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# HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: A MEXICAN AMERICAN MOTHER'S SUCCESS WITH RAISING BILINGUAL CHILDREN

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HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE:  
A MEXICAN AMERICAN MOTHER'S SUCCESS WITH RAISING  
BILINGUAL CHILDREN

A Thesis

Presented To

Eastern Washington University

Cheney, Washington

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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Masters of Arts in English

Teaching English as a Second Language Emphasis

By

Maria E. Estrada-Loehne

Spring 2017

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**Master's Thesis**

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## ABSTRACT

This is a single case study of an octogenarian Mexican-American single mother who raised her children bilingually in the United States, creating diglossia—with Spanish spoken at home and church and English spoken in school and community as recommended by Hakuta and others. Trained as a teacher in Mexico, this mother brought her children to full cultural literacy as well as bilingualism by practicing heritage traditions and speaking the heritage language exclusively with them. Through extensive interviewing this past year, I report on the themes in her stories, analyze the decisions she made, and discuss the success of her children. The sources of her resilience are identified and discussed. This Mexican-American single parent discussed her own education and teacher preparation in Mexico, graduating from high school in the late 1940's, though she was born in the United States. Heritage language maintenance and ethnic identity are major areas of this investigation that provide relevant cultural information by employing ethnographic methods and applying constructivist grounded theory. At the same time, I review laws that were passed during her lifetime, insuring the maintenance of Spanish and the acquisition of English for those in public schools. Like Anzaldua and other successful Mexican American scholars, the subject was highly motivated to be educated and to educate her children despite the fact that her own mother died young, leaving her to be raised under difficult conditions.

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## Preface

### Language Learning Experience

Even at the early age of two, I can recall that my family spoke Spanish. My earliest memory was when we were visiting my paternal grandparents on their ranch in Monte Morelos, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and I recall that everyone was speaking Spanish exclusively. The year was 1968, and at this time my oldest sibling was 16. It was the only time I was at my paternal grandparents' home in Mexico, and I remember that everyone spoke softly. Since my paternal grandparents' home was located outside of town, on about 150 acres, at that time there was no electricity. And when it got dark, the source of light was oil lamps. The home was modestly decorated with a warm and welcoming atmosphere. I understood that I was with family and that it had been a long time since we, as a family, had been there. I did not know that it would be my one and only time there. Both my paternal and maternal grandparents have passed now. Still I have wonderful stories about them that my aunts and uncles have shared, in Spanish, throughout my lifetime.

I grew up hearing Spanish at home, and as I was the youngest when my siblings were entering school, I began to also hear my siblings speak English. My next memory of learning a foreign language was when I was in Butler Elementary School in Fort Lupton, Colorado. I attended school Butler until the end of third grade. It was the early 1970's, and one of the school rules was that no one was not allowed to speak Spanish outside the language class, and the penalty was suspension from school for three days. Furthermore, the principal would have a meeting about the suspension with the parents. To a child in elementary school, it was a fate too horrible to comprehend. The rule

applied district wide. My siblings were both in middle school and high school and we all had the same penalty. I recall that when I was in second grade the middle and high school students scheduled a “Walk out day” in protest to being punished for speaking Spanish outside of foreign language class. The “Walk out” was very interesting. I heard my siblings talking about it and saying things like, “They [educators] need to understand that we are Mexican and Spanish is what we speak.”, “Yea, just because they can’t doesn’t mean that we should be punished for it.” Even their friends had opinions about the results of the “Walk out.” One girl said “Just let one of those *gringos* [white people] touch me and I will tell him “*que me deje en paz – burro blanco.*” [leave me alone, white donkey].

In the mid 70’s my father died in a farming accident, I was eight years old. The following school year we moved from Colorado to a small town in South Texas. That year was a language and cultural shock for me. It was a language shock because now there was a shift in the demographics within the community: at least 80% of the population was comprised of Spanish speaking people. Everywhere I went I was spoken to in Spanish, the stores, the library, the church, every business available was bilingual in Spanish and English. Speaking in Spanish became such a natural thing for me and if I couldn’t think of a word in Spanish then I would just substitute a word in English and no one ever corrected me or shun me for code meshing. I thought it was fantastic. The cultural piece was probably the hardest for me. At this time in South Texas, when you walked around town, you could still read signs such as “Whites Only” and “Mexicans Only” in various locations, which I had never seen before. I recall asking so many questions about why these signs were posted and what the “joke” was about. I had never

been exposed to this part of history before. I recall one of our elderly members from church talking about having to walk to town, and she chose not to drive so she walked everywhere, and commented, “*Tengo que ir al lado americano a pagar la luz pero no muy tarde porque uno no debe estar allá después que calle el sol, tu sabes por qué?*” [I have to go to the White side of town to pay my light bill, but I can’t be out there after dark, you know why that is?] “*¿No, hermana por qué?*” [No, sister why?] “*Pues, hija, porque la policía te puede detener por andar en la calle, ellos creen que todos somos ladrones.*” [Well, dear because the police can detain you for being out on the streets; they think we [Mexicans] are thieves.”] I had never thought that just because of the language I spoke or the way I looked someone would think that I was up to no good. My heritage had not ever been a reason question my moral compass.

Another cultural shock was that some of my school mates had learned to be racists. When we lived in Fort Lupton, Colorado, I had friends that were from different ethnic backgrounds—Japanese, Chinese, German, Native Americans and several Europeans—and I had never really thought of them as better or less than my Mexican family, just different. So when a classmate told me that I was forbidden to befriend the ‘white’ students, I thought she was crazy. I remember that we were in 5<sup>th</sup> grade, and she told me during recess “*Si tú hablas con los gringos nunca te vamos hablar. Ellos no nos quieren y es mejor que no te hagas amiguita con ellos. Ninguno te vamos a hablar si lo haces.*” [“If you talk to the white people we won’t ever talk to you again. They don’t like us and you better not become their little friend. No one will talk to you if you do.”] Needless to say I was shocked. I was being bullied into not making friends with other students just because they were ‘white’—the color of their skin not the character of the

person was what seemed to matter most to my peers. I went home and told my brother, who was in eighth grade at the time, and he was not as surprised as I was about the girls' comments. He told me to watch out for myself, but not to let others bully me. He commented that since making friends came naturally to me, I should be careful, but hold my ground and not have others pressure me into judging people solely on the color of their skin or the language they spoke. What mattered most was the character of a person.

In ninth grade, I was offered the opportunity to take a foreign language class, and for a semester I took French. It was a nice class of about 30 students, and I noticed that it was mainly students that were on the college track, and I was told by my counselor, at the time, that I would never be going to college. The teacher was patient and kind, with a soft voice and always willing to help the students out. I did all the practice sessions and the homework, but found that it was more challenging than I could handle. There was no one to study with outside of class because my classmates were heavily involved with extracurricular activities, and my mom couldn't understand why I wanted to learn French. I lacked the support outside of class to succeed in French, even though my teacher did all she could for me during school hours. It was also difficult for me to envision that I would ever have an opportunity to utilize French in the future.

I really believed that I would live my whole adult life in a predominant Spanish-speaking community. The following semester I exchanged French class for a Spanish class, and at the time it was a good choice for me. I remember my teacher, Miss Garza, was a Mexican and always spoke Spanish formally—did not speak slang—yet would joke with us when our slang expressions would come out during class. She challenged us to become refined in our word choice and increase our level of comprehension and

expression—both written and orally. In time, I developed better language and study skills which allowed me to improve my overall academic skills. There would still be academic struggles, but my love for learning was the driving force to becoming a successful student. I continued to struggle in Math, but all my other classes were improving. I really believe that my confidence in Spanish class was the spark that led to my overall academic success.

It was during my Spanish class assignments that I recall writing stories as a method of learning the material. I would practice my vocabulary or conjugate verbs and transform them into a story format to remember the formal and informal ways to write and speak conversational Spanish. For instance, when I would be given a list of words I would write out the words and then as I was writing in Spanish I would think of a story that I could tell utilizing each of the words. Say the list was conjugating the verb to be 'estar' I would use the template Miss Garza would give us:

---

<b>To BE “ESTAR”</b>		
<i>Yo</i>	I	<i>Estoy</i>
<i>Tu</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>Estas</i>
<i>El Ella</i>	<i>He She</i>	<i>Esta</i>
<i>Ellos Ellas</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>Están</i>
<i>Nosotros</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>Estamos</i>
<i>Vosotros</i>	<i>You (informal)</i>	<i>Estáis</i>

---

**Figure 1:** Conjugation of “*Estar*”

So then I would take the template and write a story that would be comprised of all the conjugations.

*Yo estoy en la casa. ¿Y tú dónde estás? Ella esta con su hermana, fueron las dos a comprar el pan dulce para la cena. Cuando ellas regresen, luego vamos a hacer el chocolate caliente. Nosotros estamos esperando la llegada del profesor para comenzar la cena. Mis compañeros de la universidad dijeron que ‘Vosotros, no esperamos ya. El hambre es muy fuerte y ya no aguantamos más.*

(I am at home. Where are you? She is with her sister; they went to buy sweet bread for supper. When they return, we will have hot chocolate. We are waiting for them to return to begin supper. My university Friends said, ‘We will not wait. Our hunger is too great; we will not wait.)

I found that when utilizing a story format to practice my conjugation, the process transformed the exercise from one dimensional—book knowledge—into three dimensional—real life scenarios—for me. I am by nature a relational person and if I can visualize how pieces fit together, in this case the creation of a story, then I am more apt to recall information. I had tried flash cards, but that did not help me with spelling or recall as much as the actual writing process. Back in the 1980’s, there were a lot of ‘skill and drill’ exercises, and I had to create something for myself that went beyond that style of learning information. Styles and Cavanagh (1978) shared that during the 1980’s there were two competing theories about curriculum design in education and their research found that a blend of both theories ‘bigger is better’ and ‘small is beautiful’ would benefit students if the educational system would implement the “Developing of students’ creative ability in writing and expressing” (p. 42). I did not know then, in high school, that I was implementing this principle into my learning Spanish. I can say with confidence that developing a story using my vocabulary transformed my Spanish assignment into a practical application of the vocabulary in my daily life.

At this time in my church community the pastor, Pastor Liscano, was trying to challenge the young people of the church to memorize scripture. Our church was conducted only in Spanish, and we had services three times a week and twice on Sundays. There was a monthly reward for the person that could recite, from memory, the most scriptures. I recall that I won six times in the eight years that we attended that church. There was serious competition and my mother would help me out twice a week and test me on whatever scripture I was working on. Mother worked two and often three jobs, so when she was able to help it was a special time for us. My mother made it a point to read the Bible from cover to cover at least twice a year, so her expertise of the Bible was invaluable. To this day when we read the Bible in Spanish together and when I get stuck on a word, she knows what it is without even looking at the text.

My motivation for learning God's word was to share something special with my mom, scripture, and to learn about the love of God for all of us. I have enjoyed the connection that Spanish gives me to my immediate and extended family. Many times, as an adult, I have been privileged to utilize my Spanish and bring comfort to the patients that I serve in the hospital. Often, I have been the only person whom Spanish speakers get to communicate with (understand) during their stay. There is a comfort for patients and their families when there is someone that speaks their first language. Many times, culturally I have been able to meet their needs; sometimes the simple act of interacting with them makes the challenge of being in the hospital less overwhelming.

### **Language Teaching**

One of my practicums was in District 81 at Stevens Elementary School with Mrs. Kahn, master teacher and two para educators, in a Self-Contained Special Education

classroom. The classroom composed of eleven students who were in grades ranging from third to fifth grade. Instruction was given in small groups settings of no more than four students. The practicum requirements were for me to be there two days a week, three hours each day, for ten weeks. Of the eleven students only three would be integrated into general education classes: music, reading or lunch. The remaining students would only go out for recess, a time designated only for them. Until then I was not aware of my claustrophobia, I learned that to be in a self-contained classroom would not work for me, yet the experience with the students was wonderful. Having the opportunity to work in a self-contained classroom offered me the opportunity to meet some superb educators and unique students.

While at Stevens, I recall teaching a small group, four students, about dinosaurs in which there were two objectives, the first objective was to use an acrostic and the second objective was for them to become paleontologists. An example of their acrostic (Figure 2: Acrostic of the word Dinosaur).

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<b>Acrostic for the word: D I N O S A U R E</b>				
D	DIRTY	DANGEROUS	DOMINATING	
I	INSULTING			
N	NAUGHTY	NASTY	NOSEY	
O	OLD	ODD SHAPED		
S	SILLY	STRONG	STINKY	SAD
A	AGGRESSIVE		ANGRY	
U	UNUSUAL		UGLY	UNIQUE
R	RARE	RUN	REAL SCARY	

---

**Figure 2:** Acrostic of the word Dinosaur.

And a page out of their Paleontologist journal that depicts their own dig site. (Figure 3 and 4)

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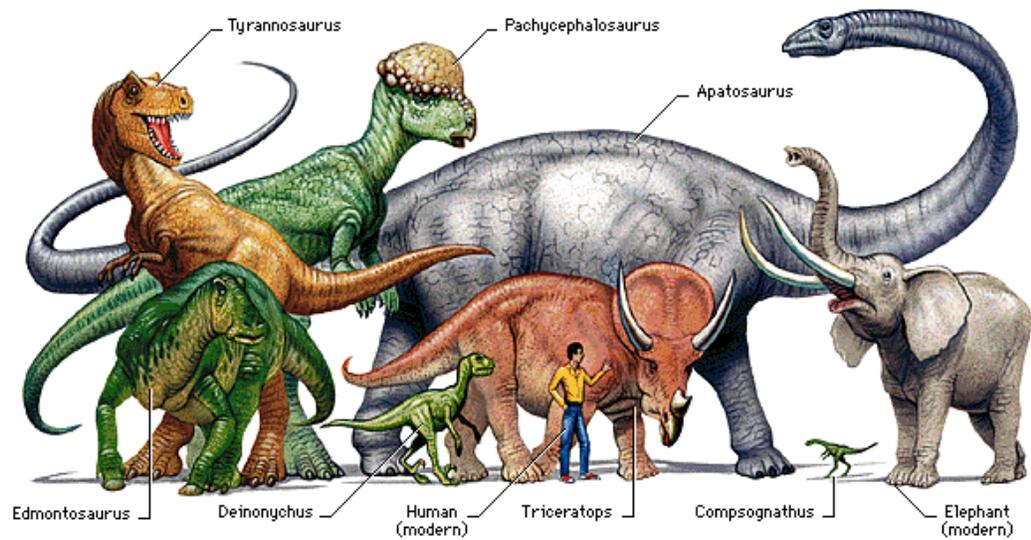
NAME : \_\_\_\_\_ Title: Dinosaurs DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

Artifacts/Objects: \_\_\_\_\_

Map of Area: Label \_\_\_\_\_ Dig site \_\_\_\_\_  
Where the items were found



**Figure 3:** Front page of Paleontologist Journal



**Figure 4:** Back page of the Paleontologist Journal.

Even though some of the objects were small, yet safe, the students could keep their fossils if they chose to. During the lesson the students were engaged and excited to

discover new words and all the artifacts within their dig site—which consisted of a shoe box, half filled with sand, plastic dinosaurs, sea shells, pieces of bark and twigs. All students had their own Paleontologist journal where they would write the details of their site, directions and what items they unearthed. I would aid them, spelling some words on the board and would ask them questions about how they were discovering and documenting their outcomes.

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**Figure 5:** Students at a dig site.

### **Philosophy of Teaching**

My desire is to create an environment for students to have their voice be heard, to have collaboration between the students and the instructor, and to provide opportunities for students to expand their learning styles. Since my students represent different cultures and different instructional levels, creating a student-centered philosophy and

supplemental curriculum provides them with a wide spectrum of choices with which to learn and grow.

My philosophy of teaching is ever evolving; it grows with me as I grow in knowledge and experience teaching my students and being taught by them as well. As a language learner and language teacher, I believe that we learn by doing: we learn to write by writing every day; we learn to read by reading every day; we learn to speak by orally sharing our ideas and manners of processing; we learn to listen by purposefully listening everyday. I also believe what John Dewey, Professor at Columbia University and Education Philosopher, wrote in 1897:

I believe that much of present education fails because it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life. It conceives the school as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned, or where certain habits are to be formed. The value of these is conceived as lying largely in the remote future; the child must do these things for the sake of something else he is to do; they are mere preparation. As a result, they do not become a part of the life experience of the child and so are not truly educative. (p. 77)

For many students coming to school it is a sacrifice for their families and themselves. Our world is very complicated and yet, at times, so simple. We have to ask ourselves what we want our children to learn – what type of quality education they need to succeed in this competitive technological world and what message we are sending to them with our behavior towards education?

I want my students to learn from the people that came before them, those fighting for the freedoms that they now enjoy and to honor their work by remaining a community of learning and giving. Providing our students opportunities to make the best choices possible and to reflect on those choices that have impacted their lives and the lives of those around them.

As we have done in the master's program and as described in our WASEOL 2016 presentation, "Stories from The Cherry Orchards And Beyond: Two Women's Journeys" (Reeves, Aguilar, and Estrada-Loehne). Though the simple act of writing every day and reflecting on what others share in class, I have discovered that everyone contributes to a community of learners. Daily journaling may seem overwhelming at first, but writing every day for five to ten minutes is a wonderful way to build up to a 45-minute Friday essay. This class time for writing gives the students many opportunities to fine tune their writing skills and increase their confidence which helps them to develop strong writing 'muscles' and the habit of reflection which will provide a foundation for whatever field they choose.

Like the EWU mission statement, I want my students to 'transform' themselves into strong writers and readers. In becoming proficient readers and writers each of us can build a community that embraces our differences instead of using those differences to divide us as a people.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

“They would begin their careers in some rural town, living with a host family and in addition to teaching duties they would have to work for their room and board. Many times the novice teachers had no support from the board of education—the teachers were on their own. Not in every case, but there were known cases of sexual and physical abuse. I decided that would not be the life for me. So I worked for my father in the fields before getting married instead. It was hard work, but honest work. . . I wanted to wed in a white dress . . . No matter what my circumstances no one could take away from me all that I had learned in the process of seeking a teaching degree.”  
(Mrs. Comales, 2016)

#### **Statement of the Problem**

Historically, in the United States—unlike Francophone Canada—it has been believed for generations that English is the national language, and no other languages need to be maintained in the home. This, of course, is an eradicationist view that has prevailed, even through the Civil Rights Movement when preservation of the home language became a political issue open for public debate.

In the meantime, states like Oregon and Utah have created immersion schools where the medium of instruction is Spanish, Japanese, or French—3+ separate public schools K-12 where American children are immersed in the target language most of the school day. Further, Washington is an English-Plus state and encourages the maintenance of the home language—as does the National Council of Teachers for English (NCTE) in its National Language Policy. The Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) members promoted the National Language Policy as of March 16, 1988, which states:

- 1) To provide resources to enable native and nonnative speakers to achieve oral and literate competence in English, the language of wider communication.
- 2) To support programs that assert the legitimacy of native languages and dialects and ensure that proficiency in one's mother tongue will not be lost.
- 3) To foster the teaching of languages other than English so that native speakers of English can rediscover the language of their heritage or learn a second language. ([www.NCTE.org](http://www.NCTE.org), 2015)

Still, many parents hesitate to speak a language other than English in the home—even when they are unable to speak English themselves—and fear that their children will be perceived as not “real Americans” and may not be able to succeed in school if Spanish is maintained at home, at church, and in the immediate community. It behooves teachers, politicians, public servants, and community members, however, to understand how valuable it is to be bilingual and to maintain the home language and culture while working for English literacy for all of those residing here—regardless of their legal status.

Focusing on Washington as an English-Plus state there are wonderful benefits to all people that wish to increase their English proficiency. When someone is modeled the genuine respect for their home language, it affords them the energy and concentration levels needed to not only focus on mastering their home language, but focusing their learning on the dominant community language, English. There are substantial benefits, not only for the learner, but for the community as a whole. When modeling respect for people's language and culture, we English teachers free their energy for learning English, not only to gain employment, but also to become active members of the community.

## **Purpose**

This thesis is for the purpose of reviewing the literature and history of bilingual education, to view how a parent can choose to successfully raise children to become bilingual adults—whether whether the heritage language is also the dominant community language or not—and to share the experiences and choices of one woman raising her eight children alone.

## **Researcher's Assumptions**

My assumptions can be divided into two major sections the first would include the view and weight that society places on language and the second would be what significance language has in the home. There are several questions within my assumptions that have to deal with parents, society, educational system and perception of the value of language. Here is a list of my assumptions when beginning this project:

1. Parents do not know how or when to teach the heritage to their children.
2. English is the dominant language in the United States.
3. For many parents it is difficult to teach the heritage language.
4. Community language will influence the acquisition of other languages
5. Monolingual parents may not be as committed to raising bilingual children when the spouse is bilingual.
6. Heritage status may influence the parents' decision to maintain the heritage language.
7. Children may not always see the value in speaking the heritage language.

While articulating and reflection on these early assumptions, as time went by, I was discovered that many of my assumptions were incomplete and at times in error altogether. For example, my assumption that most people believe that English is the dominant language in the United States seemed realistic, but I had not thought as much about the role of a private or home language that could be dominant in some communities. This will be discussed in both Chapters 2 and 4.

According to Census Bureau (2015) within the United States there are over 350 languages spoken, to include Spanish, within the fifteen major cities. (<https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-185.html>) Wiley, Lee, and Rumberger (2009) write about the diversity of languages in American history in *The Education of Language Minority Immigrants in the United States*, and recall that prior to colonization of America there were multiple Native American languages spoken and with the introduction of English also came “Spanish and French.” came primarily from missionaries to these territories. (p. 2) In many territories Spanish and French, were spoken well before the English language. This confirms that we are a country that has, as a universal language of American English, a very rich history of diverse languages spoken from around the world residing within our borders.

### **Research Questions**

When developing the guiding research questions, the purpose was to bring about research that was clear, well-defined, pertinent, informative, and offered a voice from those with first hand knowledge, in this case the subject, that we—researchers— are in severe need in order to understand the dynamics of parents teaching the home language. These questions help lay a foundation in studying parental choice in deciding whether to or not to continue their heritage language for the next generation. What factors influence the parents/guardians into making their choices? There were numerous questions and narrowing them down to the following nine questions was a challenge within itself:

- 1) What is the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) /CCC National Language Policy?
- 2) What does it mean to be bilingual in the United States?
- 3) How can bilingual parents support bilingual children?
- 4) What perception do others have of bilingualism in the United States?

- 5) How we can, as a society, promote bilingualism for everyone, as recommended by the NCTE?
- 6) How does stigmatization of some languages in the United States impact bilingualism?
- 7) What barriers do parents confront when deciding to promote bilingualism in the home?
- 8) How did the subject self-identify?
- 9) How did the subject perceive family members' language choices and Spanish acquisition?

Understandably, not all of the questions can be clearly answered within this single case study, however the knowledge gained from the interview questions will be of value to future researchers as they continue their investigations.

### **Research Methods**

This project is a multi-methods study of a single parent which includes narrative inquiry and constructivist grounded theory. The interview was conducted in Spanish and all questions and transcripts were translated and available in both English and Spanish.

- 1) Single case study is defined by Kazdin (1982, 2009):

The term single-case designs refer to a family of research designs that are true experiments. They can be used to infer causal relationships between an intervention program (e.g., in education, therapy, rehabilitation) and change in client functioning and behavior. The unique feature of these designs is the capacity to conduct experimental investigations with the single case, that is, one subject or one group. ([www.education.com](http://www.education.com))

Case studies are of value because they offer what Geertz (1979) calls a “thick description” of culture—those daily decisions about language choice in one’s home and family as well as the single subject’s literacy narrative, single parenting, and meaning of “analysis, then, is sorting out the structures of signification.” (p. 9)

The subject for this single case is one 85-year old Mexican American woman, who was born in the United States then as a toddler was raised and educated in Mexico.

When she returned to the United States, at the age of thirty-one, she was accompanied by a Mexican national husband and six Mexican born children ages eleven, nine, seven, six and twins that were five years old. While living in South Texas, she had two more children and raised them all bilingually in both English and Spanish.

## 2) Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is not only the telling of someone's life from the prospective of how they are able to be individuals in a community, but it goes beyond that. We see individuals and many times may forget that they were once young, able, with dreams and aspirations. It is like coming into the life of someone—maybe even reflection on your own life being viewed by someone else—and just seeing a single frame shot compared to the entire movie of a life—then categorizing a label or making a value statement about an individual. In their research, Brawley, Jucker, Lambert, and Lauritzen (2016) were able to define “narrative inquiry [as] an exceptional method for representing the individuality of a person and not blending them into a statistic or theme as is done in other approaches . . . the transaction between persons, their environments and the experiences . . .” (p. 14).

Narrative inquiry provides not only a glimpse of the person now, but also a picture of what experiences have shaped and molded the person into who they are now. How have their choices, opportunities, and circumstances influenced their growth and development? Through the process of narrative inquiry in this single case study, many questions can become clearer, yet some questions will still remain out of focus and others unanswered.

Within the investigation into this single case study the individual's privacy

and dignity for anonymity was paramount. As per protocol, the subject was given every opportunity for rest—in the form of a break or continuation at another time—consideration for her age and stamina. At anytime, should she wish, she could terminate or postpone the interview(s) altogether.

This manner of research affords the researcher to “maintain a level of transparency, airing both to themselves and to their audiences what their biases may be.” (Brawley, Jucker, Lambert, & Lauritzen, 2016, p 15)

3) Constructivists Grounded Theory.

Guba and Lincoln define constructivism as a method “that denies the existence of an objective reality. . . asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals” (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006, p. 8).

4) Interview —transcription of audio tapes

5) Interview done over a period of months

6) IRB Consent forms and Interview questions both in Spanish and English.

## Chapter 2 Review of Literature

This chapter is a brief review of literature about (1) Mexican American scholars' writings about identity; (2) a brief history of bilingualism in the United States; (3) models of bilingualism at home and school (Lavine; 2011 and Leiva, 2014); (4) heritage language maintenance and attrition; and (5) the future of Spanish in the United States.

### Major Mexican American Scholars

We will begin with four Mexican American scholars that shared similar experiences in predominantly Spanish-speaking communities—Gloria Anzaldua, Dr. Guadalupe Quintanilla, Richard Rodriguez, and Gary Soto—whose stories have a common thread: the desire to challenge themselves and bring about social change towards how language enriches people versus disconnects them as a human race. These scholars also shatter many social stereotypes that people have towards minorities, such as being backward, lazy, ill-equipped or ill-prepared for the challenges of higher education.

#### Gloria Anzaldua

We begin with Anzaldua, who states in *Borderlands* that she felt “totally immersed *en lo mexicano*, a rural, peasant, isolated *mexicanismo*. To separate from my culture (as from my family) I had to feel competent enough on the outside and secure enough inside to live life on my own. Not me sold out my people but they me. . . I too afraid of going home.” (Anzaldua, 1987, p.43). Here Anzaldua voices what many struggle with, a division of loyalty to their own culture while being pressured to assimilate into the dominant culture; a continual struggle to honor the cultures and languages that you are constantly learning.

**Dr. Guadalupe Quintanilla**

Anzaldua and Quintanilla were both educated in South Texas; however, their experiences were slightly different. Quintanilla's beginnings were slightly different since she was born and raised until the age of 11 in Mexico. When she crossed the border, it was to an area that was dominated by the Spanish language, having a mixture of Mexican nationals and first-generation Mexicans in South Texas, yet those in authority were primarily Caucasians. Quintanilla was 11 when she entered the U.S. educational system and was given an IQ test, in English, that resulted in her being labeled 'retarded' which was not an accurate assessment of her knowledge because the system failed to assess what she knew in her native language (Johnson, 2012).

We can all learn that when an individual comes into our sphere of contact they are not a blank slate, but come with knowledge of their culture, community and language; whether that language is written or primarily oral, there is a richness to what the person brings with them. As educators we are bound to be the bridge between what the individual comes with (skills) and what is needed to become a successful person in our community.

**Richard Rodriguez**

While examining the writings of Rodriguez, he speaks about having his teachers, Irish Catholic nuns, come to his home to speak to his parents about language; that day there was a collision of his "private language [Spanish] and his public language [English]" (Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*, 1982, p14). The emphasis of assimilation into the English or "public language"—as Rodriguez defines it—was the motivation for the nuns and the parents, desiring the best for all their children and agreeing that only

English should be spoken in the home, so from that moment on the parents decided not to speak to the children in Spanish. Rodriguez takes the position that the nuns had his best academic interest at heart and his parents were respectful and grateful to the nuns for their concern and also believed that for Rodriguez it would be beneficial to begin speaking English in the home to advance his mastery of English.

For many children of bi-multilingual homes there is a myth that when there are delays in language development; being bi-multilingual seems to be the obvious reason. Lanza invites us to take a close look at what makes up “harmonious bilingual development” and how we can dispel the thought that “when children who are raised with two languages appear slow in developing language . . . [adults and professional] will be quick to put the blame on the bilingual situation.” (De Houwer, 2015, p. 169)

De Houwer (2015) points out that the most impacting and rewarding factors of bilingualism is a having good healthy relationships at home. De Houwer has focused on preschool age children and their home life, and its impact on their learning “this was to be a feature on families, not individuals.” (De Houwer, p. 171) Without having much research done on this topic it will be challenging to define what a ‘harmonious bilingual development’ looks like because it had been defined differently by each person/family. One thing is for certain that the less conflict over other languages the more open-minded and accepting of different languages people may be. When children are surrounded by adults and educators with optimistic views of language it can help them relax and engage in language learning. Of course that is just one factor in the list of many to produce a nurturing environment for learning language.

De Houwer gives us three risks that can hinder positive language development “1) when parents and children speak different languages in the same conversation, 2) when children who are raised with two languages early on speak just a single language (and

thus are not actively bilingual), and 3) when actively bilingual children speak one language far better than the other one.” (De Houwer, 2015, p. 172)

One stressor young adults may experience in the home is when two or more languages are being spoken; the children may not feel as connected to the parents and thus they may tend to have superficial dialogues instead of critical thinking conversations. Again De Houwer (2015), states “language choice patterns within the family have great symbolic meaning”, but they also point out that since there have been very few studies, these stressors have not been researched in depth. (p. 172)

Some parents are torn between having their child connect with elder family members through their heritage language and focusing exclusively on the target language thus as a result the child loses the ability to maintain the heritage language (HL). To have the HL fade within three generations or less is emotionally difficult for some parents. Parents may feel that “part of their identity is being lost when their children do not share their language.” (De Houwer, 2015, p. 173)

As in the case of Richard Rodriguez, his parents wanted him to be successful and choose to stop speaking Spanish in the home to give all their children every advantage to succeed in within the English language. Bilingualism is very personal and one must respect the parental choices concerning language. For the Rodriguez family we learn that even though there was no Spanish spoken to the children it was nevertheless a harmonious bilingual home based on the fact that both parents agreed it was for the betterment of the children. Rodriguez’s parents still spoke Spanish with each other and other family members.

De Houwer's findings are true however of Anzaldua's family life. The explicit expectation in Anzaldua's home was that all the children would be bilingual. Living in South Texas, along the Rio Grande Valley, people would see bilingualism everywhere, in the community, the church, and the neighborhoods. Growing up in the 1950's, Anzaldua's and Quintanilla's generations, it was almost an expectation that children of Mexican heritage would know both languages and utilize them in their everyday lives. Anzaldua does state that in the school system speaking Spanish was not as accepted, outside of language class. South Texas could be a very segregated area, up until the late 1970's they still had segregation in the community separating Mexicans and Whites. As Najera (2009) states in *Practices of Faith and Racial Integration in South Texas*, "Mexican segregation was prevalent and persistent throughout the Southwest" (p. 7) and many of both Anzaldua's and Quintanilla's' generation experienced this kind of segregation, which may have contributed to their lifelong ties to their heritage language and culture.

One of the major challenges for bilingual children with Limited English (LE) is to be expected to achieve academic success at the same rate as their monolingual cohorts, which is like comparing oranges and pears. There are still some adults and educational professionals that "expect bilingual children to function like as monolingual children. . . still expected to reach the standards of their monolingual English-speaking schoolmates." (De Houwer, 2015, p. 174) For many this continues to be the expectation in the public schools throughout the United States. The exceptions would be the English Plus states—Oregon, New Mexico, Rhode Island, and Washington state, which have special provisions for English Language Learners in state wide academic testing (Crawford,

2008). New Mexico has both Spanish and English, although according to Romero (2011) “New Mexico has adopted Spanish as a ‘quasi-official language’ . . . ‘The state has protected it and giving it special status’ . . . arguing for enhanced procedural due process rights for Spanish speakers” (Baker, 2013).

According to De Houwer (2015), parental choice of language will impact the child’s ability to learn one or both languages—this will impact not only receptive skills, but also expressive skills in each language. Table 1 was part of a study that “identified parental language choice patterns” (p. 177) by indicating which language each parent spoke—the Minority Language or the Majority Language. Ninety-seven percent of the children became bilingual when the parents only spoke the Minority Language. Conversely, when the both parents spoke the Majority Language and only one of them spoke the Minority Language only thirty-four percent of the children became bilingual. Table 1 is adapted from De Houwer (2015) and is a breakdown of the kinds of home environment in which more than one language is spoken. We see that when neither parent speaks the language of the majority—in this case English—they are most likely to have bilingual children with 97% of the children becoming fluent in both languages. Coming in as a close second, when one parent speaks both the majority and the minority language and the other parent speaks only the minority language, the children are likely to be bilingual 93% of the time. This possibility drops around 20% when both parents speak both languages and when both parents speak only the majority language. The least likely to become bilingual are the children in household where both parents speak the majority language and only one speaks the minority. Unfortunately, we have no data on

single-parent households, suggesting that the researcher assumed most families are intact or perhaps he controlled that variable and chose only intact families for his data source.

Table 1. Parental home language choice patterns and children's active bilingual use.

Parent 1 speaks	Parent 2 speaks	Proportion of children who speak two languages.
Minority Language	Minority Language	97%
Minority Language + Majority Language	Minority Language	93%
Minority Language + Majority Language	Minority L + Majority Language	79%
Minority Language	Majority Language	73%
Minority Language + Majority Language	Majority Language	34%

Min L: minority /heritage language; Maj L: majority/school language. N= (adapted from Table 7 in De Houwer, 2015, p.177)

This makes the point of Mrs. Comales and her husband's choice to speak Spanish to their children, and even after he left the home Mrs. Comales made it a point to continue speaking to all her children in Spanish. In her early thirties she began to learn English from them and enrolled in schools after they moved to the United States in the mid to late fifties. De Houwer states that "the more often adults speak a particular language the more the children will use that language as well." (De Houwer, 2015, 178) Mrs. Comales proved this to be the case with her eight children.

De Houwer also states that "if both parents speak the minority language and one of the parents in additional speaks the majority language, the chances that the children will speak two languages are greatest" and this is also a result of the interviews with Mrs. Comales, specifically her middle daughter's daughters. Blanca was born in Mexico and married a man from Mexico as well, so consequently they both had Spanish as their

heritage language and being that they met in the Rocky Mountains they also spoke English. Having both parents speak Spanish and the mother being fluently bilingual in Spanish and English their daughters were able to easily become bilingual themselves. However, Mrs. Comales older son's linguistic choices were different. In his case, he and his wife both shared English as a common language, still he had an additional language, being Spanish.

When interviewing Mrs. Comales one can infer that her identity is tied with her ability to speak both Spanish and English. She has stated she rates her bilingualism based on her understanding and utilizing both languages and the fact that she was born a Texan and raised in Mexico. Mrs. Comales is a good example of when De Houwer states that "Language, after all, is a deeply seated part of our identities." (De Houwer, 2015, p. 179) It is also evident that she also sees her children bilingual because of language, their birth place, and that they are all citizens of the United States.

In the future, when working with bilingual children the notion "that bilinguals will by definition do worse than monolinguals." must end. (De Houwer, 2015, p. 180) All children have the ability to learn, we as adults and educators must provide positive learning environments and have a space for them to grow and learn.

### **Gary Soto**

Finally, we have Soto (1996) who is a fictional writer of young adult books that shares insights to the Latino language and culture, specifically in the book of *Jesse*. Soto shares with us, thru storytelling in the book titled *Jesse* of how two brothers transition from living at home to coming into their own maturity. There is loss of innocence, loss a parent, and the loss of optimism for a better future. Jesse and his brother, Abel, are

typical teenage boys that learn several important lessons: a) the need for a cultural broker, b) the challenges of transitioning from dependence to independence, c) the value of strong a work ethic—in school and work, and d) the life choices than can create opportunities. A cultural broker can be defined as those who “help ease people into each other’s cultures. . . can teach the difference between *need* and *want*. . . being an introducer. . . can make a tremendous difference in how successful a new family adapts to America” (Pipher, 2002, p. 88-95). Soto is being our cultural broker when he talks to us, with ease, through the transition that two Latino boys, Jesse and Abel, experience of moving from the dependence on parents to the independence of living on their own. Cultivating friendships with multi-generational people of other cultures and classes offers the brothers opportunities to mature on their journeys. There is the landlady that has a daughter with a child out of wedlock, a former Vietnam veteran and a former high school classmate who are experiencing uncertainty in their lives, their journeys offer insight about and compassion for others who are also going through struggles in their lives as well.

Soto offers young adults a glimpse into this transition from living at home to working and attending college on their own, and helps the audience identify with the brothers’ triumphs and struggles. Growing pains are not gender or culture specific; everyone can connect on a human level with these boys. Soto does address several social stereotypes and gives readers cultural references for traditions and values into an agricultural Mexican American family’s way of living.

Soto becomes the cultural broker for those not familiar with Mexican American traditions, values, language, and/or culture.

Next are the stories of several graduate students as pertaining to their own education and life experiences as Latinas while being educated in the United States. We begin with Sara Leiva (2014) then Ana Paula Marquez-Lavine (2011), and conclude with a comparison between Brenda Aguilar (2016) and Adriana Sanchez (2016).

**Sara Leiva, Pasco High School ESL Teacher**

Sara Leiva (2014) is a ESL high school teacher that interviewed two Latino University presidents.

Like Sara Leiva, being Latina her inquiry into what choices two Latino University Presidents made and how they achieved such a prestigious educational status was her motivation for her thesis; I am also motivated to learn what choices a single mother of eight had in purposefully teaching her children to become bilingual. Within my life there have been few role models to demonstrate that education can bring about the most extraordinary opportunities for not only yourself but those around you. The choice to succeed need not be out of anyone's reach and the impact of being a positive role model is for everyone not just the privileged. Not matter what your social economic status is, you can impact the life of another for the better. It is the small choices that impact the larger ones, for example, improving your reading skills will impact your understanding of the world in which you live in. Reading leads to inquiry and understanding, it can be building your vocabulary to communicate your needs and ideas as well as learning what programs and benefits are available to you and your family. It is stated that the level of reading in third grade can impact the rest of your educational career and with English Language Learners there is not time to loose in learning. Reading also impacts a person's ability to write and be understood.

### **Ana Paula Marquez-Lavine**

Marquez-Lavine (2011) learned that children and their parents are not always on the same page when it comes to language. Parents often see language as a means of navigating the world around them; their view is that **as individuals** gain more life experience and acquire social skills, those cues are utilized within language which gives way to appropriate use of language—formal and informal speech. It seems that children are more apt to use one language over the other based on others' response or lack of response in answering them. Sometimes language choice is dependent on the age of the child, for instance a younger child will continue trying to communicate in a language until he/she perceives that the adult has been understood the request; whereas an older child will utilize social cues as to what language is preferred by the adults and speak the appropriate language if he/she can. Parents may not always comprehend why, having two or more children, one child will prefer to speak one language and the other/s a different language. Could it be the child's personality or possibly the experience within both languages that has given the child more positive experience with one language over the other? Many will see it as a personal preference and not a defiant one as Marquez found out with one of her subjects.

### **Maria Isabel Morales**

When reading *Conocimiento y Testimonio: An Exploratory Case Study of Mexican American Children of (IM) Immigrants Learning with (In) Cherry Orchards* Morales (2015) undertakes interviewing twelve children ranging from the age seven to fourteen, on their perspectives on work, family and finances. These adult issues influence not only how they view adults but how they view their future. As Morales

interviews the children comments such as “We need to have a lot of cherries to make a lot of money and sometimes it takes your time. . . [some] trees [may] only have a few [cherries]” (p.72). For one of the girls working in the orchards shared how she began to comprehend the value of earning a living “I learn how money is earned like how hard you have to work, its either that or go to school learn new thing. And if you don’t want to go school there is always the orchard.” These children are learning firsthand that an education can offer them opportunities to success beyond what manual labor can afford them. The parents are providing them with real life experiences, demonstrating just how physically demanding the work is, the lack of comforts—having access to bathrooms, working out in the elements, and getting to the orchards by day break. The parents model to the children that choosing an education can be a way to bypass the need to work in the orchards. Parents also teach the children, regardless of where you work, to have a strong work ethic by doing a day’s worth of work if you want a day’s worth of pay.

### **Brenda Aguilar**

We will compare two recent Latina graduate students’ thesis projects on their view of entering primary school through college they experienced blending two distinct world views into amazing lives. To begin we have Brenda Aguilar with her opening statement from a college assignment discussing how as educators we are all cultural brokers. Aguilar (2016) states in ‘I AM’ poem “I AM . . . From a community of people who value their heritage and have passed it down to the next generation. From the idea of retaining one’s own language—To never be ashamed of who we are” (p. 2). Aguilar reflects on her life as a child being raised in a bicultural home where Spanish was the primary language, taking on the role of the eldest, and becoming a role model of respect and compliance for her younger siblings; while being estranged from her older brother

whom was raised by their maternal grandparents in Mexico, until he was the age of fifteen. Aguilar recalls having been instructed by her parents to always listen and only speak when spoken to and then entering school and being instructed to engage in the day's lesson. She found herself in a quandary on the one hand wanting to respect her elders, but on the other hand not wanting to cause attention to herself in class, by talking over the teacher and answering without being called upon. The teachers misunderstood her being a quiet child exercising great listening skills for a child that presented learning challenges. Aguilar recalls that her teacher requested to have a conference with her parents and after talking they [collectively] told her that she had to "make a friend" in order to avoid being labeled 'troubled'. So that is exactly what she did, she befriended one little girl that year. Aguilar wanted to comply, but remained true to herself by continuing to follow her cultural norms—respect and honor your elders.

### **Adriana Sanchez**

As we move forward and glance into the lives of two Latina graduates observe that although they were both share similar backgrounds, parents were orchard workers, their early childhood experiences were different.

Sanchez (2016) writes about being from a family of orchard workers and how she gained a strong work ethic and the courage to challenge herself—to dream for a grand life that included higher education and opportunities to live and work abroad. Sanchez states that her family's love gave her the courage to sustain her through endless days of studying, researching and writing in both her undergraduate and graduate courses. The family's desire to see her succeed, what ever the cost, was pivotal in her academic success. The Latino culture, work ethic, and family unity gave her the opportunities to

fulfill her dreams of being an international educator. For Sanchez being bilingual was not only a gift she had given to her by her parents, but more importantly it was a way in which she could share the love of language with others. Sanchez states “Thanks to the values they have instilled in me and the role models they have been for me; I am who I am today” (p.5) This, we can infer, reflects the honor and respect for the family’s home language—Spanish. Sanchez is proud of the hard work and dedication her parents modeled to her, preservation of their heritage language, which gave her the perspective of compassion towards others learning English as she ventures off to teach overseas.

Both young women have transitioned from having little to no English when entering school to working diligently, having family that supports them even today in achieving their dreams of higher education, travel, and contributing to the next generation of Latinos. Aguilar was the first in her family to attend school in the U. S. while Sanchez had siblings that guided her into “school” expectations and thus was able to experience a smoother transition. Regardless both women have grown to share their experiences within their communities and hence mentored other Latinos to the understanding that success is not only possible, but realistic for their lives when desire is partnered with drive.

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### **A Brief History of Bilingualism in the U.S.**

Let us briefly look at the history of bilingual education and what impact this debate has had and in many cases still has today. These challenges are nothing new, they have been around since 1888 when school master Gault (1888) offered advice to the common person about how inappropriate it was to “tell” a professional how to conduct in

performing his duties. Gault (1888) stated that a “sense of propriety” must be exercised and that no “school-masters should set about advising . . . [we] make ourselves ridiculous and call forth unlimited indignation” (p. 109). At the time the common person was attempting to dictate in what manner a teacher should teach and Gault’s point was that that same person would not dare demonstrate the same act of disrespect towards a police officer, businessman or a physician, but since the criticism was towards and educator, it was acceptable. It can be inferred that Gault was publicly disagreeing with those actions.

Although there have been many changes over the decades, one practice is true though it all, the collaboration needed between parents/guardians and educators in promoting the best learning environment for the children, regardless of race, gender, beliefs, or economic background of the families we service. This partnership is critical as well as the lessons that are learned when those in authority, both parents and educators, respect one another, then the result will benefit not only the children, but also the community as a whole. Modeling mutual respect and wiliness to collaborate together will forge the children into adults that partner with one another well into their adult lives.

Scholars such as Collins (2006), Nieto (2009) and Bunch (2011) have offered a brief analysis of the history of bilingual education. Collins (2006) lays out groundwork from 1860 and defines for us how the Census classifies who is to be counted in the census and why. Nieto’s (2009) historical account begins from 1880 through the updated No Child Left Behind (NCLB) 2002 ruling which incorporated many of the same cases that have shaped our view of language today. Bunch (2011, p. 325) has developed an approachable graphic for the history of bilingual education from 1965 through 2002;

what follows are a series of three tables compiled from Nieto's research, to include a column of social impact by investigator Estrada-Loehne, along with Bunch's original table that offers a brief overview of the history of language education.

Nieto's investigation begins with the government's dealings with the Native American tribes in 1880; their concerns for tribal languages competing with the mastery and universal usage of English. Mind you, at this point, English can be defined as 'Queen's English', but in time it will become what is now understood to be American English. Collins (2006), Nieto (2009) and Bunch (2011) have compiled an overall summary view of bilingual education from 1860-2002 and for the purpose of this paper it will be divided into three sections. The first section of this history will be from 1880-1927, then 1927-1968 and last from 1969-2002.

Included will also be the historical review of California's Proposition 227 and its repeal almost twenty years later with Proposition 58 which just passed in the historical 2016 election (Ulloa, 2016).

Reviewing the history of bilingual education, we note that there appears to be a contradiction of meaning, on the one hand the United States is viewed as a country comprised of immigrants—a place of refuge from the oppression of other political, religious and class restrictions; while on the other hand there is legislation that, as early as the 1880's, has been willed for the purpose of English as the dominant language—to be exclusively utilized in both public and private domains.

According to Collins (2006), for the 1860-1890 Census, there is to be a clarification on what and how Native Americans were to be categorized—the term

enumerated was defined and how it was to impact the census in reference to Native Americans.

“Indians *not taxed* are not to be enumerated. The families of Indians who have renounced tribal rule, and who under state or territory laws exercise the rights of citizens, are to be enumerated” (p. 54-59)

With this definition the Census was able to count the Native American, with the exception of the state of Alaska, and therefore show the need of assimilation of the English language. In the case of the Census for 1860, those numbers appear in Table 2:

Table 2: Census on need of the English language. 1860-1890 (Collins, p. 54-59)

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Census	Taxed Indians— enumerated	Not taxed Indians	Total Indians	Percentage
1860	44,021	295,400	339,421	13
1870	25,731	287,291	313,712	8
1880	66,407	240,136	306,543	22

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Edmunds (1995) states that with the Native Americans being segregated onto reservations and their land holdings being portioned by the Dawes Act it was clear that

“Proponents of the act assured the American public that after the reservations were allotted, Indian people would accept their individual land holdings and would be completely assimilated. Native Americans, as a separate and unique ethnic minority group, would essentially disappear.” (p. 718)

At the time cumulatively Native Americans were 248,243 strong, but within just 10 years they were depleted to 237,196 (Edmunds, 1995, p. 717-718).

During this time ten-year span there were two cases which were a violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The 1923 case of *Meyers vs. Nebraska* was a

violation of this Fifth Amendment by requiring English only. According to the National Center for Constitutional Studies (NCCS) the Fourteenth Amendment which states in Section 1

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (NCCS, 2010, p. 25-26)

In 1927 Hawaii was an example of having the Fifth Amendment being violated when it came to the use of a local language. NCCS states the Fifth Amendment as:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury. . . nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. (NCCS, 2010, p. 22)

Politics and social changes will continue to clash as bilingual education unfolds in America. The combination of rights, privileges, and finances will impact the need to maintain a balance for access to education for all citizens in the United States.

In the following section, I offer the work of two scholars, Nieto (2009) and Bunch (2011) while providing a brief overview of the history of bilingual education in the United States.

Table 3 adapted from Nieto (2009) which reviews major cases that impacted bilingual education from 1880-1927. The first case focuses on the strategy of sending Native American children to boarding school with two purposes in mind (a) increase the usage of English and (b) eradicate Native American languages. The plan was not a complete success even though many of the Native American languages were lost there were several that survived and are in use still today. What followed in the next three

decades gave way to patterns of legal actions that resulted in the required use of the English language. For example, in 1906 Texas legislation was passed concerning speaking English in order to apply for naturalization into the United States. With the Burnett Act (1917) a literacy test was given, and this was mainly for the exclusion of certain Asians; those not from Japan and the Philippines. Due to such immigration practices there arose a need for minorities to legally protect their rights. One such organization was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which experienced much growth and subsequently developed another organization that would represent the Latino community—the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Table 3: A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States (adapted Nieto, 2009, p.62-63, Estrada-Loehne 2017)

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A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States (1880-1927)

Case	Ruling	Impact on society (Estrada-Loehne 2017)
1880's	Government sends Native American children off to boarding school; English indoctrination.	Native American languages close to the point of extinction
1906 Texas - Nationality Act	English only language to be taught in school. Must speak English to apply for naturalization.	European ties “Empirically-determined” that not speaking English predestined you to be intelligently inferior.
1917 Burnett Act	All new immigrants take a literacy test and limited Asian people from entering unless from Japan or the Philippines.	Social restrictions and promoting division among people groups

1919 Nebraska law- No instruction in a foreign language.	The lack of any reference to multiculturalism in an all-English curriculum fostered low academic achievement in such communities.	Marginalized of culture in the home.
1920 League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)	Fighting discriminatory treatment of Mexican Americans in public schools and promote a better education for the Mexican American community.	Promote English only
1923 Meyers vs. language Nebraska	Supreme Court ruled: Violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.	Promote English only. Defense of --individual rights.
1927 Farrington v Tokushige	Supreme Court invalidated “instruction in a foreign language without a permit from the school in Hawaii.”; violation of the Fifth Amendment.	Failure to value culture and language of native people.

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Between the years 1927-1968, Table 4, parents were speaking against the injustices towards their children. In 1949 Hawaiian parents were concerned over “An Act Regulating the Teaching of Foreign Languages to Children” because parents were not allowed to choose in what language their children are to be taught in. In 1954, in Brown versus Board of Education, the parents for Ruby Brown were concerned with the quality of education that their black child was receiving and challenged testing to have their child allowed to attend a white school. The Browns wanted all children to be protected while attending school. In 1964 the Civil Rights movements and the climate of society has come to a climax. People are divided over social issues and inequalities, one of which is education. Discrimination is being the focus of many marches, sit-ins, and conflict over the law and social customs. In 1968 the Bilingual Education Act, which is hailed as a victory, is only the beginning of decades of debate over what is truly

appropriate and fundable curriculum standards and outcomes. These cases are still impacting the educational system today.

Table 4: A Brief Bilingual Education in the United States (adapted Nieto, 2009, p.63, Estrada-Loehne)

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A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States (1927-1968)

Case	Ruling	Impact on society (Estrada-Loehne)
1949 Mo Hock Ke Lok Po vs. Stainback	Judge sentenced the parents have the right to have their children taught in the language they choose.	Give parents authority over the education of their children
1954 Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka	Enforced segregation of schools inherently promotes inequality and ordered it immediate desegregation.	Black children could attend White schools without violating the law.
1957 Little Rock Integration	Recommendation “with deliberate speed”	This was the beginning of the Civil Rights movement where minorities were politically moving for change; leading to the creating the Civil Rights Act.
1964 Civil Rights Act Title VI	Outlawed discrimination Pertained to education and stated that funds would be withheld if schools maintained segregation or did not promote integration.	Schools and educational systems were forced to comply with Title VI and produce results to keep their funding.
From 1920’s gained Momentum in 1960’s Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF) inception from the	Defense of ethno-linguistic minorities	Minorities utilizing the law to protect their rights.

National Association for  
the Advancement of  
Colored People (NAACP)

1968 Bilingual Education Act Also recognized as Education Act 1968	Funded programs that targeted principally low- income and non-English speaking populations; by experimenting with pedagogical approaches.	Low-income and non- English Students that needed information taught in their language for clarity would get help. First bilingual/bicultural education program.
Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act.	Federally funded.	Sparked responses from people about language attitudes and beliefs not focused on ideology.

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Table 5 covers, 1969-2002, several important cases that defined not only how bilingual education was to be structured, but also how it was to be evaluated. Two such cases are California's Proposition 227 and No Child Left Behind. California's Proposition 227 took bilingual education out of the public school due to a lack of qualified teachers and adequate funding for bilingual programs. No Child Left Behind (NCLB) would mandate grade level assessments to secure basic educational standards were accessible to all children. With NCLB federal funding was tied to academic success and the schools were also being held accountable on the student's success. In California the bilingual education programs would lay dormant almost eighteen years until Proposition 58. Upon the passing of Proposition 58 California would see a return to bilingual education to its school districts. The California Department of Education can now duplicate bilingual educational programs that have thrived in states like Oregon and Utah, and create successful dual immersion programs. By adapting Oregon's and Utah's

bilingual educational strategies Californian's can begin to cultivate a richer language model for all Californians.

Table 5: A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States (adapted Nieto, 2009, pgs. 63-65, Estrada-Loehne)

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A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States (1969-2002)

Case	Ruling	Impact on society
1974 Bilingual Education Act was amended.	Explicitly define bilingual programs, identify goals, and stipulate the requirement of feedback and progress reports. Eliminating low-income as a requirement.	All socioeconomic backgrounds could access services.
1974 Lau vs. Nichols 800 Chinese students in San Francisco raised the discrimination case due to being left to "sink or swim" by being taught exclusively in English, a language they could not fully understand.	Supreme Court ruled that it was the burden of the school boards, not the children or the parents, to overcome language barriers and be fully integrated. Decision based on Title VII not the constitution.	Families were given access to appropriate services for their children. School boards were being held accountable for accessibility.
1975 Lau Remedies	Office of Civil Rights released a series of guidelines school districts must comply with by order of the Supreme Court Lau decision.	Policy changes to match accountability.
1994 America's School Act Proposition 187 California	Policy that made it illegal for children of undocumented immigrants to attend public school	Teaching in the native language to be limited to 1 year then the child must be fully immersed into the English language.

1996	House of Representatives designated English as the nation's official language.	Universality of language; used to deter non-main stream languages. Proponent of English only policy.
1998 California's Proposition 227	Proposition 227 Ended bilingual education programs throughout the state of California	Passing of Proposition 227 would delay funding for dual immersion programs for almost two decades.
2002 No Child Left Behind (NCLB)	Reinstated ESEA; did not officially ban bilingual programs, but it imposed a high-stakes testing system that promoted the adoption and implementation of English-only instruction.	Would be received with negative perceptions—teaching to the test and lack of support for bilingualism programs.

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Bunch (2011) also gives an educational overview of the History of Bilingual Education. Bunch begins the review in 1965 and continues to 2001. Table 6 offers a brief description of the legislation along with key provisions. Bunch touches on how the state standards affect English Language Learners, from the types of questions asked on the test (multiple choice –mc-, open-ended –oe-) to “the content, psychometric characteristics and developments” (p. 323). In 1967 the first draft of bilingual education is enacted and then it undergoes two revisions one in 1974 and another in 2001. Bunch also cites *Lau v. Nicholas* where the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974 ruled that the Chinese students (~1800) in San Francisco Unified School District were provided inadequate bilingual instruction and that the English instruction delivered did not meet their needs - the children were not proficient enough in English to gain knowledge needed from English instruction.

It talked about National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAPE) and how NCLB is gauging the progress made by ELL students in the “following criteria: a) regular, periodic collection of assessment data, b) development of assessments based on clearly defined content standards, c) assessments characterized by technical rigor, d) establishment of performance level descriptors and e) performance standards established through technically and legally defensible procedures.”(Bunch, p. 326).

Today the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA) is given the responsibility by Section 3221 of NCLB to “report mechanism for development, administration and reporting of the test prescribed by Section 3221 and 3222” which is to “clearly define measures of English language acquisition, parallel to those used to assess the progress of all students” (327).

So these characteristics “rigorous content standards in comprehension, speaking, listening, reading, and writing, performance level descriptors specifying multiple levels of achievement, test items definitively aligned to the rigorous content standards, test forms of high technical quality, performance standards established through technically and legally defensible procedures and state plans establishing progress and attainment goals” (Bunch, p. 327-328).

Needless to say, without bilingual programs and/or ESL programs in the schools, it would have been impossible for all students to meet the objectives that had been mandated by the law. Many educators and administrators agreed that these programs would “enable states to collaborate with institutions . . . to improve the quality, validity and reliability of state academic assessments, to measure student academic achievement through the development of comprehensive academic assessment instruments” (Bunch, p. 328).

It was believed that content would encompass reading, writing, listening, and speaking subtests and would ensure that language acquisition is strong and intact. Bunch presented several research results, and the common thread among them was to have

reading and writing tied to comprehension and mastery of the English language. Table 6 is a summary of some of the laws passed between 1965 and 2001.

Table 6: U. S. Education Legislation 1965 - 2001 (Table 7, Bunch, 2011, p. 325)

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Year /	P.L.	Name of Act	Key provisions
1964	88-352	Civil Rights	Established framework for protection of rights of limited English speaking students
1965	89-10	Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA)	Established categorical grants to states and districts to educated children in poverty
1967	90-247	ESEA Amendments (including Bilingual Education Act – BEA)	First mention of students with limited English proficiency (LEP)
1974	93-380	ESEA Amendments (including BEA Amendments)	Included specific language to address Lau v. Nichols decision, requiring districts to provide appropriate instruction for ELL students
1984	98-511	ESEA Amendments (including BEA Amendments)	Called for needs assessment and other means of assuring an adequate supply of qualified teachers for ELL students
1994	103-227	Goals 2000: Educate America Act	Established the National Education Goals Panel which oversees the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)
1994	103-382	Improving America’s Schools Act (including BEA Amendments)	Called for ELL students to meet the same challenging standards as other students: provided technical assistance for local test development.

2001	107 - 110	No Child Left Behind (including English Language Acquisition Act- replacing BEA)	Called for detailed state plans and establishment of specific measures of English language proficiency to include reading, writing, listening, speaking, and comprehension.
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A major omission in both Nieto's and Bunch's brief history of education was *Aspira Consent*. *Aspira Consent* "which mandated that the city's [New York] public schools provide bilingual education instruction for Puerto Rican LEP/ELL students" (Reyes, 2006, p. 370). This was a major issue since at the time Puerto Rican children were largely represented among Latinos. Within the decree it stated to "establish a major new program to improve the education of all Spanish-speaking pupils whose difficulties with English impede their learning." (Reyes, p. 371) Thus the transitional bilingual education (TBE) was created and it was to "include language arts and other core content learning" (Reyes, p. 371). This major piece of bilingual education is vital to understanding how not only Mexican children were affected, but all children that comprise what it is to be Latino—Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, all of Latin America.

### **Models of Bilingualism at Home and School**

According to Fishman, in his 1967 article, "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism," from the perspectives of sociologists and psychologists, Fishman explains that "*two (or moie) languages for internal (intra-society) communication . . . one set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported, and was expressed in, one language, another set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported and was expressed in the other*" (p. 29). For the families each set of values is respected and honored in the home and it is their hope that one day those values are also embraced in the communities where they live, no matter how diverse the

languages are from each other. Fishman provides a table to illustrate what is meant by diglossia and bilingualism. Table 7 is divided into four quadrants: 1) both diglossia and bilingualism, 2) bilingualism without diglossia, 3) diglossia without bilingualism and 4) neither diglossia nor bilingualism. In the first quadrant will be represented by people having both diglossia and bilingualism where both in the home and the community at large both languages are equally represented. For example, in the home both English and Spanish spoke equally and also in the community there will be opportunities to engage in both languages equally.

Quadrant two demonstrates “bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transituational . . . speech varieties . . . without separate through complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of speech varieties . . . ‘workforce’ are so dislocated . . . cannot interact sufficiently with those members of the ‘power class’ who might serve as standard other tongue models” (Fishman, 1967, p. 36).

In the third quadrant there is diglossia without bilingualism, take for example when there are two classes or areas where English is spoken. On the one hand common/simple English and the other hand formal/academic English, this is an example of having diglossia without having bilingualism. The language is the same—English—but the people and the manner in which it is used does not merge. The fourth quadrant such a [population] “is easier to hypothesis than to find. All communities seem to have certain ceremonies or pursuits to which access is limited” (Fishman, 1967, p. 36).

Table 7: The Relationship between Diglossia and Bilingualism (Fishman, 1967, Figure 1, p.30)

Bilingualism 	Diglossia 		
		1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
		3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

The chart above provides parents an opportunity to foresee how their home may function in each of the sections. The choice to create a bilingual household can initially appear complex and overwhelming, but it need not be so. It is in the everyday choices that the larger decisions are impacted.

One example of bilingualism in the home is found in the book *Jesse* by Gary Soto (1996). The main characters are Jesse and his brother, Able, that are young Latino boys living in their mother's home speaking Spanish with her and English with their step-father. Throughout the book, Soto spotlights the value of education, the financial struggle of everyday living, daily challenges to secure employment which aide in access to better healthcare plus safety and security at home.

Soto writes of his character Able "I breathed the thick air. I had always wanted to go to England and stand on a cliff, facing seaward. The wind would be clean and so refreshing that I imagined all you had to do was stand there for a few minutes to get your lungs clear. I had been sucking the same polluted valley air since my birth, and I knew it wasn't good for you." (Soto, p. 11-12)

There is a realization that having dreams and aspirations without the benefits a good paying job along with higher education can result in dreams never becoming a reality.

Self reflection regarding language is another component of the book. Soto gives an example of how Jesse perceives his speaking Spanish in the U. S. compared to Mexican nationals speaking Spanish “Mexican nationals spoke a really rapid Spanish while ours was slow as syrup drooling from a bottle.” (Soto, p. 12). The perception is that Jesse does not see himself as a confident speaker although his message is understood by others.

When Jesse is talking to his older friend Leslie, a Vietnam veteran, Leslie reflects on how life’s choices either during war time or peace time will impact who you are and how you view yourself. Leslie tells Jesse, “I scared myself there [Vietnam] . . . I mean, I shot at people . . . I’m sorry for that” (Soto, p.156). Jesse’s religious convictions had always lead him to never harm others and this comment by Leslie left him thinking that in war there are duties to perform that may conflict with your everyday choices. There is a great difference between being a murderer and defending your life and the lives of your fellow soldiers.

Jesse had always been poor and runs into a friend from high school, Luis, who comes from a middle class family—his family owns a bakery. Jesse states “Luis didn’t act Mexican . . . I always thought of him as a brown surfer, he looked so cool, so unsweaty” (Soto, p. 148). Luis later confesses to Jesse, “I want to make money—lots! I’m tired of working at a bakery . . . I always smell like a batch of *pan dulce*” (Soto, p. 149). This goes to show that everyone has their own idea of a better life.

### **Heritage Language Maintenance and Attrition**

Much is still to be learned about the maintenance of any language, where the person is living, the community requirements of language, how society places value on

different languages and whether or not there are supportive measures in place that will encourage the expansion of different languages. To begin the process initial questions must be addressed, such as is the heritage language desired for promotion to the next generation, who and in what format will that language be introduced and maintained, and who will bare the responsibility for providing support and care of the language within the family?

According to scholars Froyen, Skibbe, Bowles, Blow & Gerde (2013) “the quality of the family emotional environment is associated with the ways that mothers interact with their children” (p. 44). Depending on how this question is answered will result in the quality of the child’s educational support in the home. This research demonstrated there was a correlation between the quality of the marriage and the quality time the mother spent with the child would impact the child’s learning outcomes. It is stated that when adults read to their children and carve out time for intentional learning activities the child’s mind is stimulated. Duursma, Augustyn, and Zuckerman (2008) stated that “reading aloud to young children promotes the development of language and other emergent literacy skills . . .” (p. 554) These scholars are reiterating what the research has proven time and time again, when reading to children

DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) discovered that “spousal support is essential in continuing the process of bilingualism in a family . . . parents are the ones who decide the children’s’ language experience” (p. 12-13). These are among the first set of questions that all parents must ask themselves. Barbara Pearson would say that “For many of them [parents], language is about the heart—about family, intimacy, and cultural identity. . .” (David, 2013, 110-111) For many people language is as much a part of a person as the

manner in which they write or the character of a person. No matter where you are in the world the language you speak with be connected to who you are as much as your hair and eye color.

Christina Bosemark states that she believes that the connection to your heritage is engrained in your ability to utilize your language “I realized that an important link to her past would be completely lost if she couldn’t speak Swedish. So I started right then speaking Swedish with her.” (Bosemark, n.d.)

### **The Future of Spanish in the United States**

Stacie N. Berdan’s 2014 article in *The New York Times*, “Being Monolingual Is No Longer an Option,” discusses the reality of international workers. As the employment market changes, there is a greater need for all people to be linguistically flexible and communicatively competent. Berdan has worked on “four continents and frequently speaks and writes on global careers despite being fluent only in English.” (2014) Berdan’s philosophy on language is an appreciation of “cultures,” connections and building of “relationships around the world.” (2014)

Berdan shares that in her experience the human touch is of the greatest value and technology is a great gift, but will not eliminate “the importance of the human touch and can’t learn or work as effectively as those chatting easily with native speakers, reading local papers, interpreting and subtleties” (2014). Even this kind of human contact would seem to foster linguistic flexibility that is needed in any workplace.

### **Chapter 3** **Research Methods, Data Collection and Analysis**

Chapter 3 is a description of (1) the research methods, (2) the single subject, (3) the recording timeline and interview procedure, including the photo prompting, (4) the transcription, (5) the translation process, (6) the interview questions and the subject's answers, and (7) the data analysis with a summary of findings and discovery of themes which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

#### **Research Methods**

As explained in Chapter 1, the present study employs mixed methods: case study, critical ethnography, and narrative inquiry.

#### **Case Study**

In TESOL a single case study is often done with a language learner or a language teacher with the aim to better understand how the subject is learning or teaching the language and what the subject perceives as important to the process. Robert Stake (1995), notes:

We try to minimize our intrusion . . . We recognize that the case study is subjective, relying heavily on our previous experience and our sense of worth of things. We try to let the reader know something of the personal experience of gathering the data. . . to minimize misperception and the invalidity of our conclusion.” (p. 134)

Principles of single case study research include “issues of ontology, epistemology, and methodology” (Willis, 2014, web). The interview questions in the present case study take into account these issues—the subject's sense of why she is here on earth, how she acquired the knowledge to raise her children bilingually and the methods that she used to maintain the heritage language and culture. TESOL requires context:

Provide sufficient contextual information about the case, including relevant biographical and social information (depending on the focus), such as ESL learning/teaching history, L1 background, years of residence in a new country, data collection site(s), or other relevant descriptive information pertaining to the case and situation. (TESOL.org, 2016, web)

For this reason, considerable information about the subject's life in Mexico and the United States was solicited and will be analyzed throughout Chapter 3.

### **Critical Ethnography**

In anthropology, a common form of research is ethnography, the study of culture.

TESOL asks critical ethnographers to collect & interpret data in this way:

Show evidence of residing or spending considerable lengths of time interacting with people in the study setting, observing and recording their activities as they unfolded through means such as field notes (see, e.g., Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), audio and video recordings, or both. (TESOL.org, 2017)

Because it was a convenience sample and the researcher had known the subject for years, she was able to have “extended, firsthand participant observation and interactions with the participant” while focusing on “participant beliefs and attitudes” while interviewing and recording the subject and taking field notes, as recommended by TESOL(TESOL.org, 2017).

TESOL asks critical ethnographers to “include several different sources of data. . . life histories (Darnell, 2001) and narrative analysis (Cortazzi, 2001), photography, audio or video recordings (Nastasi, 1999), written documents (Brewer, 2000), data documenting historical trends” (TESOL.org, 2016) which the researcher in the present study did.

## **The Single Subject**

### **Mrs. Comales**

The subject was given the pseudonym, Mrs. Comales, to ensure her anonymity. She was given the consent form in Spanish (Appendix B), and she understood that she could request a break or withdraw altogether at any time. At 85, she was still very alert and was able to remember much of her life with considerable detail. As a mother of eight surviving children and a single parent, she maintained Spanish in her home, and all of her children became bilingual. Interviews were conducted to determine how and why she maintained the heritage language and culture in the home.

### **Recording Timeline and Procedure**

The interviews were done over a period of several months; they were conducted both in Spanish and English in the first interview session, but the subsequent interviews were conducted, due to the subject's choice, in Spanish. Both the IRB consent and the interview questions were translated in Spanish and English. The family provided photograph artifacts and they were utilized throughout the interview to assist the subject with recall of memory.

In compliance with TESOL guidelines in using critical ethnography, the interviews were done over a periods of months offering the subject opportunities to rest and creating a space where her confidentiality was honored. The transcribed interviews included in the chapter include notes about her health and well being on the days of the interviews.

### **The Transcription Process**

The researcher was the primary transcriptionist with secondary reviewers. The transcription process required one hour of typing for every ten minutes of interview. This

included writing the questions and responses in both English and Spanish word for word. The next step was to have a second party review what was typed and check for accuracy and spelling—first in Spanish and then in English.

Each transcribed interview opens with the date, the length of the interview, and the location. Each interview session ends with the researcher's summary of the findings for the day.

### **Data Collection and Interpretation of nine interviews**

The following data were collected by digital recording in nine separate interviews from March through May of 2016. Each interview begins with a vignette describing the setting, the weather, and the subject's energy level and snacks consumed.

#### **Session 1: March 10, 2016, Questions 1-33—Early Childhood in Mexico**

In interview Session 1, questions 1-33 were covered in just under 30 minutes at a local McDonald's. It was a nice warm day, and we sat in a booth that was in full view of the sunshine outside. Mrs. Comales was having a light snack and coffee throughout the interview. Today she was very vibrant and talkative, and she appeared to be in very good spirits. We talked about where she was born, her mother's death when Mrs. Comales was two, the separation of the children, the remarriage of the father, and her entry into elementary school.

***P1: ¿Dónde nació usted?***

Q1: Where were you born?

***R1: En Taft, Tejas.***

A1: In Taft, Texas.

***P2: ¿En qué año nació usted?***

Q2: What year were you born in?

***R2: En el 31 [1931]. En septiembre del 31***

A2: In '31 [1931]. In September of 1931.

**P3: ¿Con cual propósito estaban sus padres, en ese tiempo, en los Estados Unidos [cuando usted nació]?**

Q3: What were your parents doing in the United States at the time you were born?

**R3: Se fueron para allá, para trabajar.**

A3: They went there for work.

**P: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo?**

Q: What type of work?

**R: Pues, para trabajar en la labor. En el trabajo de la agricultura.**

A: Well, to work in the fields. Agriculture work.

**P: ¿Y su mamá, qué tipo de trabajo hacía ella?**

Q: And your mother, what type of work did she do?

**R: Yo creo que ella no trabajaba fuera de la casa.**

A: I do not think that she worked outside the home.

**P4: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando su familia regresó a México?**

Q4: How old were you when your family moved back to Mexico?

**R4: Estaba chiquea cuándo estaba mi mamá tendida [había murido], yo apenas caminaba. . . tendría como dos o tres a lo más.**

A4: I was very young when my mother died; I was walking. I must have been about two or three, at most.

**P5: ¿Hasta qué nivel de educación llegaron sus padres?**

Q5: What level of education did your parents have?

**R5: No sé.**

A5: I do not know.

**P: ¿Se graduaron de la escuela? ¿Fueron al universidad?**

Q: Did they graduate from high school? Did they go to college?

**R: No, no se.**

A: No, I do not know.

**P6: ¿Qué recuerda más de su mamá?**

Q6: What do you remember the most about your mother?

**R6: Que me pegaba. Sí, [yo] era muy llorona. Ella me tejía. Por qué así era, llorona. Yo me recuerdo que me sentaba mi mamá en sus piernas y me daba unos azotes para que llorara por algo. Y saz, saz, saz, me daba azotes, pero nunca con malicia.**

A6: That she would spank me. Yes, [I] was such a crybaby. She would swat me; because I was, a cry baby. I recall that she would put me over her knee and give several good swats to give me a reason to cry. And smack, smack, smack, she would spank me, but never in anger.

**P7: ¿Qué edad tenía su madre cuando ella falleció?**

Q7: How old was your mother when she died?

**R7: Ella estaba muy joven.**

A7: She was very young.

**P:** *¿Usted no sabe?*

Q: You don't know?

**R:** *No sé que edad tenía.*

A: I do not know what her age was.

**P8:** *¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando murió su madre?*

Q8: How old were you when your mother died?

**R8:** *Yo tendría algunos dos años. Estaba muy chiquea.*

A8: I was probably two years old. I was very young.

**P9:** *¿Qué edad tenían sus hermanas cuando [su madre] murió?*

Q9: How old were your sisters when your mother died?

**R9:** *Pues, chiquillas estábamos. Yo era la mas chiquilla. Yo era de brazos. Manuela caminado, pues estaba chiquilla y Agustina, como ella no fue criada con nosotros, se la llevaron mis abuelitos cuando murió mi mama. Estábamos todas muy pequeñas.*

A9: Well, we were very young. I was the youngest. I was still being carried [toddler] around. Manuela was very young [preschool age], and Augustine was not raised with us, since she was taken and was raised by our [maternal] grandparents when my mom died. We were all pretty young.

**P10:** *¿Que ocurrió con ustedes [niñas] cuando murió su madre?*

Q10: What happened to all of you [girls] when she [your mom] died?

**R10:** *Sufrimos bastante. Pues, quedamos solas con mi papa; pero nomas mi hermana, la mayor [Manuela], y yo. Agustina la escondieron a ella. La abuelita, de parte de me mama. Se la llevaron mis abuelos. La escondieron, Agustina.*

A10: We suffered tremendously. We were alone with our dad, but just my older sister [Manuela] and me. Augustine was taken by them [maternal grandparents]. They hid [took her away], Augustine.

**P11:** *¿Qué impacto tuvo la falta de su mamá en el hogar?*

Q11: What impact was there due to your mother's absence in the home.

**R11:** *Pues, sufrir. Nosotros, mi hermana la mayor y yo, estábamos con mi papa y el contrato una señora para que nos cuidaba mientras el iba al trabajo. Doña Cipriana se llamaba la señora, ella ya estaba viejita. Por que no teníamos mama. Y luego después de tres años de viudo se volvió a casar mi papa. Y mi madrastra, Otilia no mas se iba mi papa, y ella iba para la casa de su mama todo el día hasta que iba venir mi papa y luego ella legaba a casa.*

A11: Well, we suffered. We, my older sister and I, were raised by our father and he hired an elderly lady to watch and care for us while he went to work. Her name was Mrs. Cipriana. We suffered due to not having a mother at home. And after three years of our dad being a widower, he re-married. My stepmother, Ophelia, would leave as soon as dad went off to work. She would go to her mother's home all day and not return until just before dad would arrive from working in the fields.

**P12: ¿Cómo era su vida diferente de la de su hermana que se crio con sus abuelos maternos?**

Q12: How was your life different from your sister's life, since she was raised with your maternal grandparents?

**R12: Era muy diferente. En que no hablaba con nosotros ni entendía. La crearon como un animalito. Le hacia uno plastica y ella se volteaba para el otro lado y no hablaba con uno. No contestaba.**

A12: It was very different. She would not speak with us or understand us. She was raised with poor social manners [uncivilized]. If we would try and make conversation with her she would just turn around and ignore us. She would not engage you in conversation.

**P13: ¿Con cuál hermana era más unida usted y por qué?**

Q13: With which sister were you close to and why?

**R13: Mi hermana, Manuelita. Porque nos criamos juntas.**

A13: My sister, Manuelita because we were raised together.

**P14: ¿Qué materiales tuvo usted, en casa, para prepararla para entrar a la escuela?**

Q14: What did you have at home to get you prepared for school?

**R14: Libros, cuadernos y lápiz.**

A14: Books, notebooks and pencils.

**P15: ¿Quién le leía cuentos, historias, leyendas, a usted?**

Q15: Who read books to you? Stories?

**R15: Mi papa.**

A15: My father.

**P16: ¿Qué tipo de libros?**

Q16: What type of books?

**R16: El libro de primer año y la biblia.**

A16: My primary book and the Bible.

**P17: ¿Qué lecciones aprendía por medio de los cuentos? ¿Tenían cuentos o dichos, algo así?**

Q17: What lessons were you taught through stories? Did they have stories or proverbs, something like that?

**R17: Cuando nos leían la lección, de primer año, eso es lo que leía mi papa. A mí hermana [Manuela] no le gustó la escuela; después del segundo año ella ya no quería ir. Ella nunca le gustó la escuela. De la biblia lecciones de carácter cristiano y de el bien y lo malo.**

A17: When he would read to us, our primary lessons, that is what dad would read to us. My sister [Manuela] did not like school; after second grade she did not want to attend any longer. She never liked school. In the Bible there were lessons of character and discernment.

**P18: Dígame sobre como era la escuela , en México. para usted, en aquella época.**

Q18: Tell me what was school like in Mexico for you, in that era.

**R18: Era muy estricto la escuela. En que la maestra nos daba tarea, para que la hiciéramos, y hacia aprendíamos la materia. Pero puro español aprendíamos**

A18: School [rules] was very strict. Our teacher would give us homework, to do, and that is how we would learn the material. We learned exclusively in Spanish.

**P19: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando la registraron en la escuela, por primera vez?**

Q19: How old were you when you went to school for the first time in Mexico?

**R19: Como cinco años.**

A19: I was about five years of age.

**P20: Antes de ir a la escuela, ¿qué es lo que usted sabía?**

Q20: What did you already know, before you began school?

**R20: No más mi nombre y los colores; yo todavía no sabia escribir**

A20: Only my name and colors; could not write yet.

**P21: ¿Cuál fue su primera escuela?**

Q21: Which was your first school?

**R21: En mi primer pero no me recuerdo el nombre de la escuela.**

A21: In first grade, but I can't recall the name of the school.

**P22: ¿Fue a la kínder o a la primaria, se recuerda?**

Q22: Was it kindergarten or first grade, do you recall?

**R22: No, era primer año.**

A22: No, it was first grade.

**P23: ¿Era una escuela pública, privada o católica?**

Q23: Was it public, private or Catholic?

**R23: No, era escuela publica. No estaba lejos. Como unas cinco cuerdas. Yo me iba a pie para la escuela. Porque a mi hermana no le gustó y no iba [ella].**

A23: No, it was a public school. It wasn't far about five blocks. I would walk to the school because my sister did not like school and she would not attend.

**P24: ¿Como llegaba a la escuela? Caminaba, en bicicleta, a caballo, en coche?**

Q24: How would you get to school? Walking, a bicycle, on horseback, by car?

**R24: Yo caminaba. Mi maestra de la primera se llamaba Francisca Salas. Muy buena mi maestra. Yo aprendí bastante con ella.**

A24: I would walk. My primary school teacher's name was Frances Salas. She was a good teacher. I learned so much from her.

**P25: ¿Cuántas hermanas asistían a la misma escuela que usted?**

Q25: How many of your sisters went to the same school?

**R25: No más yo, porque a mi hermana mayor no le gustó la escuela; Manuela nada mas llevo hasta segundo grado, no quería ir a la escuela. Agustina se la llevaron , mi abuelita, con ellos ha vivía en otro pueblo.**

A25: Only me because my older sister did not like school and Augustine was taken away by our [maternal] grandparents; she lived in another town.

**P26: ¿Iban y regresaban juntas a la escuela?**

Q26: Did you go to school together and return together?

**R26: Sí. Andando íbamos al escuela porque estaba cerca.**

A26: Yes, we would walk together to school because it was close by.

**P27: ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre la edad de usted y sus hermanas? ¿Con su hermana Manuela? ¿Con su hermana Agustina?**

Q27: What is the age difference between you and your sisters? Between your sister Manuela? And with your sister Augustine?

**R27: Yo era la más chuquía. Manuela era como tres años mayor que yo y Agustina era en medio. . . como dos años mayor que yo.**

A27: I was the youngest. Manuela was about three years older than I and Augustine was in the middle about two years older than me.

**P28: ¿Cuántos días a la semana tenía que ir a la escuela?**

Q28: How many days a week did you have to go to school?

**R28: Five days. Cinco días.**

A28: Five days.

**P29: ¿Cuántos días a la semana iba usted a la escuela?**

Q29: How many days a week did you attend school?

**R29: Cinco días.**

A29: Five days.

**P30: ¿Si no iba, por qué no podía ir cada día, cuál era la razón?**

Q30: If you could not attend every day, why, what reason?

**R30: Pues, yo iba todos los días. Nunca fiaba la escuela. Mi hermana era la que fiaba porque ella no le gustaba la escuela.**

A30: I would always attend school. I never was absent. My sister [Manuela] was the one that would skip school days; she did not like school.

**P31: ¿Cuántas horas al día asistía la escuela su primer año?**

Q31: How many hours a day did you go to school, your first year?

**R31: Pues, era . . . Íbamos y entrábamos a las ocho de la mañana y salíamos a comer, una hora, y luego regresábamos otra vez hasta las cinco de la tarde.**

A31: Well, it was . . . we would go and begin school at eight in the morning leave for lunch, an hour, and then return until five o'clock.

**P32: ¿Cuántos años asistió usted a la escuela?**

Q32: How many years did you stay in school?

**R32: Pues, a los doce años, fue de la primaria hasta la secundaria y acabe a los diez y ocho años. Yo estudié para ser maestra.**

A32: Well, twelve years of school and I graduated at eighteen. Went beginning primary until high school. I focused my studies on teaching.

### Summary of Session 1

Mrs. Comales was reminiscing about her mother and the impact that her mother's death had on her and her sisters. She described her father as being very compassionate, but did not share much about her stepmother. Her father remarried three years after the death of his first wife. One can infer that due to the fact that Agustina was raised by their maternal grandparents it created a disconnect among them as siblings. Though she did not say this during the interview itself, she had previously mentioned that she believed the reason for her maternal grandparents chose Agustina was because, of the three girls, she most resembled their deceased daughter. Mrs. Comales' countenance was warm and tender when she spoke of her parents, especially of the few memories she has of her mother. Mrs. Comales' education was impacted by two factors: her father's encouragement and her desire to learn.

### Session 2: March 15, 2016, Questions 34-51: Childhood to Adolescence

In interview Session 2, questions 34-51 was just under fifteen minutes at Mrs. Comales' residence. It was a nice warm day, so we conducted the interview out on the patio. Mrs. Comales was having a light snack and hot chocolate throughout the interview. Today, she was glad to be outside and admiring the flowers in the garden as we spoke. We talked about her early childhood, entering school, her interest in education, and her choice of vocation.

***P33: ¿Y cuantos cursos existían en esa escuela? ¿Qué tipo de clases tuvo usted en esa escuela?***

Q33: How many courses were offered in that school? What type of classes did you take there?

***R33: Pues, yo iba bien adelantada en las clases***

A33: Well, I was ahead in all my classes.

**P34:** *¿A qué nivel de escuela llegó usted? ¿Llego a la preparatoria, y qué grado en la preparatoria? Aquí en los Estados Unidos es la preparatoria hasta el grado doce. ¿Es igual en México? ¿Hasta que grado llegó usted?*

Q34: What was your highest grade achieved? Did you reach high school or graduate from high school? In the United States high school is through twelfth grade. Is it the same in Mexico? What grade did you complete?

**R34:** *[La preparatoria] es hasta el grado ocho. [clarificación de preparatoria] A grado doce.*

A34: [High school] completed eighth grade. [clarification of high school] I went to twelfth grade.

**P35:** *¿Qué tipo de estudiante era usted?*

Q35: What type of student were you?

**R35:** *De lo mejor. Yo [tenía] primer lugar en la escuela—me gustaba de corazón.*

A35: A very good student. I was at the top of my class; I had a passion for school

**P36:** *¿Qué cursos le gustaban más en la escuela a usted? ¿Había un curso que no le llamaba mucho la atención?*

Q36: What were your favorite subjects in school? Were there classes that you really enjoyed?

**R36:** *Todos me gustaban, la clase que me dieran me gustaba.*

A36: I enjoyed all my classes, any that they gave me I enjoyed.

**P37:** *¿Cuáles cursos le gustaban menos?*

Q37: Which subjects did you like the least?

**R37:** *No, a mi me gustó toda la escuela.*

A37: No, I liked all the subjects at school.

**P38:** *Ya cuando acaban la preparatoria y van a la Universidad; ¿Qué estudios podría tomar en ese tiempo? Para un oficio. ¿Qué carrera quería usted?*

Q38: When you completed high school then would you attend the university? What type of studies would you take then? For a vocation. What career did you want?

**R38:** *Yo quería ser maestra.*

A38: I wanted to become a teacher.

**P39:** *¿Es gradada con título de secundaria?*

Q39: Did you gain a high school diploma?

**R39:** *Sí.*

A39: Yes.

**P40.a:** *¿Cómo eran sus maestras?*

Q40.a: What were your teachers like?

**R40.a:** *Mi maestra, la primera, nos dio clases por ocho años.*

A40.a: My teacher, first, taught us for eight years.

**P:** *¿Se recuerda como se llamaba ella?*

Q: Do you recall her name?

**R:** *[se llamaba] Francisca Salas.*

A: [Her name was] Francis Salas.

**P40.b:** *¿Ella era su favorita o tuvo otra maestra que también influyo en su vida?*

Q40.b: Was she your favorite [teacher] or did you have another teacher that was an influence in your life.

**R40.b:** *Pues, la hermana de ella fue mi maestra también. Ella se llamaba Carmelita Salas.*

A40.b: Well, her sister was also my teacher. Her name was Carmelita Salas.

**P41.a:** *¿Qué idioma estudió usted?*

Q41.a: What language did you study?

**R41.a:** *Solamente en español.*

A41.a: Only in Spanish

**P41.b:** *¿Aparte del español hubo otro idioma que estudió usted en la escuela usted?*

*¿Estudiaba el inglés, alemán, francés?*

Q41.b: Besides Spanish was there another language that you studied in school? Did you study English, German or French?

**R41.b:** *No, puro español.*

A41.b: No, exclusively in Spanish.

**P42:** *¿Qué tipo de español estudiaron en la escuela, formal [académico] o [básico] coloquial?*

Q42: What type of Spanish did you study in school, informal [basic/everyday] or formal?

**R42:** *A me gustaba la gramática, era mas formal.*

A42: I really enjoyed grammar, it was more formal.

**P43:** *¿Tuvo deseos de recibirse de maestra usted, verdad? ¿Cuándo fue el momento cuando pensó usted de recibirse de maestra?*

Q43: You had the desire to become a teacher, correct? When was the moment that you first thought to become a teacher?

**R43:** *Sí. Cuando iba yo ya en tercer año, yo quería ser maestra. Mi papa me apoyó mucho en seguir una carrera de maestra. Escogí ser maestra porque me gustaba aprender bastante y compartir el deseo con otros de aprender.*

A43: Yes. I was in my third year of high school I realized I wanted to be a teacher. My dad encouraged me to seek a teaching career. I enjoyed learning and wanted others to love of learning as well.

**P44:** *¿En aquel tiempo, como se recibía una persona de maestra en México?*

Q44: In that era, how did one become a teacher in Mexico?

**R44:** *Estudiaba uno bastante. Y [yo] quería ser maestra y decía me papa “Estudie hija, estudie”. Mis hermanas no les gustaba la escuela tanto como a mí.*

A44: You would study a lot. I wanted to become a teacher, my dad would say “Study [my] daughter”. My sisters did not enjoy school like I did.

**P45.a: ¿Qué ocurrió para que no se recibiera de maestra?**

Q45.a: What happened that stopped you from becoming a teacher?

**R45.a: *Un día encontré una de las maestras nuevas llorando y le pregunte porque lloraba y ella me contó que era porque los muchachos de donde era maestra había hecho cosas malas hacia ella y me prometió que no le dijera a nadie Ella tenía miedo de que los muchachos fuera a darse cuenta y abusaran más de ella. El dolor y abuso sexual la dejo confundida—ya no deseaba trabajar en ese pueblo pero no quería parar de ser maestra. Ella se encontraba muy asustada y con mucho miedo. Le pregunté porque no le decía a su supervisor. Ella respondió que por el momento ella siendo una maestra nueva no había otro sitio donde trabajar, su familia necesitaba su sueldo, y mas importante que la iba apoyar—ninguna persona la conocía en ese pueblo ella era extranjera. Me pidió que no le dijera a ninguna persona; yo tuve que decirle a mi padre, con el tiempo. Lo pensé mucho y decide después de hablar con mi papa. Cuando le dije a mi papa que no iba seguir mi carrera de maestra mi pregunto ¿Por qué? Y es cuando yo le di mis razones a) la historia de la maestra, b) que yo me quería casar en blanco, y c) de ninguna forma estaba perdiendo todo lo que aprende en no seguir la carrera de maestra. Últimamente, mí padre dijo qué era mi decisión, pero yo vi que la noticia le dio tristeza.***

A45.a: One day I saw one of the new teachers crying and asked her what happened. She told me that some of the boys she taught had sexually harmed her. She was fearful that if she sought help they would find out and retaliate. She asked me not to tell anyone. The shame and sexual abuse had left her despondent and confused—she had no desire to remain in that town teaching, but she could not stop being a teacher. Being an outsider, in that town, she felt that she had no support and would not be believed. She asked me not to tell anyone. I thought long and hard about it. Finally, I had to tell my father why I would not be seeking employment as a teacher. When he asked me why I gave him my reasons a) I told him what that novice teacher had shared with me, b) that I wanted to wed wearing a white dress [purity], and c) that no matter what my circumstances no one could ever take away from me all that I had learned in the process of seeking a teaching degree. He was obviously sad, but stated that it was my decision to make.

**P45.b: ¿Qué tipo de vida tenían las maestras en aquel tiempo?**

Q45.b: What type of lifestyle did teachers, back then, have available to them?

**R45.b: *Pues, vivían a pie las pobre maestras. Para empezar sus carreras ellas les daban los puestos en el campo, tenían que vivir con una familia y trabajar aparte de la escuela para su comida y lugar donde vivir, como huéspedes. Y en muchas ocasiones ellas no tenían apoyo de la mesa directiva de educación. No en todas las situaciones pero si habían lugares de abuso. Yo no podía vivir así. Decidí mejor trabajar con mi papa en la labor antes que me case. Trabajo duro pero honrado.***

A45.b: Well, they were always on foot [very impoverished with no vehicle]. They would begin their careers in some rural town, living with a host family and in addition to teaching duties they would have to work for their room and board. Many times the novice teachers had no support from the board of education—the teachers were on their own. Not in every case, but there were known cases of sexual and physical abuse. I decided that would not be the life for me. So I worked for my father in the fields before getting married instead. It was hard work, but honest work [did not compromise my principles].

**P46: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando se graduó de la secundaria?**

Q46: How old were you when you graduated high school?

**R46: Como diez y ocho años**

A46: Like eighteen years old.

**P47: ¿Después de [terminar] la escuela cuál fue su trabajo?**

Q47: What type of work did you do after you completed school?

**R47: Yo siempre me gustaba estudiar. Y después, de la escuela y le ayudaba a mi papa con el trabajo de la casa – limpiar, lavar, planchar--, la labor, y los animales.**

A47: I always kept studying. Later on with keeping house – cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing--, keeping up the field work and carrying for the animals [on the farm].

**P48: ¿Cómo pasaba su tiempo antes de casarse?**

Q48: How did you spend your time prior to marriage?

**R48: Yo estudiaba mucho en la casa. En la noche todos se acostaban y yo estudiaba.**

A48: I would study at home. At night when everyone would go to bed, I would study.

**P49: ¿Y después que completó la preparatoria? No se casó inmediatamente. ¿Cuándo se casó?**

Q49: What happened after high school? You did not marry right away. How much after high school did you marry?

**R49: No, yo me casé a los veinte años. Recuerdo que era en 1951**

A49: No, I got married at twenty. I remember it was 1951

**P50: ¿Y usted, como pasaba el tiempo libre?**

Q50: What did you do with your free [leisure] time?

**R50: Yo no tenía tiempo libre.**

A50: I did not have any free [leisure] time.

**P: En aquel tiempo no iban a fiestas, bailes, o eventos de la comunidad?**

Q: In that era, did you attend festivals, dances or community events?

**R: No, era muy seria la cosa.**

A: No, that era was a very serious time.

**P51: ¿A qué edad se casó usted?**

Q51: At what age did you marry?

**R51: *Cuando tenía veinte años.***

A51: I was twenty years of age.

### **Summary Session 2:**

In this session the questions encompassed her early childhood, memories of her mother, and her K-12 education in Mexico. Mrs. Comales was candid about the impact of her mother's death, being raised by an absentee stepmother—who would leave the children regularly alone and be with her parents—and real-life challenges that novice teachers were facing in Mexico during the early 1950's. Her moral compass guided her through the tough decision to not seek a career in teaching—she opted for personal values over career goals.

### **Session 3: March 25, 2016, Questions 52-57—Early Adulthood/Motherhood.**

Session 3, questions 52-58, was conducted within 31 minutes while seated out on her back porch—on a cool day, partly sunny with a slight wind. Mrs. Comales was enjoying the warm sunshine, drinking some sweet tea and eating pistachios—her favorite nut. This session focused on Mrs. Comales' marriage, motherhood up to the birth of her third child.

**P52: *¿Y qué edad tenía [usted] cuándo dio luz a su primer hijo?***

Q52: How old were you when you had your first child?

**R52: *Servando fue el mayor, esto como más del ano de ser casada. Me casé a los veinte años, y al año nació mi primer niño, tenía veintiuno.***

A52: Servando was my oldest child, about a year after being married. I was married at twenty, and about a year later our first child was born, I twenty-one.

**P53: *¿Dónde estaba viviendo usted cuando nació su primer hijo?***

Q53: Where were you living when your first child was born?

**R53: *Pues, horita te digo . . . En un rancho que se llamaba San Fráncico, no San Antonio, México.***

A53: Well, give me a minute . . . In a ranch [town] named San Francisco, no it was San Antonio, Mexico.

**P54: ¿Quién le ayudó con el parto?**

Q54: Who helped you with the birth [of your child].

**R54: Una Señora que se llamaba Modesta, la partera. Ella estuvo allí conmigo hasta que nació el niño.**

A54: A lady named Modesta, midwife. She was with me until the child was born.

**Las siguientes series de preguntas (a-j) se hicieron sobre sus siete embarazos 55-62**

**The following series of questions (a-j) will be asked concerning each child's birth: 55-62.**

**P55.a: ¿Dónde nació su primer hijo?**

Q55.a: Where was your first child born?

**R55.a: ¿En San Antonio?**

A55.a: In San Antonio?

**P: ¿Y usted dice que Servando nació en San Antonio, México?**

Q: You state that Servando was born in San Antonio, Mexico?

**R: Sí.**

A: Yes.

**P55.b: ¿En casa, con una partera?**

Q55.b: At home with a midwife?

**R55.b: Sí.**

A55.b: Yes.

**P55.c: ¿Nació en una clínica?**

Q55.c: In a clinic?

**R55.c: No. El nació en la casa.**

A55.c: No. He was born at home.

**P55.d: ¿Cómo fue el parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?**

Q55.d: How was the birth? Easy? Challenging?

**R55.d: No, fue difícil.**

A55.d: No, it was challenging.

**P: ¿No hubo complicaciones?**

Q: Were there any complications?

**R: No, pero si hubo mucho dolor, como era el primer niño.**

A: No, but there was a lot of pain, since it was my first child.

**P55.e: ¿Qué recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz al primer hijo?**

Q55.e: What do you recall about the delivery of your first child?

**R55.e: De principio como dos o tres días.**

A55.e: [From beginning to end] it was about two or three days.

**P: ¿Dos o tres días desde que comenzó?**

Q: Two or three days from the beginning of labor?

**R: Sí, desde que comencé a estar mala. Como casi dos o tres días. Porque comencé**

**a estar mala un día, me recuerdo, y fue a la casa, yo vivía en una casa y en**

**otra casa vivían mis suegros. Y este, fue y les dijo que yo estaba mala. Y luego**

*se fue Lupe, mi cuñada, y Fidel, mi esposo, a un baile, allí cerquita, y yo bien mala. Y fue mi suegro y lo sacó del baile [Fidel] y se lo trajo, le dijo [mi suegro] que “Esta muy mala tu esposa va dar luz [a tu hijo]” Pues, fueron a traer a la señora que me iba ayudar, Doña Modesta. Y vino, vino Fidel para la casa y luego se fue a traer a la Señora [Modesta] para la casa. Porque yo ya estaba muy mala. Después la trajo, y luego ella me ayudó.*

A: Yes, from the beginning of the labor [pains], two or three days. Yes. I was very sick the first day [of labor] and I recall that I went to the house [my in-laws]; I lived in one house and they lived nearby in another home. And I went to tell them I was very ill [in labor] and Lupe, my sister-in-law, and Fidel, my husband, had left for a dance [earlier] that evening. My father-in-law went and got Fidel out of the dance and said, “Your wife is ill [in labor]” and brought him back home with him. “Your wife is in labor, about to give birth to your son.” [my father-in-law was not pleased with him being at the dance]. Well, they went to go get Mrs. Modesta. He came, Fidel came to the house and then he went to get Mrs. Modesta, the midwife, to the house. I was very ill [heavy in labor]. After he brought her; she helped me out with the labor.

**P55.f:** *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo usted fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de su primer hijo?*

Q55.f: How much time were you away from work after your first child was born?

**R55.f:** *Estuve días fuera del trabajo, como una semana o dos.*

A55.f: I was out several days from work, about one or two weeks.

**P55.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacía usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q55.g: What type of work did you do back then?

**R55.g:** *Pues, yo estaba en la casa, limpiando, barriendo.*

A55.g: Well, I was a stay at home mom, maintaining the home.

**P55.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de este hijo y el siguiente?*

Q55.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R55.h:** *Como dos años. Servando nació en octubre y dos años después Catalina en noviembre.*

A55.h: About two years. Servando was born in October and two years later Catalina in November.

**P55.i:** *¿En que país nació este hijo? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q55.i: In what country was this child born? Mexico? The United States?

**R55.i:** *El primero nació en México.*

A55.i: The first child was born in Mexico.

**P55.j:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?*

Q55.j: Did you work outside the home?

**R55.i:** *No.*

A55.i: No.

**P56.a:** *¿Dónde nació su segundo hijo?*

Q56.a: Where was your second child born?

**R56.a:** *Catalina nació en la casa.*

A56.a: Catalina was born at home.

**P56.b:** *¿En casa con una partera?*

Q56.b: At home with a midwife?

**R56.b:** *Sí.*

A56.b: Yes.

**P56.c:** *¿Nació en una clínica?*

Q56.c: Not in a clinic or a hospital?

**R56.c:** *No, en casa.*

A56.c: No, at home.

**P56.d:** *¿Cómo fue ese parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?*

Q56.d: How was that delivery?

**R56.d:** *Ya fue más mejor. Cuando nació Servando estuve muy mala, y luego este ya nació Servando y la Señora que me ayudó, era la partera, ella se llamaba la Señora Modesta, estuvo allí. Tuvo mas fácil [Catalina] el segundo parto.*

A56.d: It was a better experience [delivery]. When I was in labor with Servando I was very ill and then after he was born the midwife helped me, her name was Mrs. Modesta, she was there with me. It was easier [with Catalina] with my second birth.

**P56.e:** *¿Qué se recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz a su segundo hijo?*

Q56.e: What do you recall of your second childbirth?

**R56.e:** *No, pues este estaba muy más mejor vez. No me vi mala ni nada. De Servando, fue el primero, si me vi muy mala.*

A56.e: No, I was much better the second time. I was not even sick or anything. With Servando, he was my first child, I was very ill [during labor].

**P56.f:** *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de su segundo hijo?*

Q56.f: How long were you away from work with the second birth?

**R56.f:** *No, yo no trabajaba no más en la casa. La casa y mis hijos eran mi trabajo.*

A56.f: No, I did not work [outside the home] only in the home raising my children.

**P56.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacia usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q56.g: What type of work did you do at that time? What was your job?

**R56.g:** *Yo cuidaba mis hijos y mantenía el hogar.*

A56.g: I would take care of the children and the home.

**P56h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de este hijo y el siguiente?*

Q56.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R56.h:** *Dos años.*

A56.h: About two years.

**P56.i:** *¿En que país nació este hijo? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q56.i: In what country was this child born? Mexico? The United States?

**R56.i:** *Ella nació en México.*

A56.i: She was born in Mexico.

**P56.j:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?*

P56.j: Did you work outside the home?

**R56.j:** *No, solamente en el hogar.*

A56.j: No, was a stay at home mom.

**P57.a:** *¿Donde nació su tercer hijo?*

Q57.a: Where was your third child born?

**R57.a:** *En la casa también, pero entonces me vi mala. Y vino Anselmo, mi cuñado. 7 Anselmo era el hermano de mi marido y el esposo de mi hermana, Manuela. Nos casamos dos hermanas con dos hermanos. Él fue a por la partera y la trajo.*

A57.a: A home birth as well, I was pretty ill that time. Anselmo came over, he was my brother-in-law. Anselmo was my husband's brother and my sister's husband—we two sisters married two brothers. He went to fetch the midwife.

**P57.b:** *¿En casa con una partera?*

Q57.b: At home with a midwife?

**R57.b:** *Sí. Se llamaba Doña Modesta.*

A57.b: Yes. The midwife's name was Mrs. Modesta.

**P57.c:** *¿Nació en una clínica?*

Q57.c: Born at a clinic?

**R57.c:** *No, en casa.*

A57.c: No, at home.

**P57.d:** *¿Como fue el parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?*

Q57.d: And how was that birth? Easy? Difficult?

**R57.d:** *Rafael nació muy bien.*

A57.d: Ralph' birth was healthy.

**P57.e:** *¿Qué recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz a su hijo?*

Q57.e: Do you recall the birthing process?

**R57.e:** *Bien. No, nació bien.*

A57.e: Good. No, he was healthy [without complications] okay.

**P57.f:** *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo usted fuera del trabajo con el nacimiento de su tercero?*

Q57.f: How long were you off of work with your third child?

**R57.f:** *Yo no trabajaba [fuera de la casa]. No más en la casa.*

A57.f: I did not work outside the home. Only in the home.

**P57.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacía usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q57.g: What type of work did you do at that time? What was your job?

**R57.g:** *Yo estaba en casa.*

A57.g: Stay at home.

**P57.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de este hijo y el siguiente?*

Q57.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R57.h:** *Después de dos años.*

A57.h: Two years later.

**P57.i:** *¿En que país nació este hijo? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q57.i: In what country was this child born? Mexico? The United States?

**R57.i:** *Este hijo nació en México.*

A57.i: The child was born in Mexico.

**P57.j:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?*

Q57.j: Did you work outside the home?

**R57.j:** *No, solamente en el hogar.*

A57.j: No, only in the home

### **Summary Session 3:**

Mrs. Comales talked about her marriage and the births of her first three children.

We learned that she and her sister married brothers which formed a close bond between the two families. Mrs. Comales shared her experiences of three different home births, life in rural Mexico, her primary role as a homemaker and becoming a mother herself.

### **Session 4: March 31, 2016, Questions 58-63; Motherhood and Return to U.S.**

The duration of Interview 4 was 46 minutes and took place in her bedroom. The day was sunny, but too windy to be outside. Mrs. Comales had just had lunch, and she was sitting up in her chair enjoying a glass of sweet tea. In this interview Mrs. Comales remembered the births of her two sets of twins, returning to the United States, and giving birth to two more children in the United States.

**P58.a:** *¿Dónde nacieron sus primeros gemelos?*

Q58.a: Where were your first set of twins born?

**R58.a: *En la casa también.***

A58.a: Also at home.

**P: *¿Fueron los dos varones, o hombre y mujer? ¿Cómo fueron sus primer gemelos?***

Q: Were they two boys, a boy and a girl? Who were your first set of twins?

**R: *Fueron dos varones.***

A: They were two boys.

**P: *Estábamos hablando tocante de sus primeros gemelos. ¿Y como se llamaban sus primeros gemelos?***

Q: We were talking about your first set of twins. What were their names?

**R: *José María y Jesús María.***

A: José María and Jesus María.

**P: *¿Varones?***

Q: Boys?

**R: *Uhm. Sí.***

A: Yes

**P58.b: *¿En casa, con una partera?***

Q58.b: Where were they born?

**R58.b: *Nacieron en casa con la misma partera que mi había ayudado antes, Doña Modesta***

A58.b: They were born at home with same midwife that had assisted before, Mrs. Modesta.

**P58.c: *¿Nacieron en una clínica?***

Q58.c: Were they born in a clinic?

**R58.c: *No, nacieron en casa.***

A58.c: No, they were born at home.

**P58.d: *¿Cómo fue el parto diferente, como era su primer par de gemelos?***

Q58.d: How was this birth different, since it was your first set of twins?

**R58.d: *No me vi mala. No hubo complicaciones pero que sorpresa. Dos varoncitos.***

A58.d: I was not sick; no complications, but what a surprise. Two little boys.

**P58.e: *¿Qué recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz sus primer gemelos?***

Q58.e: What do you remember the most about this delivery [your first set of twins]?

**R58.e: *Pues, yo estaba bien, muy contenta. Claro era doble trabajo, pero sin miedo***

A58.e: Well, I was okay, very happy. Sure it was double the work, but I was not afraid.

**P58.f: *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo usted fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de sus primeros gemelos?***

Q58.f: How long were you away from work with this birth?

**R58.f: *No, yo no trabajaba afuera [del hogar]. No mas en la casa.***

A58.f: No, I did not work outside the home. Only in the home.

**P58.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacia usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q58.g: What type of work did you do at that time? What was your job?

**R58.g:** *Yo estaba en casa con los niños.*

A58.g: Stay at home with the children.

**P58.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de estos hijos y el siguiente?*

Q58.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R58.h:** *Un año.*

A58.h: One year.

**P58.i:** *¿En que país nacieron sus gemelos? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q58.i: In what country were your twin born? Mexico? The United States?

**R58.i:** *Ellos nació en México.*

A58.i: They were born in Mexico.

**P58.j:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?*

Q58.j: Did you work outside the home?

**R58.j:** *Mis hijos eran mi trabajo.*

A58.j: Caring for my children was my work.

**P60.a:** *¿Dónde nacieron sus segundo par de gemelos?*

Q60.a: Where were your second set of twins born?

**R60.a:** *En la casa. . . Con una partera. Ella se llamaba Doña Modesta.*

A60.a: At home with a midwife; her name was Mrs. Modesta.

**P:** *¿Y tuvo usted una sorpresa con los segundo gemelos?*

Q: Were you surprised that you had a second set of twins?

**R:** *Sí. Con mis primeros José María y Jesús María antes del año se me murió José María de una enfermedad. se murió José María. . . el tenía unos meses. No tenía ni el año cuando él murió, muy chichito. Yo todavía estaba triste cuando me encontré embarazada de nuevo. Gracias a Dios que todo salió bien.*

A: Yes. With my first set of twins, Jose Maria and Jesus Maria before they were a year old, Jose Maria dies of a childhood illness. He was so young. I became pregnant again. Thank God that all went well.

**P60.b:** *¿Con sus segundo par de gemelos[nacieron], en casa con una partera?*

Q60.b: Where were your second set of twins born?

**R60.b:** *En la casa nacieron Roy y Blanca. Con una partera, Doña Modesta.*

A60.b: At home is where Roy and Blanca. With the midwife, Mrs. Modesta.

**P60.c:** *¿Nacieron en una clínica?*

Q60.c: Your second set of twins, were they born in a clinic?

**R60.c:** *No. Con una partera [en casa].*

A60.c: No. At home with a midwife [at home].

**P60.d:** *¿Cómo fue ese parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?*

Q60.d: And how was that birth? Easy? Difficult?

**R60.d:** *Nacieron bien, fijate. Fíjate que no hubo complicaciones. Yo comencé a estar mala y fue [se estaba cercando el tiempo de el parto]. Qué sorpresa tan grande de teñir otro par de gemelos, me cansé bastante.*

A60.d: They were born healthy, you know. I started going into labor [the delivery time was near]. I was very surprised and tired after the delivery of another set of twins.

**P60.e:** *¿Qué recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz a sus segundos gemelos?*

Q60.e: Do you recall the birth of your second set of twins?

**R60.e:** *Me fue muy bien, pero tomó mas que un día de cuando comenzó el dolor hasta que nacieron mis hijitos.*

A60.e: All went well; it took a day from when my contractions came to when the twins were delivered [born].

**P60.f:** *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo usted fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de sus segundo par de gemelos?*

Q60.f: How long were you away from work with this birth?

**R60.f:** *Yo no trabajaba, no mas en la casa.*

A60.f: I only worked in the home, not outside the home.

**P60.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacia usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q60.g: What type of work did you do at that time? What was your job?

**R60.g:** *Yo estaba en casa.*

A60.g: Stay a stay at home mom.

**P60.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de estos hijos y el siguiente?*

Q60.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R60.h:** *Casi cuatro años.*

A60.h: Almost four years.

**P60.i:** *¿En que país nacieron sus segundo gemelos? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q60.i: In what country were your twin born? Mexico? The United States?

**R60.i:** *Ellos nacieron en México.*

A60.i: They were born in Mexico.

**P60.j:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa o no?*

Q60.j: Did you work outside the home, yes or no?

**R60.j:** *No, por los primeros cuarenta días [la dieta después del parto]; luego me fui a trabajar a la labor con mi marido y los grandes cuidaban los chiqueos.*

A60.j: Not for the first 40 days after the birth of the children; then I went out to work in the fields with my husband. The older children would take care of the younger ones.

**P61.a:** *¿Donde nació su siguiente hijo?[foto]*

Q61.a: Where was your next child born? [photo]

**R61.a:** *Ese es el mas chiquito . . . Fidelito*

A61.a: He is the youngest . . . Fidel

**P61.b:** *¿En casa, con una partera?*

Q61.b: Where was he born, at home with a midwife?

**R61.b:** *No. En un hospital*

A61.b: No. In a hospital.

**P61.c:** *¿Nació en un clínica?*

Q61.c: Was he born in a clinic?

**R61.c:** *Si, el nació en un hospital.*

A61.c: Yes, he was born in a hospital.

**P61.d:** *¿Cómo fue el parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?*

Q61.d: How was the Fidel's birth? Easy? Difficult?

**R61.d:** *No, el nació bien.*

A61.d: He was born healthy.

**P61.e:** *¿Qué recuerda del proceso de dar luz a su hijo?*

Q61.e: Do you recall anything about that birth?

**R61.e:** *No me recuerdo. Fue fácil.*

A61.e: Nothing. It was easy.

**P61.f:** *¿Cuanto tiempo estuvo fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de su hijo?*

Q61.f: How long were you away from work after this birth?

**R61.f:** *Yo no trabajaba durante mi dieta, pero después regresé al trabajo en la labor.*

A61.f: I did not work until after my maternity time off (40 days), then I returned working in the fields [agricultural work].

**P61.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacía usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q61.g: What type of work did you do at that time? What was your job?

**R61.g:** *En casa y la labor.*

A61.g: At home and out in the fields.

**P:** *¿En la labor, levantando qué tipo de cosecha? ¿Trigo, pepino, cebolla?*

Q: In the fields, harvesting what? Wheat, cucumbers, onions?

**R:** *Pepino y cebolla.*

A: Cucumbers and onions.

**P:** *¿Ese tipo de trabajo es de todo el año o es temporáneo?*

Q: Is that seasonal or year round work?

**R:** *Hay momentos donde el trabajo es escaso [temporáneo].*

A: There are times when the work was hard to find [seasonal work].

**P61.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de este hijo y el siguiente?*

Q61.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**R61.h:** *Casi tres años.*

A61.h: Almost three years.

**P61.i:** *¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?*

Q61.i: Did you work outside the home?

**R61.i:** *Sí, después de la dieta del parto; luego regrese al trabajo.*

A61.i: Yes, I returned to work in the fields after my maternity leave.

**P61.j:** *¿En qué país nació este hijo? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q61.j: In what country was your son born? Mexico? The United States?

**R61.j:** *Él era mi primer hijo nacido en los Estados Unidos, Tejas.*

A61.j: He was my first child born in the United States, Texas.

**P62.a:** *¿Dónde nació su siguiente hijo?*

Q62.a: Where was your last child born

**R62.a:** *Esmeralda, ella también nació en el hospital.*

A62.a: Esmeralda, she was also born in a hospital.

**P62.b:** *¿Y donde nació Esmeralda, en casa con una partera?*

Q62.b: Where was Esmeralda born, at home with a midwife?

**R62.b:** *Esmeralda nació en el pueblo porque yo estaba muy mala y me llevaron con el doctor y allá nació ella en el pueblo.*

A62.b: Esmeralda was born in town because I was very ill, and they took me to the doctor, and she was born in town. [I was told that the day before they had been pulling out trees in an orange grove.]

**P62.c:** *¿Nació en un clínica?*

Q62.c: Was he born in a clinic?

**R62.c:** *No, ella nació en un hospital.*

A62.c: No, she was born in a hospital.

**P62.d:** *¿Cómo fue el parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?*

Q62.d: What do you recall of this birth?

**R62.d:** *Me vi muy mala, tenía mucho dolor. Muy fuerte en el estomago.*

A62.d: I was very ill; I was in a lot of pain. The pain was in my abdomen.

**P62.e:** *¿Qué recuerda del proceso de dar luz a su hija?*

Q62.e: Do you recall anything about that birth?

**R62.e:** *Me recuerdo que no estaba mi marido en casa cuando comenzó mi dolor no fue fácil. Estaba mi hermana Agustina y su familia visitándome. Mi esposo había salido con sus amigos y yo esperando que él llegara. Era después de la media noche cuando llegó, ni salió del carro y yo fue hacia él y le dije que me llevara para el hospital—ya llegaba el bebe.*

A62.e: I recall that my husband was not home when I went into labor. It was not easy. My sister Augustine and her family had come for a visit. My husband has gone out with friends; when he arrived, after midnight, I went to the car before he could get out and told him to take me to the hospital—the baby was coming.

**P62.f:** *¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de su hija?*

Q62.f: How long were you away from work after the birth of your daughter?

**R62.f:** *Los cuarenta días [de la dieta].*

A62.f: The 40 days [diet after giving birth].

**P:** *¿Y porque cuarenta días?*

Q: And why 40 days?

**R:** *Porque era la dieta. La dieta que tiene una mujer después de dar luz a un niño.*

A: That is the diet. The diet [restrictions] a woman takes after giving birth to a child.

**P62.g:** *¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacía usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?*

Q62.g: What type of work were you doing at this time?

**R62.g:** *La labor.*

A62.: Field work.

**P62.h:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó entre sus últimos hijos?*

Q62.h: What age difference is there between your last two children?

**R62.h:** *Pues, ya Fidelito ya andaba cuando nació Esmeralda. Tres años y meses*

A62.h: Well, Fidel was already walking when Esmeralda was born. Over two years.

**P62.i:** *¿En que país nació? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?*

Q62.i: In what country was your last child born? Mexico? The United States?

**R62.i:** *Ella nació en los Estados Unidos, Tejas.*

A62.i: She was born in the United States, Texas.

**P62.j:** *¿Y usted trabajaba fuera de la casa o no?*

Q62.j: Did you work outside the home, yes or no?

**R62.j:** *Sí, después regresé al trabajo.*

A62.j: Yes, I returned to work.

**P63.a:** *¿Cuántos de sus hijos nacieron en México? ¿Usted en este punto tiene cuantos hijos?*

Q63.a: How many of your children were born in Mexico? At this point, how many children did you have?

**R63.a:** *Servando nació en México, Catalina también.*

A63.a: Servando and Catalina were born in Mexico.

**P63.b:** *¿Quién más nació en México? ¿Blanca y su gemelo? ¿Cómo se llama su gemelo? Ese es el primer parto [de gemelos] Blanca es la segunda [parte de gemelos]. ¿Y quien es el cuate de Blanca? ¿Blanca es cuate con Roy, verdad?*

Q63.b: Who else was born in Mexico? Blanca and her twin? What was her twin's name?

**R63.b:** *Blanca nació en México. Ya no me acuerdo [se le ensena un foto]. Ese es Rafael. . .ese es Roy. Si.*

A63.b: Blanca was born in Mexico. I can not recall [she is shown a photo]. That is Ralph . . . no, it's Roy. Yes.

**P63.c:** *¿Cómo se llamaban sus primeros gemelos y donde nacieron?*

Q63.c: What were the names of your first set of twins and where were they born?

**R63.c:** *José María y Jesús María se llamaban mis primeros cuates y nacieron en México.*

A63.c: Jose Maria and Jesus Maria were my first set of twins and they were born in Mexico.

**P:** *En este momento usted tiene en México a José María, Jesús María, a Servando, a Catalina a Blanca, a Roy. ¿Alguien más nació en México?*

Q: At this point you have in Mexico: Jose Maria, Jesus Maria, Servando, Catalina, Blanca and Roy. Anyone else was born in Mexico?

**R:** *Yo creo no más ellos. O, sí y Rafael.*

A: I think just them. Oh, yes and Ralph [also].

**P63.d:** *Y luego tiene a dos hijos más a Fidelito y Esmeralda. ¿Ellos dónde nacieron ellos, en México o los Estados Unidos?*

Q63.d: Well, you have two more children, Fidel and Esmeralda. Where were they born, in Mexico or in the United States?

**R63.d:** *Ellos nacieron en los Estados Unidos. Ellos son tejanos.*

A63.d: They were born in the United States. They are Texans.

#### **Summary Session 4**

In this session we discovered that Mrs. Comales had two sets of twins and then made the journey back to Texas. She also experienced the loss of one of the twins to illness. Mrs. Comales returned to working in the fields and continued to raise the children. The older siblings shared in the caring for younger children. There were hardships to endure and overcome. Her source of strength came from her bond with her immediate family and her belief in God, which sustained her throughout her life time.

#### **Session 5: May 5, 2016, Questions 64-84: Return to the U. S. As an Adult**

Session 5 was 35 minutes in length and covered questions 64-84 and was conducted at her residence. Mrs. Comales discussed several reasons for returning to the United States: the initial challenges, the introduction of English, changes both of finances and household status.

**P64:** *¿Cómo fue que regresó a los Estados Unidos?*

Q64: What circumstances brought you back to the United States?

**R64:** *Se vino mi esposo primero y luego cuando regreso me trajo.*

A64: My husband came first and then returned for me.

**P65:** *¿Cuántos hijos tenía usted cuando regresó a los Estados Unidos?*

Q65: How many children did you have when you returned to the United States?

**R65:** *Yo tenía a Servando, Catalina, Rafael, Roy, Blanca, José María y Jesús María. [Había fallecido José María para este punto]. Sí, eran seis.*

A65: I had Servando, Catalina, Ralph, Roy, Blanca, Jose Maria and Jesus Maria [Jose Maria had died at this point]. There were six of them.

**P66:** *¿Se recuerda que edad tenía usted cuando regreso al los Estados Unidos?*

Q66: Do you remember how old you were when you returned to the United States?

**R66:** *Yo tenía treinta-un años.*

A66: I was thirty-one years old.

**P67.a:** *¿Diga como se sentía de adulta, en sus treintas, regresar con una familia para los Estados Unidos? Se mudó con seis de sus hijos.*

Q67.a: Describe your experience at being in your thirties and moving your family to the United States? At that moment you already had six children [in your care].

**R67.a:** *Fue fácil, porque me trajo Fidel para acá . . los Estados Unidos. Y pasamos por el puente.*

A67.a: It was easy, because my husband, Fidel, brought me over to the United States. We came [walked] over the bridge.

**P67.b:** *¿Y usted era ciudadana americana verdad?*

Q67.b: You are a citizen of the United States, correct?

**R67.b:** *Sí.*

A67.b: Yes.

**P67.c:** *¿Y usted batalló en cruzar sus hijos?*

Q67.c: Was it difficult to bring your children over the border?

**R67.c:** *No.*

A67.c: No.

**P67.d:** *¿En ese tiempo les hacían bastante preguntas cuando cruzaba uno el puente? ¿Sí o no?*

Q67.d: At that time did they ask many questions when you crossed the border? Yes or no?

**R67.d:** *No, no me acuerdo todas. Si preguntaron si yo era ciudadana y si eran todos mis hijos yo conteste que sí y les demostré mis papeles.*

A67.d: No, I don't recall. They asked me if I was a citizen and if the children were mine; I said yes and showed them my documents.

**P68: ¿Cuáles fueron las barreras que enfrentó cuando se mudó para los Estados Unidos?**

Q68: What were the barriers [challenges] that you encountered when you moved to the United States?

**R68: No, como Fidel se vino primero y luego dijo que él quería traerme para acá y nos trajo. Mi marido quería venirse para acá [Estados Unidos] en busca de trabajo y mejor oportunidades para nosotros. . . Su madre fue un obstáculo, ella no quería que se fuera Fidel del rancho, lo quería mucho a él. Sin embargo, Fidel decidió buscar trabajo en Tejas y al año regresó por nosotros.**

A68: No, Fidel came first then he told me he wanted to bring me over and then he brought us all. My husband wanted to come [to the U.S.] in search of work and a better life. . . His mother was opposed to the idea since he was her favorite child, but he decided to come anyway and a year later returned for all of us.

**P69: ¿Cuál fue la razón para que regresaran a los Estados Unidos?**

Q69: What was the reason for returning to the U.S.?

**R69: Porque él nos trajo [su decisión]. Y pasamos por el puente los chiqueos y yo. Bueno pues, yo era de aquí [Estados Unidos]. Pero los chiqueos sin papeles y él los pasó. Mi marido había encontrado trabajo y decidió mudar la familia.**

A69: He decided it was good timing. And we crossed the bridge [border], the kids and I. Well, I am from here [United States]. Well, the children crossed without any papers, he [their dad] crossed them over. My husband had found work and decided to move the family.

**P70: ¿Qué tanto tiempo después de que él [Fidel] vino a los Estados Unidos, regresó por ustedes?**

Q70: How long was he, Fidel, in the United States before he came back for you?

**R70: Como un año.**

A70: About a year.

**P71: ¿Cuántos de sus hijos nacieron en los Estados Unidos?**

Q71: How many of your children were born in the United States?

**R71: Pues, sí. Nació acá . . . pues yo no más tenía a Servando, Catalina, Roy, Jesse, Blanca, y Rafael. [fotos]. Y los pasamos por el puente, fijate. Los mayores-seis en México y los dos pequeños en los Estados Unidos.**

A71: Well, let's see. Born here. Well I only had Servando, Catalina, Roy, Jesse, Blanca and Ralph [aided by photos]. And we all crossed the bridge to cross the border. The older ones—six—were born in Mexico and the two youngest were born in the United States.

**P72: ¿Qué tipos de trabajos hizo usted cuando estaba en México y en los Estados Unidos?**

Q72: What type of work did you do when you were in Mexico and in the United States?

**R72: Pura labor en los dos países.**

A72: Strictly agricultural work in both countries.

**P73: ¿Cómo pudo cuidar de sus hijos mientras trabajaba, en los dos países?**

Q73: How did you manage to work and raise your children in two different countries?

**R73: Pues, batallando . . . porque no hallaba quien me los cuidara. A resumidas cuentas los mayores eran responsables por cuidar a los pequeños.**

A73: Well, it was a struggle. . . I had a difficult time finding someone to care for them [when I was working]. As a result, the older ones were responsible for caring for the little ones.

**P74: ¿Cuándo usted tenía todos los niños en casa, esta viviendo en los Estados Unidos, estaban rentando o estaban comprando una casa?**

Q74: When you had all the children at home, were you living in the United States, did you rent or own your own home?

**R74: No, rentábamos en el principio; después compramos.**

A74: No, in the beginning we rented, and then after a couple of years, we bought a home.

**P75: ¿Cómo mantenía un hogar para sus ocho hijos y también pudo comprar una casa?**

Q75: How did you manage a home for your eight children and also purchase a home?

**R75: Pues, porque trabajamos los dos—yo y mi esposo, y cuando llegaba del trabajaba yo cuidaba en la casa, lavar, planchar, y hacer cena y lonche para el siguiente día. Los grandes cuidaban los chiquillos.**

A75: Well, because my husband and I would work, and when I would come home ,I would take care of them—washing, ironing, making dinner and preparing lunch for the next day. The older children would take care of the little ones [at home].

**P76: ¿La ayudó su marido? ¿En qué forma?**

Q76: Did your husband assist you? How?

**R76: Sí, con el apoyo de financiero.**

A76: Yes, he helped out financially.

**P: ¿Cómo pudo compra la casa donde se criaron sus hijos?**

Q: How were you able to purchase the home where your children were raised?

**R: Yo no compre la casa, la rentaba. El dueño de la casa era un Señor que se llamaba Roy Hover. Después de rentar por un tiempo, le pedimos un contrato para comprarla.**

A: I did not originally buy that home. I rented it. After renting from the owner Roy Hoover, we asked he would sell it to us.

**P77: Después que se fue su marido de la casa, ¿como logro usted pagar su casa y hacer un hogar para sus ocho hijos cuando vivía en Texas?**

Q77: As a single parent how did you pay off your home and create a home for your eight children while living in Texas?

**R77:** *Diosito nos ayudó mucho, y trabajar hasta siete días de la semana. Había tiempos cuando trabajamos el domingo nada mas medio día . . . los domingos íbamos a la iglesia—sea en la mañana o en la noche.*

A77: God blessed us so much and I would work six days a week. There were times that we would work half days on Sunday. . . On Sunday's we would attend church, either in the morning or the evening [service].

**P78:** *¿Cuándo recibió su primer licencia para manejar? Era adolescente, era joven o ya era adulta?*

Q78: When did you get your first driver's license? Were you an adolescent, a young adult or were your older?

**R78:** *Ya de adulta.*

A78: As an adult.

**P79:** *¿En qué idioma tomó su examen para la licencia? ¿El examen escrito? ¿El examen de manejar?*

Q79: What language did you take the driver's license test in? Writing exam? Driving exam?

**R79:** *En español.*

A79: In Spanish.

**P80.a:** *¿Cómo se preparó para el examen?*

Q80.a: How did you prepare for the exam?

**R80.a:** *Estudí y estudié.*

A80.a: I studied and studied.

**P80.b:** *¿Estudió el libro [de manejar]?*

Q80.b: Did you study the driver's handbook?

**R80.b:** *Sí.*

A80.b: Yes.

**P80.c:** *¿Y como se preparó para el examen de manejar [en coche]?*

Q80.c: How did you prepare for the driving portion of the exam?

**R80.c:** *Practicaba yo ahí en la casa, vivíamos en un rancho y ahí practicaba yo.*

A80.c: I would practice at the house, we lived on a ranch and I would practice there.

**P80.d:** *¿Quién le enseñó a manejar?*

Q80.d: Who helped you drive and how did it go?

**R80.d:** *Mí hijo. . . Rafael me ayudo a practicar*

A80.d: My son. . . Ralph helped me practice my driving.

**P81.a:** *¿Cómo le fue con el examen escrito, de la licencia?*

Q81.a: How was the written portion of the exam?

**R81.a:** *Me fue muy bien.*

A81.a: It went well.

**P81.b:** *¿Tuvo que intentarlo varias veces?*

Q81.b: Did you have to take the written exam several times?

**R81.b:** *Nada mas lo tome una vez.*

A81.b: I only had to do it once.

**P82:** *¿Cómo consiguió un coche usted? ¿Se lo compró su marido, usted lo compró, alguien se lo dio?*

Q82: How did you get your first vehicle? Did your husband buy you a car, did you buy it, or did someone give you your first car?

**R82:** *Mi marido no me compró un carro. Lo que se me acuerdo es que Fidel no quería que yo manejara [la responsabilidad y costo de mantener el carro].*

A82: My husband did not purchase a car for me. I remember that he did not even want me to learn to drive [too much responsibility and expense to own a vehicle].

**P83:** *¿Se acuerda como fue su primer carro; se recuerda la marca o el estilo?*

Q83: Do you recall what type of car it was—the make or model?

**R83:** *No, fíjate que no me recuerdo.*

A83: No, truly I can't recall.

**P84:** *¿Por qué no había aprendido a manejar antes?*

Q84: Why had you not learned to drive earlier?

**R84:** *Porque no me dejaba mi marido. El decía que podía dar un golpe.*

A84: My husband would not allow it. He said that I could get into an accident.

### **Summary Session 5:**

We discovered that Mrs. Comales was in her early thirties when she returned to the United States—South Texas. We learned that Mrs. Comales learned to drive a vehicle, transitioned from renting to owning a home, and became a single parent due to divorce. She talked, with pride in her voice, of crossing the border with her children as they began a new life in a new country. The family experienced growth, in numbers, with the birth of another boy and girl, U. S. born.

### **Session 6: May 13, 2016, Questions 85-93: Mid Thirties to Present Day**

Interview 6 was recorded outside on the patio of Mrs. Comales' residence, and it lasted about 20 minutes. Mrs. Comales discussed how she learned English while living

in the United States and how she made a language choice for her family—of Spanish Only in the home and English at school.

**P85:** *¿Qué tipo educación recibió usted aquí en los Estados Unidos? ¿Usted fue a clases?*

Q85: What education did you receive in the United States? Did you attend classes?

**R85:** *No, de primero escuchaba la gente en publico, y después mis hijos. Si tome unas clases de noche pero nada mas un par de meses.*

A85: No, just observing, you know; that is how I learned. Watching people out in the community. Then later on with my children. I did take some introduction classes, but only for a few months.

**P86:** *¿En qué forma le ayudó su educación [de México], en los Estados Unidos? ¿Usted tuvo clases para aprender inglés; ya cuando llegó al los Estados Unidos? ¿Clase u observando en publico [la sociedad]?*

Q86: How did your education [in Mexico] help you when you were now in the United States? Did you take classes to learn English after you arrived in the U.S.? Did you take a class or just through observation?

**R86:** *Leyendo libros. No me recuerdo [los libros], pero me recuerdo leyendo libros en inglés y oír los niños leer también*

A86: Reading books. I can't recall [the book], but I remember reading books in English and also hearing the children read.

**P87:** *¿Cómo mantenía contacto con su hermana Agustina y parientes en México?*

Q87: How did you maintain contact with your sister Augustine and your family in Mexico?

**R87:** *No, ellos no se como te diré. No se comunicaban con migo. Ella no, mi hermana [Agustina] todavía vivía en México. Manuela vivió en Tejas y nos visitábamos cada semana o cada dos semanas.*

A87: No, they. . . how can I say it. They did not communicate with me. Not her, my sister [Augustine] still lived in Mexico. Manuela lived in the Texas, and we would visit each other every week or every two weeks.

**P88:** *¿Cuántas veces, desde que se mudó para los Estados Unidos, ha regresado a México?*

Q88: How many times have you returned to Mexico since being a permanent resident of the U.S.?

**R88:** *Solamente he visitado unas veces.*

A88: I have only visited a few times

**P89:** *¿Cuáles fueron las ocasiones o motivos de regreso a México y cuándo regresó?*

Q89: What occasions or reasons lead you to return to Mexico and when?

**R89:** *Y cuando murió la mama de mi esposo, fue simplemente a dar el pésame*

A89: When my husband's mother passed, I just went to pay my respects.

**P90.a:** *¿A que iglesia asistía usted de niña hasta adulta?*

Q90.a: What church did you attend from childhood to becoming an adult?

**R90.a:** *A la católica.*

A90.a: Catholic.

**P90.b:** *¿Y como mujer casada?*

Q90.b: And as a married woman?

**R90.b:** *Católica.*

A90.b: Catholic.

**P90.c:** *¿Y ahora como madre soltera?*

Q90.c: And now as a single parent?

**R90.c:** *A la católica. ¿No?*

A90.c: Catholic. Right?

**P90.d:** *Y los últimos años que ha vivido usted ¿a donde ha ido?*

Q90.d: And the last few years, where have you gone [ to church]?

**R90.d:** *A la Pentecostés.*

A90.c: Pentecostal [church].

**P:** *¿Por qué el cambio?*

Q: Why the switch in religion?

**R:** *Encontré mi salvador, y Él cambio mi vida.*

A: I became born again, and He [Jesus] changed my life.

**P91.a:** *¿Qué lengua hablaban en la iglesia?*

Q91.a: In what language was the church conducted?

**R91.a:** *Español.*

A91.a: Spanish

**P91.b:** *¿Dónde, en Tejas, en Colorado, en Indiana, en California, o en Washington, a donde ha ido usted al iglesia?*

Q91.b: Where in Texas, Colorado, Indiana, California, or Washington have you gone to church?

**R91.b:** *En Tejas he ido a la iglesia en español. En Colorado [los servicios en español]. Y se hablaba en español y inglés en la comunidad.*

A91.b: In Texas I have gone to church in Spanish. In Colorado [service was in Spanish]. Out in the community people spoke English and Spanish.

**P91.c:** *Cuándo iba a los trabajos en Indiana ¿iba a la iglesia? ¿En que idioma eran los servicios?*

Q91.c: When you migrated for work in Indiana, did you attend church? What language were the services in?

**R91.c:** *La iglesia en español y la comunidad más en inglés.*

A91.c: Church was in Spanish, and out in the community, was it mainly English.

**P91.d:** *¿Cuándo vivía en California?*

Q91.d: And when you lived in California?

**R91.d:** *En español.*

A91.d: In Spanish.

**P91.e:** *¿Y hoy que vive en el estado de Washington? ¿Va a la iglesia en español o inglés?*

Q91.e: And now that you live in Washington? Do you attend church in Spanish or English?

**R91.e:** *Pues, voy a las dos cosas. A inglés y español. Pero ahora ya entiendo.*

A91.e: Well, I have gone to both, English and Spanish, churches. Now I understand both.

**P92.a:** *¿Por qué cuando era niña, se le dijo que cuando le preguntaran a usted cuál era su religión usted debía contestar ‘Yo soy católica’?*

Q92.a: Why was it, you think, that when you were younger, adults told you to say “I am Catholic”?

**R92.a:** *Pues, quien sabe la gente mayor.*

A92.a: Well, only the adults knew . . . they had their reasons.

**P92.b:** *¿Para que no la evangelizaran o para que la dejaran en paz?*

Q92.b: So they wouldn’t convert you or just so they would leave you alone?

**R92.b:** *Pues para que me dejaran en paz y no me estuvieran preguntando.*

A92.b: So people would not bug me. Leave me be.

**P93:** *¿Cuándo era usted niña, que idioma hablaba usted en la casa? ¿Usted alguna vez hablo en inglés?*

Q93: When you were a child, what language would you speak at home? Did you speak English at any time?

**R93:** *No, solamente español.*

A93: No, only Spanish.

### **Summary Session 6:**

Mrs. Comales discussed how the dominant language changed from exclusively Spanish, while living in Mexico, to both Spanish and English upon moving to South Texas. Church services and most community events were conducted in Spanish, which gave the children a constant connection to the heritage language. She experienced little contact with her sister in Mexico, but remained close to her older sister through weekly or

bi-monthly visits. It can be inferred that her bond with Agustina was not as strong as her bond with Manuela.

**Session 7: May 18, 2016, Questions 94- 114: Middle Age and Life in America**

In this session, Mrs. Comales discussed language choice from the birth of her first child to the birth of her last child. Mrs. Comales expressed that the implementation of the Spanish Only rule began when they moved to South Texas, and what a strong presence Spanish played in their daily lives.

**P94.a: *Cuando nació su primer hijo ¿donde vivía usted?***

Q94.a: When your first child was born, where were you living [at the time]?

**R94.a: *En México, un pueblo que se llamaba San Antonio, ahí nació Servando.***

A94.a: In Mexico, a town named San Antonio, he was born there.

**P94.b: *¿Y que idioma habla usted cuando nació Servando?***

Q94.b: What language did you speak when Servando was born?

**R94.b: *Pues mexicano [Español].***

A94.b: Well, Mexican [Spanish].

**P95: *¿Según como iban creciendo sus hijos, fue una decisión consciente de que ellos fueran bilingües?***

Q95: As the children were growing up, did you make a conscious decision that they should be raised bilingual?

**R95: *Sí, pues como yo y mi marido hablamos nada más español y en los Estados Unidos se hablaba más el inglés, era importante que entendieran los dos lenguajes.***

A95: Yes, we [parents] both spoke Spanish, and once we moved to the U.S. it was important for them to learn English—both languages.

**P96: *Cuando regresó a Tejas con sus seis hijos, ¿qué difícil era mantener un hogar bilingüe? ¿Por qué?***

Q96: Upon returning to Texas with your six children, how difficult was it to maintain a bilingual home? Why?

**R96: *No se me hacía difícil, porque Fidel, mi marido, hablaba español y yo también.***

A96: No, it wasn't difficult because Fidel, my husband, we both spoke Spanish.

**P97: *En la comunidad, ¿qué lengua utilizaba usted en Texas?***

Q97: In the community what language did you use in Texas?

**R97: *Español.***

A97: Spanish.

**P98.a:** *¿Necesitaba ayuda cuando en los negocios se habla el inglés?*

Q98.a: Did you need help if the businesses were conducted in only English?

**R98.a:** *Buscaba quien me interpretara.*

A98.a: I would find someone to translate for me.

**P98.b:** *¿Quién le ayudaba?*

Q98.b: Who would help you?

**R98.b:** *Pues gentes que conocía. Pues, los del iglesia o vecinos hace—los que hablaban el inglés y el español. Y después mis hijos cuando ya entraron a la escuela, sí.*

A98.b: Well, people that I knew. Like people from church or neighbors [people I knew] that knew both English and Spanish. Later on the kids, when they were in school.

**P98.c:** *Cuando salía a la comunidad, ¿qué idioma usaba, cuando vivía en Colorado?*

Q98.c: While living in Colorado and you were in the community, what language did you speak?

**R98.c:** *Yo siempre usaba el español, pero los muchachos no ellos hablaban inglés.*

A98.c: I always spoke Spanish. The children they spoke English.

**P98.d:** *¿No más inglés o eran bilingües? ¿Cuáles idiomas?*

Q98.d: Just English or were they bilingual? What languages?

**R98.d:** *No, eran bilingües. Inglés y español.*

A98.d: No, they were bilingual. English and Spanish.

**P98.e:** *Cuándo vivía en Colorado y tenía que hacer sus negocios ¿que idioma usaba?*

Q98.e: When you lived in Colorado and had to conduct business, paying the light bill, what language would you use?

**R98.e:** *Español. Habían en las oficinas gentes que hablaban el español. . . siempre en las oficinas donde uno pagaba la luz o el agua, lo que fuera había alguien que hablaba español.*

A98.e: Spanish. There were offices that had people who spoke Spanish . . . No, there was always someone in the office where one would pay the light, water or whatever bill that spoke Spanish.

**P99.a:** *Cuando se hablaba solamente inglés, ¿requería usted ayuda en inglés? ¿Quién le ayudaba?*

Q99.a: When only English was the only language and you needed help, who would help you?

**R99.a:** *Pues, batallando tu sabes. Cuando yo no sabía nada de inglés y ellos me decía que ellos no hablaban español. Yo les decía, ‘Yo no hablo inglés; hablo el español.’*

A99.a: Well, it was difficult you see. When I did not know any English and they would not know how to speak Spanish. I would tell them, “I do not speak English; I only speak Spanish.”

**P99.b:** *Cuándo se mudaron de México para los Estados Unidos y los niños estaban en la escuela, ¿que idioma hablaban en la casa los niños?*

Q99.b: When you moved from Mexico to the United States and the children were in school, what language did the children speak in the home?

**R99.b:** *Hablaban puro español ellos. Al principió ellos solamente hablaban español y con el tiempo aprendieron inglés y hablaban revuelto, el inglés y el español. Cuando comenzaron la escuela es cuando hablaban más el inglés.*

A99.b: They spoke only Spanish. In the beginning they only spoke Spanish, in time they learned to speak English. When they started school is when they spoke English and that is when they would speak both English and Spanish, all mixed up [ in the same sentence].

**P100.a:** *¿Usted conscientemente impuso la regla que solamente se hablara español en la casa? ¿Por qué?*

Q100.a: Did you consciously have a Spanish Only rule in the home for your children? Why?

**R100.a:** *Español hablaban en la casa. Sí, porque yo no entendía nada del inglés.*

A100.a: Spanish was spoken at home. Yes, because I knew no in English.

**P100.b:** *¿Cómo reforzó que se cumpliera esa regla?*

Q100.b: How did you enforce that rule?

**R100.b:** *Porque mis hijos eran muy obedientes. Les decía yo, ‘No estén hablando inglés porque yo no se [lo que dicen].’ Y luego entonces hablaban español.*

A100.b: My children were well behaved [obedient]. I would tell them, ‘Do not be talking in English because I can’t understand [what you are saying].’ And then they would speak Spanish.

**P101:** *Cuándo estaba su marido en el hogar, ¿él apoyaba la regla de hablar solamente español en el hogar?*

Q101: When your husband, Fidel, was in the home did he enforce the Spanish Only rule?

**R101:** *Sí, porque era el único idioma que hablábamos.*

A101: Yes, it was the only language we spoke.

**P102:** *¿Cuándo se fue su marido del hogar batalló usted en esforzar la regla de solamente hablar en casa el español?*

Q102: And when your husband, Fidel, left the home did you struggle to enforce the Spanish Only rule in the home?

**R102:** *No, todos hablamos español.*

A102: No, we all spoke Spanish [in the home].

**P103:** *¿Todos los niños cumplieron con la regla?*

Q103: Did all the children comply with the rule?

**R103:** *Sí, porque ellos todavía no iban a la escuela para aprender inglés.*

A103: Yes, because at that time they still were not enrolled in school to learn English.

**P104:** *¿Y algún niño se rebeló contra la regla?*

Q104: Did a child rebel against the Spanish Only rule?

**R104:** *No.*

A104: No.

**P105:** *¿En que forma y mantenía la regla usted?*

Q105: How would you enforce and maintain the rule?

**R105:** *Yo, les hablaba bien, despacio, y les decía ‘Hablen el español, porque yo no se inglés.’*

A105: Well, I would talk to them kindly and with patience and say “Speak Spanish, I do not know English.”

**P106:** *¿Por ejemplo usted leía con sus hijos en español? ¿Qué tipo de libros leían?*

Q106: For example, did you read to your children in Spanish?

**R106:** *Sí. Yo les lea la biblia.*

A106: Yes. I would read them the Bible.

**P107.a:** *¿Cómo influyó, el hecho de ser educada como maestra en, su papel de madre? Especialmente el mantener español en el hogar.*

Q107.a: How did you being educated as a teacher impact your role as a parent, especially maintaining Spanish in the home?

**R107.a:** *Sí [me ayudó mi educación como maestra]. Yo les hablaba con paciencia, en español, y les decía, ‘Yo soy tu madre, mijo, y yo no se hablar el inglés todavía y ustedes tienen que hablar conmigo en español.’*

A107.a: Yes [it did help to have been educated as a teacher.] I would gently talk to them in Spanish and say, ‘Child, I am your mother and I can not speak English yet. You [all] have to speak Spanish to me.’

**P107.b:** *¿Cómo influyó, el hecho de ser educada como maestra en su papel de madre? Especialmente el mantener español en el hogar.*

Q107.b: How did being educated as a teacher impact your role as a parent, especially maintaining Spanish in the home?

**R107.b:** *Sí. Les explicaba desde el primer año, y después hace les decía eso se dice así . . . [ejemplo] y ellos aprendían. Por ejemplo yo les decía, ‘En la mañana voy a la escuela.’ Yo les enseñaba mi idioma como responder en oraciones completas. Y luego ellos me enseñaban el inglés. Aprendí inglés con ellos.*

A107.b: Yes. I would explain in the first year and then I would tell them you say it in this manner, ‘In the morning I will go to school.’ I would teach them to respond in complete sentences [not just yes or no answers]. And in time they would begin to teach me to speak English. We would learn English together.

**P108:** *¿Usted conscientemente habla español con sus hijos durante su vida?*

Q108: Did you purposefully speak to your children in Spanish, throughout your life?

**R108:** *Si.*

A108: Yes.

**P109:** *¿Cuál fue su meta sobre la educación de cada uno de sus hijos?*

Q109: What was your educational goal for each of your children?

**R109:** *Mí deseo era que ellos acaban la preparatoria y hablaran el inglés y el español. Yo pensaba que la educación y el lenguaje era el mejor regalo que ellos pudieran tener; la habilidad de mantener sus raíces y tener orgullo de su patria.*

A109: I wanted them to have a high school degree and be able to speak both English and Spanish. For me it was a way to give them the gift of language and an opportunity to stay connected to their roots, and be proud [of where they came from].

**P110:** *¿Tuvo éxito su meta de que en el hogar se mantuviera bilingüe?*

Q110: Was your goal to have a bilingual home successful?

**R110:** *Sí. Ellos hablaban en inglés y luego ellos me decían lo que era en español. Ves y así aprendí el inglés.*

A110: Yes. They would say something in English then they would tell me what that was in Spanish. So you see that is how I learned English [from them].

**P111.a:** *¿Usted ve que cada uno de sus hijos son bilingües, español e inglés, hoy?*

Q111.a: Today, when you see your children are they bilingual in English and Spanish?

**R111.a:** *Sí.*

A111.a: Yes.

**P111.b:** *¿En leer?*

Q111.b: In reading?

**R111.b:** *Sí, ellos pueden leer muy bien en español.*

A111.b: Yes.

**P111.c:** *¿En escribir?*

Q111.c: In writing?

**R111.c:** *Sí.*

A111.c: Yes.

**P111.d:** *En hablar?*

Q111.d: In speaking?

**R111.d:** *[Sí] En hablar y todo.*

A111.d: [Yes] In speaking and everything.

**P112:** *Cuándo ve a sus hijos, ¿Tuvo éxito su decisión de mantener el hogar con la regla de hablar solamente en español? ¿ Usted, reflexionando sobre su vida, piensa que esa regla les serbio al los niños*

Q112: When you look at your children, do you believe that maintaining a Spanish Only rule in the home was beneficial? As you reflect in your life, do you believe that it did them a service in their lives?

**R112:** *Sí, muy bien. La habilidad de mantener dos idiomas les ayudó mucho en sus carreras. Ellos pueden utilizar el lenguaje para comunicarse con personas*

*como yo que en el principio necesitaba ayuda con el inglés. Ellos comparten lo que han aprendido para el beneficio de otros.*

A112: Yes, very well. Since they have maintained both languages, it has benefited not only themselves, but the people, like me—in the beginning, that are limited in speaking English. They have shared what they learned [being bilingual] with others.

**P113:** *Hoy que están son sus hijos adultos ¿qué piensa sobre la regla de solamente hablar español en la casa?*

Q113: Now that your children are adults, do you think that the Spanish Only rule in the home was beneficial?

**R113:** *Sí. Yo pienso que obedecieron la regla bien.*

A113: Yes. I believe they were obedient to the rule.

**P114:** *¿Cómo piensa que sus hijos son diferentes por la regla de hablar solamente español en el hogar comparando a otros americanos?*

Q114: Do you think your children are different compared to other Americans due to the Spanish Only rule you instilled in the home?

**R114:** *Pues, ellos obedecían. Yo les decía que en la casa hablaran español [y ellos cumplían con la regla]. La regla fue un gran beneficio, a lo largo.*

A114: Well, they obeyed. I would tell them that at home they were to speak Spanish Only and they complied. The rule, in the long run, yield great benefits.

### **Summary Session 7**

In this session Mrs. Comales discussed what language she would conduct her affairs in once she moved to South Texas, how successful the Spanish Only rule in the home was, and how her children complied with the Spanish Only rule in the home. She discussed how her teacher training in Mexico aided her good parenting skills when teaching and instructing her children in Spanish. Her education prepared her to seize opportunities to teach each of her children Spanish and to become good citizens, no matter what country they lived in.

### **Session 8: May 18, 2016: Questions 115-123, Older Adulthood**

Mrs. Comales identified her language skills and those of her children. The subject rated her own level of bilingualism beginning at the birth of her first child through the birth of her last child.

**P115:** *En el año 1952 cuando nació su primer hijo, Servando, si le tuviera que dar un numero a su habilidad de hablar el inglés, de cero siendo nada y diez comunicarse con confianza, ¿que número le agregaría , en ese momento, a su inglés?*

Q:115 In 1952 when your first child, Servando, was born what number would you give to your ability to speak English, zero being nothing and ten being confident in communicating, what would it?

**R115:** *No, yo no sabía nada, era un cero.*

A115: No, I did not know any [English], it was a zero.

**P116:** *¿Dónde aprendió usted el inglés?*

Q116: Where did you learn English?

**R116:** *Con ellos, mis hijos ya cuando vivíamos en los Estados Unidos y ellos estaban en la escuela. Cuando ellos ya estaban en la escuela unos años y también comencé clases de noche; fue por varios meses.*

A116: With them, my children once we lived in the United States and they started school. Once the children were in school a couple of years I began night classes for several months.

**P117:** *¿Eso la influyó en mantener español como idioma del hogar?*

Q117: Did that influence you to have the home language be Spanish?

**R117:** *Sí.*

A117: Yes.

**P118:** *En 1966, cuando nació su ultima niña en los Estados Unidos, de cero a diez, ¿qué número le daría a su habilidad de hablar el inglés?*

Q118: In 1966, when your last child was born in the United States, on a scale from zero to ten, what number would you rate your ability to speak English?

**R118:** *Pues, como un cuatro, apenas teníamos tres años de vivir en el valle, y mi inglés no estaba muy fuerte que diríamos.*

A118: Well, about a four, we had just been in South Texas for about three years and my English was not very fluent.

**P119:** *Usted mantenía la regla de hablar solamente español en la casa, ¿por qué? ¿Con que propósito?*

Q119: Why did you decide to have a Spanish Only rule in your home? With what purpose?

**R119:** *No, pues yo no hablaba inglés. Yo les decía que hablaran español porque no los entendía cuando hablaban inglés. Pero a como ellos aprendí inglés yo también aprendía.*

A119: No, I could not speak English. I would tell them to just speak Spanish. I had no English knowledge. But with as the children learned English, so did I.

**P120:** *Describa usted hoy que sus hijos son bilingües. ¿Por qué, dé ejemplos?*

Q120: Would you describe your children as bilingual today? Why, give examples?

**R120:** *Sí. Porque conmigo hablan español y con los demás muchachos y sus familias hablan el inglés.*

A120: Yes. With me they speak Spanish and with other people, friends and family, they speak English.

**P121:** *¿Fue fácil para que todos hablaran español en la casa?*

Q121: Was it easy to have everyone speak Spanish in the home?

**R121:** *Sí, todos hablaban español porque yo hablaba español.*

A121: Yes, everyone spoke Spanish because I spoke Spanish.

**P122.a:** *En 1971 su hijo mayor tenía como veintiuno años y su hija menor estaba comenzando la primaria. ¿Cómo era el ambiente del hogar?*

Q122.a: In 1971 your oldest was about twenty-one and your youngest was starting elementary school, what was the home environment like [language wise]?

**R122.a:** *No te entiendo. No yo a veces batallaba para entenderles [el inglés] y luego ellos me decían en español, porque yo les hablaba puro español.*

A122.a: I do not understand the question. Well, I would struggle to understand them [in English] and would ask them to speak Spanish because that was the only language I spoke, Spanish.

**P122.b:** *¿Ellos con usted hablaban el inglés o entre ellos hablaban inglés?*

Q122.b: Would they speak to you in English or among themselves they would speak English?

**R122.b:** *Entre ellos hablaban inglés y a mi me hablaban en español.*

A122.b: Among themselves they would speak English and they would speak Spanish with me.

**P122.c:** *¿Todavía mantiene la regla de solamente español en el hogar [en este momento], verdad?*

Q122.c: At this time you are still having a Spanish Only rule in the home, correct?

**R122.c:** *Sí.*

A122.c: Yes.

**P122.d:** *En el año 1971 cuando se mudaron a Colorado, ¿cuál era su habilidad de hablar el inglés, cero siendo nada y diez comunicarse con confianza?*

Q122.d: In 1971 while living in Colorado, how is your English if you had to give it a number, zero being nothing at all and ten being confident in speaking English?

**R122.d:** *No, pues cuando ya oí hablar el inglés yo comencé a aprender inglés. Poquito a poquito, pero aprendí, yo le diera un siete.*

A122.d: No, well, as I began to hear English that is when I began to learn it. Slowly, I began to learn, I would give it a seven.

**P123.a:** *¿Quién fue el primero de salir de la casa?*

Q123.a: Who was the first child to leave home?

**R123.a:** *Servando se fue para Colorado Springs.*

A123.a: Servando left to Colorado Springs

**P123.b:** *¿Con que propósito se fue, Servando?*

Q123.b: With what purpose did he leave? Why?

**R123.b:** *Porque el iba a una escuela para los mudos y sordos. El aprendió el lenguaje de señal. Pero nosotros siempre le hablamos en español.*

A123.b: He went to the school for the deaf and blind. He learned sign language. We always spoke to him in Spanish.

### Summary Session 8

In this session Mrs. Comales identified her own bilingualism, her children's bilingualism, and her challenges to maintain a Spanish Only rule in the home once in the United States. Mrs. Comales discussed that her eldest son moved from home to be educated at a school for the deaf and blind. The eldest child would be the only one to acquire a third language—American Sign Language.

### Session 9: May 25, 2016; Questions 124 – 137; Traditions and mastery of English

Session 9 was recorded in Mrs. Comales home while she enjoyed a light snack and sun tea. The interview was 20 minutes in length. The themes were advocacy for education, health of the Spanish language in the United States, and reflection on bilingual choices for her children.

**P124.a:** *¿Cuál fue la mínima educación para sus hijos? ¿Acabaran la primaria, secundaria, pos preparatoria?*

Q124.a: What was the minimal amount of education [for them]? That they finish primary, secondary or college?

**R124.a:** *Pues, entre más estudien, es más mejor para cada persona. . . todos graduaron de la preparatoria menos mi hija del medio (recibió su GED). Tres de mis hijos fueron al universidad y una tenía su maestría. Yo quería lo mejor para ellos, yo nunca les quite la escuela. Yo los apoyaba, si necesitaban dinero para sus proyectos de la escuela y yo les daba a mi alcance.*

A124.a: Well, that they study, is the best for each person. . . all of my children graduated from high school except the middle daughter (she got her GED). Three of my children went to college and one received a masters. I wanted the best for them, I never neglected them and education. That I would be supportive, if they needed money for school projects I would help them the best I could.

**P124.b:** *¿Algunos recibieron más educación en el ejército?*

Q124.b: Did some receive more education via the military?

**R124.b:** *Pues, de todos mis hijos tres fueron al ejercito y pienso que ellos tuvieron más en entrenamiento pero no estoy segura en que.*

A124.b: Well, three of my children were in the military and I know they had extra training, but I could not tell you what kind?

**P125.a:** *¿Algunos de sus hijos perdieron la habilidad de hablar el español?*

Q125.a: Did any of your children lose the ability to speak Spanish?

**R125.a:** *No, hasta hoy todos hablan el español.*

A125.a: No, still today they all speak Spanish.

**P125.b:** *¿Y fue una barrera que ellos fueran a una escuela donde solamente se hablaba el inglés?*

Q125.b: Was it a challenge for them to attend a school where only was spoke English?

**R125.b:** *De primero si pero con el tiempo fueron aprendiendo los dos lenguajes.*

A125.b: At first it was challenging, but in time they learned both languages [well].

**P126:** *Cómo madre soltera, ¿cual fueron sus grandes barreras u obstáculos para que sus hijos crecieran bilingües?*

Q126: Being a single parent, what were your biggest challenges or obstacles in your children be raised bilingual?

**R126:** *Pues, porque iban a la escuela y allá hablaban inglés. Y luego también la maestra les hablaba en inglés y ya aprendieron. Luego yo hablaba en español con ellos y siguieron aprendiendo.*

A126: Well, they would go to school and speak English, and the teacher would also speak to them in English and they learned it. Then when they were at home I would speak to them in Spanish and they maintained it [Spanish].

**P127:** *¿Cuáles fiestas o tradiciones mexicanas celebraba usted en su hogar; cuando regresó a los Estados Unidos.*

Q127: What Mexican celebrations did you honor in your home upon returning to the U.S.?

**R127:** *Ya me acuerdo el día de las madres, como se celebraba en México. Para los cumpleaños siempre cantábamos ‘Las Mañanitas’. . . durante la navidad eran días grande para mí. Para mí [especial es] hacer tamales. Yo hacia una olla grande y a veces le cabe a una olla como treinta docenas. Yo extendía la masa hace [sobre la hoja de maíz] y luego le echaba la carne, de puerco, de res, o de pollo. También hacia buñuelos y chocolate caliente . . . mas para la celebrar el año nuevo. Celebrando la semana santa de la Pascua es mi festival favorito . . . la semana santa—ir a la iglesia y revivir la vida de Jesucristo para mi es sagrado.*

A127: I recall Mother’s Day the way it was celebrated in Mexico. On birthdays we would sing Happy Birthday . . . the Christmas season were special days for me. Well, for me making tamales was a special dish. I would make a large pot of them and sometimes I could get up to thirty dozen [out of a cooking single

session]. I would spread the corn mix [masa] onto a corn husk and fill it with meat—pork, beef, or chicken whichever was available. Also I liked making buñuelos [elephant ears] and Mexican hot chocolate for the New Year. Easter has always been my favorite . . . Holy Week—going to church and revisiting the story of Christ is most sacred for me.

**P128:** *¿Usted se considera mexicana-americana? ¿Por que?*

Q128: Do you consider yourself Mexican-American? Why?

**R128:** *Sí, en parte por que entiendo hoy el inglés [el idioma] y parte porque nació en Texas y me crié en México.*

A128: Yes, partly due to my understanding of the English [language] and part because I was born in Texas but raised in Mexico.

**P129:** *¿Y sus hijos son mexicanos-americanos?*

Q129: And are your children Mexican-American?

**R129:** *Sí. Esos son mezclados porque hablan los dos idiomas.*

A129: Yes. They are mixed because they speak both languages.

**P130:** *De sus nietos, ¿cuantos son bilingües, en inglés y español?*

Q130: How many of your grandchildren are bilingual, speaking English and Spanish?

**R130:** *Pues, de todos mis nietos [revisa la lista de hijos y nietos] yo pienso que la mayoría son bilingües, ellos me entienden cuando yo les hablo pero mi contestan en inglés.*

A130: Well, of all my grandchildren [she pairs her children and grandchildren] I believe that the majority of them are bilingual; they understand when I speak to them, though mostly they answer in English.

**P131:** *¿Qué piensa qué pasó con los demás?*

Q131: And what happened with the grandchildren?

**R131:** *No se porque no quisieron aprender o no lo hablaron en casa. El inglés domino.*

A131: I don't know if they chose not to learn [Spanish] or just did not speak it in the home. English was dominant [in the home].

**P132:** *¿Usted piensa que ellos entienden, el español, más de lo que pueden hablar?*

Q132: Do you think the grandchildren can understand more than they speak?

**R132:** *Sí, ellos responde bien [correcto] pero no siempre en español, más en inglés.*

A132: Yes, their answers are correct, but they respond in English rather than in Spanish.

**P133:** *Cuando usted ve al futuro, ¿piensa que el idioma español va a aumentar en los Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué?*

Q133: When we look to the future, will the Spanish language survive in the United States? Why?

**R133:** *Sí, hay gente hablando español pero hay más gente hablando el inglés. Yo miro y oigo que se habla el inglés más.*

- A133: There are people still speaking Spanish, but there are many more speaking English. I see and hear English being spoken more [than Spanish].
- P134:** *¿Si usted tuviera la oportunidad de comenzar de nuevo, usted tomara la misma decisión de la regla de hablar el español en el hogar? ¿Por que sí o no?*
- Q134: If you would have the opportunity to do it over it again, would you have the Spanish only rule in the home? Why or why not?
- R134:** *Claro qué sí. Yo he visto que fue de beneficio para mis hijos en sus vidas. Lamento que ellos no todos les enseñaron su lengua materna a sus hijos.*
- A134: Definitely yes. I believe it was to their benefit. I am saddened that they did not all choose to teach it to their children.
- P135.** *¿Cuándo usted piensa en el futuro, los hogares mexicanos hablarán el idioma español en el hogar? ¿Si o no, y por qué piensa que se hace?*
- Q135: Do you think that in the future, Mexican American families will speak Spanish in the home? Why or why not?
- R135:** *Siempre va ser duro, el inglés domina y muchas personas no entienden que difícil es aprender un idioma extranjero en poco tiempo. Yo veo que el español y el inglés se mezcla mucho y en parte eso es el fracaso del idioma española. Todos tenemos que apoyar el hablar nuestra lengua de herencia.*
- A135: Well, it will be challenging, English is the dominant language and many people are unaware of how difficult it is to learn a new language in a [relatively] short time. I see Spanish and English being blended which can become a deficit [struggle] for the Spanish language. We must all promote our heritage language.
- P136:** *Si usted tuviera la oportunidad de comenzar su familia de nuevo, ¿usted impondría la regla de solamente hablar español en el hogar? ¿Sí o No?*
- Q136: If you had the opportunity to raise your children, would you still implement the Spanish Only rule? Why or why not?
- R136:** *Sí, por la simple razón que siempre he hablado español, y para mí fue de gran importancia que mis hijos todos hablaran español. En este país es de gran necesidad hablar el inglés. El idioma fue uno de mis regalos para mis hijos que les pude dar.*
- A136: Yes, the simple fact that I always spoke to them in Spanish and it was very important for me that my children speak Spanish. In this country English is a necessity [not an option]. Language was one of the gifts I could give my children [legacy].
- P137:** *¿Cuándo usted piensa en el futuro, las familias mexicanas hablarán el español en el hogar? ¿Por qué piensa usted que se hace?*
- Q137: When you think of the future, will Mexican families speak Spanish in the home? Why?
- R137:** *No, el futuro aquí [en los Estados Unidos] mucho de los hogares hoy no se habla el español. Mira mis bisnietos, ellos lo entienden pero para hablar no pueden o les da vergüenza porque lo hablan mocho. Si uno no lo habla no seguiré el idioma.*

A137: No, the future here [in the United States] many homes will not be speaking Spanish. Take my great grandchildren, for example, they understand the language, but choose not to speak it either because they can't or because they speak it so broken that they are embarrassed [by their quality of speech]. If people do not speak the language, then it will cease to continue [it will die out].

### **Summary Session 9**

Mrs. Comales spoke about advocating for all her children to achieve a high school diploma and encouraged her children to take advantage of future educational opportunities. She discussed the importance of her leaving a legacy of language to her children and her hopes that the Spanish language would survive and be honored in the future. Mrs. Comales trusted that everyone would be afforded a choice for bilingualism, but realizes that various factors would impact their decisions. The future of language is for each individual to choose what is best for their family, and as a society we should honor their choices.

### **Summary & Discussion of Findings**

Mrs. Comales, self identified as Mexican-American not only because she was born in the United States, but also because she was raised in Mexico and could speak both languages. She further identified her eight children as both Mexican and American since they also could speak both languages. Six of her children were born in Mexico and her two youngest children were born in the United States. Mrs. Comales considered all of her children to be bilingual in part because of their heritage and in part because of their ability to read, speak and write in both English and Spanish.

Although Mrs. Comales identified her grandchildren as bilingual, in truth they were not. In this present study, language attrition for the third generation was not

explored nor if currently the grandchildren have prospects to acquire the heritage language.

As the researcher, I have reflected on my own bilingual/bicultural identity, as TESOL asks critical ethnographers to do.

#### **Discovery of themes (which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4)**

##### **Conclusion**

In conclusion of this project, I have disclosed my assumptions and biases in Chapter Four.

One of the most important lesson learned was how narrative inquiry is a major genre that is neglected in English Studies in the United States.

Telling one's story about life choices can be empowering to the next generations and can foster a strong sense of ethnic and national identity for all Americans.

We can see a new energy arising in, for example, NPR's Story Corps, and I want to find a way to make some of this case study available there with the subject's permission, of course.

Scholars will benefit greatly from spending time with elders and hearing their stories that can be preserved and passed on and archived for future Americans.

Language preservation must become a major mission across the disciplines in the United States.

Language attrition must be addressed openly and honestly across generations. According to Schmid, Köpke, and de Bot (2012) as a child's "early cognitive developments takes place, [home language] is irrevocably tied to fundamental aspect of a speaker's personality and memory in complex ways" (p. 675-676) These scholars quote

Roger Andersen's explanation of language attrition as "a special case of variation in the acquisition and use of a language or languages and can best be studied, described, documented, explained, and understood within a framework that includes all other phenomena of language acquisition and use" (p. 676). Schmid and colleagues point out that even though more than three decades have passed, Andersen's explanation still holds true today. External factors—dominant community L2, access to cultural events of L1, and societal expectations for L2 dominance—certainly influence language attrition, but let us not discount the strong bond of language spoken in the home between parents and children and in their L1 community.

## Chapter 4 Discussion and Reflection

Chapter 4 is a discussion of the assumptions I had made prior to beginning the project and reflections on what I learn not only about myself, but also about Mrs. Comales.

Here I revisit all my assumptions and reflect on whether or not they were confirmed, found incorrect, or remain unanswered.

### Assumption 1

Parents do not know how or when to teach the heritage to their children.

Mrs. Comales was determined to keep the home language Spanish all communication between her and all of her children with regardless of where they were born, the United States or Mexico. She expressed that the connection to the heritage language, Spanish, would continually bind the children to their roots—ancestors, culture, values, beliefs. I inferred that it would also allow them to move in and out of both cultures and languages with confidence and ease as explained here “*Todos mis hijos son bilingües-hablan los dos idiomas*”

### Assumption 2

English is the dominant language in the United States.

History reveals that since the pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, the main goal of the country has been the dominance and exclusivity of the English language. Even though the United States was founded on a “the melting pot” principle of the merging of many different cultures and languages together in harmony, the desire to maintain English as the dominant language has always been strong. To that end more than half of the states have English as the official language. and many have English only policy for all forms of communication—written and oral—however, there are four states that have

developed an English Plus policy: New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington state (Reeves, 2005, p. 3). This assumption did not prove true for Mrs. Comales who was determined to keep the home language Spanish regardless of where they were residing in the U. S.; even though six were born in Mexico, brought . . . even today as her adult children try to speak English to her, she responds to them in Spanish which remains her primary language. For her children, however, English has become the dominant language, though they honor her language choice. On the other hand, of her 22 grandchildren only five speak Spanish fluently and of the 30 great grandchildren only three speak at a basic Spanish level.

According to the 2011 Census sixty-two percent spoke Spanish or Spanish Creole at home verses just over 56 percent that spoke both, Spanish or Spanish Creole and English, very well. ([www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov) 2013 )

### Assumption 3

For many parents it is difficult to teach the heritage language.

There is much to consider when deciding to teach one's children the heritage language:

1. Do you live in the dominant language of the country?
2. Do you teach the language in an academic form or informally?
3. What percentage of the day will be utilized to teach the language 50%, 75% or 100%?
4. Who will teach the language—one parent or both parents?
5. Does the society that you live in place value on your heritage language?

6. Will the child or children be required to attend heritage school—either after school or on the weekend?
7. Are the connections to the heritage language strong enough to build connections to their past?
8. What community activities will the child be involved in to connect to the heritage language and provide valuable experiences?

For Mrs. Comales, because she too was born in the United States and returned as adult, wife, and mother, she realized that the success of her children depended on learning English, but her personal values of family and culture would not allow her disconnect her to children from their roots.

#### Assumption 4

Community language will influence the acquisition of other languages.

Society will assign value to different languages for different purposes. Living in South Texas with her children offered Mrs. Comales the occasion to promote bilingual opportunities for her children in and out of the home. She had the choice of attending either an all English or an all Spanish church and shops and while conduct business in both languages. There were many times when Latinos would speak with an accent and would have criticized them, but; none the less they were able to make themselves understood, as Mrs. Comales was throughout her life.

#### Assumption 5

Monolingual parents may not be as committed to raising bilingual children when the spouse is bilingual.

Within the interview, Mrs. Comales indicates that most of her grandchildren are bilingual, but sadly they are not as reported by her own children. Her understanding of

their being bilingual may stem from the fact that the grandchildren are more receptive of the language than expressive, so naturally after she addresses them in Spanish and they respond appropriately she concludes they are bilingual. Mrs. Comales perception is more in the family's favor than statistically accurate. She is correct in her belief that of all her children are fully bilingual.

#### Assumption 6

#### Heritage language status may influence the parents' decision to maintain the heritage language.

Having been raised in a monolingual Spanish household herself, Mrs. Comales knew firsthand of the challenges in learning a new language as an adult. Trained as a teacher in Mexico, Mrs. Comales has always been a proponent of education, and language remains a vital part in connecting with all of her family. Being raised in Mexico influenced her to maintain a connection between her children and their extended-families who remained in Mexico. She said, off the record, that for her children to know Spanish meant they would always be able to connect with their father's family—should they want to. Since Mrs. Comales had only two sisters and her husband was from family of five, there was a large extended family on his side. Both Mrs. Comales and her sister, Manuela, both had large families; yet it is not known how many children her middle sister had. How many children did *Agustina* have? On Mrs. Comales' side of the family only a few cousins remain in contact with her children, but on the father's side of the family, there are close cousins that have remained in contact mainly via Facebook, FaceTime, and Skype. Fidel, the husband, has been deceased now for over forty years, but the children remain in contact with his only sister, Lupe, who now resides in Texas.

### Assumption 7

#### Children may not always see the value in speaking the heritage language.

Reviewing the literature, it indicates that most children will value language if it is modeled by the parents to be important. As in the case of Anzaldua and Quintanilla, being bilingual was not an option, both women were explicitly taught that language mattered, not only their heritage language, but the dominant community language. There should always be respect for language, no matter if it is a private or a public voice as Rodriguez states. One of the highest compliments given is to respect language no matter what form it takes, oral, written, signed, or felt—braille. Today’s technology offers access to any language, and this appears to be the best time to learn.

#### **Answers to research questions**

In reviewing the research questions, I identified many factors to consider, and the most important factors are the honoring of all languages and the intentionality to create space for languages to enrich all of our lives. In honoring language, we in turn celebrate culture and traditions of the people that speak that language. Yet, practice language continues to evolve and enrich all of our lives.

- 1) What is the National Council of Teachers of English/CCC National Language Policy?

The national language policy states “to provide resources to enable native and nonnative speakers to achieve oral and literate competence in English . . . support programs that assert the legitimacy of native languages and dialects and ensure that proficiency in one’s mother tongues will not be lost, and to foster the teaching of languages other than English. . . . rediscover the language of their heritage or learn a second language.” ([www.ncte.org](http://www.ncte.org)) During this study, Mrs.

Comales did such work with her children, many years prior to this policy being implemented. Mrs. Comales was dedicated to the sharing of her native culture, language, traditions and customs with all of her children regardless of their country of birth and regardless of the fact that she was born in the United States.

2) What does it mean to be bilingual in the United States?

According to a Gallup poll (2001), “Twenty-six percent of adult Americans speak a language other than English . . . Spanish (55%), French (17%), German (10%) . . . Nearly one-third feel that it is not too important or not important at all to speak a second language” (McComb, 2001). This translates into creating intentional spaces where parents help their children learn, practice, and develop meaningful connections with the heritage language. In the case of Mrs. Comales she did so in and out of the home environment with social activities such as church and gatherings with friends and neighbors.

3) How can bilingual parents support bilingual children?

There are several ways that parents can support bilingual children, (a) teaching the heritage language consistently, (b) creating opportunities in and out of the home to practice the language, making cultural connections with the secondary language, and assigning equal value to the importance of each language being taught.

4) What perception do others have of bilingualism in the United States?

Within the literature presented, it has been shown that English is the dominant language, and that without the mastery of English, the challenges are even greater for the non-native speakers. McComb’s (2001) research revealed that the level of

education had a positive impact on the percentage of people who that will become bilingual.

- 5) How can, as a society, we promote bilingualism for everyone, as recommended by the National Council of English Teachers (NCTE)?

As a society, we can promote bilingualism for everyone by noting the global value—making connections with others, understanding the human condition, seeking, and exhibiting value for other cultures. As the NCTE states we honor the language and cultures of all people equally, honoring all languages with their own space to be exercised and practiced not only by the native inhabitants, but also by the rest of the world.

- 6) How does stigmatization of some languages in the United States impact bilingualism?

When a language is stigmatized in the United States, its value is diminished, its people are marginalized, and its advancement is stifled. These actions can take on various forms, such as stereotypes of the people that speak the language—they are lazy, uneducated, backward, slow, uncivilized—these are methods of isolating the people that represent a stigmatized language.

Historically, there have been stereotypes of people of color along with some Caucasians—the Irish, the Germans, the Jews,, these stereotypes have made them objects of fear and mistrust. Although they could conduct their affairs in English, the stigma overshadowed opportunities for economic mobility—not in every case, but in the majority of the cases. Minorities have found themselves on the margins of society.

- 7) What barriers do parents confront when deciding to promote bilingualism in the home?
- a) Many times the first barrier can be if one of the parents is monolingual and not wanting to promote bilingualism in the home.
  - b) Another barrier could be if the extended family members speak only the heritage language, and the children do not. The children would not be able to speak the heritage language with them and would be denied the opportunity to be enculturated in the heritage customs and beliefs via the heritage language.
  - c) When the family lives within a community where the heritage language has limited access for the children to practice and exercise of the language. This is especially problematic when the heritage language is not being spoken in the home on a regular basis.

- 8) How did the subject self-identify?

Mrs. Comales self-identified as having successfully raised eight children fully bilingual based on two main criteria she had, first that they all could read, write, and speak Spanish and English, and second that they were Mexican-Americans—by birth. With her grandchildren and her great grandchildren, she self-identified that because they were receptively understanding Spanish and could express it, at times, she considered them also bilingual.

- 9) How did the subject perceive family members' language choices and Spanish acquisition?

Mrs. Comales perceived that her children's language choice was first Spanish and secondary English when interacting with her, but among themselves they

would utilize more the English language. She did express her wish that they only speak Spanish in the home, even as adults, her understanding was greater in Spanish many of the nuances and idioms in English are not always easily understood or translated in Spanish. Mrs. Comales did not state any conflict with the English only rule in her home, her rationale was always that they had more than adequate time to practice English at school and should give the same practice time to Spanish to develop both languages properly.

## **Chapter 5 Conclusion**

Chapter 5 includes (1) reflections on the project, (2) limitations of the present study, and (3) recommendations for future research, and (4) final thoughts.

### **Reflections on the project**

#### What I learned

I learned that there are more questions to be asked than time will permit within this research project. To asked more questions about how Mrs. Comales felt over the dissolution of her 15- year marriage, was not a question I could ask. What gave her the strength to press on after the death of her son? Has she been able to have closure over the death of her mother? What was her relationship with her ex-husband prior to his death? What would have been something she wishes she had that belonged to her parents now as she is growing older?

I learned to ask better questions, to be in the present sharing my life with my family and never take what I learn for granted.

#### As a researcher

As a researcher, I learned to listen with my heart as well as my ears, to ask more follow-up questions, and to utilize artifacts where applicable—photos, video clips, and scents to trigger memories.

The value of giving people a welcoming platform to share their stories that include its peaks and valleys, such as StoryCorps in the Library of Congress. By providing a medium such as ethnography, people can experience healing, encouragement, and insight through self reflection and promote opportunities for inter-generational

storytelling that understanding and make those life connections. An example can be the experiences of moving to another country and having the target language overwhelm children, while simultaneously getting the impression that what you know and understand in your primary language holds little to no value by the new social structure.

#### As a language teacher

I learned that no matter what your age is you are continually learning and growing, from your lived experiences. The true value of language is honoring the people that strengthen its use every day and share that with those around them. It is best to never stop learning and appreciating the differences in language, for they will highlight what is the best in all of us? We, as educators, value language and look for ways to provide space to bridge what people already know, and how that space may complement or mirror what they need to learn in the target language that can make the difference between positive experiences and building language barriers and overcoming hardships. One method to ensure biliteracy is to assess the student's writing in both languages. Purposefully, setting aside as little as five minutes each day for writing will increase their critical thinking skills for a weekly 500-word essay. In the beginning, the students and teachers, will invest heavily, but at the end of a ten-week session the students' writing abilities will be greatly improved. This simple exercise will have two benefits: the students' writing will improve and their confidence with their heritage language will increase.

#### Being a bilingual person from birth

I learned that being bilingual is an awesome skill. To transition from one language to another without losing meaning or understanding is cool, but the best is when

you

can strengthen skills in more languages. The opportunity to share thought, ideas, hopes and dreams and to create space for others to honor the best of themselves through language is an exceptional feeling.

As a person who knew Mrs. Comales

Due to the fact that I have known Mrs. Comales for a long time, I came to realize just how much she misses her mother, even today more than eighty years later. I can understand her handling of the losses in her life demonstrated her grand inner strength and her faith in God's sovereignty. I see this elderly woman that has so much to offer in wisdom and faith to anyone that is willing to listen and share of their stories as well. When you spend time with her, there is no residue of regret for the things that happened in her life. She has gained a tenderness to her manner of living. Sharing time with her has given me a model for what the Bible terms in Titus II: older women mentoring younger women on how to live graciously. It has been a pleasure to offer the Comales family an audio recording of our conversations as well.

**Reflections on Mrs. Comales**

I see a woman who has experienced much sadness and sorrow in her life, beginning with the death of her mother when she was two, the death of a child, the death of her husband, and now the loss of her independence. I see that her faith in God has carried her through the valleys and has made her life a joy on the mountaintops. Mrs. Comales has experienced much sorrow, but at this time in her life there are but moments when God has strengthened her resolve and carried her into new chapters of her life. She is surrounded by family that takes wonderful care of her, sees to her needs, and advocates

for her at every turn. She is happiest when her children are near and constantly states that she prays for them daily as she reads the Word of God every morning. She reveals that her faith has sustained her through it all. She expresses sadness at not having the opportunity to bond with her middle sister, her father remarrying three years later to a woman who did not want or desire children, the tough decision not to become a teacher due to the dangers towards new teachers' in the 1950's in Mexico, the death of her son, the divorce and death of her husband—grand love of her life, and the limitations that old age has for us all. As I completed this thesis, I began to feel that I did not have closure and continued to ask myself some of the following questions which I will reflect on here.

#### Her strength?

Mrs. Comales attributes her strength to her faith in God. She was given a strong work ethic and moral compass from her father. She believed that through hard work and dedication, you could achieve your dreams, always continuing to learn all that you can and always honoring the Lord in what you do and how you treat others.

#### Determination to move forward?

Mrs. Comales once said that the past can not be re-written, but that the present improve the future. Choices are to be made, and the consequences—immediate or delayed will shape you, as you mature, to make wiser choices next time. You must always to be moving forward and making your life the best it can be. Regrets do not help anyone or change anything. It is not to say that you cannot mourn losses of loved ones, just that learning from the past opens up the future to create memories, not to mourn what cannot be changed.

### Her courage to raise the children alone?

It was her determination to complete the work given to her by God. He chose her to have children and as long as she honored Him he would provide work to do, the strength to do the work, and the wisdom to raise her children as respectful and honest citizens.

She had to model the behavior she wanted from the children: respect and hard work. She said many times that she would just speak with the children, in a quiet relaxed voice—try to reason with them as to why they needed to do or behave respectfully. I can imagine it was not easy to have eight children to guide.

### Her choices?

When Mrs. Comales talked about the events leading up to not continuing her teaching career; she did not explicitly state that it was for religious or moral reasons instead she stated that she wanted to wed in a white dress. When you review what a “white wedding dress” signified in the 1950’s in Mexico, it may not have the same social weight of today. Now people may choose to wear an off-white or champagne-colored dress, and it may not have the same connotation of a lack of sexual purity reflected on the bride. Mrs. Comales was private about the extent of her father’s reaction, which was due to the reason for her not to continue her teaching career. Was he disappointed? Did he follow up on the young teacher’s welfare? Was there accountability for those ‘boys’ that violated her health and safety? There were several social issues that we did not have an opportunity to discuss and reveal.

### Her silence

Mrs. Comales’ self-censored in the areas of the loss of her mother, relationships

between herself and her stepmother and her sister, who was raised by their maternal grandparents, and separation, and eventual divorce, from her husband. Mrs. Comales gave few details on how she succeeded with future relationships after the death of her mother. The memory of her mother's passing is with her even to this day. She did not discuss the relationship that she had with her middle sister, Agustina, or her daughters. I am curious how she would describe those relationships and if she lamented the level of intimacy the relationships developed. It would be noteworthy to discuss the impact of her marriage dissolvent and how and if that impacted her towards remaining a single parent.

#### Her victory

Her victory was in helping her children get an education, be it a high school or GED education, modeling for them a strong work ethic, and giving them the gift of being bilingual. Mrs. Comales expressed her love for education, and she understood that for her children to be able to become successful, education would be key. Due to her economic status, she was not able to financially help them with postsecondary education, but did support their dreams to learn beyond high school. All her eight children either graduated from high school or attained a GED, and one earned a bachelor's and one achieved a master's degree. Of her grandchildren two have a masters and two have bachelor's. degree The second to the eldest of her great-grandsons is at university, second year, and the other is due to enter the military this summer.

#### Her greatest successes

Mrs. Comales' greatest successes would include her children who became fully bilingual, productive members of society, and financially stable. Mrs. Comales defines

being fully bilingual as being able to communicate her needs and understand what others are sharing with her through speech and in writing. She currently has three children enjoying retirement and able to travel and visit with her at least twice a year. She enjoys her relationship with all of her children, recalling memories of living in Mexico, and sharing memories of her father. Mrs. Comales states that her faith in the Lord has providentially given her strength through all the challenges.

#### Her hardships

Mrs. Comales repeatedly stated that the loss of her mother, at such a young age. I infer that this life event still remains with her today. She is still lamenting, I believe, the missed opportunity to mourn her loss because she missed out on the love and tenderness of her mother, which we can guess was a principal hardship. Another would be the death of her child and then her husband all before she was forty. The death of her child, one of her first twins who died before his first birthday, really impacted her. She preferred to mourn that death privately, not sharing it even with her other children. Even though she and her husband were legally divorced, at the time of his death, she continued to refer to him as her husband. He was the love of her life, and she elected not to remarry, even to this day. What were the circumstances surrounding her mother's death? Since she was so young, did she ever discuss her mother's death with her father as an adult? She did not state whether or not she was able to grieve the major losses of her life—death of parents, husband, and young child—and if there was a time of healing from those events for her?

#### Her education and parenting style?

Mrs. Comales always had a love of education and wanted to share the love of learning with others, and so what better way than to share with her children? She learned

to model the conduct that she desired her children to learn. Her disposition of kind speech, tenderness, and patience provided great strides in developing their character. It was the desired incentive for them to adopt her message of citizenship values. She was able to delegate tasks as her children were growing, giving them age appropriate chores and duty assignments that lead to achievable accomplishments for each of her children. Mrs. Comales would provide balanced boundaries on leisure and work times, giving them opportunities to manage their time and money resulting in a healthy awareness of how to best compliment their money and time. For example, chores like dinner dishes were to be completed prior to watching television, only 1 movie per evening, and the children had to vote on what everyone wanted to watch, so whoever was in charge of washing dishes would have enough time to clean up before the movie. Each child would collect their dishes, place them in the sink, and let them soak while two or three children would put the food away and clean the table. The child selected for dish duty could enlist a second helper to dry the dishes—hence cut the chore time in half. This system allowed the children to manage time and resources along with work in teams to achieve immediate and long-term goals, working together instead of against one another.

#### Unanswered questions

Readers may want to know what other dreams and aspirations Mrs. Comales had. Did she always believe her children would become fully bilingual despite social pressures? Would the children achieve financial and social advancement? Does she regret not having been raised with her middle sister? Were there any regrets from her childhood that she would have like to correct before her next milestone birthday? How could she have reconciled with her relationship with her step-mother and/or mother-in-

law?

### Her father

I understand the respect and admiration that she has always had for her father and the difficult choices that he had to make in giving his in-laws custody of his child and raising the other two girls with a woman that did not bestow on them the love of a mother. I would also ask her about the love of her life and if she had an opportunity to speak with her ex-husband, what would she want to say to him? Due to the fact that I have known her for a long time, I have an insider's point of view on some of the major life events, the death of her husband, her sisters and her response to her husband's family towards her and the children. I have known her and have a different and limited perspective of her life events as a distant observer.

### **Limitations of the present study**

There were several limitations of the present study, for example a) length of time spent with the subject, b) more artifacts of her past—photos, letters, memento's of her parents, c) better understanding of life in Mexico on the researcher's behalf, and d) interviewing subject siblings. These limitations could have sparked her memories or at the very least given her a new perspective of her memories.

### **Recommendations for future research**

Future researchers can take a cross-generational approach to this type of research in which the investigation would be based on parent and adult children viewpoints of how bilingualism was successful, attainable, or even attempted. There could be questions such as:

- (1) How would have you taught your heritage language differently between the oldest and the youngest child?
- (2) As a parent, what social constraints were barriers in teaching the children the heritage language, as you moved from one country to another?
- (3) As a parent, would have you chose to teach the language verse not teach it? a
- (4) As an Adult child, why did you choose to teach or not teach the heritage language?

Offering this type of cross generational research could prove to be an insight for others and could be done in either a one to one interview style or a focus group interview. Either format would give valuable information as to how some languages are shrinking from our language landscape. It may be, that one-day Latin will not be the only dead language that we know of.

### **Final thoughts**

This thesis has brought to life the choices of one woman with the sole purpose of giving to her children the gift of bilingualism during a time when socially it was not encouraged. She nevertheless chose to purposefully teach her children, by example, to become bilingual and be proud of their heritage. She had hopes that they would gain literacy skills and honor their past while acquiring a stronger world view to become better citizens. As seen within this single case study, much of how she self identifies is embedded in being a person with two languages, two nationalities, and strong connections to her roots and her past which in turn offers her a connection to the future. The vision she has of her family is that they have also honored language and are promoting its importance to future generations.

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**Appendices**  
**Appendix A: Consent Form in English**



**Department of English**  
Eastern Washington University  
203 Patterson Hall  
Cheney, WA 99004-2429

Single case study of a woman reflecting on educational systems in two distinct countries including society's view of language barriers and stereotypes.

**Principal Investigator:**

María E. Estrada-Loehne

**Department:**

**Department of English**  
Eastern Washington University  
203 Patterson Hall  
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509-359-6039

**Responsible Project Investigator:**

Dr. LaVona Reeves  
Department of English

**Investigator's statement**

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how, as a bilingual parent, you were born in the U.S., were educated in Mexico, and made decisions to help your eight children become bilingual in Spanish and English while maintaining the heritage culture in the home in the U. S.. You are being also being asked to discuss language and educational practices and policies you encountered in the different school systems your eight children were enrolled in as you raised them bilingually in two different states.

**Purpose and Benefits**

The purpose of this project is to provide information about the challenges you faced coming from one educational- in Mexico to another – in the United States while trying to raise bilingual children in the United States. Other parents in the United States as well as teachers can benefit from the insights you provide and can help educators and parents plan their education to effectively retain the heritage language and culture. Because you overcame obstacles and succeeded in raising all eight children as bilinguals who have been successful as adults in the United States, you can serve as a role model of a parent who is committed to the education of her children and the generations to follow.



**Department of English**  
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### **Procedures**

This study will include 3-5, one hour, sessions inquiring about your life, your education, and your reasons for moving to the United States. Other parents trying to raise bilingual children in the United States can benefit from your insights and your decisions about language choices that led you to be bilingual. *"Washington State law provides that private conversations may not be recorded, intercepted, or divulged without permission of the individual(s) involved."*

### **Risk, Stress or Discomfort**

P.I. will provide you with rest times between sessions, clarify content of questions or to come back to questions at hand.

### **Other Information**

You will be identified only to the P.I. and the Responsible Project Investigator, for all others you will have a fictitious name. You are free to stop, leave or terminate the research study at any time you choose without penalty. There is no inducement of any type provided for your time or participation. Should you choose to withdraw from the study your privacy will be insured, your information will be kept confidential and stored for 3 years should you want to participate again at a later time. All electronic devices that the information are stored on will be in a safe with only the P.I. and Responsible Project Investigator having access. After the 3 years are over files will be digitally destroyed and hard copies will be professionally shredded.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Principal Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Date

The study described above has been explained to me, and I voluntarily consent to participate in the research study. I have had an opportunity to ask questions, I give permission to record, intercept, and/or divulge conversations in which I participate during this research study, but my name will not be used. I understand that by signing this form I am not waiving my legal rights. I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Subject

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Date

If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this research or any complaints you wish to make, you may contact Ruth Galm, Human Protections Administrator (509-359-6567)

**Appendix B: Consent Form in Spanish  
Formulario de Consentimiento en español**



**Department of English**  
Eastern Washington University  
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**Formulario de Consentimiento**

Estudio de una mujer reflejando sobre educación en dos distintos países y el conflicto de parte de la sociedad sobre los dos lenguajes.

**Investigador Principal:** María E. Estrada-Loehne

**Departamento:** **Department of English**  
Eastern Washington University  
203 Patterson Hall  
Cheney, WA 99004-2429  
509-359-6039

**Responsable de proyecto:** Dr. LaVona Reeves  
**Department of English**

**Declaración del investigador**

En este estudio se le pregunta sobre, como padre bilingüe, nacido en los Estados Unidos, educada en México, y hizo decisiones para sus ocho hijos para ser bilingüe en español y inglés siempre manteniendo su cultura viviendo en los Estados Unidos. Se le pregunta como la idioma y el proceso de ser educado en los Estados Unidos, de sus ocho hijos, fue acabo en dos distintos estados.

**Finalidad y ventajas**

El propósito de este estudio es para dar información sobre las barreras que usted enfrente mudándose de un sistema educativo - en México para otra – los Estados Unidos y criando sus hijos bilingües en los Estados Unidos. Padres que viven en los Estados Unidos y educadores podrán beneficiar de sus experiencias y podrán utilizar su información y establecer un plan de educación, con gran éxito, para sus estudiantes y mantener su cultura y lenguaje. Porque usted rompió las barreras y tuvo gran éxito en criando sus ocho hijos como bilingüe y hoy son adultos con mucho éxito en los Estados Unidos, usted puede ser un padre modelo que apoya la educación de sus hijos y las siguiente generaciones.



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### **Procedimientos**

Este proyecto será de 3 a 5 entrevistas, de treinta minutos a una hora, haciendo varias preguntas sobre su vida, educación, razones porque mudarse para los Estados Unidos, sobre las vidas de sus hijos, y como tuvo éxito en las dos sistemas de educación, usted y sus hijos. *"La ley de Washington estatal establece que las conversaciones privadas no se pueden registrar, interceptados o divulgada sin el permiso de la persona(s) involucradas."* El P.I. va proteger sus derechos.

### **Riesgo, estrés o malestar**

La investigadora principal le ofrecerá momentos de reposo y le aclara cualquiera pregunta que tenga durante el proyecto.

### **Otra información**

Usted será indiciado solamente por la investigadora principal y la responsable proyecto investigador usando un nombre falso. Usted es libre de parar la entrevista a cual quiere tiempo sin reproche cualquiera. Usted no recibirá ningún pago o premio por participar. Si usted deja de participar en el estudio su información será protegida por 3 años, si quisiera volver al estudio. Su información electrónica estará en una caja fuerte, bajo llave, y solamente los que tendrían acceso será el investigador principal y el investigador responsable del proyecto. Después de tres años la información será destruida; las copias electrónicas y los papeles serán rallados.

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Firma del Investigador Principal

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Fecha

El estudio descrito anteriormente me ha sido explicado, y yo consiento voluntariamente participar en esta actividad proyecto. Yo he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre el proyecto y doy mi consentimiento para grabar, interceptar, y/o divulgar las conversaciones en las actividades que participe. Yo entiendo que al firmar este formulario no estoy cediendo mis derechos legales. Yo entiendo que yo, recibiré una copia firmada de este formulario.

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Firma del Sujeto

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Fecha

Si usted tiene alguna preocupación acerca de sus derechos como participante en esta investigación o cualquier queja que usted desee hacer, puede ponerse en contacto con Ruth Galm, llamando al teléfono, Administrador de derechos humanos (509-359 -6567).

### Appendix C: Interview Questions in both Spanish and English

**P1: ¿Dónde nació usted?**

Q1: Where were you born?

**P2: ¿En qué año nació usted?**

Q2: What year were you born?

**P3: ¿Con cual propósito estaban sus padres, en ese tiempo, en los Estados Unidos [cuando usted nació]?**

Q3: What were your parents doing in the U.S. at the time you were born?

**P4: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando su familia regresó a México?**

Q4: How old were you when your family moved back to Mexico?

**P5: Hasta qué nivel de educación llegaron sus padres?**

Q5: What level of education did your parents have?

**P6: ¿Qué recuerda más de su madre?**

Q6: What do you remember most about your mother?

**P7: ¿Qué edad tenía su madre cuando ella falleció?**

Q7: How old was your mother when she died?

**P8: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando murió su madre?**

Q8: How old were you when your mother died?

**P9: ¿Qué edad tenían sus hermanas cuando [su madre]murió?**

Q9: How old were your sisters when your mother died?

**P10: ¿Qué ocurrió con ustedes [niñas]cuando se murió su madre?**

Q10: What happened to all of you [girls] when she [your mom] died?

**P11: ¿Qué impacto tuvo la falta de su mamá en el hogar?**

Q11: What impact was there due to your mother's absence in the home?

**P12: ¿Cómo fue su vida diferente de la de su hermana que se crio con los abuelos maternos?**

Q12: How was your life different from the sister's life, since she was raised with your maternal grandparents?

**P13: ¿Con cuál hermana era más unidad usted y por qué?**

Q13: Which sister were you closer to and why?

**P14: ¿Qué materiales tuvo usted, en casa, para prepararla para entrar a la escuela?**

Q14: What did you have at home to get you get prepared for school?

**P15: ¿Quién le leería cuentos, historias, leyendas, ha usted?**

Q15: Who read books to you? Stories?

**P16: ¿Qué tipo de libros?**

Q16: What type of books?

**P17: ¿Qué lecciones aprendía por medio de los cuentos? ¿Tenían cuentos, o dichos, algo así?**

Q17: What lessons were you taught through stories? Did you have stories or proverbs, something like that?

**P18: Dígame sobre como era la escuela, en México, para usted, en aquea época.**

Q18: What was school like in Mexico for you, in that era?

**P19: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando la registraron en la escuela, por primera vez?**

Q19: How old were you when you went to school for the first time in Mexico?

**P20: Antes de ir a la escuela, ¿que es lo que usted sabía?**

Q20: What did you already know how to do before you began school?

**P21: ¿Cuál fue su primera escuela?**

Q21: Which was your first school?

**P22: ¿Y fue a la kínder o a la primaria? ¿Se recuerda?**

Q22: Was it kindergarten or first grade, do you recall?

**P23: ¿Era una escuela pública, privada o católica?**

Q23: Was it public or private or Catholic?

**P24: ¿Como llegaba a la escuela? ¿Caminaba, en bicicleta, a caballo, en coche?**

Q24: How did you get to school? Walking, by bicycle, on horseback or by car?

**P25: ¿Cuántas hermanas asistían a la misma escuela que usted?**

Q25: How many of your sisters went to the same school?

**P26: ¿Iban y regresaban juntas a la escuela?**

Q26: Did you go to school together and return together?

**P27: ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre la edad de usted y sus hermanas? ¿Con su hermana Manuela? ¿Con su hermana Agustina?**

Q27: What is the age difference between you and your sisters? How many years between your sister Manuela? And between you and your sister Augustine?

**P28: ¿Cuántos días a la semana tenía que ir a la escuela?**

Q28: How many days a week did you have to go to school?

**P29: ¿Cuántos días a la semana iba usted a la escuela?**

Q29: How many days a week did you attend school?

**P30: ¿Si no iba, por qué no podía ir cada día, cual era la razón?**

Q30: If you could not attend every day, why, what reason?

**P31: ¿Cuántas horas al día asistía la escuela su primer año?**

Q31: How many hours a day did you go to school, your first year?

**P32: ¿Cuántos años asistió usted a la escuela?**

Q32: How many years did you attend that school?

**P33: ¿Y cuantos cursos existían en esa escuela? ¿Qué tipo de clases tuvo usted en esa escuela?**

Q33: How many courses were offered in that school? What type of classes did you take there?

**P34: ¿A qué nivel de escuela llegó usted? ¿Llego a la preparatoria, y qué grado en la preparatoria? Aquí en los Estados Unidos es la preparatoria hasta el grado doce. ¿Es igual en México? ¿Hasta que grado llegó usted?**

Q34: What was your highest grade achieved? Did you reach high school or graduate from high school? In the United States high school is through twelfth grade. Is it the same in Mexico? What grade did you complete?

**P35: ¿Qué tipo de estudiante era usted?**

Q35: What kind of student were you?

**P36: ¿Qué cursos le gustaban más en la escuela a usted? ¿Había un curso que no le llamaba mucho atención?**

Q36: What were your favorite subjects in school? Where there classes that you really enjoyed?

**P37: ¿Cuáles cursos le gustaban menos?**

Q37: Which subjects did you like the least?

**P38: Ya cuando acaban la preparatoria y van a la Universidad; ¿Qué estudios podría tomar en ese tiempo? Para un oficio. ¿Qué carrera quería usted?**

Q38: When you completed high school then would you attend the university? What type of studies would you take then? For a vocation. What career did you want?

**P39: ¿Es gradada con título de secundaria?**

Q39: Did you gain a high school diploma?

**P40.a: ¿Cómo eran sus maestras?**

Q40.a: What were your teachers like?

**P40.b: ¿Ella era su favorita o tuvo otra maestra que también influyo su vida?**

Q40.b: Was she your favorite [teacher] or did you have another teacher that was an influence in your life.

**P41.a: ¿Qué idioma estudió usted?**

Q41.a: What language did you study?

**P41.b: ¿Aparte del español hubo otro idioma que estudio usted en la escuela usted?  
¿Estudiaba el inglés, alemán, francés?**

Q41.b: Besides Spanish was there another language that you studied in school? Did you study English, German or French?

**P42: ¿Qué tipo de español estudiaron en la escuela formal [académico] o [básico] coloquial?**

Q42: What type of Spanish did you study in school, informal [basic/everyday] or formal?

**P43: ¿Tuvo deseos de recibirse de maestra usted, verdad? ¿Cuándo fue el momento cuando pensó usted de recibirse de maestra?**

Q43: You had the desire to become a teacher, correct? When was the moment that you first thought to become a teacher?

**P44: ¿En aquel tiempo, como se recibía una persona de maestra en México?**

Q44: In that era, how did one become a teacher in Mexico?

**P45.a: ¿Qué ocurrió para que no se recibiera de maestra?**

Q45.a: What happened that stopped you from becoming a teacher?

**P45.b: ¿Qué tipo de vida tenían las maestras en aquel tiempo?**

Q45.b: What type of lifestyle did teachers, back then, have available to them?

**P46: ¿Qué edad tenía usted cuando grado de la secundaria?**

Q46: How old were you when you graduated high school?

**P47: ¿Después de [terminar] la escuela cuál fue su trabajo?**

Q47: What type of work did you do after you completed school?

**P48: ¿Cómo pasaba su tiempo antes de casarse?**

Q48: What did you do before you got married after graduating from high school?

**P49: ¿Y después que completo la preparatoria? No se caso inmediatamente. ¿Cuándo se caso?**

Q49: What happened after high school? You did not marry right away. How much after high school did you marry?

**P50: ¿Y usted, como pasaba el tiempo libre?**

Q50: What did you do with your free time?

**P51: ¿A qué edad se casó usted?**

Q51: At what age did you marry?

**P52: ¿Y qué edad tenía [usted] cuándo dio luz a su primer hijo?**

Q52: How old were you when you had your first child?

**P53: ¿Dónde estaba viviendo usted cuando nació su primer hijo?**

Q53: Where were you living when your first child was born?

**P54: ¿Quién le ayudó con el parto?**

Q54: Who helped you with the birth [of your child].

***Las siguientes series de preguntas se hicieron sobre sus siete embarazos [55-62]***

The following series of questions were asked concerning each of her seven pregnancies. [55-62]

**P55.a: ¿Dónde nació su primer hijo?**

Q55.a: Where was the baby born?

**P55.b: ¿En casa, con una partera?**

Q55.b: At home with a midwife?

**P55.c: ¿Nació en una clínica?**

Q55.c: In a clinic?

**P55.d: ¿Cómo fue el parto? ¿Fácil? ¿Difícil?**

Q55.d: What was that birth like? Easy? Challenging?

**P55.e: ¿Qué recuerda de ese proceso de dar luz al primer hijo?**

Q55.e: What do you recall about the delivery of your first child?

**P55.f: ¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo usted fuera del trabajo después del nacimiento de su primer hijo?**

Q55.f: How much time were you away from work after your first child [Servando] was born?

**P55.g: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacía usted en aquel tiempo? ¿Qué era su trabajo?**

Q55.g: What type of work did you do back then?

**P55.h: ¿Qué tanto tiempo pasó de este hijo y el siguiente?**

Q55.h: How soon did you have your next child?

**P55.i: ¿En qué país nació este hijo? ¿México? ¿Los Estados Unidos?**

Q55.i: In what country was this child born in? Mexico? And in the United States?

**P55.j: ¿Usted trabajaba fuera de la casa?**

Q55.j: Did you work outside the home?

**P63.a: ¿Cuántos de sus hijos nacieron en México? ¿Usted en este punto tiene cuantos hijos?**

Q63.a: How many of your children were born in Mexico? At this point how many children did you have?

**P63.b: ¿Quién más nació en México? ¿Blanca y su gemelo? ¿Cómo se llama su gemelo? Ese es el primer parto [de gemelos] Blanca es la segunda [parte de gemelos]. ¿Y quien es el cuate de Blanca? ¿Blanca es cuate con Roy, verdad?**

Q63.b: Who else was born in Mexico? Blanca and her twin? What was her twin's name?

**P63.c:** *¿Cómo se llamaban sus primeros gemelos y donde nacieron?*

Q63.c: What were the names of your first set of twins and where were they born?

**P63.d:** *Y luego tiene a dos hijos más a Fidelito y Esmeralda. ¿Ellos dónde nacieron ellos, en México o los Estados Unidos?*

Q63.d: Well, you have two more children, Fidel and Esmeralda. Where were they born, in Mexico or in the United States?

**P64:** *¿Cómo fue que regresó a los Estados Unidos?*

Q64: What circumstances brought you back to the United States?

**P65:** *¿Cuántos hijos tenía usted cuando regresó a los Estados Unidos?*

Q65: How many children did you have when you returned to the United States?

**P66:** *¿Se recuerda que edad de tenía usted cuando regreso al los Estados Unidos?*

Q66: Do you remember how old you were when you returned to the United States?

**P67.a:** *¿Diga como se sentía de adulta, en sus treintas, regresar con una familia para los Estados Unidos? Se mudó con seis de sus hijos.*

Q67.a: Describe your experience at being in your thirties and moving your family to the United States? At that moment you already had six children [in your care].

**P67.b:** *¿Y usted era ciudadana americana verdad?*

Q67.b: You are a citizen of the United States, correct?

**P67.c:** *¿Y usted batalló en cruzar sus hijos?*

Q67.c: Was it difficult to bring your children over the border?

**P67.d:** *¿En ese tiempo les hacían bastante preguntas cuando cruzaba uno el puente? ¿Sí o no?*

Q67.d: At that time did they ask many questions when you crossed the border? Yes or no?

**P68:** *¿Cuáles fueron las barreras que enfrento cuando se mudo para los Estados Unidos?*

Q68: What were the barriers [challenges] that you encountered when you moved to the United States?

**P69:** *¿Cuál fue la razón para que regresaran a los Estados Unidos?*

Q69: What was the reason for returning to the U.S.?

**P70:** *¿Qué tanto tiempo después de que el [Fidel] vino a los Estados Unidos, regresó por ustedes?*

Q70: How long was he, Fidel, in the United States before he came back for you?

**P71:** *¿Cuántos de sus hijos nacieron en los Estados Unidos?*

Q71: How many of your children were born in the United States?

**P72: ¿Qué tipos de trabajos hizo usted cuando estaba en México y en los Estados Unidos?**

Q72: What type of work did you do when you were in Mexico and in the United States?

**P73: ¿Cómo pudo cuidar sus hijos mientras trabajaba, en los dos países?**

Q73: How did you manage to work and raise your children in to different countries?

**P74: ¿Cuándo usted tenía todos los niños en casa, esta viviendo en los Estados Unidos, estaban rentando o estaban comprando una casa?**

Q74: When you had all the children at home, were living in the United States, did you rent or own your own home?

**P75: ¿Cómo mantenía un hogar, para sus ocho hijos, y también pudo comprar una casa?**

Q75: How did you manage to buy a house with 8 children to provide for?

**P76: ¿La ayudó su marido? ¿En qué forma?**

Q76: Did your husband help you? How?

**P77: ¿Cómo madre soltera, como logro usted pagar sus casa y hacer un hogar para sus ocho hijos cuando vivían en Tejas?**

Q77: As a single parent how did you pay off your home and create a home for your eight children while living in Texas?

**P78: ¿Cuándo recibió su primer licencia para manejar? Era adolescente, era joven o ya era adulta?**

Q78: When did you get your first drivers license? Were you an adolescent, a young adult or were your older?

**P79: ¿En qué idioma tomo su examen para la licencia? ¿El examen escrito? ¿El examen de manejar?**

Q79: What language did you take the driving test in? The written test? The driving test?

**P80.a: ¿Cómo se preparó para el examen?**

Q80.a: How did you prepare for the exam?

**P80.b: ¿Estudió el libro [de manejar]?**

Q80.b: Did you study the driver's handbook?

**P80.c: ¿Y como se preparó para el examen de manejar [en coche]?**

Q80.c: How did you prepare for the driving portion of the exam?

**P80.d: ¿Quién le enseñó a manejar?**

Q80.d: Who helped you drive and how did it go?

**P81.a: ¿Cómo le fue con el examen escrito, de la licencia?**

Q81.a: How was the written portion of the exam?

**P81.b:** *¿Tuvo que intentarlo varias veces?*

Q81.b: Did you have to take the written exam several times?

**P82:** *¿Cómo consiguió un coche usted? ¿Se lo compró su marido, usted lo compró, alguien se lo dio?*

Q82: How did you get your first vehicle? Did your husband buy you a car, did you buy it, or did someone give you your first car?

**P83:** *¿Se acuerda como fue su primer carro; se recuerda la marca o el estilo?*

Q83: Do you recall what type of car it was—the make or model?

**P84:** *¿Por qué no había aprendido a manejar antes?*

Q84: Why had you not learned to drive earlier?

**P85:** *¿Qué tipo educación recibió usted aquí en los Estados Unidos? ¿Usted fue a clases?*

Q85: What education did you receive in the United States? Did you attend classes?

**P86:** *¿En qué forma le ayudó su educación [de México], en los Estados Unidos? ¿Usted tuvo clases para aprender inglés; ya cuando llegó al los Estados Unidos? ¿Clase u observando en publico [la sociedad]?*

Q86: How did your education [in Mexico] help you when you were now in the United States? Did you take classes to learn English after your arrived in the U.S.? Did you take a class or just through observation?

**P87:** *¿Cómo mantenía contacto con su hermana Agustina y parientes en México?*

Q87: How did you maintain contact with your sister Augustine and your family in Mexico?

**P88:** *¿Cuántas veces, desde que se mudo para los Estados Unidos, ha regresado a México?*

Q88: How many times have you returned to Mexico since being a permanent resident of the U. S.?

**P89:** *¿Cuáles fueron las ocasiones o motivos de regreso a México y cuándo regresó?*

Q89: What occasions or reasons lead you to return to Mexico and when?

**P90.a:** *¿A que iglesia asistía usted de niña hasta adulta?*

Q90.a: What church did you attend from childhood to becoming an adult?

**P90.b:** *¿Y como mujer casada?*

Q90.b: And as a married woman?

**P90.c:** *¿Y ahora como madre soltera?*

Q90.c: And now as a single parent?

**P90.d:** *Y los últimos años que ha vivido usted ¿a donde ha ido?*

Q90.d: And the last few years, where have you gone [ to church]?

**P91.a: ¿Qué lenguaje hablaban en la iglesia?**

Q91.a: In what language was the church conducted?

**P91.b: ¿Dónde, en Tejas, en Colorado, en Indiana, en California, o en Washington, a donde ha ido usted al iglesia?**

Q91.b: Where in Texas, Colorado, Indiana, California, or Washington have you gone to church?

**P91.c: Cuándo iba a los trabajos en Indiana ¿iba a la iglesia? ¿En que idioma eran los servicios?**

Q91.c: When you migrated for work in Indiana, did you attend church? What language were the services in?

**P91.d: ¿Cuándo vivía en California?**

Q91.d: And when you lived in California?

**P91.e: ¿Y hoy que vive en el estado de Washington? ¿Va a la iglesia en español o inglés?**

Q91.e: And now that you live in Washington? Do you attend church in Spanish or English?

**P92.a: ¿Por qué cuando era niña, se le dijo que cuando le preguntaran a usted cuál era su religión usted debía contestar ‘Yo soy católica’?**

Q92.a: Why was it, you think, that when you were younger adults told you to say “I am Catholic.”

**P92.b: ¿Para que no la evangelizaran o para que la dejaran en paz?**

Q92.b: So they wouldn't convert you or just so they would leave you alone?

**P93: ¿Cuándo era usted niña, que idioma hablaba usted en la casa? ¿Usted alguna vez hablo en inglés?**

Q93: When you were a child, what language would you speak at home? Did you speak English at any time?

**P94.a: ¿Cuándo nació su primer hijo, donde vivía usted?**

Q94.a: As the first child was born, where were you living?

**P94.b: ¿Y que idioma habla usted cuando nació Servando?**

Q94.b: What language did you speak when Servando was born?

**P95: ¿Según cómo iban creciendo sus hijos, fue una decisión consciente de que ellos fueran bilingües?**

Q95: How challenging was it to be a bilingual home when you first returned to Texas?

**P96: Cuando regreso a Tejas, con sus seis hijos, ¿que difícil era mantener un hogar bilingüe?**

Q96: Upon returning to Texas with your six children, how difficult was it to maintain a bilingual home? Why?

**P97: ¿En la comunidad, ¿qué utilizaba usted en Tejas**

Q97: In the community what language did you use in Texas?

**P98.a:** *¿Necesitaba ayuda cuando en los negocios se hablaba el inglés?*

Q98.a: Did you need help if the businesses were conducted in only English?

**P98.b:** *¿Quién le ayudaba?*

Q98.b: Who would help you?

**P98.c:** *Cuando salía a la comunidad, ¿qué idioma usaba, cuando vivía en Colorado?*

Q98.c: While living in Colorado and you were in the community, what language did you speak?

**P98.d:** *¿No más inglés o eran bilingües? ¿Cuáles idiomas?*

Q98.d: Just English or were they bilingual? What languages?

**P98.e:** *Cuándo vivía en Colorado y tenía que conducir sus negocios ¿que idioma usaba?*

Q98.e: When you lived in Colorado and had to conduct business, paying the light bill, what language would you use?

**P99.a:** *Cuándo se hablaba solamente inglés, ¿requería usted ayuda en inglés? ¿Quién le ayudaba?*

Q99.a: When only English was the only language and you needed help, who would help you?

**P99.b:** *Cuándo se mudaron de México para los Estados Unidos y los niños estaban en la escuela, ¿que idioma hablaban en la casa los niños?*

Q99.b: When you moved from Mexico to the United States and the children were in school, what language did the children speak in the home?

**P100.a:** *¿Usted conscientemente impuso la regla de que solamente se hablaran español en casa? ¿Por qué?*

Q100.a: Did you consciously decide to have a Spanish Only rule in the home? Did you consistently enforce the rule?

**P100.b:** *¿Cómo reforzó que se cumpliera esa regla?*

Q100.b: How did you enforce that rule?

**P101:** *Cuándo estaba su marido en el hogar, ¿él apoyaba la regla de hablar solamente en español en el hogar?*

Q101: When your husband was at home, did he help enforce the Spanish Only rule?

**P102:** *¿Cuándo se fue su marido del hogar, batalló usted en esforzar la regla de solamente hablar en casa el español?*

Q102: And when your husband, Fidel, left the home did you struggle to enforce the Spanish Only rule in the home?

**P103:** *¿Todos los niños cumplieron con la regla?*

Q103: Did all the children peacefully comply?

**P104:** *¿Y algún niño se rebeló contra la regla?*

Q104: Did any child rebel towards the rule?

**P105: *¿En qué forma mantenía la regla usted?***

Q105: How would you enforce and maintain the rule?

**P106: *¿Por ejemplo, usted leía con sus hijos en español? ¿Qué tipo de libros leían?***

Q106: For example, did you read to your children in Spanish, if so what type of books?

**P107.a: *¿Cómo influyó, el hecho de ser educada como maestra en, su papel de madre? Especialmente el mantener español en el hogar?***

Q107.a: How did you being educated as a teacher impact your role as a parent, especially maintaining Spanish in the home?

**P107.b: *Pero siendo educada como maestra, ¿eso le ayudo a como enseñarles a sus hijos el idioma español?***

Q107.b: Having an educational background, did that help you in teaching Spanish to your children?

**P108: *¿Usted conscientemente hablaba español con sus hijos durante su vida?***

Q108: Did you consciously speak to your children in Spanish, throughout your life?

**P109: *¿Cuál fue su meta sobre la educación de cada uno de sus hijos?***

Q109: What was your educational goal for each of your children?

**P110: *¿Tuvo éxito con su meta de que en el hogar se mantuviera bilingüe?***

Q110: Do you achieve your goal of having a bilingual home?

**P111.a: *¿Usted ve que cada uno de sus hijos son bilingüe en español e inglés, hoy?***

Q111.a: Today, when you see your children are they bilingual in English and Spanish?

**P111.b: *¿En leer?***

Q111.b: In reading?

**P111.c: *¿En escribir?***

Q111.c: In writing?

**P111.d: *En hablar?***

Q111.d: In speaking?

**P112: *Cuándo ve hoy a sus hijos, ¿Tuvo éxito su decisión de mantener el hogar con la regla de hablar solamente español en el hogar? ¿Usted, reflejando sobre su vida, piensa que esa regla les sirvió al los niños***

Q112: When you look at your children do you believe that maintaining a Spanish Only rule in the home was beneficial? As you reflect in your life, do you believe that it did them a service in their lives?

**P113: *Hoy que están sus hijos adultos ¿que piensa sobre la regla de solamente hablar español en casa?***

Q113: Now that your children are adults, do you think that the Spanish Only rule in the home was beneficial?

**P114:** *¿Cómo piensa que sus hijos son diferentes por la regla de hablar solamente español en el hogar comparando a otros americanos?*

Q114: Do you think your children are different compared to other Americans due to the Spanish Only rule you instilled in the home?

**P115:** *¿En el año 1952 cuando nació su primer hijo, Servando, si le tubería que dar un numero a su habilidad de hablar inglés, de cero siendo nada y diez siendo comunicarse con confianza, ¿que número le agregaría , en ese momento, a su inglés?*

Q:115 In 1952 when your first child, Servando, was born what number would you give to your ability to speak English, zero being nothing and ten being confident in communicating, what would it?

**P116:** *¿Dónde aprendió usted el inglés?*

Q116: Where did you learn English?

**P117:** *¿Eso la influyó en mantener español como idioma del hogar?*

Q117: Did that influence you to have the home language be Spanish?

**P118:** *¿En 1966, cuando nació su última niña en los Estados Unidos, de uno a cero, que numero le agregaba a su habilidad de hablar inglés?*

Q118: In 1966, when your last child was born in the United States, on a scale from zero to ten, what number would you rate your ability to speak English?

**P119:** *Usted mantenía la regla de hablar solamente español en casa, ¿por qué?*

Q119: Why did you decide to have a Spanish Only rule in your home? With what purpose?

**P120:** *Describa usted hoy que sus hijos son bilingües. ¿Por qué, dé ejemplos?*

Q120: Would you describe your children as bilingual today? Why, give examples?

**P121:** *¿Fue fácil para que todos hablaran español en la casa?*

Q121: Was it easy to have everyone speak Spanish in the home?

**P122.a:** *En 1971 su hijo mayor tenía como veintiuno años y su hija menor estaba comenzando la primaria. ¿Cómo era el ambiente del hogar?*

Q122.a: In 1971 your oldest was about twenty-one and your youngest was starting elementary school, what was the home environment like [language wise]?

**P122.b:** *¿Ellos con usted hablaban el inglés o entre ellos hablaban inglés?*

Q122.b: Would they speak to you in English or among themselves they would speak English?

**P122.c:** *¿Todavía mantiene la regla de solamente español en el hogar [en este momento], verdad?*

Q122.c: At this time you are still having a Spanish Only rule in the home, correct?

**P122.d:** *En el año 1971 cuando se mudaron a Colorado, ¿cuál era su habilidad de hablar el inglés, cero siendo nada y diez comunicarse con confianza?*

Q122.d: In 1971 while living in Colorado, how is your English if you had to give it a number, zero being nothing at all and ten being confident in speaking English?

**P123.a:** *¿Quién fue el primero de salir de la casa?*

Q123.a: Who was the first child to leave home?

**P123.b:** *¿Con que propósito se fue, Servando?*

Q123.b: With what purpose did he leave? Why?

**P124.a:** *¿Cuál fue la mínima educación para sus hijos? ¿Acabaran la primaria, secundaria, pos preparatoria?*

Q124.a: What was the minimal amount of education [for them]? That they finish primary, secondary or college?

**P124.b:** *¿Algunos recibieron más educación en el ejército?*

Q124.b: Did some receive more education via the military?

**P125.a:** *¿Algunos de sus hijos perdieron la habilidad de hablar el español?*

Q125.a: Did any of your children lose the ability to speak Spanish?

**P125.b:** *¿Y fue una barrera que ellos fueran a una escuela donde solamente se hablaba el inglés?*

Q125.b: Was it a challenge for them to attend a school where only was spoke English?

**P126:** *Cómo madre soltera, ¿cual fueron sus grandes barreras u obstáculos para que sus hijos crecieran bilingües?*

Q126: Being a single parent, what were your biggest challenges or obstacles in your children be raised bilingual?

**P127:** *¿Cuáles fiestas o tradiciones mexicanas celebraba usted en su hogar; cuando regresó a los Estados Unidos.*

Q127: What Mexican celebrations did you honor in your home upon returning to the U.S.?

**P128:** *¿Usted se considera mexicana-americana? ¿Por que?*

Q128: Do you consider yourself Mexican-American? Why?

**P129:** *¿Y sus hijos son mexicanos-americanos?*

Q129: And are your children Mexican-American?

**P130:** *De sus nietos, ¿cuantos son bilingües, en inglés y español?*

Q130: How many of your grandchildren are bilingual, speaking English and Spanish?

**P131:** *¿Qué piensa qué pasó con los demás?*

Q131: And what happened with the grandchildren?

**P132:** *¿Usted piensa que ellos entienden, el español, más de lo que pueden hablar?*

Q132: Do you think the grandchildren can understand more than they speak?

**P133:** *Cuando usted ve al futuro, ¿piensa que el idioma español va a aumentar en los Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué?*

Q133: When we look to the future, will the Spanish language survive in the United States? Why?

**P134:** *¿Si usted tuviera la oportunidad de comenzar de nuevo, usted tomara la misma decisión de la regla de hablar el español en el hogar? ¿Por que sí o no?*

Q134: If you would have the opportunity to do it over it again, would you have the Spanish only rule in the home? Why or why not?

**P135.** *¿Cuándo usted piensa en el futuro, los hogares mexicanos hablarán el idioma español en el hogar? ¿Si o no, y por qué piensa que se hace?*

Q135: Do you think that in the future, Mexican American families will speak Spanish in the home? Why or why not?

**P136:** *Si usted tuviera la oportunidad de comenzar su familia de nuevo, ¿usted impondría la regla de solamente hablar español en el hogar? ¿Sí o No?*

Q136: If you had the opportunity to raise your children, would you still implement the Spanish Only rule? Why or why not?

**P137:** *¿Cuándo usted piensa en el futuro, las familias mexicanas hablarán el español en el hogar? ¿Por qué piensa usted que se hace?*

Q137: When you think of the future, will Mexican families speak Spanish in the home? Why?

## Vita

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