

**O MANUAL DE ROUTLEDGE DO ESPANHOL COMO LÍNGUA DE HERANÇA**  
**EL MANUAL DE ROUTLEDGE DEL ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUAJE DE HERENCIA**  
**THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF SPANISH AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE**

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*The Routledge handbook of Spanish as a heritage language* is a manual, edited by Kim Potowsky in 2018 in the Routledge editorial (592 pages), which brings together a total of up to 36 research papers on the teaching of Spanish in the world, especially in the United States, where most of the authors of the work are located.

The importance of this volume lies in the figures on Spanish speakers outside of the Spanish-speaking countries we deal with today, since between 437 and 472 million people and from twenty countries around the world speak Spanish as their mother tongue and, of these speakers, according to the Cervantes Institute, approximately 45.8 million reside in countries where this language is not official, such as the United States, where Hispanics make up 15% of the country's total population.

Many speakers, although their main language is English, speak Spanish due to their exposure to this language in their family environment and their different social networks. They call themselves *heritage speakers* and have an increasing presence in global Spanish education.

In this context, the terms *minority language* and *minorized language* appear, which are used in the compendium we have reviewed. The first refers to those languages that are spoken by a population less than 50% of the State, while the second designates languages that, in addition, are marginal and suffer discrimination by the Governments in which they are developed. And this segregation is enhanced by the linguistic characteristics of the language in question, but also by the social traits of the speakers who practice it. It may happen that a language is minority and, at the same time, minorized, as it happens with Spanish in the United States, or it may happen that it is a minority, but that is well regarded by the eyes of the population of the studied country, like English in Mexico.

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In short, the main function of this work is to observe what happens with Spanish in different countries of the world, considering the socioeconomic status of the speakers and their influence on their level of prestige achieved.

This volume is divided into parts that are intended to help readers to broadly conceptualize the themes that are worked on, especially those that relate to the perception and teaching of Spanish in the United States and their relationship to extralinguistic factors. A fourth section analyzes the situation in other countries where Spanish is practiced, such as Italy, Sweden, Australia and Mexico, which is addressed in relation to the population of Latin origin returned to the Spanish-speaking country, from the United States.

After an exhaustive introduction by the volume's editor, Kim Potwosky, announcing the content that we will see next, we find *Social Issues*, which supposes the first large block of the work, composed of nine research works centered on the use of Spanish in the United States and its social problems, especially after Donald Trump came to the presidency in 2016, since immigration policies have stiffened and eliminated Spanish from any institutional space since, for example, the White House website.

The first chapter, “A historical view of US *latinidad* and Spanish as a heritage language”, by Andrew Linch, from the University of Miami, analyzes the forces that drive the term *Latinidad* in American culture during the 19th and 20th centuries, when the Spanish went from an early positive presence to an imperative Hispanophobia in the early 1930s.

Next, we find “Spanish in U.S. language policy and politics”, by Phillip Carter, from the International University of Florida. This contemplates the Spanish situation regarding the phenomena: its use in political discourse and linguistic measures for Spanish. Carter considers that the negligence and disdain of Language Academies has had a decisive influence on the situation of Spanish today in the United States.

Third, Devin Jenkins, from the University of Colorado (Denver), presents “Spanish language use, maintenance, and shift in the United States”, where he updates the demographic situation of Hispanic communities across the country and discovers that Mexico is the fastest growing city in New York, dominated by Puerto Ricans in recent years, and that the East Coast is precisely the region where but Latin migration has increased since the 2000s.

Following, “Spanish in linguistic landscapes of the U.S.”, by José Franco-Rodríguez, from the State University of Fayetteville, details the situation of the Spanish linguistic landscape in the United States, establishing a list of the latest studies he has been carrying out in this line and the reduction of the visibility of the language, despite the increase in Hispanic

populations , possibly due to an ideological issue that contemplates the social presence of English in the face of rejection or social stigma associated with Spanish (illegal immigrant).

In the fifth chapter, “Linguistics and Latino studies: intersections for the advancement of linguistic and social justice”, written by Lourdes Torres (DePaul University), it explores the connections between Spanish speakers and social justice, as well as the way in which language works in the lives of Latin communities. In addition, the author advocates for a continuous defense so that the linguistic rights achieved by this population group are not harmed.

Thereafter, Rachel Showstack, who belongs to Wichita State University, exhibits a work called “Spanish and identity among Latin@s in the U.S.”. It establishes connections between Latin identity and language and demonstrates several ways in which people use Spanish to represent interacting identities within specific social contexts such as family, community, work and school.

Thus, we come to “Spanish as a heritage language and the negotiation of race and intra-Latina/o hierarchies in the U.S.”, the seventh chapter of this first part, by Rosalyn Negrón, from the University of Massachusetts (Boston). The author analyzes the power of race to create hierarchies between Latinos and the linguistic varieties of Spanish. Through a literature review, as well as demonstrating examples of her own work in New York City, Negrón reveals that Latinos often tended to negotiate their racial categorization through Spanish in a different way.

Finally, this first block closes Holly Cashman and Juan Trujillo, from the University of New Hampshire and the State of Oregon, respectively. their research, entitled “Queering Spanish as a heritage language”, it observes that the perception of the language corresponds to the racist view that prevails and segregates certain collectives of the population.

The second part of the work, *Linguistic Studies*, focuses on the linguistic problems that a speaker who received the language as an inheritance must overcome. This section discusses widely the acquisition of the language of Spanish learners in the United States and the social changes that are produced from one generation to the next, especially in bilingual terms.

In the foreground, we find Silvina Montrul, from the University of Illinois, with her research “Morphology, syntax, and semantics in Spanish as a heritage language”. It analyzes the grammatical aspects in Spanish inherited in the United States and details variable issues in morphology that can interfere with their learning, as well as morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects that individuals themselves recognize that cause them some difficulty.

Next, we can read “Heritage Spanish phonetics and phonology”, by Rebecca Ronquest, from North Carolina State University, and Rajiv Rao, from Wisconsin-Madison. They summarize the current advances in research studies in Spanish phonetics and phonology, as well as the beginning of learning deaf occlusive forms and the possible influence of English in the realization of vowels in Spanish. They also take into account the observations about suprasegmental phonetics, denoting that, although the inherited language is aurally similar to Spanish, there is an evident “inherited accent”.

Next, “The lexicon of Spanish heritage language speakers” exposes an analysis by Marta Fairclough and Anel Garza, from the universities of Houston and Rice, respectively. As their name indicates, the authors focus here on learning the lexicon, one of the most dialectically variable elements. They also focus on the influence of age on their acquisition, as well as the lexicon that Spanish speakers in the United States are able to receive and produce, as they relate the mastery of this language with greater linguistic security.

Fourth, Derrin Pinto, of Saint Thomas University, intervenes through “Heritage Spanish pragmatics” notes the little interest that has been produced in studies on pragmatics in Spanish speakers created in the United States, that not even in communities where Spanish is official this plan of the language received the same treatment as its opponents, and this is demonstrated in the need to carry out studies on phenomena such as discourse markers, mitigation and intensification mechanisms or treatment formulas. They are inevitably influenced by English. For example, it occurs in the alternative use between the second person pronouns, *tú* and *vos*, that are heard in Houston.

In the meantime, Harriet Wood Bowden and Bernard Issa, from the University of Tennessee (Knoxville), question about neurolinguistic tendencies, in the chapter called “Neurolinguistic approaches to Spanish as a heritage language”. They analyze the mental processing that takes place during the recognition and production of Spanish as an inherited language using devices such as functional magnetic resonance.

Soon after, Jill Jegerski, from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, presents “Psycholinguistic perspectives on heritage Spanish”, focused on real-time processing methodology. This chapter clarifies the state of the art in the psycholinguistic studies of systems inherited from Spanish, including the discovery that heritage speakers are more like learners of a second language.

“Child heritage speakers’ morphosyntax: rate of acquisition and crosslinguistic influence”, in turn, it is a chapter by Naomi Shin, from the University of New Mexico, who examines children's learning of morphosyntax. They acquire it at a slower rate than

monolingual speakers and, as they grow, influenced by English, they simplify. It is useful to know what the common developmental process in the learning of these children is, to ask questions about it and to detect anomalies that need intervention.

Subsequently, Rena Torres-Cacoullos and Gran Berry, from Pennsylvania State University, speak in “Sociolinguistic variation in U.S. Spanish” about how the language varies depending on the characteristics external to the language in the American context. The results found are similar to those that could be perceived in multilingual contexts, with which the social variables act in a similar way in both majority and minority Spanish. Likewise, Torres and Berry propose a methodology that facilitates and simplifies the treatment of this data in this discipline.

Further on, Daniel Erker, from Boston University, observes Spanish dialectal contact within the United States in “Spanish dialectal contact in the United States”. In other words, it tries to discover how the dialectal variation or the origin of the speakers influences their language acquisition. This proves to be a more influential variant whenever it is combined with other social factors, such as age or educational level.

Finally, this second part culminates in the examination of Leah Durán and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, from the University of Texas, “Understanding and leveraging Spanish heritage speakers’ bilingual practices”. It explores some practices specific to bilingual contexts, such as code changes, and how children learn Spanish. In schools they are habitual and even acceptable, while in the university context they are poorly seen and socially rejected.

The third section of this work, *Educational Issues*, presents in ten chapters the educational problems that testify, from a theoretical-practical perspective, Spanish-speaking students as a heritage language at school, especially important in the United States, where three quarters of the Hispanic population aged five or more speak Spanish as a minority language, although the trend is that this proportion will decrease in the following years. The evolution and academic success of these students is behind the English-speaking speakers. For this reason, knowing what happens is vital to take educational measures that improve their performance and thus avoid possible segregation and classification among children due to their linguistic origin.

This third approach begins with “Differentiated teaching: a primer for heritage and mixed classes”, by María Carreira and Claire Hitchins Chik, from the National Heritage Language Center (UCLA). The authors research in them the processes that take place in the classroom, more than the results, and offer a set of tools for the teachers to guide their students to make the most of the classes related to language learning.

It continues with “Towards the development of an analytical framework for examining goals and pedagogical approaches in teaching language to heritage speakers” Guadalupe Valdés and María Luisa Parra, from Stanford and Harvard universities, respectively. They expose the need to foster students' critical thinking so that feelings and thoughts about language are decolonized. All of this after determining that there are a series of steps that can follow the learning process to “curricularize the language” and apply them to the teaching of Spanish as a heritage language. For this, they take into account ideological issues related to language, race or class and theories related to bilingualism and the acquisition of a second language.

Then, Melissa Bowles, from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, shows in “Outcomes of classroom Spanish heritage language instruction” the results of teaching Spanish in the classroom during the last decades. Her analysis shows that most employ a projection before and after the assessment tests, although there is still a lot to research about it.

In turn, Jennifer Leeman, from George Mason University, writes “Critical language awareness and Spanish as a heritage language: challenging the linguistic subordination of US latinxs”, which focuses on the importance of language from a critical perspective that raises ideological issues that revolve around bilingualism, to be able to ponder them in doubt and change them, if necessary.

Subsequently, “Key issues in Spanish heritage language program design and administration”, owned by Sara Beaudrie, from Arizona State University, talks about the distribution of courses, the planning and development of Spanish study plans to heirs of the language and on how it is most likely to achieve a satisfactory student rating.

Follow Ann Abbott, from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Glenn Martinez, from Ohio State University, with “Spanish for the professions and community service learning: applications with heritage learners” to examine at university some fields related to learning from professionals and community services where Spanish has an important place. What is intended is that students are able to obtain a knowledge of the language about specific situations, such as in business and medical care, and, in turn, improve their interaction with native speakers.

Next, appears “Spanish heritage speakers studying abroad”, by Rachel Shively, from the University of Northern Illinois, which focuses, also in the university context, on how the number of American students who graduate abroad has grown since the years ninety, and analyzes what their situation is in Spanish-speaking countries, because for some it is assumed

that a “homecoming” is more than a “linguistic immersion in another language”, even though they are seen as foreigners from the point of view of identity.

Then, Ana Carvalho, from the University of Arizona, and Michael Child, from Brigham Young University, exhibit “Expanding the multilingual repertoire: teaching cognate languages to heritage Spanish speakers” and reveal the problems that occur in the acquisition of languages close to Spanish, such as French or Portuguese, also Romance languages, by Spanish speakers, which tends to be faster learning and with better results than in relation to other languages. The authors detail the efforts of study planners to develop materials that are better suited to Spanish speakers who are heirs who learn a third language of this type.

Thus, “Developing Spanish in dual language programs: preschool through twelfth grade” is a chapter by Kathryn Lindholm-Leary, from San José State University, who focuses on elementary school, where children spend most of the day, and makes a review of the past thirty years, which shows that students benefit from two-language programs in standard performance tests, course ratings, attendance and dropout rates, and student attitudes. There are, however, few Spanish bilingual programs in the USA. Currently, just under 300 schools for almost 8 million Latin students.

Jeannette Mancilla-Martinez, from Vanderbilt University, ends this section with the publication “What do we know about US Latino bilingual children's Spanish literacy development?”, which researches how bilingual children develop their literacy process in Spanish and presents the differences between those who they do it in English, as it sets out how to solve this type of problem in both languages.

The fourth and final section, *Spanish as a minority/heritage language outside of the U.S.*, which closes the manual, covers inheritance problems that, as a minority language, Spanish has reached outside the United States in up to eight countries, although others like Brazil, Gibraltar, Equatorial Guinea, Morocco and the Philippines, where it maintains a notable presence, could be included.

First, Criss Jones Díaz, from Western Sydney University, and Ute Walker Massey, from the University of New Zealand, write “Spanish in the Antipodes: diversity and hybridity of Latino / a Spanish speakers in Australia and Aotearoa-New Zealand”, who shows through quantitative and qualitative data, in a survey of Latin American immigrants, what happens in Australia and New Zealand Maori.

In turn, Milin Bonomi, from the University of Milan, and Laura Sanfelici, from the University of Genoa, determine in “Spanish as a heritage language in Italy” the concept of Spanish in-motion as a way of describing the set of hybrid practices that Spanish speakers

perform in Italy, which occur despite the monolingual ideology and the nation that aims to accommodate immigrants through the exclusive use of Italian.

Then we can read “Spanish as a heritage language in Germany”, by Carmen Ramos Méndez-Sahlander, from the University of Applied Languages in Munich, where the beliefs about the best way to promote the acquisition of the Spanish language in Germany are exposed, where the decrease in resources is a major factor in the lack of maintenance programs in Spanish.

Verónica Sánchez Abchi then conducts research at the University of Friborg (Switzerland) on what happens in Switzerland and reflects in the chapter “Spanish as a heritage language in Switzerland”. He documents that, despite the challenge of extremely diverse backgrounds, it has been shown that students write better in Spanish after attending language and culture classes.

Fifth, “Chilean Spanish Speakers in Sweden: transnationalism, trilingualism, and linguistic systems”, by Maryann Parada, from California State University, summarizes the linguistic research collected so far on the Chilean-Swedish community in this state.

Martin Guardado, from the University of Alberta, continues with “Spanish as a minority/heritage language in Canada and the UK”, where he examines the situation in Canada and the United Kingdom with regard to metamorphosis, language and identity and educational experiences among immigrants from speaks hispanic.

And to close this block and the volume, Clare Mar-Molinero, from the University of Southampton, with “Language issues for US-raised ‘returnees’ in Mexico”. Speakers returned to Mexico, according to her, have a particular way of speaking Spanish because of their education in the United States, as well as their own cultural experiences. However, her analysis appears to determine that Mexican schools better serve the needs of these returning students than their American counterparts.

In summary, it is possible to conclude from most of the papers presented in this volume that languages in the minority situation in the world seem doomed to disappear, especially in situations where speakers find themselves as irregular immigrants in the country. From a review of linguistic, social or educational aspects, the aim was to report on the situation of Spanish as a heritage language or minority language in the United States, mainly; but also in countries such as Australia, Sweden, Italy or, also, Mexico, which denotes, once again, the broad expansion of Spanish in the world today.



## REFERÊNCIAS

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