will be able to shift back and forth between the two.

Bidialectalism can occur in a number of ways. Students who speak a nonstandard variety

of a language can learn a standard variety in school although researchers such as O'Neil think

that this in an ineffective and detrimental process. Nonetheless, it occurs and results in speakers

being bidialectal. Bidialectalism occurs when speakers of one dialect live within close proximity

to speakers of another dialect. It also happens when speakers of many dialects reside in the same

area as in the case of New York City. Bidialectalism can also occur within families when

speakers of different dialects form part of the immediate family. Whatever the circumstances,

bidialectialism results from two distinct dialects coming into contact for an extended period of

time. The extent to which one dialect will be used over the other reflects a speaker's attitudes

and personal choice. Bidialectalism allows speakers to form part of more than one speech community and express their personal identity.

Methods

The information presented in this paper was gathered through an interview in December 2010 with two sisters who were reared in the United States by an Argentine mother and a Bolivian father. Subsequent conversations have added further information and detail to the information gathered from the original interview. Both sisters were present for the interview which consisted of a number of open ended questions. Topics included were the languages spoken at home during their childhood, their use of the Spanish pronouns *tú* and *vos*, their pronunciation of the grapheme {ll}, how they learned Spanish, their perceptions of their ability to speak Spanish, and future plans for Spanish use. This interview was recorded and transcribed for analysis.

A Case Study in Bidialectalism

Anna and Daniella's mother lived in Argentina during the time of the authoritarian military junta.   She had been under surveillance multiple times and generally felt unsafe in Argentina. She has lived in the United States since her 20's and has no desire to ever move back to Argentina. Their father grew up in Bolivia in extreme poverty and immigrated to Argentina and Venezuela before eventually ending up in the United States in his 20's as well. Both of them have lived in the United States for over half their lives, have made a life in this country, and plan on staying here.

Daniella describes her parents as being "in-between" because they grew up in Latin America and that is still who they are, but at the same time they are very politically and

culturally American. Being "in-between" also refers to the fact that even though they live in the United States, a large portion of their lives involves working and socializing with other Spanish speakers and immigrants. They feel like their current situation in the United States is so much better than what they left behind that this is where they want their family to stay. Anna stated, "They're trying to chart our family in a different direction and part of that is becoming American." Thus, while Spanish is their native tongue, they wanted their children to be successful in the United States and that meant ensuring that they could speak English.

English is the predominant language for both Anna and Daniella. They both use Spanish on a regular basis with Daniella using Spanish more frequently than Anna. Based on the author's impressions, both girls perform in the advanced range. They are both able to converse fluidly and speak in paragraph form with few errors. Most of their errors relate to the use of the subjunctive, preterit and imperfect, and *ser* and *estar*. They have both taken multiple formal Spanish classes and have a good understanding of the Spanish language. Due to her effort to master Spanish, Daniella's Spanish is more advanced than Anna's.

Language History

When Anna, the oldest daughter, was little her parents spoke to her almost exclusively in Spanish making Spanish her first and only language at the time. Around the time Daniella was born and Anna was preparing to start school, her parents knew of some children whose parents had tried to teach them Spanish and English by only speaking Spanish at home. However, this apparently was not working out well and the children reportedly could not speak English or Spanish very well. When Anna started attending school she could not speak English and did not like speaking English at first. In an effort to ensure that their children spoke at least one language fluently, Anna's parents began speaking only English to her and Daniella.

Even though Anna and Daniella were spoken to in English, their parents continued to speak to each other in Spanish thus exposing the girls indirectly to Spanish. Hearing their parents speak in Spanish was not their only exposure to Spanish, however. Their father would also bring Spanish textbooks home and teach them words and phrases in Spanish. Daniella said that her parents would also code switch using random Spanish phrases when conversing with the girls. Referring to the occasional use of Spanish phrases with the girls she said, "I think it was just natural for them [to use Spanish]. So, you picked up stuff, but it wasn't a normal conversational thing." Despite the casual teaching of Spanish at home, English was emphasized as the more important language.

Even though English was the predominant language of the home, there were some instances where Spanish was spoken. The times when the family would speak Spanish the most were when both parents were present. When the girls were just with their mother or just with their father they rarely spoke Spanish, but when both parents were together it was a common occurrence. This is most likely due to the fact that their parents would speak Spanish to each other. This made it natural for them to speak Spanish to their children when they were all together since they were accustomed to speaking Spanish to each other. For example, when the girls were cooking with their mother they would speak English, but when the whole family was together at the table they would often converse in Spanish. In fact, there were many common household words that were almost always said in Spanish such as *pan* (bread), *banquito* (stool), *carne* (meat), and *huevos* (eggs). Other times in which it was common for Spanish to be spoken were when the whole family was together in the car or when their parents would make comments while watching a movie. To this day, when Daniella watches a movie, comments will come into her head in Spanish rather than in English. When Anna was in high school her family began

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attending a Spanish congregation of their church exposing them to more varieties of Spanish and giving them increased exposure to the language as well as a place to utilize it. Thus, the girls had many opportunities to hear and practice Spanish even though English was the preferred language for most activities.

Anna and Daniella have always spoken to each other in English, even when they were children. Daniella claims that she did not want to speak Spanish when she was young because Anna spoke English which influenced her to want to speak English. Also, when the girls were occasionally spoken to in Spanish they would typically respond in English and their parents would then switch to English as well. The girls' decision to respond in English even though they had been addressed in Spanish is a common and predictable outcome. English had been established as the family language thus making it permissible for the girls to always respond in English even when spoken to in Spanish. Daniella said, "I definitely never wanted to respond in Spanish so it was more natural to talk in English." The norm of speaking English was so established in the home that responding in English, even when spoken to in Spanish, felt like the "natural" thing to do. Despite their reluctance to use Spanish, the girls would use Spanish when it was convenient or helpful.

Daniella said that she and her parents would use Spanish in public when they did not want others to understand what they were saying. For them, Spanish became a kind of secret language. As they grew up, Anna and Daniella developed differing attitudes towards using Spanish. Daniella wants to speak Spanish as well as she can and stated, "I personally would like to increase my Spanish." This is evidenced by her efforts to have serious conversations with her parents in Spanish. Conversing about serious issues in Spanish was a marked change from the established norm that occurred when Daniella was a teenager. While describing how she felt the

first time she had a serious conversation with her parents in Spanish she said that "the first time was weird, but in some ways it was more natural." She went on to say that she enjoyed expressing anger in Spanish and that she felt like her parents took her more seriously because she had expressed her feelings in Spanish. As Daniella grew up, Spanish came to form a larger part of her identity. For Anna, however, Spanish never was a defining characteristic of who she was as a person. Unlike Daniella, she avoided speaking Spanish to her parents because it embarrassed her. Also, Anna does not feel a need to improve her Spanish like Daniella does. She enjoys being able to listen to Spanish music and converse with Spanish speakers, but speaking better Spanish is not one of her priorities. Since she sees herself as being American she views Spanish as more of hobby than a necessity. Personal identity plays a major role in Anna and Daniella's current use and view of Spanish.

Code Switching

Code switching, defined very simply, is using two or more languages within the same utterance (Zentella, 1997). Daniella, unlike Anna, engages in frequent code switching. While Anna has mostly monolingual English friends, Daniella has a number of friends who speak both English and Spanish and with whom she code switches. Potowski (2005) explains that code switching is a useful tool to bilinguals as some concepts are more easily expressed in one language than in another. She explains that concepts such as *building* and *edificio* may be considered to be equivalents, but in reality do not represent exactly the same thing. Two words that may seem to be direct translations may actually conjure up different images in each of the two languages and carry with them different connotations. Daniella said that "in order to understand each other better" she and her bilingual friends will throw in random Spanish words when they are conversing. She used the Spanish word *ganas* as an example because there is no

word in English that conveys the same ideas as *ganas* does. To her, using Spanish words, even while speaking in English, aided her in communication.

On the other hand, Anna never code switches. She says that she never does this because there are such specific divides in her life. She went on to say, "If I speak Spanish I speak Spanish, if I speak English I speak English." After making that comment Daniella interjected, "Yeah, and I can't do that." Their mother also engages in frequent code switching and according to Daniella has trouble speaking just one language. Thus, code switching is an act shared by Daniella and her mother that is not shared by Anna. To Daniella, code switching is such a common and necessary practice that she was surprised when Anna said that she never does it. Daniella, just like her mother, sees code switching as a part of everyday bilingual life. While Daniella has imitated the speech patterns of her mother, Anna has chosen not to. Code switching is evidence of Daniella's adopting and imitating the speech patterns of her mother.

Use of the Voiceless Postalveolar Fricative

No acoustic analysis of the participants' speech or that of their parents was done for this section. The phonetic information contained here was self-reported by the participants and is also based on the author's impressions of their pronunciation.

Anna and Daniella's mother grew up in Buenos Aires, Argentina and uses a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] when saying words like *calle* or *llamar*. Their father uses the voiced palatal fricative [ʝ] common in many parts of Latin America. Their father grew up in the Andean region of Bolivia where the phoneme [ʎ] is still maintained. However, he left Bolivia as a child and only uses the more standard [ʝ]. The girls grew up being exposed to the accents of both their parents, but diverge in their use of the two. Daniella claims that she does not use the [ʃ] as much as a speaker from Argentina, but she does use it more than the average Spanish speaker.

Interestingly, using the [ʃ] was a conscious decision on her part. She said, "I started trying to do it on purpose when I was about 14, I guess. I would listen to Argentine radio and listen to my mother and try and pick it up because … I felt like that's what I was supposed to do." Now that she has practiced using it so much it is something that happens naturally without her forcing herself to do it like she did before. Daniella's efforts to speak like her mother and to imitate an Argentine accent reflect her desire to be connected to her Argentine heritage. For her, her sense of identity is tied to being Argentine and she remains Argentine by speaking her ancestral tongue. This is evidenced by her statement that speaking with that particular accent was something that she was "supposed to do." Anna, on the other hand, while describing herself as a Latina does not feel the same connection to her Argentine heritage as her sister does.

Anna has not put forth effort to try and imitate an Argentine pronunciation or to copy the accent of mother. Despite a lack of effort to do so, she will still say some words the way that her mother does. She says that this will usually happen with "basic and childish" words that she heard a lot around the house growing up. This is not surprising since children tend to imitate the speech of their mothers. With Anna, there are times where she experiences confusion on which way to speak. This will sometimes happen while she is at church interacting with native Spanish speakers from areas other than Argentina. She said, "Sometimes I'll be speaking and half of what I say will have the [ʃ] and half of it won't and then I just sound weird." Having grown up in an environment where there is not a large Argentine population is most likely what has caused Anna's occasional confusion. Even though her mother is the only person that she typically heard use the [ʃ], the large amount of linguistic input she has received from her mother in comparison to other sources could account for her use of both pronunciations. Even though Anna will

sometimes use both pronunciations in the same utterance, both she and Daniella feel like they have a lot of control over their accents.

Daniella reports that when talking with her Mexican friends she will downplay or even neutralize her Argentine accent. Daniella's actions in these situations are an accommodation to others' accents as discussed by Chambers (1992). Referring to using an Argentine accent she said, "I feel like people take it really negatively so if anything I try and not do it because people don't like it." Thus, her choice of accent reflects her accommodation to her interlocutor's dialect as her accent convergences with the accent of her interlocutor. She continued by saying, "I know that when I've been talking to Mexicans for an extended period of time I definitely lose my own accent. I just go with the flow." Interestingly she refers to speaking like an Argentine as "my own accent" which shows linguistic preference for her heritage dialect while at the same time being willing to neutralize her accent in order to fit in with the group.

In her speaking, Anna demonstrates a tendency towards an Argentine accent while typically maintaining a fairly neutral accent. Her tendency towards an Argentine variety is mostly due to her immense exposure to her mother's dialect while her preference for a neutral accent is most likely a result of her indifference to being perceived as Argentine. Anna affirms that she, just like Daniella, tends to pick up nuances of the speech of her interlocutors, especially their inflections. However, she will rarely imitate their accent. Speaking of imitating a different accent she said, "Especially with Argentinean Spanish, it's super-easy for me to feel it, but I usually won't initiate it myself. If I just speak naturally my accent is way more neutral, but when I'm with them it's more like them." For Anna, it is easy to "feel" Argentinean Spanish because she has heard her mother speak that way since she was child. She is accustomed to its sounds, intonations, and vocabulary thus making it easy for her to imitate it. However, she typically has

a more neutral accent. Her linguistic history is evident in the ease with which she can pick up an

Argentine accent, but her disinterest in being viewed as Argentine is evident in her preference for

using a neutral accent.

Use of the Pronouns Tú and Vos

The informal second person singular pronoun *vos* is used in Central and South America

with varying degrees of acceptance. In countries such as Chile, both *tú* and *vos* are widespread.

In Buenos Aires, Argentina, however, the pronoun *tú* has all but disappeared. Before the first

part of the 20th century the use of *vos* was not part of the prestigious norm. There are various

regions in Latin America where the use of *vos* is not accepted as the standard even though its use

is widespread. In present day Argentina the use of *vos* is the accepted standard and is used by

the upper and lower classes. In the United States, *vos* is not as accepted as it is in Argentina

since the majority of Spanish speakers in the United States come from regions where *tú* is

considered to be the standard (Uber, 2008).

Having grown up in Buenos Aires, Anna and Daniella's mother uses *vos* exclusively and

never uses the pronoun *tú.* Their father, however, was raised in an area of Bolivia that uses the

pronoun *tú.* Since he has spent time as an adult in Argentina and is married to an Argentine

woman that uses *vos,* he will use it occasionally, but only about 5% or 10% of the time according

to his daughters. Thus, Anna and Daniella were raised being exposed to two ways to say the

second person singular pronoun. Just as they differed in their accent preferences, the girls also

differ in their use of the pronouns *tú* and *vos.*

Until Anna started attending school she spoke Spanish exclusively and even at such a

young age had developed a preference for *tú* over *vos.* Anna explained that her family has a

video of her when she was about three years old. In the video Anna's mother is trying to get her

to say *vos,* but she refuses to say it. At this point Anna's father laughed and said, "She says *tú*, she takes after me." This reaction reportedly annoyed Anna's mother. Anna's mother likely wanted her daughter to take after her and thus her annoyance when Anna refused to use *vos* and used *tú* instead. Growing up Anna continued her preference for *tú* and stated, "I only use *tú*." Using *tú* shows a preference for her father's Bolivian or regionally unmarked dialect while using *vos* shows a preference for her mother's Argentine dialect. Anna stated that her preference for *tú* over *vos* is simply because she has always taken after her father. Anna said, "I really respect my dad. I respect my mom, too, but I feel that in a lot of ways I've always tried to be like my dad … I'm just emulating him." Daniella feels that Anna's early decision to use *tú* instead of *vos* might have been due to an aversion to her mother's desire that Anna speak like her. Her perceived similarities and connections to her father lead her to imitate his speech over that of her mother's. Although Anna consciously uses the pronoun *tú*, her exposure to the pronoun *vos* has led her to use *vos* conjugations at times.

Throughout her formative years Anna was exposed to *vos* conjugations whenever her mother spoke to her or one of her family members in Spanish. Naturally, she heard her mother use *vos* commands frequently around the house. While Anna does not use the pronoun *vos* when she gives commands, she does at times use the conjugations or at least the inflection typical of *vos* commands. Anna said, "My commands are really messed up because I will use the grammatical form that I learned in school, like standard Mexican Spanish, but I'll inflect it the way you do in Argentina. My commands are messed up." Anna uses the *tú* forms that she learned in school and from other Spanish speakers, but often maintains the inflection that she learned from her mother thus creating an interesting hybrid of the two forms. Interestingly, while Anna chose to use *tú* instead of *vos,* she was unable to avoid inflectional patterns that she

had heard from her mother throughout her life. Daniella added that she feels that Anna's

preference for *tú* over *vos* stems from the negative reactions that some Spanish speakers in the

United States have to *vos.* She said, "I think the reason you [Anna] don't use *vos* is because of

other people's opinions. So I think it has a lot to do with that perception of *vos.*" Negative

societal perceptions of *vos* in the United States have likely contributed to Anna's rejection of it.

Also, Anna's description of her commands as being "messed up" demonstrates her linguistic

insecurity in this area. Linguistic insecurity is a concept developed by Labov (1972). Its

application in bilingualism refers to speakers feeling that the way they speak is not correct or is

not socially acceptable. Anna appears to not feel confident in her use of commands because of

her uncertainty of the correct forms.

Daniella, on the other hand, uses *vos* frequently. She said that using *vos* is something that

has been ingrained in her from her mother and that she uses in without even thinking about it.

She will even respond using *vos* when someone talks to her in *tú.* This is particularly true with

habitual responses. For example, when someone asks her, "¿Cómo estás?" she will respond with,

"Bien, ¿y vos?" without even thinking about it. Both Daniella and Anna agree that Daniella is

more like their mother than their father and just like Anna has emulated the speech of her father,

Daniella has emulated the speech of her mother. Daniella said, "I feel that it might just be that I

spend more time with my mom than my dad." However, Daniella, like Anna, demonstrates a

certain degree of linguistic insecurity. She said, "I feel like I switch all the time between *tú* and

vos and *usted.* I have a totally messed up view of the singular form." Just like Anna she

describes this aspect of her speech as being "messed up." Having had so much varying input it is

understandable that both girls would hesitate when using these pronouns.

Although Anna reportedly has never used the pronoun *vos* in her speech, her intense

exposure to the pronoun has made it a natural part of her linguistic inventory. She said, "There

are some words and phrases that will come to my mind occasionally in the *vos* form, but I never

verbalize them, ever." Anna is aware of the pronoun *vos* and she will think of phrases that use

vos without ever actually saying them. Anna also stated, "I don't think I've ever used *vos* for

real." Interestingly, Anna said that when Daniella started to use *vos* she wanted to use it too, but

for some reason never did. For Daniella, the use of *vos* was a way to connect to her culture and

to become Argentine. Anna never felt the same yearning that Daniella felt to connect to her

heritage and this is most likely why she chose to use a more regionally unmarked pronoun as

opposed to using a pronoun that is seen by so many as being Argentine.

Learning Spanish at School

While Anna and Daniella were exposed to Spanish at home, they were not immersed in it

once Anna started attending elementary school and the family made the switch over to speaking

English at home. It was not until the girls began taking formal Spanish classes in school that

they really began to learn the rules of Spanish and actually be able to speak it with some fluency.

The family started attending a Spanish speaking congregation of their church around the same

time that Anna began taking Spanish classes which not only increased the girls' interest in the

language, but gave them added exposure to the language as well as a safe place to practice it.

For both of them, learning Spanish in school was both frustrating and rewarding.

Anna described Spanish class as being easy and even described herself as "kind of

advanced." While she was able to understand and say a lot, she had no metalinguistic knowledge

and had a very limited vocabulary. Daniella admits that she had a bad attitude about having to

learn Spanish in school because she felt like she already knew Spanish and thus should not have

to take a class to learn it. However, she revealed her true feelings when she said, "I felt like I

knew a lot and I was frustrated because I still didn't know how to speak it." Every time the

teacher would teach a grammar principle in class her response to herself was, "Yeah, well duh!"

At first, Daniella had a poor attitude because she felt like she already knew the language. Her

feeling like she already knew the language probably had less to do with her actual knowledge of

the language and more to do with her not wanting to admit to herself that she really did not

know Spanish very well at the time. Both girls admit that formal instruction at school was

essential for their learning of Spanish. Daniella said, "It was very helpful. I definitely learned

Spanish through school a lot." While school was integral in their acquisition of Spanish, Anna

and Daniella arrived at school with a Spanish base already in place.

Anna and Daniella had already acquired native like Spanish pronunciation when they

began taking Spanish classes due to their frequent exposure to Spanish as children. This had

occurred despite their deficiencies in grammar and vocabulary. Although she could speak well,

Anna admits that she would "dumb down" her Spanish accent. She said, "I always spoke like

my peers in school Spanish wise, which meant that I had a really terrible accent, but I could

speak much better." When Anna interacted with Spanish speakers at church she would speak

normally, but she would always Americanize her accent in Spanish class. She explained that

using her real Spanish accent made her feel awkward, especially when her Spanish teacher was

American. Anna never cared to be viewed as a Latina and her choice to hide her accent is

evidence of her desire to fit in overriding her desire to speak Spanish well. Her decision to not

demonstrate her bilingual ability is an example of covert bilingualism. She said that her

classmates reacted poorly when students used good Spanish accents thinking that they were

"snobbish or stuck up." To avoid being labeled, Anna would not use her Spanish accent at school.

Daniella's experience was very different from Anna's. Daniella agrees with Anna's assessment of how students with native like Spanish accents standout in their Spanish classes. She even knew of other students who, like Anna, knew Spanish but "felt awkward using an accent in school." Daniella also knew that the other students were very aware of the students who had good accents saying that "people really, really notice." But unlike Anna, Daniella used her real accent at school without trying to hide it. While Anna views herself as being Hispanic, she predominantly sees herself as being American. Daniella, on the other hand, identifies much more with Hispanic culture than her sister. Daniella's attitudes toward her Hispanic identity along with her desire to be connected to her heritage through Spanish are explanations for her maintenance of her Spanish accent at school. For Anna, hiding her Spanish accent helped her fit in with her peers at school, but for Daniella, maintaining her accent was a way to exhibit her heritage.

Learning a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish at school was an important factor in Anna and Daniella becoming bidialectal. While there was some tension in the family over the use of *tú* and *vos* when the girls were little, for the most part their parents really did not try to force one dialect over the other. In fact, Argentine Spanish was the only variety of Spanish that was even considered to be spoken at home. The dialectal variation at home was not a battle between Argentine Spanish and Bolivian Spanish, rather the dialectal differences were only manifest in the differing uses of the pronouns *tú* and *vos* and the differing pronunciations of [j] and [ʃ]. There was no apparent conflict with lexical items that differ in the two dialects. Thus, the two dialects that Anna and Daniella are forced to choose from are not necessarily Argentine

Spanish and Bolivian Spanish, but rather Argentine Spanish and a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish.

Reflections on Childhood Language Use and Future Language Use

Daniella feels a strong desire to be connected to her Latin American heritage and feels conflicted about the way she was raised. She admits that she is bitter that her parents did not speak to her exclusively in Spanish when she was younger and stated, "Instinctively I want to say that I wish they had spoken almost pure Spanish to us because I know I would have learned it a lot better." She continued by saying, "I feel deprived. They should have forced me to speak it or only spoken to me in Spanish." She wisely adds that maybe if her parents had forced her to use Spanish then maybe she would not have felt as drawn to it as a teenager as she did and ultimately may have even rejected it. While she wishes that she could have been raised speaking Spanish, she understands her parents' wisdom in the decision they made to focus on learning English. It is difficult for her to wish for a different past since she does not know what the ultimate outcome would have been. She does, however, wish that her parents had made more of an effort to take their children to Argentina. Having only been to Argentina once in her life has made her feel cut off from her family which makes her feel like something was missing when she was growing up.

Anna also wishes that her parents had taken them to Latin America when they were growing up, but does not feel at all deprived that her parents only emphasized teaching her and Daniella English. In Anna's opinion, heritage speakers who grow up speaking only Spanish at home "do have very good English skills, but even when their English skills are really good a lot of times you can tell that they're not native speakers." Anna continued by saying, "But, we are extremely native speakers. English feels like our first language in every sense." Anna is grateful

to speak English as well as she does and feels that since she lives in America, it is more important for her to speak English well. Instead of feeling deprived like Daniella, Anna is content with her parents' choice to emphasize English over Spanish.

When asked if she would like to speak Spanish to her children Anna responded, "I won't speak Spanish to my kids. I know myself well enough to know that I won't." Anna very much expects to raise her children as monolingual English speakers. She admits that if she married a native Spanish speaker that she would be okay with having her husband speak to their children in Spanish, but she would definitely speak to them in English. Anna explained that because she is so English based she will only speak to her children in English. She admits that it is sad that her children will not have that cultural tie to Latin America, but feels that it is a natural part of her family becoming American. She explained, "I feel like they will miss out on the cultural aspect of everything, but they live in America and they will be more a part of American culture than I will be able to ever be and I know that." Anna, as the daughter of immigrants, describes herself as an "in-between bridge person." Since she was raised by immigrants her experience growing up was different from that of her peers whose families have been in the United States for generations. She knows that her children will be more American than she is and she is happy that her children will know a different America than she knew. While Anna is fine with her children only speaking English, Daniella is saddened by that prospect.

Daniella sees herself as being American, but she also feels a connection to Argentina. She feels that if her children do not learn Spanish then they will miss that connection to their heritage. Referring to having English monolingual children she said, "I would feel like that's expected, but I'd be sad." Her children not speaking Spanish would sadden her because they would be missing out on the cultural aspect of their heritage. She continued by saying that it is

"something that would really disappoint me, that they wouldn't be part of our family." For

Daniella, the switch that the family has made from Spanish to English is logical, and yet it is also

disappointing. If her children never learn Spanish then they will not be able to connect with

relatives that only speak Spanish and will create a new English speaking branch of the family.

She would prefer that her family maintain Spanish. Daniella's preference that her future family

maintain the ability to speak Spanish and Anna's apathy towards her future family being able to

speak Spanish stem from their perceptions of Spanish and what it means to speak Spanish.

Anna's view of what life is like in Latin America is very negative. When she thinks of

what life is like in Argentina she thinks of stories that her mother told her about when she was

under surveillance during a dictatorship or how her father grew up in extreme poverty in Bolivia.

Her parents prefer their lives in the United States to what their lives were like in Latin America.

She said, "They don't want to go back, they don't want us to go back, they don't want our kids to

go back. So they don't care if we speak Spanish because we live in America." Since Anna and

her parents plan on staying in the United States, Spanish is viewed as being nonessential. While

Anna views Spanish as part of her heritage she stated, "When I think of being here in America

and what America represents, I'm like, 'Wow, this is so much better. Why would we want to go

back, ever?'" To her, Spanish is part of her heritage and part of who she is, but it is also

unnecessary for her life here in America.

Daniella views Spanish as an integral part of her identity. It is part of who she is and part

of who they are as a family. While Anna views Spanish with a negative twist, Daniella views it

as an extremely positive thing. Responding to Anna's comments regarding their parents'

difficult lives in Latin American, Daniella said, "Dictatorships and poverty are not intrinsically

linked to speaking Spanish or our heritage. Those are just incidental." Daniella is able to look

beyond her parents' painful pasts in Latin America and see the good that is there. She described Argentina as being appealing, rich, and passionate. She said that she feels connected to Argentina because she still has family there and she has visited her family there. She also said that their mother nurtured them in an "Argentine way" leading her to feel that she was raised as an Argentine. Daniella's efforts to master Spanish, her desire to emulate Argentine speech patterns, and her desire to pass Spanish on to her children stem from her positive image of Argentina. They are also a reflection of what it means to her to be Argentine.

Daniella has described speaking to her parents in Spanish as being "more natural" than speaking to them in English. Conversing with her parents in their native tongue is rewarding and comfortable for her. Anna expressed exactly the opposite feeling when she said, "I don't like talking to our parents in Spanish." When asked why she does not like talking with them in Spanish she replied, "Because I feel ashamed of not speaking better." This is the key to Anna's choosing to speak a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish instead of her mother's Argentine variety. Spanish was her first language, but she replaced it with English. And now that she is an adult and does not feel like a native speaker of Spanish, she is ashamed that she does not speak better. Since Anna is not confident in her speaking ability she tries to make her speech as unmarked as possible so that others will not focus on how she is speaking. Using a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish allows Anna to speak Spanish without drawing any attention to her speech. While Daniella worked hard to develop an Argentine accent and to speak like her mother, Anna decided to speak like her peers who were not from Argentina. It appears that Anna's choice to speak like her peers instead of like her mother results from her embarrassment of not speaking like her parents. Trying to emulate the speech of her mother and failing would

cause further embarrassment and thus Anna chose a language path that would that would not result in further feelings of shame.

Conclusion

Anna and Daniella grew up in the same home with the same parents, but developed differing attitudes and practices based on their personalities and perceptions. Anna, who relates more to her father, has imitated his speech. She uses forms typical of standard Latin American Spanish including the use of the second personal singular pronoun *tú* and the use of the voiced palatal fricative [j] in words like *calle*. Daniella, who takes after her Argentine mother, has developed markedly Argentine speech patterns. Just like her mother, she uses the second personal singular pronoun *vos* and uses the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in words like *calle*. Both girls had access to a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish and Argentine Spanish, but each chose a different dialect.

Having mostly learned Spanish through school, Anna adopted a more standard variety of Spanish in an effort to fit in with her peers and to avoid being labeled as different. Anna feels that Spanish is part of her heritage, but identifies more with American culture and feels like a native English speaker in every way. Anna fully expects her children to only speak English and she accepts and welcomes that reality. Daniella feels deeply drawn to her Latin American culture and heritage. She loves being Argentine and has striven to emulate Argentine pronunciation. Her view of herself as Latin American coupled with her desire to be connected to her roots has led her to seek to master the Spanish language, a skill that she wishes she could pass on to her children.

Anna views Latin America through the negative experiences of her parents. She feels that the United States is a better place for her family and thus feels that English is essential to

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success while Spanish is not. Daniella views Latin America and Argentina in particular, as vibrant, passionate, and rich and as a part of who she is. Spanish, to her, is a link to her heritage and to who she is as person. It forms an integral part of her. While both girls demonstrate linguistic insecurity, Anna is markedly more insecure in her use of Spanish than Daniella. She does not want others to notice how she speaks which has led her to speak Spanish as standardly as possible. Daniella, on the other hand, is much more confident in her Spanish abilities and uses Spanish as a means to belong to a specific group. Both girls have been exposed to a regionally unmarked variety of Spanish and Argentine Spanish since they were children, but for a variety of motivating factors each girl has chosen to use a different dialect.

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