

Fostering social change through community engagement:
A critical insight into strategic knowledge and identity during
domestic professional internships in Spanish for specific purposes

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved October 2018 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2018

ABSTRACT

This linguistic ethnography follows three journalism students (Petra, Penélope, and María) as they engaged in experiential language learning (EX-LL) via collaboration with community members during their Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) internship sites in the fields of journalism and medicine within the local Metro Phoenix community. Data were collected over the course of a 15-week semester via ethnographic methods (field notes, interviews, observations, and participant-reported data) to explore how the interns (i) took advantage of their SSP internship experiences to engage in identity work that exceeded the goals of the program and how they (ii) implemented their strategic knowledge via communicative strategies (CSs) during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their SSP internship sites/the social function of such strategies.

In order to answer the first research question, the data were analyzed via open and focused coding (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), followed by discourse analysis (Gee, 2005) informed by Critical Applied Linguistics (Pennycook, 2001) and Positioning Theory (Davis & Harré, 1990). To answer the second question, all instances in which the interns implemented communicative strategies were analyzed based upon the categorization repertoires established by Dörnyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b, 1997), Lafford (2004), and Tarone and Yule (1987). To go beyond understanding *what* the interns were saying to *why* were they saying it, discourse analysis was used (Gee, 2005).

The findings show that Petra, Penélope, and María appropriated their SSP internship to engage distinct, yet interrelated language- and ethnic/racial-based identity work. Each intern utilized language (and extra-linguistic elements, such as corporeal expression) to position themselves in different ways within social discourse. Furthermore, this identity work influenced which CSs they utilized, as the social function of many of these strategies was to maintain and/or protect their desired identities.

Drawing on these insights, a variety of implications are offered from four viewpoints: implications for (i) EX-LL-based research: colonized versus humanizing research, (ii) critical community collaboration inside and outside of EX-LL, (iii) CSs and communicative competence, and (iv) EX-LL/Languages for Specific Purposes pedagogy and internship design.

DEDICATION

*A mi querido esposo: Por haber emprendido este camino conmigo, ¡gracias!
Has sido mi fuerza en los momentos difíciles y mi sonrisa en los momentos alegres. Sobre todo, me has enseñado que el amor sostiene todo ... desde las grandes llanuras – a las tierras desérticas – al cinturón maicero – hasta la isla del encanto. Como dice nuestra canción, “me has devuelto el sol.” Te amo, guapo.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Barbara Lafford: Thank you for modeling what it means to be a strong, intelligent, compassionate, and classy woman that can achieve her goals – no matter the circumstances. Thank you for teaching me how to set standards high and achieve them with ferocity and grace (I’m still working on the latter). Thank you for showing me that you cannot be successful without nourishing your passions. Thank you for your mentorship, your friendship, and your unconditional support.

To Brendan O’Connor: Thank you for helping me to find a space to engage my passion of community-based advocacy within an academic world in which I did not feel I belonged. Thank you for giving me the tools and support to engage in my *own* identity work and critical self-reflection. Thank you for always being a kind soul amongst the chaos.

To Katie Bernstein: Thank you for agreeing to serve on my committee after a “blind coffee date” at Charlie’s. Thank you for always listening to my ideas and guiding me towards self-growth. Thank you for pushing my research capacity to its maximum – even when the growing pains were real. Thank you for being a “shrill Marxist” and badass woman.

To Sara Beaudrie: Thank you for being the first person at ASU to reach out and welcome me to the program. Thank you for being a continuous support system once I arrived. Thank you for always helping me to find opportunities to grow academically and professionally. Thank you for the potlucks, the laughs, and the encouragement.

To Petra, Penélope, and María: Thank you for allowing me to take part in your internship journeys. Not only have you taught me about the intersections of language and identity, but have also inspired me to pursue my own dreams in an authentic way. You are three strong and intelligent women. I cannot wait to see how you change the world.

To My Family: Thank you to my mom, dad, sisters, brothers-in-laws, and our wild pack of dogs. Thank you for encouraging me to pursue my ambitions – even when they point my journey away from the Midwest. Thank you for always helping me to stand tall with your love and support. You each have made an erasable impact on the woman that I have become. I love you all and am so grateful to have you as my family.

To the Tripod: To my Dakota Sister and Partner in Crime, thank you for taking the first steps in this program with me and for continuing to walk forward together. I am certain that without your friendship, humor, and support this journey would not have been possible. You have both become such important parts of my life. Kait (Kathryn?) Teske, thank you for our moments together as “special friends” – including our Writing Club adventures at Infusion and Xtreme Bean, inventing titles for research papers, buying matching Hochman robes at Costco, and becoming Belinkers on a cross-country road trip. Rosti, thank you for always being you – your “no filter” approach to life, love for travel, commitment to “la chismoteca” inspires a smile in all those around you. And we can’t forget your furniture sales experience. *To both of you*, thank you for becoming my Arizona family.

Special Thanks: To the Office of Knowledge Enterprise Development, GPSA, and the Graduate College for their support through the Graduate Education Graduate Research and Support Program.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- Speaker self-repairs or restarts
- * * Items within describe nonverbal behavior
- [] Items within are clarifications added by the researcher
- “ ” Items within are quoted speech
- [*sic*] *Sic erat scriptum* (“thus it has been written”); transcribed

All other punctuation marks (periods, commas, question marks, exclamation points) are used as in “standard” writing.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although the United States (U.S.) is currently the world's second largest Spanish-speaking country (Instituto Cervantes, 2016), the dominant ideology within this country is still that of a "monolingual, English-speaking nation" (Leeman & Serafini, 2016, p. 56). This is particularly evident in federal laws and policies, such as the English language requirement present in U.S. naturalization laws despite the fact that English is not the official language (Loring, 2017; Loring & Ramanathan, 2016). The dominant monolingual ideology (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008) is internalized in part due to the "hegemonic and expanding role of English in the world" (Levine, 2015, p. 71), teaching of ethnocentric world views in U.S. schools (Kramsch, Cain, & Murphy-Lejeune, 1996; Kubota & Austin, 2007; Liu, 1998; Rego & Nieto, 2000; Sue, 2004; Wiley, 1996, 2000; 2014), and the privileged position of English in popular U.S. domestic economic, educational, and linguistic discourse and policies (Sergeant & Yan, 2010; Song, 2010; Wang, 2016).

This is to say that, due to the privileged societal position of English, many monolinguals from the U.S. believe that there is no need to learn a second language (L2), as they are likely to encounter interlocutors in both domestic and international settings that speak or have some type of proficiency in their first language (L1) (Loring & Ramanathan, 2016). Consequently, this mindset has contributed to the dwindling role and lack of world language teaching at both the K-12 and university levels in this country (Kramsch, 2014; Warner, 2011). A concrete example of how this ideology has affected education can be seen in the historical debate on bilingual education. Utilizing rhetoric

that places privilege on English for success within the workforce to argue against bilingual education, President Reagan declared, “It is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate” (Crawford, 1999, p. 53).

The effect of these hegemonic ideologies is not only felt in the contexts of language teaching and tourism; rather, these beliefs seep deeply into the roots of society affecting the quality of health and access to resources and opportunities for minority, immigrants, and undocumented individuals (Almeida, Biello, Pedraza, Wintner, & Viruell-Fuentes, 2016; Cook, Alegria, Lin, & Guo, 2009; Gee, 2002; Viruell-Fuentes, 2009; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). These effects are typically felt most strongly by those individuals who are often marginalized and discriminated against based on their language, socioeconomic status and religious, and cultural and ethnic identities (Perez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008; Piller, 2016). Although the presence of Hispanic/Latinx¹ communities and Spanish speakers in North America and the present-day U.S. pre-dates the arrival of English colonizers (Gonzalez, 2000; Torres, 2000), such populations continue to be ones that are strongly affected by these hegemonic beliefs. Aparicio (2000) further connects this monolingual ideology to colonization by stating that:

¹ I use the term *Latinx* throughout the dissertation as an effort to go beyond the idea of binary gender that other forms of this lexical item may imply. In using this term, it is not my intention to perpetuate the homogenization or “chiquitification” (Zentella, 1995) of this language, its speakers, or their varying cultures.

Learning and teaching English and have become the symbolic torch for the internal, colonial forces of Americanization. As colonized subjects both outside and inside the imperial borders, U.S. Latinos/Latinas have been historically subjected to Americanization through policies in education, language, hygiene, and the criminal system, in the case of Puerto Ricans since 1898 and in the case of Mexican American communities after 1848. (p. 250)

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2015a) Hispanics/Latinxs currently constitute the largest group or "ethnic or racial minorities," with 56.6 million members accounting for 17.6 percent of the nation's population. Even with a large presence that is expected to continue to grow, our Hispanic/Latinx community members continue to experience deep-seated discrimination (Almeida et al., 2016; Flores, Tschann, Dimas, Bachen, Pasch & de Groat, 2008).

Although there is a plethora of pertinent social justice issues that need to be addressed, the current study will offer an educational response – through the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA)/Applied Linguistics (AL) – to one particular issue that is affected by the aforementioned discriminatory hegemonic perspective: the lack of high quality care and services, such as health care access/services, social services, and legal services, available to Hispanics/Latinxs in the U.S. As this potential response promotes the training of individuals who both speak Spanish in their professions and understand the varying linguistic and pragmatic norms associated with this language and the respective professional contexts, Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP), and specifically Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP), lend themselves well to the cultivation of this type of post-secondary education and training. As will be explored further, the staple of these subfields is the use of the target language (TL) as a tool to foster interaction and collaboration directly with the target community in various professional

contexts. One way this contact and training are manifested in SSP is through the completion of a domestic professional internship situated within the local community.

Justification of the Study and Research Questions

Recognizing the relationship between language and society, this dissertation takes the form of a linguistic ethnography and follows three interns (focal participants) who are completing a domestic professional internship for the SSP minor at Southwestern University. These individuals represent three different patterns of language backgrounds and each illuminates a particular aspect of identity construction and language learning. Additionally, this study aspires to examine the interns' linguistic development in one specific area of communicative competence in an experiential learning context: *strategic knowledge*, or communicative strategies that interlocutors utilize to “bridge the gap” when communication breaks down (Bachman & Palmer, 1996). As effective communication skills are necessary to facilitate interactions with and services to the community members, I explore how the interns implement their strategic knowledge and the social functions of their choices in strategies. The following research questions guided this research:

1. What types of experiences were the interns afforded through their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? How did the interns take advantage of these experiences to do different kinds of identity work that transcended the goals of the program?
2. How did the interns implement their strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? What are the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize?

As a conclusion to this work, I begin to the answer the call of scholars, such as Lafford (2013), to provide language educators and pedagogues with relevant information to reflect upon their own contexts and advocate for the inclusion of SSP in university language programs. Furthermore, the insights drawn from this study can be used to inform these same educators and pedagogues as well as internship program designers and coordinators regarding the structuring of internships to reach outcome goals regarding community involvement and advocacy, as well as those relating to the development of inters' textual and strategic knowledge in the target language.

Organization of the Chapter

In order to contextualize the goals of the proposed study, I will review and describe the following key items: (i) the social issue at hand and (ii) critical tools for working with social issues and marginalized community members in ethical research. It is important to note that pseudonyms have been assigned for all participants and research sites in order to protect the anonymity of those who collaborated so graciously in this research. As some of the community members could be considered members of a vulnerable population, I did not want to run the risk of including any information that could put their wellbeing at risk. As such, their pseudonym is reflected as Community Client #, and I only included details necessary to contextualize the specific encounter being recounted.

The Social Issue at Hand

The institutional practices and language discrimination that take place in the U.S. have led to a discrepancy in Hispanics'/Latinxs' access to a variety of services, compared with access to those services by English-speaking members of the dominant culture (Martínez, 2010). For example, Escarce and Kapur (2006) specifically note “Hispanics also face a variety of barriers to receiving health care services of high quality. Some of these barriers result from their low socioeconomic status; others are due to several specific features of the Hispanic population... degree of acculturation, language, and immigration status” (p. 410-411).

While carrying out the current research, I interviewed eight different community members who were either (i) seeking a service in the community or (ii) facilitating a service within the community when they interacted with the interns (See Table 3.2, p. 99). While observing at the Phoenix Community Clinic, I had the opportunity to speak with Community Member 3, a 52-year-old Hispanic woman who was seeking care for paralysis. Like many undocumented immigrants, she decided to move to the U.S. in order to provide a better life for her daughter in Mexico. She shared that she was currently in the process of trying to become a U.S. citizen, but the stress of living undocumented and inability to find a job without citizenship was impacting her mental and physical health. She had experienced paralysis when she was young and it recently flared back up, leading to visual impairment and an inability to move and feel areas of her face:

Si tuviera unos papeles, estuviera trabajando. Yo creo no estuviera estresada, no me hubiera resultado otra vez la parálisis. Me dijeron que se me quedaron los nervios, aparte de los nervios me quedó el vértigo, principios de vértigo, que me da todo miedo. Yo era todo miedo. Yo no le transmito a mis hijos el miedo porque si les digo que tengo miedo, ellos más tienen miedo. Más la niña, la de 18 años que va a tener.

If I had papers, if I were working, I don't think I would be stressed. I wouldn't have gotten paralysis again. They told me that I have anxiety and depression, apart from anxiety and depression, I have vertigo, the onset of vertigo, which all scares me. I was so scared. I don't express my fear to my children because if I tell them I'm scared, they get more scared. Especially the girl, the one that is going to be 18.

(Interview, 04-06-18)

Despite these health issues, she continued to work hard to support her family that live in both the U.S. and Mexico.

This same US Hispanic/Latinx population experiences challenges in accessing appropriate and quality services in other areas of life as well, such as when seeking counsel for social welfare (Acevedo, 2005) and legal services (Urbina, 2004). Regarding the former, it has been shown that non-English speaking Hispanics/Latinxs are often placed at a disadvantage when interpreters are not available. In one such case, due to “the low number of Spanish-speaking caseworkers, Latino community members who did not bring an interpreter with them were either sent away without receiving services or ended up waiting up to four times longer for assistance than English-speaking applicants” (Furman, Negi, Iwamoto, Rowan, Shukraft, & Gragg, 2009, p. 5).

With respect to legal services, there are laws in place that prevent certain groups of individuals, such as low-income individuals, racial minorities, and immigrants, from receiving legal counsel (Columbia Law School Human Rights Institute & Northeastern University School of Law Program on Human Rights and the Global Economy, 2014). Urbina (2004) specifically examines this problem through a linguistic lens, explaining that “equal access to the law is being denied to non-English speaking Latinos/as in our nation’s courts due to poor (or lack of) interpretation” (p. 91). In fact, many of the clients that came to the Phoenix Community Clinic expressed confusion and apprehension regarding seeking legal services.

For example, Community Member 1 was the caretaker of her adolescent daughter that had a mobility disability and hearing impairment. Originally from Mexico, she came to the U.S. in hopes of providing her daughter with higher quality medical care and finding a school where they could accommodate her disabilities. When I asked her what she would do if she or something in her family needed legal help, she explained:

Pues aquí ya me enteré que hay asesorías legales y me interesa. Eso nada más. Pero yo no sé de qué manera o cómo podría yo legalizar mi estatus aquí. No sé. Yo en México soy enfermera, pero no sé. Necesito una orientación buena que me diga, "Puedes conseguir permiso de trabajo." O no sé, una asesoría legal bien pues, para yo saber qué pasos dar.

Well here I found out that there are legal advisors and that interests me. Nothing else. But I don't know in what way or how I could legalize my status here. I don't know. In Mexico I'm a nurse, but I don't know. I need sound guidance that tells me, "You can get employment authorization" Or, I don't know, a good legal advisor to know what steps I need to take.

(Interview, 03-23-18)

Like other individuals with whom I conversed, Community Member 1 did not have knowledge of the legal system here in the U.S., nor did she know where to seek help if necessary. Despite the services that various organizations offer to Spanish-speakers in the Phoenix Metro area, many of the community members did not know of such services. In fact, the majority of individuals with whom I spoke told me that they relied upon suggestions from acquaintances or acquired their information by watching Univisión Arizona.

Site Selection and Political Tensions in Arizona

The U.S. in general is, unfortunately, an appropriate geographic location to study the many facets of discrimination that Hispanics/Latinxs face. Although these individuals experience discrimination due to a variety of reasons in a variety of contexts, the relationship with language and oppression is clearly visible. Potowski (2015) explains that, “The connections between language and identity in the United States are rooted in the nation’s linguistic culture. Despite not having an official national language, the United States has displayed, since the 20th century, a markedly monolingual hegemony that seeks to assimilate immigrants and replace their languages with English” (p. 25). This ideology can be seen through specific legislation at the national level. For example, the national *English Only Movement* “has 1.8 million members and regularly supports legislation introduced to Congress declaring English the federal official language” (Potowski, 2015, p. 25). In addition, *English Only* laws that specifically targets those who do not fit in with the majority culture and language (Cashman, 2006, 2009) are currently enforced in 31 out of 50 states, with Arizona being one (Potowski, 2015).

Specifically, in the state of Arizona, the dominant ideology “despite the state’s multilingual and multicultural history, is overwhelmingly anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual” (Cashman, 2009, p. 45). This is a unique state in the sense that the linguistic oppression and the push for assimilation by members of the majority language (Skutbann-Kangas & McCarty, 2008) is strong despite the immense population of Hispanics/Latinxs, a group which makes up 30.3% of the state (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Furthermore, this group both constitutes 43.8% of the 1.62 million individuals living in the Phoenix Metro area and is the largest ethnic group living in poverty (Data USA, 2018). Scholars, such as Cashman (2006) have labeled this state as “anti-bilingual” despite the fact that “it has significant Non-English-speaking groups, especially Spanish-speaking Mexicans/Mexican-Americans and indigenous groups such as the Navajo, Hopi, and Yaqui tribes, among many others” (p. 42).

Within Arizona, the English Only Movement extends to other pieces of state legislation that suppress community members’ linguistic rights. For example, Proposition 106, which established English as “the sole official language of all state business,” and Proposition 203, which eliminates “bilingual education in state-funded schools” (Cashman, 2006, p. 42). Another infamous case of institution-driven discrimination against Hispanics/Latinxs comes from Arizona’s 2010 State Bill 1070 (SB 1070), an anti-immigration policy. Although the bill underwent revision, “the portion allowing state police to investigate immigration status of an individual stopped, detained, or arrested if there is a reasonable suspicion that the individual is in the country without proper documentation, was upheld” (Almeida et al., 2016, p. 898). Anti-immigration policies that foment racial profiling “have heightened the racialization of anyone perceived to be

an immigrant... For instance, in the case of Latinos, race/ethnicity and immigrant status are often conflated, such that, in the popular imagination all Latinos are perceived to be Mexican, all Mexicans are seen as immigrants, and they, in turn, are all cast as undocumented” (Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012, p. 2103).

Racial profiling and the over-generalization of all Hispanics/Latinxs as Mexicans and/or immigrants has been at the center of the current President’s administration – through policy decisions and public discourse. When Donald J. Trump announced his presidential bid in 2015, he referred to the U.S. as a “dumping ground for everybody else’s problems.” He followed this statement by proclaiming:

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.
(Washington Post, 2015)

Since winning the 2016 election and assuming his role as president, he has put his anti-immigration rhetoric into action. For example, in January of 2017, Trump signed three executive orders on immigration², two of which focused on immigration enforcement. (See Washia, 2018 for a detailed review of these policies). These enforcement orders introduced new *immigration enforcement priorities* that are problematic. Washia (2018) explains:

² Exec. Order No. 13767, 82 Fed. Reg. 8793 (Jan. 30, 2017); Exec. Order No. 13768, 82 Fed. Reg. 8799 (Jan. 30, 2017); Exec. Order No. 13769, 82 Fed. Reg. 8977 (Feb. 1, 2017).

First, they list specific parts of the 1952 immigration statute that target those eligible for deportation for reasons related to crimes or misrepresentation. They also create a priority list of targeted deportable immigrants who:

- 1) Have been convicted of any criminal offense;
- 2) Have been charged with any criminal offense, where such charge has not been resolved;
- 3) Have committed acts that constitute a chargeable criminal offense;
- 4) Have engaged in fraud or willful misrepresentation in connection with any official matter before a governmental agency;
- 5) Have abused any program related to receipt of public benefits;
- 6) Are subject to a final order of removal, but who have not complied with their legal obligation to depart the United States; or
- 7) In the judgment of an immigration officer, otherwise pose a risk to public safety or national security. (p. 357)

The new priority guidelines are particularly problematic for Hispanics/Latinxs, as these individuals are “disproportionately arrested and cited for minor infractions, and they are processed in local jails until moved to detention centers or deported” (Romero, 2018, p. 40).

Although the criminalization of illegal immigration, specifically for those from Latin American countries, has been historically documented (Collingwood, Morin, & Stephen, 2018), certain decisions regarding immigration enforcement that have been made by the Trump administration have been questioned as a violation of human rights. One such decision came from Former Attorney General Sessions of the Department of Justice, who informed the U.S. that he “put in place a ‘zero tolerance’ policy for illegal entry on our Southwest border. If you cross this border unlawfully, then we will prosecute you. It’s that simple” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2018). With this

problematic declaration, even migrants seeking asylum were to be apprehended and brought into criminal custody. Furthermore, under this “zero tolerance” policy, migrants that were traveling with their families were required to go to federal jail as they awaited a hearing before a federal judge. As the children traveling with them were unable to accompany them to federal jail, they were treated as “unaccompanied minors” and transferred into the care of the government.

When later questioned about this policy, Nielsen, the Secretary of Homeland Security, made the following apathetic comments in an interview with National Public Radio’s John Burnett:

Our policy has not changed in that if you break the law, we will refer you for prosecution. What that means, however, is if you are single adult, if you are part of a family, if you are pregnant, if you have any other condition, you're an adult and you break the law, we will refer you. Operationally what that means is we will have to separate your family. That's no different than what we do every day in every part of the United States when an adult of a family commits a crime. If you as a parent break into a house, you will be incarcerated by police and thereby separated from your family. We're doing the same thing at the border. (National Public Radio, 2018).

After receiving political pressure to end this practice, President Trump signed an executive order³ that intends to halt the separation of families at U.S. borders. These immigration orders, anti-immigration discourse, and fear tactics have directly affected the lives of community members that phenotypically mirror the dominating view of what an “illegal immigrant” looks like, both in the state of Arizona and the country as a whole.

³ Exec. Order No. 13841, 83 Fed. Reg. 29435 (June. 20, 2018);

Critical Tools

As can be seen through the anti-bilingual ideology that is enforced and perpetuated through state legislation, this rather hyper politically-charged state makes this site choice an ideal context to implement professional community internships, as it is likely that the needs of this community are not being met due to the often hostile environment that they live in. Having said this, before creating relationships between minoritized communities and academic institutions, it is important to be cognizant of and reflect upon the tools that linguists and educators have available to appropriately and critically create these partnerships.

Interacting Critically with Minoritized Communities

As this linguistic ethnographic work will take place within a marginalized community and seeks to foster social change, I find it only appropriate to take a critical and decolonized view on research and collaborate directly with these community members (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Doing so requires an intensive and continual reflection of how minoritized community members are and have been viewed in a socio-political and historical contexts. For example, when identifying overarching frameworks and important constructs to contextualize her scholarship, Gallo (2017) makes the ideological distinction between *stereotypes* and *humantypes*, arguing for the use of the latter. She describes that stereotypes are often negative, static portrayals that enforce the us/them dichotomy and derive from a place of distance and unknowing. On the contrary, humantypes "...can only emerge once we get to know one another as complex, multifaceted, and dynamic individuals" (p. 8). By thinking of our community members in a holistic and humanistic way, researchers work towards breaking down the us/them

dichotomy, allowing us to more effectively create respectful and meaningful relationships.

Being aware of stereotypes and focusing on perception through humantypes can also play a role in halting destructive ideologies that do not always come from a place of malintent. One such behavior is engaging in *benevolent racism*, or the viewing of minoritized individuals through a deficit lens (Villenas, 2002). Another common destructive ideology that may seem empathetic or even alluring to persuade and move other members of privileged societal groups emotionally is taking a damage-centered perspective. Damage-centered perspectives and research “look[s] to historical exploitation, domination, and colonization to explain contemporary brokenness, such as poverty, poor health, and low literacy” and “operates, even benevolently, from a theory of change that establishes harm or injury in order to achieve reparation” (Tuck, 2009, p. 413). These perspectives ultimately perpetuate negative stereotypes and continue to tether minoritized individuals to pain. A similar perspective stems from charity models in which “volunteer work tends to be disconnected from a critical analysis of history and society and is often based on the perspective that the individuals and groups being ‘served’ are somehow deficient in expertise, knowledge, and skills” (Ochoa & Ochoa, 2004, p. 60). This is an especially important point, as this perspective was born in service-learning as a pushback against individuals who wish to “serve” minoritized students and their families.

Damage-centered and charity model perspectives may also lead to relationships that are based on pity instead of humility and trust. Gallo (2017) explains that minoritized community members have already passed through very difficult situations, often without the assistance of allies. By taking a “pity perspective”, the community members’ previous experiences are brushed away as they are placed in the role of *victim* instead of as *active agents* in their own lives and communities. In addition, relationships based on pity can lead to low expectations, which is ultimately underestimating and providing a disservice to these individuals.

An exemplary model of how to engage in these types of profound reflections can be found in the work of Anthony-Stevens (2017), an educational anthropologist who focuses on Indigenous education. To begin to understand her roles and responsibilities as a Euro-American researcher, Anthony-Stevens (2017) not only reflects on her individual ideologies, but also on her connection to and positionality within historical ideologies. As one of her goals is cultivating an allied stance, she explains her obligation for a “deep understanding of *who I am recognized to be* within the ethnohistoric context of Indigenous communities, as well as an active cultivation of *who I want to be recognized as* in relationship with others” (2017, p. 90). In order to continue (re)educating herself on the ethnohistory of the specific context of Indigenous communities, she draws upon critical theories to guide her through understanding the dominating and imposed ideologies that have been influential (for an additional example of a racial and critical raising consciousness-based framework, see Milner IV, 2007).

In addition to prioritizing understanding and positioning herself critically within the history of the community, Anthony-Stevens (2017) focuses on her role as a critical ally, which requires knowing in what situations it is appropriate to *step up* as an ally and when to *step back*. The knowledge of navigating this delicate movement can be achieved through the creation of caring and trusting relationships with members of the minoritized community. In the case of the proposed study, through these relations I sought to work collaboratively with community members to develop a space that housed dialogues regarding my (and perhaps interns') privilege and positionality as an ally.

Specifically, it is important to discuss how this privilege and positionality can be used to either further support or obstruct members' goals and the goals of their community. Although Anthony-Stevens (2017) recognizes that relationships are one of the most important aspects of cultivating a role as a critical ally, she explains that they "involve vulnerability, risk, and humility" (p. 89). Therefore, it is vital to engage continually in reflections, both personal and methodological, to ensure the cultivation of these relationships in a respectful and positive manner. The methodological "approach" that I utilized to work towards building these relationships is *Linguistic Ethnography* (LE).

Linguistic Ethnography

LE, although not a new practice, continues to find its methodological footing within the world of research so as to be considered a “clearly defined approach” (Shaw, Copland, & Snell, 2015, p. 1). Following the traditions of Hymes’ work in *Interactional Sociolinguistics* (1968, 1972) and Gumperz’s work in *Linguistic Anthropology* (1972, 1982) (Copland & Cresse, 2015; Creese, 2008; Rampton, 2007), LE offers scholars who view discourse as bound to social contexts an arena in which to explore methodologically these integrative perspectives. Specifically, LE “generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” (Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Barwell, Creese, & Lytra, 2004, p. 2).

The *social* emergence of this established arena has a rich history that is tethered to several key members (David Barton, Angela Creese, Janet Maybin, Ben Rampton and Karin Tusting) of the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL), an *organization* that provided a space for interdisciplinary collaboration and discussion (Rampton et al., 2004). In 2000, these figures created the Linguistic Ethnography Forum that served as an *established venue* for researchers and scholars interested in this interdisciplinary intersection (Shaw et al., 2015).

Continuing on its journey, LE has been conceptualized in a variety of ways, such as an “interpretive approach” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 2), an “umbrella term” (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 1), and an epistemological and methodological “orientation” (Creese, 2008, p. 232), among others. Although none of these are necessarily incorrect or

fundamentally different, the proposed study subscribes to the vision set forth by Rampton (2007), who refers to LE as a “site of encounter” (p. 585) that is both founded upon intersections of well-rooted research paradigms and is open to other emerging schools of thought. Within this site of encounter, researchers are attuned to the relationship between language and society and expect to see evidence of these relationships within the discourse manifested in social spaces. The foregrounding of such a relationship is key for this dissertation work, as it allows for the methodological exploration of the connections between language and the social issues contextualized in this chapter.

Organization of the Dissertation

Thus far, Chapter One has provided a look into the social and political issues that contextualizes the research sites for this dissertation. As the members of such sites often come from marginalized groups, this chapter also offered a review of critical tools that scholars can utilize in order to engage in ethical research while creating critical alliances with the community. With these social and political issues in mind and a commitment to building critical alliances, Chapter Two will review the current literature and outline the theoretical frameworks which anchor the questions that this dissertation seeks to answer. Chapters Three and Four will discuss the research methodology, focusing on the research site(s)/participants and procedures for data collection/analysis, respectively.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven will be dedicated to answering the first research question through in-depth, ethnographic portraits of how the interns took advantage of their SSP internships to do different kinds of language- and ethnic-/racial-related identity work that transcended the goals of the program. Chapters Eight and Nine will address the second research question through focusing on the development of the three interns’

strategic knowledge through a discourse analysis of communicative strategies. Finally, Chapter Ten will discuss implications from the study from a variety of perspectives: (i) experiential language learning-based research: colonized versus humanizing research, (ii) critical community collaboration inside and outside of experiential language learning, (iii) communicative strategies and communicative competence, and (iv) experiential language learning/languages for specific purposes pedagogy and internship design.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH PARADIGM:

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In order to begin to bridge the gap of access to resources for our Hispanic/Latinx communities, there is a need for reformation of societal ideologies as well as legal procedures and laws within the United States (U.S.). A valuable move towards filling this gap could potentially come from the training of individuals to speak Spanish in their professional venues and to understand the varying cultural norms associated with this language. However, many of our professionals in the U.S. are not adequately prepared for this type of work, as they either remain monolingual or do not have the appropriate level of linguistic or cultural competence for these types of contexts (Grosse & Voght, 1991, 2012). The field of Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP), and particularly Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP), can make a significant contribution toward closing this gap between the current level of preparation for a career using languages and workplace expectations.

Definitions and a Historical Overview

Languages for Specific Purposes

Concretely speaking, LSP, a subfield of Second Language Acquisition/Applied Linguistics (SLA/AL), which first emerged officially in the 1960's (Lafford, Abbott, & Lear, 2014; Sánchez-López; 2012; Upton, 2012), pertains to the preparation of individuals whose objective is to work with speakers of a target language and target community within professional spheres (Lafford, 2012). This preparation specifically

refers to the linguistic and cultural acquisition of the target language based on genres and discourses that occur within the community (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991).

Like the practice of linguistic ethnography (LE), LSP is indeed growing although still finding its methodological footing (both domestically and globally) in post-secondary institutions and the fields of SLA/AL (Swales, 2000). The growth of LSP can be traced to two main catalysts: globalization and an increase in immigration. As community and national economies are both tied to the successes and failures of a more global economy, successful working professionals must be able to interact with the languages and cultures of these global partners (Grosse & Voght, 1991, 2012). Immigration is also an integral reason for the rise of LSP; Grosse and Voght (1991) noted that as “a result of the growth of multicultural populations in many countries, there is an increase in the need for individuals with professional language competence to serve domestic customers and clients” (p. 191).

Within this same vein, Fryer (2012) pointed out another major global event that stimulated the growth of LSP at the post-secondary level in the United States: World War II. He explained that the positionality of the United States as a “major world economic leader” (p. 122) post-World War II led to the boom of LSP courses that specifically prepared international business students to participate in the global market. These classes for international business purposes focused on more commonly taught languages at the time (e.g. Spanish, French). Around this same time, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), published a handbook (Doyle, 1945) highlighting the need for classes designed to prepare students to work with individuals from Spanish-speaking countries (other than Spain) to engage in international business

(Fryer, 2012). In the 1990s, this call to action was extended to other languages, such as German (Keck, 1990). This trend continued, as post-September 11, 2001, government-funded programs began to emerge that fostered LSP for business purposes, focusing on linguistic and cultural knowledge for languages such as Chinese (Hong, 2005) and Japanese (Fryer, 2012).

With its strong roots in international business, it is logical that a meeting place for LSP scholars would emerge from and maintain its focus in this field. What was born initially as the Conference on Language and Communication for World Business and the Professions at Eastern Michigan University in 1982, later evolved into a federally-funded conference focusing on post-secondary education in 1997, sponsored by the Centers for International Business Education and Research (CIBER). From 1997 to 2014 the CIBER Business Language Conference offered “language instructors an opportunity to share information on up-to-date curricular developments and language instructional practices as applied to business” (Fryer, 2012, p. 123). In 2012, the International Symposium for Languages for Specific Purposes (ISLSP) held its first conference at the University of Alabama in Birmingham, AL and its second conference in 2014 at the University of Colorado at Boulder, CO. The ISLSP served as a professionally-established arena for LSP scholars and researchers focusing on a variety of languages and professions in the United States. In 2016, the CIBER Business Language Conference joined with the International Symposium on LSP at a conference at Arizona State University in Phoenix, AZ, and this second joint conference was held at the University of Florida in Gainesville, FL in February 2018.

In order for the field of LSP to continue prospering in the U.S., there is a need for the establishment of domestic professional organizations that offer a space for LSP instructors and scholars to join together and share both theoretical and applied research regarding pedagogy, linguistics, and cultural competence for a wide variety of languages and professional focuses. A monumental step forward in achieving this goal occurred recently at the joint *CIBER Business Language Conference/IV International Symposium on Languages for Specific Purposes*. At this conference, that took place at the University of Florida in Gainesville, FL, a group of LSP scholars proposed the creation of a U.S. based LSP organization that will not only offer to sponsor the symposium every two years, but also foster the growing emphasis on languages other than English and fields beyond business.

Although the discipline of Business Language Studies (Doyle, 2012) has prospered quite significantly across a variety of languages in LSP due to its focus on international collaboration, it is not entirely surprising that other disciplines continue to focus heavily on English, considering its status a global language (Levine, 2015). In fact, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (Swales, 1990) dominate the current research landscape of LSP. In addition to various recently published textbooks and handbooks dedicated to this subfield (Basturkmen, 2014; Charles & Pecorari, 2015; Hyland & Shaw, 2016; Paltridge & Starfield, 2012) there are specific books dedicated to research methods (Belcher, Johns, & Paltridge, 2011; Coxhead, 2017) and specific professional disciplines (Estival, Farris, & Molesworth, 2016; Hartig, 2017) in ESP/EAP.

Spanish for Specific Purposes

Acknowledging the dominance of the English focus in LSP, this field is expanding to include professional domains in other languages, such as Chinese, German, French, Japanese, and Spanish, among others (for a complete review of university level LSP courses see Long & Uscinski, 2012). One of the languages that is growing most rapidly and is of interest to the current dissertation work is Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) (Lear, 2012; Long & Uscinski, 2012). Much of the SSP research to date focuses on written data (Belpoliti & Pérez, 2016), corpora comparisons between Spanish and English (Lopez Arroyo & Roberts 2017; Lorés-Sanz, 2009a, 2000b; Mur-Dueñas, 2011), pedagogical considerations and issues (Lear 2006; 2012; Long, 2003; García-Romeu, 2006), and curricular and program development (Doyle, 2010; Grabois, 2007, 2008; Lafford, 2012; Lafford et al., 2014; Lear, 2007; Sánchez-López, 2010; Zeller, Velazquez-Castillo, & Roman-Muniz, 2016).

Experiential Learning and Experiential Language Learning

With the majority of the research regarding SSP focusing on corpora and a pedagogical/curricular perspective, there is a gap for investigations that foreground naturalistic data and interactions with the target culture (Lafford et al., 2014). For this reason, as well as the fact that SSP courses may or may not be confined to physical and/or digital classroom spaces, scholars (King de Ramírez & Lafford, 2013; Lafford, 2012; Lafford et. al, 2014) are suggesting the integration of practices that include some type of direct contact with domestic U.S. Latinx communities. This type of pedagogical intervention is being explored through the adaptation of the Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) (King de Ramírez & Lafford, 2017; Lafford, 2013). Experiential learning was born

from the work of Dewey (1938/1988) and later defined by Kolb (1984) as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience" (p. 41).

Noticing the potential benefits that ELT has for language learning, Lafford (2013) adapted this concept to SLA/AL and coined the term *experiential language learning* (EX-LL). To be able to theoretically and practically conceptualize EX-LL, she extended the four-stage experiential learning cycle proposed by Kolb, Boyatzis, and Mainemelis (2000) to EX-LL. This cycle is described in Figure 2.1 below:

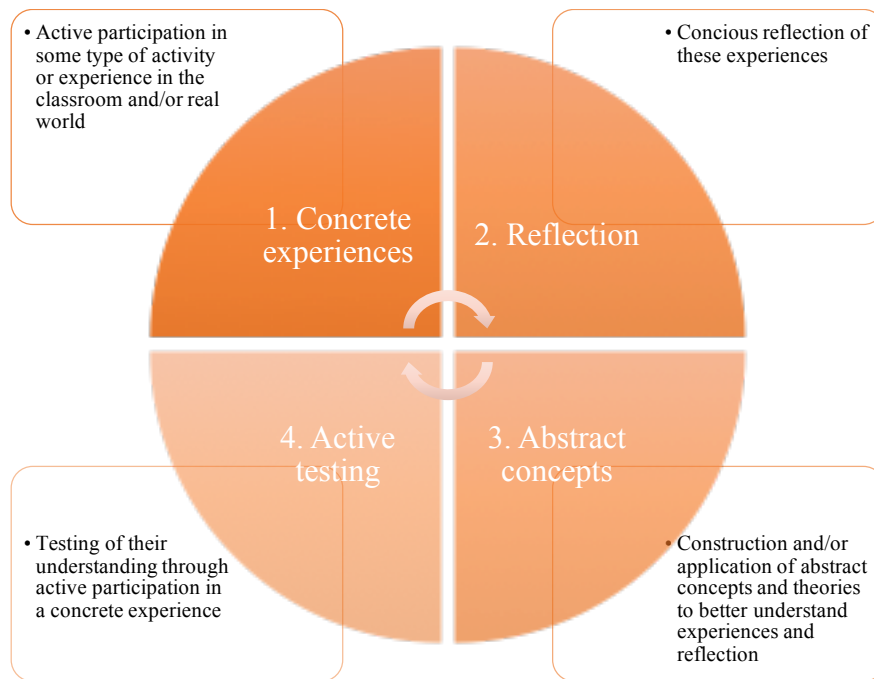


Figure 2.1: Four-Stage EX-LL Cycle (adapted from Kolb et al., 2000; Lafford, 2013)

The practice of engaging learners in EX-LL through domestic internships is especially tangible within the context of SSP as, due to the strong presence of Spanish speakers in the U.S., there are greater opportunities for collaborations with various Hispanic/Latinx communities (Pak, 2013).

Although the current study will be the first to incorporate EX-LL in an empirical study focusing on SSP, scholars working in LSP/SSP have proposed future EX-LL research directions. For example, in her 2013 article outlining the “next frontier” of LSP research, Lafford (2013) proposes a specific EX-LL research agenda for the field including internationally- and domestically-based researcher examining:

- 1) Genres
- 2) Communicative and language learning strategies
- 3) Language learning processes
- 4) Language contact
- 5) Language use
- 6) Learning outcomes
- 7) Learner variation
- 8) Assessment
- 9) Attitudes
- 10) Social networks
- 11) Identities, and pedagogical interventions

Additionally, in a recent survey of LSP scholars in the U.S., Sánchez-López, Long, and Lafford (2017) found that researchers are currently focusing on:

- 1) Registers
- 2) Pragmatics
- 3) Conversational structures
- 4) Selection of language
- 5) Structure of professional presentations

Finally, when asked about new research interests regarding *other learner-related/pedagogical issues*, the scholars voiced an increased desire for works examining:

- 1) Development and assessment of intercultural competence
- 2) Heritage learner development in internships and in the classroom
- 3) LSP learner motivations
- 4) Language learning strategies
- 5) Communication strategies

Even though it is yet to be seen if more scholars answer the call of Lafford (2013) to include EX-LL their research, LSP/SSP pedagogues and researchers can look to other disciplines and practices. For example, one specific method from ELT that is currently being utilized to promote EX-LL is *Service Learning*, or *Community Service Learning* as it is commonly referred to in the SSP literature.

Community Service Learning

The Alliance for Service-Learning in Education Reform (ASLER), a nationally based group made up of educators devoted to community service learning, defines this concept in detail as:

a method by which young people learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully-organized service experiences: that meet actual community needs, that are coordinated in collaboration with the school and community, that are integrated into each young person's academic curriculum, that provide structured time for a young person to think, talk, and write about what he/she did and saw during the actual service activities, that provide young people with opportunities to use newly acquired academic skills and knowledge in real life situations in their own communities, that enhance what is taught in the school by extending student learning beyond the classroom, and that help to foster the development of a sense of caring for others. (1993, p. 71)

Although community service learning stems from positive intentions, there is a concern regarding who this type of work benefits and the possible exploitation of “collaborating” target community members. To combat this, scholars (Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Rice & Pollack 2000; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000) are calling for the implementation of *critical service learning*.

Critical service learning. At its core, critical service learning moves beyond the conceptualization of community service learning that tends to favor participants and instead foregrounds the mutual collaboration between participants and community members (Leeman et al., 2011). Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2000) explicitly call for the “need to work in concert with the community to mutually identify problems, cultivate solutions, and identify causes of these problems” (p. 774). In order to get “campuses to do *with* their communities rather than do *for* them” (p. 774, emphasis added). They identify five areas of importance:

- 1) Connect through commonalities
- 2) Blur boundaries between campus and community
- 3) Consider the position, history, and power (or powerlessness) of all involved in service relationships
- 4) Encourage Reciprocal Assessment
- 5) Rethink service missions to include and reward public service and genuine community partnerships

Critical/community service learning in language acquisition. This critical practice has been a fruitful area for language resources due to its foundation in direct and meaningful engagement between students and the target community, as well as its *potential* to meet national language standards. For example, The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2015) has set forth nationwide standards (The Five C's) for the teaching of foreign and/or second languages that specifically relate to *communication, culture, connections, comparisons, and communities*. Nevertheless, it is important to note that one does not necessarily need to have any language proficiency in order to participate in critical service learning within U.S. Hispanic/Latinx communities, or any other community for that matter. Therefore, depending on the goal of the course, students in lower-division courses with little to no proficiency in the target language could participate in this type of experience.

Specifically, in regards to critical/community service learning in Spanish at the university level in the U.S., research has focused on the current state of this practice in Spanish departments (Hellebrandt, 2017), student preparation (Abbott, 2017; Abbott & Lear, 2010; Lear, 2007; Lear & Abbott, 2009), and virtual critical/community service learning (Ruggiero & Hill, 2016). In addition, there has been a robust body of research emerging that spotlights various effects of critical/community service learning in heritage (HL) pedagogy, such as affect and motivation (Pak, 2016; Pascual y Cabo, Prada, & Lowther Pereira, 2017), critical/community service learning in SSP medical courses for HL learners (Martínez, 2010), identity of Latinx college students (Teranishi, 2007), and mixed classes with both HL and second language (L2) learners (Tocaimaza-Hatch & Walls, 2017).

To date, there has been little empirical research that establishes guidelines regarding the linguistic/cultural threshold, length of exposure, or role that HL/L2 students are recommended to have in order to participate in critical/community service learning in target communities (see Lowther Pereira, forthcoming as a promising source of such research). That being said, a promising area that currently remains untapped is comprised of community internships in SSP courses, as they have been suggested as a beneficial and necessary component to promote EX-LL through critical/community service learning within the SSP curriculum (Felices Lago, 2003; Juan Lázaro, 2003; Long, 2003; Sánchez-López, 2012).

Internship Environments

Internships are a practice that has been integrated within a SLA/AL curriculum since the 1980's (Bloom, 2017; Henderson, 1983; Paulsell, 1983) and may take a variety of different forms, such as an extended critical/community service learning component of a course, summer/semester/year-long). As opposed to the flexible nature of critical/community service learning that is defined as a practice "linked to students' academic experience through related course materials and reflective activities" (Zlotkowski, 1998, p. 3), internships must meet several criteria laid out by the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE) (2011) to be considered legitimate internships:

- 1) The experience must be an extension of the classroom: a learning experience that provides for applying the knowledge gained in the classroom. It must not be simply to advance the operations of the employer or be the work that a regular employee would routinely perform.
- 2) The skills or knowledge learned must be transferable to other employment settings.
- 3) The experience has a defined beginning and end, and a job description with desired qualifications.
- 4) There are clearly defined learning objectives/goals related to the professional goals of the student's academic coursework.
- 5) There is supervision by a professional with expertise and educational and/or professional background in the field of the experience.
- 6) There is routine feedback by the experienced supervisor.
- 7) There are resources, equipment, and facilities provided by the host employer that support learning objectives/goals

("Criteria for an Experience to Be Defined as an Internship", para. 2)

In EX-LL internships, SSP students are expected to communicate with Spanish-speaking community members to carry out their internship duties. With such a goal in mind, an area pertinent to this type of hands-on learning is the continued development and/or acquisition of communicative competence. Specifically, while outlining a research agenda for EX-LL, Lafford (2013) stated, “research on linguistic and cultural gains made in various types of internship venues needs would provide a greater understanding of how the affordances of different venues shape the development of learners’ communicative and cultural competence” (p. 82). Therefore, I draw on the theoretical framework of *communicative competence* (Bachmann & Palmer, 1996) informed by *Positioning Theory* (Davies & Harré, 1990) to investigate the focal participants’ “linguistic and cultural gains” during their EX-LL experiences.

Theoretical Framework

Communicative Competence

The construct of *communicative competence* first originated as a reaction to the narrow concept of *linguistic competence* proposed by Chomsky (1965). Whereas linguistic competence only takes into account the grammar of a language, communicative competence addresses the social plane and functions as “the ability to interpret and enact appropriate social behaviors, and it requires the active involvement of the learner in the production of the target language” (Brandl, 2008, p.5). Although several models of communicative competence have been proposed, the most comprehensive and appropriate for the proposed study is that of Bachmann and Palmer (1996), represented in Figure 2.2 below.

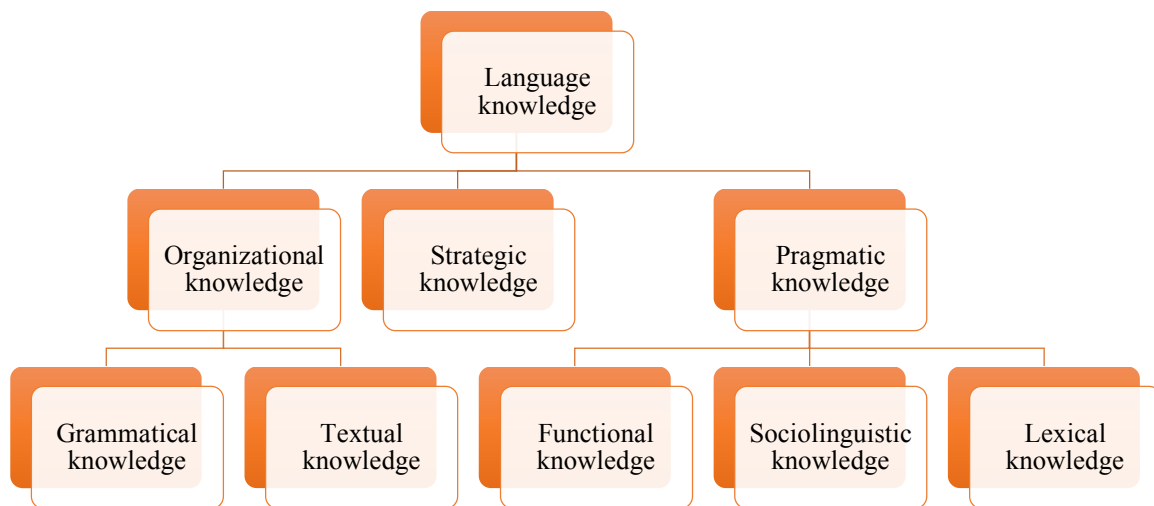


Figure 2.2. Model of communicative competence (Adapted from Bachmann & Palmer, 1996)

This model seeks to operationalize communicative competence, or *language knowledge*, through three main constructs (*organizational knowledge*, *strategic knowledge*, and *pragmatic knowledge*) and their sub-constructs.

Organizational knowledge. *Organizational knowledge* refers to the organization that the interlocutor uses in order to create comprehensible declarations. This construct is further broken down to include *grammatical knowledge* (understanding of systemic rules underlying the second language grammatical system) and *textual knowledge* (understanding that allows for interlocutors to appropriately produce and understand written and/or spoken discourse).

Strategic knowledge. *Strategic knowledge is defined as* “a set of metacognitive processes or strategies, which can be thought of as higher order executive processes that provide a cognitive management function in language use, as well as other cognitive activities” (Bachman & Palmer, 1996, p. 70). These metacognitive processes or communicative strategies (CSs) aid interlocutors when they attempt to “bridge the gap” when communication breakdowns occur.

Pragmatic knowledge. *Pragmatic knowledge* refers to the knowledge necessary for the interlocutor to both understand and produce discourse. This construct is also broken down further to include *functional knowledge* (knowledge that allows interlocutors to reflect on their own experiences and globally engage in interactions), *sociolinguistic knowledge* (necessary knowledge of language diversity and variation to transmit and understand a message), and *lexical knowledge* (knowledge of definitions and use of more abstract language).

An ecological approach. While Bachman and Palmer’s model (1996) incorporates a wider variety of components, like other models of communicative competence, its organization implies both a fractioned and hierarchical conceptualization of this construct. Given that through critical/community service learning, “learners reach comprehension of systemic relational codes afforded by authentic social environments and through social interactions” (Tocaimaza-Hatch & Walls, 2017, p. 53), a disjointed view of communicative competence is counterproductive to research involving direct community involvement. Therefore, researchers and practitioners of critical/community service learning and EX-LL (Burke, 2007; Knutson, 2003; Kohonen, Jaatinen, Kaikkonen, & Lehtovaara, 2001; Lafford, 2013, Tocaimaza-Hatch & Walls, 2017) have

called for the implementation of an *ecological approach* to language learning (Kramsch, 2002; Leather & van Dam, 2003, van Lier, 2004).

Van Lier (2004) explains the biological metaphor of *ecology* as “the totality of relationships of an organism with which it comes into contact” (p. 3) and extends it to linguistics as “the study of the relations between language use and the world within which language is used” (p. 44). By applying this metaphor to communicative competence, the researcher is able to move from viewing its sub-constructs as exclusive, impermeable pieces to interconnected pieces. Such a view of language learning also permits a space to go beyond studies that only take into consideration one type of learner (L2 learners) and instead understand the journeys of other types of learners (e.g., HL, native speakers). This next section discusses various types of language learners and the social and educational contexts that have impacted them.

Bilingualism: Second, Heritage, and (Non-local) Native Speakers

The strong presence of Spanish speakers and Hispanics/Latinxs in the U.S. points us towards an important population beyond L2 learners and native speakers (NS) that is likely to participate in SSP programs: HL learners. Having said this, before delving into these distinctions it is pertinent to discuss the symbolic power that accompanies such terms within SLA/AL research.

Indexing bilingualism in research.

Second language learners. Kramersch (1997) explained that “originally, native speakership was viewed as an uncontroversial privilege of birth. Those who were born into a language were considered its native speakers with grammatical intuitions that nonnative speakers did not have” (p. 254). Until recently, this “uncontroversial privilege of birth” was an unchallenged, dominant ideology within SLA/AL that has been (and continues to be) reinforced through research and pedagogy that centralize the power laden dichotomy between NS and L2 learners. For example, the concept of an *ideal native speaker-listener* was established formally by Chomsky in 1965, who declared that, “linguistic theory is concerned with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interns, and errors” (p. 3).

Later, in the 1970’s, a growing emphasis was given to communicative competence, as grammar-translation and audiolingual methods began to disappear. Such ideologies have led to a *comparative fallacy* (Bley-Vroman, 1983) in which L2 learners were continuously evaluated vis-à-vis the linguistic and cultural repertoire of the NS. This fallacy encourages L2 speakers to aspire to achieve the same linguistic and cultural proficiency as the NS (Saniei, 2011). The “de facto authority and prestige” (Kramersch, 1997, p. 251) given to NS is also reflected within SLA/AL research methodology that call upon the intuitions and output of NS to establish (e.g., error analysis, obligatory occurrences, grammaticality judgements, and elicited imitations) (Cook, 1997, 1999, 2008).

However, there are scholars (e.g., Andreou & Galantomos, 2009; Cook, 1997, 1999, 2008; Kramsch, 1997; Saniei, 2011) who are actively working to disrupt this power dynamic, placing an emphasis on the fact that “monolingual speech communities are rare and monolingual countries are even rarer” (Spolsky, 1998, p. 51). In the same vein, Ushioda (2017) argues that instead of pushing learners toward (most often) unattainable and outdated goals, pedagogy should instead be shaped around “the development of students’ whole linguistic and cultural repertoire within an intercultural orientation” (p. 474). Another prominent example is Davies (2003), whose book, *The native speaker: Myth and reality*, is dedicated to exploring and debunking the domineering power that educators and researchers in SLA/AL have bestowed upon the NS. The comparative fallacy is not only an issue within SLA/AL; rather, it is also an important argument within the field of HL pedagogy.

Heritage language learners. Although *heritage language learner* is the dominant term utilized in the U.S., the categorization of HL learners has been proven problematic within HL pedagogy. This is attributed to the fact that HL practitioners have not come to a general agreement as to who, exactly, HL learners are, “which in turn has hindered the field from advancing pedagogically or theoretically” (Hornberger & Wang, 2017). Furthermore, despite the fact that HL learners constitute a heterogeneous group, many scholars and educators in the U.S. employ this label as an “umbrella term,” not taking into account the varying historical, linguistic, educational, affective, and cultural dimensions that make these individuals so diverse (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014).

Nevertheless, there are three descriptions that are most often cited in the existing HL literature (Fishman, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Valdés, 2000). These definitions are classified as “broad” and “narrow” depending upon the attributes of focus: familial and/or cultural connections, motivation, and linguistic abilities. One of the most widely accepted broad definitions includes those who have grown up with a familial and/or cultural connection to the HL but may not speak nor understand it (Fishman, 2001). Additionally, individuals who do not have proficiency in the HL but “have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interactions” (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222) may be considered as having *heritage motivation*. Finally, the narrow definition that focuses on linguistic abilities proposed by Valdés (2000), states that a *HL learner* is one “who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (p. 1).

Attempting to define HL learners becomes even murkier when we consider the linguistic trajectory and acquisitional order for these bilingual individuals. It has been accepted historically that, “the first language of a human being learns to speak his *native language*; he is a *native*” (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 43). If this is true, what differentiates a HL language learner who was first exposed to the HL from a NS? Such a question has sparked debate within the fields of bilingual/multilingual education, HL pedagogy, and SLA/AL. Whereas Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014) approached this debate from a linguistic standpoint, arguing that HL learners are indeed NS, Beaudrie et al. (2014) offered an alternative perspective in which they differentiated the two learners based on the social statuses of the languages in question:

what distinguishes heritage language learners from native speakers are their experiences within an environment in which the HL is not the dominant language of the country, including their lack of schooling in the HL and a wide range of contexts of language input in the HL. Despite this difference, it is important for educators to highlight HLLs' bilingual repertoires as a strong asset rather than falling short of some speaker norm. (p. 43)

In the last sentence of their proposed definition, the researchers make reference to the fact that HL are often viewed as deficient speakers in comparison to the idealized monolingual.

A well-known example of such a deficit approach comes from Montrul (2008), who argued that HL learners have an *incomplete acquisition* of a variety of grammatical features (e.g., tense, aspect, gender agreement). With reference to these bilinguals, she looked to their inclination to use the majority language (English) and the “incomplete” input that they have received, typically from their family and/or community, as factors contributing to their “non-native outcomes.” She specifically stated that it is “common in situations when monolingual children acquire a variety at home and another one at school, but if bilingual children do not receive schooling in the standard language, they will also end up with incomplete or no knowledge of some properties of the adult grammar in educated speakers” (p. 21). Other scholars, such as Pascual y Cabo and Rothman (2012) protested this notion, arguing that the case for incomplete acquisition can only be made by comparing HL learners against an ideal monolingual. Instead, they advocated that the competence of an HL learner “while often different from monolingual peers, is in fact not incomplete (given any reasonable definition by the word *incomplete*), but simply distinct for reasons related to the realities of their environment” (p. 45, emphasis maintained).

Operational definitions unique to the research context. When deciding how to classify and present the focal participants' as language learners and speakers, I utilized the work of scholars Kramsch and Whiteside (2007) as a guide. Specifically, these two researchers explored the validity of classification terms, such as *NS* versus *non-native speakers*, through the juxtaposition of contexts based upon symbolic power. Specifically, these contexts were shaped by a deficit and socially disconnected view of non-native speakers and varieties are “institutionally constructed” (e.g., classrooms) versus those that house “the discourse of shifting opportunities, fluid subject positions, and tactical contingencies typical of our global times” (e.g., community sites) (p. 918).

Considering that the current research straddles both institutional and community spaces, the interns experienced an intersection of the aforementioned power dynamics. Within Southwestern University, the interns were tagged with speaker classifications based upon the way(s) in which they had acquired the TL of Spanish. In the Spanish language program at Southwestern University, there were two separate tracks for lower division courses: L2 courses and HL courses. Through this design, these speakers “ideally” only shared a classroom when they had reached higher division courses, such as advanced conversation courses, literature or linguistic courses, and SSP courses. When interacting in community spaces, however, these individuals may not have been perceived as “L2 learners” or “NS” by community members. Instead, their statuses changed in relation to their positionality to the social actors present in these spaces. For example, when reporting on a community event, an intern may have been viewed as a journalist or advocate instead of a HL learner.

In an attempt to capture the interplay of the power dynamics at both Southwestern University and within the community, traditional speaker categories will be utilized and accompanied by thoughtful discussions on the participants' changing positionalities within the spaces they engage. Specifically, the institutional terms based upon mode of acquisition will be used to index the speaker classification of each intern as a L2 learner, HL learner, or NS. However, such classifications will not imply a static positionality; rather, drawing from poststructuralist and ecological perspectives on language learning, further analysis will explore "how the cognitive, the emotional, to social, and the cultural are produced and reproduced in the discourse of everyday life" (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 913).

Additionally, as the focal participants are bilingual interns who were actively learning in a professional context, they are all acknowledged as bilingual learners. With this point in mind, it is imperative to point out that bilinguals are not seen, and should not be seen, as two monolinguals containing "separate and isolable language competencies" housed within the same brain (Grosjean, 1989, p. 4). For this reason, Valdés (2005) coined the term the *bilingual range*, which refers to "the continuum of linguistic abilities and communicative strategies that an individual may access in one or the other of his or her two languages at a specific moment, for a particular purpose, in a particular setting, with particular interlocutors" (p. 316).

The following definitions are unique to this specific sample of participants who represent unique characteristics of language exposure and acquisition, geographical distance and connection to the local community, and affective and educational needs, among others (see Chapters 5-7 for in-depth portraits of each intern). Each of the three participants represent one of the three aforementioned categories of learners and speakers: L2 learner, HL learner, and NS. Specifically, the *L2 learner* (Petra) represents as an individual who has not acquired the language through familial/community-based exposure. Rather, they have *primarily* learned the target language through exposure in a formal classroom setting supported by a study abroad (SA) experience in a country with (one of) its official language of Spanish.

Utilizing Valdés' (2000) narrow definition, the *HL learner* (Penélope) represents an individual “who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (p. 1). Finally, utilizing the distinction made by Beaudrie et al. (2014) as a jumping point, the *NS* (María) represents an individual who has acquired the dominant language of their physical homeland through family-based, community-based and classroom setting (where applicable) exposure.

Having said this, “the notion of the native speaker – especially as applied to bilingual individuals – is neither simple, obvious, nor straightforward” (Valdés, 2005, p. 415). The case of the current study is no different, specifically as the NS participant identifies as an outsider to the local speech community, both linguistically and culturally. As will be seen in the data analyses, this positionality affects how she grappled with the experiences presented in her internship, as well as the development of her strategic

competence. Therefore, as an attempt to further unpack this complex construct for the purposes of this research, it is necessary to add an additional facet to the NS classification, as the: *non-local native speaker* (non-local NS). A non-local NS, will refer to a NS who has acquired a variety that is different than that of the majority speech community in which they currently find themselves (Gumperz, 2009).

Different connections and linguistic prestige. The connection that L2, HL, and non-local NS have to the language and community of focus has a significant impact on their involvement with and access to the community. For example, L2 learners are typically considered outsiders of the community and non-local NS may position themselves/be positioned as outsiders. On the other hand, HL learners are more likely to have connections with the HL community through their personal and professional relations. These relationships and the desire to share in their community and heritage are often the motivation for which these learners will seek to continue developing their linguistic skills (Parra, 2016; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Furthermore, these connections are also likely to inspire HL learners to make career decisions that take into account how they can be involved in and benefit these communities (Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Trujillo, 2009).

Another important factor that shapes the linguistic and affective needs of these unique students is the context in which they have acquired the language. It is generally seen that L2 learners and NS have acquired and polished their linguistic skills through exposure to a more academic register of Spanish in a formal, educational context, whereas HL learners have generally been exposed to the language in a more informal manner within their home and community (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Potowski, Jegerski, &

Morgan-Short, 2009). Due to this mode of acquisition, HL learners generally have stronger oral and aural abilities, but may need to cultivate further their (academic) writing skills (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012). In like manner, it is common that HL learners have acquired a U.S. Spanish variety that, despite its “inherent linguistic legitimacy, it is relegated to a subordinate status” (Loza, 2017, p. 60). Such negative language ideologies around U.S. Spanish varieties attest to the discrimination that HL learners often experience from educators, members of their own community, and/or monolingual Spanish speakers (Loza, 2017; Parodi, 2008; Potowski, 2015). It is no surprise that in light of such discriminatory treatment and negative attitudes towards their language variety, it has been found that many HL learners first come into the language classroom with the concern that their classmates may continue this treatment (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016).

One reason that some U.S. Spanish varieties, specifically in the Southwest of the U.S., have been deemed as “subordinate” derives from their use of archaic forms of the language. For example, in their *Linguistic Atlas* dedicated to exploring the Spanish in New Mexico and Southern Colorado, Bills and Vigil (2008) define *archaism* as “usages that are obsolete at least with respect to the standard language” (p. 32). In reference to the Southwest, they call upon Buesa and Enguita Utrilla’s (1992) definition of *arcaísmos*, as “términos que no se han perdido en el español medio peninsular, aunque han abandonado su sentido antiguo que, sin embargo, ha perdurado en América” (p. 215) or “terms that haven’t been lost in the Spanish of the central [Iberian] peninsula although they have lost the older meaning that has nevertheless endured in America” (Bills & Vigil’s translation, p. 32).

- (2.1) a. *asina* (“standard” *así*)
b. *hablastes* (“standard” *hablaste*)
c. *truje* (“standard” *traje*)

Another reason for which U.S. Spanish varieties have been deemed as “subordinate” stems from belief that contact with the majority language of the country (English) represents an Americanized identity (Richardson & Pisani, 2017) and has degraded the quality of the Spanish spoken by HL learners (Zentella, 2008). This “degradation” may manifest itself through the use of stigmatized features, such as calques, borrowings, codeswitching, and semantic extensions (Leeman & Serafini, 2016). Research within the fields of HL and sociolinguistics have not only found this to be inaccurate (Loza, 2017), but also demonstrate how the use of such features are important for the negotiation of these bilingual learners’ identities (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2013). In order to carry out research involving the participation L2, HL, *and* non-local NS, it is crucial to choose a theory of language learning that foregrounds and values each speaker’s unique language and linguistic development journey within a social context. As such, I call upon the Sociocultural Theory of Language Learning.

Sociocultural Theory of Language Learning

The underlying tenets of Sociocultural Theory (SCT) are most often associated with the work of Russian psychologist, Vygotsky (1978), who theorized that all learning occurs through social action and the mediation of symbolic and tangible tools.

Specifically, this theory “links individual mental processes with the cultural, institutional and historical context and emphasises the roles of cultural mediation in the development of higher psychological functions (for example thinking, reasoning, self-awareness, or the use of signs such as language)” (Hampel, 2015, p. 135). Extended to SLA/AL, one learns a language to be able to participate socially. Logically then, the most beneficial context for such learning is through interactions with other speakers and mediation. Thus, the learner can eventually work to master linguistic aspects of the target language and acquire strategies to breach misunderstandings within communicative contexts.

Development is defined through one of the main goals of the SCT: *internalization*. This is the process by which the learner is able to gain more voluntary control over their capacity to think and act in the language through being more proficient in the use of mediating resources and/or minimizing their dependency on external mediums. In other words, it is a move from the social (interpsychological) to the individual (intrapsychological) plane. Internalization is achieved through interaction that occurs in the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD), or the difference between what a learner can do on their own and with the help of an expert. It can also be achieved through the three levels of mediation: *mediation by artefacts* (tools in one’s environment that permit cognition and/or the completion of a task); *mediation by others* (the help of others, which can manifest in implicit and/or explicit feedback, as well as in the

orientation of an expert within the ZPD); and *self-regulation* (when the learner gains more control of these forms of mediation and is able to have less dependency on them). Self-regulation can also occur in the form of *private speech*, which may seem social in its form but is psychological in its function to regulate psychological behaviors. Given that the SCT supports the use of an individual's first language (L1) to resolve communication and problem-solving issues, such private speech may manifest in the form of the speaker's first or target language.

These tenets provide LSP scholars a theoretical lens through they are able to observe, understand, and/or evaluate different facets of learners' journeys as they engage in EX-LL. In the case of the current study, the constructs of SCT (e.g., mediation by artefacts, mediation by others, and self-regulation) facilitate the examination of the focal participants' strategic knowledge while completing SSP internships. Notwithstanding, this sub-construct of communicative competence focuses on the metacognitive processes at play, but neglects the active role that the speaker plays in negotiating such process. Therefore, I draw on identity theory in order to understand *why* the focal participants of the study made choices regarding particular CSs and what *functions* these choices have in particular discourses.

Identity: A Poststructuralist Approach

The first generation of sociolinguists (Gumperz, Hymes, Labov, Milroy, Rickford, and Trudgill) are credited as linking identity (understood as social categories, such as class, gender, and religion) to language use. Furthermore, researchers from the fields of sociolinguistics and anthropology (Gal, 1989; Heller, 1988, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Woolard, 1985, 1989, 1998) are credited for conducting revolutionary research on the topic of multilingualism that has “led many scholars to consider language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic, and cultural systems” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 11). Since this time, identity has also become a phenomenon of interest to researchers and educators within the fields of bilingual and multilingual studies. Although there exist a variety of approaches to identity, I draw on *poststructuralist approaches*, which represent a contemporary postulation of identity theory (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005; Cummins, 2001, 2009; Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weedon, 1987, 2004).

In comparison to other approaches that have been criticized for reducing the multifaceted notion of identity to a binary and homogenous construct that supports monolingual and monocultural ideologies⁴ (Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Pavlenko, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) or emphasizing an exclusive link between language and a single speech community⁵ (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), poststructuralist approaches offer SLA/AL researchers a framework through which they are able to go beyond the static conceptualization of a language learner that characterized research in the 1970’s

⁴ *Sociopsychological Approaches* (e.g., Berry, 1980; Tajfel, 1974; 1981)

⁵ *Interactional Sociolinguistic Approaches* (e.g., Fishman, 1965; Gumperz, 1982)

and 1980's. Instead, the identity of such learners are viewed as “fluid, context-dependent, and context producing, in particular historical and cultural circumstances” (Norton &

Toohy, 2011, p. 419). Specifically, Bernstein (2014) explains:

A poststructuralist view of identity takes identity as something that forms over time through repeatedly being positioned by others (or oneself) as a certain kind of person. This perspective moves away from an understanding of identity either as solely situated in a person's view of him or herself or as a stable constellation of individual characteristics (like race, gender, age, class). Instead it is a shared social achievement, negotiated, or perhaps battled over, through language and interaction. (p. 14)

Identity Conceptualized: Positionality Theory

Like Bernstein (2014), I do not see identity as the static core of a person that is exclusively tethered to their individual characteristics; rather, I conceptualize it as something that is constructed by both the individual and other social actors within different discourses that span different times and spaces. Therefore, in the case of the current study, I call upon *Positioning Theory* (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991) to examine how the focal participants do identity work as they engage with different social actors in different discourses through their EX-LL and community-based SSP internship experiences.

Positioning Theory offers an analytic framework to explore how discourse and social interaction enable particular types of identities to be claimed or assigned to others and how this positioning process can sometimes unravel without us wanting it to.

Positioning can be explained through a three-part framework focusing on (i) *discourse*, (ii) *storylines*, and (iii) *positions*. The construction of identities takes place through discourse, which I operationalize as “language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context” (Cameron, 2001,

p. 13). Within these discursive events, there exist different storylines, or “shared understanding[s] of ‘what we are doing, here and now’” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 15). Built into these storylines are potential positions that can be *taken up* and/or *assigned* to the interlocutors within the discursive act. Although Davies and Harré (1990) centered positioning primarily around conversational discourse, it is important to note that other scholars (e.g., Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) have extended this to include all discursive practices.

To illustrate the positioning process, consider the following scenario: a journalist arrives to an event focusing around educating the local Hispanic/Latinx community on their constitutional rights if approached by an Immigrations and Customs Enforcement agent. As the event concludes, the journalist approaches a community member who attended the educational session for an interview. Within the discursive event of the interview, there are a variety of storylines that the interlocutors could operate, each with differing positions available to take up and assign:

(2.2) Storyline: Impartial Reporting

- | | |
|------------|----------------------|
| Position 1 | Journalist |
| Position 2 | Informational Source |

(2.3) Storyline: Community Advocacy

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| Position 1 | Community Liaison |
| Position 2 | Affected Community Member |

It is possible that the interlocutors may operate different storylines or take up/assign different roles, resulting in discourse that can have a different meaning for each party.

One factor that may influence the ways in which each interlocutor perceives and participates in the discursive event stems from the social roles to which the individuals may consciously or subconsciously subscribe. Acevedo et al. (2015) explain:

on one end our positions are informed by the duties and expectations particular to the roles and social discourses we inhabit. On the other end, positioning allows for the subjective histories of individuals – identities, personal attributes, experiences, as well as preconceived narratives and understandings of our social location – to play a critical function in the production of interpersonal behavior. (p. 32)

Although the examination of social roles is helpful in teasing apart the complex construction of identity, Bernstein (2014) notes that positionality theory falls short of offering an analytic framework to examine more profoundly the power relations behind such roles. To bridge this gap, she draws upon the work of Weedon (1987, 2004) and Bourdieu (1977, 1991) to explain:

Our ability to position ourselves as we choose or to resist undesirable positioning depends greatly on relations of power. Poststructuralists view power not as something a person always ‘has’ or ‘does not have,’ but as a relationship between subjects constituted in discourse, or the larger systems of power/knowledge that make certain subject positions available to be taken up in the first place. (p. 15)

As I have dedicated this dissertation to taking a social justice approach to SLA/AL and HL pedagogy that will advocate for community-based change, this poststructuralist view of power is necessary to understand the complex relations of power that affect the construction of identity for the individuals, groups, and spaces involved in this research. Additionally, this research included interlocutors who straddled multiple languages and cultures, revealing another layer of language- and ethnicity-based power structures. For

example, language ideologies, ideologies of translanguaging, and racialized ideologies of the body contributed to how the focal participants utilized their communicative competence constructed their identities across different discourses. Therefore, in order to examine the role that these power structures play in identity construction, I draw upon these pertinent linguistic- and ethnicity-/racially-based frameworks.

Identity through language ideologies. One phenomenon that affects which storylines interlocutors may operationalize and the way in which they take up or assign positions through discourse are *language ideologies*. Silverstein (1979) is often credited as pioneering the construct of language ideologies, defining them as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 193). Since this time, other scholars have re-conceptualized this term to focus upon different relational dimensions. For example, Irvine (1989) highlighted the sociocultural nature of the term by defining language ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p.253). In this same vein, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) also focused on the social significance of this construct by explaining that language ideologies “envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages, they often underpin fundamental social institutions” (p. 55-56).

More recently Leeman (2012), a scholar who focuses on ideologies and HL pedagogy to illustrate the complex interplay between minoritized/stigmatized languages and society, has described that language ideologies “mediate between language and broader social structures, and they are intertwined with ideologies about other social phenomena—such as gender, socioeconomic status, race, and nation—as well as with beliefs about the people who speak given languages or varieties or who engage in specific language practices” (p. 43). As the relationships between “language and broader social structures” are intricately intertwined, the consequences of language ideologies not only affect individuals but bleed outwards and infiltrate other spaces, such as homes and educational institutions, and vice-versa. Therefore, it is imperative to analyze (i) *if, how,* and *why* these ideologies have been internalized and externalized by individuals, groups, and within larger institutions and (ii) the role that they play in the construction of identity for these social actors, and (iii) how they either oppress or support these speakers.

In order to answer these important questions in relation to the focal participants of the study, I employ Irvine and Gal’s (2000) model that explain how language ideologies establish boundaries and differences between languages – even as an individual forms a set of beliefs regarding speakers of particular languages. These scholars explained:

As part of everyday behavior, the use of a linguistic form can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers. But speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalize, and justify such linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of the linguistic differences. (p. 37)

With this sentiment in mind, Irvine and Gal (2000) propose a model highlighting three semiotic processes to tease apart the ideological construction process: (i) *iconization*, (ii) *fractal recursivity*, and (iii) *erasure*:

(2.4) *Iconization*: Transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked

Fractal recursivity: Projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level

Erasure: Process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or actives (or sociolinguistic phenomenon) invisible (p. 37-38)

Throughout the course of this research, the interns informed their strategic knowledge and EX-LL by responding to the language ideologies that surrounded them. They strategically took up different positions across discourses related to their SSP internships by means of engaging in these semiotic processes which were informed by a variety of linguistic practices. In order to capture the complexity of discourse in areas of language contact, I specifically look to multilingual practices.

Identity through multilingual practices: Code switching and translanguaging. *Code switching*, or *translanguaging*, is a multilingual practice that often informs language ideologies, especially in reference to minoritized/stigmatized varieties. The terminology of these practices has caused debate, mainly due to the frequent use but under theorization of the term translanguaging. In her seminal article, *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español*, Poplack (1980) defined code switching as, “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (p. 583). Although progress has been made, in some circles, code switching continues to perpetuate a notion of deficiency and contamination of a

bilingual's linguistic repertoire (Boztepe, 2003). Pedagogically speaking, this practice is often discouraged within the L2 classroom (Park, 2013).

Translanguaging, on the other hand, has been considered an *ideological movement* in its celebration of:

going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, beliefs and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and make it into a lived experience. (Wei, 2011, p. 1223)

The “going beyond” to which Wei referred is particularly relevant for a world in which the influence of technology is ever-present, both inside and outside of the classroom. As translanguaging emphasizes a speaker's ability to call upon their full range of semiotic resources, scholars (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013; García, 2016; Vogel, Ascenzi-Moreno, & García, 2018) have highlighted the importance of including symbolic systems and modes of communication that technology affords (e.g., emojis, gifs, video, audio). For example, in studies focusing on computer assisted language learning, a definition of translanguaging may include those semiotic resources afforded through digital mediums (e.g., emojis). Throughout this work, I will interchange the terms *code switching* and *translanguaging* in order to express the sentiment of this ideological movement that celebrates a bilingual's/multilingual's abilities and takes into account their full range of semiotic resources.

The focus on how a speaker constructs their identity within different social contexts and discursive events has become more salient in sociolinguistics within the last 10 to 20 years, with translanguaging being a linguistic phenomenon of particular interest. On translanguaging and social identity, Auer (2005) explains that:

It is argued that bilingual speech is usually construed by members as an index of some extralinguistic social category. This category is not only ethnic but also social: bilingual speakers are portrayed and portray themselves in semiotic constellations such as local versus regional versus national, urban versus rural, autochthonous versus colonial, minority versus majority, etc. However, these constellations may be enacted under different circumstances in different ways. (p. 403)

One of the most notable studies focusing on English-Spanish translanguaging and social identity is Zentella's (1997) book, *Growing up bilingual*. Her influential work examines the language choices and their social implications of five Puerto Rican girls living in East Harlem, New York. This extensive research spans 14 years and follows these females in their speech community, *el bloque*, as they grow up and are exposed to multiple language varieties (e.g., Popular Puerto Rican Spanish, Puerto Rican English, African American Vernacular English). Through her extensive ethnographic and quantitative analysis, Zentella showed that the action of "code switching" did not represent a deficiency in the bilingual's linguistic system; rather, it was a choice (whether conscious or subconscious) made by the speaker that served a larger social purpose:

"Spanglish" moved them to the center of their bilingual world, which they continued to create and define in every action. Every time they said something in one language when they might just as easily have said it in the other, they were re-connecting with people, occasions, settings, and power configurations from their history of past interactions, and imprinting their own "act of identity" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) on that history. (p. 114)

In the process of “imprinting” their own act of identity, they utilized social information about their interlocutors and context of conversation to inform their linguistic choices. These women knew *with whom* they could utilize translanguaging, *when*, and *what* the consequences of doing so would be. Zentella (1997) relates such choices to salsa dancers, “responding smoothly to each other’s intricate steps and turns” (p. 113). This researcher’s perception of this multilingual practice allows for analyses regarding how bilingual/multilingual speakers engage different sub-constructs of communicative competence to index their positionality in social discourses.

Identity through corporeal expression: The beauty and resistance of hair. As will be demonstrated in the comparative case studies, the complex phenomenon of identity is not only tied to language; rather, it is intricately connected to and manifested through other forms of embodiment. For example, critical race and feminist theories explore the relationship between identity construction and corporeal expression. One such form that has been recognized as both a site of beauty and resistance to African American and Hispanic/Latinx women is the cultural artifact of hair. In her article focusing on how “differences in body image, skin color, and hair haunt the existence and psychology of Black women,” Patton (2006, p. 24) offered an extensive historical review of the hegemonic ideals of beauty deriving from White European dominated societies that have oppressed women who fall out of this social, cultural, and aesthetic categorization.

In the case of the U.S., Patton (2006) called upon literature (e.g., Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Wallace, 1979) to illustrate the ways in which African American beauty has been denigrated, resulting in the oppression of such ideals and/or transforming them into racist stereotypes. She further described:

Given the racist past and present of the United States, there are several identity and beauty issues that African American women face. Since 1619, African American women and their beauty have been juxtaposed against White beauty standards, particularly pertaining to their skin color and hair. During slavery, Black women who were lighter-skinned and had features that were associated with mixed progeny (e.g., wavy or straight hair, White/European facial features) tended to be house slaves and those Black women with darker-skin hues, kinky hair, and broader facial features tended to be field slaves. (p. 26)

Colonialism in Latin America has influenced ideologies that also juxtapose the beauty of Black and indigenous women against White beauty norms. Masi de Casanova (2004) explained:

The idealization of cultural whiteness and European physical features represents discomfort with the demographic realities of the nation and the imposition of foreign standards of appearance on a mostly mestizo (racially mixed) population. The racist norm of beauty associated with developed nations (pervading the continent through U.S- and European-produced media) combine with similar traditions in Latin American countries to create an exclusive, “the whiter the better” ideal of beauty. As part of its glorification of whiteness, the ideology of mestizaje effectively excludes Blacks and indigenous people from the nation, rendering ‘racial and ethnic diversity invisible’ by depicting the “prototype of modern citizenship” as white or white-mestizo. (p. 291)

Such an idealization has led to what Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) coined the *Lily Complex*, or the act of “altering, disguising, and covering up your physical self in order to assimilate, to be accepted as attractive” (p. 177). For example, the act of hair straightening may be perceived as a manifestation of this complex or an attempt on social mobility. The latter alludes to the economic consequences of hairstyles for women of color, such as increasing their employment possibilities through mirroring White

European traits (e.g., straight hair). Orbe and Harris (2001) explained, “just as [a] young woman must negotiate her identities, so much an organizational member who comes from an underrepresented racial/ethnic group. Some organization members may feel their racial/ethnic identities become less important as they climb the ladder of success” (p. 192).

Notwithstanding, this chemical process brings to light an important controversy: the perception of assimilation to the hegemonic White European beauty standards, both inside and outside of Black communities. The decision that a woman of color makes to straighten or dye her hair, among others, are viewed often as a sign of shame, rejection of their culture, or “acting white” (Patton, 2006, p. 29). Patton (2006), however, challenges this notion, stating these choices may be associated with individual creativity and identity:

In addition to straightened hairstyles, other hairstyles that African American women use in order to define their own beauty include afros, braids, dreadlocks, and knots. All of the aforementioned hairstyles carry with it signs of beauty, boldness, rebellion, self-confidence, spiritual consciousness (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003, 187) and whether intended to or not, a challenge to White beauty standards. (p. 29-30)

Whereas Patton (2006) explored the way in which Black women challenge “White definitions of beauty” (p. 24) and the social implications of such challenges, scholar Weitz (2001) explored how women seek power and resistance through their hairstyles through a study that spanned across three years. Operationalizing *resistance* as “actions that not only reject subordination but do so by *challenging the ideologies that support that subordination*” (p. 670, emphasis maintained), Weitz (2001) interviewed 44 women between the ages of 22-83 that identified with a variety of ethnic categories

(Anglo, Mexican American, African American, Asian, half-Chicana/half-Anglo).

Through her data analysis, she reports two strategies through which the female participants sought power: (i) *traditional strategies* that emphasize accommodations to mainstream norms for female attractiveness and (ii) *nontraditional strategies* that emphasize resistance.

To contextualize the first strategy, Weitz (2001) called upon literature that illustrated the dominating ideologies regarding what was considered as attractive within a White European dominated society. Such ideologies maintain that that a woman is considered most attractive when she dons hair that is long, wavy/curly (Clayson & Maughan, 1986; Rich & Cash, 1993), not gray (Kerner Furman, 1997), not kinky (in reference to African and/or Jewish heritage) and that is distinctive from male hairstyles (Synott, 1987). Furthermore, it should be evident that she has invested both time and money in the styling her hair (Synott, 1987). Understanding that such “conventional attractiveness is, in fact, a realistic route to power for women, in both intimate relationships and careers” (Weitz, 2001, p. 673), the women that utilized the first class of strategies felt as though they gained power by purposefully embracing such ideals (e.g., hair color as an indication of personality, hairstyle as a means for social and economic mobility). Although they may have perceived a sense of power, Weitz (2001) did not deem such strategies as enacting resistance as:

most of these strategies pose little if any challenge to the cultural ideas about women or to the broader distribution of power by gender, for they implicitly support the ideology that defines a woman's body as her most important attribute and that, therefore, conflates changes in a woman's appearance with changes to her identity. Because these strategies do not challenge the cultural ideologies supporting subordination, as best they can improve the position of an individual woman, but not of women as a group. If anything, these strategies both reflect and sustain competition between women for men's attention, thus diminishing the potential for alliances among women. (p. 675).

Like the traditional strategies, the nontraditional strategies identified by Weitz (2001) also resulted as a conscious decision to seek power. However, in contrast, the nontraditional strategies (e.g., emphasizing professionalism and avoiding and/or rejecting male attention) were found to be dependent upon the individual's ethnic identification. For example, it was found that the white women interviewed selected hairstyles that "highlight professionalism and downplay femininity" (p. 677), such as a short haircut. The Chicanas interviewed were also more likely to choose hairstyles that downplayed their femininity. One participant explained that, as she came from a community in which long hair was linked to femininity and a Chicana identity, she adopted a shorter hairstyle to distance herself from such characteristics so as to increase her chances of employment. Contrastingly, African American women were less likely to select defeminizing hairstyles. Instead, they tended to choose those that they considered as both professional and adhering to societal standards of femininity, perhaps due the fact that Black women are already pressured to conform to a hegemonic ideal of beauty. Weitz (2001) concluded that although this class of strategies did exemplify components of resistance, components of *accommodation* were also present:

Compared to resistance, accommodation offers women (and any other subordinate group) a far more reliable and safer route to power, even if that power is limited. As a result, the strategies women typically use can help individual women gain power, or at least a sense of power, in some arenas but do little to improve the situation of women as a group. Rather, these strategies unintentionally lend support to those who equate women's bodies with their identities, consider women's bodies more important than their minds, assume that women use their bodies to manipulate men, or assume that femininity and competence are antithetical (thus handicapping visibly "feminine" women professionally and visibly "professional" women socially). (p. 683)

These studies represent just a few possibilities of how ethnic-based, extra-linguistic factors, such as hair, can inform the identity construction process of interlocutors.

Review of Empirical Literature

In the *Theoretical Framework* section, I presented an overview of Bachmann and Palmer's (1996) model of communicative competence – a linguistic construct that is essential for students engaging in EX-LL through LSP internships. Furthermore, I have discussed the role that identity (positionality) plays during communicative events with other interlocutors. In the current study, the identity work in which the interns engaged through language use and corporeal expression informed the development of their communicative competence. As the acquisition/continued development of communicative competence is a multi-faceted and complex phenomena, I specifically focused on one aspect this construct that has been noted as a research topic of interest to LSP scholars (Lafford, 2013; Sánchez-López et al., 2017): *strategic knowledge*.

Strategic Knowledge

Given that the interns utilized the target language to facilitate some type of professional support or service, it was essential that they were able to acquire and/or continue developing strategic knowledge in order to collaborate successfully with their community clients. Therefore, in order to examine the development of the focal participants' strategic knowledge, I operationalize this sub-construct through a specific focus on CSs (Lafford, 2004), which have been defined as “strategies used [by L2 learners] in a conscious attempt to bridge a perceived communication gap, either caused by the learner’s lack of L2 knowledge (resource deficit), problems with his or her own performance or problems resulting from interaction with an interlocutor” (p. 204).

Currently, there exist no prior studies that examine this (or any other) branch of communicative competence in the context of EX-LL during Spanish-language domestic internships. However, due to prolonged contact with the target language, target community, and culture, these domestic internships share similar features with SA immersive environments. Therefore, parallels can be drawn from the findings of SA literature.

Empirical studies related to the L2 Acquisition of strategic knowledge in domestic and study abroad settings. Much of the current L2 research focusing on strategies has proposed and examined general language learning strategies in domestic classrooms (Breen, 2001; Cohen, 2014; Oxford, 1994, 2003, 2016) and not specific strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication. However, there are several key foundational research articles that focus on strategic knowledge, or CSs, in domestic SLA contexts.

The seminal article on *interlanguage*, or the evolving linguistic system of learners as they acquire the target language, by Selinker (1972) laid the ground work for a research and pedagogical focus on CSs by coining this term within an SLA context. Other scholars played in an important role in further developing this concept, such as Váradi (1980) and Tarone (1980) who introduced categories, terms, and a systematic analytic method for identifying CSs that has been utilized in consequent research of this topic. Other scholars have continued to extend these categories and terms to consider different communicative contexts – such as Dörnyei and Scott (1997) who included terms that embarked “learner-centered and interactionist perspectives that are used as the basis of this analysis” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203).

Similarly, a majority of the L2 research in a SA setting has focused on general learning strategies for pre-departure and during SA sojourns (Brown, 1991; Cohen, 1990; Kutash, 1990; Paige, Cohen, & Shively, 2004; Rubin & Thompson, 1994) versus strategic knowledge during communication gaps abroad (for an in-depth review of pertinent studies, see Adams, 2006). This research has even manifested in the form of guides for students who want to get the most out of their SA experience (Cohen, Paige, Shively, Emert, & Hoff, 2005; Paige, Cohen, Kappler, Chi, & Lassegard, 2002). There exist few empirical research studies that examine strategic knowledge in the form of CSs in language learning – two of which compare the results between SA and at home (AH) groups of L2 learners studying Spanish (DeKeyser, 1991; Lafford, 2004).

DeKeyser (1991) was the first study to compare the use of CSs for L2 learners in SA ($n = 7$) and AH contexts ($n = 5$). Working with second-year U.S. students studying Spanish in Spain, DeKeyser utilized picture description tasks and interviews, finding that the type of task the learner engages in will affect which CSs are used. Specifically, when participating in the picture description tasks the learners in the SA group were found to more frequently utilize circumlocution than their counterparts in the AH group. When engaging in interviews, the learners in the AH group were found to use strategies reflecting their L1 in comparison to those in the SA group.

Almost a decade later, Lafford (2004) carried out a much larger study which analyzed the effect of language contact and learning contexts on CSs implemented by L2 university-level students studying Spanish in Spain ($n = 26$) and AH in the U.S. ($n = 20$). Before and after the treatment period, participants completed the Language Contact Profile (LCP) (Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, & Halter, 2004) and participated in OPIs in

order to elicit CSs. The researcher found a negative correlation between language contact outside of the classroom and the use of CSs – which could indicate that the SA participants communicated better and had fewer gaps in communication as their semester progressed. Additionally, a statistical analysis revealed that the learners in the SA group used fewer CSs and specifically utilized fewer L1-based CSs in comparison to the AH group.

Lafford posits that a possible explanation for these findings may be due to the “structures of expectations” (Ross, 1975), or expectation of interlocutor relationships, that each language learning context affords. SA immersive settings may encourage learners to utilize different CSs as their interlocutors may not be as proficient in English, nor share the same pedagogical goals as interlocutors in domestic classroom settings. It is also possible that they did not want to interrupt the flow of conversation by using a CS if something was not understood.

Justification of the Study

Although informative for the fields of SLA/AL, the studies reviewed in the *Review of Empirical Literature* section (e.g., DeKeyser, 1991; Lafford, 2004) relied upon data collected from experimental design tasks in SA and AH contexts. These studies strictly followed purely classroom-based L2 learners without considering the social role of language. This has left a gap in the research for L2 students and other unique learners (e.g., HL learners, non-local NS) who are completing internships and/or collaborating in critical/community service learning through working with members of a target community. Additionally, at the time of Grosse and Vaught’s (1991) groundbreaking

article on LSP, the authors made note that the research landscape in the U.S. was drastically different from that of our European colleagues.

Whereas European researchers framed their scholarship through discursive analysis of LSP related to English (ESP/EAP), those in the U.S. offered mostly “applied” research focusing largely on pedagogical practices of LSP related to other than English (e.g., Spanish, French, German). Even now in the 21st Century, the current U.S. LSP research examining these other non-English languages tends to be descriptive and to focus on pedagogical practices and stem from corpus-based data (Lafford, 2012). In order to continue building upon these results, an empirical study that utilizes ethnographic methods to collect and analysis naturalistic data is needed to better understand the types of experiences that participants are afforded through in domestic immersive settings (similar to those of SA studies), such as in professional community internships in the U.S., and how they inform their linguistic and cultural competence. Furthermore, it is imperative to explore the social implications of such experiences.

Research Questions

By means of a linguistic ethnographic approach, this dissertation highlights the experiences of three unique language learners (Spanish as an L2, HL, and non-local native language) across a 15-week semester as they completed their domestic professional internships for the SSP minor at Southwestern University. Following these learners, I focus on the types of experiences that they had while interacting with community members in situations that were sensitive to relations of power and how these interactions played into the types of language- and ethnicity-/racial-related identity work in which they engaged. Given that the interns utilized the TL to facilitate some type of

professional support or service, it was essential that they were able to adapt their strategic knowledge to collaborate successfully with the community members connected to their internships. Therefore, the development of strategic knowledge will be operationalized through a specific focus on the types of mediation resources and CSs that they implemented.

With the previous discussions of EX-LL in LSP, communicative competence, and identity, this work aspires to answer the following questions:

3. What types of experiences were the interns afforded through their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? How did the interns take advantage of these experiences to do different kinds of identity work that transcended the goals of the program?
4. How did the interns implement their strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? What are the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize?

In the following chapter, I begin to answer these questions by contextualizing the research site(s) and participants involved in this dissertation work.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH SITE(S) AND PARTICIPANTS

The interns (n = 3), or focal participants of this study, are students that were pursuing a minor in the Spanish for the Professions program at a large university, Southwestern University⁶, based in Arizona during the spring semester of 2018. Furthermore, as part of the required 18 credit hours, these students were engaging in the culminating experience of the minor program: professional community internships in the Metro Phoenix area with an accompanying online course. The community internships were established through the collaboration between key leaders of these sites and the internship coordinator/instructor. Per the internship guidelines and contract for this course, the interns were required to complete a total of 135 hours during the 15-week semester with an average of 10 hours per week at the internship site.

Complementing the overarching goal of the SSP minor program – helping “students hone Spanish communication skills and cultural knowledge that will help them serve the needs of the U.S. Latino community in professional settings” – there were additional outcomes established for the professional community internship. These goals included:

- 1) Understand the organizational culture of the internship workplace
- 2) Interact effectively with workplace colleagues and clients resolved
- 3) Participate in activities that meet the needs of the internship site
- 4) Improve their command of professional oral and written registers

⁶ All university sites, community sites, and individuals mentioned in this dissertation have been given a pseudonym so as to protect their anonymity.

Even though the three interns were pursuing degrees in journalism, they were not all assigned to journalism-based internship sites. The selected sites were not only dependent upon their career interests, but also the departmental connections with relevant community partners and the availability of internships at these sites. Penélope and María⁷, two of the interns who were aspiring to obtain journalism careers in the Spanish-language market, had previous academic connections to the Spanish-language student newscast (*the Phoenix Reportaje*) based in their School of Journalism. With the collaboration of the newscast supervisor and the internship coordinator/instructor they were placed at this site.

Petra, an intern who had been working primarily with the English-language student newscast (*the Phoenix Report*) at the School of Journalism, had originally desired to complete an internship at a local news channel where she would translate stories for their Spanish-speaking audience. However, the internship coordinator/instructor informed her that as they did not have a pre-established relationship with this community site, it would be time intensive to create an internship contract before the start of the semester given the short time frame. She was, instead, offered the opportunity to carry out her internship at a community clinic where she would have the role of medical interpreter and scribe. With an interest in community engagement and an openness to new experiences, Petra agreed to an interview with the Medical Director of the clinic who offered her the internship.

⁷ Each intern chose their own pseudonym.

Despite their varying internship placements, the three interns were heavily involved at the School of Journalism throughout their degree trajectory at Southwestern University. Not only were their major classes housed within this school, but they also played active roles in the student-run newscasts. Their extensive involvement required them to collaborate with newscast supervisor, faculty, staff, and other students. As the interns reported that the environment of the School of Journalism influenced their academic and professional encounters, it is necessary to first explore how the interns conceptualized this atmosphere before delving into the specific research sites. In order to do so, I present ethnographic descriptions of the research contexts and participants utilizing participant-reported data from a modified Language Contact Profile questionnaire (Freed et al., 2004), interviews, roleplays, diaries, and additional class assignments. Furthermore, I call upon the observational data and field notes that I collected while completing three observations of each intern at their respective community sites (see Chapter Four for a complete review of the methodology).

The School of Journalism: The Phoenix Report vs The Phoenix Reportaje

The School of Journalism at Southwestern University is currently ranked as one of the top journalism schools in the nation. With this prestigious reputation and a limited number of student seats available, the application and acceptance process is competitive. Once accepted to the program, this heightened sense of competition lives on within the walls of the School of Journalism. As this unit houses professional programs, the majority of the students who are accepted have already chosen their career path and, as such, begin working towards their professional goals from day one of starting the program. In the case of Petra, Penélope, and María, their professional development was

linked to the English- and Spanish-language student run newscasts. As previously mentioned, there are two student run newscasts within the School of Journalism: *The Phoenix Report* (English language) and *the Phoenix Reportaje* (Spanish language). Each of these newscasts are broadcasted through major local channels (e.g., Public Broadcasting Service, Univision). What primarily differentiates these two entities are the size, opportunities, and resources that the language of broadcast affords to each team.

Lack of Resources

To illustrate the first difference, during the spring semester of 2018, the Phoenix Report had a solid faculty base and over 120 students who had the opportunity to report on a variety of “beats,” or genres, such as *Frontier News*, *Education*, and *Justice*. In contrast, as a new program just getting off the ground, the Phoenix Reportaje consisted of two student interns (Penélope and María), two other student anchors, and one faculty associate who was the newscast supervisor and ran the program. With such a small team, they did not have the opportunity to specialize in different beats, but instead focused on a variety of issues related to the Hispanics/Latinxs in the local community.

The size of each team impacted the opportunities available to the interns (and students) to gain professional experience. For example, the televised frequency of the student run newscasts depended on the number of students on each team. Logically, a larger team allowed for more frequent newscasts, as there were more individuals who could contribute to its production. Whereas the Phoenix Report has housed historically a high number of students, the quantity of students that commit to Phoenix Reportaje has remained relatively low. As an illustration, during the semester in which the research took place, it was only manageable for the team to produce a monthly televised newscast

in contrast to the biweekly newscasts they had been able to produce in past semesters. Noticing the discrepancy in opportunities, María decided to get creative in how she could create more professional practice for herself and the other students at the Phoenix Reportaje. She had worked previously with the Phoenix Report team and noticed that, in addition to the televised newscast, they produced a daily Facebook Live show. This was a shorter newscast that they could stream and promote through social media. After proposing the idea to the Phoenix Reportaje supervisor and helping to work out the details, the students began to produce a weekly Facebook Live show in Spanish.

Despite her initiative and hard work, María explained that the size of the Phoenix Reportaje team and lack of resources that they had limited the quality of broadcast that were able to produce in comparison to those at the Phoenix Report. As such, she felt that the Phoenix Reportaje team was often looked down upon:

Por ejemplo, nosotros cuando hacemos el noticiero de Facebook, el noticiero como tal, esperan tanto de nosotros y se ponen medio exigentes a veces, los del estudio, "¿Por qué no tienes esto? ¿Por qué si no tienes lo otro". Somos cuatro personas. Ustedes tienen como 50 para un show. Like come on, cut me some slack. ¿En serio? Son cosas así. Entonces piensan menos de ti porque tú no estás preparado. Pues, si tengo menos recursos, ¿cómo voy a estar preparado? Y eso es un ejemplo específico de como las razones por qué el programa, o sea, se ve la línea entre el Reportaje y el Report.

For example, we do the Facebook newscast, the regular newscast, they expect just as much from us and get pretty demanding sometimes, the people in the studio. "Why don't you have this? Why don't you have that?" There are four of us. You all have like 50 people for a show. Like come on, cut me some slack. Seriously? They're things like that. So then they think less of you because you aren't prepared. Well, if I have less resources, how am I going to be prepared? And that is a specific example, of like the reasons why the program, or like, you can see the line between the Reportaje and the Report.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

This sense of having a lesser value was just one of the many factors that the interns reported as contributing to a stark separation between the Phoenix Report and the Phoenix Reportaje.

Institutional Isolation

Another challenge that these focal participants reported facing was the sense of isolation that the Phoenix Reportaje team felt within the School of Journalism. Specifically, they reported feeling as though the Phoenix Reportaje and the students that supported it were isolated institutionally from their classmates that had chosen a career in the English-speaking market. In addition to the factors previously exemplified (e.g., size of program and lack of resources and opportunities), the topic of race, ethnicity, culture, and language came into play. Like at many institutions across the U.S., the interns' experiences of multi-scalar discrimination often led to isolation within the School of Journalism. In the following example, María grappled with her experience as a minority (racially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically) within this environment:

Me he dado cuenta que el programa se ha aislado bastante ellos mismos, ahí en el tema este de conflicto de raza y cultura y todo... Yo no sé si uno, como minoría, piensa eso y realmente no es el caso, pero... No te sé decir algunos ejemplos porque realmente no es nada así como concreto. Es como cosas, que uno como si fuera a pensar me dice, ¿why? ¿Me entiendes?

I've realized that the program has isolated themselves quite a bit. That's where the topic of conflict of race, culture, and all of that comes in... I don't know if one, as a minority, thinks that and it really isn't the case, but ... I don't know how to give you any examples because it isn't really anything concrete. It's like things that, if one were to think and tell me, why? You know what I mean?

(Interview, 04-27-18)

María also described that the difference in language was a catalyst for the isolation of the Phoenix Reportaje:

Creo que el Reportaje ha cometido el error de aislarse ellos mismo, porque si tú le pides al Report ellos te dan, pero ellos no van a tomar la iniciativa de darte y de ayudarte. Así que siento que se han estado aislando [el Reportaje] por el tema del idioma claramente, pero al fin y al cabo viene siendo una organización. Pasa mucho. Incluso ayer hubo un evento de cierre de semestre en una barra, like restaurant, y estamos los del Reportaje en una esquina en vez de estar socializando porque somos bilingües, ¿o no?

I believe that el Reportaje has made the error of isolating themselves, because if you ask the Report they'll give to you, but they aren't going to take the initiative to give and help you. So I feel that they [el Reportaje] are isolating themselves because of the issue of language clearly, but in the end it's an organization. It happens a lot. Even yesterday there was an end-of-the-semester event at a bar, like restaurant, and all of us from el Reportaje were in a corner instead of socializing because we're bilinguals, no?

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In this example, María prioritized the School of Journalism, the larger organization to which they all belong, despite their language (or other) differences. In doing so, she saw the team's bilingualism as both a motive for "self-isolation" and responsibility to bridge this segregation to promote coexistence and collaboration. Indeed, all of the students were tethered academically and physically to this larger organization. Not only was their degree housed within the School of Journalism, but also the studios, edit bays, and majority of the classes were confined to this one building that represents the school. Despite this collective association with the School of Journalism, however, the interns felt that burden of "bridging" interactions between the two student run newscasts was addressed by the bilingual students and not the English monolingual students. If members of the Phoenix Reportaje team wanted to make connections within

the larger organization, they would have to take the initiative to interact with their colleagues.

Perhaps this unequal responsibility put on the Phoenix Reportaje team led them to physically self-isolate by establishing a space of their own. During my first observation of Penélope, her interviewee was in a mediation meeting that was running late, leaving us with a couple of hours free. We headed back to the School of Journalism so that she could give me a tour and potentially get some other work done. When we arrived, she led me to the edit bays where she spends most of her time. These bays consisted of individual rooms that housed computers and software equipment for the students to edit videos and work on any other projects that they may have had. We walked swiftly by all the glass covered rooms until we arrived at the only wooden door located in the corner. As the door opened, I could hear music playing in Spanish and typing on a computer. With three chairs, a variety of backpacks, and equipment, we were barely able to squeeze in and shut the door. Penélope expressed that despite the small space, they loved to come here to work together and help each other out. She explained that, “*Mexicans are very*” and made a motion with her arms to show closeness and unity (Observation, 03-27-18). Although not all members of the Phoenix Reportaje crew were of Mexican descent, they had made this place a safe haven for their Hispanic/Latinx community, marked by translanguaging and collaboration, within the “shared” building.

Real-World Reflections and Issues of Personal Security

A third challenge that the interns reported facing within the School of Journalism unfortunately reflects the real-world situation for journalists seeking work in the Spanish-language market. In fact, while waiting to conduct an interview with a local Hispanic lawyer who was committed to providing Hispanic/Latinx immigrants pro-bono immigration services, Penélope and I began to discuss possible job opportunities for Spanish language journalists within the United States (U.S.). She explained that Phoenix is currently the 9th largest Hispanic television market in the U.S. (Statista, 2018). Additionally, according to the Univision Communications Inc. (2018) website, “Univision Local Media in Arizona is the #1 Hispanic media company serving 1.6 million Hispanics with \$23 billion in spending power in the Phoenix DMA” (Designated Market Area). Despite the strong physical and economic presence of a Hispanic/Latinx/ Spanish-speaking community, there is a lack of recognition for the Spanish-speaking news market by those in the English-speaking market, as well as fewer resources.

Penélope also shared that, as a journalist who was working actively in the community, she had observed and experienced such incongruities. One such difference was that the journalists who chose to work in the Spanish language market essentially became their own team. They were not only responsible for the basic duties of a broadcaster (e.g., finding contacts, creating interview questions, carrying out an interview), but also for all the technical aspects involved in creating their package (e.g., transporting and setting up equipment, recording interviews, editing videos).

She also explained that, in her own experience and dialogues with other Spanish-language journalists, working in a forced independent manner could lead to issues of personal security. As these reporters were responsible for transporting, setting up, and handling their own filming equipment, they often traveled alone in a marked van that was known to the community to be carrying thousands of dollars of expensive equipment. Although English-speaking reporters also utilized marked vans, they may have enjoyed a stronger sense of security as they typically traveled with a team. Furthermore, with these additional duties, the Spanish-speaking journalists were typically the last individuals to leave the scene. Penélope specifically reported that on a few occasions, members from the English-speaking news teams had even stayed on scene in order to escort her and/or her colleagues to their vehicles.

These real-world challenges and issues of personal security, along with the lack of resources and isolation that the Phoenix Reportaje team experienced shaped the interns' Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) internship environments. Not only was the Spanish-language student-run newscast afforded fewer resources due to the infancy of the program, but its team members were expected to take on the additional task of reaching out to English monolingual colleagues and staff to make connections. These disparities played an important role in shaping the interns' academic and professional experiences. My presence as a graduate student carrying out research on their SSP internships additionally impacted their experiences.

Researcher Positionality

Considering that qualitative research positions the researcher as the first and most influential tool in the research design, implementation, and analysis processes (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016), it is vital to unpack and understand one's own *researcher positionality*. Given that my own positionality communicates the ways in which I was connected to and impacted the research sites and participants, before delving into descriptive profiles of the participants and these academic and professional experiences, it is necessary to first explore my researcher positionality in a variety of contexts.

Similar to a *researcher identity memo* which pushes the researcher to engage upon reflection of the “goals, experiences, assumptions, feels, and values” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 34) of their research, a *research positionality* is a more critical reflection that may extend these components to issues of race, ethnicity, culture, etc. (Milner IV, 2007). When conceptualizing one's own researcher positionality, it is important to note that, although it is imperative for the researcher to anticipate their positionality to the both the research site and the social actors within these spaces, these relations are apt to change as relationships change and evolve. Therefore, during this iterative process, the researcher must work continuously to tease apart their positionality and relationship – not only before, but also during and after data collection and analysis. Furthermore, is it important to consider that the researcher's positionality of insider/outside may fluctuate depending upon the context and moment in time (Allen, 2004), while also taking into account that “social proximities and boundaries can change which influence social dynamics and bring to the fore a range of social issues” (Moore, 2012, p. 11). This practice is of course important in any type of qualitative research that is founded up “building and keeping

relations” (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000, p. 163), but especially essential when striving to collaborate with marginalized populations through a critical social justice and decolonized research lens (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

As an illustration, my overall relationship with each intern grew stronger throughout the semester. As we got to know each other, we moved from sending formal emails through our academic accounts to texting. Instead of only speaking about topics related to the research, we began to discuss daily life, philosophize about our social beliefs, and joke around. In the case of Petra, we have become good friends that continue to communicate via text, Snapchat, and Instagram. She even borrowed her cousin’s truck to help me move and invited me to be a guest star on “Oprah Miércoles,” an educational segment that she would broadcast via Snapchat and Instagram (see Chapter Five for details).

As a Researcher and Practitioner

The ways in which these relationships develop and are sustained (or not) over time reveal important personal implications and consequences to the research. When reflecting upon my own research positionality, I have strived to follow the footsteps of Anthony-Stevens (2017) by taking into account my privilege and positionality within the ethnohistoric context of the communities, as well as working towards becoming a *critical ally*. I have come to self-identify as a critical applied linguist, whose passion in education, research, and my daily life relates to addressing social justice issues through civic engagement that leads to changes *for* the community and from *within* the community that are inspired by knowledge and research from a critical perspective. Therefore, in order to build a study that creates critical and allied collaboration with the

local U.S. Latinx/Hispanic communities of focus and meet the goals previously laid out, I draw upon my my ontological and epistemological beliefs.

Ontologically, I align with critical realism as I believe that there is not one, universal truth that exists; rather, there are approximations of truths which are determined by the unique experiences and interactions of each individual and are associated with the social relations, ideologies, and power positions that exist and may be imposed upon them within the larger societal context. Moreover, as Fairclough (2005) notes, “critical realism aims at explanation: at explaining social processes and events in terms of the causal powers of both structures and human agency and the contingency of their effects” (p. 923). Epistemologically, I take a constructionist approach (Maxwell, 2013), as I believe we must interact with others to uncover and discuss their knowledge in order to understand and explain these social processes. These beliefs were interwoven in the conceptualization and design of the proposed study.

One such way that this had manifested was through my purposeful engagement in memo writing (Lempert, 2007) and my effort to provide transparency (Bazeley, 2013) throughout all stages of this dissertation process. I have also participated in collaborative processes to help support the rigor and validity of the proposed study. This has included dialogic engagement (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016) with qualified and supportive colleagues (e.g., instructor of the course, dissertation committee members), as well as member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000) with the interns. Throughout the research, I would engage in continuous, informal data analysis in which I re-listened to the audio I had collected, re-read transcripts, and reviewed the fieldnotes I had written. If there was something that puzzled me or seemed particularly important, I would make a note to

member check it. Depending upon what that piece of information was and what our schedules were like, I would ask them about it during an observation, reach out via text, and/or add it as a question for the final interview. Even during the dissertation writing process, I continued to reach out to the participants via text in order to ask them for permission to share certain details and/or check that I am interpreting their words and actions as they intended them.

As an Observer and Social Actor

Having said this, I was not only interacting with community members in this research; rather, the participants with which I worked most closely were the interns themselves. Therefore, it is necessary that I also deeply reflect on my positionality in regards to these individuals. There were a variety of interacting factors that influenced my role and social location/identify in relationship to these women. Following the work of Villenas (1996) these factors were not stagnant nor neatly delineated; rather, “we can be insiders and outsiders to a particular community...at many different levels and at many different times” (p. 722).

For example, I related to these participants on a certain level, as I too am a female student trying to navigate the waters of academia, work towards a future career, and am ultimately completing some type of required work outside of the classroom walls and in the community. Additionally, my race (white), socioeconomic (majority culture/middle-class), gender (female), and geographical history (from North Dakota) status may also have positioned me as an “insider,” “outsider,” and/or “both” in different ways and simultaneous moments in time (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Finally, being a researcher and observer did create some type of power dynamic – between myself, the interns, and any other social actors involved – no matter the conscious efforts that I took to minimize it. As I indeed was very conscious of these dynamics, this was a particular issue with which I grappled throughout the entirety of the research. Having said this, the dynamics of these relationships were particular to my relationship with each intern.

María. The moments in which I was closest to a true, non-participatory “observer” occurred while observing María in the control room. We engaged in some small talk before and after the recordings, but during the show María’s duties as a producer required her complete attention. I would set down my phone to record, grab a seat behind her in the back of the room, and make my field notes in (mostly) complete silence. There were instances where she would make comments to me during the show or introduce me to those who entered the room (e.g., newscast supervisors). In these case, I introduced myself as a graduate student that was there to observe. Or, if the supervisor of *el Reportaje* was there, she would jokingly introduce me as a graduate student who was there to “study” them.

Penélope. While observing Penélope, I found myself playing a more active role through initiating small talk with the community members that Penélope was interviewing. Growing up in the Midwest, it has always been a part of my culture to try and make others feel welcome through this type of communication. Although this is something I am aware of, it was particularly hard to “turn off,” especially in situations where Penélope and the community member did not have a prior relationship. That being said, it did not seem to place her role as the expert in jeopardy. Specifically, when we

completed off-site interviews with Community Member 6 (a lawyer who forms part of an organization that is dedicated to facilitating pro-bono immigration services to Spanish-speakers in the community) & Community Member 8 (the services coordinator for a grassroots organization that is dedicated to educating the community on immigration services through advocacy and civic engagement), Penélope took the lead. She indicated where we should film, what type of footage was necessary, assisted the interviewees with the microphone, and set the parameters of the actual interview. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, although Penélope's interlocutors were bilingual English-Spanish-speakers, she often "set the stage" for these interactions in English and carried out the actual interviews in Spanish.

Petra. Finally, while observing Petra, my role often shifted from a *silent* observer to a *participant* observer. In several of the patient visits, there were moments in which Petra and the residents/volunteer doctors positioned me as the linguistic expert by appealing directly to me. For example, one resident told Petra to "ask her" (me) for help during multiple visits. There was another case in which one of the doctors asked Petra to step outside to print some materials for the patient and designated that I continue translating for the remainder of the visit. Finally, there were instances that I inserted myself into the visit.

As will be discussed at length in Chapter Eight, during our second observation we encountered Community Member 2, a 70-year-old woman being seen for diabetes. As this was her first visit to the clinic, there was a lot of information to cover and the questions were particularly in-depth. As the doctor was examining her feet, the patient began to tell us "En el dedo grande y el dedo al lado, me picaron seis abejas..." (*Six bees*

stung me in the big toe and the toe right next to it). I observed Petra while she smiled lightly and nodded her head. As a fellow L2 speaker that had been in similar situations, I felt that through these gestures, Petra was *feigning understanding* (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997) which played the role of saving face during a moment of incomprehensibility. She also was not typing anything into Google Translate or making any other attempts to try and implement another strategy to overcome this gap in communication. I had an ethical dilemma. I was not the interpreter. But I was aware that Petra was not going to be able to report information back that could be pertinent to the patient’s health. I decided to intervene with the rationalization that I was helping to ensure quality care of the patients:

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- | | | |
|------------------|--|---|
| 1 Patient | <i>En el dedo grande y el dedo al lado, me picaron seis abejas...</i> | <i>Six bees stung me in the big toe and the toe right next to it...</i> |
| 2 Petra | <i>*Smiles and nods head*</i> | |
| 3 Lexi | <i>Did you get that?</i> | |
| 4 Petra | <i>No! I heard something about “abeja” but I can’t remember what it means...</i> | |
| 5 Lexi | <i>Bee!</i> | |
| 6 Petra | <i>Oh, bee!</i> | |
| 7 Lexi | <i>So, she was saying that six bees bit her big toe and the toe next to it.</i> | |

(Observation, 04-06-18)

As a Language Learner

My language journey also reveals this ever-interacting positionality, which in order to understand on a broader social level, we must first explore literature deriving from the field of language learning policy. Ruíz (1984) explained that speakers of the majority group within a particular society tend to approach languages from a certain perspective: (i) *language-as-problem*, (ii) *language-as-right*, and/or (iii) *language-as-resource*. In the U.S., these speakers that have power often see “minority” languages as problematic (Cashman, 2006). Having said this, there are purposeful efforts being made to fight against this agenda and instead push for a societal conceptualization of languages as both rights and resources, such as in the case of heritage language (HL) pedagogy (See Beaudrie et al., 2014 for a further discussion).

Differential bilingualism, a term first utilized by Aparicio (1998), “describes the unequal value accorded by the English monolingual majority to the bilingual skills of Anglo members of the language majority, which tend to be seen as a resource and achievement, and those of Latinos and other language minority or immigrant groups, which tend to be seen as a problem and a deficiency” (Cashman, 2006, p. 42). Therefore, L1 English speakers who speak a non-English L2 are typically held in higher esteem than those coming from minority and/or immigrant groups whose bilingualism is viewed “at best as a barrier to full participation in the democracy and at worse as a sign of divided loyalty or disloyalty” (p. 42).

I am bilingual, with English being my first language and Spanish being my second. In addition to having had the ability to travel to a variety of Spanish-speaking countries and study abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina, I have spent a vast amount of time in my husband's homeland, *la isla del encanto*, where I have had the opportunity to create cultural and familial connections to Puerto Rico, as well as develop both formal and informal linguistic features common to this Caribbean variety. It was through this lens that María and I were able to connect most deeply: as a non-local NS, she felt that many Spanish speakers could not understand her and vice-versa (see Chapter Seven for complete discussion). As we shared this variety, we did not find this to be an issue and could speak of cultural topics and utilize linguistic features common to the island.

Despite these cultural and linguistic connections, I initially learned the language as an L2 in a classroom setting. Since then, I have also had the opportunity to further develop what some would consider a “prestigious” and “academic” variety through completion of my higher education degrees. Although I am able to interact culturally and linguistically within certain communities on both a formal and informal level, my English skills and the manner in which I have acquired my second language *do* place me within the societal language majority – thus affording me certain privileges. Despite this fact, I personally believe that languages are both a right and a resource. Although I have formed my personal, academic, and professional around this belief, I ultimately am not able to understand completely the experiences of speakers of minority languages and other immigrant groups. Rather, my commitment to preserving languages and fighting for the linguistic rights of these groups can be manifested in a critical alliance with these individuals. Having explored my positionality to both the research site(s) and social

actors within such spaces, I will now spotlight the participants of the current study through ethnographic profiles of these individuals.

Participants

Interns

The interns that participated in this research were all females and seniors in the journalism program at the Southwestern University, each with their own unique story.

Table 3.1. Intern Characteristics

Name	Speaker Classification	Place of Birth / Race/Ethnicity	Age	Year of Study	Major	Community Internship Site
Petra	L2	Arizona/ Black & White	24	Senior	Journalism & Mass Comm/ Broadcast	Medical Interpreter/ Phoenix Community Clinic
Penélope	HL	Colorado Mexican/ American	20	Senior	Journalism & Mass Comm/ Broadcast	Multimedia Journalist/ Phoenix Reportaje
María	Non-local NS	Puerto Rico/ Puerto Rican	22	Senior	Journalism & Mass Comm/ Production	Producer/ Phoenix Reportaje

Petra Elena Estudillo Gracia. Petra is an Arizona native who identifies as Black and White. Like many L2 learners, she first began learning Spanish in high school and initially took one semester at the university level in 2012. The following year, after learning the “basics,” she decided to take a break from her studies to serve an 18-month immersive mission in Guayaquil Sur, Ecuador through her church – or what she and her companions refer to as “la mejor misión del mundo.” She had her first experience with SSP when she traveled to Mexico City for six months to engage in language training for her missionary duties (e.g., teaching, preaching). These trainings were structured as

tandem learning pairs, in which the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking missionaries acted as an expert tutor to their counterpart (Brammert, 1996). The intense preparation classes continued in Ecuador, where she had her first “humbling” experience with language variation. Not only was she working with other Spanish-speaking missionaries from around the globe, but was also living in a country with a variation different from that of the Southwestern U.S. where she had grown up.

Although she was first exposed to Spanish in a formal academic setting, her journey of learning Spanish goes beyond the typical instrumental motivation of an L2 speaker. In fact, when we were discussing ethnic and racial identification in our first interview she told me, “I’m determined to find the Latina, because I swear it’s in there” (Interview, 02-26-18). This is a point that came up often but with a disclaimer that her intention was not to be “ignorant” with this statement, but rather to relay a sentiment that she has always felt. In addition to having been born and lived in a state that has continued to be influenced by the language and culture(s) of (primarily) Mexico even after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, she has internalized many cultural customs and values from growing up with Mexican-American family members. Her ties to the Hispanic/Latinx community also grew deeper throughout her spiritual journey during the 18-month religious mission in Ecuador. Her linguistic skills and cultural connections had become a part of her multilingual/multidialectal identity that she expressed through language, body, and action – themes that will be explored in more depth during her case study in Chapter Five. An example of expressing linguistically her feeling of belongingness is her chosen pseudonym: Petra Elena Estudillo Gracia. She also shared

that choosing a first, middle, and two last names for a pseudonym expressed her “extra,” or over the top personality, that she is known to have by her friends and family.

Her family and prior experiences also influenced her career choice. Initially, Petra battled between declaring a major in sports medicine or sports journalism, a decision rooted in her experience as an athlete. Although she initially chose sports medicine, she quickly regretted her decision, realizing that journalism had always been “in her blood.” She specifically attributed this to the influence of her father, who worked for a prominent local news station. In addition to accompanying him to work and watching him on the news throughout her childhood and adolescence, he still plays an active role in guiding and assisting her as she works on news stories. Ultimately, recognizing her love for pop culture and celebrities, she made the switch to broadcast journalism.

Petra has a very clear and ambitious goal for her future: “I wanna be the next Oprah. I’m not shy about it. My friends and family call me Oprah” (Interview, 02-26-18). When I asked why this icon serves as the foundation for her professional inspiration, she highlighted Oprah’s successes in journalism, finances, and business – especially as a black woman in a (white) male dominated world. Having said this, the quality that she most admired and connected with was her dedication to philanthropy. Before beginning her SSP internship, Petra was already engaging in activities that aligned with her personal and professional values. In addition to interning at two different sites during the spring semester of 2018, she had also been chosen to be a reporter for a national foundation dedicated to spreading messages of positivity and kindness. Furthermore, she was gaining experience in the philanthropic world through her employment with a Christian non-profit organization that provides meals to children in need around the world.

Phoenix Community Clinic. With a desire to learn more about community engagement in a setting where she could interact directly with community members, Petra agreed to complete her community internship at a local community clinic. The Phoenix Community Clinic has sponsored a clinic to offer medical and dental services to the Metro Phoenix community since 1977, with a shift to focusing on reaching individuals that do not have insurance and/or are considered “working-poor” in 1994. In addition to being a teaching institution that collaborates with a variety of healthcare-based programs from academic institutions state-wide, the doctors who offer general and specialized services do so on a volunteer basis. In order to reach both English- and Spanish-speaking patients, clinic reception staff, nurses, and even some doctors are bilingual in both languages. Additionally, the clinic has volunteer interpreters to aid in communication between Spanish-speaking community members and medical staff that either do not speak Spanish or do not have the specific proficiency to ensure high quality patient care for these types of medical encounters.

In her internship, Petra acted primarily as a medical interpreter and scribe for a variety of volunteer doctors, medical residents, and Spanish-speaking patients. Additional common duties included arriving to the site early to initialize the electronic medical record system and taking pictures of patient wounds. When a medication was dispensed, Petra was also responsible for annotating the lot number and expiration date of the medication, as well as writing patient instructions for frequency of use of each medication.

Penélope. Penélope, who identifies as a Mexican American, is originally from a small town in Colorado that she reports as having the following demographics: 50% white, 30% Mexican (non-Spanish-speaking/do not practice the culture), and 30% Hispanic (Spanish-speaking). Although she stated that the first language that she was exposed to was Spanish, in the context of this research, she was classified as an HL learner due to her self-reported English dominance and acquisition of Spanish at home versus in an academic setting (Beaudrie et. al, 2014; Valdés, 2000). Specifically, she grew up in a household in which the primary language of her parents was Spanish. Her mother, who can understand English but does not feel comfortable speaking it, stayed at home with her and her siblings. Contrastively, her father speaks English for work but “doesn’t like” to speak it. As a child, she was exposed additionally to Spanish during trips to Mexico that would last one to three months with the purpose of visiting family. Her last trip took place when she was approximately ten years old. As she grew up, her older siblings’ exposure to the socially and academically dominant language of English outside of the home began to impact Penélope’s language use and preference. Despite her parents’ inclination for Spanish, English became the dominant language of communication for her and her siblings, both inside and outside of the home. Therefore, she explained that by the time she got to Kindergarten she felt more comfortable using English than her first language of Spanish.

Penélope had always thought that she would follow her siblings' paths by beginning at a local community college to prepare for a career in criminal justice. However, plans changed when she spontaneously applied to the journalism program (with an emphasis in broadcasting) in Arizona after a fight with her mother. Although she never had planned to pursue this career path, Penélope felt as though it was fitting for her personality. In addition to being a very vocal and social individual, reflecting on her childhood, she stated that her family would always announce her presence by exclaiming, "¡Extra, extra! Ahí viene el periódico" (Interview, 02-17-18).

After receiving notice of her acceptance, Penélope began to explore more profoundly the possibility of attending an out-of-state, four-year university despite the lack of support from her family. In addition to "not feeling anything" (Interview, 02-17-18) when visiting the campus based in Colorado, she would only have been able to take a couple courses there before having to transfer to a four-year university due to her preparatory work in high school. Additionally, she found the program at Southwestern University to be much more "modern" and "hands-on," prompting her to visit the campus to which she felt a deeper connection.

In her first two years, Penélope took courses geared toward a digital broadcast journalism career within the English-language market. Despite her bilingual abilities and cultural connections to her Mexican culture, she steered away from a career as a Spanish-language journalist as she perceived the Spanish-language audience as being very small. Additionally, she avoided this career possibility to avoid the "corny" image that her friends and family constructed of her. Specifically, they would always make comments, such as "Vas a salir en Univisión" and "Wow, ¡qué nice!" (Interview, 02-17-18).

Ultimately, a scheduling conflict led her to take a course in Bilingual Reporting where her first story featured a friend's father who offered immigration services, English classes, and citizenship classes to the Hispanic/Latinx communities in Arizona. As she compiled this story, she had a "feeling" that this was the right path for her and that this was something that "actually mattered." She realized that not everyone could do this work in Spanish, but *she* could. Since taking this class, she changed her focus to journalism within the Spanish-speaking market and eventually completed her SSP internship at the Phoenix Reportaje.

Phoenix Reportaje. This community internship site is referred to as a "professional program" that was specifically created to offer students bilingual in Spanish and English the opportunity to engage in both a professional and immersive experience related to borderland issues and those affecting the Latinx/Hispanic community (e.g., immigration, education, economy, etc.). As the students themselves lead the program, they are exposed to both the technical and interactional facets of mass media production through investigating, reporting, and producing digital and video stories in the Spanish language. These reports are transmitted vis-à-vis two different broadcasts: a traditional television newscast and a short Facebook live stream.

As Penélope was specializing in (multimedia) broadcasting, examples of specific common duties that she performed included attending community gatherings, speaking with and interviewing relevant key social actors of the community (e.g., immigration lawyers, social activists, local leaders), writing scripts for digital reports, editing video for digital reports, recording teasers for upcoming news segments, and reporting/anchoring for the televised news show and Facebook live stream.

María. María was born and raised on the island of Puerto Rico, where she communicated primarily in Spanish across all contexts (e.g., personal, academic, professional). As such, she recognized this to be her first language and the language in which she could best express herself. Having said this, she did learn English in an academic setting and considered herself to have “native-like” skills in the areas of listening, reading, and writing. María attributed her language acquisition to her simultaneous exposure to formal instruction in both English and Spanish. In fact, from pre-school to seventh grade she attended an “American school” in which all subjects were taught in English, with the exception of Spanish Language Arts classes. Her family sent her to this school intentionally so that she would develop strong skills in English, based on her older sister’s success after entering the school in fourth grade.

Attending a university in the continental U.S. was always part of María’s plan. Since high school, she had the mentality of, “Me quiero ir. Me quiero ir” (*I want to leave. I want to leave*). In addition to the general ideology on the island that, “Si tú quieres lograr mucho, te tienes que ir” (*If you want to achieve a lot, you have to leave*), her father also played a strong role in this desire. He would often tell her, “Vete porque aquí no hay nada” (*Go because there is nothing here*) (Interview, 02-26-18). Her original career aspirations to study film also shaped her decision to seek a path in higher education outside of Puerto Rico. She felt as though there were not many opportunities to develop a career in this industry. With these different elements in mind, her senior year of high school she began applying to different programs in the mainland – one of those being Arizona as her aunt and uncle reside in the area. After receiving acceptance and an attractive economic assistance package, she made the move to the Southwest. Within this

context, she is considered a non-local NS of Spanish as she considered herself to be a cultural and linguistic “outsider” of the Metro Phoenix speech community.

Although María initially chose film as her major due to her love of the arts, she found it to be slow-paced and lacking the feeling of adrenaline that she desired. Upon later investigation of her “major map,” or list of classes needed to graduate with a degree in film, she discovered that work in television was required. Realizing that this is not what she wanted to do, she investigated other possibilities and found journalism. She ultimately made the switch to this major, not for the field of journalism *per se*, but rather for the opportunity to engage in production. Despite her switch from film to journalism, María has always had the intention to work in the Spanish-speaking market, preferably in Puerto Rico or a different area of Latin America.

Phoenix Reportaje. María, who was also completing her internship at the Phoenix Reportaje, was specializing in production. In addition to having pioneered the Facebook Live show, she primarily engaged in production-related duties for both the television broadcast and Facebook shows. Outside of airtime, her key duties included searching for relevant topics to be covered, identifying and incorporating stories that the broadcasters were currently working on and/or had already covered into the program, organizing the run down for the show, editing videos, and writing scripts.

During the Facebook live show, María would take on the role of producer, ensuring that the broadcast flowed and was on time. From her post in the control room, she was required to engage in receptive and productive-based activities in order to make in-the-moment decisions and work with a variety of different social actors. While doing so, she used her skills in Spanish and English, as well as implementing her translanguaging abilities. She collaborated with the English-speaking tech crew to ensure all video and graphics were correct and appearing in the appropriate sequence. She also served as a multilingual mediator between this crew and the broadcasting team, relaying information between the two. For example, she communicated any technical issues the broadcasters were experiencing and/or suggestions from the tech team (e.g., slower dictation). María was also charged with ensuring the linguistic accuracy of the broadcast by giving general feedback, explicitly correcting errors (primarily pronunciation), and making impromptu edits to the scripts. Finally, if the show was too “heavy” and going over time, she would make decisions about what material to take out.

Community Members

As previously mentioned, this study also seeks to include the perspectives and feedback from Spanish-speaking community members who participated in the organizations in which the interns work (n = 8). The community members spotlighted in this study were all born in Mexico and are either HL or native speakers of Spanish. One of the most salient differences between community members was the motive for the interaction with the intern: (i) seeking a service in the community or (ii) facilitating a service within the community.

Table 3.2. Community Member Characteristics

Member	Seeking/ Facilitating Service	Primary Language	Place of Birth / Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Intern	Community Site
1	Seeking - Medical	Spanish	Mexico/ Mexican	F	Petra	Phoenix Community Clinic
2	Seeking - Medical	Spanish	Mexico/ Mexican	F	Petra	Phoenix Community Clinic
3	Seeking - Medical	Spanish	Mexico/ Hispanic	F	Petra	Phoenix Community Clinic
4	Seeking - Medical	Spanish	Mexico/ Hispanic	F	Petra	Phoenix Community Clinic
5	Seeking - Medical	Spanish	Mexico/ Mexican	F	Petra	Phoenix Community Clinic
6	Facilitating - Immigration	English	Mexico/ Mexican	M	Penélope	Law Firm
7	Facilitating – Immigration, Citizenship, & English Classes	Spanish	Mexico/ Hispanic	M	Penélope & María	Phoenix Reportaje
8	Facilitating – Immigration	English	Mexico/ Mexican	M	Penélope	Non-Profit

Due to the unique nature of each internship, the interns interacted with community members in different manners and with varying frequencies. For example, as Petra worked as a medical interpreter, the basis of her duties involved interacting directly with multiple community members during a shift to help facilitate communication and care between said member and the physician. As a reporter, one of Penélope’s duties was to seek out community members to interview as their work and/or experience related to

the story she was working on at a specific moment in time. Finally, as the producer, María had the most limited contact with community members. She spent most of her time completing her tasks in the newsroom, control room, and/or the edit bays. The only opportunity in which I was able to observe her working with a community member was when Member 7, a paralegal, came into the Phoenix Report/Reportaje studio to shoot a Facebook Live video with Penélope to promote the citizenship and English classes that his organization offers to the Hispanic/Latinx community.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In this chapter, I have described the competitive professional programs that characterized the School of Journalism to which the three focal participants academically belonged. Through doing so, I have illustrated various discrepancies between the well-established English-language (the Phoenix Report) and newly created Spanish-language (the Phoenix Reportaje) student-run newscasts, such as lack of resources, institutional isolation, real-world reflections, and issues of personal security. These factors impacted the types of academic and professional experiences that the interns had both before and during the semester in which the current research took place.

After exploring my own researcher positionality in relation to the different research site(s) and participants within these spaces, I offered ethnographic descriptions of the three focal participants that highlighted their journeys to Southwestern University and internship placements. Finally, I described the community members that also acted as participants within the current research, focusing upon their relation to both the community and interns. To continue contextualizing this research, in the next chapter I

will outline the research design of the current study, specifically focusing on the procedures for data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 4

PROCEDURES FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Linguistic Ethnography (LE) is an appropriate approach for this dissertation as its interdisciplinary and social justice origins complement the subfield of Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP), in which “research and practice [are] inherently interdisciplinary in nature” (Lafford, 2012, p. 2). Additionally, LSP scholars, such as Bowles (2012), have noted the increased use of both linguistic data analysis methods (Mazeland & Zaman-Zadeh, 2004) and ethnographic approaches (Gu, 2002; Zhang & Shang, 2002) as a way to focus on spoken genres that have received little attention compared to the dominating “concentration on lexicogrammatical features of text” (Bowles, 2012, p. 43). Finally, from previous research on the acquisition of second language (L2) Spanish strategic knowledge in study abroad contexts, it can be seen that there is an emerging precedent to use both recorded naturalistic data and ethnographic data collection methods (Shively, 2014). With this in mind, I look to the history of LE as a guide.

Linguistic Ethnography: A Brief History

Although tensions between linguistics and ethnography are possible depending upon one’s conceptualization (e.g., what counts as language/culture and to what extent can it be generalized; for an in-depth review see Rampton, 2006), the potential for collaboration between these two fields is great. Scholars, such as Rampton et al., (2004), have described this potential for mutual collaboration as “tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up” (p. 4). Linguistics can ground, or *tie ethnography down*, by lending well-founded analytic frameworks which the researcher can utilize to work with

the data. On the other hand, ethnography can *open linguistics up* by lending well-founded practices and procedures for reflexivity regarding “the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims” (Rampton, 2006, p. 394) and helping the researcher to angle their vision (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). In other words, the researcher enters the field with the overarching goal of collecting discourse that can be further disentangled to understand how language and social contexts are related, all while entering the field and maintaining a more “non-deterministic perspective” (Creese, 2008, p. 233) as to just what these discursive moments and relations may be.

Having said this, there is no prescriptive recipe as to how to conduct LE research (Copland & Creese, 2015); rather, the linguistic ethnographer pulls from both linguistic and ethnographic data collection and analysis methods to work towards unpacking the relationship between language and the social context(s), demonstrating this through discourse-based evidence (Blommaert, 2007). Ultimately, the methods that the linguistic researcher employs to do so may vary depending upon the *theory* (claims that can be measured and tested), *ontology* (general beliefs about the topic at hand), *epistemology* (what is defined as knowledge), and *axiology* (values) to which they subscribe (Rampton, 2006).

Keeping this in point in mind, in the following sections I will discuss the (i) data collection procedures, (ii) data collection methods, and (iii) data analysis procedures utilized in the current study – each of which have been selected carefully based on prior research, the goals of the study, and my own aforementioned ontological and epistemological views.

Data Collection Procedures

Throughout the process of the data collection, I audio recorded (n = 18 hours, 12 minutes) the interactions that I had with the interns and community members, where allowed. I utilized a bilingual service to create transcriptions of these meetings in order to later code and analyze the data. Although video recording would have provided for a more detailed analysis (e.g. use of body language and facial expressions), this information was not the focus of the current study and was, in fact, prohibited in certain research sites (Phoenix Community Clinic) due to policies with the purpose of maintaining the privacy and anonymity of their patrons (the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, or HIPAA). In addition, asking to video record members of minoritized communities with whom I have not yet built trusting relationships may have been seen as an act of surveillance (Martinez, 2016; O'Connor, 2017) and/or may have discouraged their participation.

Data Collection Methods

Access and Entry into the Field

Although not a data collection method per se, gaining access to and entering the field can be one of the most difficult components of LE research due to researcher recourses and the complex nature of building trusting relationships (Gobo, 2008). This process that Dyson and Genishi (2005) call *casing the joint*, involves purposefully gathering information regarding the individuals of interest, their schedules, and the space(s) that they frequent. This information not only assists the researcher in angling the view of their study, but also in making deliberate and informed decisions about its methodological design.

During this process, the researcher also continues and/or begins creating “intimate” relationships with individuals that are key to the access, entry, and continued participation within the field. Although the roles of these individuals are flexible and may not be mutually exclusive, Gobo (2008) analytically classifies them as *intermediaries* (initiates contact and/or communication between ethnographer and members), *guarantors* (trusted insider that initiates/fosters relationship between ethnographer and members), *gatekeepers* (overseer of community whose trust the ethnographer must gain), and *informants* (assist researchers in understanding the culture of the community). Failure to develop relationships these key individuals, and others, can lead the researcher to “meet strong resistance, and his or her understanding of the phenomena observed will be deficient as a consequence” (Gobo, 2008, p. 2).

As I began to shape this study, I created connections with a variety of social actors to “gain access and entry” into the different community sites. During this stage, the internship coordinator/instructor played a monumental role as an intermediary – facilitating contact and communication between myself and the interns (Petra, Penélope, and María). Having consented to participate in the study, the interns not only took on the role of focal participants, but also acted as guarantors that helped me to establish respectful relationships with the community members with whom they interacted. Whereas the interns acted as informants at their larger internship site (the Phoenix Community Clinic and el Reportaje/School of Journalism), the community members took on the role of informants – assisting me to understand their linguistic, cultural, and physical communities.

The internship coordinator/instructor also helped me to establish contact with the supervisors/directors – or gatekeepers – of the sites where Petra, Penélope, and María were carrying out their internships. When meeting with these key social actors, I presented my research justification, goals, and methods. With their approval and the establishment of a collaborative partnership, I was given access to carry out my research within the intuitional sites, as well as other sites to which the interns traveled to carry out their duties (e.g., law firm for interview with local lawyer).

Language Contact Profile

At the beginning of the semester, interns completed a shorter, modified version of the Language Contact Profile (LCP) originally created by Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, and Halter (2004) (See Appendix A). This questionnaire had two purposes: to elicit demographic information from the interns and to elicit information about their contact with the target language (TL) in the past and present. In addition to the standard demographic information that the LCP elicits, I modified it to include questions to determine if the participant was a heritage language (HL) learner. As this questionnaire was created for research on study abroad, the questions eliciting information on TL use were focused around situations that occurred at the university and study abroad students' homestays (or another place of residency). Given that the interns were not attending school in the TL or living with a host family, I modified this questionnaire to elicit more detailed information regarding their language contact based on hours/day instead of hours/week.

Intern Roleplays

Given that the current study was heuristic in nature, I knew before diving into the research process that it would be an “internal search through which one discovers the nature and meaning of experience and develops methods and procedures for further investigation and analysis” (Moustakas, 1990, p. 9). As such, the types of data analysis possible would depend upon both the types of encounters that the interns had at their community sites and any policies/laws at these sites that impacted the type of data collection in which I could engage. For example, in order to comply with the HIPPA privacy laws in place at the Phoenix Community Clinic, I could not audio-record any patient interactions while observing Petra. Anticipating these types of constraints, I built additional data collection methods into my research design as a way to ensure that I would elicit ample interactional data that would allow for appropriate opportunities to triangulate these data.

I specifically decided to incorporate roleplays as a way to elicit interactional and professional discourse that mirrored their interactions with community members at their internship. Although I originally anticipated that the pre- and post- roleplays would be a way to elicit this type of discourse and complement the naturalistic data collected, an unexpected benefit of their use revealed itself. Not only did the interns produce this type of interactional and professional discourse in the roleplays; rather, they also narrated their thoughts, motives, and expanded upon their duties for such an interaction. This gave me a unique insight into their mental processing and perceptions, similar to a *think aloud protocol* (Gass & Mackey, 2007; Jääskeläinen, 2010; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989).

To prepare for the roleplays, I asked each intern to provide me with a description of their typical duties and interactions with community members. I then used this information to create the pre- (n = 6) and post- (n = 6) prompts, in which I asked the participants to complete some sort of task that required them to interact with a “community member,” such as interpreting for a patient or approaching someone in the community member for an interview on a topic related to the Hispanic/Latinx community (see Appendix B). Within each set of pre- and post-prompts, the role of the intern was the same. However, the interlocutor’s profile (that I played) differed slightly, so as to expose the intern to different sociolinguistic features (e.g., age) that may have affected their linguistic choices and overall discourse. Although mirroring the same types of interactions, the overall pre- and post- prompts were different to avoid influence of the *practice effect*. This phenomenon refers to the possibility that the participants do not actually acquire more knowledge, but rather score higher and/or show more improvement resulting from completing the same task a number of times and learning from their mistakes (Brown, 1988).

This specific task also complements LSP pedagogical methods as well, given that, “in the LSP classroom, learners are often asked to perform roleplays that help them display their understanding of the norms of behavior in professional contexts within the target cultural setting” (Lafford, 2012, p. 3). While writing these prompts, I was purposeful in my intent to include situations that reflected the actual types of interactions that the interns encountered during their internships. I additionally had the goal of maintaining the situational and interactional authenticity of such encounters (Douglas, 2000, 2001; O’Sullivan 2006, 2012).

Intern Observations and Field notes

Observations. Ethnography as a field tends to agree upon the existence of only one overarching category of observation, *open ethnographic observation*, in which the researcher “writes down what he or she sees, hears, smells, feels and senses in the field” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 10). However, there are varying degrees of participation and recording methods. For example, within ethnography, researchers may engage in *non-participant observation* (the researcher simply observes), *participant observation* (the researcher observes while simultaneously taking on the role of a participant), or a blend of the two (Hammersley, 2015). The extent to which the researchers are able to immerse themselves in this context is dependent upon many factors, such as their resources time, goals, and access (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016).

In the case of the current research, my role as an observer shifted depending upon the intern who I was observing, their roles and duties, their interlocutors, and the spaces visited (see researcher positionality section in Chapter Three for an extensive discussion). I observed each of the interns three times throughout the 15-week semester. These observations were scheduled on days in which the interns interacted with pertinent community members at the internship or other sites. For example, there were some days that María and Penélope would be completing independent tasks, such as editing videos or doing research for an upcoming story. On the other hand, Petra was always interacting with community members at the Phoenix Community clinic. However, there would be days in which she only acted as a scribe for English-speaking patients and had minimal to no contact with Spanish-speaking patients.

Field notes. This observational data served as an opportunity to examine the participants' in-the-moment discourse practices and relationship-building in the context of actual interactions between interns and community members. Dyson and Genishi (2005) explain that even with the advent of increasingly complex technologies that offer various affordances, field notes are still the hallmark tool for the ethnographer to provide addition context to such observational data. Field notes may take shape as descriptions of pertinent components of the research context (space, people, interactions, roles), “verbatim accounts of what was said” (Hammersley, 2015, p. 2), a place for the researcher to make personal commentaries, and/or a blend of these and other forms. Although there is no one or correct way of writing up field notes (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016), it is vital that the researcher reflect on “*what* to write down, *how* to write it down, and *when* to write it down” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 142, emphasis maintained) to make this a valuable collection method. Additionally, if possible and conducive the goals of the study, the researcher may incorporate audio and/or video recording into their study design as a complement to these field notes (Hammersley, 2015).

During the intern observations, I took detailed, hand written field notes in which I highlighted important features of the interactions and the spaces in which they took place, biographical details of pertinent social actors, relationships between these actors, and personal reflections. In the cases of María and Penelope, I audio-recorded their interactions with community members for later linguistic analysis after gaining these individuals' permission to use this interactional data. In the case of Petra, I was only

permitted to observe patient appointments and take field notes in order to respect the patient privacy laws (HIPAA) that prohibited any type of audio or video recording.

Intern Semi-Structured Interviews and Intern Conversations

Interviews are a valuable instrument in the social sciences (Briggs, 1986) that can assist the linguistic ethnographer to better understand and incorporate participants' perspectives (Copland & Creese, 2015; Richards, 2003). There are two overarching categories of interviews, each with their own purpose: *formal* and *informal* (Richards, 2003).

Formal interviews (Semi-structured interviews). Formal interviews take on different shapes in qualitative research: *structured* (explicitly following a set of questions) or *semi-structured* (guided by but not limited to a set of questions) (Richards, 2003). The latter is the preferred type of interview employed in LE and offers the researcher and the participant the freedom to explore other topics and engage in these topics more deeply (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Although less common in traditional ethnographic research (Agar, 2008; Gobo, 2008), formal interviews are ubiquitous within LE. Copland and Creese (2015) anticipate that their higher prevalence stems from the fact that linguistic ethnographers who “adopt an ethnographic perspective” (p. 3) may not spend as substantial amount of time in the field in comparison to traditional ethnographers. Therefore, these types of interviews offer researchers that “have established respectful, ongoing relationships with their interviewees” (Heyl, 2001, p. 369) an efficient, alternative approach to addressing research questions that would have otherwise been addressed through more extensive participant observation. Nevertheless, there are cons associated with formal interviews,

including difficulty for participants to reflect on certain experiences in the moment, as well as the issue of comfortability and/or sensitivity to both recording devices and a formal atmosphere, among others.

In this dissertation research, I carried out pre- and post- semi-structured interviews (n = 6) at various points in the semester. The pre-interview took place a few weeks after the interns had started their internships, while the post- took place at the end of the semester. I created a set of questions (in both English and Spanish) focusing on the interns' backgrounds, professional aspirations, language and community internships to guide the discussion (See Appendix C). Additionally, I included questions based upon topics that arose during the interview and information from previous data collection. Overall, the interviews helped me to not only build a better humanistic and holistic understanding of the intern and their experiences, but also to promote reflection on various features of their communicative competence and relationships throughout the community internships.

Informal interviews (Intern conversations). In comparison to formal interviews, informal interviews are more common for traditional ethnographers who spend extended periods of time in the field. They take the shape of spur of the moment interactions that occur in a variety of different contexts and spaces and typically focus on a specific topic without the use of pre-formulated questions. Unlike formal interviews in which the researcher takes an authoritative position, in informal interviews “he/she positions him/herself as ignorant and the interviewee as the one taking the lead” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 6).

An adjustment that can be made for linguistic ethnographers who are unable to dedicate a prolonged amount of time in the field is to use the “go-along” technique (Kusenbach, 2003), in which they conduct an informal interview with a participant before or after an activity (Copland & Creese, 2015). Even if this adjustment is made, these types of interviews can pose certain complications, such as the risk that the participant will not perceive the encounter as part of the research process, as well as the feasibility of recording these encounters.

Complementing the semi-structured interviews, I incorporated the “go-along” technique through seeking out communication with interns through a variety of more informal channels of communication. Specifically, conversations with participants in the course of their daily actions were carried out in order to build rapport with the interns, prompt reflections, ask for additional information, and clarify any doubts regarding topics or events that arose during observations or from the participant-reported tasks. If the interview would not interfere with their work, I would ask interns impromptu questions before, during, and after the observations. I also engaged in conversations virtually (e.g., text message, phone calls, and emails) to respect their responsibilities and busy schedules. Reaching out to them in this way also allowed me time to review the data that I had collected up until that point and identify any important areas that I would later member check (see Chapter Four).

Community Member Debriefings

In order to bring the community members' perspectives into play, I asked for their verbal consent to engage in informal debriefing sessions after their interaction with the intern. During this time, I asked them a brief set of questions relating to their background and language use, community internship site, and perceptions of interns (See Appendix D). These interviews were audio recorded and took place in Spanish, English, and/or a combination of the two according to the community members' preferences.

Intern Written and Video Reflective Diaries

Within language acquisition research, reflective diaries are a common way to give participants a space to reflect and share their thoughts, perspectives and self-perceived growth (Bacon, 1995; Bringle & Hatcher, 1999; Gass & Mackey, 2007; Oxford & Crookall, 1989). This data collection method has also been used to elicit participants' expressed motivations and attitudes (Gu, 2009; Isabelli-García, 2006).

The reflective diaries (n = 21) collected in this study took the form of bi-weekly written or video recorded assignments for the accompanying online course. The instructor for the course created prompts based on the interns' previous diary submissions. The motivation for this decision was to encourage opportunities for interns to work through conflicts that had arisen at their internship site and/or further reflect on important topics and encounters during the internships. Collaborating in the research process, the instructor additionally included questions specific to communicative competence (e.g., pragmatics, culture, grammar) and strategies used to learn/retain new vocabulary and structures, which provided the interns a space to reflect on this topic in relation to their internship experience.

Additional Class Assignments

In addition to analyzing the intern written and video reflective diaries, the instructor for the course granted me access to all additional class assignments through the learning management system, BlackBoard. These took the form of guideline and contract documents, logs of completed hours and tasks, and a professional selfie competition in which the interns were asked to submit a work-place selfie with a caption that represented the essence of their internship role.

Transcripts

Finally, if audio/video recordings have been collected from observations, interviews, or any other data collection methods, it is common to create a transcription of the content for future data analysis. Transcripts are especially important in linguistic ethnography, as researchers strive to represent participant perceptions as faithfully as possible through first person accounts. Although researcher perception is always present (Ochs, 1979; Wolcott, 2005), “the shift from perception to textual representation is generally less vulnerable to researcher’s idiosyncratic interpretation than it is in, say, the composition of descriptive vignettes” (Rampton, 2006, p. 395). Ultimately, the decision to transcribe an event, as well the depth of the transcription (e.g., general themes, phonological components), is dependent upon the phenomenon of interest and the type of analysis to be carried out (Bazeley, 2013).

Data Analysis Procedures

In this section, I will explore data analysis procedures common to LE, as well as describe the specific procedures that I utilized in order to answer the research questions outlined in Chapters One and Two.

Data Analysis Procedures: Historical Practices

Specifically, the goal of data analysis in LE is to understand the overall (social) complexity of a lived experience from the participants' point of view (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), while diving deeply into the discursive evidence to support and present these social claims. However, as ethnographer Wolf (1992) explains, "experience is messy" (p. 129) and the task of purposefully making sense of the messiness of human experience falls most heavily upon the researcher. The process of doing so is both *inductive* and *reflexive* on the part of the researcher (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), as well as is grounded in the data itself, experiences of the researches, and guiding theoretical subscriptions (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

To purposefully wade through this messiness, linguistic ethnographers can work to develop what Copland (2015) describes as an *analytical framework grounded in ethnography* "which employs detailed linguistic analysis and draws findings from the interplay between the ethnographic and linguistic data" (p. 126). In the following subsections, I will explore three different data analysis methods that may aid the linguistic ethnographer to do just that.

Coding. Diving head first into the messiness, a fundamental data analysis method in ethnographic research is known as *coding*. Although this process takes on a variety of names and procedures (see Bazeley, 2013 for examples), I will explore one such version that I see most fruitful for the previously described type of work that I have sought to engage in vis-à-vis the current study: *analytic coding*. Working directly with the collected data, analytic coding assists the researcher in figuring out “the conceptual importance of the human actions and reactions that have been inscribed in the data set” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 84), as well as cultivating the necessary vocabulary to communicate the narrative of the data.

Using pen/paper and/or a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software, the researcher beings to engage in analytic data analysis by combing through the pieces of data, or *basic units*, with the intent of organizing and sorting it. The investigator may begin by using *open coding*, in which they first get a feel for the data as a whole by making notes and indicating descriptors of important excerpts. After doing so, they may then move towards more *focused coding*, in which they drill down on specific ideas that will most likely involve the expansion, collapse, and elimination of certain coding categories (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). Through this iterative process, the researcher identifies themes and patterns with the hope of uncovering a narrative within the data set. Due to the inductive and reflexive nature of this type of analysis, there are infinite ways in which the researcher can categorize and organize the data (Wolcott, 2005). Therefore, it is essential that the research be aware of their own positionality and that the findings can later by corroborated and further expanded upon using previous literature, appropriate theoretical frameworks, and participants’ discursive data.

Choosing a specific framework can help the investigator to shape their scholarship more coherently while building the study design, collecting data, and undertaking data analysis. One specific framework that lends itself well to the critical type of research through community engagement in which I have sought to engage is *Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx)*. This framework critically explores the relationship between language use and power structures within society, and calls for social reformation (Pennycook, 2001). Additionally, the “strong” definition implemented by Pennycook (2001) not only encourages analysis and associations to be drawn within the field of linguistics, but rather in an interdisciplinary manner.

Linguistic analysis methods. In order to detangle the complex relationships between society and language, LE places an equal focus on the analysis of discursive data. Categories can be determined first through the coding of specific linguistic element of focus and then worked with further through a linguistic analysis. There are variety of linguistic based analyses that the linguistic ethnographer can build into their study. However, the analytic method(s) that are ultimately chosen once again depend upon the goals of the research, themes and narratives identified in the coding process, expertise and epistemology of the researcher, etc. The analytic methods, each with their own history and purpose, are *conversation analysis (CA)* and *discourse analysis (DA)*.

Conversation analysis. Originating in the 1960s from the work of Sacks, CA was originally conceptualized as a way to “investigate the social order” (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 4) of everyday speech. It has since been extended to investigate oral discourse in a variety of contexts that do not fit within the category of everyday speech. What has maintained, however, are several fundamental characteristics of CA. Some of these include the use of audio from “naturally occurring” discourse supported by a specific transcription process (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), engaging in a data-driven analysis versus a hypothesis-driven analysis, and viewing discursive events as “structurally organized: each speaking turn relates to what has gone before and anticipates what will follow” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 24). Such a perspective facilitates the recognition and categorization of discursive patterns. Linguistic ethnographers that add CA to their linguistic analysis toolkit may choose to stay completely faithful to the CA approach, whereas others may incorporate select tools (Paltridge, 2012) (for a complete history of CA see works such as Liddicoat, 2011; Wooffitt, 2005).

Discourse analysis. In contrast to CA, DA has historically lent itself towards the analysis of written discourse or oral discourse with the intended focus on underlying meaning versus conversational structures. This analytic method stemmed from a dispute within the field of sociology, in which researchers “wanted to explore the social dimensions which underpinned accepted or true scientific knowledge” (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 11). In the 1970s two sociologists, Gilbery and Mulkay, narrowed in on one such dispute within the field of biochemistry. Their work resulted in a four-step analysis process that has been influential in qualitative studies that incorporate discursive data (Wooffitt, 2005).

DA has since taken on many shapes. One relevant approach to DA is focusing on analysis of language-in-use or language-in-action, which “considers how language, both spoken and written, enacts social and cultural perspectives and identities (Gee, 2005, pg. i). Gee (2005) specifically focuses on seven different “building” tasks for which we use language to create, and can therefore be useful to think about when carrying out DA. These tasks are (i) *significance*, (ii) *activities*, (iii) *identities*, (iv) *relationships*, (v) *politics – the distribution of social goods*, (vi) *connections*, and (vii) *sign systems and knowledge*.

Rigor and validity. Researchers that do not engage in LE, or qualitative research in general, may question the role of researcher subjectivity and its impact on the rigor and validity of a study. It is important to signal that this is not something that qualitative researchers ignore nor take for granted; rather, it is connected to a fundamental belief within this type of research. Unlike quantitative research in which objectivity and distance between the researcher and the participants is often privileged, qualitative research positions the researcher as the “primary research instrument” (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016, p. 164).

This can be demonstrated through one’s interpretations of the well known *Hawthorne Effect*, which recognizes the possibility for participants to change their behavior as they know they are being observed (Brown, 1988). Whereas in other types of research may view this as undesirable, ethnographers recognize that this effect is inevitable and “should not be regarded as a defect of observation, but rather as a characteristic intrinsic to it” (Gobo, 2008, p. 10). To account for these believes, there are

practices and processes that ethnographers and linguistic ethnographers alike can draw upon in order to strengthen the rigor and validity of their studies.

Researcher reflexivity. A practice that is imperative for qualitative researchers, and specifically ethnographic researchers who spend an extended amount of time in the field, to engage in is *researcher reflexivity*. This is an “active and ongoing awareness and address of the researcher’s role and influence in the construction of and relational contribution to meaning and interpretation through the research process” (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016, p. 15). There are a variety of different practices that researchers can draw upon to engage continuously in reflexivity that helps to support the overall rigor and validity of a qualitative study (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016).

In addition to the *researcher positionality* described in Chapter Three, there are other valuable reflexive practices that the researcher can bring into play at various aspects of the research process. For example, drawing upon a fundamental practice of Grounded Theory, researchers can write *memos* (methodological or explorative) which are “adaptive narrative tools for developing ideas and elaborating the social worlds of research sites” that can be a space for researchers to “find their own voices, and where they give themselves permission to formulate ideas, to play with them, to reconfigure them, to expand them, to explore them, and ultimately to distill them for publication and participation in conversation with others” (Lempert, 2007, p. 247). Additionally, *transparency* in describing the research journey – from idea conceptualization to findings and conclusions – is an imperative practice allowing others to evaluate the appropriateness of the study (Bazeley, 2013).

Reflective processes do not always have to be an individual practice; rather, researchers can also invite others to take part. *Dialogic engagements* are collaborative interactions with supportive partners that “challenge you to see yourself and your research from a variety of angles at various stages throughout the research process” (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016, p. 16). Researchers may also turn to study participants and engage in *respondent validation*, also referred to as *member checking*. This practice consists of “systematically soliciting feedback about your data and conclusions from the people you are studying” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126).

Triangulation and corroboration. Finally, *triangulation* (Fielding & Fielding, 1986), or *corroboration* (Wolcott, 2005), is a methodological process in which the researcher checks their conclusions across multiple data sources to see if they hold up (Bazeley, 2013). This process helps to support the validity of a study, by accounting for the possibility that the conclusions “reflect only the biases of a specific method” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 102). Additionally, this practice helps to support the rigor of a study that contains a small number of participants (Wolcott, 2005). Nonetheless, engaging in this practice does not automatically guarantee the rigor nor validity of a study, as there are different possible sources for bias and error (e.g. possibility of bias involved in self-reported data). Therefore, it is always important for the researcher to anticipate where the potential for bias and error may occur and how to appropriately deal with these when designing and carrying out a study (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Maxwell, 2013).

Data Analysis Procedures: The Current Study

Taking into account the precedence of particular data analysis procedures within LE, Table 4.1 details the origin of the data that was used for each analysis.

Table 4.1. Data Collection Instruments Used for Data Analyses

Data Collection Instrument	Research Question 1	Research Question 2	Research Implications
Language contact profile	X	X	X
Intern observations	X	X	X
Field notes	X	X	X
Conversations (e.g., follow-up)	X	X	X
Roleplays			X
Intern semi-structured interviews	X	X	X
Community member debriefings		X	X
Intern written and video reflective diaries	X	X	X

Data Management Methods

As qualitative researchers begin to collect data, they must make decisions as to the most appropriate way to manage the data. Given that the nature of certain types of qualitative research, such as LE, can lead to large amounts of data that often come from different methods and sources, I sketched out a *data management plan* before beginning data collection. By creating this plan, I not only frontloaded and facilitated the organization process, but also had the opportunity to work and become familiar with my data. This sense of familiarity later aided me in the process of data analysis (Ravitch & Mittenfelnder Carl, 2016).

In addition to more traditional data management methods (e.g., binders, computer archives), a practice that is becoming more common, especially for large projects, is the use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) (Maxwell, 2013). Seror (2012) explains that “crucial to the design of CAQDAS was a transition from the hands-on work of annotating, cutting up, filing, and searching for data in stacks of papers to an electronic environment where these tasks could be executed digitally on a computer screen” (p. 1). Therefore, CAQDAS act commonly as a medium to facilitate the storing, categorizing, and coding of data coming from qualitative and/or mixed-methodology research (Maxwell, 2013). Other benefits of such software are the ability to easily store and transport data, work with larger data sets (Lu & Shulman, 2008), facilitate teamwork (Bazeley, 2008), create visual representations (Parmeggiani, 2009), and the affordance of more complex analysis for larger sets of data (Richards, 2002). Examples of common CAQDAS are Atlas.ti, MAXQDA, and NVivo (Humble, 2012).

As the use of CAQDAS becomes more popular, so do debates regarding the potential downsides of these programs, such as the influence that such tools can have in the data analysis process and ultimate conclusions of the research (Humble, 2012; Maxwell, 2013; Seror, 2012). For example, when citing the *Law of the Instrument* as conceptualized by Kaplan (1964), Maxwell (2013) explains that “such programs can subtly push your data analysis toward categorizing strategies, ignoring narrative and other connecting approaches” (p. 116). This same critique could be applied to research focusing on language and discourse in which the researcher solely utilizes Grounded Theory-style approaches of data analysis (e.g., development of codes and categories). If the focus of the research is to explore some type of linguistic phenomenon and its larger

social connection(s), it is not possible to paint a fully contextualized picture without taking into account a linguistic aspect of the phenomenon at hand.

Other examples of the possible downfalls of CAQDAS are decontextualization and distance from research (MacMillan, 2005), lack of experience and training (Mangabeira, Lee, & Fielding, 2004), and a push towards frequency counts of data versus meaning (St John & Johnson, 2000). Some potential strategies to combat such issues are user training, developing a deeper understanding of the features afforded, and a profound reflection of the researcher's intentionality (for a more in-depth review of such issues and strategies, see Humble, 2012).

With this information in mind, my personal data management plan consisted of a blend of traditional (binders and computer archives) and CAQDAS (NVivo) data management methods. I believe that the intentional combination of these two methods, along with additional analyses focusing on participants' language choices, allowed me to combat many of the previously mentioned downfalls of CAQDAS and grounded-theory style content analysis. For example, as will be seen in the next section, I began the coding process with traditional methods and later transitioned into the use of CAQDAS for a more focused approach. This permitted me to interact with the data and draw my own conclusions before utilizing the analytic software. Additionally, I sought out user training for NVivo, looked for instances of frequency counts versus meaning, and reflected on my own intentionality.

Research Question 1

What types of experiences were the interns afforded through their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? How did the interns take advantage of these experiences to do different kinds of identity work that transcended the goals of the program?

Rationale for organization of data analysis. Petra, Penélope, and María each completed domestic professional internships for the Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) minor at Southwestern University. Given their unique linguistic acquisition profiles (second language, HL, and non-local native speaker) and the fact that they took up different types of roles in different community spaces, I did not believe that it was logical to lump the data from these participants together for one large analysis. For this reason, I made the decision to create three distinct, yet interrelated case studies that would focus on each intern's journey, while simultaneously serving as a base for comparison between their experiences and the larger SSP program at Southwestern University.

Data analysis procedures. Throughout the data collection process, I began to create paper-based (data binders) corpora for each focal participant that consisted of all the data collected through the procedures outlined previously in this chapter. Taking pen to paper, I would note any information and/or themes that seemed to be reoccurring which played a vital role in shaping the ongoing collection methods (e.g. informal interview questions, post-formal interviews, post-roleplays).

After all the observational, interview, and participant-reported data was collected and transcribed, I created an electronic version of the corpus in NVivo. I then continued to “get to know” the data through engaging in open coding (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) via electronic annotation. Upon review of my annotations, I identified a pattern: despite

completing different internships, an important part of each intern's journey was related to way in which they appropriated their SSP internships in order to engage in language-based identity work. Engaging in a data-driven versus hypothesis-driven approach (Copland & Creese, 2015), I refined my first research question – *What types of experiences were the interns afforded through their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? How did the interns take advantage of these experiences to do different kinds of identity work that transcended the goals of the program?*

In order to answer this research question, I dove into focused coding (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), establishing *identity* and *language* as the larger parent codes consistent across the three corpora. Within each intern's corpus, I then utilized components of Grounded Theory (Saldaña, 2012) to establish subcategories and codes based upon the interns' language – such as “speak formally and proper,” “Ebonics,” and “trying to be Caucasian” in the case of Petra (based on Silver & Lewins, 2014) (See Appendix E for each participant's coding scheme with examples):

(4.1) **Coding scheme for Petra's corpus**

Parent codes: Identity, language

Subcategory 1: Authentic, multilingual/multidialectal self

CODE: TRANSLANGUAGING – LABOR/SOCIAL MOBILITY

e.g., *I can speak formally and proper if I have to*

CODE: TRANSLANGUAGING – MULTILINGUAL/SOCIAL

e.g., *Your palabra del día is "chispa," meaning spark.*

Subcategory 2: Self-protection in situations of linguistic discomfort

CODE: SITUATIONS OF LINGUISTIC DISCOMFORT

e.g., *I don't even know how to spell these words in English.*

CODE: LOWERING EXPECTATIONS/AVOIDING

e.g., *My Spanish might not be up to this.*

Subcategory 3: Language as a vehicle for interpersonal connection

CODE: CONFLICT BETWEEN INTERNSHIP AND MAJOR

e.g., *But it's different than my professional career of journalism*

CODE: WRITTEN COMMUNICATION

e.g., *I also had to write every day in the patient records.*

CODE: ORAL COMMUNICATION

e.g., *communication and interpretation*

Subcategory 4: Hair as a site of resistance

CODE: RACIAL SHAMING

e.g., *You're trying to be Caucasian*

CODE: NONCONSENSUAL HAIR TREATMENT

e.g., *relaxing/straightening treatment.*

CODE: LABOR AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

e.g., *needs to wear your hair the same way*

In grappling with what these categories and codes meant for these interns' *socially* and *personally*, I engaged in discourse analysis (Gee, 2005) informed by Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx) (Pennycook, 2001) to create assertions and a narrative from the data (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) regarding the kinds of language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work that they did throughout their internships. Specifically, I utilized the theoretical underpinnings of *Positioning Theory* (Davis & Harré, 1990) to examine what types of storylines (e.g., Medical Interpretation) were available to interns, as well as the

types of positions that they desired to take up (e.g., competent and legitimate medical interpreter) and/or were assigned by other interlocutors (e.g., passive observer). To support these analyses, I also drew upon the other linguistic- and ethnicity-/racially-based frameworks (language ideologies, multilingual practices, corporeal expression) that were outlined in Chapter Two. Finally, in order to go beyond the previously described criticisms of Grounded Theory coding (e.g., Law of the Instrument), I supplemented the analysis by examining how the interns implemented specific linguistic phenomenon (e.g., translanguaging) and parts of speech (e.g., emotion words) to further engage in their identity work.

Research Question 2

How did the interns implement their strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? What were the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize?

Rationale for organization of data analysis. Petra, Penélope, and María each engaged in SSP internships which required them to use the TL to collaborate with Spanish-speaking community members in the Phoenix Metro area. Notwithstanding, the circumstances of each intern's duties influenced the type of discursive events in which they took part. Specifically, the following factors shaped the particular kinds of storylines available to the interns and, consequently, the types of positions that they could take on and/or be assigned by other interlocutors: (i) nature and culture of the community internship site, (ii) interns' linguistic proficiency, (iii) linguistic proficiency of interns' interlocutors (monolingual versus bilingual), and (iv) role of interns in these social discourses (interpretation versus interview versus producing). Furthermore, these

circumstances influenced the discursive strategies that the Petra, Penélope, and María utilized while carrying out their internship-related tasks.

With this in mind, the elements that shaped Penélope's and María's social discourses were more closely aligned. For example, although Penélope and María engaged in unique types of language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work and took up different roles at the Phoenix Reportaje, they were exposed to the same institutional culture at this internship site. Sharing this space also led them to communicate with interlocutors that had similar types of linguistic proficiency. Specifically, they engaged in discourse generally with bilingual Spanish-English-speaking interlocutors, whereas many of the community members with whom Petra interacted at the Phoenix Community Clinic were either monolingual speakers of Spanish or Spanish-dominant bilingual speakers of Spanish and English.

In regards to linguistic proficiency, all three inters were advanced speakers of the TL. Having said this, Penélope and María both had very different relationships to the TL than Petra due to their extended exposure to the language and culture(s) as heritage language HL speaker and non-local native speaker (NS) respectively. With these relationships also came different experiences and, consequently, different investments in terms of their identity. Furthermore, Penélope and María were completing internships within their field of journalism and, as such, had completed relevant SSP coursework to prepare them for encounters in the TL. Finally, these two interns' roles in discourse afforded them two different types of encounters: *pre-meditative* (opportunities to consider and/or plan for upcoming communication) and *in situ* (communicative interactions in-the-

moment). Petra, on the other hand, was only afforded in-situ encounters, as the purpose of her communicative events was to provide in-the-moment medical interpretation.

Ultimately, these four elements created a contrast between the types of encounters and discursive strategies utilized by Petra in comparison to Penélope and María. Furthermore, as Petra always carried out the same task (interpretation and scribe), with interlocutors who took on the same role (patient, physician), in the same type of in situ encounters, I was able to consistently collect data that allowed me to track her development of communicate strategies. Contrastingly, in the cases of Penélope and María, these two interns carried out different tasks, with different interlocutress, in different types of encounters (in situ versus pre-meditative), resulting in different types of data available for collection.

Therefore, in order to answer my second research question – *How did the interns implement their strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their Spanish for Specific Purposes domestic community internships? What were the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize?* – I divided the analysis in two parts based upon the different classes of encounters that the interns were afforded. Specifically, in Chapter Eight, I explore Petra’s development of strategic knowledge through communicative strategies (CSs) during the in situ encounters that she had while carrying out her internship. In Chapter Nine, I analyze Penélope and María’s self-reported (via interviews) and observed strategic knowledge through CSs and mediation resources during pre-meditative and in situ encounters.

Data analysis procedures. To begin the data analysis procedure, I created corpora for each focus participant by compiling in NVivo (i) transcriptions of all data (written, audio-recorded, and video-recorded) in which the interns explicitly or implicitly discussed their use of CSs and (ii) my field notes and the transcriptions of all recorded discourse in which the interns engaged with community members at the various research sites. I then analyzed these corpora using two methods guided by the theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter Two: communicative competence and identity work within experiential-language learning (EX-LL).

First, following Lafford (1995, 2004), I analyzed the corpora in order to identify and categorize all instances of interns' CSs utilizing the categorization frameworks established by Dörnyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b, 1997), Lafford (2004), and Tarone and Yule (1987). While doing so, I realized two important things that impacted how I continued this process. The first, and already described, was that Petra had only been able to engage with community members during in situ encounters, whereas Penélope and María had the opportunity to do so in both pre-meditative and in situ encounters. The second thing that I noticed was that the interns were utilizing CSs that had not yet been categorized within the literature. Therefore, I drew on the Sociocultural Theory (SCT) of language learning framework influenced by Vygotsky (1978) to create additional categories of CSs (e.g., mediation by technology as an artifact) with accompanying types of CSs (e.g., Google Translate) to paint an in-depth picture of how the interns were utilizing language to work through breakdowns in communication during these professional encounters. With this information, I created a coding scheme that began with higher levels of coding and transitioned to more specific levels of coding:

(4.2) Coding scheme for CS

Parent codes: Pre-meditative, in situ

Subcategory 1: Types of CS

e.g., resource-deficit → insufficient knowledge to complete message

CODE: CS

e.g., approximation → alternation of target lexical item with related item

This new corpus would serve as the basis for the second round of analysis in which I sought to answer the second part of this research question – *What were the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize?*

Having identified and categorized the CSs implemented by each intern, I moved onto answering the second part of the question by analyzing all instances of CSs pulled from the newly established corpus. I specifically engaged in discourse analysis (Gee, 2005) to go beyond understanding *what* they were saying and understand *why* were they saying it. To draw these conclusions, I used my findings from research question one regarding the identity work that interns did through their SSP internships, as well as the linguistic- and ethnicity-/racially- based frameworks outlined in Chapter Two.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In this chapter, I described and offered concrete examples of the data collection and analysis procedures that I engaged as I carried out this dissertation research. In the next three chapters, (Chapters Five, Six, and Seven) I will answer research question one by means of a comparative case study incorporating individual portraits of Petra, Penélope, and María, respectively.

CHAPTER 5

DON'T WORRY, BE NAPPY:

PETRA'S JOURNEY OF POSITIONING HER IDENTITY AS A LEGITIMATE AND AUTHENTICALLY MULTILINGUAL/MULTIDIALECTAL SPEAKER ACROSS RACIAL BOUNDARIES

Although Petra usually gets to her internship at about 8am, we had planned to arrive earlier (around 7:40am) so that we would have a little bit of time to speak about how the morning would go, look at the schedule for patients, etc. Of course, even that early in the morning, there was a stream of cars on the interstate, increasing my ETA from what I had predicted to be 7:30am to 7:40pm. Worried that I was going to arrive late, I was relieved when I received a text from Petra stating "Buenos días, Lexi! I'll be there a little after 7:40... This traffic is a mess. I'm sorry!" I texted back and we set a plan to meeting in the volunteer parking lot and walk in together.

I saw her zoom into the parking lot with a cute and sporty vehicle, rocking what she calls her "natural fro". As Fridays are a bit more casual, she sported her signature gold necklace with the name "Oprah" in a scroll font, a navy dress, a patterned kimono, and orange sandals. We greeted each other with a hug and a joke about the traffic. I followed her into the main lobby, where we saw a room full of volunteers with wide smiles and matching red shirts. After she entered a code onto the lobby touch screen, she led me through what seemed like a labyrinth to get the community clinic.

(Fieldnote, 03-23-18)

A Brief Summary of Petra's Journey

While getting to know Petra, I began to see her as a passionate young woman that could bring warmth to even the most fluorescently lit spaces with her vibrant energy and "extra" personality. This charisma helped her create relationships with her fellow missionaries and the local community during the 18 months she spent abroad in Ecuador for a religious mission. At the time of this immersive sojourn, her linguistic self-confidence was at an all-time high – returning stateside and leaving this immersive environment would prove difficult. Being back in a "virtual" classroom at the university

contributed to a growing disinterest in learning and using the language. When it came time to complete an internship for her Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) minor, logistical issues prevented her from being positioned at a community site in her chosen field of journalism. She instead pursued an internship as a medical interpreter at a community clinic in the Metro Phoenix area that is dedicated to providing medical care for primarily low-income, uninsured, and undocumented individuals.

In Chapter Five, I focus on Petra's journey, examining the experiences that her professional internship afforded her and how she harnessed these experiences to engage in language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work that transcended the goals of the SSP program. Throughout this journey, she utilized language to position herself as both a legitimate and authentically multilingual/multidialectal speaker across racial boundaries while interacting with different community members inside and outside of the internship. Specifically, her role as a medical interpreter/scribe⁸ presented her with situations of linguistic discomfort in which she implemented interactional strategies to maintain her positionality as a legitimate speaker of Spanish during situations of linguistic discomfort, inside of her internship. Outside of this internship, however, Petra utilized different varieties of English/Spanish and corporeal expression to construct an identity that represented her the various racial and ethnic groups with which she identified – even though these choices were often racialized by other social actors.

⁸ These roles required Petra to interpret simultaneously from English to Spanish for physicians and patients. Also, depending upon the preferences of the physician, Petra was tasked with making notes electronically (in English) to patients' charts regarding the events of the visit.

Throughout this chapter, I specifically offer an examination of three important themes that represent this type of identity work that she did across discursive events: (i) self-protection in situations of linguistic discomfort, (ii) language as a vehicle for interpersonal connection, and (iii) corporeal resistance in (White) European dominated societies.

Narration of her Authentically Multilingual/Multidialectal Self

An authentically multilingual/multidialectal self is at the heart of who Petra imagined herself to be. In addition to speaking both Spanish and English, she described proudly her ability to move between different dialects - “standard” English, Ebonics, “standard Spanish,” and a stigmatized variety of Spanish that she had learned while living in Ecuador – even though the motives for doing so were not always desirable. Furthermore, as a biracial women who lived in a Spanish-speaking country, Petra was also a multicultural individual. Professionally, she perceived herself as a “female empowered journalist, sometimes bilingual” (Interview, 04-21-18). Her ethnic ties to both the black and white communities in the United States (U.S.) helped her to see stories from multiple lenses, or what she calls the “black side” and the “white side.” Although she was unsure if she would like to pursue a career as a bilingual journalist, the connection with the Spanish language and Hispanic/Latinx communities, both in the U.S. and Ecuador, were also influential in her daily life.

Petra's language learning journey began like many other second language (L2) learners, beginning with exposure to Spanish in a formal, academic setting during high school. Shortly after commencing her studies at the university, she felt called to complete an 18-month mission through her church that took place in Guayaquil Sur, Ecuador. Being surrounded by the language and culture(s) coupled with engaging in the language for the specific purpose of serving her church and religion, she felt secure in her linguistic abilities. However, coming home caused a disconnect. Her exposure to the language was now minimal, linked primarily to the online Spanish classes that she was taking through Southwestern University. Not only were the interpretive and presentational modes of communication limited, but the opportunities for interpersonal communication were constrained to video chats completed through an online platform. Furthermore, this "classroom" communication felt inauthentic to Petra as these exchanges required the speakers to engage in monolingual Spanish communication with the goal of correctly using grammatical forms according to the variety of the language taught in the class. This was problematic, as she had come to recognize authentic communication as being multilingual. In these authentic contexts in her life she was able to translanguage, using her language(s) as well as other resources (e.g., semiotic repertoire) to achieve the ultimate goal of being understood.

Translanguaging as a Tool for Labor and Social Mobility

In fact, while getting to know Petra and observing her at the Phoenix Community Clinic, I noticed that English/Spanish translanguaging made a common appearance in her discourse. When I asked her about the function of this practice, she explained that her translanguaging abilities captured much more than just a simple switch between English and Spanish:

-
- Petra** *I'm all about it. I feel like that's how I speak in English too, so that's how I speak when I speak Spanish and Spanglish too.*
- Lexi** *When you speak in English? What do you mean?*
- Petra** *Like when I use my Ebonics.*
- Lexi** *Okay. Can you give me an example?*
- Petra** *(Imitates a prestigious tone) I can speak formally and proper if I have to. If I'm the at the Report, I can speak how they would like me to speak when I'm on camera. (Returns to her usual tone) But I ain't about that.*
- Lexi** *So, your personal or own dialect, we'll say, is a mixing --*
- Petra** *Hooked on Ebonics with Oprah. *laughs* There you go.*
- Lexi** *You wouldn't say you speak Ebonics, you would say you have a switch of Ebonics with -- what?*
- Petra** *Yes, I actually had a friend tell me at church the other day -- she also speaks Spanish -- she said she is losing it because she doesn't really practice. She's like, "It amazes me how you just switch back. You can be speaking like you're really white, but then you get really ghetto, but then you'll throw Spanish in there, too, the same time." She's like, "I'm just -- wow".*

(Interview, 04-21-18)

In this passage, Petra recognized the social power of being bilingual/bidialectal in “standard” English and her own version of “Ebonics” (often referred to as African American Vernacular English). Harnessing this power, she would make conscious decisions regarding her linguistic choices in order to influence both the positions that she took up and that others assigned her in a variety of personal and professional contexts. In order to anticipate how interlocutors would position her, Petra looked to the language ideologies that were held by social actors and dominated within the spaces of interaction.

As demonstrated by the discussion regarding the differences between the Phoenix Report and the Phoenix Reportaje described in Chapter Four, one of the language ideologies prevalent in the School of Journalism seemed to be the belief that “standard” English was the dominant variety for the workplace and academia. Such an ideology mirrored the general, dominating belief in the United States (U.S.) that “standard” English is a marker of education, success, and membership of the dominant culture. Ebonics, on the other hand, was discouraged from such professional spaces as it was considered a deficient, non-prestigious variety of English that was a marker of little to no education and membership of a low-economic social class (Baron, 2000; Dara Hill, 2009; Greene & Walker, 2004). In acknowledging this ideology, Petra knew that the positions that authority figures in this institution assigned her would affect her *labor* and *social mobility* – or opportunities to move between roles and social strata – within the School of Journalism. Illustrating this point, she was aware that in order to have high labor and social mobility in this institution, she would have to shape her discourse in such a way that would encourage others to assign her a position as they type of reporter that the School wanted to produce: educated speakers that belonged to the majority culture. For

Petra, this entailed making the conscious choice to engage in what Irvine and Gal (2000) coined *erasure*, or “the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or actives (or sociolinguistic phenomenon) invisible” (p. 38). In doing so, she eliminated all traces of Ebonics and instead reflected the “standard” English variety that was preferred at the School of Journalism.

Translanguaging as a Multilingual and Social Practice

Although these language ideologies fomented the need for Petra to strategically adapt her English-language varieties (“standard English” and Ebonics) to increase her labor and social mobility at the School of Journalism, there were other instances in which her status as a multilingual/multidialectal individual was positive. For example, Petra implied that her skills in going between these dialects facilitated her translanguaging in English and Spanish. As a White and Black woman, not only had she learned to utilize language as a way to navigate the social disparities marking these two worlds, but each of these varieties additionally embodied different aspects of her multilingual identity. Therefore, when she learned Spanish, translanguaging was a natural extension of her already bilingual/bidialectal linguistic repertoire. For this reason, being constrained to utilize an inauthentic, monolingual variety within the Spanish (virtual) classroom created a stressful environment for Petra. Without the opportunity to be totally immersed or utilize the language in a way that fed her passion, self-doubt began to creep back in, which led to anxiety and even avoidance of using the language. She felt pressured to be grammatically correct and soon lost her “love” for the language.

In order to rekindle this passion, she looked for out-of-the-classroom opportunities to have authentic communication that allowed her to express her authentically multilingual/multidialectal self. Her social networks, particularly her Snapchat and Instagram, provide an illustration of such an out-of-classroom setting. Each Wednesday, Petra would record and transmit a short, educational segment called *Oprah Miércoles* in which she chooses a word-of-the-day (or phrase) in Spanish to teach to her friends, family, and other social media followers. This idea manifested during the time she spent with her bilingual (English/Spanish) friends who worked in the equipment room in the School of Journalism. Every Monday and Wednesday during the semester, she would head to this room to spend time with them and engage in conversations marked by their use of what she calls “Spanglish.” Other students working in the room who did not know how to speak Spanish or had very limited proficiency began to ask them questions, resulting in Petra teaching them a word or phrase of the day. As this continued each week, her Spanish-speaking friends told her, “Let’s just make it your day. And you can just do your word of the day every week.” She agreed and, implementing her Oprah-inspired entrepreneurial skills, she decided to transmit it vis-à-vis different social media platforms.

The lexical item she chose was inspired often by what was going on that week, such as the verb *graduarse* (to graduate) that was featured as the semester came to an end and her graduation came closer. She further explained that the featured item was often “slang,” as she believed this represented the bulk of her personal linguistic repertoire in both English and Spanish. Implementing one of the many affordances of the platform, she displayed the chosen word or phrase in a band of text, which would stay visible

throughout her brief explanation and sample sentence. The transmissions always included her (and other guests) dancing to a Spanish-language song and ended with a live or pre-recorded clip of her friend singing the Oprah Miércoles “jingle.” To illustrate how Petra’s social networks created a space in which she could engage in the type of authentic communication that allowed her to express her authentically multilingual/multidialectal self, I present a segment of Oprah Miércoles:

-
- | | | |
|---|--------------|--|
| 1 | Petra | <i>¡Hola a todos!</i> |
| 2 | | <i>Your palabra del día is “chispa,” meaning spark.</i> |
| 3 | | <i>Cause everyone’s gotta have a little spark in their life.</i> |
| 4 | | <i>Okurrrrr!</i> |
-

(Instagram Post, 08-15-18)

Within the discursive event of this Oprah Miércoles installment, Petra operationalized an “Educational” storyline in which took she took up the position of “legitimate speaker of multiple English and Spanish varieties” through the multilingual practice of translanguaging. In Lines 1 through 4 she established this position by seamlessly going “beyond different linguistic structures and systems” (Wei, 2011, p. 1223) in order to complete her communicate the goal of teaching her friends, family, and followers the word “*chispa*.”

Petra utilized another semiotic process involved in the creation and representation of language ideologies to position herself as a legitimate speaker of Ebonics that Irvine and Gal (2000) coined *iconization*, or, “a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (p. 37). This process can be seen in Line 4, when Petra implemented the lexical item “Okurrrrr” as the sign off to her segment. In order to understand how Petra harnessed this term to portray a “social image” congruent with the Black and Latinx communities, one must first understand the controversial origins of this lexical item. Petra explained that this colloquialism was reported as first being utilized in drag culture and brought into the spotlight on the television show *RuPaul’s Drag Race*. Later it was brought to the mainstream by Khloé Kardashian and the rest of the Kardashian/Jenner family through their reality sitcom, *Keeping up with the Kardashians*.

More recently, this ubiquity of this colloquialism has been connected to Cardi B, a bilingual, female rapper of Dominican and Trinidadian descent who was born and raised in the Bronx, New York. It is here where iconization comes into play, as Cardi B’s story represents an unlikely rise to stardom. She went from performing as an exotic dancer in New York City, to Instagram personality, to reality television star on VH1’s *Love and Hip Hop: New York*, to famous rap artist (Miller, 2018). With the release of her hit single, *Bodak Yellow*, Cardi B began to break records as a female rapper (see Bristout, 2018 for list of current achievements).

The colloquialism “Okurrrrr” has not only become Cardi B’s catchphrase, but is also linked to the social image of a Black woman that has broken into a male dominated music scene while maintaining her culture and authenticity. Therefore, Petra’s choice to incorporate this lexical item as her own catchphrase on social media both linguistically honored Cardi B’s story and tethered Petra to its social significance within the Black and Hispanic/Latinx communities. Unlike the classroom, where translanguaging is often discouraged (Park, 2013), in her social networks Petra felt the freedom to implement her knowledge of language ideologies and the multilingual practice of translanguaging to position her identity as a legitimate and authentically multilingual/multidialectal speaker.

With the last semester of her university career around the corner, Petra faced a new adventure as she would have to complete an internship situated within the Hispanic/Latinx community in the Metro Phoenix area for completion of her SSP minor. As mentioned, she planned initially to complete an internship acting as a translator for a local news station. However, as there was no pre-established relationship with this station, the internship instructor/coordinator informed her it would be considerably time-intensive to create a partnership and internship position before the beginning of the semester. As an alternative, the instructor suggested an internship as a medical interpreter and scribe with a community site with which they had previously worked, *the Phoenix Community Clinic*. With a thirst for new experiences and her Oprah-like interest in community engagement, she pursued this role as she believed it would give her a chance to work with low-income Hispanic/Latinx community members. Despite Petra’s adventurous spirit, the proposal of working as a medical interpreter and scribe was an interesting suggestion as she had never voiced a desire to pursue a career in the medical

field, nor did she have any experience in this field other than her personal experiences in Ecuador. She did have a great appreciation for the field, which stemmed from her sister's occupation as a medical doctor. Yet, the disjuncture between the fields of medicine and journalism, as well as racialized encounters, presented her with situations of linguistic discomfort.

Self-Protection in Situations of Linguistic Discomfort

As Petra completed her internship for the SSP minor, her duties required her to work with Spanish-speakers within the local community. Specifically, as a medical interpreter, she was required to utilize her communicative competence to facilitate interactions between medical doctors and community members seeking medical care. Ecologically, each construct of communicative competence plays an important and often inter-connected role in the success of carrying out these tasks (Gregg & Saha, 2007), which were considered high-stakes as the patients' health is on the line. Basu, Phillips Costa, and Jain (2017) explained that, "In the United States, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) establishes competencies required of a 'qualified interpreter'. These competencies include the knowledge of specialized terminology and interpreter ethics and the skills to interpret accurately, effectively, and impartially" (p. 247). Although Petra dominated a variety of communicative competence constructs (e.g., pragmatics), she experienced discomfort going into medical interpreting encounters knowing that she might not have the specialized medical terminology and/or knowledge necessary to carry out successfully the task of interpreting.

Situations of Linguistic Discomfort

During our first interview, I asked Petra to tell me about where the community site where she was engaging in her internship. After explaining that she was actually completing two separate internships, one in English and one in Spanish for the SSP minor, she began to share what she was currently focusing her efforts on at the Phoenix Community Clinic:

I think I'm just engaging really in getting to know the patients and what their symptoms are. Cause a lot of times we'll get like the basic stuff, "Oh, you have gripe." Okay, cool. Like I know those words, but I'm trying to engage a lot with when they come in with stuff that I've never heard of or Spanish words that I don't know. And then even working with the doctors too, I'm like, "I don't even know how to spell these words in English. How am I supposed to know them in Spanish?". Like, what? So, I've just been really trying to engage with the stuff that I didn't know before. Which is a lot in the medical field.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

In this statement, her desire to gain exposure to patients and their symptoms related to her anxiety of working in a medical setting where, within the storyline of “Medical Interpretation,” the position of medical interpreter required a level of formalized knowledge of the medical field. Within this role, she was expected to have specific linguistic and content-based knowledge, such as the ability to recognize, recall, and produce medical terms in both English and Spanish. Although Southwestern University offers SSP courses with the objective of preparing students to utilize the target language within a medical setting (e.g., Advanced Spanish for Health Care Professionals, Introduction to Spanish/English Medical Interpretation), Petra did not take these classes. Rather, she took courses that would help prepare her to work in her desired field of journalism (e.g., Spanish Business Correspondence/Communications). Without any

preparation specific to the medical field, Petra was often surrounded by medical-based discourse that she could not decipher without the use of outside resources. Without this specialized knowledge, Petra even experienced difficulties when presented with cognates between the Spanish and English languages. One such example was the lexical item *prueba de Papanicolaou*. Although the more common term in English is *pap smear*, the standard medical term in English is the same (*Papanicolaou test*). As such, an individual with medical knowledge may have been able to infer and produce its meaning. However, when this term was mentioned during a patient visit, Petra did not have such knowledge as medicine was not her career path. In these cases, Petra would rely upon different communicative strategies (see Chapter 8 for an in-depth analysis).

During this first interview, she had also confided that she felt nervous to speak Spanish as part of her duties at her internship. At our last interview, I asked her how she felt now that the semester had finished:

*The same. No, I'm just kidding. *laughs* Not as bad. I just feel way more comfortable when I am having a normal conversation. Like yesterday, I was able to sit with a couple of patients and just talk to them because Dr. O was out doing his thing, disappearing a lot, looking for all kinds of medication and stuff. So I was like, "I'm just going to stay here." Just being able to talk with them about normal things felt a lot more comfortable, and that's when I usually felt a lot more comfortable when I'm not having to be like, "What's this medical word? What's that medical word?" Google translating. I do feel better but always room for improvement.*

(Interview, 04-21-18)

Even after completing her internship, Petra related her anxiety of utilizing Spanish with her position as medical interpreter during the discursive event of patient visits. In contrast, she felt more comfortable being able to engage in more in a casual discourse in which the topic of discussion did not require her to have medical knowledge. However,

these types of low-stakes storylines were only possible in certain circumstances when she was afforded the opportunity to shift participant roles. For example, in situations such as before/after a visit or when the provider left the exam room, the storyline immediately shifted from high-stakes (e.g., Medical Visit) to low-stakes (e.g., Polite Small Talk) vis-à-vis the patients/family members present. In response, Petra's position also shifted from medical interpreter to casual interlocutor, inviting a different type of language use.

Having said this, the high-stakes storylines were an inherent feature of her interpreting/scribing role at the community internship site. As these storylines put her identity as a competent multilingual/multidialectal speaker at risk, she utilized interactional strategies to lower her interlocutors' expectations for her performance as a medical interpreter.

Lowering Expectations and Avoiding Situations of Linguistic Discomfort

While at the Phoenix Community Clinic, Petra made purposeful interactional maneuvers to protect her identity as a legitimate, multilingual/multidialectal speaker. One such maneuver was to engage in discourse that had the social function of lowering the staff and my own expectations of her ability to successfully interact with and interpret for the Spanish-speaking patients. For example, during my second observation, I noted:

She [Petra] makes a comment a few times about not knowing "how her Spanish is going to be" this morning because she is so tired. To me, this seems to be almost a way for her to protect herself in the future if she does "falter" in her communication with the patients.

(Field note, 04-06-18)

During the final observation, she made a similar comment that seemed to have the same social function of protecting her identity:

Walking into the Community Clinic, I asked her how she was doing this morning. She told me that she was tired, adding "What else is new?" She was having trouble meeting the deadline to submit her kindness story for the national foundation dedicated to spreading messages of positivity and kindness. Trying to resolve technical issues while editing her story, she had barely gotten any sleep. She explained that with the crazy semester she has had, she is getting used to waking up – even with 8 hours of sleep – and feeling tired.

(Field note, 04-11-18)

A few weeks later, I brought this up to her and asked her to explain what she meant by such comments:

Lexi *At the observations sometimes you would say, "My Spanish might not be up to this". Or we'd go into a room and you'd be like, "I don't know how my Spanish was." Tell me a little bit about what you meant by that.*

Petra *Rough. Hashtag rough, that's what I meant. *laughs* You were never there on the days where they were super specialized doctors, because when those super specialized doctors are there, that's sometimes what I mean by that. There are words that I'm like, "I don't --" because, you know, sometimes you can guess because they're almost the same translating them. But, no, rough.*

(Interview, 04-21-18)

Petra again referred to the linguistic discomfort that she felt during patient visits that were anchored in medical knowledge that she did not have. She especially felt this discomfort when working with specialists (e.g., podiatrist), as these cases were often in-depth and logically required a level of medical knowledge that was highly specialized. Her desire for others (e.g., staff, patients, myself) to assign her the position of a competent and

authentic multilingual in situations of linguistic discomfort seemed to occasion anxiety. Therefore, the interactional strategy that she used to protect her imagined identity was prefacing the day with comments that faulted her mental state or planted the seed of linguistic doubt. In turn, she believed that those around her would expect her to experience some type of difficulty or breakdown when interpreting during patient visits.

Another strategy that Petra utilized to foster self-protection was to avoid situations of linguistic discomfort when possible. Contextualizing this theme – when seeking to include the Phoenix Community Clinic as a research site for the current study, I met personally with the Medical Director to describe my project design and goals. I shared that, in addition to working with Petra, part of my methodology was to interview community members with whom she had worked. The purpose of these interviews was to understand better their opinions regarding the visit, as well as the availability and access to high quality care and services within the larger community. The Medical Director (and other staff) were very collaborative and worked to ensure that I would have access to the types of encounters we had discussed, as the clinic also provided services for English-speaking patients who met the institution’s requirements. During one observation:

The Medical Director asked me which patient I would rather see: an older female with diabetes or an older male that has a mass on his eye. I put the question back on Petra and asked her to choose. She chose the female with diabetes because after hearing “mass on the eye” she said that she knew her Spanish “wouldn’t be up for it.”

(Field note, 04-06-18)

At this point in the internship, Petra had already interpreted for a variety of patients that came to the clinic seeking care for diabetes. In fact, I was able to observe a number of these visits. As such, she had been exposed to terminology, interventions, and treatments (e.g., insulin, HgbA1C blood test) that are common to this chronic illness. On the other hand, the description of the patient with a “mass on the eye,” a situation that she had not encountered, alerted her to a possible situation of linguistic discomfort. Instead of taking this authentic opportunity to develop her communicative competence, she avoided the unknown and opted for a situation where she felt more familiar and comfortable. After making the decision, she turned to me and explained that she made this decision as she “knew her Spanish wouldn’t be up for it” (Fieldnote, 04-06-18).

Petra’s linguistic discomfort, stemming from a lack of training regarding medical interpretation, has important implications for Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP) and L2 learners engaging in professional contexts. As previously mentioned, the medical field, like other professional fields, has its own requirements to determine that an individual is qualified linguistically, culturally, educationally, and ethnically. In order for language learners to meet these requirements, it is vital that they are given ample opportunities to develop adequately their communicative competence in all areas, as each construct plays an essential and often related role (Gregg & Saha, 2007). This implies requiring learners to take classes specific to their professional field. However, it also involves ensuring that learners who complete internships outside of their field, such as Petra, have taken the necessary courses to complete successfully and confidently the tasks required at the target community site. Additionally, these courses need to go beyond focusing solely on the traditionally taught constructs of communicative competence, such

as grammatical knowledge, and offer authentic opportunities to further develop all areas of communicative competence.

Language as a Vehicle for Interpersonal Connection

Pushing beyond situations of linguistic discomfort within an unfamiliar professional field, Petra did make a purposeful effort to utilize language to develop skills that would foster her identity as a legitimate and authentically multilingual/multidialectal professional. These skills were centered around interpersonal communication and relationship building.

Conflicts Between Internship and Major

One of the last assignments for the SSP class that accompanied the community internship was a video diary in Spanish in which the interns were asked to reflect upon their experiences. In addition, they filled out a form that guided them through a more in-depth evaluation of the positive and negative aspects of the internship in relation to three main topics: (i) work assignments, (ii) community site culture, and (iii) supervision. In her video diary, Petra shared:

Y bueno, de hablar de esa hoja que tuve llenar [sic] -- con las secciones de la primera categoría, no revisé la primera sección aunque dice, "relacionado con mi área de interés". Porque tengo mucho interés en lo que aprendí durante mi tiempo con la Clínica Comunitaria de Fénix. Pero es diferente a mi carrera profesional del periodismo. Pero todavía aprendí muchísimo. Y bueno, sin embargo, creo que fortaleció [sic] aún más mis habilidades de comunicación tanto en inglés como en español.

And well, speaking of the form that I had to fill out -- regarding the sections of the first category, I didn't check off the first section even though it says, "related to my area of interest." Because I have a lot of interest in what I learned during my time at the Phoenix Community Clinic. But it's different than my professional career of journalism. But I still learned a lot. And well, nevertheless, I think that it strengthened my communication abilities in both English and Spanish.

(Video Diary, Week 15)

Here again, the fact that Petra completed an internship outside of her field of study caused some disconnect between the required SSP task at hand and her career goals. Although she found the work at the Phoenix Community Clinic engaging and interesting, the duties that she had to fulfill as a medical interpreter and scribe were not related directly to her future career as a journalist. Unlike her classmates, who were tasked with utilizing language to carry out research, visit community sites and activities, make contacts, and interview community members, Petra's role was centered around facilitating communication between providers and patients.

Communication-Based Connections

Having said this, she recognized that in carrying out her responsibilities she was able to strengthen her multilingual abilities that could be beneficial to her future career as a journalist. Despite the fact that the competence required to carry out medical interpretation was very different from that needed for bilingual journalism, Petra still saw that the ability to communicate effectively with a variety of social actors – from colleagues to community members – was vital to the success of a journalist. In the same video diary, she explained how these linguistic abilities went beyond the oral communication stemming from her interpretation duties:

Debido al tipo de trabajo que quiero hacer como periodista, quiero enfatizar mis habilidades para comunicarme bien con los clientes y mi capacidad para escribir en diferentes estilos. Los dos factores de esa pasantía -- bueno afuera de la comunicación y la interpretación, pero también tuve que escribir cada día en los registros de los pacientes. Entonces, tuve la oportunidad cada semana de comunicarme en el idioma diferente también. Eso me ayudó muchísimo mejorar mis habilidades lingüísticas en español y en inglés. Entonces eso fue genial también.

Due to the type of work that I want to do as a journalist, I want to emphasize my abilities to communicate well with clients and my capacity to write in different styles. Two factors of this internship -- well outside of communication and interpretation, but I also had to write every day in the patient records. So, I also had the opportunity each week to communicate in a different language. This helped me to better my linguistic abilities a lot in Spanish and English. So that was awesome too.

(Video Diary, Week 15)

As has been described previously, an additional role that Petra was tasked with was utilizing the electronic medical record (EMR) system to scribe for doctors seeing both English- and Spanish-speaking patients. The specific duties and extent of this role changed depending upon the doctors' preferences and their own status within the clinic.

For example, some doctors required Petra to do all scribing with minimal help, others closely supervised her, and some doctors preferred to complete this task themselves. In the case of the medical residents, the Medical Director required them to take on this role themselves for educational and practical purposes.

Petra not only navigated these social hierarchies, but also the linguistic hierarchies present at the clinic. Although Spanish speakers constituted a high percentage of the patient population at the clinic, the dominant language of this institution was English. Therefore, the EMR system and all its contents were in English so that all staff would be able to access the information. This also enabled them to share records with other institutions with the consent of the patient. Not only did she have to master this new technological artifact but also the medical vernacular that staff were required to utilize when accessing or inputting information into the EMR system (e.g., bid = twice daily; ETOH = alcohol). As such, her role often demanded that she both interpreted and translated simultaneously. Such a task required her to implement her translanguaging abilities – moving between languages, language varieties, and mediums of communication. Journalists also need to utilize their linguistic abilities in diverse situations that include and go beyond oral communication. For example, these professionals must have the flexibility and skill to navigate different language, language varieties, and mediums of communication that are housed within the social and linguistic hierarchies of a given encounter within and/or between communities.

Based upon her reflection in this video diary, I later asked her what role, if any, her imagined professional identity played in carrying out her duties at her internship:

Even though we are dealing with a lot of Spanish-speaking and Hispanic patients, we do get Black patients every once a while. And obviously, their health issues are different and it pertains to the black culture. So, I've been able to understand from that perspective in the medical view I guess. You're just being a journalist, being able to listen to people. It helps I suppose.

(Interview, 04-21-18)

As mentioned, another important element of both Petra's personal and professional identities was incorporating her authentically multilingual/multidialectal self. During this reflection, Petra made a connection between her position as a medical interpreter and her interlocutors that belonged to a community that was very influential for her own identity: the Black community. She specifically recognized that a patient's health (ailments) goes beyond a universal diagnosis, but rather is connected to other elements such as culture (e.g., common dietary habits). Therefore, much like a journalist that utilizes their experiences and positionality as members of different communities to understand an individual's story, Petra felt as though she was able to create relationships with patients from different ethnic and racial communities by employing her linguistic abilities and experiences to navigate between cultures and physical spaces.

Hair as a Site of Resistance in (White) European Dominated Societies

Petra not only utilized her language to position herself as an authentically multilingual/multidialectal speaker; rather, she also did so through corporeal expression. On many occasions, she proudly proclaimed that her “signature accessory” was her natural afro. As with many Black women, Petra’s hairstyle had become a cultural artifact that visibly symbolized the connection to her ethnic and racial roots. Or, as Thompson (2009) explains, “for the vast majority of Black women, hair is not just hair; it contains emotive qualities that are linked to one’s lived experience” (p. 831). For others, however, Petra’s fro became a target to question her multicultural identity via racialized attacks. Specifically, these racialized attacks manifested through the discursive process of *denaturalization*, or when one interlocutor undermines another speaker’s claim to authenticity – relative to some category/categories of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Both inside and outside of Petra’s SSP internship, instances of this denaturalization process occurred in relation to racial shaming, nonconsensual hair treatments, and discrimination which encouraged Black females to adapt to the ideal of White beauty to engage in social/labor mobility. Through these experiences, Petra was obligated to experience the ways in which members of different communities and social positions pushed the hegemonic ideals of White beauty. In experiencing such attacks, she claimed her hair as a site of resistance within (White) European dominated societies, both inside and outside of the U.S.

Phoenix Community Clinic: Racial Shaming as Misguided Solidarity

A particular dimension of Petra's SSP internship experience surrounded the racializing moves that she, as a Black Spanish speaker, had to confront in various personal and professional spaces. Having said this, the relations of power that impacted her positionality (e.g., intern at the Phoenix Community Clinic) in these different spaces also affected directly her ability to intervene in these racializing moments. One of the most alarming and impactful experiences that Petra reported having while completing her internship at the Phoenix Community Clinic occurred during an encounter with an individual that she has come to refer to as the *Racist Doctor*. Petra contextualized this interaction by explaining that a great number of the doctors that volunteered or completed their residency at the clinic were White. Although not the majority, some of these individuals spoke some Spanish or were in the process of learning the language. Nevertheless, the Medical Director informed me that, unless the physician had a high level of proficiency in Spanish, a scribe/medical interpreter was required to be present during the patient visit.

One morning, Petra showed up to the clinic and began to prepare for her duties as usual. She noticed that a doctor with whom she had not previously worked was scheduled. As soon as she went to introduce herself, the dermatologist engaged in denaturalization to question Petra's authentically multilingual and multicultural identity via targeting her hairstyle as a site for enacting racial shaming through misguided solidarity:

I introduced myself, just kind of letting her know, "I'm still new, so I'm learning. Just let me know if there's anything you need."

And she just, "Your hair is pulled back too tight".

*I was like, "What?" *laughs**

"Your hair is pulled back too tight".

I said, "Okay. She's an old lady. She's blonde. It's fine. I can take it." And she's going off in dermatologist medical language, like "The follicles in your hair line, blah, blah, blah". I wasn't mad, I was like, "Oh, yeah. Okay. Cool, cool, cool."

But then, she goes, "You're trying to be Caucasian."

*And I said, "What?" I literally was like, "Huh?" And I just have a big afro all the time. This was literally the first day I wore my hair up in a bun. *laughs**

So then she said, "You're trying to be Caucasian"

*I was just like, "Hehe." *uncomfortable laugh* And again, I was like, "Okay".*

"Your hair is pulled back too tight. It's never going to be straight. Don't ever try to get it straight. You need to embrace your natural hair".

And then there was another interpreter there, too and I looked at him and I was like, "Uhhhh -- I don't know what to do." So I was like, "Okay. So funny." And again, I just make a joke out of it. "Oh, you caught me the one day I had my hair up. Usually I have a big old afro, but don't you worry". [Condescending tone]

She just kept going on and on. And again, I didn't use the term African American, I prefer Black. That's just me. I was like, "You know, Black people in our community, it's normal for us to use these things called slick back brushes where we slick our hair back so it looks really tight, but it's not. Just so we're not looking a mess"

And then she let it go. I go to follow her with the computer and everything to go into the room and turns to me, "Uh, uh." [Disagreement]

I was like, "Oh. Okay. So I don't have to interpret or scribe? Okay. I'll just stay here in the hallway." And then I remember they told me that she's one of the doctors that doesn't like people going in the room with her and unless she needs a translator or interpreter.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

The attack via denaturalization by the Racist Doctor exemplifies how dominating views of beauty “haunt the existence and psychology of Black women” (Patton, 2006, p. 24). Mirroring the colonial effects that have “haunted” Black and indigenous women in both the U.S. and Latin America (Masi de Casanova, 2004), the Racist Doctor utilized her privileged racial status (white) and position of power (doctor) to judge what she perceived as Petra’s attempt to suppress her Black roots and take on the position of a white female. In order to arrive at this conclusion, she began by classifying Petra as a Black woman, based solely upon the phenotypical information that her skin and hair texture provided. Based on this racial categorization of Petra, the physician assumed that her choice to wear a tightly pulled back bun instead of letting her natural fro free was an attempt in constructing an identity in which she was “trying to be Caucasian.”

Despite Petra’s attempt at educating the physician on the fact that slicked back hair was actually a common hairstyle for Black women, the Racist Doctor continued to impose her own colonial ideas of Black and White beauty on Petra. Specifically, in a misguided attempt of solidarity, she urged Petra to instead “embrace” her natural hair. This comment reflects the type of racial shaming that also occurs between members of the Black community. Thompson (2009) writes that “ultimately, the ideological shift in Black hair coincided with a political shift. A ‘real’ Black person adorned a ‘natural’ hairstyle, while those who straightened their hair were deemed fake for attempting to emulate a White aesthetic, and an ‘unnatural’ Black look” (p. 835). This shaming has been theorized by scholars Jones and Shorten-Gooden (2003) as the *Lily Complex*, or the “altering, disguising, and covering up your physical self in order to assimilate, to be accepted as attractive” (p. 177).

Like many members of marginalized communities experiencing racial attacks in situations of power, Petra did not engage in the confrontation. Instead, she attempted to use humor and education as a defense. She shared with me that her status as an intern discouraged her from defending herself in that racialized moment. Additionally, she did not feel as though it was appropriate to confront the Racist Doctor while they were in a professional setting. Petra later mentioned this encounter to the nursing and administrative staff who were outraged and apologetic. The Mexican-American, bilingual nurses had also felt attacked by her racist behavior and shared with Petra the nickname they had given her: *la bruja* (the witch). Soon after the incident, Petra was scheduled to work with the Racist Doctor again. In preparing for this second encounter she made the conscious decision to show this physician that she was proud of her ethnicity by transforming her body into a site for resistance, or what Weitz (2001) defines as “actions that not only reject subordination but do so by *challenging the ideologies that support that subordination*” (p. 670, emphasis maintained). In defying the doctor’s claims that she was denying her ethnic roots, she wore her natural fro (as she usually did) and one of her favorite shirts that read: *Don’t worry, be nappy*. Unfortunately, *la bruja* canceled her shift due to an out-of-the-country vacation. The situation with the Racist Doctor was just one of many times that others would try and transform Petra’s various hairstyles from a site of creativity to one of hegemony.

Mission in Ecuador: Nonconsensual Hair Treatment

A different morning, after the first patient of the day did not show up to their appointment, Petra and I had about an hour to catch up. Our conversation eventually turned to her time in Ecuador, revealing yet another encounter in which an interlocutor engaged in denaturalization through the subjection of the hegemonic ideals of (European) White beauty:

Our first patient was a no-show, so we chatted for an hour about her 18 months in Ecuador... Well more of the “crazy” stories! She had told me before that her natural fro is her “signature accessory.” But while in Ecuador, she would get so many comments that she should straighten her hair – such as, “Ay, hermana Petra... Eres muy bonita pero no vemos tu cara.” [Oh, Sister Petra ... You’re so pretty but we can’t see your face.]

Although she was used to these comments, they eventually got to her and she decided to go to the peluquería where one of her mission friends would go. The woman working there said that she was just going to straighten it... But had a bottle without a label. Although she made sure to ask what was in it, she later found out (after washing her hair twice and it not returning to its natural curly state) that there was keratin in it... SHE HAD DONE A PERMANENT RELAXING/ STRAIGHTENING TREATMENT. She went back and demanded that she fixed it. The hair dresser explained that the only way to “fix it” was by cutting her hair and letting her natural curls grow back out.

After this happened, her afrolatina friend with waist-long, straight hair explained that the same thing had happened to her. However, she didn’t want to chop off her hair, so now she just grows it out and continues to relax it.

(Field note, 04-11-18)

During this conversation, Petra told me that she was used to people commenting on her hair and pressuring her to adopt a hairstyle that more closely fit with White beauty standards. She did not escape such pressures while living in Ecuador. As previously discussed, colonialism in Latin America has led to an idealization of White beauty that affectively discriminates and oppresses Black and indigenous individuals. In contrast to

the Racist Doctor who perpetuated colonial-based ideals of White beauty in the U.S. through her inappropriate attempt at solidarity, the Ecuadorian females with whom she interacted while completing her mission undermined Petra's corporeal claim to her Black heritage. Instead, they reinforced the "whiter the better" ideology of beauty that was introduced to Latin American during European colonization (Masi de Casanova, 2004, p. 291). Specifically, they urged her to straighten her hair, motivated by the belief that the absence of her African features (natural fro) would accentuate her "beautiful face." Although Petra's fro had always played a monumental role in the expression of her authentically multilingual/multidialectal identity, she felt coerced to humor these petitions by agreeing to straightening her hair *temporarily*.

Petra, as will be seen in the next section, was not opposed to changing her hairstyle as a form of creativity. Although wearing her natural fro was a physical way in which she positioned herself as multicultural woman, she agreed with Jones and Shorter-Gooden's (2003) assertion that "trying on a new look, even one often associated with Europeans, does not automatically imply-self-hatred" (p. 178). However, she did so only when it was on *her* terms. Understanding that this was already a coercive situation, she took various precautions to protect her hair while submitting to the temporary hair straightening treatment. For example, she went to a hairdresser that a fellow missionary and friend knew and trust, as well as asked for the specific ingredients in the mysterious unlabeled bottle. Despite taking these precautions and making it very clear to the hair dresser that she did not want to undergo a permanent straightening treatment, the hair dresser also undercut Petra's claim to an authentic identity by disregarding her wishes. In choosing to do so, the hair dresser took an action that not only perpetuated hegemonic

ideals of White beauty, but also forced Petra to physically conform to them. With the panicked realization of what had happened, she returned to the peluquería and asked the woman to fix what she had so wrongly done.

As there is no way to reverse this permanent treatment, Petra only had two options: (i) cut her hair and let it grow back or (ii) keep it straight. Even though cutting her hair would mean that she would have to wait a significant amount of time for it to grow back to the length it had been before the traumatic and nonconsensual treatment, she did not want to part with this identity marker. She made the decision to cut her hair, knowing that such a choice would maintain her position on the margin of what this White (European) dominated society deemed as beautiful. Such a choice reflects the notion that “Black hair is inextricably laden with social, class, sexual, and cultural implications” (Thompson, 2009, p. 851).

Phoenix Report: Social and Labor Mobility

In the same conversation that Petra told me about her hair straightening experience in Ecuador, she shared another encounter that took place at the Phoenix Report. The interlocutor in this instance, however, engaged in denaturalization on a much larger scale. Specifically, a newscast supervisor undermined an entire racial group’s choice to enact corporeal expression as an identity marker by pushing the ideals of the White beauty that have been normalized historically in mass media:

Petra told me that she has a similar conversation with many newscast supervisors who told her that she needs to wear her hair the same way so that her audiences recognize her. Her response was, “Y’all need to learn something about the Black community. Black women change their hair all the time.” They are accustomed to it. [My thought = It would be wonderful to have a black woman who had the liberty to change her hair how she pleases on TV... Not only for herself but for other black women that don’t see that represented in the mass media.]

(Field note, 04-11-18)

As has been discussed, hairstyles have social, political, and economic consequences for Black women, both inside and outside of the Black community. For example, if a Black woman alters her hair, she may be accused of rejecting her culture – as was the case with the Racist Doctor. With this in mind, scholars have argued that such decisions are “*not* synonymous with racial shame or “acting white,” but rather can be a form of creativity” (Patton, 2006, p. 29, emphasis maintained). Exercising the liberty and ability to express creativity, it is not uncommon for Black women to change their hairstyles frequently. Although Petra generally maintained her natural fro as she felt like it was an extension of who she was, her decision to change her hair did not translate into changing her identity. Instead, she was also exercising this form of creativity. When she attempted to take part in this creative action, different newscast supervisors at the Phoenix Report with whom Petra had worked informed her that changing her hairstyle regularly could pose a potential barrier for her social and labor mobility.

As mass media outlets seek to reach members of the dominant culture, the decisions that are made on and off the camera conform to the ideologies that dominate within that specific society. In this case, although Petra explained that Black women change their hairstyles “all the time” and are accustomed to this practice within their community, the newscast supervisors maintained that most white audience members were not. Therefore, if she would like to have a successful position and social recognition in mass communication within a “majority-White corporate environment” (Robinson, 2006, p. 9), she needed to conform to this ideology by maintaining a consistent and recognizable appearance.

Unfortunately, the practice of suppressing Black women’s opportunities for social and labor mobility in the workplace based upon their choice to not conform to such ideologies is a well-noted phenomenon. To exemplify this, Thompson (2009) traces several cases in which “punitive measures [were] taken by employers to restrict the donning of ‘natural’ in the workplace” (p. 836). Such cases include *Rogers v. American Airlines*⁹ where the court sided ultimately with the employers right to “prohibit categorically the wearing of braided hairstyles in the workplace” (Thompson, 2009, p. 836), as well as an incident in 2007 when a Black woman was fired from her job at a prison in West Virginia due to her braided hairstyle. Despite receiving these “suggestions” from the newscast supervisors, Petra continued to claim her hairstyle as a site of resistance – both by wearing her natural fro and exercising her right to enact corporeal creativity as she desired.

⁹ 1981

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In this chapter, I have illustrated how Petra utilized language and corporeal expression to position herself as both a legitimate (linguistically proficient) and authentically multilingual/multidialectal speaker (indexing her ethnic/racial heritage through language and body) across different discourse and spaces related to her SSP internship. In the next chapter, I trace Penélope's journey as she also utilized language to do language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work while completing her internship that transcended the linguistic and professional goals of the SSP minor program. Like Petra, Penélope utilized her language to position her identity as a legitimate speaker of Spanish. However, she also harnessed her linguistic abilities to (re)claim her identity as a Mexican American woman.

CHAPTER 6

PENELOPE OR PENÉLOPE?:

PENÉLOPE'S JOURNEY OF (RE)CLAIMING HER IDENTITY AS A LEGITIMATE SPEAKER AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN WOMAN ACROSS TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELDS

Seated at a table next to a fountain, Penélope and I met in the brisk downtown morning. After exchanging a hug and her commenting on my lighter hair, we began walking together to the law firm where she would be carrying out her interview. Looking like an ambitious reporter, she was wearing her business casual look, complete with thick-rimmed glasses and a grey blazer.

On the way to the law firm, she explained that she was working on a piece in which she explored the journey, cost, treatment, and success rates for Hispanics/Latinxs dealing with immigration issues that have legal representation versus those without. Her supervisor at the Phoenix Reportaje required her to have three sources for this piece. Her first interviewee is a Mexican lawyer [Community Member 6] who is a key member in an organization whose work focuses around providing and improving pro bono legal services for low income community members from a social justice standpoint.

We arrived at a tall building clothed completely in glass. We made our way up to a higher-level floor and walked out into a marble floored lobby. I immediately felt intimidated – like I was no longer an actual adult, let alone an adult that would be graduating next semester. Her contact was in a mediation session, so we waited on one of the backless couches that was pushed up against the wall, strategically placing ourselves outside of the centrally located waiting area. We began to catch up as I hadn't seen her since her trip to Puerto Rico.

(Fieldnote, 03-27-18)

A Brief Summary of Penélope's Journey

While getting to know Penélope's, I came to envision her as the rebel of her tightknit family. She was the first of her siblings to head to college out of state – a decision that originally started as just a *capricho*. During a fight with her mother, she told her that she was going to apply to schools outside of Colorado without actually intending

to do so. However, when she received her acceptance letters and scholarship offers from Southwestern University, she began to realize that this was a real possibility. After researching the academic programs at the School of Journalism and touring the campus, she decided to make the move. Through this new adventure, Penélope reconnected with herself, her family in both Colorado and Mexico, and her heritage language (HL).

In this chapter, I focus on Penélope's journey, examining the experiences that her professional internship afforded her and how she harnessed these experiences to engage in language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work that transcended the goals of the Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) program. Despite being far away from home, Penélope utilized language to (re)claim her identity as both a legitimate speaker of her HL and Mexican-American woman across transnational social fields. I specifically offer an examination of three important themes that represent the type of identify work she did across discursive events: (i) journalism as a bridge to family and community, (ii) development of (linguistic) empathy for generational journeys, and (iii) (re)claiming a Mexican-American identity.

Narration of Her Language Acquisition Background

When asked about her nationality, Penélope would always say that her family was from Michoacán, Mexico. Her parents came to the United States (U.S.) before she was born in a small town in Colorado where she lived all her life until leaving for college in Arizona. With Spanish as her parents' first language, she grew up hearing and speaking it primarily at home. Despite the large Mexican population of her town, the dominant language of most businesses and academic institutions was English. Also present were language ideologies that reinforced negative ethnic stereotypes against the large Mexican

population that made up part of this community – beliefs that had an effect on Penélope and the positions available to her starting at a young age.

Beginning around the age of five, Penélope was assigned the position of *language broker* out of the necessity to help bridge communication between her parents and English-speaking individuals in the community (Orellana, 2009; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009). Within these storylines, she saw how her parents were treated differently than other patrons, clients, and parents that spoke English. She saw the frustration in their interlocutors' speech and actions. As a young child, she began to internalize these negative experiences and reject positions tied to Spanish, and instead reserved this language for storylines in which she communicated with and facilitated communication for her parents only when required. Her choice to use Spanish as a private language at home and in these select circumstances was also influenced by the negative stereotypes about Mexicans that were present within the storylines in her hometown. Specifically, she did not want to be perceived as the “typical Mexican that doesn't do anything. That doesn't care about a thing” (Interview, 05-04-18). Therefore, by utilizing the socially-dominant language of English, she avoided being assigned membership to this group. Noticing this strategy, her brother would often make comments that she wanted to be “white.”

In addition to internalizing the negative ideologies present in her storylines that surrounded her ethnicity and language, Penélope would experience self-doubt in instances where she did choose to use Spanish. Like many HL learners, this doubt stemmed primarily from speaking the language at home versus having the opportunity to develop it in an academic setting. She often felt self-conscious that she was saying something incorrectly or that the way she spoke was not reflective of a professional adult, but rather a “16-year-old at a family barbeque” (Interview, 02-17-18). Her desire to be isolated from negative stereotypes about Mexicans and her linguistic self-doubt led Penélope to reject “Spanish-Speaking Professional” as a possible position. This influenced her decision to pursue a career in English-language journalism, despite her family’s suggestion that she should consider entering the Spanish-speaking market. As such, she spent her first two years at Southwestern University taking classes in English. It was not until a scheduling conflict prompted her to take a Bilingual Reporting class that she considered that her HL could be a part of her professional identity.

Journalism as a Bridge to Family and Community

Unlike the journalism classes in English that seek to foster the preparation of students wanting to work in English-speaking markets in the U.S., the Spanish for SSP courses offered at Southwestern University are designed with the intention that students learn the content and skills necessary to utilize the target language of Spanish in their professional field. In doing so, they not only focus upon required linguistic skills, but also incorporate important cultural, social, political, and economic issues pertinent to Hispanic/Latinx communities in the U.S. Examples of required core courses include Spanish for the Professions, Spanish in the U.S. Professional Communities, and Latino

Cultural Perspectives for the Professions. After completing these courses, students can then move on to take SSP courses related to their professional field (e.g. business, sustainability, journalism, law, medicine).

Discovering Herself Through the Spanish for Specific Purposes Program

Despite being hundreds of miles away from her family and community, through her SSP classes and internship, Penélope had the opportunity to learn about issues affecting Hispanics/Latinxs in the U.S. – issues that she was not aware had affected her own family:

I think like taking the courses, personally, has kind of made me want to learn more about like -- Because obviously, I'm Mexican. So, I feel like a huge part makes me want to learn more about my culture. For example, in one of my [SSP] classes, we learned about the Bracero Program¹⁰. And I didn't really know about my culture when I was younger. I don't even know how it came up, but I figured it out that my grandpa came in [to the U.S.] as bracero. So, it just kind of like being able to kind of track that down and learn more about it. I feel like it made me grow personally a lot, because it kind of made me learn about myself.

(Interview, 02-17-18)

Through taking a class that was centered upon issues pertinent to her own culture, Penélope found an intrinsic motivation to continue discovering more about her heritage culture and language. By learning about these issues, she was able to connect to her family, her culture, and learn more about herself.

¹⁰ Through the establishment of the *Bracero* Program, implemented during the 1940s and 1950s, “Mexican agricultural workers were legally permitted to temporarily enter the United States to work” (p. Bickerton, 2000, 895).

In a similar vein, Penélope had an experience in a bilingual reporting class that helped to solidify her choice to become a Spanish-language journalist:

I did my first story on el papá de una de mis amigas. Es un paralegal y ofrece servicios de inmigración. So, también tiene clases de inglés y clases de la ciudadanía. So, I did my first story on him, in Spanish, and I don't know. I just like loved it. It was weird because when I did that, I kind of realized like okay, first of all, not everybody can do it in Spanish. Not everybody can and I can. And I don't know, it sounds so like cheesy but like, it was like a feeling. Like I felt, kind of fulfilled. I felt like I was doing something that actually mattered. After talking to people and getting to know a little bit about their backgrounds, I could see my parents and I could see my family.

(Interview, 02-17-18)

Penélope's motivation to continue developing and using the language was not purely instrumental. Rather, like Penélope described, it was linked to a "feeling." This feeling represented a shift in her identity as a language user that manifested as an indirect result of her engagement with the SSP internship program – a program whose "specific purpose" of language use was not explicitly designed for such identity work.

As previously described, Penélope had internalized negative ideologies both connected to the social representation of Mexicans in her hometown and the stigmatization of her U.S. Spanish variety. In an attempt to distance herself from these stereotypes, she constrained her use of Spanish to a private, family language that should be avoided in public whenever possible. Yet, as she began to engage in the SSP program at Southwestern University, her relationship with her HL began to change. As is the case with many HL learners whose affective relationship to language is not represented solely by print in a textbook, but is rather an extension of their family and community, Penélope's desire to share in her heritage motivated her decision to continue developing

her linguistic skills (Parra, 2016; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Specifically, through the experiences afforded by her SSP internship, her HL shifted from this private, family language to an acceptable, public language – and journalism became a vehicle through which she could reach out and begin to build relationships with members of her HL community that transcended national borders. Through the completion of her internship duties, she began to identify these community members with her family and utilized language as a way to bring to light issues that were pertinent to this community.

Linguistic and Cultural Pride

Despite the fact that she engaged in this identity work independently from any of the pedagogical interventions or internship design goals focused on linguistic improvements and affective workplace communication (see Chapter Three for complete discussion of these goals), she began to achieve what Parra (2016) has described as the ultimate goal for HL students: “to embrace their own language and use it to develop their social consciousness and voice, to become agents of constructive action toward positive change in their communities and beyond” (p. 170). Penélope’s sense of fulfillment was accompanied by accomplishment – she had overcome the feat of completing her first Spanish-language news story. This accomplishment left her with a sense of confidence and the realization that her bilingualism was an impressive skill that not all journalists possess. Even though this story began only as a class assignment, it would serve as the starting point of her career as a Spanish-language student journalist.

The professor of this course passed her story on to the newscast supervisor of the Phoenix Reportaje. After viewing this work, she decided to air it on the televised program that was broadcasted through Univisión Arizona. Upon receiving the news that her *first* ever package was going to air, Penélope explained her reaction:

I was just shocked! I called my sister and I was like, "Oh my God. You're not gonna believe it. They aired my stuff." And then, I told my mom about it and she was like, "Oh my gosh" Like, "Qué bonito, Fijate, no a todos, su primer trabajo. No a todos." And I was like, "Okay, mom." So, after that I started doing in Spanish. Because my dad speaks English but he doesn't like to speak it, and my mom understands it but she doesn't like to speak it. Because they just don't feel comfortable. So, this was the first time they were really able to enjoy my work. So, whenever I do something I'd be like, "Show this to dad, show this to mom." It kind of all started there.

(Interview, 02-17-18)

She was stunned to have achieved such an accomplishment with her first story in a language in which she did not feel confident. After coming down from the sense of shock, her first action was to call her older sister, who had always been one of her biggest support systems. She was the only person in the family to support her decision to move to Arizona and was the one to drop her off at college. Penélope continued sharing the good news by calling her mother, who responded with praise and a sense of pride.

Although Penélope had carried out other news stories before this semester, her family was not able to fully take part in them due to their low level of proficiency and lack of comfort with English. Here again, her affective relationship with her HL and journalism skills allowed her to traverse the physical distance between she and her family and create a connection they had not previously had. With the success of her first story and support of her family, she decided to dedicate herself to a career as a journalist in the Spanish-language market in the U.S. Her first step in doing so was becoming a team

member of the Phoenix Reportaje at the School of Journalism, a professional program created for bilingual students to gain real world experience in journalism through focusing on stories that center around the Hispanic/Latinx communities locally, nationally, and globally.

After her story was aired, Penélope was invited to work as a (digital) broadcaster for the Phoenix Reportaje. In addition to receiving pertinent work experience in her field, she was able to utilize her HL to reach out and connect with other members of her heritage community: her family in Mexico. Penélope described how this link was established:

I'd been publishing work with them and stuff and then I started doing more. So, we have a Facebook live show we do and I've been writing stuff [for it]. And like I'm doing all this stuff, so my parents see it on Facebook. And they recently went to Mexico and when my mom got back, she called me she's like, "Tu papá le estaba diciendo a todas tus tías, que allá -- todas te ven en el Face" y que no sé qué tanto. And like, I don't know, they think I'm like a celebrity or something. Which is endearing! It's like endearing to me because she's like yeah, "Todos tus primos, allá en México, andan en las calles and like--."

So, they're so proud. I think that what makes them more proud is the fact that I went back to Spanish. Because they never kind of pushed it on me. It was just like an idea. But the fact that I kind of found a way back to it is really nice. And I can tell that it makes them proud that I'm using my culture. Like using their culture.

(Interview, 02-17-18)

As previously described in Chapter Three, at the time of the research the students at the Phoenix Reportaje were responsible for assembling two different broadcasts: a televised newscast transmitted by Univisión Arizona and a Facebook live show that streamed vis-à-vis this social media platform. Whereas the televised newscasts were more easily accessible to those in the local area, the Facebook live shows could be shared and viewed

both nationally and internationally at just the click of a button. The affordance of this technology permitted her family in Colorado to more conveniently view her work and show their pride for their daughter. In addition to being proud of her packages and overall success as a broadcaster, they were especially proud that she was using the Spanish language to carry out this work. Whereas she used to purposefully avoid using Spanish to hide her cultural and ethnic connections, Penélope now stated openly that she found her way back to her first language after so many years of distancing herself. She found her way back to *her* culture and her *family's* culture.

Penélope's affective shift towards her HL language can be seen additionally through her use of *emotion words*. Specifically, her discourse was marked by the use of emotive language when referring to the role that her HL played in bridging communication with her family across physical borders:

*I'd been publishing work with them and stuff and then I started doing more. So, we have a Facebook live show we do and I've been writing stuff [for it]. And like I'm doing all this stuff, so my parents see it on Facebook. And they recently went to Mexico and when my mom got back, she called me she's like, "Tu papá le estaba diciendo a todas tus tías, que allá -- todas te ven en el Face" y que no sé qué tanto. And like, I don't know, they think I'm like a celebrity or something. Which is **endearing**! It's like **endearing** to me because she's like yeah, "Todos tus primos, allá en México, andan en las calles and like--."*

*So, they're so **proud**. I think that what makes them more **proud** is the fact that I went back to Spanish. Because they never kind of pushed it on me. It was just like an idea. But the fact that I kind of found a way back to it is really **nice**. And I can tell that it makes them **proud** that I'm using my culture. Like using their culture.*

(Interview, 02-17-18)

When considering the role that emotive language plays in the transmission of a speaker's message, Foolen (2012) argues:

People have the ability to *conceptualize* emotions, not only their own, but also those of others, and in this respect cognition serves as intermediate between language and emotion. But a speaker also has the possibility of expressing his/her own emotions directly via language, resulting in expressive (also called emotive or affective) language. (p. 350, emphasis maintained)

Therefore, in choosing words such as “endearing,” “proud,” and “nice,” Penélope expressed the positive and intimate emotions that the use of her HL evoked.

A route through which her family demonstrated their pride and support beyond emotive language was through promoting her work to their family who still resided in Mexico. When telling Penélope about their latest trip to Mexico, her mother shared that her father was boasting and showing her journalistic her work to all her aunts. Her extended family similarly celebrated the success of her work by not only viewing her stories, but also, in the case of her cousins, bringing her pieces into the community. The fact that Penélope was utilizing their shared first language of Spanish to discuss important issues to their cultures and communities helped to forge a connection across a *transnational social field*, or what El-Haj (2015) described as “the uneven broader social, political, economic, and cultural processes that shape practices and identifications within [these] communities, whether or not people actually move, or move back and forth” (p. 2).

Additionally, these experiences helped her to build a connection to her heritage community within the state of Arizona. When I asked her about how involved she considered herself to be with her heritage community on a professional level before beginning her internship, she told me that she did not feel actively involved. Even though she had friends and family that were Mexican and/or Hispanic/Latinx, she felt as if she were an outsider of the community. However, her positionality to the local community shifted as she began to use her HL as a bridge to connect with community members through her work for the Phoenix Reportaje. The contacts that Penélope had made through researching and creating packages transformed into colleagues that would “tip her off” on events happening in the community. For example, when there were cases of interest to the Hispanic/Latinx community, a legislator that she had gotten to know would call her to inform her of the events taking place at court and when the transcripts would be released for her to review.

Her relation to this community did not only change on a professional level, however. I followed up by asking what she felt like her relationship was to this specific community on a personal level. Penélope responded:

I feel like it's my community. I feel like before that, I don't think that I had the right to kind of claim this community, but now I'm like, "You know what? This is my community. This is my parents', my family's community. I'm the community." Like, it's weird, but in Arizona, this community is kind of like helping me connect with my community back home.

(Interview, 02-17-18)

In the beginning of her response, she reiterated her feeling of being an outsider. She did not have the “right” to position herself as a member of the Hispanic/Latinx community in Arizona. Despite this feeling, her decision to dedicate herself to a career in the Spanish-speaking market required her to enter the community. Specifically, to carry out her internship duties, she needed to research issues, attend community events, and speak with community leaders and members. By way of appropriating of language-*as-resource* in these interactions and over the course of her internship, Penélope seemed to be shifting from a language-*as-problem* to a language-*as-right* orientations (Ruíz, 1984). Specifically, she saw herself becoming more involved, more invested, and more active. This community that she once saw as isolated from her roots evolved into a central component of her heritage community and professional (and personal) identity. As she negotiated these identities, she also negotiated her positionality to the community. She felt that she *did* have a right claim and declare that was her community – and not just her community, but her parents’ and her family’s’ community.

Penélope expressed this shifting positionality to her HL community through the use of a specific linguistic feature in her discourse: *possessive adjectives* (my, your, his, hers, its, your, our, their, possessive -s). The function of this specific type of adjective is to aid a speaker in expressing the sentiment of ownership, possession, and/or belonging. In this same passage, Penélope utilized both the first person possessive adjective (*my*) and possessive -s (*parents’, family’s*) to refer to her family’s and her own belonging to their heritage community:

*I feel like it's **my** community. I feel like before that, I don't think that I had the right to kind of claim this community, but now I'm like, "You know what? This is **my** community. This is **my parents'**, **my family's** community. I'm the community." Like, it's weird, but in Arizona, this community is kind of like helping me connect with **my** community back home.*

(Interview, 02-17-18)

Even though these physical experiences took place in the state of Arizona, she explained that they helped her to navigate a sense of belonging across a transnational social field. Specifically, Penélope's SSP internship and coursework duties pushed her unintentionally to take steps into a community physically located in Arizona to which she did not originally feel a sense of belonging. Through interacting with community members and learning their stories, she "connected" to and claimed a sense of belonging to her community back home in Colorado.

Although different, both Penélope's and Petra's subjective and affective responses to language that were often based upon language ideologies influenced how they took up and were assigned positions as language speakers. Whereas Petra was considered a "competent" and "legitimate" speaker in Ecuador, this position was taken away quickly from her in the U.S. when the *goal* of communication changed from engaging in casual conversation or common church-related duties to facilitating communication between patients and medical providers. Penélope, on the other hand, avoided the possible position of "competent" and "legitimate" speaker by refusing to use her HL in public discourse. It was not until her affective relationship with the language changed that she began to take on and expect others to assign her such a role. The experiences of these two speakers, who had very different language acquisition and SSP internship journeys, point

to an important implication for the communicative competence model (Bachman & Palmer, 1996). As the model stands currently, there is no construct that accounts for these socially-based affective relationships to language and one's positioned identity. Even though the construct of *sociolinguistic knowledge* is present, it specifically refers to the necessary knowledge of language diversity and variation to transmit and understand a message. Therefore, an additional construct is necessary to understand more profoundly how affective relationships and available positions influence a speaker's willingness and ability to engage in discourse. The proposal of such a construct will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Development of (Linguistic) Empathy for Generational Journeys

The experiences that Penélope had with members of her heritage community also fostered her ability to empathize with the linguistic journeys that different generation immigrants have taken and continue to take. As described previously, there are many socio-affective features that have impacted how Penélope perceived her linguistic abilities in the HL. Some of these features include the negative treatment of her parents as native Spanish speakers and the negative stereotypes of Mexicans in her hometown. A third feature that played an influential role in Penélope's, as well as many other HL learners', linguistic abilities and linguistic self-confidence is explained through *generational immigration*.

Overcoming Self-Doubt Through Mirrored Experiences

When speaking of generational immigration, sociolinguists maintain that there is a “three-generation pattern of language shift” (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 29). The first generation (G1) immigrate to the U.S. in adulthood and are fluent (and most likely monolingual) in the HL – in this case Penélope’s parents. The second generation (G2) is comprised of these adults’ children that are either born in the new country or arrived before the age of five – such as Penélope and her siblings. The G2s typically have stronger linguistic abilities in English due to its dominating presence within the country. Finally, the third generation (G3) are the grandchildren of the first generation – such as Penélope’s nieces and nephews. Although it is possible that these G3s possess some level of proficiency, it is common that they have not acquired any receptive or productive abilities in the HL due to issues of policy, politics, and power (Beaudrie et al., 2014). For example, due to the political tensions and monolingual language ideologies mentioned in Chapter One (e.g., English-Only legislation, immigration enforcement, racial profiling), many G1s prefer that their children (G2s) and grandchildren (G3s) acquire English as their dominant language due to the racist and discriminatory treatment that they had received as Spanish-speakers in the Southwest. Additionally, each generation may have learned to value the politically-dominating English language more than Spanish due to the fact that the aforementioned legislation makes it illegal for community members to participate in bilingual education.

Even though Penélope's family represented three different generations, before engaging in her SSP internship she did not empathize with the struggles that her family members had and continued to face as a result of immigration. Her engagement in the SSP minor program would serve as a catalyst for identity work that helped her to develop this sense of empathy. Specifically, her public and professional uses of Spanish were essential in creating a connection to her family and community, as well as transforming her private relationship to her HL to a public one.

As described in the opening vignette, Penélope traveled to Puerto Rico during the semester as a component of one of her English-language journalism classes. The students' objective was to cover the island post-Hurricane María, specifically focusing on the (lack of) emergency support that those residing in the mountainous regions had received in comparison to those living in, or close to, more urban areas. In order to complete this objective, they had to enter different communities and interact with a variety of social actors throughout the island. As we were waiting for Community Member 6 (a Mexican lawyer who formed part of a group to facilitate pro bono legal services to immigrants in the Metro Phoenix area) to finish his mediation session, Penélope began to share details of her trip. She told me that one of the most surprising and impactful parts of this trip stemmed from the sense of empathy that she constructed through interacting with local community members. Even though she initially positioned Puerto Ricans outside of her heritage community, she connected with many of them through their shared linguistic self-doubt:

She also had an experience that helped her to work through what she calls her “self-doubt”. She traveled and worked primarily with another student who didn’t speak any Spanish -- so she ended up doing all of the translation, interpretations, and conducting most of the interviews in Spanish. She explained that even though most of the Puerto Ricans that they encountered were bilingual and even sounded like “native speakers” when they spoke to her in English, the moment that they asked them to do the interview in English they panicked and became noticeably nervous. Despite their ability to communicate in the language, they often requested that the interview be carried out in Spanish. She saw herself in them, and could relate to what they were going through because she feels this same when speaking Spanish.

(Field note, 03-27-18)

Given that this project was for an English-language journalism class, not all the students were bilingual and able to communicate with community members in Puerto Rico. Due to these circumstances, Penélope was positioned as the linguistic expert within her specific team and was responsible for facilitating and bridging communication for those Puerto Ricans that did not speak English. Once again, despite this not being an intentional component of the SSP program curriculum, Penélope engaged in identity work that aided in the transformation of her HL from a private, family language to an acceptable, public language for both personal and professional uses.

Furthermore, this type of identity work was linked to one of the main goals of HL pedagogy – goals that were not explicitly accounted for in the SSP program.¹¹

Considering the different affective and educational needs of HL and second language (L2) learners outlined in Chapter Two, scholars have established specific goals for HL pedagogy. In 1995 and 2005, Valdés introduced six goals for HL instruction (goals 1-4

¹¹ Although there are separate HL and L2 tracks for grammar and conversation courses at Southwestern University, the content-specific courses are mixed.

and 5-6, respectively) that were later extended by Aparicio (1997) to include a seventh goal. Beaudrie et al. (2014) summarized these goals as:

- 1) Language maintenance
- 2) Acquisition or development of a prestige language variety
- 3) Expansion of bilingual range
- 4) Transfer of literacy skills
- 5) Acquisition or development of academic skills in the heritage language
- 6) Positive attitudes toward both the heritage language and various dialects of the language, and its cultures
- 7) Acquisition or development of cultural awareness (p. 59)

Language maintenance, is considered collectively as the primary goal of HL pedagogy, as it is believed that HL learners view their variety as valid and perceive themselves as having a strong proficiency in the language are more likely to continue transmitting the HL within their families and communities (Beaudrie et al., 2014). As such, the theoretical underpinnings of goals two through seven support this positive self-perception in overcoming what Parodi (2008) points to as *insecurity* and *stigma*. In order to promote language maintenance, the collaboration of a variety of social actors is needed – such as other students, teachers, community members, and family members (Draper & Hicks, 2000).

In the case of Penélope, however, there was no purposeful pedagogical intervention that cultivated the circumstances in which she and key social actors would collaborate in social discourses to overcome insecurity and stigma; rather it was the linguistic circumstances of her professional partnership with monolingual speakers of English that would encourage such collaboration during her trip to Puerto Rico. As the only bilingual student on her team, she was again assigned the position of language broker out of the need to facilitate communication between her colleagues and their Spanish-speaking interlocutors. However, different from her reluctance to take on such a role during her childhood, she owned her linguistic abilities and transformed this position into that of “Professional Bilingual Journalist.”

While positioning herself as the lead (bilingual) journalist within various discursive events, there were cases in which she perceived that the interviewees had high to even native-like proficiency in English. Despite these abilities, when confronted with the request of carrying out an interview in this language they became visibly distraught. These feelings of self-doubt seemed to influence their decision to avoid using English and instead request that the interviews be conducted in the language in which they felt more comfortable. Even though her interlocutors experienced self-doubt of their linguistic abilities in *English* and not Spanish, Penélope was able to connect with their fear of using a language as she too had experienced this emotion which derived in part from her own self-doubt and linguistic self-consciousness. Specifically, this fear was linked to being assigned a position as an “incompetent” and “illegitimate” speaker. Inspired by this realization, she decided that this semester she would work to overcome her self-doubt – a personal goal that many HL learners set for themselves on their path to

language maintenance (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). During her SSP trip, Penélope's Puerto Rican interlocutors become collaborative social actors that helped her to validate her experiences and linguistic abilities in her HL.

Parallels Across Journeys

Although their stories look different, there are parallels that can be made between Penélope's and Petra's SSP internship journeys. Specifically, both interns experienced linguistic self-doubt that manifested for different reasons. For example, as we waited for Community Member 6 at the law firm, I asked Penélope from where she believed her self-doubt stemmed. Like many G2s who attended school in English, Penélope linked her lack of formal exposure to a prestigious academic variety to her own negative attitudes regarding her HL (Beaudrie et al., 2014). She went on to explain that although no one had explicitly told her "your Spanish is bad," she had always linked these feelings to fact that she was not able to learn Spanish in an educational setting – thus, removing the possible position of "Spanish-Speaking Professional."

Whereas Penélope's self-doubt stemmed from issues related to HL pedagogy, Petra's linguistic insecurities were rooted in her lack of specialized training for her SSP internship. Specifically, the position of "Medical Interpreter" and "Scribe" at her internship site required the speaker to have a command of specialized medical knowledge and simultaneous interpretation skills. Given that her field of study was journalism and not medicine, Petra had not received the proper training to comfortably take on this position.

Despite the diverging origins of linguistic self-doubt, both Penélope's and Petra's experiences illustrate the central role that identity work plays in experiential language learning. Although operating different storylines via discourse situated in different community spaces, both interns engaged in a significant amount of linguistic and emotional labor to manage their linguistic insecurities – for both themselves and others – within the context of their professional internships. Such linguistic and emotional labor affected the types of positions available to them and, consequently, how they positioned themselves through discourse.

Reflect and Regret Based on Language Ideologies

Penélope's experiences of overcoming self-doubt prompted her to reflect on the linguistic journeys of those around her, specifically in regards to her brother and mother. While reflecting on the origins of her self-doubt, Penélope also saw her own stigmatized variety of the HL mirrored in her siblings' discourse:

Penélope shared that her older brother's proficiency in Spanish is "pretty low" and that she has always made fun of him. Growing up, she would say "You're saying that wrong." Thinking back on this, she feels that this may have discouraged him to continue learning Spanish – to have someone bringing you down instead of lifting you up and encouraging you.

(Field note, 03-27-18)

This statement contrasted starkly from how she presented this relationship initially during our first interview:

My brother's Spanish is horrible. And he'll say something wrong and I'll correct him. And I'm like, "Dude, I'm only trying to help you." Like, "No quiero que te veas como un mensito." Like, "I'm just trying to help you." And it's so bad, because my older brother -- he's more like a serious, not fun guy. Gets mad really easily. And it just slips out. Like, he'll say something wrong, and I'll be like, "No se dice así, se dice así." And I'm just like, "Oh my God." But I just can't help it, because if I'm making a mistake, please correct me."

(Interview, 02-17-18)

Penélope's remarks are paralleled to her experience in Puerto Rico, where being around less competent speakers actually strengthened the perception of her own linguistic abilities. In this case, because of her own self-doubt and self-consciousness in the HL, she utilized negative emotion words to refer to both her brother's linguistic abilities and general affect:

*My brother's Spanish is **horrible**. And he'll say something wrong and I'll correct him. And I'm like, "Dude, I'm only trying to help you." Like, "No quiero que te veas como un **mensito**." Like, "I'm just trying to help you." And it's so **bad**, because my older brother -- he's more like a **serious, not fun** guy. Gets **mad** really easily. And it just slips out. Like, he'll say something wrong, and I'll be like, "No se dice así, se dice así." And I'm just like, "Oh my God." But I just can't help it, because if I'm making a mistake, please correct me."*

(Interview, 02-17-18)

She explained that even though he would get mad with her corrections, Penélope ignored the affective influence her actions may have had on him and instead attributed his anger to his personality. She justified her explicit error correction through a variety of lenses, one being that she was helping him. She additionally rationalized this practice as a way to protect him from ridicule and being perceived socially as a *mensito* due to his HL variety. Finally, she applied the reasoning that she would want someone to correct her if she had made a mistake to her brother.

Given that this seemed to be a radical change in perception, I asked her to reflect on her viewpoint during our final interview. Penélope explained:

My brother's Spanish is horrible. Like, he's just always being really bad at speaking -- He's two years older than me and when I was two, I spoke more than he did and he was four. So, speaking in general is not his strong suit, whereas for me it is. So, I think I've just always kind of had this hierarchy of like, "I'm the best Spanish, blah-blah-blah." But then after taking Spanish classes and getting my ass handed to me and like, "Oh shit! I have stuff to work on too."

And in general I feel like even if it was with my mom, like whenever she'll try to say something in English. I'm like, "Mom, no se dice así," and I feel like I kind of make fun of her, like teasing her a little bit. And I feel like that's discouraging. So, I don't know. I feel like, as I get older, and hopefully wiser, and I just kind of realize that it can affect -- or make them have a lower self-esteem rather than help them and motivate them.

(Interview, 05-04-18)

In her reflection, Penélope did not change her opinion of her family members' linguistic proficiency. However, through the experiences that her internship and courses afforded her, she began to develop linguistic empathy for her brother's journey in Spanish and parents' journeys in English. In addition to her time in Puerto Rico, she experienced challenges in her Spanish courses that prompted her to reflect on the effect that her negative discourse had on her family's motivation to continue developing their respective languages.

To illustrate this point, Penélope affirmed that she still believed her brother's Spanish was "horrible," but instead of connecting it to his "errors" in the HL, she associated his low of proficiency to a more global skill. She stated that "speaking" in general had never been one of her older brother's strengths – no matter the language. Comparing their childhoods, even at the young age of two, Penélope's linguistic abilities

in both English and Spanish were more highly developed than her brother's. She believed that this led her to position herself as a more skilled (Spanish) speaker in this *specific* private, at-home context, despite feeling inferior to other speakers in more public and professional settings. Despite both being G2s and experiencing the effects of language ideologies and social pressures, both she and her brother had their own strengths and weaknesses in relation to their shared HL.

In the same interview where Penélope reflected on her brother's linguistic proficiency, she reflected concurrently on how she had treated her mother. Her mother, like many G1s, had immigrated to the U.S. as a monolingual adult (Beaudrie et al, 2014; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). As a stay-at-home mother, she continued to primarily communicate with her husband and children in her native language of Spanish. Although she did develop receptive competence in English, she never felt comfortable speaking this language. Penélope remembered that in the instances when her mother did try to utilize the socially dominant English language, she would often correct her in a teasing manner. She demonstrated her linguistic empathy for her mother's immigration and language learning journey by recognizing that her error correction technique may have actually discouraged and lowered her self-esteem. She realized that what her mother needed was someone to motivate her. Throughout the course of her internship and SSP coursework, Penélope was able to empathize with the linguistic journeys that different family members had experienced. Penélope also began to reflect on own linguistic journey and how she presented herself in a professional and personal manner.

(Re)Claiming a Mexican-American Identity

Throughout this chapter, I have mentioned a variety of reasons for which Penélope distanced herself personally from her Mexican roots – many of which came from the stigmatization of her HL variety and culture in her hometown. One of the reasons for which she distanced herself professionally from her ethnicity was due to stereotypes about Mexican reporters who only focus on issues of immigration. This was reflective of the larger social hierarchies within the School of Journalism:

During the beginning of the semester, there was some drama going on between Frontier News and el Reportaje, and, the point being, there was this girl that was talking about, “Oh, all Penélope does is DACA, DACA, DACA. Do you do anything else?” And those comments hurt because one of the reasons that I didn’t want to do Spanish was because I didn’t want to be the typical Mexican reporter that everybody would expect. So, those comments like genuinely hurt me, like affected me.

(Interview, 05-04-18)

In this passage, she referred to some “drama” that was occurring between Frontier News (one of the beats at the Phoenix Report) and the Phoenix Reportaje at the beginning of the semester in which this research was conducted. Penélope became the center of one of the attacks when a female student made remarks criticizing the subject range of Penélope’s professional work. According to this student, Penélope only focused on issues related to DACA, or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. Although these allegations were untrue, they were hurtful as they pointed to a larger issue within the School of Journalism that she had internalized: the stereotype that Spanish-language journalism serves only as venue to explore issues of immigration.

Commitment to the Spanish-Language Market Through Overcoming Stereotypes

As described previously in Chapter Three, Penélope and María reported that, despite being housed within the same school, they perceived that they were treated differently than their colleagues working at the Phoenix Report. These differences were due to a lack of resources, institutional isolation resulting from the social inequities and discriminatory institutional policies, and issues of personal security. Penélope also shared that many of the students that were not familiar with the Phoenix Reportaje thought that this team was not a separate program, but simply part of the Borderland beat within the Phoenix Report. Although the Phoenix Reportaje did focus on issues of immigration, as these issues are important to the Hispanic/Latinx community, they also focused on a variety of other issues – such as sports, music, food, advocacy, and community engagement, among others.

Having been a part of the School of Journalism her first two years at Southwestern University, Penélope was well aware of the fact that the Phoenix Reportaje was often pegged as being synonymous with the Borderland beat. In turn, she reported this as being an additional reason as to why she was hesitant about seeking a career in the Spanish-language market. She did not want to be labeled as a “typical Mexican reporter” that only focused on issues of immigration. In spite of her fear of being cast typed as this stereotypical Mexican reporter, Penélope committed to a career as a Spanish-language journalist as she began to take SSP courses and engage with the local Hispanic/Latinx community via her internship:

Creo que esta experiencia [la pasantía] me ha verificado y me ha ayudado mucho a decidirme y a saber que sí quiero ser una reportera para una comunidad de hispana, en el español. Esto es algo que es apenas había considerado desde el semestre pasado. Creo que es algo diferente, porque cuando primeramente vine a la universidad, sí tenía mi especialidad en el español, pero pensaba que iba a hacer los reportajes en el inglés.

Pero después de tomarme un curso donde hice un poquito más del periodismo en español -- me encantó poder comunicarme y ayudar a la comunidad de hispana y a ofrecer reportajes que verdaderamente puedan ser un beneficio para estas comunidades. Me encantó mucho. Entonces, por eso me decidí irme por hacer el periodismo español y el Phoenix Reportaje. Me ha encantado todo lo que he hecho.

Yo creo que definitivamente ha fortalecido mi compromiso para seguir haciendo un periodismo al español, porque me encanta poder hablar con diferentes personas y conocer su historia. Porque creo que, compartiendo la cultura con muchas de esas personas, como que hay una conexión diferente, que a lo mejor no sentía cuando estaba haciendo periodismo en el inglés.

I think that this experience [the internship] has verified and helped me to decide and know that I do want to be a reporter for a Hispanic community, in Spanish. This is something that I had barely considered since last semester. I think that it's different, because when I first came to the university, I did have my major in Spanish, but I thought that I was going to do the news stories in English.

But after taking a course where I did a little bit more of journalism in Spanish -- I loved being able to communicate and help the Hispanic community and offer news stories that can truly be a benefit to these communities. I loved it so much. So, because of this I decided to go for journalism in Spanish and the Phoenix Report. I have loved everything that I've done.

I think that it has definitely strengthened my commitment to continue doing journalism in Spanish, because I love to be able to speak with different people and get to know their story. Because I think that, sharing the culture with many of these people, there's like a different connection, that perhaps I didn't feel when I was doing journalism in English.

(Video Diary, Week 5)

Once again, her SSP internship experience and coursework afforded her the opportunity to engage in interactions with her heritage community, providing her with opportunities to overcome the fear of being stereotyped as a “typical Mexican that doesn’t care” and a “typical Mexican reporter.”

As part of this journey, Penélope explained how she began to (re)claim her Mexican-American identity, both personally and professionally:

I feel like when I came to Arizona -- Even when I was in high school, I started hanging out more or talking more with the kids that speak Spanish and stuff. I just realized that I can't just hide the fact that I'm Mexican. And I can't just distance myself from “those” Mexicans. I think that I just really started to get the mentality that, “Okay. I'm going to do what I can to make people change that stereotype and change that mindset that they might have.”

(Interview, 05-04-18)

Before high school, Penélope used to avoid using Spanish in public and partaking in interactions with other Mexicans/Mexican-Americans so as not to be positioned by others as a member of this group. In this specific passage, Penélope’s choice to refer to her classmates as “those Mexicans” illustrated how, despite belonging to the same macro-level ethnic group (Mexican), she blurred the boundaries between macro- and micro-elements by distinguishing different levels of “Mexicanness” within her community. In doing so, she exploited “intersections of race, gender, and socioeconomic class to position [herself] and [her] peers along a racial continuum from less to more Mexican” (O’Connor, 2016, p. 131). Specifically, this distinction represents the semiotic process that Irvine and Gal (2000) called *fractal recursivity* in their model of how language ideologies are constructed and represented. This process involves the “projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (p. 38). By means

of implementing this process as a discursive tool, Penélope, a Mexican-American woman, created a spectrum of “Mexicanness” through which she attempted to escape the negative perception of this group by positioning herself as “less” Mexican.

Yet, her relative position on this spectrum began to shift throughout time. In the process of shifting her positionality to this community, her social perceptions regarding her heritage community also began to change. As she interacted with “those Mexicans,” Penélope decided to utilize her agency as a language learner by choosing *not* to disassociate from Mexicans/Mexican-Americans. In choosing to align herself more closely with this community, she decided to leverage her position as a legitimate and bilingual Mexican-American journalist to disparage the negative stereotypes and discourse that surrounded her heritage community – despite the risk of being stereotyped as the “typical Mexican reporter” that only covered DACA-related stories.

Phonetic Positioning

One way in which she began to embrace her identity as a legitimate Spanish speaker and Mexican-American woman, was through (re)claiming her name. In our very first interview, Penélope told me about how the newscast supervisor of Frontier News had become one of her mentors. Although this supervisor worked primarily with Frontier News, one of the beats housed within the Phoenix Report, he often utilized his professional skills and proficiency in the Spanish language to collaborate with the Phoenix Reportaje team. Before becoming a faculty member at the School of Journalism, the supervisor worked as a well-known broadcaster. Born in the United States and of Hispanic/Latinx descent, like Penélope, he had experienced growing up between different communities across a transnational social field. While in this position, he received

criticism from his viewers for maintaining the phonetic pronunciation of words like *Guadalupe* and *Nogales* and in Spanish – another example of the monolingual hegemony present in the state of Arizona. Penélope described that through these shared experiences, she felt as though she could relate to this particular supervisor and would seek out his counsel regarding issues of identity.

One such issue was how Penélope should present herself, both personally and professionally, depending up on the language in which the encounter took place. She explained this linguistic dilemma as, “Whenever I’m doing something in English, am I Penelope? When I’m doing something in Spanish, am I Penélope?” (Interview 02-17-18). Being that the theme of the phonetic pronunciation of her name continued to come up throughout the course of the semester, I asked her how she felt with this in our last interview:

Right now, I think I'm 80% Penélope and 20% Penelope. I definitely feel like even -- I don't know if I told you, but in one of our first newscasts, it was me and my friend anchoring and he said, “Ahora le paso esto a mi compañera, Penelope”. He said, “Penelope.” It's a stupid thing, but honestly, you don't know how offended I was. I don't know. And after he said it, too, right when we finished, he was like, “I'm sorry I said Penelope.”

I feel like that validated me more. Because I was like, you know what, there's huge difference between pronouncing my vowels. Especially because I feel like, Penelope ... Penelope, it could be a different name. People thought I was Armenian coming into college. I was like, “What?” I still feel like that emphasis to be like, “No, my name is Penélope.” Whenever I meet somebody, whether it'd be that be like a new friend or somebody in a special setting, I do say Penélope. Like, “No, I'm Penélope.”

I feel like now if I would say “Penelope” it would kind of be like a disrespect in a way to like my parents. Because, like, I know they did not go into that hospital thinking, “Okay, esta niñita, Penelope”.

(Interview, 05-04-18)

In this excerpt, Penélope illustrated how she continued to grapple with her bilingual identities. Notwithstanding, the importance of positioning her Mexican (-American) identity through discourse was validated during an on-camera experience at her internship.

As Penélope claimed a position within her heritage community, she also began to take up her Mexican-American ethnicity and HL as an integral component of her professional and personal identities. By the end of the research, she was at a point where if she was in a situation where she needed to introduce herself, whether that be in a personal or more specialized setting, she made the conscious decision of (re)claiming her Mexican-American identity through utilizing Spanish phonology for “Penélope.” In addition to embracing her identity through the use of her HL language, she also explained that she felt as though presenting herself as “Penélope” demonstrated respect for her parents, as the name that they gave her at birth was intended to be presented through their shared language of Spanish.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In this chapter, I have illustrated how Penélope utilized language to position her identity as a both a legitimate speaker of Spanish and (re)claim her identity as a Mexican-American woman through experiences related to her SSP internship. Additionally, I have shown that, although different, parallels between Penélope’s and Petra’s journeys can be drawn. Petra, who proudly embraced her identity as a multicultural/multidialectal speaker of different varieties of English and Spanish, was considered a “legitimate” speaker of Spanish while completing an 18-month religious mission in Ecuador. However, upon

returning to the U.S., this position was taken away from her as the communicative goal and context changed.

Penélope on the other hand, originally distanced herself from her heritage community through restricting her use of Spanish to private, familial settings. As her SSP internship duties and coursework required her to utilize Spanish to interact with local (and non-local, in the case of Puerto Rico) Hispanic/Latinx community members, she began to transform her relationship to her HL from a private, family language to an acceptable public one. As her affective relationship to the language shifted, so did her relationship to her community within a transnational social field. As she grew more confident, Penélope began to claim her identity as both a legitimate speaker of Spanish and Mexican-American woman. Such findings illustrate that, in terms of identity, the actual outcomes of the SSP program, were rather unpredictable. Regardless of the stated goals of the program, the SSP internship experience afforded each of the interns different storylines, possible positions, and imagined futures as bilingual professionals.

With this in mind, in the following chapter, I trace the journey of a third intern (María), who also utilized language to engage in language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work while completing her internship that transcended the linguistic and professional goals of the SSP minor program. Specifically, as a non-local native speaker from Puerto Rico, María employed her linguistic abilities to construct her identity as a Puerto Rican producer and journalist while being physically located in the Southwestern United States.

CHAPTER 7

SOY PUERTORRIQUEÑA, PUNTO:

MARÍA'S JOURNEY OF CONSTRUCTING HER IDENTITY AS A FEMALE PUERTO RICAN PRODUCER AND JOURNALIST IN THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

This turned into an “accidental” observation for María and me. From what I had gathered yesterday, María was going to be playing a part in the interview (production) but I wasn't sure how this would play out. As I was in the lobby of the School of Journalism waiting for Penélope and Community Member 7, María walked in. Spotting me, she came over and said hi. She asked me if I was here to follow Penélope, I explained that yes but that I also would love to see what she would do. She said she will be working “behind the scenes”.

María invites me back to the production room where I will be able to observe everything happening on camera and behind the scenes. She was wearing some badass light colored jeans, with motorcycle boots, and a black one sleeved shirt. As we were walking back I again complimented her outfit, telling her that should looked “rebelde” to which she replied “rebelde pero profesional.” Her outfit exuded as much confidence as she did assuming the role of producer. I could tell that she was really in her element – making decisive choices without hesitation.

The production room is impressive, with six big screen TVs and what seemed like a million buttons. She seamlessly switches between English with the tech team and Spanish with the Phoenix Reportaje crew – and engages in translanguaging with Penélope which, at this point, I have come to understand is very much a part of María's idiolecto.

(Fieldnote, 03-28-18)

A Brief Summary of María's Journey

While getting to know María, I came to envision her as a swanky young woman that loved to dance and express herself through her fashion and linguistic choices. Born and raised in Puerto Rico, she always had a deep connection to her first language and culture. Although she never had the desire to leave her island, it was always expected by her family and the larger society that she would. She grew up surrounded by the ideology

that “lo americano es mejor” – if she wanted to be successful, she would have to head to the mainland. She eventually moved to Arizona to study film at Southwestern University, as the scene for this industry was not as strongly developed in Puerto Rico. After realizing that film was not the path that she wanted to take, she switched to a major in broadcast at the School of Journalism, where she would focus mainly on production and but also develop pertinent skills for a potential career in reporting. Due to her geographical location within the Southwest, the majority of the Spanish-speaking community members were of Mexican origin and had acquired a U.S. Spanish variation. Despite making meaningful connections to this group, being far away from her own speech community and participating within a gender-biased industry, María experienced dilemmas in negotiating both her personal and professional identities.

In this chapter, I focus on María’s journey, examining the experiences that her professional internship afforded her and how she harnessed these experiences to engage in language-based identity work that transcended the goals of the Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) program. Specifically, while engaging in her internship, María’s identity work focused around using language and extra-linguistic elements to negotiate a position as a female, Puerto Rican producer and journalist in the Southwestern United States (U.S.). I offer an examination of three important themes that represent this type of identity work she did across discursive events: (i) claiming her puertorriqueñidad in broadcast, (ii) linguistic proficiency and commitment to an academic standard variety, and (iii) maintaining her authentic self within a gender-biased professional environment.

**Narration of Her Positionality as a Non-Local Native Speaker:
Colonization, Translanguaging, and Language Ideologies**

María comes from Puerto Rico, a commonwealth of the United States U.S. Due to the turbulent and colonial relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico, the imposition of English on the island has led to translanguaging practices and a macro-level classification as bilingual territory. However, this linguistic imposition has additionally become a catalyst for the development of explicit and implicit hegemonic language ideologies, specifically the view that English is often privileged as the (global) language of science and academia at post-secondary institutions (Carroll & Mazak, 2017). As described previously, these hegemonic language ideologies were also part of the reason for which María was expected to leave Puerto Rico and pursue her post-secondary education in the mainland. Moving from Puerto Rico to Arizona, she left one speech community marked by language contact and entered a very different one.

Upon entering this different speech community, María felt a sense of disconnection. Although she would often travel to parts of the city where the linguistic landscape reflected a Spanish-speaking community, the artifacts in her surroundings did not reflect *her* community. Rather, many of these spaces reflected the linguistic variations and cultural customs of a predominately Mexican community. In addition, Spanish-speakers in the Metro Phoenix area often had a difficult time understanding her Puerto Rican variety and vice versa. The disconnect and difference in linguistic variation was also present in her professional experiences, both on and off camera. As a producer, she worked as an integral team member in the creation of the televised newscasts and Facebook Live shows for the Phoenix Reportaje. Even though her preference was

producing, she wasn't going to "limit" herself to this one possibility. Therefore, towards the end of her time at Southwestern University, she began to seek out opportunities to take on a dual role as a reporter. In addition to feeling like an outsider of the dominant speech community, when putting together her digital news stories (packages), she felt the pressure from the industry to neutralize her identity through suppressing her Puerto Rican variety.

Claiming Her Puertorriqueñidad in Broadcast

María, like all students completing the SSP minor at Southwestern University, had been exposed to the topic of variation of the Spanish language via a required course entitled *Spanish in U.S. Professional Communities*. This course presented an in-depth exploration of Spanish varieties in the U.S – with an emphasis on the varieties of Mexican, Cuban-, and Puerto Ricans in the mainland. While carrying out her SSP internship, María would be required to confront a different kind of variation: the mythical "neutral" variety that marked the Spanish-language mass media market in the United States.

Accent and Delivery

The hegemonic belief that a "neutral" variety of Spanish (i) exists and (ii) should be the industry "standard" has been present in mass media throughout both Latin America and the U.S. since the middle of the 20th century (Jarvinen, 2012; Valencia & Lynch, 2016). Valencia and Lynch (2016) explain that through this standard, "se intenta forjar una lengua sin carácter regional o local que trascienda las fronteras e identidades nacionales en el plano perceptual, hacienda familiar algo es, en esencia, necesariamente ajeno" (p. 178) or "an attempt is made to forge a language without regional or local

character that transcends the borders and national identities on a perceptual level, making familiar something that, in its essence, is inherently foreign” (my translation). These researchers maintained that one justification for the presence of this language ideology in mass media outlets in the U.S. derives from the linguistic diversity present in the newsroom. In order to “forge a language without regional or local character,” reporters from all different parts of Latin America are encouraged to neutralize their varieties in order to create a universal standard that all viewers can understand.

Yet, Mexican variation(s) have always been maintained in mass media in the U.S. and the entertainment field in Latin America, unlike others that have been censured so as to conform to this ideal neutral standard. El Halli Obeid (2012) explained that, through their popular *telenovelas* and dubbed television shows, Mexico became a bridge between U.S. media products and Latin America. As such, some members of the industry perceive that this neutral standard is equivalent or mirrors many of the features of a Mexican variation, where others feel as though a Mexican standard is completely distinct (Artman, 2015; Valencia & Lynch, 2015). Given that Univisión, the network through which the televised newscast of the Phoenix Reportaje was broadcasted, is one the national networks noted as embracing the use of a neutral standard (Valencia & Lynch, 2015), it is no surprise that María felt pressured to assimilate her Puerto Rican variety to this ubiquitous standard.

During our last interview, María spoke to me regarding the institutional pressure to adopt a neutral standard variety of Spanish that dominated both at the national landscape and her internship site. Following up on this topic, I asked her if she felt she *could* maintain her puertorriqueñidad through a specific discursive feature: her accent. She was very decisive in her answer:

Yo mantengo mi acento y punto. Y no es tema de acento cuando se trata del reporting ... Porque es delivery, como tú vas a narrar, como tú vas a utilizar tu voz para informar a la audiencia claramente. Eso no es tanto el acento, sino hay que tomar en consideración que nosotros, por ejemplo, podemos hablar muy rápido a veces. No pronunciamos la r, ni la s. Y a la hora de uno informar, hay que hacerlo bien. Y ahí mi profesora me lo está diciendo, "No es el acento, es que sea claridad. Siempre tengan eso en mente, que sea claridad".

I maintain my accent and end of story. And it's not an issue of accent when it had to do with reporting. Because it's delivery, like how you are going to narrate something, how you are going to use your voice to inform the audience in a clear manner. It's not so much the accent; rather, you have to take into consideration that we, for example, can speak really quickly sometimes. We don't pronounce the r or the s. And when it's time to inform, you have to do it well. And that's where my professor is telling me, "It's not the accent, it's has to be clear. Always keep that in mind, it has to be clear."

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In this excerpt, María described implicitly that the linguistic ideologies regarding a neutral Spanish variety present in the industry which framed certain stigmatized linguistic features as interrupting the audience's comprehension. Such linguistic discrimination was similar to what one of María's mentors, the newscast supervisor of the Borderland's beat at the Phoenix Report, had experienced while working as an English-language broadcaster in the Southwest. As described in Chapter Six, this supervisor had been born in the United States and was of Hispanic/Latinx descent. While working in broadcast, he had received criticism from his viewers for remaining loyal to the phonetic pronunciation

of words like *Guadalupe* and *Nogales* and in Spanish. Despite such critiques, he continued to honor his bilingualism through translanguaging as she carried out his broadcasting duties.

Whereas the newscast supervisor's use of Spanish during English-language broadcasts was framed as impeding viewers' comprehension, certain linguistic features of María's Puerto Rican variety (e.g., rate of speech, elision, velarization) were framed as problematic for the comprehension of a Spanish-speaking audience. As such, María felt pressured to conform to this "neutral" standard by erasing (Irvine & Gal, 2000) these linguistics markers of her Puerto Rican identity. However, over the course of her internship, she came to reject this belief and clarified that audience comprehension was not about a speaker's accent *per se*. On the contrast, comprehension was related the discursive strategies that reporters implement while on camera in order to clearly transmit information to their viewers. With this in mind, María ultimately decided that she would maintain her Spanish variety and, in doing so, position herself as a Puerto Rican journalist across professional storylines. "Punto."

To better understand how María grappled with these intuitional pressures, I reached out to her via text message and asked how she conceptualized the phenomenon of "accent":

Mira yo defino mi acento de dos formas. 1 - lo literal, hablar rápido, no pronunciar s' ni las l y hablar cantaito y 2 - pues es mi identidad. Es forma de mi forma de comunicación y al poder expresarme en español y en mi acento, puedo comunicarme 100[%] con mas [sic] claridad. Cuando se trata del periodismo es diferente porque estamos hablando de narrar un 'track' que viene siendo grabando leyendo un guión, pero por ejemplo cuando nos toca estar en vivo, tener en mente "tengo que pronunciar las s y las r" interviene con el 'delivery' y al fin y acabo con la informacion [sic] y la precision [sic] y certeza de lo que informo [al público].

Look I define my accent two ways. 1 - the literal aspects, speaking quickly, not pronouncing s' or the l and speaking cantaito and 2 – well it's my identity. It's part of my form of communication and upon being able to express myself in Spanish and in my accent, I can communicate 100[%] with more clarity. When it's regarding journalism it's different because we are talking about narrating a 'track' that is being filmed reading a script, but for example when we have to report live, having in mind "I have to pronounce the s' and the r' intervenes with the 'delivery' and after all with the information and the precision and the certainty with which I inform [the audience].

(Member Check Text Message, 08-23-18)

In defining “accent,” María offered two related focuses. Whereas the first referred to the linguistic features of her speech, the second pointed to the role that her discursive choices played in fighting against institutional language ideologies in order to construct her professional identity. Such a reflection supports the poststructuralist idea that identity “is a shared social achievement, negotiated, or perhaps battled over, through language and interaction” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 4).

Specifically, María noted again the pressure that she felt to erase various linguistic features of her Puerto Rican variety so as to conform with the neutral Spanish variety encouraged in mass media. Although she initially internalized this pressure that manifested during her broadcast duties as internal, private reminders to eradicate her markers of her identity (“*tengo que pronunciar las s y las r*”), María over time realized that her attempts at erasure affected her ability to position herself positionality as not just a Puerto Rican journalist, but also a journalist that could communicate successfully her message to the audience. Ultimately, María’s efforts in trying to conform to industry norms by changing her accent, “intervened” with her actual ability to inform her audience. By focusing on stripping her identity, her “delivery” was negatively affected – resulting in a low-quality product that was not representative of her as a professional journalist.

Language Ideologies Connected to a Puerto Rican Spanish Variety

Even though she had made the commitment to maintain her puertorriqueñidad by the end of her internship, reaching this decision had been a process – a process that sheds light on the fact that language ideologies are not static. During this same post-interview María reflected:

Me di cuenta que este semestre que hice en el Reportaje, era una presentación para el show de Facebook, siempre que miraba para atrás y yo digo, “Estoy presentando, pero no me escucho como yo.” Se siente esa presión de que me tengo que asimilar a lo neutral, pero cuando yo lo hago, yo digo, “No, no se ve natural. Es neutral, pero se ve forzado.” Me acuerdo que cuando está grabando tal video, tenía en la mente, “Así es que se escucha. No te escuchas muy boricua.” He estado observando, viendo a otros reporteros que sí hay una forma de hacerlo. Es averiguar cómo. Estoy aprendiendo, pero es esa presión de mientras uno está leyendo el prompter, “Okay. Tienes que leer la s. La r. Conversacional. Que no se te salga lo de jibara. Que no se te salga lo de cafre.” Así es que se expresa la presión.

I realized the semester that I did the Reportaje, it was a production for the Facebook show, I was always looking back and I said, “I’m reporting, but I don’t sound like myself.” You feel this pressure to assimilate to a neutral variety, but when I do it, I say, “No, this doesn’t seem natural. It’s neutral, but it seems forced.” I remember when I was recording some video, what stayed in my mind was “That’s how you sound. You don’t sound very Puerto Rican.” I’ve been observing, looking at other reporters if there is a way to do it. It’s figuring out how. I’m learning but that pressuring when you’re reading the prompter, “Okay, You have to read the s. The r. Conversational. Don’t let the jibara¹² out. Don’t let the ghetto out. That’s how the pressure is.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In this passage, María recounted another example of the internal conflict she felt while carrying out her SSP internship – this time, it occurred while reporting for one of the Facebook Live shows at the Phoenix Reportaje. She again felt pressured to “erase” particular linguistic features that marked her Puerto Rican identity in order to assimilate to the neutral standard variety of the journalism industry.

¹² Jibaro/a/x is a reference to individuals from the mountainous or farming regions of Puerto Rico.

Like many Puerto Ricans, María’s variety of Spanish included various stigmatized features that are often considered “non-standard,” such as the incorporation of translanguaging or “code-switching” (Hill, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996), frequent subject expression (Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Hochberg, 1986), /s/ elision and/or aspiration (Hochberg, 1986; Lafford, 1982; Terrell, 1997), velarization of /n/ to [ŋ] (Boomershine, 2006), velarization of /r/ to [x] (Holmquist, 2003; Lipski, 1994; López Morales, 1979, 1983; Navarro Tomás, 1948), and lateralization of /r/ to [l] (Lipski, 1994; López Morales, 1983), among others. In this specific passage, María referred to four distinct language ideologies while recounting her thought process during the filming of a Facebook Live show for the Phoenix Reportaje earlier in the semester.

Elision and/or aspiration of /s/ (“Tienes que leer la s”). The first language ideology to which María referred implicitly was the elision of /s/ to [θ] and/or the aspiration of /s/ to [h] when she reminded herself, “Tienes que leer la s,”:

(7.1) Examples of elision (a) and aspiration (b) of /s/

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| a. las niñas | [ˈlaθˈniɲaθ] | “standard” [ˈlasˈniɲas] |
| b. las niñas | [ˈlahˈniɲah] | “standard” [ˈlasˈniɲas] |

Both elision and aspiration of /s/ are common occurrences across all ages and socioeconomic classes in Puerto Rico (Lipski, 1994; López Morales, 1983). Outside of the island, however, these processes have undergone *iconization*, or “transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 7), as they are commonly associated with the stereotyped image of a “laid back” Puerto Rican Spanish speaker.

In contrast to its unmarked status in Puerto Rican Spanish, aspiration is considered an indicator of membership to higher socioeconomic classes in other Spanish-speaking regions, such as on the Uruguayan-Brazilian border (Carvalho, 2006) and Maracaibo and Caracas in Venezuela (Carreira, 2000). Despite the rather positive socioindexicality in these Spanish-speaking societies, both elision and aspiration of /s/ are considered to be stigmatized and unacceptable within the “neutralized” Spanish variety that dominates the Spanish-language mass media industry throughout the U.S. and the Phoenix Reportaje in Arizona. At one point during her SSP internship, María felt pressured to adjust her language in an attempt take on the position of the “ideal” Spanish-speaking reporter. Specifically, she felt the push to suppress her Puerto Rican variety by pronouncing the /s/ instead of aspirating it.

Lateralization of /r/ to [l] (“La r”). A second language ideology to which María referred with her comment, “[Tienes que leer la s.] La r,” is the lateralization of /r/ to [l]:

(7.2) Example of lateralization of /r/ to [l]

a. puerco ['pwelko] “standard” ['pwerko]

Despite being an iconized characteristic throughout the island of Puerto Rico, lateralization of /r/ to [l] is considered a stigmatized feature within the larger Spanish-speaking world. Specifically, the socioindexical value of this process is typically connected to lower socioeconomic classes (Lipski, 1994). Therefore, it is logical that this phonological process was not considered as prestigious within the neutral language variety reinforced in the Spanish-language market. As such, María again felt the pressure to omit this from her own linguistic variety in order to mirror more closely the discourse

of the type of Spanish-speaking broadcasters that are prototypic within the U.S. mass media.

Lo de jíbara. The last two language ideologies to which María mentioned are those that are present within the island itself. Specifically, these are ideologies held by Puerto Ricans that refer to phonological and lexical features that are associated negatively with stigmatized groups of people on the island. The first of the two groups is *los jíbaros*, as illustrated through María's internal dialogue, "Que no se te salga lo de jíbara." Jíbaro/a/x is a reference to individuals from the mountainous or farming regions of Puerto Rico that are often stigmatized for their traditional and agricultural way of life and are typically juxtaposed against those living in the metropolitan areas of the island. A common saying that illustrates this discriminatory juxtaposition is "Un jíbaro pertenece a la isla" or "*A jíbaro belongs to the island.*" In this case, "la isla" refers to those regions outside of the metropolitan areas.

El frenillo. A specific phonological feature that is both a marker and "sociolinguistic stereotype" of los jíbaros is the velarized /rr/ (Holmquist, 2003). This phonological process, colloquially coined to as "el frenillo," refers to a posterior articulation that "alternates with an alveolar trill and its 'preaspirated' (partially devoiced) variant" (Lipski, 1994, p. 333):

(7.4) Examples of "el frenillo" (velarized /rr/)

a. carro	[ˈkaxo]	"standard" [ˈkaro]
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Although some on the island “have adopted it [the velarized /rr/] as the most ‘Puerto Rican’ of all sounds, and use it exclusively, even in the most formal discourse,” this phonological feature is viewed as negatively and “improper” by those in metropolitan areas (Lipski, 1994, p. 334).

Lexical variation. In addition to particular phonological features, lexical variation is another sociolinguistic element that can indicate membership to this rural and agricultural society:

- (7.4) Examples of lexical variation: Los jíbaros v. el área metropolitana
- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. pastelillos de pollo | variación jíbara |
| b. empanadillas (de pollo) | variación metropolitana |

With these different discursive markers in mind, María reported that she was at one point conscious to suppress any traces of a *jibaro/a/x* identity in her professional and on camera discourse so as to more effectively take on the persona of the emblematic broadcaster that is viewed positively within the U.S. Spanish-speaking market.

Discrimination across Latin America. Unfortunately, *dichos* that reflect the discrimination against non-White (European) groups of individuals have become mainstream across Latin America and Spain. Such sayings focus on groups such as *mestizos*¹³, *indios*, and *negros*:

¹³ Mestizo/a/x is a term used to describe the “genetic and cultural admixture produced by the encounters or ‘dis-encounters’ (desencuentros) between Europeans, the Africans who accompanied them to and in the New World, indigenous groups, and various others who arrived in the Americas from regions such as Asia” (Miller, 2004, p. 1)

(7.5) Examples of *dichos discriminatorios* across Latin America and Spain

- a. Como sos del indio. (Colombia)
- b. Negro tenía que ser. (Honduras)
- c. Trabajando como negro para vivir como blanco (Honduras, Spain)
- d. No seas indio. (Mexico, Venezuela)

While tracing the history and social significance of “the cult of *mestizaje*” through colonial to present times, Miller (2004) explains:

It soon became evident, on the ground and in the text, that the privileging of whiteness continued concurrently with the deployment of *mestizaje* as a national and regional doctrine. Categories such a “*indio*” and “*negro*” were still routinely used in pejorative ways, while official ideology declared the worth and occasional even the superiority of the nonwhite. (p. 4)

In the case of María’s, her internal, private reminder while broadcasting, “*Que no se te salga lo de jíbara,*” reflected how the “privileging of whiteness” and the belief that a metropolitan lifestyle is more progressive and prestigious than agricultural ways of life have influenced the stigmatization of jíbaros in Puerto Rico. Although María may have utilized linguistic features that were associated with this group in other social contexts, she recognized how the stigma of utilizing these features could influence the way in which others perceived and indexed her. However, as the semester carried on, she came to change her opinion and embrace her puertorriqueñidad through being loyal to her Puerto Rican variety.

Lo de cafre. This same shift occurred with the second of the two stigmatized groups, *los cafres*, mentioned through Maria's internal dialogue, "*Que no se te salga lo de cafre.*" Various definitions of *cafre*, a lexical item that can be utilized as both a noun and adjective, have been proposed. For example, in 1999, Ramírez introduced the following definition:

In Puerto Rico *cafre* is used to describe anyone who behaves in a manner that is considered vulgar, in bad taste, or scandalous. The word also has a racist connotation because it is mostly applied to black people or those with physical traits considered negroid. (p. 115, emphasis maintained)

Years later, in 2010, Arroyo steered away from the racist connotation mentioned by Ramírez (1999) and instead focused on the historical deviance of the term:

'Cafre' is a word used in Puerto Rico to describe individuals with no taste in clothing, manners, and style. It came from Andalusian Spanish. The word comes from the Arabic *Kaffir* and it is used in North African countries (mostly Muslim countries) to describe people who happen to be 'rejecters' or 'infidel' (non-Muslims or converts to Islam) and therefore non-civilized (darker, tribal). (p. 199, emphasis maintained)

In addition to the racist connotations and socially deviant nature proposed by Ramírez (1999) and Arroyo (2010) respectively, I have personally heard *cafre* as a pejorative reference to members of a low socioeconomic class that reside in *caserios*¹⁴.

Furthermore, *cafre* is often associated with the musical genres *reggaetón* and *trap*. In addition to their physical characteristics, fashion choices, and location of residency, there are particular linguistic characteristics that mark membership to this social group.

¹⁴ *Caserio* is a colloquial term for subsidized, public housing in Puerto Rico that is reserved for low-income individuals

Mai/pai. One such example is the use of the words *mai* and *pai*. In the Puerto Rican Spanish variety, it is considered “standard” to use the words *mami* and *papi* to refer to one’s mom and father, versus other terms that may be common in different regions of the Spanish-speaking world (e.g., madre/padre, mamá/papá, ma/pa). Having said this, the use of the syncopated lexical items *mai* and *pai*, are markers of membership to a lower socioeconomic class and often viewed as *cafre*.

(7.5) Example of a “cafre” lexical item

a. mami [maḯ] (“standard” [mámi])

b. papi [paḯ] (“standard” [pápi])

Mami/papi. Another example derives from the items *mami* and *papi*. As mentioned, it is standard in Puerto Rico to use these words to make reference to one’s parents. However, when speakers extend these terms to refer to their intimate partner and/or another peer in an affectionate or sexual manner, they are viewed as *cafre*. Therefore, although the lexical items themselves are used across all socioeconomic classes, ages and genders, when the referent changes, these terms become markers of this stigmatized group. As María may have felt as though she, in some ways, embodied certain physical, social, and/or linguistic characteristics of this stigmatized group, she again made a conscious effort at the beginning of her internship to erase any elements that may have signaled a *cafre* identity.

María's Internal Conflict

The examples given in the previous section are some of the possible linguistic features that may have crossed María's mind as she grappled with the competing discursive choices that could assist her index her positionality during the discursive event of "Broadcasting." These linguistic choices either conformed to or deviated from the neutral standard variety of the industry. Consequently, she could either adhere to the neutral standard so as to take up the position of "Ideal Spanish-Spaking Journalist," or reject this variety and claim her puertorriqueñidad. Not only did she live out this conflict via in-the-moment internal dialogue, but continued to do so as she reviewed the footage and judged her own performance after the fact. While on camera, the ideologically-informed pressure to adapt her speech to the neutral standard variety seemed to gain territory, as she mentally reminded herself to pronounce consonants that she typically would aspirate. In these mental reminders, she also directed herself to eliminate linguistic elements that would associate herself with stigmatized social groups within her own Puerto Rican community – lo de jíbara, lo de cafre.

Yet, off camera, the desire to maintain her puertorriqueñidad through her discourse came back into focus. As she reviewed the footage of herself, she felt that she *had* achieved neutralizing her speech. However, her speech sounded forced and she could not recognize her own voice. By consequence of her successful conscious effort to engage in discursive erasure, she did not sound Puerto Rican. Upon hearing this "neutral" version of herself, she realized that she did not want to compromise her puertorriqueñidad in constructing her identity in professional discourse.

María found herself to be in a double bind with two competing narratives at play: “Stay true to yourself” and “Conform to industry standards to be successful.” Not finding the right resources to confront her double bind in the local context of both the School and Arizona, María decided to look to other Puerto Rican professionals in the industry – both on the island and mainland – as a model to see if they had found a way to honor their puertorriqueñidad while positing themselves as successful Spanish-speaking broadcasters.

María’s Linguistic Self-discovery: Finding Her Voice

Despite taking the initiative to seek out strategies and virtual role models to aid her in the identity construction process, the search for finding her own voice as a Puerto Rican broadcaster and producer within this industry continued to be a struggle throughout her SSP internship:

Aquí me dieron la oportunidad varias veces de hacer algunos de estos proyectos, unos reportajes. Y salí y uno de mis batallas más grande ha sido encontrar mi estilo mi voz porque estoy aprendiendo en un ámbito que en su mayoría es mexicano y unos cuantos sudamericanos, venezolanos, pero el asunto es similar. Y lo puertorriqueño es completamente diferente. Hay unas cuantas muchachas aquí que son boricuas, cubanas, como que las he estado escuchando, pero es diferente. Y me he dado cuenta, por ejemplo, con el acento puertorriqueño, realmente depende de tu estilo. Porque allá [en Puerto Rico] los periodistas, incluso, cada cual tiene su estilo. No se escuchan parecido en el tema de hacer track de narrar las historias. Me han ayudado mucho en empezar, comenzar explorar cuál va a ser mi estilo como reportera de televisión, si es que algún día lo soy.

Here I was given the opportunity several times to do some of those projects, some reports. I went to do them and one of my biggest battles has been finding my own voice because I'm learning in an environment that in its majority is Mexican with a few South Americans, Venezuelans, but the issue is similar. And the Puerto Rican variation is completely different. There are some girls here that are Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and I've been listening to them, but it's different. And I've realized, for example, with the Puerto Rican accent, it really depends on your style. Because there [in Puerto Rico] the journalists, even each has their own style. They don't sound the same in their tracks narrating stories. They've helped me a lot to begin, begin exploring what is going to be my style as a television reporter, if one day I end up being one.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

For María, the internal conflict of being pressured to assimilate to this particular standard put her at risk of losing her puertorriqueñidad. A factor that made this battle even more difficult was related to the demographics of the professional context in which she found herself. Being a long way from her island and situated within a predominately Mexican community, she did not have a model or mentor within her vicinity from whom she could seek support. Even though there were other reporters that came from outside of this speech community, their variations (e.g., Cuban, Venezuelan) were too distinct to draw direct, linguistic parallels. In view of this situation, she went beyond the resources offered through the SSP internship and utilized technology as a bridge to connect her with

professionals of her own speech community. She did so by seeking out work by Puerto Rican broadcasters to analyze how they positioned themselves using professional discourse. In doing so, she noticed that there was no formula to their presentational speech, but rather each reporter had their own unique style.

Although María felt as though her position as a non-local speaker in Arizona posed many challenges, it could be argued that this position also led to certain benefits. For example, a seeming result of her positionality as an “outsider” of the dominating speech community was her ability to consider storylines that were alternative to those common within this context. Whereas members of this speech community and/or Arizona natives may have operationalized storylines that were tethered to this context (e.g., “Journalism in Arizona, Journalism in the Southwest, Journalism in Mexico), María recognized storylines outside of the speech community (e.g., “Journalism in Puerto Rico).

In addition to María’s openness to different storylines, her assessment of the dominating language ideologies in her chosen field of journalism and observations of how other Puerto Ricans constructed their identities through discourse illustrated the sophistication of her linguistic-self discovery and transformation of language ideologies. This type of language-based identity work paralleled that of the other participants. Petra, like María, was cognizant of the discrepancies that existed for her as a female of color in the journalism field – both nationally and locally at the School of Journalism. Aware of these ideologies that were imposed upon her as a female Black journalist, she was able to identify the role that different features of her language varieties, dialects, and physical characteristics played in constructing her positionality across a variety of spaces. In doing so, she was able to manipulate these characteristics to influence the positions that others

assigned her and the social implications of such assignments – such as erasing traces of Ebonics while reporting at the Phoenix Report to increase labor mobility. Despite understanding the “larger systems of power/knowledge that make certain subject positions available to be taken up in the first place” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 15) that existed in the School of Journalism, Petra was still grappling with how she wanted to construct her identity as a professional journalist through social discourses in spaces inside and outside of this site.

On the other hand, Penelope was just beginning to engage in language-based identity work that, like for María, took place across transnational social fields. Specifically, through her SSP coursework and internship positioned in Arizona, Penélope started to recognize and grapple with the ideologies and negative stereotypes connected to her heritage language (HL) and communities in Colorado and Mexico that had led her to reserve Spanish for private, at home purposes. Prompted by the requirement of using Spanish in public and professional contexts, she took steps towards working through the negative attitudes that she had internalized. In doing so, she began to utilize her HL in different social discourses to (re)claim her identity as a Mexican-American woman. Yet, whereas Penélope’s identity work centered around overcoming linguistic self-doubt that was connected to language ideologies surrounding her ethnicity and marginalized U.S. Spanish variety, María’s exposure to such U.S. Spanish varieties common in the Southwest fostered her anxiety of losing her puertorriqueñidad through social, professional discourse.

Linguistic Proficiency and Commitment to an Academic Standard Variety

Although María had made the decision to reject the ideological pressure to conform to an industry-driven neutral standard by committing to her *Puerto Rican* variety (with all of its stigmatized features), her journey of constructing an identity as a Puerto Rican producer and journalist in the Southwest continued. Specifically, in rejecting one standard variety, she embraced another. Her exposure to U.S. Spanish varieties common in the Southwest marked by stigmatized features *different* from her own Puerto Rican variety discussed in Chapter Two (e.g., arcaísmos, calques, borrowings, codeswitching) shaped her perception that a high level of linguistic proficiency (in personal and professional contexts) and commitment to an academic standard (void of U.S. Spanish stigmatized features) were a marker of a Hispanic/Latinx identity. Whereas the industry standard represented a “synonym for ‘uniform’” in which the principle focus was the privileging of certain phonological features, the standard that María embraced was “more judgmental; it suggests ‘something to aspire to,’ ‘something excellent,’ ‘the best there is,’ or ‘the paradigm case’” (Corson, 1994, p. 273). In spite of the on-going debate regarding the actual existence of a standard variety (see Lippi-Green, 2012; Villa, 1996), this academic standard commonly “has been the variety of an elite upper class with a certain level of formal education, the so called ‘norma culta,’ of some regions of Latin America (with the Castilian variety now apparently downplayed in this respect)” (Villa, 1996, p. 194).

Language Loss and Maintenance in Arizona

Granted that, unlike Petra, María did not directly facilitate any type of care or services through her internship, her duties at the Phoenix Reportaje did require her to have knowledge of important social issues that affected the Hispanic/Latinx communities in Arizona and the U.S. For this reason, during our first and final interviews, I asked María about her beliefs regarding the Hispanic/Latinx community's access to high quality care and services in the Metro Phoenix area. She explained that, in her opinion, Hispanic/Latinxs did not have the same access to high quality care and services as White, non-Hispanics/Latinxs that were also English-speakers. In spite of the difference in access, she described that some community professionals were able offer services to this population, but did so via communication in “broken Spanish” (Interview, 02-26-18).

Despite this effort, she felt that one faction of the community, the older Spanish-dominant Hispanics/Latinxs, were still not getting the information that they needed regarding the availability of such services. She hypothesized that this was due to the fact that individuals tended to stay in their own speech communities, isolating themselves. The topics of “broken Spanish” and self-isolation prompted a discussion regarding the maintenance of the Spanish language across generations in Arizona. María explained:

No sé cuál es la razón, pero no se aprecia mucho el español en el sentido de que si lo hablas -- no he conocido muchas personas que tienen el interés de practicarlo. Y ahí es que uno se pone a pensar, "¿Por qué?". Porque, obviamente todo es en inglés y maybe hay algunas personas que nacen y se crían aquí y se sienten más cómodos con el inglés pero no sé si es porque -- la comunidad latina es más joven que nada y, como te dije, están en ambas culturas y prefieren el inglés.

Pero no veo de la comunidad hispana misma, no veo ese interés de mantener el español. Which is really sad, ¿me entiendes? Esta es una lengua tan rica y te puede abrir tantas oportunidades, porque algo que se cree mucho aquí es que, "Ay, yo hablo español en casa, yo lo entiendo. Sí, yo puedo solicitar un trabajo bilingüe. Sí, yo te puedo--." No entiendes -- el español hay que mantenerlo, al igual que como mantienes el inglés. Hay una formalidad que seguir y eso me he dado cuenta que hay aquí, no hay ese interés de mejorarlo, de mantenerlo, dentro de la comunidad hispana de por sí.

I don't know what the reason is, but Spanish isn't appreciated in the sense that if you speak it -- I haven't met many people that are interested in practicing it. And that's where you start to think, "Why?" Because, obviously everything is in English and maybe there are some people that are born and raised here and feel more comfortable with English but I don't know if it's because -- the Latino community is younger if anything and, as I've said, they are in both cultures and prefer to speak English.

But I don't see in the Hispanic community itself, I don't see an interest in maintaining Spanish. Which is really sad, you get what I mean? It's such a rich language and it can open so many opportunities, but something that is believed a lot here is that, "Oh, I speak Spanish at home, and I understand it. Yeah, I can apply for a bilingual job. Yeah, I can --." You don't understand -- you have to maintain it, just like how you maintain English. There is a formality you have to follow and I've realized that here, there isn't that interest in bettering it, in maintaining it, within the Hispanic community.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

As described previously in Chapter Six, sociolinguists have looked to generational immigration as a rationale for language loss and maintenance in the U.S. over time. In describing this phenomenon, scholars take into account the social context and juxtaposition of the HL and dominant language(s) within different spaces to understand these language patterns (Beaudrie et al. 2014; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). While referring

implicitly to generational immigration, María only briefly took into account the fact that, despite the large presence of Hispanic/Latinxs in the area, the overall linguistic landscape of the Phoenix Metro area is dominated by the English language.

María, however, did not continue to critically question what underlying social, political, and economic ideologies were behind what she perceived as a “disinterest” in maintaining the Spanish language. Instead, she demonstrated another perceived benefit of being a non-local NS of the language. Specifically, she took a privileged position and equated *speaking* the Spanish language with *appreciating* the Spanish language. She went on to hypothesize that the loss of the language may have come from the fact that many young people (likely second, G2, or third Generations, G3, members) were living in-between these two cultures.

Perhaps María’s own fear of losing her puertorriqueñidad was a catalyst for linking linguistic proficiency as a marker of Hispanic/Latinx identity. – or perhaps as a NS that had grown up with the privilege of being exposed to the language in a variety of settings (personal, professional, academic) she did not take into account reasons other than a “disinterest,” for which members of the Hispanic/Latinx communities may not have developed a high proficiency in the language. Examples of other socially-based explanations for language loss were illustrated by Penélope’s journey in Chapter Six. Although Penélope did not grow up in the state of Arizona where English-Only policies¹⁵ exist and immigration enforcement and racial profiling are encouraged through specific legislation¹⁶, she did grow up surrounded by linguistic ideologies and negative ethnic

¹⁵ Propositions 106 and 203

¹⁶ Arizona State Bill 1070

stereotypes that influenced the acquisition of her HL. Not only did she see her Spanish-speaking parents treated differently from English-speakers within the community, but she also internalized the negative manner in which Mexicans were portrayed as “lazy” and “apathetic” on a larger social scale within different storylines. Such negative, socially dominant attitudes towards her HL and community influenced Penélope’s decision to reserve the Spanish language for private, at home use only.

Another element of María’s hypothesis can be connected to Penélope’s journey. Specifically, in making the comment regarding individuals that apply for a bilingual job on the basis that they speak Spanish at home and have receptive abilities, María was effectively describing the linguistic profile of HL learners/speakers like Penélope. The assertion that HL learners’ linguistic proficiency and lack of “formality” were not sufficient and need to be “bettered” only fosters the false and hegemonic linguistic ideologies that these speakers already face. In fact, like Penélope, HL learners/speakers often internalize such negative beliefs, which can result in a fundamental reason as to why they do not maintain the language (Beaudrie et al., 2014).

As such, the main goal of HL pedagogy is language maintenance – accompanied by six other goals, which include a focus on fostering positive attitudes towards the HL, as well as associated dialects and cultures (Aparicio, 1997; Valdés, 1995). While it is true that certain contexts may require a specific register, the assertion that there exists an assumed, prescriptive “formality” for which HL learners/speakers must “better” their variety, echoes those ideologies that push for speakers to conform to a non-existent standard. While in reality, depending upon the context in which the hypothetical bilingual

job is situated, HL learners/speakers may actually be able to utilize their U.S. Spanish variety to position themselves as insiders of a client's community.

Additionally, depending on the job for which they are applying, well-developed receptive abilities may indeed be adequate to carry out professional duties. With this point in mind, it is necessary for SSP programs to take into account the tenets of HL pedagogy in order to provide HL learners with the types of instruction they need to meet their professional goals. In this same vein, these professional programs should also acknowledge the varying negative, ideologically-driven beliefs regarding HL learners, while including instruction that encourages students to reflect critically on such dominating discourses (Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2003).

Puerto Rican Spanish as a More “Correct” Spanish

In addition to making comments that perpetuated negative attitudes towards HL learners/speakers, María seemed to juxtapose her own Puerto Rican variety as linguistically superior to the U.S. Spanish varieties to which she was being exposed in the Metro Phoenix community. In this same interview, María explained:

Otra de las cosas que yo empecé a hacer reciente ahora cuando fui a Puerto Rico, empecé a ver los noticieros de allá. Y cuando regresé, online me veo dos o tres packages al día. Y voy aprendiendo cómo ellos hacen ese delivery, hacen el uso del español en su historia y al igual que su estilo. Porque yo pensé, “Mira, maybe hay alguna forma [de mantener su personalidad], ¿no?” Cada reportero tiene su estilo de delivery. You get what I mean? So, pero para mantener ese tipo de uso correcto de español, eso es lo que yo estaba haciendo – yéndome a Puerto Rico para ver, alimentar, crear mi propio estilo, encontrar cuál es mi estilo.

Something else that I have started to do recently since recently having went to Puerto Rico, I started to view newscasts from there. And when I returned, I watch two or three packages online per day. I’m learning how they deliver, how they use Spanish in their narration and also in their style. Because I thought, “Look, maybe there is a way [to maintain your personality]. Each reporter has their own style of delivery. You get what I mean? So, but to maintain that correct use of Spanish, that’s what I’ve been doing -- going to Puerto Rico to see, to nourish, to create my own style, to find what is my style.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

As discussed in the previous sections, María had made the commitment to maintain her puertorriqueñidad via her linguistic choices while engaging in discourse both on and off the camera. Although she did adjust her rapid speech to promote the “clarity” of her delivery, she maintained many of the linguistic features that marked her Puerto Rican identity – such as /s/ elision, velarization of /n/ to [ŋ], and lateralization of /r/ to [l].

Despite her commitment to her ethnic roots, due to her location in Arizona, she did not feel as though she was receiving the type of input necessary to foster her desired positionality as a Puerto Rican journalist. Facing the same anxiety of losing her puertorriqueñidad through language use, María again looked beyond her local storylines and sought out authentic material that could serve as a model and guide. This time, however, the anxiety of losing her ethnic identity seemed to foster prestige-based language ideologies that favored her own linguistic variety.

Specifically, María's remark regarding the trip to Puerto Rico that both she and Penélope had taken during the beginning of the semester as part of their English-language journalism course – "*So, pero para mantener ese tipo de uso correcto de español, eso es lo que yo estaba haciendo -- yéndome a Puerto Rico para ver, alimentar, crear mi propio estilo, encontrar cuál es mi estilo,*" – offers a window into the ideological processes at play. Through this statement, she seemed to position the professional variety that was spoken within her own speech community as a more "correct" version than what she was being exposed to in the Southwest. Perhaps returning to this community prompted anxiety about losing her puertorriqueñidad due to the neutralizing pressures of the industry, as well as her presence as a non-local NS in the Southwest. To prevent this, she maintained her connection to this imagined professional community from her location in Arizona by means of seeking out packages from Puerto Rican reporters digitally.

This anxiety-related ideology of a more "correct" Spanish seemed to be reinforced throughout the course of her internship. Towards the end of the semester, the SSP instructor/internship coordinator asked the interns to read an article regarding the future of the Spanish language in the U.S. and record a video response. In her video diary, María again referred to language loss and the idea of a "correct" Spanish in Arizona:

En términos de mi pasantía, he notado que el español en Arizona, sin duda alguna, se va perdiendo con el tiempo y con las generaciones. A veces cuando salgo a entrevistar a personas, puede ser un poco difícil encontrar a un hispano que hable español, que se sienta cómodo hablándolo y además que hable un español correcto. Sé que no existe realmente un español “correcto,” pero si hay términos y reglas lingüísticas y gramáticas que se deben seguir. Y he notado que muchas veces, líderes políticos latinos en el estado, son los primeros en tener la falta de este conocimiento lingüístico. Eso dice mucho del español en Arizona. Se asume que, porque “lo hablo en mi casa,” o “lo hablo con mis abuelos,” sea suficiente español para dirigirme a la comunidad latina. Cuando realmente, en mi opinión, no es el caso. En mi opinión, es considerado una falta de respeto a la riqueza lingüística de nuestro idioma. Pienso que si un líder político, líder comunitario u empresario importante va a adherir a este tipo de retórica, debe comprometerse al uso apropiado y lingüísticamente correcto del español.

In regards to my internship, I’ve noticed that Spanish in Arizona, without a doubt, is getting lost with time and with each generation. Sometimes when I go to interview people, it can be a little difficult to find Hispanics that speak Spanish, that feel comfortable speaking it and furthermore that speak a correct Spanish. I know that a “correct” Spanish doesn’t really exist, but there are linguistic and grammatical concepts and rules that should be followed. And I’ve noticed that many times, Latino political leaders in the state, they are the first ones to lack this linguistic knowledge. That says a lot about the Spanish in Arizona. It’s assumed that, because “I speak it at home,” or “I speak it with my grandparents,” it’s a sufficient level of proficiency of Spanish to address the Latino community. When really, in my opinion, that’s not that case. In my opinion, it’s considered a lack of respect to the rich linguistic system of our language. I think that if a political leader, community leader, or important businessperson is going to adhere to this type of rhetoric, they should commit to using an appropriate and linguistically correct variety of Spanish.

(Video Diary, Week 13)

Although the article itself centered around the Spanish language within the U.S. in general, María chose to focus her response around the state of the Spanish language in Arizona. When stating that she had noticed that “*el español en Arizona, sin duda alguna, se va perdiendo con el tiempo y con las generaciones,*” María referred to the concept of

language shift. This is a process “whereby the native language spoken by a particular group is abandoned in favor of the language spoken by members of another group as a result of extended contact between them” (Vélez, 2000, p. 6).

In referring to this process, she again tied the loss of language within the state to generational immigration. Illustrating her point, she cited experiences that she had while carrying out duties for her SSP internship and courses. For example, when looking for community members to interview, she found it difficult to find Hispanics that both had maintained the language and felt comfortable speaking it in this professional context. Although she did not mention it in this specific video diary, in our other interviews and conversations she did cite her own positionality to the community as a potential contributing factor. Specifically, she focused on her status as a non-local NS that did not share the local language variety. She related this position as a contributing to the fact that many friends and new acquaintances were often self-conscious and hesitant to speak with her as they felt as though she would “judge” their linguistic proficiency.

Other elements of her response also signal hegemonic language ideologies regarding an academic standard Spanish variety. In the beginning of her response she stated, “Sé que no existe realmente un español ‘correcto,’” only to follow this statement with a long “pero” in which eventually calls for the commitment to “[el] uso apropiado y lingüísticamente correcto del español.” The contradiction verbalized in this statement could represent another instance of competing discourses – specifically those to which she was exposed through her communities both at Southwestern University and back home in Puerto Rico.

To explain, during our first interview, María recounted that she first began to take Spanish courses at Southwestern University to prevent the attrition of her first language – a decision which again could potentially point to anxiety of losing her puertorriqueñidad via language loss. Situated within a predominately English-speaking society and institution, she stated, “*Me di cuenta que al uno hablar en inglés todos los días, incluso el spanglish, se pierde [el español]. Y no quería que, pues, que eso me pasara*” (“I realized that upon speaking English every day, including Spanglish, one can lose their Spanish”) (Interview, 02-26-18). To combat language loss, she signed up for her first Spanish class, choosing an advanced course for HL learners.

With the goal of fostering language maintenance, instructors at this university were encouraged to use sociolinguistically-informed teaching methods and critical language pedagogy to support HL learners in the processes of validating their own language use (Beaudrie et al., 2014). In doing so, many instructors tackled hegemonic language ideologies through not only “addressing the social and political reasons why certain language varieties and practices have been systematically subordinated, but also [examine] how such subordination has been carried out (Leeman, 2005, p. 41). Additionally, as illustrated through Penélope’s journey in Chapter 6, many of the SSP courses address issues related to the Hispanic/Latinx communities within the U.S. As such, it is very likely that María was conscious of the social-justice foundation of these programs that formed a large portion of her coursework. Therefore, by stating “*Sé que no existe realmente un español ‘correcto,’*” María may have been reproducing the discourse to which she had been exposed in these classes.

Yet the words that immediately followed this statement – “*pero si hay términos y reglas lingüísticas y gramáticas que se deben seguir*” – contradicted the idea that there does not exist a “correct” Spanish. Instead, this statement reflected a different rhetoric that reinforced the notion of a standard variation that should be held in higher esteem than stigmatized varieties – such as the U.S. Spanish variety that is commonly found in in Arizona and other regions of the Southwest. This ideology that dominated María’s reflection could be linked to her status as a NS of Spanish from Puerto Rico.

Within the first 50 years of “acquiring” the island of Puerto Rico, U.S.-based colonial administrators attempted to implement educational policies that imposed English as the dominant language with the goal of “Americanizing” inhabitants of the island. Although English-Only legislation was passed successfully, Puerto Rican families and politicians united in solidarity to fight against the attempt to gain control of the islanders through linguistic coercion. Since this time, the Spanish language has become a pillar of Puerto Rican identity and a symbol of their unity, despite the island’s classification as an unincorporated territory of the United States.

To illustrate the importance of language maintenance, “the island is today by and large a monolingual Spanish-speaking society where less than half the population claims the ability to even speak English” (Vélez, 2000, p. 6). Having grown up in Puerto Rico where Spanish has remained as the socially dominant language, María was surrounded by NSs of the Spanish in the majority of – if not all – social discourses. Unlike the local Latinx/Hispanic leaders in Arizona then, who she assessed as “lacking” linguistic knowledge of the standard, the leaders in her own community could produce a more “professional” register of the language.

In addition to being the socially dominant language of the island, Vélez (2000) explained that Spanish continues to be perceived as an essential element of the island's identity and political beliefs:

But it is no less true that Puerto Ricans today have a healthy sense of their collective identity due in large part to their opposition to misguided American policies. The three major themes of Puerto Rican ideological discourse continue to be political Status, national identity, and language. Of the three, it has been in the defense of Spanish where islanders have been able to generate what approximates a true consensus. Political correctness at present dictates that Spanish is a nonnegotiable attribute of the Puerto Rican people; even statehood supporters insist that Spanish would continue as the dominant language under that status. (p. 14)

Considering the role that language has played and continues to play for Puerto Ricans on the island, it is logical that María would recognize language as an integral component of constructing her own identity and consider a non-standard variety as “*una falta de respeto a la riqueza lingüística de nuestro idioma.*” In addition to positioning her identity through the use of Spanish and a commitment to an academic standard, María also showed her puertorriqueñidad through her attitude and passion for music, dancing, and fashion. She explained that her puertorriqueñidad was the essence of who she was.

Maintaining Her Authentic Self Within a Gender-Biased Professional Environment

Similar to Petra, whose identity construction was both crucially connected to and went beyond language use, María positioned herself conjointly to extra-linguistic elements via her passions, personality, and corporeal expression. Having said this, these features did not always mesh with the norms regarding acceptable professional conduct that dominated the field of journalism. In addition to contradicting her own puertorriqueñidad, these standards were often different for men and women (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004). While completing her internship, María experienced

prescriptive stereotypes which established “normative expectations for men’s and women’s behavior, resulting in the devaluation and derogation of women who directly or indirectly violate gender norms” (Heilman, 2012, p. 115). Such stereotypes normalize the expectation for males to demonstrate agency characteristics (e.g., assertiveness, dominance, independence, objectivity) and for women to exert communality characteristics (e.g., kindness, obedience, respect, intuition) (see Heilman, 2012 for complete review).

“Selling” and “Compromising” a Professional Identity

Subjugated to such stereotypes, another central component of her journey was negotiating how to stay true her authentic self by incorporating extra-linguistic characteristics in the workplace, while still falling in line with what was considered “professional” of a female in the journalism. With her internship coming to an end, I asked María to reflect on this imagined professional identity. She explained:

I'm trying to figure it out. Sí, como que uno se da cuenta que ya está llegando el tiempo. Y dentro de lo profesional y lo personal, yo estaba pensando, "¿Cómo voy a vender -- ? ¿Cómo yo voy a presentar a María?" O sea, yo soy una persona bien boricua en el sentido que tengo mucha personalidad, mucho carisma que aportar. Puedo súper alegre. Me encanta la música. Me encanta bailar. Yo camino por estos pasillos y siempre estoy cantando. A veces tengo mi personalidad de que estoy de mal humor. No quiero que me hablen. Es muy temprano. Whatever. Entonces como profesional, sobre todo como estudiante, uno dice, "How do I keep it neutral? As a student intern?" Pero yo estaba pensando, "Who am I going to be -- that person in the newsroom? ¿Qué tipo de persona voy a ser yo?"

I'm trying to figure it out. Yeah, it's like you realize that the time is coming. And professionally and personally, I've been thinking, "How am I going to sell --? How am I going to present María?" That's to say, I'm really Puerto Rican in the sense that I have a lot of personality, a lot of charisma to offer. I can be super happy. I love music. I love to dance. I walk through these hallways and I'm always singing. Sometimes I have my personality where I'm not in a good mood. I don't want anyone to talk to me. It's early. Whatever. So as a professional, especially as a student, you say, "How do I keep it neutral? As a student intern?" But I was thinking, "Who I am I going to be -- that person in the newsroom? What type of person am I going to be?"

(Interview, 04-27-18)

Again exemplifying that identity not a static construct, but is rather being negotiated constantly within different communities and settings as a “social achievement” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 14), María explained that she was still trying to pin down how she wanted to position herself as an individual, a student, and a producer/reporter. The thread that held together these different identities was, once again, her puertorriqueñidad. In this instance, however, she extended it beyond positionality through discourse to other characteristics of her personality that defied the prescriptive stereotypes for females in her field – such as her love for music and dancing that she would bring into the workplace when singing and dancing in the hallways.

Due to the constraints of (gendered) industry ideologies, however, María was conscious that she could not seamlessly merge the two without repercussions. For example, her use of the verb “*vender*” (to sell) in her false start, points to an awareness, at some level, of the neoliberal and global human capital ideologies that exist presently in the United States. Mainly, in order to succeed in such a society, one must “market” or “sell” their attributes to the larger global economy (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017; Harvey, 2005). In thinking about how she would present herself, María recognized that, just as there existed institutional and industrial constraints on her discourse that pushed her to assimilate to a neutral standard, there were also institutional and industrial constraints to “neutralize” the interaction of her gendered personal and professional imagined identities. María went on to explain her struggle between conforming to and resisting these pressures:

Por eso aquí no me siento like cómoda 100%. Porque yo sé que yo, en muchas ocasiones como que -- I compromise. Me conformo y me limito porque no quiero ser too much. Y no ser too much en el sentido que voy a ser yo, pero uno tiene que reconocer que es un campo laboral profesional. En uno de los noticieros nacionales hay una muchacha, ella es excelente. Ella es productora/reportera. Ella tiene su personalidad, ella tiene su chispa. Y todo el mundo la reconoce por esa chispa que tiene. Y yo digo, "Yo quiero ser así también." Como traer mi personalidad y no tener que ser tan neutral en todo. Pero volvemos, no es profesional, so. No sé. Te estoy tratando de aprender todavía, más o menos, como profesional quién voy a ser.

That's why here I don't feel like 100% comfortable. Because I know who I am, and on many occasions like -- I compromise. I conform and I limit myself because I don't want to be too much. And not be too much in the sense that I'm going to be myself, but you have to recognize that it's a professional work environment. In one of the national news networks there's a girl, she is excellent. She is a producer/reporter. She has her personality, she has her spark. And everyone recognizes her for her spark. And I say, "I want to be like that too." Like bring my personality and not have to be so neutral in everything. But going back, it's not professional, so. I don't know. I'm still trying to learn, more or less, who I'm going to be as a professional.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In the constant battle between being true to herself and conforming to gendered standards that existed within her internship site and the larger industry, María was aware that she had indeed “compromised” in certain instances. Such compromises had led her to experience discomfort in the professional space itself. Furthermore, she recognized that the compromises that she was allowing herself to make through neutralizing her authentic self were actually limiting her potential as a successful producer/reporter in the Spanish-speaking market.

Just as she had looked to the discourse of reporters who she felt connected to her Puerto Rican identity, she sought out a potential role model who she felt had triumphed in a similar battle to the one that she was currently experiencing. Specifically, she looked to a strong, female figure within a national news network based out of Miami, Florida. In Petra's opinion, this woman seemed to have figured out a way to harmoniously bring the *chispa* from her personal identity into her professional identity, while still finding success within a neoliberal society. In fact, her *chispa* was a feature for which this professional was most often recognized. In addition to being a role model as a woman in the industry who had been able to resist the pressures of "neutralizing" her personality, she mirrored María's aspirational career as both a producer and reporter.

As was previously described in Chapter Three, two of elements that attracted María to the journalism world was the adrenaline that she felt while working in this fast-paced field the opportunity to be creative. Even though she preferred working as a producer and experiencing the rush making in-the-moment decisions behind the scenes, she recognized that in order to compete in a neoliberal market, she would have to market herself as both a producer and a reporter. Taking on this dual role would expose herself to more of the industry's ideologies that focused on women on camera:

Mi preferencia es ser productora, estar behind the scenes, estar trabajando. Pero no me voy a limitar a eso. De hecho, hoy con un compañero -- me iba a dar el coaching de cómo hacer voice track, porque sí es algo que tengo que trabajar. Eso es lo que íbamos a hacer hoy. Porque yo quiero, si me dicen pasó tal cosa, poder tener los skills, la habilidad de decir, "Mira. Yo puedo ir." Porque yo he salido a la calle. Yo sé con quién tengo que hablar. Puedo proyectar. Pero entonces, para hacer eso, uno tiene que verse bien. Como mujer uno tiene que verse bien. Y no bien, súper bien. Y me ha pasado que digo, "Ah, me veo bien". Y después, viene el supervisor de aquí me dice, "La camisa te quedaba grande," cosas así. Which, se respeta porque es la imagen del canal, pero dentro de lo personal yo digo, "Pues, this is who I am." Sí, sobre todo eso, siendo mujer.

My preference is being a producer, being behind the scenes, working. But I'm not going to limit myself to that. Actually, today with a colleague -- he was going to coach me on how to do voice tracking, because that's something that I need to work on. That's what we were going to do today, because if they tell me that something happened, I want to be able to have the skills, the ability to be able to say, "Look. I can go." Because I've gone out to the street. I know who I have to speak with. I can project. But, in order to do that, you have to look good. As a woman, you have to look good. And not good, super good. And it's happened where I say, "Ah, I look good." And after, the supervisor here comes and tells me, "That shirt is too big for you," stuff like that. Which, you respect because it's the image of the channel, but personally I say, "Well, this is who I am." Yes, especially that, being a woman.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

Having recognized the need to expand the professional roles that she could take on within an organization, María began to take purposeful steps towards improving her marketable skills. One example was asking a colleague at her internship site to help her work on a skill that she felt she needed to continue developing: voice tracking – or when a reporter records a voice track (e.g., background information, introduction to an interview) that the will be laid over a news package.

While describing the process of going out into the community and reporting, María referred to another gendered ideology that females must take into account when “selling” themselves in her industry: physical appearance. She referred to how females may feel as though they are “on display” in journalistic settings and open to judgement in ways that most men are not. For example, María explained that if a female aspires to be on camera, the network expects her to represent the image of the station by “looking good.” In embodying this image, female reporters are often expected to conform to ideals of White beauty, especially when on-camera. These ideals can manifest as tight clothing (usually dresses), high heels, evident make-up application, and long hair that is noticeably styled. Not to mention, her look should be consistent to facilitate viewer recognition (as was seen in the case of Petra). As María pointed out, however, not all women may want to incorporate the characteristics of this industry-sanctioned dress-code in their professional identities.

Facing this predicament, fashioning her professional identity while trying to stay true to her authentic self continued to be another central step in María’s journey. Through her SSP internship, she had been afforded experiences that both fostered the development of linguistic professional skills that could help her compete within a neoliberal society and exposed her to language- and gender-based ideologies that dominated the industry. In analyzing the storylines and positions of María’s professional experiences, her verbal agility to negotiate different Spanish varieties to index her positionality appeared to go hand-in-hand with the dilemma of wanting to be “professional” without “compromising” herself in a gendered industry.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In this chapter, I have illustrated how María utilized language and extra-linguistic factors to position her identity as a female, Puerto Rican producer and journalist in the Southwestern U.S. Additionally, I have shown that parallels between María, Petra, and Penélope's journeys can be drawn. For example, in analyzing how interns' claim the SSP internships and coursework as different sites for the transformation of language ideologies and language-based identities, each of the three interns engaged heavily in personal and professional identity work that stemmed from various forms of linguistic insecurity.

Like Petra and Penélope who were still in the process of overcoming linguistic self-doubt and positioning themselves as legitimate speakers of their own varieties of Spanish (and English, in the case of Petra), María found herself confronting a coercive "neutral" standard variety that dominated the Spanish-language mass media market in the United States. While facing the pressing to assimilate to this standard, María negotiated just how much she would have to "sell herself out" as a Puerto Rican speaker of Spanish and female journalist to be successful in the industry. While undertaking this identity work, María moved from self-policing to embracing stigmatized features of her Puerto Rican variety, but committed to an academic Spanish variety inspired by encounters with intergenerational Spanish loss in the Southwest.

After presenting three in-depth case studies that analyzed how each focal participant appropriated their SSP internship experiences as opportunities to do different kinds of language- and ethnically-/racially-related identity work, in the next two chapters I will seek to answer the second research question of the study. Specifically, I will analyze how Petra, Penélope, and María implemented their strategic knowledge during breakdowns in communication with community members related to their SSP domestic community internships, as well as explore the social functions of the strategies that they chose to utilize.

CHAPTER 8

PETRA'S DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC KNOWLEDGE:

A FOCUS ON COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

As described in Chapter Two, *strategic knowledge* is defined as “a set of metacognitive processes or strategies, which can be thought of as higher order executive processes that provide a cognitive management function in language use, as well as other cognitive activities” (Bachman & Palmer, 1996, p. 70). In order to answer the second research question focusing on second language (L2) acquisition of strategic knowledge, this construct was specifically operationalized through a focus on *communicative strategies* (CSs) “used by [L2 learners] in a conscious attempt to bridge a perceived communication gap, either caused by the learner’s lack of L2 knowledge (resource deficit), problems with his or her own performance or problems resulting from interaction with an interlocutor” (Lafford, 2004, p. 204).

As a medical interpreter and scribe, Petra, an L2 learner, was required to use the target language in order to engage in spontaneous conversations with community members who were seeking medical care at the Phoenix Community Clinic. In doing so, she implemented a variety of CSs to carry out these duties successfully. Using the CS categorization set forth by Dörnyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b, 1997), Lafford (2004), and the Sociocultural Theory (SCT) of language learning framework influenced by Vygotsky (1978), I will dedicate the first section of this chapter to (i) describing Petra’s use of CSs and the social function of such strategies. Finally, I will (ii) offer a discussion in which I (a) analyze the development of Petra’s CSs across three different observations,

(b) outline the proposal of new communicative strategies, (c) and discuss the roles and actions of others as serving as mediators in the interpretation process.

A Description of Petra's Communicative Strategies

While engaging in her duties as a medical interpreter and scribe at the Phoenix Community Clinic, Petra would often face situations that demanded specialized medical terminology and knowledge that she did not have. Such circumstances led to situations of linguistic discomfort that challenged her positionality as a legitimate and authentically multilingual/multidialectal speaker as described in Chapter Five. In order to compensate for these gaps in her knowledge, Petra utilized a variety of CSs. Table 8.1 outlines these strategies by *type* and *observation*.

Table 8.1. Petra's Use of Communicative Strategies Over Observations

CS Type	Obs. 1 03-23-18	Obs. 2 04-06-18	Obs. 3 04-11-18
Resource Deficit	n = 4	n = 3	n = 4
Approximation		1	
Message abandonment	2	1	
Circumlocution via gesture*	1		
Foreignizing			2
Omission	1		
Restructuring (Message replacement)		1	
Fillers for stalling to use Google Translate*			2
Own-Performance Problems	n = 1	n = 0	n = 0
Asking for confirmation	1		
Other-Performance Problems	n = 0	n = 2	n = 0
Feigning understanding (via gestures)		1	
Expressing nonunderstanding		1	
Mediation by Technology as an Artifact*	n = 0	n = 1	n = 2
Google for cultural mediation*		1	
Google Translate*			2
Total CSs	n = 6	n = 6	n = 6

* Asterisk indicates new CS category that I am proposing

Caveats of In Situ Research in Experiential Language Learning Research and Vulnerable Contexts

It is important to note that although this analysis looks across three different observations, the observations themselves took place over the duration of four weeks. As described in Chapter Four, the scheduling of these observations was reliant upon a variety of factors, such as permission from the internship site, intern availability, and choosing a day/time in which the interns would be working with community members. This is one of the difficult realities of carrying out experiential language learning (EX-LL) research in the field – the participants are key social actors participating in community-based settings that have their own guidelines (e.g., schedules) and policies (e.g., privacy laws).

In the case of Petra, the Phoenix Community Clinic was required to abide by the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPPA) – a law that was established to “expand health coverage by improving the portability and continuity of health insurance coverage in group and individual markets” (Arizona Department of Economic Security, 2018). Furthermore, under the Administration Implication provision of this act, national standards were created for “electronic health care transactions and national identifiers for providers, health plans and employers” that addressed “...the security and privacy of health data” (Arizona Department of Economic Security, 2018).

As a methodological consequence of this privacy policy, I was prohibited from audio/video recording the interactions between Petra, the patients, and any staff during medical visits. With the consent of all participating parties, I was, however, able to observe the visits and take field notes which served as the foundation for the linguistic analyses of this chapter. Standing next to Petra behind the mobile desk that she would

wheel into each visit, I would collect this information via a traditional mediating artefact: a small, physical notebook. In addition to taking general field notes regarding the environment, relationships between the interlocutors, and any other pertinent information to contextualize the discursive event, I created “pseudo-transcripts” of the instances in which Petra utilized CSs while carrying out her role as medical interpreter and scribe.

To facilitate this process, I utilized my own version of shorthand that detailed the discourse and actions taking place by each social actor with an emphasis on the CSs that Petra was implementing. After each visit, I would take a short break from observing in order to review and expand the notes that I had taken. During this time, I would go back to the pseudo-transcripts that I had created to fill in my shorthand notes with longer prose and add any other context that I could remember. Finally, after leaving the community site, I would transfer these hand-written notes to a Microsoft Word document that same day. In holding myself to such a schedule, I created another opportunity for reflection while these in situ encounters were “fresh” in my mind.

Even though this practice was the only viable solution that I found to both respect the patients’ privacy and collect the linguistic data necessary, there are caveats of such a method. Perhaps the most obvious is the fact that I was not able to write at the velocity in which the discourse was unfolding. Although I attempted to remedy this by utilizing shorthand and expanding upon the notes immediately after the interaction, it is possible that I was not able to capture each speaker’s discourse and/or sequence of actions verbatim. It is also possible that when honing in on the linguistic phenomenon of focus (Petra’s use of CSs and the response of her interlocutors), I missed other elements of these interactions.

Ultimately, audio recordings would have provided for an exact transcription of the discourse of focus. However, this is a reality of conducting research within EX-LL contexts situated in community sites that have different policies and procedures in place to protect both the venue and the patrons who frequent it. In this specific case, it was not only required to modify data collection methods to abide by HIPAA, but was also an opportunity to practice *humanizing* versus *colonizing* social science-based research within a vulnerable context. This implications (and limitations) of conducting humanizing research within EX-LL contexts will be described more profoundly in Chapter Ten.

Resource Deficit Strategies

According to Lafford (2004), *resource deficit* is a category of CSs that refer to “gaps in speakers’ knowledge preventing them from verbalizing messages” (p. 203). The CSs that Petra which fall in this category were (i) *approximation*, (ii) *circumlocution*, (iii) *foreignizing*, (iv) *message abandonment*, (v) *omission*, and (vi) restructuring.

Approximation. *Approximation* is a resource deficit-based strategy that refers to a “single alternative lexical item, such as a superordinate or a related term, which shares semantic features (e.g., synonym or antonym) with the target word or structure” (Lafford, 2004, p. 222). One example of this strategy comes from a visit in which Petra was interpreting for a 52-year-old female patient with whom she had previously worked. This patient had been diagnosed with paralysis when she was younger and it had recently flared back up, leading to visual impairment and the inability to move and feel areas of her face. Since experiencing these symptoms, she had been visiting the Phoenix Community Clinic for continued follow-up care. While completing the medical history

intake, Petra implemented the CS of approximation to compensate for the lexical item “neurologist”:

1 Physician says:	<i>What did the neurologist say? Did she go?</i>	
2 Petra says:	<i>¿Ya visitó al otro doctor?</i>	<i>Did you already visit the other doctor?</i>
3 Patient says:	<i>¿El doctor que me da gotitas?</i>	<i>The doctor that gives me the drops?</i>
4 Petra says:	<i>She went to him and he gave her eye drops.</i>	
5 Patient says:	<i>Sí... pero también tengo una cita con el neurólogo.</i>	<i>Yes... but I also have an appointment with the neurologist.</i>

(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

During this exchange, approximation not only aided Petra in facilitating communication between the patient and physician, but it also served as a purposeful interactional maneuver to aid in the protection of her identity as a legitimate, multilingual/multidialectal speaker that was constructed via different social discourses and interlocutors. In this patient visit, as well as the others, it is logical that Petra was operationalizing a storyline of “Medical Interpretation” in which she took on the position of a “medical interpreter” given her role at the Phoenix Community Clinic. To live up to this position, Petra needed to appear to both the physician and patient(s) as a *competent* and *legitimate* speaker of Spanish that could navigate medical discourse. This meant demonstrating a high command of specialized medical terminology and knowledge –

terminology and knowledge that she did not have due to the fact that she was completing an internship site outside of her area of study.

As can be seen in Line 1, the physician began by inquiring about the patient's visit to the neurologist. Not being able to recall the target form, Petra utilized the strategy of approximation in Line 2 by alternating the word "neurologist" (*neurólogo*) with the related word "doctor" (*doctor*), in order to compensate for a gap in knowledge that could have put her position at risk. Although these two terms share a similar significance, by using the more general term "doctor," Petra did not communicate that the doctor in question was a specialist in medical issues related to the nervous system. This is evidenced in Line 3 when the patient requested clarification as to *which* doctor she was referring. The breakdown in communication continued to Line 4 when Petra misinterpreted the patient's question as an affirmation that she indeed visited the neurologist and this provider gave her eye drops. It was not until Line 5 when the patient produced the item "*neurólogo*" while continuing to explain her medical history that the target form happened to be introduced into the encounter.

Although it may not have been her conscious motivation for utilizing this CS through using approximation, Petra's use of the term *doctor* signaled to the patient that perhaps she did not have control over the target form (*neurólogo*). As such, it is possible that the patient introduced the term into the discourse as an act of solidarity, providing her lexical assistance and support maintaining her position as a competent medical interpreter in the presence of the physician. Even though this may not have been an intentional strategy, it *was* effective in both Petra's getting someone to give her the target form that she was lacking and protecting her position within this specific discourse.

Message abandonment. A second resource deficit-based strategy that Petra was *obligated* to use while interpreting for the 30-year-old female patient who had come into the clinic for diabetes and sciatic nerve pain used was *message abandonment*, or an “unfinished message due to some language difficulty” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223). The physician with whom Petra was working during this patient visit was a medical resident that had been assigned to the Phoenix Metro Clinic for part of their rotation. During my observation, I noted that this physician spoke with a very monotone voice and avoided eye contact with both Petra and the patients that he was attending. The physician began the visit by using patient-centric language (e.g. *Where did **you** get this medication?*) but later seemed to get frustrated and directed all questions towards Petra (e.g., *Ask her where **she** was planning to get that medication refilled before coming here.*).

Initiating the physical examination, the doctor asked the patient to get up on the exam table without offering any further explanation regarding *why* she needed to do so or *what* would happen next. The physician then began to exam the patient’s legs and gave Petra short commands to translate in a very firm manner:

1	Physician says:	<i>Kick.</i>	.
2	Petra says:	<i>Uhhh --</i>	<i>Possible interpretation: Da/dé patadas¹⁷</i>
3	Physician says:	<i>*Interrupts Petra and speaks louder*</i> <i>Kick.</i>	
4		<i>Kick!</i> <i>*Physically manipulates patient's foot to perform a kicking motion*</i>	
5	Patient	<i>*Kicks*</i>	
6	Physician says:	<i>Up.</i>	
7	Petra says:	<i>Uhhh --</i>	<i>Possible interpretation: Arriba.</i>
8	Physician says:	<i>*Interrupts Petra and speaks louder*</i> <i>Up!</i>	
9		<i>*Physically guides patient's foot upwards*</i>	
10	Patient	<i>*Kicks up*</i>	
11	Physician says:	<i>Push back.</i>	<i>Possible interpretation: Empuja/empuje.</i>
12		<i>Back!</i> <i>*Physically guides patient's foot back*</i>	
13	Patient	<i>*Kicks back*</i>	

(Observational Field note, 03-23-18)

¹⁷ This interpretation, as well as those in Lines 8 and 11, are only possible interpretations that Petra *could* have utilized. Although she was unable to come up with these target forms, these words would have most likely been understood by the patient had they been used.

During this encounter, Petra struggled to come up with the vocabulary and grammatical forms being requested by the physician, as evidenced by her stutters in Lines 2 and 8. Considering that the doctor was requesting the patient to perform an action, it may seem logical that Petra could have implemented a non-verbal CSs, such as circumlocution via gestures, to bridge the gap in her knowledge. However, this was not possible as the patient was lying down on the exam table with her gaze towards the ceiling, as well as the fact that the doctor did not allow her time to attempt any other CS. Rather than affording her time to carry out her interpretation task, the doctor became frustrated, interrupted Petra's attempts, and continued to verbalize these same commands speaking more loudly and firmly to the patient. In addition to this repetition, the doctor prompted the patient to follow the instructions by physically manipulating her feet so that she would begin to make the necessary movements for the assessment. Despite the fact that the physician obligated Petra to abandon the message through robbing her of any opportunity to implement any other CS, the patient was ultimately able to complete the requests of the doctor.

The physician's actions in this encounter illustrate how, in poststructuralist theories, "our positions depend not only on our own intentions and desires, but on which discursive positions are made available by others and by the larger context" (Bernstein, 2014, p. 14). Although Petra's desire was to take on the position of a *competent* and *legitimate* "Medical Interpreter," the power dynamics of the "larger context" of this in situ encounter restricted her from doing so. At the Phoenix Community Clinic, like many health care facilities, physicians occupied a higher position of power on the clinic hierarchy than other staff. The disparity in power between Petra and the doctor affected

the extent of collaboration during patient visits, which in turn affected her ability to co-construct her identity during discourse. Expanding on the effect of these power dynamics, Whitehead (2007) stated:

There are many barriers to the engagement of doctors in collaborative processes including specific powers, status, professional socialisation, and decision-making responsibility. These can make it difficult for doctors to work with other health care professionals in ways that involve sharing responsibilities. (p. 1010)

In this interaction, the doctor utilized elements of his “powers, status, professional socialisation, and decision-making responsibility” to take a position of authority. This is evidenced through the physician’s language and actions that created a non-collaborative environment. Specifically, the doctor interrupted Petra’s attempts at fulfilling *her* duties, as well as shouting and physically manipulating the patients’ leg to carry out the examination. In doing so, the physician took away the potential for Petra to position herself as a competent and legitimate medical interpreter, and instead assigned her a passive position. This is illustrated by the fact that, after being interrupted and stripped of the opportunity to carry out her duties, Petra did not even attempt to translate the doctor’s third command (“Push back”) to the patient.

Although Petra did not say anything to me in this moment, she did bring up this encounter during an impromptu follow-up conversation a few weeks later. During this conversation, I asked Petra to reflect on if she believed that the manner in which the doctors treated the patients influenced (or not) her own relationship with the patients and/or the general environment of the visit. She explained:

*Yeah. It definitely creates a feel in the room. Most of the times, doctors are friendly and we're able to translate that [their friendliness] or a lot of the people understand a little bit of English, so they can see that the doctor's being friendly. But if we get an example, no offense, like [says doctor's name] who's very [makes a sound to indicate her frustration], it's very -- I don't know what word I want to use -- but, yes, you can feel the vibe. *laughs**

(Interview, 04-06-18)

In this passage, Petra stated that she did think the attitude of the physician and their treatment of the patient affected the general environment of the visit. Furthermore, she indicated language as playing a role in “translating” the type of environment that the providing created. How language was utilized to carry out this function, depended greatly upon the attitude of the doctor. When juxtaposing “friendly” versus “non-friendly” doctors, Petra cited the doctor from this visit as the latter, providing evidence that she was indeed affected by the way that he had silenced her and assigned her a position that she did not want for herself.

Circumlocution via gestures. Another resource deficit-based CS that Petra implemented was *circumlocution*, or paraphrasing. This strategy is perceived as an advanced strategy (Canale & Swain, 1980) that refers to “exemplifying, illustrating, or describing the properties of the target object or action” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223). Petra utilized this resource while interpreting and scribing for a 30-year-old female patient that was being seen for diabetes and pain in the sciatic nerve. Due to this pain, the patient was avoiding physical activity. As part of the treatment plan, the physician asked Petra to explain to the patient that being inactive and resting would not make the injury better. In fact, it would make the recovery time longer. Therefore, she needed to incorporate stretches to help with this pain:

1	Physician says:	<i>You can do exercises like you did in high school, such as the runner's stretch¹⁸, lunges, and touching your toes.</i>	
2	Petra says:	<i>Lo que puedes hacer son ejercicios básicos, como intentar tocar sus dedos.</i>	<i>What you can do are basic exercises, like trying to touch your toes.</i>
3		<i>*Acts out stretches*</i>	
4	Patient says:	<i>*Nods affirmatively to demonstrate understanding*</i>	

(Observational Field note, 03-28-18)

Upon describing the types of stretches that the patient should perform in Line 1, the physician utilized colloquial terms (e.g., runner's stretch) that were not only difficult to translate, but may not have been familiar to all patients – such as those who did not have the opportunity to attend school or whose school perhaps did not have a physical education or track program. When the time came for Petra to interpret this message to the patient, she faced a gap in her knowledge that again put her desired positionality as a competent and legitimate medical interpreter at risk. In order to bridge the communication and protect her identity, Petra went beyond verbal circumlocution and utilized *gestures* to “illustrate” the target form. Specifically, she verbalized only the basic information and used circumlocution via gestures to fill in the blanks that she was not able to produce linguistically.

¹⁸ Additional instance of message abandonment

The use of this kinesthetic strategy to bridge not only a gap in Petra's linguistic knowledge, but also overcome a possible cultural misunderstanding was effective, as demonstrated by the patient's response: an affirmative nod demonstrating understanding. Beyond just this interaction, circumlocution via gestures is an important CS given the role that gestures play in speech. For example, Stam and McCafferty (2009) noted that "the gestures that accompany speech (spontaneous gestures or *gesticulations*) have been reported in all cultures studied" (p. 3). Adding to this claim, research has shown that individuals with visual disabilities (e.g., blindness) also utilize gestures upon engaging in verbal communication (Iverson & Goldin-Meadow, 1998). Therefore, the inclusion of circumlocution via gestures in one's CS repertoire could be a very powerful tool to bridge gap in communication, considering the ubiquitous role that gestures play in facilitating communication between interlocutors.

Foreignizing. A fourth resource deficit-based strategy that Petra utilized during her duties at the Phoenix Medical Clinic was *foreignizing*, which involves "using L1 word by adjusting to L2 phonology, morphology, or both" (Lafford, 2004, p. 222). She implemented this strategy while interpreting and scribing for an adolescent male, accompanied by his mother, who was visiting the clinic for a general physical and follow-up regarding mental health issues. Regarding these issues, his mother stated that her son's behavior had "worsened" since moving from Mexico to the state of Arizona 13 years ago. In addition to the move, he had experienced a lot of bullying at school. Having said this, she was more optimistic as he had seemed to be making more friends since transitioning into high school.

Although the patient spoke both English and Spanish, he only communicated with the physician in English and chose not to translate for his mother who could understand most of the conversation in English, but only spoke Spanish. The physician attempted to make the visit more patient-centered by directing his questions to the young boy. Despite this attempt, the medical doctor would often have to re-direct the questions to his mother as the patient was very quiet and did not give complete or in-depth answers, especially when asked about his mental health.

In addition to visiting the Phoenix Community clinic for the stated reasons, the patient had attended an appointment with the dental side of the clinic earlier that morning. During the physical examination, the patient affirmed that they had just done a treatment on his teeth. The physician then asked him if they had said anything about his wisdom teeth and began to explain that sometimes when these teeth grow in, they crowd the mouth and must be removed. The patient responded that he often experienced ear pain, to which the doctor responded:

1 **Physician** *When the molars are coming in and it says: gets crowded, it [pain] can feel like it's in your ear.*

2 **Petra** *Cuando se están creciendo los molars...* *When the molars are growing...*

(Observational Field note, 04-11-18)

As Petra began to interpret this message for the patient's mother, she relied on the CS of foreignization for the lexical item "molars." Instead of utilizing the term *molaes* in Spanish, she used the English word "molars" and adjusted it by adopting the L2 phonology. Whereas the social role of other strategies has been reported as an

interactional maneuver to maintain her positionality as a competent and legitimate medical interpreter, it is most likely the case that Petra foreignized subconsciously the English word “molars” with the intent of carrying out her interpretation duties.

Omission. The fifth resource deficit-based CS that Petra implemented was *omission*, or “leaving a gap when not knowing a word and continuing” (Lafford, 2004, p. 222). During the medical history intake for this same patient, the physician asked from where the patient was getting her diabetes medication prior to coming to the Phoenix Community Clinic. The patient responded:

1 Patient says:	<i>Una clínica donde se paga la consulta. Y allí tienen los medicamentos pero se subieron los precios.</i>	<i>A clinic where they pay for the visit. And they have the medications there but they raised the prices.</i>
2	<i>Es una clínica que queda en la calle 10 y Sunset.</i>	<i>It is a clinic that's on 10th Street and Sunset.</i>
3 Petra says:	<i>She was getting in from another clinic, just off of 10th and Sunset.</i>	

(Observational Field note, 03-23-18)

In Line 1, the patient began to respond to the physician’s question by explaining that she had previously received her prescriptions from a clinic where she did not have to pay for the consult visit. She additionally stated an important reason for which she could no longer continue to fill her medication at this location: an increase in prices. Next, in Line 2, the patient offered the physical location of this clinic. Despite needing to translate these three pieces of information, Petra omitted the information in Line 1 and instead only transmitted the physical address of the clinic.

Petra's omission of the middle "chunk" of the patients' message is relevant to the process of *simultaneous interpretation*. Liu, Schallert, and Carroll (2004) explained that during this process, the demand on an interpreter's cognitive resources is great as they must express:

in the target language the meaning of segment A, just heard from the speech in the source language, attending to the incoming segment B and temporarily holding segment B and/or its meaning in memory while continuing to translate segment A, and at the same time monitoring the target language output for accuracy and smoothness of delivery. (p. 19-20)

In order to understand the interplay between these processes and the interpreter's cognitive capacities and limitations, psychologists look to *working memory*, or "the metaphoric 'computational space' available to listeners and readers during the act of comprehension; allows for temporary information storage and manipulation" (VanPatten & Williams, 2014, p. 286). Cognitive research focusing on working memory has shown that the competition of different functions (storage and processing) increases when an individual's working memory capacity nears its limit (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980). Therefore, it is possible that Petra omitted a portion of the patient's message due to the lack of capacity within in this "computational space."

Another possible explanation moves beyond the concept of working memory, in that an element found to be more influential than working memory is *domain-specific knowledge* of the interpreter (Just & Carpenter, 1992; Liu et al., 2004). Research on *simultaneous interpretation* has shown that "the primary difference between experts and novices in a domain was not their general aptitude or working memory capacity, but their domain knowledge or skills" (Liu et al., 2004, p. 21). Therefore, it is possible that Petra was unable to interpret her interlocutor's message completely due to her skills as a novice

interpreter within the medical domain. Despite either explanation, omitting part of an interlocutor's message during interpretation can be problematic.

During this specific encounter, the economic information that Petra omitted was relevant to the patient visit. Although the Phoenix Community Clinic did work to provide patients with medications at low-to-no cost, they were not always able to provide this service to their patients. If this were the case for the current patient, she may not have been able to pay for her treatment and would have had to once more seek out another medical provider. When I later asked Petra how she felt about this interaction, she told me that she thought it was “tough” to start off the day with a patient who spoke in such a quick manner. As such, she decided to “focus on the basics” to compensate for this rapid speech. Had Petra been interested in a career in medicine and taken a SSP medical interpretation course before beginning her internship at the Phoenix Community Clinic, it is probable that she would have not only acquired greater knowledge and skills in the medical domain, but also would have received training and practice interpreting for individuals who speak at a regular or quick pace. Both of these factors would have likely assisted in mitigating the linguistic discomfort that Petra experienced while completing her SSP internship.

Restructuring (message replacement). The final resource deficit-based strategy that Petra utilized during her encounters with community members at her professional internship was *restructuring*. Lafford (2004) defined *restructuring* as the abandonment of “the execution of a verbal plan because of language difficulties, leaving the utterance unfinished, and communicating message with an alternate plan” (p. 223). In her study, Lafford also included Dörnyei and Scott’s (1997) category of *message replacement*, which refers to those “cases where learners restructure due to lexical or syntactic difficulties” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223). Petra used this strategy during the physical examination of the 52-year-old female patient that was experiencing paralysis:

1 **Physician** *Stick out your tongue.*
says:

2 **Petra** *Quiere ver su lengua.* *She wants to see your tongue.*
says:

3 **Patient** **Sticks out her tongue**
says:

(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

In Line 1, the physician utilized the imperative mood to give a command to the patient to stick out her tongue so that she could examine her throat. Petra avoided using this structure (*Saque la lengua*) in Line 2 by instead restructuring the message to reflect the physician’s desire to examine her tongue. Through utilizing this strategy, Petra was successful in communicating the physician’s instructions as the patient stuck out her tongue in Line 3, maintaining her positionality as a competent and legitimate medical interpreter.

Own-Performance Problems

The second category of CSs is *own-performance problems*, or the “realization that something one has said is incorrect or only partly correct, associated with various types of self-repair, self-rephrasing, and self-editing mechanisms” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203). Petra only utilized one own-performance-based problems during the time that I observed her at her professional internship: *asking for confirmation*.

Asking for confirmation. *Asking for confirmation* refers to “requesting an explanation or repetition when comprehension breaks down” (Lafford, 2004, p. 224). Petra used this strategy while interpreting for the 30-year-old female patient that was being seen for her diabetes and pain in her sciatic nerve. During the medical history intake, the physician asked the patient about her exercise routine and if she had lost any weight. The patient responded with a detailed explanation regarding her previous routine but she had ceased this activity due to the pain that would radiate from her back and hip to her toes. Upon hearing this long response, Petra asked the patient:

1 <i>Petra</i> <i>says:</i>	<i>Entonces, ¿estaba haciendo muchos ejercicios, pero ahora no tanto?</i>	<i>So, you were doing a lot of exercises, but now not so much?</i>
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(Observational Field note, 03-23-18)

While offering a lengthy response to the doctor’s question, the patient did not pause to allow Petra opportunities to translate in smaller chunks of discourse, nor did Petra ask her to pause or speak in smaller fragments. With limited capacity in her working memory, Petra was unable to interpret the entire message that the patient had communicated. Therefore, Petra asked the patient for confirmation before reporting back to the doctor. It

is important to note that Petra did not simply ask the patient to repeat what she had said (e.g., “Can you repeat?”); rather, she utilized bits of the patient’s discourse to confirm that her summarization was correct (“So, you were doing a lot of exercises, but now not so much?”). By incorporating the patient’s own discourse, Petra signaled to the patient that she had comprehended the message versus admitting that there was a complete breakdown in communication. Therefore, by asking for confirmation in this manner, Petra was able to maintain her desired position.

Other-Performance Problems

The third category of CS’s is *other-performance problems*, or “something perceived as problematic in the interlocutor’s speech, either because it is thought to be incorrect (or highly unexpected) or because of a lack (or uncertainty) of understanding something fully, associated with various negotiation of meaning strategies” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203). Petra used two strategies that fall within this category during the same interpretation exchange: (i) *feigning understanding* and (ii) *expressing nonunderstanding*.

Feigning understanding and expressing nonunderstanding. *Feigning understanding* (or the *let it pass principle*, as coined by Firth, 1996) refers to “making an attempt to carry on the conversation in spite of not understanding something by pretending to understand” (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p. 191). A related but different CS, *expressing nonunderstanding*, refers to “expressing that the learner did not understand something properly either verbally or nonverbally” (Lafford, 2004, p. 224). The implementation of these strategies took place during the same visit with the 70-year-old female patient seeking medical care for diabetes and was described previously during the researcher positionality statement in Chapter Three. As the doctor was examining her

feet, the patient began to reveal details of her medical history. It was here that a breakdown in communication manifested:

1 Patient says:	<i>En el dedo grande y el dedo al lado, me picaron seis abejas...</i>	<i>Six bees stung me in the big toe and the toe right next to it...</i>
2 Petra	<i>*Smiles and nods head*</i>	
3 Lexi says:	<i>Did you get that?</i>	
4 Petra says:	<i>No! I heard something about “abeja” but I can’t remember what it means...</i>	
5 Lexi says:	<i>Bee!</i>	
6 Petra says:	<i>Oh, bee!</i>	
7 Lexi says:	<i>So, she was saying that six bees bit her big toe and the toe next to it.</i>	

(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

After the patient detailed the information of a bee attack in Line 1, Petra did not respond by interpreting this information to the physician, but rather utilized the gestures of smiling and nodding. As a fellow L2 speaker that had been in similar situations, I interpreted these gestures as a pragmatic strategy to protect her positionality as a competent speaker during a moment of incomprehensibility. However, they did not play a role in repairing the breakdown in communication. Noticing that Petra was not making any attempts to utilize other CSs to bridge this communication breakdown, I decided to intervene.

Although I was not the interpreter and just “there to observe,” I was aware that Petra was not going to be able to report this information that could be pertinent to the patient’s health back to the physician. I decided to intervene with the rationalization that I was helping to ensure the quality care of the patient. Consequently, I stepped in and served as a language mediation artifact. I started this process by using a comprehension check, asking Petra, “Did you get that?” Petra then responded by expressing nonunderstanding (“No!”), which prompted me to provide her with the translation of the target information that she was lacking. In this situation, I interpreted Petra’s gestures and silence as indirect expressions of a breakdown in communication.

Mediation by Technology as an Artifact

The final category of CSs is one that I am proposing: *mediation by technology as an artifact*. As previously described in Chapter Two, *mediation by (traditional) artifacts* refers to tools in one’s environment that permit cognition and/or the completion of a task. With the increasing presence of technology in both personal and professional contexts, it is important to take into account a specific type of artifact that learners engaging in experiential language learning (EX-LL) can utilize to bridge and prevent breakdowns in communication: technology-based artifacts. In Petra’s specific internship, she utilized two technology-based resources: (i) *Google for cultural mediation* and (ii) *Google Translate*.

Google for cultural mediation. As a medical interpreter and scribe, Petra would wheel in a computer on a mobile desk to each visit so that she and the physician could access the patients' medical records through the electronic medical records (EMR) system. As this laptop provided Petra with access to the clinic's internet, it became a technology-based artifact that Petra utilized to facilitate cultural mediation while interpreting via the search engine *Google*. While discussing the treatment plan with this same patient, the physician informed Petra that the patient needed to continue to lose weight:

1 **Physician** *She needs to lose about 10 pounds.
says: What would that be in kilos? I think
 it's pounds divided by 2.5?*

2 **Petra** **Types "10 pounds to kilo" into
 Google**

3 *Entonces, 4 o 5 kilos.* *So, 4 or 5 kilos.*

(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

In this case, it was not a lack of linguistic knowledge that posed a breakdown in communication, but rather a cultural difference. Given that the patient was born and permanently resided in Mexico, she was accustomed to utilizing the *metric system* for measuring versus the *imperial system* that is utilized in the United States. Therefore, the physician could not simply ask Petra to translate that the patient needed to lose roughly 10 pounds; rather, this number needed to be converted to the measurement that the patient would understand (*kilograms*). In order to bridge this knowledge, Petra utilized Google as a mediation tool in which she would could look up the conversion and then

interpret successfully the message to the patient by utilizing the form of measurement used in her native culture that she would understand.

Google Translate. The final technology-based artifact that Petra coupled with other CS as a means to mediate her strategic knowledge was *Google Translate*. As will be seen with Penélope and María in the next chapter, Petra had not received any formalizing training or best practices for using technological tools as a language mediation strategy in any of her Spanish classes. With no knowledge of other resources, Google Translate became her go-to artifact. By the end of the three observations, she would always have this tool open in a tab and ready-to-go in case a breakdown would occur. When I asked her why she chose this particular artifact, Petra explained:

It's simple. It's easy even though I feel like Google Translate sometimes is a little whack with its translating, but I feel like it's gotten a little bit better for looking up one word versus a full paragraph or a sentence. Just because it's easy.

(Interview, 04-21-18)

Petra justified her choice of Google Translate by explaining the ease with which she could access the information she needed. As breakdowns in communication would occur during in-the-moment interpreting, Petra did not have enough time to enter a word into an online dictionary and read through different uses and examples (such as with other mediation tools – e.g., WordReference, Linguee). In addition, she was only translating specialized medical terminology and/or one or two word phrases versus full sentences or paragraphs. Therefore, Google Translate indeed served her well for the specific types of encounters in which she would engage with the medical doctors and patients. While

accompanying Petra during her interpretation duties, I was able to observe her using these tools in action.

Google Translate + filler. During one visit, Petra acted as a medical interpreter and scribe for a 41-year-old female patient that was being seen for pain in her left heel. While the physician was completing the physical examination, a breakdown in communication occurred:

-
- | | | |
|---|------------------|--|
| 1 | Physician | <i>I think you have inflammation in the tendons.</i> |
| | says: | |
| 2 | Petra | *Verbalizes with hesitation* |
| | says: | <i>I don't remember how to say tendon...</i> |
| 3 | | *Types "tendon" into Google Translate on clinic laptop* |
| 4 | | <i>Oh. Tendón.</i> |
-

(Observational Field note, 04-11-18)

While making the assessment in Line 1, the physician stated that they believed the patient had inflammation in her tendons. Upon needing to interpret this message, Petra faced a gap in her knowledge. Reacting to this gap, she verbalized hesitantly her lack of knowledge of this medical term by stating "I don't remember how to say tendon..." This statement is based on the CS that Dörnyei and Scott (1997) call a *filler*, or "using gambits to fill pauses, to stall, and to gain time in order to keep the communication channel open and maintain discourse at times of difficult" (p. 190). Petra used this strategy in an innovative way: stalling to use Google Translate.

Petra's use of a filler served two different functions. The first was pragmatic in that it allowed her to "maintain discourse" and hold the floor while signaling to her interlocutors that the "standard" flow of doctor-to-interpreter/interpreter-to-patient discourse was being interrupted. Secondly, and more innovatively, it allowed her to "stall" for the time that she needed to solve this issue on her own by turning to Google Translate. She pulled up Google Translate on the clinic laptop and utilized it as an artifact to help bridge this gap in her knowledge. By pressing just a few keys, she was able to mediate her knowledge by retrieving the word "*tendón*" and, consequently, carry on with the rest of the communicative event. Utilizing this technology-based artifact was not always so simple, however.

Foreignizing + Google Translate + filler. After completing the physical examination and reviewing the treatment plan with the patient, another breakdown in communication occurred regarding the word "tetanus":

1 Physician says:	<i>The last time that you had a tetanus shot was X years ago. Would you like to get that vaccination today?</i>	
2 Petra says:	<i>El doctor quiere saber si quiere una vacuna de “tétanus.”</i>	<i>The doctor wants to know if you would like a “tétanus” vaccination?</i>
3 Patient says:	<i>¿Vacuna de qué?</i>	<i>What kind of vaccination?</i>
4 Petra says:	<i>Un momento...</i>	<i>One moment...</i>
5	<i>*Begins to type in tetanus in Google Translate on clinic laptop but is having difficulty spelling the word in English*</i>	
6 Physician	<i>*The physician dictates spelling, but Petra still can't quite get it*</i>	
7 Me	<i>*I googled “tetanus shot” in my phone. It autocorrects my spelling, displaying the correct spelling*</i>	
8	<i>*I show her my phone so she can see and type it into Google Translate*</i>	
9 Petra says:	<i>¿Tétano ...?</i>	<i>Tetanus...?</i>
10 Patient says:	<i>Ah, sí. De tétano. ¿Para qué es esa vacuna?</i>	<i>Ah, yes. Tetanus. For what is that vaccination?</i>

(Observational Field note, 04-11-18)

Petra began her interpretation in Line 2 by implementing the strategy of *foreignizing*. Yet, not recognizing the foreignized word “*tétanus*”, the patient requested clarification. Upon receiving this request, Petra again implemented a filler (“Un momento...”) as a CS to indicate that the flow of translation would be interrupted again while simultaneously buying time as she sought out assistance. Specifically, she turned again to Google Translate to mediate this gap in her knowledge, but in doing so faced another difficulty due to the artifact’s design. In order to utilize this technology-based artifact successfully, the user must first input the target word in the language from which they are translating. As Petra was unable to come up with the correct spelling of this word in English, she was not receiving the translation that she needed in order to relay the physician’s question to the patient.

Noticing this issue, the physician stepped in to dictate the spelling to her. However, she was still unable to type it in correctly – perhaps this was due to the linguistic and social discomfort that she was already feeling or the pressure to bridge quickly this gap in her knowledge. Seeing that Petra was anxious, I joined in by pulling out my iPhone and googling “tetanus shot” so that I could show her a visual representation of the word that she could then type into the translator. It turns out that I also could not spell this word in English. Luckily, one of the affordances of Google saved me: autocorrect. Once Google gave me the correct spelling, I showed Petra my phone so that she would be able to see and type the word in at her own pace. Finally, after this team effort, Petra received the translation from Google Translate and was able to successfully interpret the physician’s question. In this specific case, it took three different

CSs (foreignizing, filler, and Google Translate), as well as the help of more than one “expert” or peer to overcome the breakdown in communication.

Discussion

The first part of this chapter has been dedicated to analyzing the CSs (and their social functions) that Petra implemented to facilitate her strategic knowledge while completing the roles of medical interpreter and scribe at her SSP internship. In this discussion, I will analyze Petra’s development of CSs across the three different observations.

Patterns of Petra’s Development of Communicative Strategies

As was described in the previous section, Petra implemented four types of CSs: (i) *resource deficit*, (ii) *own-performance problems*, (iii) *other-performance problems* and (iv) *mediation by technology as an artifact*. As can be seen in Table 8.1, she utilized the same amount of CSs at each observation (n = 6, n = 6, n = 6). Having said this, the types of CSs that she used began to shift with time.

Resource deficit. Over the course of the three observations, Petra moved away from using message abandonment as a CS in the first and second observations (n = 2, n = 1) to not implementing this strategy at all in the third observation (n = 0). This trend represents progress in Petra’s strategic knowledge, given that this CS entails closing channels for communication motivated by “some language difficulty” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223). Therefore, the absence of message abandonment implies that Petra was able to maintain discourse, by either possessing the sufficient knowledge or implementing a different type of CS to complete the interpretation task at hand.

Own-performance and other-performance problems. Another pattern that emerged was Petra's shift from using own-performance-based strategies to other-performance based strategies within the first two observations. Whereas in the first observation, she directly asked the patient for confirmation, during the second observations she instead feigned understanding or utilized gestures to hint at nonunderstanding. This perhaps points to the social function that the majority of the CSs played for Petra during discourse with patients: serving as an interactional strategy to protect her identity.

As illustrated in Chapter Five, one of the ways in which Petra appropriated her SSP internship to engage in language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work that transcended the goals of the program was through seeking ways to represent her identity as a legitimate and multilingual/multidialectal speaker through social discourse. In order to do so, Petra often utilized multilingual practices, such as translanguaging, to create the conditions for what she considered as authentic communication. Given that the majority of the Spanish-speaking patients seeking care at the Phoenix Community Clinic did not speak English or had minimal receptive skills in the language, she was not able to engage in this type of multilingual discourse. These linguistic proficiency of Petra's interlocutors, accompanied by the fact that her position as a medical interpreter required specialized medical knowledge that she did not possess, led to linguistic discomfort that put her desired identity at risk. As such, it is possible that over the course of the observations, she shifted from using CSs that exposed her vulnerability (e.g., asking for

confirmation) and instead implemented those that would more likely conserve her identity (e.g., feigning understanding and expressing nonunderstanding).

Mediation by technology as an artifact. The final pattern that emerged from this analysis is related to mediation by technology as an artifact. Specifically, throughout the three observations, the resource deficit-based strategies remained, but the own-performance- and other-performance-based CSs gave way to a more frequent use of technology. This pattern seems to indicate that instead of relying on others for feedback and help, Petra became more reliant on technology. This could be due to the fact that she was actually becoming more *self-reliant* through utilizing artifacts that she could directly manipulate primarily on her own.

Furthermore, the independence that this artifact afforded Petra could point to another reason as to why she began to rely on technology-based CS: a discursive strategy to maintain her positionality as both a legitimate and competent interpreter. Instead of utilizing other strategies that could have put this position at risk by exposing gaps in her linguistic knowledge, she was able to use Google Translate without calling upon the help of others (in most cases). Additionally, each time that Petra utilized Google Translate, she implemented fillers as a supporting CS to maintain open channels of communication as she mediated her knowledge.

Mandated use of technology in the interpretation process: Electronic medical records. In addition to Petra's frequent use of Google for cultural mediation and Google Translate for linguistic mediation, there were other technology-based artifacts that aided her during the interpretation process. Although many staff members (e.g., physicians) brought their cellphones into the patient visits as a resource (e.g., perform calculations, look up medications), the interpreters and scribes were required to utilize a clinic-mandated artifact: laptops. As described previously, during each visit, Petra was required to wheel in a clinic laptop on a mobile desk so that both she and the physician could access and update the patients' medical records, as well as place any orders (e.g., lab tests) through the EMR system. In addition to utilizing the laptops to access Google and Google Translate, Petra used this technology-based artifact to access the EMR system which facilitated the interpretation process.

To illustrate this point, while interpreting for the 70-year-old female patient that was introduced earlier in the chapter as seeking medical care for diabetes, Petra utilized the EMR as a technology-based artifact to carry out her duties. During the extensive new patient medical history intake, the physician asked the patient to list the medications that she was currently taking. The patient responded with a description of the pills versus using the generic or brand name of the medication:

1 <i>Patient</i> <i>says:</i>	<i>...una [pastilla] grande de 850 miligramos y una [pastilla] chiquita de 5 miligramos.</i>	<i>...a big one [pill] that is 850 milligrams and a small one [pill] that is 5 milligrams.</i>
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(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

With this description, the physician was unable to decipher to which exact medications the patient was referring. Petra stepped in and consulted with the patient's chart located in the EMR system. In doing so, she was able to relay the specific names of the medications to which the patient was referring in English, facilitating the medical history intake process. Although there was no breakdown in communication or need to interpret from Spanish to English for the doctor, the mandated use of technology-based artifacts aided Petra in the interpretation process by providing her with specialized medical knowledge and terminology that she lacked. In doing so, it is probable that this artifact helped to alleviate some of the linguistic discomfort that she felt while completing her internship at the Phoenix Community Clinic. As the medical field was not her area of study, the EMR system acted as a resource to compensate for her inadequate preparation to work in a medical context.

The use of technology-based artifacts was also determined as an important linguistic mediation tool and general resource for Penélope and María, a topic which will be explored in-depth in Chapter 9. The prevalent use of such strategies could point towards important pedagogical implications, which will be discussed during the implications section in Chapter 10.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

In Chapter Eight, I have described the types of CSs that Petra used while carrying out her medical interpretation and scribe duties at the Phoenix Community Clinic. During patient visits, she implemented strategies from four different categories: (i) resource deficit, (ii) own-performance problems, (iii) other-performance problems and (iv) mediation by technology as an artifact. Not only did these CS help to mediate Petra's strategic and cultural knowledge, but they also played an important social function: preserving her image as a competent and legitimate medical interpreter. Furthermore, Petra's developmental patterns of CSs during the observed interactions with community members indicate a move towards becoming more self-reliant on technology and utilizing other-performance problem-based CSs as an international strategy to protect her identity during and beyond these encounters.

In the following chapter, I will shift to analyzing the resources, CSs, and their respective functions, implemented by Penélope and María to mediate their strategic knowledge while carrying out their SSP internship duties at the Phoenix Reportaje. After doing so, I will offer a discussion in which I (i) outline a proposal for new CSs to be added to the current classification repertoire, (ii) compare/contrast the development of the three interns', and (iii) discuss the roles and actions of others as mediation artifacts at each internship site.

CHAPTER 9

PENÉLOPE'S AND MARÍA'S STRATEGIC KNOWLEDGE:

A FOCUS ON COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND MEDIATION RESOURCES

In the previous chapter, I explored Petra's development of strategic knowledge through the construct of communicative strategies (CSs). It is important to note that strategic knowledge is not something that only learners of a language develop to assist them in successful communication, but rather, native speakers (NSs) (Bongaerts & Poulisse, 1989; Dörnyei, 1995; Lafford, 1995) and heritage language (HL) learners also employ these metacognitive processes during discursive events. Specifically, Lafford (1995) explained that, "in order to maintain and develop the conversation in a communicative situation native speakers of a language resort to many different kinds of discourse strategies" (p. 104).

Like Petra, Penélope and María's Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) internships required them to engage in spontaneous conversations (*in situ encounters*) with community members, colleagues, and other social actors throughout spaces in the community. Notwithstanding, many of the duties that the two interns were required to carry out afforded them a possibility that Petra did not have given the expectations of her community internship site: the opportunity to "bridge" their knowledge (*pre-meditative encounters*) before engaging in real time communicative encounters.

Whereas students at the Phoenix Reportaje (like Penélope and Maria) were expected to prepare beforehand for specific tasks (e.g., interviews with a known interlocutor, newscasts with a script or notes), the medical interpreters and scribes at the Phoenix Community Clinic (like Petra) did not have this luxury. In fact, Petra was unaware of which patients would present themselves at the clinic on any given day with any given ailment. As such, she could not prepare herself pre-meditatively for these encounters. The only type of preparation that she and future interns taking up these roles could engage in would be taking a Spanish medical course and/or a Spanish medical interpretation course.

Therefore, in order to answer completely the second research question regarding the linguistic and social function of the interns' strategic knowledge during their SSP internships, I will offer a second analysis focusing on Penélope's and María's journeys. In doing so, I will draw on various CS taxonomies (Dörnyei & Scott, 1995a, 1995b, 1997; Lafford, 2004; Tarone & Yule, 1987) and the Sociocultural Theory (SCT) of language learning framework influenced by Vygotsky (1978). Through these frameworks, I will examine (i) the resources the interns reported¹⁹ using during *pre-meditative encounters* and (ii) the CSs the interns utilized while working with a variety of social actors during *in situ encounters*.²⁰

¹⁹ Collected from interview data

²⁰ Collected from observational data

Penélope and María: Resources During Pre-Meditative Encounters

As described previously, Penélope and María’s internship duties provided them with the opportunity to mediate their knowledge before engaging in in situ encounters with community members and other social actors related to their internships. The resources that they utilized in these pre-meditative encounters can be divided into three distinct categories: (i) *mediation by (traditional) artifacts*, (ii) *mediation by technology as an artifact*, and (iii) *mediation by others*. Table 9.1 details these CS below.

Table 9.1. Penélope’s and María’s Self-Reported Use of Resources During Pre-Meditative Encounters

CS Type	Penélope	María
Mediation by (Traditional) Artifacts		
Physical notebook	X	
Mediation by Technology as an Artifact*		
Google Translate	X	
Real Academia Española		X
Univisión website		X
Telemundo website		X
Mediation by Others		
Newscast supervisor: Phoenix Reportaje	X	X
Newscast supervisor: Frontier News	X	X

* Asterisk indicates new CS category that I am proposing

Mediation by (Traditional) Artifacts

As outlined in Chapters Two and Eight, *mediation by (traditional) artifacts* refers to the tools in one's environment that permit cognition and/or the completion of a task. Penélope reported implementing a specific traditional artifact to help her prepare and conduct interviews with community members: a physical notebook. This artifact additionally assisted her in maintaining the position of a "Competent, Bilingual Journalist" during various social discourses.

Physical notebook: Penélope. With an emphasis in (digital) broadcasting, Penélope's main internship duty was putting together news stories, or "packages," for the Phoenix Reportaje program. In order carry out this task, it was necessary that she engaged in research, attended community events, and interviewed community members. Many times, Penélope would reach out to potential interviewees in English and/or Spanish using a digital medium, such as email, Facebook, and Twitter. Once she received an affirmative response, she would schedule an interview that would most likely take place in a community space related to the content of the interview. Scheduling interviews in advance afforded Penélope the ability to prepare her interview questions.

During this process, she was often able recognize if /when there was a gap in her knowledge of the target language. As such, these pre-meditative encounters allowed her the time to seek out resources that would help her to bridge this knowledge before engaging in in-the-moment encounters. This contrasted Petra's SSP internship, as she did not have the opportunity to engage in any pre-meditative work. Even though she *could* check the clinic schedule and patient charts, these tools did not provide much information for new patients. Furthermore, existing patients rescheduled often and there was no

guarantee that they would be seeking care in relation to an ailment reported in their previous visit(s).

An artifact that Penélope utilized consistently to prepare during these pre-meditative encounters was a *small, physical notebook*. Within this notebook, she would detail important background information, write out interview questions, and include any key points that she wanted to hit on during the interview. The information that she chose to include would often consist of specific terminology that she did not know previously in her HL, but would need to produce during the interview (e.g., professional titles – such as *real estate agent*). Therefore, she almost always carried this notebook with her to interviews and utilized it as a tool to help mediate the gaps in her knowledge and guide her to complete her professional duties. In addition to mediating her linguistic skills, this traditional artifact helped Penélope to construct the identity of a competent and bilingual journalist. This position included being able to both carry out successfully an interview in her HL, as well as to do so in a smooth and proficient manner. Although Penélope was generally successful when utilizing this traditional artifact, she did seek other types of artifacts to mediate her linguistic knowledge during pre-meditative encounters. An additional type of artifact that she reported utilizing often during such encounters was *technology-based artifacts*.

Mediation by Technology as an Artifact

Technology has become an ever-present factor of daily life for much of the world. Whereas many instructors may discourage learners from using technology-based artifacts while completing tasks both inside and outside of the classroom, Penélope and María utilized different technologies to scaffold their experiential language learning (EX-LL). Indeed, Godwin-Jones (2011) noted that the increased availability of technology-based artifacts “provide[s] new opportunities for self-directed learning” (p. 4). Specifically, they reported using two different technology-based artifacts: (i) *Google Translate* and the (ii) *Real Academia Española’s Diccionario de la lengua española*.

Google Translate: Penélope. While compiling the information that she would include in her notebook that acted a traditional artifact to mediate the gaps in her linguistic knowledge, Penélope often utilized a technology-based artifact to further scaffold this knowledge: *Google Translate*. In addition to Penélope’s self-report of using this tool, I observed this process in action. As previously described in Chapter Six, during my first observation, Penélope carried out an interview with Community Member 6, a Mexican lawyer that formed part of a community-based group that worked to facilitate pro bono legal services to immigrants in the Phoenix Metro area.

As we waited for him to finish his mediation session, Penélope led me to the School of Journalism where we would “hang out” before grabbing lunch and returning to the law firm. During this time, we went to the edit bay that the Phoenix Reportaje had claimed and made into their own collaborative space. One of her colleagues that typically worked on the *Money* beat at the Phoenix Report was putting together a story in Spanish that would air during one of the Phoenix Reportaje newscasts. As Penélope worked on

completing her own tasks, he would ask her for assistance in writing a script for this package. When they came to a term that they were unsure of, they would turn to Google Translate to find the word that they were looking for in the TL. With this in mind, during our last interview, I asked Penélope to reflect on why she chose Google Translate as her go-to artifact. Penélope replied:

I feel like it's just the easiest thing. Usually when I write up a document, or something in Spanish, or even when I write script, we just share it through Google Drive. I feel like it's the most accessible because we all have our email is [sic] through Gmail. Google Drive is just the one that really allows us to be able to share things. It's just easier, just go from Google Translate to that or use that because it can help with access and stuff in comparison to Microsoft. Google is just a lot easier to share and collaborate.

(Interview, 05-04-18)

In her response, Penélope cited convenience as one of the main factors for which she chose this particular translator. As her team utilized other *Google* products, it seemed logical to keep everything “in-house” by using Google Translator. Nevertheless, from a pedagogical standpoint, there are other technology-based artifacts that could have scaffolded her linguistic knowledge in a more explicit and effective manner.

Although she had a high proficiency in her HL, Penélope may have benefited from utilizing a different technology-based artifact that would have provided more in-depth explanations and examples of discrete words. For example, there exist many other online dictionaries (e.g., Reverso, WordReference) that provide a variety of lexical items with contextualized explanations and examples. There are also corpus-based tools (e.g., Linguee) that provide contextualized explanations and examples, as well as allow the user to input both single words and phrases.

For this reason, I followed up by asking if she had ever received any formal training on technology-based artifacts, such as translators, in her language or other SSP classes. She replied that she had not, but felt it would have been useful to receive such instruction as she had encountered various issues when utilizing these artifacts (e.g., inaccurate, direct translations). While Penélope used this technology-based artifact to help bridge her gaps in *linguistic knowledge*, María used an online dictionary for a much different purpose.

Real Academia Española: María. As an aspiring producer/reporter, María was also required to carry out tasks for her internship that allowed her time to prepare and discover gaps in her knowledge before being faced with in situ encounters. For example, as a producer, María would create and edit scripts for the Phoenix Reportaje televised newscasts and Facebook Live shows. Additionally, as a reporter, she would engage in research and create questions for interviews. Although María also used Google Translate for everyday items, she reported consulting the online dictionary of the Real Academia Española (RAE) in order to make linguistic choices that reflected the “formality” of the Spanish language she sought to represent. María explained:

... palabras que quizás nosotros pensamos que no son correctas, pero se usan como quiera. Como alguien me dijo, “chechar”. No. Uno “verifica” o uno “chequea”, pero uno no “checha”.

... words that maybe we think aren't correct, but are used anyways. Like someone told me “chechar.” No. You can “verifica” or “chequea”, but you don't “checha.”

So, otro ejemplo que me dio, “aseguranza.” Sí puede ser coloquialmente aceptado, pero chequea la RAE [Real Academia Española] y yo creo que “aseguranza” -- no sé si está aceptado o no. Es “seguro médico”, “seguro de casa”, whatever. So entonces uno tiene que mantener esa formalidad.

So, another example that they gave me was “aseguranza.” Yes, it could be accepted colloquially, but check the RAE [Real Academia Española] and I think that “aseguranza” -- I don't know if it is accepted or not. It's “seguro médico,” “seguro de casa,” whatever. So, you have to maintain that formality.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

Her choice to use the RAE again reflected her perception that linguistic proficiency and a commitment to an academic standard variation were markers of a Hispanic/Latinx identity, as was discussed in Chapter Seven. Although the RAE does have a Spanish-language dictionary (*Diccionario de la lengua española*), the reason for which María chose to use this particular resource was to judge if certain words complied with her idea of a “formal” and standard variation. This is particularly problematic as the RAE has been criticized by scholars (e.g., Loza, 2017; Lynch & Potowski, 2014) for its role in perpetuating hegemonic language ideologies and devaluing other Spanish varieties – such as the United States (U.S.) Spanish varieties present in Arizona and other parts of the Southwest.

To illustrate this point, we look to the RAE's self-proclaimed history. According to their website (www.rae.es/), “la institución se ha dedicado a preservar – mediante sus actividades, obras y publicaciones – el buen uso y la unidad de una lengua en permanente

evolución”, or, “the institution has dedicated itself to preserving – through its activities, works, and publications – the proper use and unity of a language in continual evolution” (my translation). The fact that phrases, such as “buen uso”, are included in the institution’s mission emphasizes their commitment to preserving a specific type of language while perpetuating hegemonic language ideologies. As this institution is regarded as a ruling force on the Spanish language by many speakers, learners, and professionals, such a hegemonic discourse stance has real consequences – such as in María’s case. Specifically, Loza (2017) explained that, “due to the prestige and authority of institutions like RAE, speakers adhere to prescriptivist approaches to Spanish, thus contributing to the acceptance of hegemonic ideologies supported by these dominant institutions” (p. 60-61). Therefore, by utilizing this socially biased tool, María’s own prescriptivist ideologies and practices were strengthened, “contributing to the acceptance of hegemonic ideologies.”

After María shared her answer, I similarly followed up with a question inquiring about her previous training on technology-based artifacts in her language or SSP coursework. She replied that one of her professors had recommended a list of technology-based resources to the class. Despite her exposure to such resources, like Penélope, María did not seem to have received any formal *training* on how to choose or navigate these artifacts.

Mediation by Others

The pre-meditative encounters that both Penélope and María were afforded at their internship sites also allowed them time to seek the guidance of experts. Within a SCT framework, this practice falls under *mediation by others*, or the help of others which can manifest in implicit and/or explicit feedback, as well as the orientation of an expert within the zone of proximal development (ZPD). As outlined in Chapter Two, the ZPD is “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

Experts: Penélope and María. Penélope and María had developed working relationships with both the newscast supervisor of the Phoenix Reportaje and the newscast supervisor of Frontier News (at the Phoenix Report). As such, they felt comfortable in seeking out their help when needed. For example, Penélope explained:

So, a lot of the times, it's kind of like talking it out with other people. So, like, the newscast supervisor of the Reportaje -- I'll be the one that I'm, like, "Hey, I wrote this word and I don't think it's right." And then she'll be like, "No, no, no. It's this."

(Interview, 02-17-18)

While working on her internship duties, “talking out” any issues or doubts that would arise with an expert was a helpful strategy in scaffolding their linguistic knowledge. In order to do so, Penélope would often seek out assistance from the newscast supervisor of the Reportaje, who acted as an expert to help guide her through this process.

When I asked María about the resources that she utilized, she first mentioned the technology-based artifacts that she would use independently before explaining how she sought out help from various experts depending on her location:

A veces trato de ir a Univisión o Telemundo website y busco casos similares. Y entonces, me pongo a ver y después ver una palabra que podría utilizar, voy a la RAE [Real Academia Española]. Uso la RAE como 10 veces al día para confirmar qué sería la palabra apropiada. Y si no, depende de dónde esté, si estoy ahí en campus, le pregunto a la supervisora del Reportaje o al supervisor del Report. Por aquí, le pregunto a los presentadores.

Sometimes I try to go to Univision's website or Telemundo's website and I look at similar cases. I start to look and after finding a word that I could utilize, I got to the RAE [Real Academia Española]. I use the RAE like 10 times per day to confirm that it would be the appropriate word. And if not, depending on where I am, if I'm on campus, I ask the supervisor of the Reportaje or the supervisor of Frontier News. Around here, I ask the reports.

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In her response, María mentioned two new technology-based artifacts: the websites of international news channels that likely published information with industry-specific terminology. She also explained that her rationale for utilizing the RAE dictionary was to confirm that a particular lexical item was “appropriate” for the formal register that she sought to represent²¹ - again demonstrating this tool’s role in perpetuating language ideologies in favor of a “standard” variety. Finally, she referred to the experts with whom she had created relationships in a variety of settings. Depending upon where she was working, she would call upon the assistance of the newscast supervisors of both the Phoenix Reportaje and Frontier News, or seek out guidance from Spanish-language

²¹ The DLE does not recognize lexical items that stray from their determined “standard” variation. For example, if one looks up the word “troca” (a common term for “truck” in U.S. Spanish varieties), only definitions for the verb “trocar” (“to swap”) are offered.

reporters who were currently working at professional news channels in the local community. The wide variety of professional connections that she had made allowed her to expand her potential resources and array of experts to mesh conveniently with her physical location and content of her specific gap of information.

During the *pre-meditative* encounters that both Penélope and María were afforded through their internship duties, they had time to seek out and utilize different methods of mediation, such as traditional artifacts, technology-based artifacts, and other assistance from experts/peers. Having said this, there were many occasions in which the interns were not afforded the preparative time to bridge gaps in their (socio-)linguistic knowledge. This was the case during *in situ* encounters with community members and other social actors at community-based sites that were tied to Penélope's and María's SSP internships.

Penélope and María: Resources During In Situ Encounters

Given that many of the internship responsibilities required Penélope and María to collaborate with community members in real-time, they moved from utilizing resources to CSs to successfully mediate any breakdowns in communication and serve a variety of social functions. Table 9.2 outlines these strategies by *type* and *observation*.

Table 9.2. Penélope's and María's Use of Communicative Strategies During In Situ

Encounters

CS Type	Penélope			María		
	Obs. 1 03-27-18	Obs. 2 03-28-18	Obs. 3 03-29-18	Obs. 1 03-27-18	Obs. 2 04-05-18	Obs. 3 04-19-18
Resource Deficit	n = 0	n = 0	n = 6	n = 1	n = 3	n = 0
Translanguaging* ²²			0		1	
Restructuring			1		1	
Circumlocution				1	1	
Filler			5			
Own-Performance Problems	n = 1	n = 0	n = 1	n = 0	n = 1	n = 0
Own-accuracy check			1			
Self-repair	1					
Comprehension check					1	
Other-Performance Problems	n = 0	n = 0	n = 1	n = 2	n = 1	n = 0
Asking for confirmation				1		
Self-repetition			1	1	1	
Totals CSs by Obs.	n = 1	n = 0	n = 8	n = 3	n = 5	n = 0
	TOTAL: n = 9			TOTAL: n = 8		

* Asterisk indicates new CS category that I am proposing

²² Includes only instances of translanguaging as a way to bridge a breakdown in communication

Resource Deficit Strategies

As reviewed in Chapter Eight, *resource deficit* is a CS category that refers to “gaps in speakers’ knowledge preventing them from verbalizing messages” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203). Both of the interns utilized (i) *translanguaging* and (ii) *fillers* as isolated CSs, as well as (iii) *restructuring* and (iv) *circumlocution* as compliments to the own-performance- and other-performance-based CSs that will be described in the following sections.

Translanguaging. *Code-switching* as a CS has been conceptualized traditionally by scholars as using a first language (L1) lexical item with L1 pronunciation as a way to compensate for a lack of knowledge in the target language (Dörnyei & Scott, 1995a, 1995b, 1997; Lafford, 2004). This concept is differentiated from *foreignizing*, a CS utilized by Petra, that encompasses “using L1 word by adjusting to L2 phonology, morphology, or both” (Lafford, 2004, p. 222).

Although both Penélope and María altered “two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack, 1980, p. 583), the traditional definition does not represent the social function that this CS served during their social discourses. Therefore, I propose the use of *translanguaging* to express the sentiment of the ideological movement that celebrates a bilingual’s/multilingual’s abilities and takes into account their full range of semiotic resources, including those afforded through digital mediums. Within this definition in mind, both María and Penélope utilized translanguaging as a CS. However, they did so for different social functions: (i) to solve a resource deficit-related issue stemming from differences in lexical variety and (ii) to build rapport with community members.

María. During our final interview, María and I began to discuss how her position as a non-local NS influenced her ability to communicate with other colleagues and/or members of the local Hispanic/Latinx communities. I asked specifically about the topic of variation between her Puerto Rican variety of Spanish and the more common U.S. Spanish variety in the Phoenix Metro area. As analyzed in Chapter Seven, one manner in which María claimed her puertorriqueñidad as part of her position in social discourses was through her linguistic variety. In carrying out her SSP internship within the context of the Southwest, however, her non-local variation did pose certain discursive challenges. For example, she often encountered communicative events in which discrepancies between linguistic varieties led to comprehension-based breakdowns between herself and her interlocutors from the Phoenix Metro area. In order to bridge these breakdowns in communications, María explained the specific strategies that she would implement:

1 María	<i>Si no hay una palabra diferente, por ejemplo, con la palabra “coger”, “agarrar”.</i>	<i>If there isn’t a different word, for example, with the word “coger”, “agarrar.”²³</i>
2	<i>Si sé que no me van a entender, me inclino hacia el inglés. Y lo hago mucho.</i>	<i>If I know that they aren’t going to understand me, I lean towards using English. And I do it a lot.</i>
3	<i>Pero, bueno, si yo no estoy segura de que me van a entender -- sí, tiendo a inclinarme al español para evitar eso porque sé que no van a --</i>	<i>But, well, if I’m not sure that they are going to understand me – yeah, I tend to lean towards Spanish to avoid that because I know they aren’t go to --</i>
4 Lexi	<i>¿El inglés?</i>	<i>English?</i>
5 María	<i>Exacto, el inglés. Le hablo inglés si no me van a entender. So I do -- uso eso mucho.</i>	<i>Exactly, English. I speak English if they aren’t going to understand me. So I do -- I use that a lot.</i>

(Interview, 04-27-18)

In this passage, María reported implementing two different CSs with the first being *approximation* – or choosing a synonym within the target language of Spanish. If this was not an option, however, she would choose to utilize English as a sort of *lingua franca* with the function of transmitting successfully her intended message. Having said this, translanguaging was a viable CS only if she was engaging in discourse within a bilingual environment in which the interlocutors spoke both Spanish and English.

²³ Whereas in the Puerto Rican variety, both *coger* and *agarrar* can mean “to take” or “to grab,” in other varieties (e.g., Argentinian, Mexican), *coger* takes on a vulgar meaning.

In addition to her account of utilizing translanguaging as a CS, I was able to observe her in action during my second observation. At this time, María was acting as the main producer for one of the Phoenix Reportaje’s Facebook Live shows. In addition to being accompanied in the control room by the English-speaking tech crew, two of her mentors were present: the newscast supervisor of the Phoenix Reportaje who was editing the script (e.g., replacing words that the broadcasters were having difficulty pronouncing, googling and adding names that were missing) and the newscast supervisor of Frontier News who was running the prompter. As María was advising one of the bilingual broadcasters who was about to introduce the next news segment vis-à-vis the intercom system, a breakdown in communication occurred:

1 María	<i>Súbete los espejuelos. Se te están cayendo.</i>	<i>Push your espejuelos up. They’re falling.</i>
2 Broadcaster	<i>*Silence. No reaction to command.*</i>	
3 María	<i>¿Los glasses? There you go.</i>	
4 Broadcaster	<i>*Pushes up glasses*</i>	
5 María	<i>There you go.</i>	

(Observation, 04-05-18)

In Line 1, María asked the broadcaster, to push up her glasses so as to appear more professional in her role as broadcaster. While producing this imperative command, María used “*espejuelos*” – the prototypical default or “standard” lexical item for “glasses” in the Puerto Rican variety. Given the broadcaster’s silence and lack of reaction to her command in Line 2, María perceived a breakdown in communication stemming from

lexical variation as the broadcaster spoke a Mexican variety in which the “standard” for “glasses” is “*lentes*.”

Even though “*espejuelos*” would have been understood on the island, it was not understood in her current environment. Facing this breakdown in communication, María had to come up with an in-the-moment strategy to solve this resource deficit-based issue. Lacking the resource of the local variety that the interlocutor would understand, she made the decision to implement translanguaging as a CS. Specifically, she produced the word “glasses” in a language that both she and her bilingual interlocutor would understand this particular lexical item: English. Although her strategy was effective, as evidenced by the broadcaster’s compliance with her command in Line 4, it did have implications for her position within the discourse of this Facebook Live show.

Non-speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish often view translanguaging as an *iconic* characteristic (Irvine & Gal, 2000) of this variety, in the sense that it marks the supposed influence of the U.S. as a colonial power on the island. On the contrary, for María, translanguaging was an inherent characteristic of her variety that marked her puertorriqueñidad and *not* a connection to the mainland. As such, this multilingual practice served the purpose of helping her to construct her position as a Puerto Rican woman across social discourses with different monolingual or bilingual Spanish-English-speaking interlocutors. However, by implementing translanguaging as a *resource deficit-based* strategy, María was obligated to use the socially dominant language of English at times when she would naturally call upon her Spanish repertoire.

Penélope. On the other hand, Penélope’s choice to engage in translanguaging as a *multilingual practice* contrasted María’s use of translanguaging as a CS. While completing her SSP internship at the Phoenix Reportaje, Penélope created a news “package” that focused around the journey, treatment, cost, and success rates for Hispanics/Latinxs dealing with immigration issues who had legal representation to help them navigate such issues versus those without legal representation. As part of this project, she interviewed Community Member 8, the services coordinator for a grassroots organization dedicated to educating the community on immigration services through advocacy and civic engagement. During this encounter, Penélope made the decision to translanguague with the social function of building rapport with her interlocutor:

1	Penélope	<i>Y como usted trabaja mucho con estos casos, si alguna persona, vamos a decir que tienen un caso y no tienen ayuda legal,</i>	<i>And since you work with many of these cases, if someone, let’s say they have a case and don’t have legal help,</i>
2		<i>¿Cuál es -- ? ¿Qué tipo de -- advice le daría para buscar un abogado que realmente los pueda ayudar y los pueda ayudar de una manera correcta?</i>	<i>What is --? What type of -- advice would you give them to look for a lawyer that really can help them and can help them in the right way?</i>
3		<i>Como, ¿qué debería de buscar en un abogado?</i>	<i>Like, what should they look for in a lawyer?</i>

(Observation, 03-29-18)

Much like the participants in Zentella’s 1997 study of bilingual Nuyoricans reviewed in Chapter Two, Penélope’s translanguaging did *not* stem from a resource deficit in her HL. In fact, within this same interview, she produced the word “*consejo*” (“advice”) in the Spanish:

1 **Penélope** *Usted, si le tuviera que dar un **consejo** a alguien, ¿qué les diría?* *If you had to give **advice** to something, what would you say?*

(Observation, 03-29-18)

Rather, her decision to go “between different linguistic structures and systems” (Wei, 2011, p. 1223) represented a natural component of her bilingual repertoire. Furthermore, the social function of translanguaging seemed to be a strategy to build rapport with this particular interviewee.

To explain – during the de-briefing session that I conducted after the observation, Community Member 8 shared some details about his journey to Arizona. Like many of the individuals with whom Penélope interacted and interviewed, Community Member 8 would be considered an HL speaker as per the definition presented in Chapter Two. For example, as this individual was originally born in Mexico and came to the U.S. at the age of five, he would be considered a second generation (G2) immigrant. Given the circumstances, he received the majority of his education in the dominant language of English. Despite coming from different physical communities, Penélope and Community member 8 shared many linguistic and cultural connections with their HL communities. With these connection in mind, as well as the fact that Penélope appropriated her SSP experience to engage in language- and ethnicity-/racially-based identity work in which she (re)claimed her Mexican-American identity across different discourses, her translanguaging practice could have been a way for her and Community Member 8 to reconnect “with people, occasions, settings, and power configurations from their history of past interactions, and imprinting their own ‘act of identity’” (Zentella, 1997, p. 113).

Filler. The third resource deficit-based CS implemented was *fillers*, or when speakers use “gambits to fill pauses, to stall, and to gain time in order to keep the communication channel open and maintain discourse at times of difficult” (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p. 190).

Penélope. While engaging in the same interview with Community Member 8, there were several instances where Penélope experienced “times of difficult discourse”:

1	Penélope	<i>Y umm -- Perdón. Se me fue la pregunta poquito.</i>	<i>And umm -- Sorry. I lost tracky of the question a little bit.</i>
2		<i>*Long pause*</i>	
3		<i>I lost my train of thought. I just like blanked.</i>	
4		<i>*Long pause*</i>	
5		<i>Okay. Y cuando una persona está buscando su representación legal, ¿usted cree que hay muchos-- como abogados que por el estatus de nuestro clima político ahorita que está con todo de inmigración, y todo está muy --</i>	<i>Okay. And when a person is looking for their legal representation, do you think that there are many like lawyers that because of the status of the political climate right now that's all about immigration, and everything is very --</i>
6		<i>Así, ¿crea que hay-- como más de una incentiva para que los abogados-- como ofrezcan más ayuda pro bono para los clientes-- como para querer ayudar poquito a todo lo que está pasando?</i>	<i>In such a way, do you believe that there is like more of an incentive so that the lawyers like offer more pro bono help to their clients like to want to help a little bit with everything that is going on?</i>

(Observation, 03-29-18)

During this particular segment of the interview, Penélope experienced difficulties remembering and forming her interview questions, as evidenced by the long pauses in Lines 2 and 3 and restarts in Lines 5 and 6. In order to protect her identity as a competent and prepared bilingual journalist in the storyline of the interview, Penélope implemented fillers as a CS. Similar to Petra's implementation of this CS, these fillers served the pragmatic function of "maintaining discourse" and buying Penélope time as she grappled with connecting and verbalizing her thoughts.

Despite the similar social functions of these fillers, there is one element that distinguished how Petra and Penélope implemented this strategy: the language of discourse. Whereas Petra was constrained to verbalizing fillers in the language of her monolingual interlocutors, Penélope implemented this type of CS in both Spanish and English with the same bilingual interlocutor. Specifically, in Line 3, she translanguaged to produce the filler: "I lost my train of thought. I just like blanked." Here again, Penélope's decision to translanguague did not stem from the need to solve a resource deficit-based issue, but rather to gain time as she attempted to recuperate the interview question she had forgotten.

Own-Performance Problems

The second CS category is *own-performance problems*, or the "realization that something one has said is incorrect or only partly correct, associated with various types of self-repair, self-rephrasing, and self-editing mechanisms" (Lafford, 2004, p. 203). While observing Penélope and María, the two interns implemented the following own-performance problem-based CSs (complemented by other resource deficit-based

strategies): (i) *own-accuracy check*, (ii) *self-repair*, (iii) *comprehension check*, (iv) and *asking for confirmation*.

Own-accuracy check + restructuring. *Own-accuracy checks* express the learner's "indication of some degree of uncertainty, expressed with words or just with question intonation, about a self-produced form" (Lafford, 2004, p. 224). In the current research, this strategy was used with the resource deficit-based strategy of *restructuring*, or "abandoning the execution of a verbal plan because of language difficulties, leaving the utterance unfinished, and communicating message with an alternative plan" (Lafford, 2004, p. 223).

Penélope. During the interview with Community Member 8, the services coordinator for a grassroots non-profit, Penélope asked a variety of questions regarding the immigration services that the organization offered. While doing so, a breakdown in communication occurred:

1 Penélope	<i>Entonces, si un cliente tiene la opción de a lo mejor tenerlo--</i>	<i>So, if a client has the option of having--</i>
2	<i>un abogado que sí cobra menos, pero a lo mejor no es tan conocido en la comunidad, o alguien quién a lo mejor es un poquito más costoso</i>	<i>a lawyer that indeed charges less, put maybe isn't as known in the community, or that is maybe a little bit more expensive</i>
3	<i>pero si tiene como esa repre-- esa-- I don't know like -- como la gente si sabe que esta persona sí pelea por sus clientes.</i>	<i>But if they have that repre— that – I don't know -- like if they know that this person indeed fights for their clients.</i>
4	<i>Usted, si le tuviera que dar un consejo a alguien, ¿qué les diría? ¿Si tiene valor gastar más en esto? Porque, al final del día, como dijo usted, si tienen que tratarse a lo mejor con la deportación o con poder encontrar un estatus -- entonces, ¿usted sí cree que tiene valor la calidad cuando se trata de un abogado?</i>	<i>If you had to give advice to something, what would you say? If it's worth spending more on that? Because, at the end of the day, like you said, if they have to maybe deal with deportation or with being able to find a status -- then, do you think that the quality would be worth it when it comes to a lawyer?</i>
5 Community Member 8	<i>Sí, sí, sí. Claro que sí. Es muy importante tener alguien que tenga experiencia y sepa lo que está haciendo. Porque si te vas con alguien que no sabe lo que está haciendo, más tarde vas a estar desperdiciando tu dinero ...</i>	<i>Yes, yes, yes. Of course. It is very important to have someone that has experience and knows what they are doing. Because if you end up going with someone that doesn't know what they are doing, later you are going to be wasting your money ...</i>

(Observation, 03-29-18)

In Lines 1 and 2 Penélope began to contextualize her question regarding any financial advice that Community Member 8 would have for Hispanic/Latinx community members who were seeking the services of an immigration lawyer. In Line 3, a breakdown in communication occurred when she began to say what was presumably the word “*representación*” (“representation”). Penélope cut herself off mid pronunciation and translanguaged – not with the function of solving a resource deficit-based issue, but rather to implement an *own-accuracy check*: “I don’t know like --.” Unlike the implementation of fillers that served to protect her identity as a competent, bilingual journalist, she potentially compromised this position through admitting her uncertainty via this CS.

After communicating her “language difficulties” to Community Member 8, Penélope implemented another CS in this same line: the resource deficit-based strategy of *restructuring*. Specifically, she produced an entirely new structure (“como la gente si sabe que esta persona sí pelea por sus clientes”) in order to transmit the question to her interviewee. The use of this CS was successful, as shown by Community Member 8’s response in Line 5. With this result, she overcame the breakdown in communication and regained her desired position as a competent, bilingual journalist. The use of these two CSs exemplifies how a speakers’ positionality is not static, but rather is being reconstructed continually through discourse.

Self-repair. In addition to implementing self-accuracy checks, Penélope utilized the own-performance problem-based strategy of *self-repair*. This CS refers to “making self-initiated corrections in one’s own speech” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223).

Penélope. As another piece to her news package regarding legal representation for Hispanics/Latinxs dealing with immigration issues, Penélope contacted Community Member 7, a Hispanic paralegal, for an interview. Instead of carrying out the interview in the field, she invited her interviewee to the studio at the School of Journalism. During the brief, Spanish-language interview that was later aired vis-à-vis Facebook, Community Member 7 promoted the citizenship and English classes that his organization offered to the local community:

1 Community Member 7	<i>Pues, miren. Yo soy paralegal certificado por la Arizona Supreme Court.</i>	<i>Well, look. I'm a certified paralegal by the Arizona Supreme Court.</i>
2	<i>Lo que nosotros hacemos es dar servicio de trámites de migración. Más que todo, lo que es la ciudadanía, residencia, las peticiones, y casi todo lo relacionado con migración.</i>	<i>What we do is provide services for immigration procedures. More than anything, for citizenship, residency, petitions, and almost everything related to immigration.</i>
3	<i>Con la excepción de que aún todavía no podemos representar a un cliente en la corte.</i>	<i>With the exception that we still can't represent a client in court.</i>
4 Penélope	<i>Okay. Y, ¿me puede hablar un poquito sobre los -- las clases que ofrece, que son para la ciudadanía, que ofrece gratuitamente?</i>	<i>Okay. And, can you talk to me a little bit about the -- the classes that you offer, that are for citizenship, that you offer free of charge?</i>

(Observation, 03-37-18)

While forming her next interview question in Line 4, Penélope experienced a brief gap in her knowledge related to the target item, “*las clases*” – a feminine noun. As Spanish is a gendered language, all nouns are classified as either *feminine* (indexed by the definite

articles *la/las* and indefinite articles *una/unas*) or *masculine* (indexed by the definite articles *el/los* and indefinite articles *un/unos*). Specifically, Penélope began indexing this feminine/plural noun (“clases”) as masculine/plural by using the definite article “*los*.” Realizing the disagreement in gender agreement, she self-corrected this error by verbalizing the appropriate definite article “*las*.” By implementing this self-repair as a CS, Penélope was able to transmit her question successfully to her interlocutor while simultaneously maintaining her desired identity as a competent, Spanish-language journalist during this live and public interview.

Comprehension check + circumlocution. Comprehension checks are an own-performance problem-based CS that refer to “asking questions to check that interlocutor understands” (Lafford, 2004, p. 224).

María. While carrying out this research, I observed María implement a comprehension check, accompanied by the resource deficit-based strategy of *circumlocution*, or “exemplifying, illustrating, or describing the properties of the target object or action” (Lafford, 2004, p. 223). Before the filming one of the Phoenix Reportaje’s televised broadcasts, María spoke with a fellow student/colleague who would appear in the show:

1 María	<i>So, tú estás en broadcast, ¿no?</i>	<i>So, you are in broadcast, right?</i>
2 Student	<i>*Nods affirmately*</i>	
3 María	<i>¿En el nook?</i>	<i>In the nook?</i>
4 Student	<i>*Silence. No response*</i>	
5 María	<i>¿Sabes cuál es el nook?²⁴</i>	<i>Do you know what the nook is?</i>
6 Student	<i>*Shakes head to indicate no*</i>	
7 María	<i>La mesita donde tú entrevistas y tú estás en esta pantalla de aquí.</i>	<i>It's the little table where you do interviews and you are in the screen from here.</i>

(Observation, 04-05-18)

Taking up the role of “Producer” within the storyline of the “Broadcast”, María conversed with the student to determine both her role in the newscast and physical location within the studio. Interpreting the student reporter’s silence in Line 4 as an expression of nonunderstanding, María made an in-the-moment decision to implement a comprehension check with the function of diagnosing the source of the breakdown. After determining that the gap in her colleague’s knowledge stemmed from an unfamiliarity with a term in English that was specific to this studio (“*nook*”), María implemented the resource deficit-based CS of circumlocution. In doing so, she maintained her position of producer, as well as obtained information that would facilitate the completion of her duties in this role.

²⁴ María later clarified in more depth that the *nook* “es un término para el tipo de toma/shot que íbamos a usar para ese segmento [de la noticiera]” or “is a term for the type of shot that we were going to use for that segment [of the newscast]” (Member Check Text Message, 08-04-18)

Other-Performance Problems

The third and final category of CS's that Penélope and María implemented during my observations was *other-performance problems*, or “something perceived as problematic in the interlocutor’s speech, either because it is thought to be incorrect (or highly unexpected) or because of a lack (or uncertainty) of understanding something fully, associated with various negotiation of meaning strategies” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203). Specifically, these two interns utilized one strategy that falls within this category: *self-repetition* (accompanied by other own-performance problem- and resource deficit-based strategies).

Self-repetition. In 1987, Tarone and Yule (1987) proposed the CS of *self-repetition*. This strategy refers to “repeating a word or a string of words immediately after they were said” (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p. 190) for the following purposes: “(a) to stall, and (b) to provide the listener with another chance to hear and process the information” (p.193).

Penélope. During my observation of Penélope’s interview with Community Member 6, a Mexican lawyer who was a member of a community-based group that worked to facilitate pro bono legal services to immigrants in the Phoenix Metro area, Penélope utilized the CS of self-repetition:

1 Community Member 6	<i>Estamos colectando los recursos para el segundo año y más para tratar de conseguir más abogados que nos puedan ayudar para más tiempo.</i>	<i>We are collecting resources for the second year and more so to try to find more lawyers that can help us for more time.</i>
2 Penélope	<i>Y, ¿cuántas personas--?</i>	<i>And, how many people--?</i>
3	<i>Idealmente, ¿cuántas personas tendrán--? ¿Cuántas--?</i>	<i>Ideally, how many people will [a lawyer] have--? How many--?</i>
4	<i>¿Cuántas personas o cuántos clientes tendrá un abogado para poder realmente enfocarse en esa persona?</i>	<i>How many people or how many clients will a lawyer have for them to really be able to focus on that person?</i>

(Observation, 03-29-18)

As Penélope began to state her question in Line 2, a breakdown in communication occurred – she was having trouble verbalizing her thoughts. Her solution was to implement the CS of self-repetition: “*Idealmente, ¿cuántas personas tendrán--? ¿Cuántas--?*” By repeating these same words, she able to “stall” as she put together her thoughts, as well as maintain her position as a composed and competent journalist.

Self-repetition + restructuring.

María. María also utilized self-repetition as a CS in Spanish, but coupled it with the deficit-based strategy of restructuring in English. Specifically, she implemented these strategies while acting as the producer for the previously described Phoenix Reportaje televised broadcast:

1 María	<i>¿Puede ajustar el -- el -- ? ¿Puede ajustar el -- ?</i>	<i>Can you adjust the -- the --? Can you adjust the -- ?</i>
2 Tech Crew	<i>*Interrupts and directs question to María*</i> <i>The title?</i>	
3 María	<i>Yeah. Can you not --?Don't use that CG²⁵.</i>	
4 Supervisor of Phoenix Reportaje	<i>*Redirects María's attention to previous conversation*</i> <i>What do you need? Shorter?</i>	
5 María	<i>Cortar, sí -- el intro.</i>	<i>To cut, yeah -- the intro.</i>
6 Supervisor of Phoenix Reportaje	<i>Okay.</i>	

Observation, 04-05-18

In this passage, María was taking up the position of a “Bilingual Producer” in the same storyline that was occurring across two different discourses, in two different languages, with two different interlocutors.

Like Penélope in the previous example, María first utilized self-repetition in Line 1 to stall as she struggled to verbalize a question to the supervisor of the Phoenix Reportaje in discourse A. Perhaps not understanding María’s engagement in this discourse, an English-speaking member of the tech crew interrupted her, initiating discourse B. While responding to the tech crew member’s question in Line 3, María utilized restructuring to overcome her resource deficit-based issue that she was

²⁵ The acronym CG refers to *character generator*, or the graphics that appear during a broadcast. The purpose of CGs is to provide important information for viewers (e.g., names, titles, locations).

experiencing in the English. Both CSs assisted María in carrying out her expected duties successfully as producer, thus living up to the role that she both desired to take up and was assigned by these different interlocutors.

Self-repetition + asking for confirmation + circumlocution.

María implemented self-repetition for a second time during a different in situ encounter. However, in this instance, she paired this CS with an additional other-performance problem based strategy – asking for confirmation (“requesting confirmation that comprehension was accurate” Lafford, 2004, p. 224) – as well as the resource deficit-based strategy of circumlocution.

María. María acted as a key “behind the scenes” team member for the Facebook Live video interview that Penélope carried out with Community Member 7, the Hispanic paralegal, at the Phoenix (Report/)Reportaje studio. During this discursive event, Penélope took up the position of “Spanish-Language Journalist” and María took up the positions of both “Producer” and “Bilingual Mediator.” While working with the English-speaking tech crew to prepare the equipment and “nook” for the interview, María again faced two breakdowns across two different discourses, in two different languages, with two different interlocutors. Throughout these different discourses, María implemented three CSs in order to maintain her positionality via identifying and solving an issue that potentially threatened the professional image of the newscast:

-
- 1 **Tech Crew** *Yo, you good with that shot of her knees showing?*
- 2 **María** *Eh--*
- 3 **Tech Crew** *Otherwise, we gotta bring it closer together and shoot that much tighter. I mean, I don't care. So you're --*
- 4 **María** *It's just the knee, **yeah?***
- 5 **Tech Crew** *Yeah.*
- 6 **María** *I'll tell her.*
- 7 *¿Te puedes bajar un poquito el traje? Can you pull down your dress a little bit?*
- 8 **Penélope** **No response**
- 9 **María** *El muslo. The thigh.*
- 10 **Penélope** **No response**
- 11 **María** *Te pue-- En el muslo. Can you – on your thigh.*
- 12 **Penélope** **No response**
- 13 **María** *Que te llegue a las rodillas -- el traje. So that it hits your knees-- the dress.*
- 14 **Penélope** **Pulls dress down to top of knees**
- 15 **María** *Okay. That's better, yeah.*

(Observation, 03-27-18)

As part of her production duties, María had to make in-the-moment decisions and relay them across the different teams in order to maintain the professional image and integrity of the broadcast. In this passage, an English-speaking tech crew member put María in a position where she had to make a call regarding the professional presentation of the Facebook Live video interview. In Line 4, María asked the tech crew member for clarification (“It’s just the knee, yeah?”) regarding the issue in question. Having identified the issue, María moves between her linguistic systems to relay this information to Penélope over the digital communication system.

Upon doing so, María was met with silence from Penélope. Interpreting this as an expression of nonunderstanding, María repeats herself in Line 11 with the function of providing “the listener with another chance to hear and process the information” (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997, p. 193). After deeming this strategy unsuccessful, as evidenced by Penélope’s continued silence, María implemented a final CS: circumlocution. By offering an alternative description, María was able to bridge Penélope’s resource deficit-based issue and to transmit her order successfully, allowing the tech crew to get the appropriate professional shot for the interview.

Discussion

The first part of this chapter has been dedicated to analyzing the resources, the CSs, and their respective functions, that Penélope and María implemented during pre-meditative and in situ encounters in order to facilitate their strategic knowledge while completing their SSP internships. In this discussion, I will (i) outline the proposal of new communicative strategies, (ii) analyze Penélope's and María's development of CSs across three different observations, and (iii) and discuss the roles and actions of others as serving as mediation artifacts during in situ encounters across the three internships.

Proposal of New Communicative Strategies

In order to examine how Petra, Penélope and María mediated their strategic knowledge throughout their SSP internships, I have proposed the inclusion of new CS strategies which are outlined in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3. Proposal of New Communicative Strategy Categories

Proposed CS	Definition
Resource Deficit	<i>“Gaps in speakers’ knowledge preventing them from verbalizing messages” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203)</i>
Circumlocution via gesture	<i>Demonstration of a target item/action using kinesthetic movements</i>
Fillers for stalling to use Google Translate	<i>Speakers’ use of discursive element (sound, word, phrase) to buy time while translating an unknown target language item by means of Google Translate</i>
Translanguaging	<i>CS that expresses the sentiment of the ideological movement that celebrates a bilingual’s/multilingual’s abilities and takes into account their full range of semiotic resources, including those afforded through digital mediums</i>
Mediation by Technology as an Artifact	<i>Technology-based tools in one’s environment that permit cognition and/or the completion of a task</i>
Google for cultural mediation	<i>Use of Google to remedy cultural discrepancy</i>
Google Translate	<i>Translation of unknown target language item by means of Google Translate</i>

In addition to facilitating an in-depth analysis of strategic knowledge, I strive to contribute to the larger field by adding to the current CS category repertoire.

Patterns of Penélope's and María's Development of Communicative Strategies

As was described previously, Penélope and María utilized three types of resources during pre-meditative encounters: (i) *mediation by (traditional) artifacts*, (ii) *mediation by technology as an artifact*, and (iii) *mediation by others*. During their in situ encounters, however, the interns shifted from utilizing these mediation resources to instead implementing three types of CSs: (i) *resource deficit*, (ii) *own-performance problems*, and (iii) *other-performance problems*. Unlike Petra's consistent implementation of CS across observations, Penélope's (1 = 1, n = 0, n = 9) and María's (n = 3, n = 5, n = 0) use of strategies varied by observation – as can be seen in Table 9.2. Furthermore, whereas Petra appeared to steer away from certain CSs and incorporate others as a sign of growth and identity protection, the type and quantity of the CS's that Penélope and María implemented seemed to be more dependent upon situational factors. These factors included (i) the extent to which the interns prepared, (ii) their working relationship with the community members, and (iii) their interlocutors' linguistic profiles.

Resource deficit-based strategies. Penélope and María did not utilize resource deficit-based CSs across the three observations; rather, they utilized the bulk of these strategies during one specific observation. Having said this, like Petra, resource deficit was the principle class of strategy utilized during these discursive events. The isolation of resource deficit-based CSs to one observation seemed to be connected to the aforementioned situational factors.

Penélope. For example, Penélope only implemented resource-deficit-based strategies while carrying out an interview with Community Member 8 during the final observation. While engaging in this encounter, the breakdowns in communication that emerged stemmed primarily from her difficulty in maintaining “train of thought” (Observation, 03-29-18) and conceptualizing/verbalizing her interview questions. A contributing factor may have been a lack of preparation – due in part to the absence of her traditional mediation artifact (the small, physical notebook) that she typically utilized to write out a list of “must hit” questions.

Additionally, the fact that Penélope and Community Member 8 had not established a working relationship prior to the interview seemed to have played a role in her performance. Whereas she engaged in discourse with Community Member 6 prior to the interview and knew personally Community Member 7, the interview was the first time that she met Community Member 8. Furthermore, their communication previous to this encounter had been minimal. As such, it is possible that affective variables stemming from a more distant relationship (e.g., self-confidence, anxiety) raised Penélope’s affective filter, resulting in choppy discourse (Krashen, 1987). This insight was offered by Community Member 8 during the debriefing session when I asked him how he felt about the ways in which Penélope had engaged with him verbally and non-verbally. In giving his answer, he contrasted this discursive event to one in which he had established a more comfortable working relationship with another journalist:

1 Community Member 8 *I feel fine. I'm not sure if she felt comfortable.*

2 *I think this was like a new space for her. I think I would have done the interview after I would have gave [sic] the tour [of the organization]. That may have made it been a little differently. So, I think some of it had to do with that, too.*

3 Lexi *Right. Like could open things up a little bit.*

4 Community Member 8 *Like I had an interview yesterday and the reporter, like I've known for a couple of years now, so we're very -- We can talk about things other than like, work, and it's fine.*

5 *Like, once we're talking here [the interview space], we're comfortable.*

(Community Member Debriefing, 03-29-18)

Community Member 8's insight serves as valuable feedback for SSP interns engaging with social actors within the community in that it is necessary to establish relationships before collaboration. Doing so may help to lower the affective filters of both the interns and community members, resulting in a more open and fluid discourse.

María. Similar to Penélope, María did not utilize resource-deficit based CS across the three observations; rather, they were tied to one specific encounter. This encounter occurred during the Phoenix Reportaje's televised broadcast in which a variety of social actors were present and collaborating: the English-speaking tech crew and bilingual (Spanish- and English-speaking) broadcasters and newscast supervisors of the Phoenix Reportaje, and the Frontier News (the Phoenix Report). The linguistic profiles of these interlocutors seemed to influence María's choice to utilize this class of CS – one of the most notable strategies being *translanguaging*.

Previous studies regarding code switching as a CS have focused solely on traditional L2 learners, finding that students with a lower proficiency tend to rely upon the employment of the L1 during breakdowns in communication. These breakdowns are presumably due to a lack of lexical knowledge in the target language (e.g., Lafford, 1995, 2004). Upon proposing and utilizing translanguaging, as a CS, the findings of the current research do support the claim that these strategies play the linguistic function of bridging some type of resource deficit-based issue in discourse. However, the social function of the translanguaging CSs for these non-L2 participants is much different.

Similar to Penélope, María's translanguaging practices did represent a natural extension of her bilingual repertoire, as translanguaging was a discursive strategy that María utilized to index her Puerto Rican identity. Having said this, there were other instances in which translanguaging served María as a communicative strategy during breakdowns in communication stemming from differences in Spanish dialectal variation. Unlike Petra who did not have the option to code switch or translanguage with her interlocutors, as they were primarily monolingual Spanish-speakers or novice bilingual Spanish-/English- speaking community members, María interlocutors were often proficient bilingual Spanish-/English-speakers. Although knowledge of both languages afforded opportunities for translanguaging as *a multilingual practice*, it also created the necessity of implementing translanguaging as a CS to overcome some type of variation-based resource deficit issue.

Own-performance and other-performance problems. Both Penélope and María did not consistently rely upon own-performance problem- and other-performance problem-based CSs during the observed interactions with community members. Instead, they utilized these as isolated strategies. This pattern indicates that both Penélope and María had a high level of proficiency in Spanish within the professional sphere of their chosen field of journalism. Although own-performance problem- and other-performance problem-based CSs were not a principle element of Petra's strategic repertoire either, the lack of the use of such strategies was different for Petra versus Penélope and María.

Even though Petra did have a high level of linguistic proficiency in Spanish *outside* of her interpretation duties (e.g., casual conversation, journalism, church-related contexts), unlike Penélope and María, she had not received any specific training to carry out the duties of her internship (medical interpretation). As such, she often encountered situations of linguistic discomfort that put her position as a "Competent and Legitimate Medical Interpreter" at risk. Therefore, Petra appeared to stray away from these CSs as an interactional move to protect this position that she sought to take up across different discourses. These findings again point to the importance of ensuring that SSP interns receive the proper training for the roles that they will assume at their community sites.

Roles and Actions of Others as Serving as Mediation Artifacts in the Interpretation Process

The CSs analyzed were not the only artifacts that aided the three interns during in situ encounters across their respective internships; rather, there were a variety of social actors that also took on a mediation role. Such assistance can be classified under upon the previously described construct: *mediation by others*.

Petra: Physicians, patients, and myself. Examples of these “others” were the physicians and patients of the visits for which Petra interpreted. As described in the *foreignizing + Google Translate + filler* vignette, there were instances when the physician stepped in to mediate specialized medical knowledge that Petra lacked due to her unfamiliarity with the medical field. In the case described, the doctor dictated the spelling of the word “tetanus” in English.

I observed other cases of this outside of the room when it came time for Petra and the doctors to update the details of the patient visit in the EMR system. During this time, the physician would often dictate what Petra needed to scribe electronically. It was not uncommon that in this process the doctor would verbalize a medical term in English that with which Petra was unfamiliar with both the meaning and spelling, such as *acanthosis nigricans*²⁶ (Observation, 04-11-18). Helping to mediate her knowledge, the doctor would step in and dictate the spelling to her so that she could successfully enter it in the patient’s chart. Such situations were dependent on the doctor’s style, however. Whereas some physicians preferred to make their own notes, the medical residents were required

²⁶ Petra and I both learned that *acanthosis nigricans* refers to “a skin condition that causes one or more areas of skin to darken and thicken” (American Academy of Dermatology Association, 2018).

by the Medical Director to do so. In addition to the doctors, there were also times when the patient would step in as a language mediating artifact. This was the case in the previously explored *approximation* vignette, where the patient introduced the target form into the discourse.

Finally, as explored previously in the *researcher positionality* section of Chapter Three, there were times when my role shifted from being an observer to a *participant* observer – a position that many researchers may feel corrupts a researcher’s data collection, analysis, and findings. However, in qualitative research, participant observation is not only a common method, but also “the primary method used in ethnography” (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016, p. 164). Certain scholars have even argued that participant observation is present in all research in *some* form (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016), as well as have advocated for the use of such a methodology in qualitative research studies. For example, “Becker and Geer (1957) claimed that long-term participant observation provides more complete data about specific situations and events than any other method. Not only does it provide more, and more different kinds, of data, but also enables you to check and confirm your observations and inferences” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 126).

Within the field itself, there is not a universal definition for this term. As such, Savage (2000), explains that “most accounts of participant observation describe it through reference to points on a spectrum, marking a range of roles for the researcher” (p. 327). During my time at the Phoenix Community Clinic, the stoyrlione of “Participant Observation” manifested when I consciously decided to take up this active role. An example was outlined in the *feigning understanding and expressing nonunderstanding*

vignette when I entered the discourse by doing a confirmation check with Petra (“Did you get that?”). Another instance of how I took up this role was described during the *foreignizing + Google Translate + filler* vignette when I assisted Petra by Googling and showing her the spelling of “tetanus” on my iPhone.

My conscious decision to insert myself into these visits stemmed from an ethical dilemma. These encounters were high-stakes as a patient’s health and wellbeing was on the line. Therefore, in instances where Petra either missed a detail or was having difficulty transiting a message (even with the help of a physician), I felt obligated morally to step in. On the other hand, there were also occasions in which I was assigned this position by others – such was the case when Petra had to step outside to print something and the doctor asked me to stay to act as interpreter. Other examples came from when Petra and the physicians specifically referred to me for particular linguistic-based questions. Even my presence as an “observer” in the room was documented officially in the patients’ medical intake.

Before engaging in this research, I reflected on my own ontological and epistemological beliefs to design my methodology. In doing so, I clarified my perspective that, as a qualitative researcher, I do not pretend that my role in an investigation will *ever* be completely subjective or *not* influential in some way (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Therefore, following the advice of Maxwell (2013) my goal “is not to eliminate this influence, but to understand it and [to] use it productively” (p. 125). In the context of the Phoenix Community Clinic, by stepping into the role of a participant observer, I was able to engage in “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (Schensul, Schensul, &

LeCompte, 1999, p. 92). For example, by actually taking up and being assigned the position of interpreter, I was better able to understand both the metalinguistic and emotional processes that Petra and many interpreters may experience. I was also able to feel the relationship and power dynamics between the physician, patients, and myself. At the same time, I am aware of the fact that my actions in the role prompted Petra to implement a CS that she may not otherwise would have – expressing nonunderstanding to my confirmation check in the *feigning understanding and expressing nonunderstanding* vignette. However, this data is still important as it offers us a window into Petra’s reaction to the use of CS by a different interlocutor.

These type of ontological- and epistemological-based reflections that took place before, during, and after data collection played a key role in my efforts to maintain the rigor and validity of this study. Such reflections and choices will also be important for future EX-LL researchers, as participants are learning, experiencing, and utilizing the language while carrying out real-world tasks in the field.

Petra: Family members as language brokers. In addition to the interlocutors that were somehow tethered officially to the internship site, there were occasions when family members stepped in language mediating artifacts via the position of “Language Brokers”. These individuals often mirror the profile of HL learners like Penélope – bilingual, second (G2) or third generation (G3) immigrants that bridge communication between their parents/family members and English-speakers in the community (Orellana, 2009; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009). Utilizing a critical social science of childhood theoretical lens, Orellana (2009) analyzed the role of language broker that children of first generation (G1) are often assigned. Specifically, she illustrated how within this often

invisible role, “children emerge as actors and agents in a full range of institutional contexts, not just as schooled and domesticated objects of adults’ socialization efforts” (p. 3).

During Petra’s time at the community clinic there were a few different instances in which the patient’s family member(s) were present throughout the entire visit, or the patient requested that the family member join the visit after there was a breakdown in communication. The latter was the case when Petra was interpreting for the 70-year-old female who had come to the clinic as a new patient seeking medical care for her diabetes. Although she was born and still permanently lived in Mexico, at the time of the appointment she was in Arizona visiting her children for six months. Both the resident doctor and Petra explained to me that new patient visits often required more time as they had to ask in-depth questions in order to intake a thorough medical history. After going through the extensive medical intake and physical examination, the physician was ready to create a treatment plan for the patient.

Per the Medical Director’s teaching guidelines, all resident doctors were to see patients by themselves, but counsel with him regarding their medical history, examination, and ideas for treatment plans before relaying any diagnoses or instructions to the patients. As such, the resident and Petra (and I left) the exam room to speak with the Medical Director. Through this conversation, they determined that, in addition to continuing with her insulin treatments, she would need to monitor and record her blood sugar levels and see a nutritionist to begin a healthier diet. Upon re-entering the exam room, the physician asked Petra to explain to the patient that they would be giving her two different booklets: the first in which she was to record her fasting blood sugar levels

in the morning and the second which both explained and helped her to track general health goals (e.g., dates of last and next mammograms). Petra experienced difficulties while transmitting this message, evidenced by her several attempts to explain the difference between these two books that were met with expressions of nonunderstanding and requests for clarification and repetition by the patient. This breakdown in communication resulted in confusion between the doctor, patient, and Petra. In response to this confusion, the patient requested assistance from her English-speaking daughter (around early 30s) who was often assigned the role as caretaker:

1 Patient says:	<i>Mi hija está en la sala de espera. ¿Puede pasar [a la sala de examen] para escuchar esta información?</i>	<i>My daughter is in the waiting room. Could she come back [to the exam room] to listen to this information?</i>
2	<i>Ella habla inglés y sabe más de eso. Creo que ella puede hablar mejor [que yo] de estas cosas con la doctora.”</i>	<i>She speaks English and knows more about this. I think that she can speak better [than I] about these things with the doctor.</i>

(Observational Field note, 04-06-18)

With this request, Petra went to the waiting room to ask the patient’s daughter to accompany her to the exam room. As Petra was completing this task, the Spanish-speaking nutritionist entered the exam room as an additional interlocutor that would explain not only the nutritional information to the patient and her daughter in Spanish, but also the purpose and instructions for the two booklets that the physician had previously given the patient.

When I later engaged in the community member debriefing with this patient, she did not note or mention any confusion or difficulties that she had perceived during the visit. This could have been due to the fact the patient did not want Petra to get in trouble, despite my explanation that I had no position of authority or influence on Petra's grades or status in the internship. Another possible explanation was that the patient was more confused about the content than the interpretive exchange. In this client debriefing, she stated that "dependo de mis hijos" (*I depend on my children*), both for her medical care and survival in a predominately English-speaking community. For example, she did not feel comfortable leaving the home without being accompanied by her children who could help her mediate communication with English-speakers in the Phoenix Metro community.

The role of language broker that the daughter took on at her mother's request "make[s] more evident the socially constructed nature of generational immigration" (Orellana, 2009, p. 3) that is prevalent in the Southwest of the United States. Given the historical dimensions and current demographics of the Hispanic/Latinx population in Arizona (and other Southwestern states), it is probable that interns engaging in SSP internships are likely to encounter G2/G3 children that accompany their family members and take on the role of language broker. As such, it is important for future interns to be cognizant of the social and affective consequences for these children and their family members.

Penélope and María. Whereas physicians, patients, patients' family members, and I took on the position of "Language Mediating Artifact" in discourses with Petra, María would often take on this role while working with Penélope. One such example comes from the Facebook interview that Penélope carried out with Community Member 7, a Hispanic paralegal who worked for an organization that offered a variety of classes (English, citizenship, and immigration) to the Hispanic/Latinx communities in the Phoenix Metro area. Before the start of the interview, Penélope seemed to be more quiet and not as confident in comparison to when she had carried out the previous interview with Community Member 6. This could have been due to the fact that she had never conducted this type of short, Facebook interview – let alone at the School of Journalism's studio. As such,

Due to the location of the interview, Penélope was able to collaborate with other colleagues at the School of Journalism to alleviate the "one man band" responsibilities (filming, producing, interviewing and editing) which would fall to her alone if she were to conduct the interview in the field. In addition to the English-speaking tech crew that would help film the interview, María was present to take on the role of "Producer." While showing Community Member 8 to the studio where the interview would take place, María took control of the scene. She first introduced herself to Community Member 7 and then explained the interview procedure to Penélope (how to open the interview, what points to focus on, and how to close it). Penélope summarized the run down, repeating it back back to María. María then led me to the control room where she would give direction via a digital communication system to Penélope who wore a wireless earpiece.

In was through this communication system that María would act as a guiding expert to

Penélope:

1 Community Member 7	<i>Mucha gente le tiene miedo al examen. Más que todo porque no han investigado. No se han propuesto informarse bien --</i>	<i>A lot of people are afraid of the exam. Mostly because they haven't investigated. They haven't made the effort to be well informed --</i>
2 María	<i>Entonces, ahora puedes pasar al tema de Dreamers.</i>	<i>So, now you can move on to the topic of the Dreamers.</i>
3 CM 7	<i>-- Más que todo, es el vecino le dice que es muy difícil, que no te atrevas. Entonces, por eso, siempre invitamos a todos que mejor vayan, que se informen bien, para que vean lo sencillo y lo importante que es ser ciudadano debido a que podemos votar, podemos cambiar las leyes y podemos mejorar nuestra sociedad.</i>	<i>-- More than anything, it's the neighbor tells them that it's very difficult, that you don't dare do it. So, because of that, we always invite everyone to come, to become well informed, so that they see how simple it is and how important it is to be a citizen since we can vote, we can change laws, and we can better our society.</i>
4 Penélope	<i>Y, ¿usted también trabaja con personas que son DACA o Dreamers, como muchas veces se les dice?</i>	<i>And do you also work with people that are DACA or Dreamers, as many times they are called?</i>
5 CM 7	<i>Así es. Recuerden que el programa DACA, por una --</i>	<i>Yes. Remember that the DACA program, for a --</i>
6 María	<i>Ya van dos minutos.</i>	<i>2 minutes have passed.</i>

7 CM 7	<p>-- de la corte del noveno distrito, quitaron la prohibición que había puesto el Presidente. Y ahora, desde enero del 2018, todas las personas que tienen su programa DACA lo pueden estar renovando. No sabemos hasta cuándo se les va a permitir que lo sigan renovando, pero estamos ahí en la oficina. También hacemos eso, y creo que--</p>	<p>-- the ninth district of the court, they removed the ban that the President had placed. And now, since January of 2018, all of the people that are part of the DACA program can be renewing their status. We don't know until when they are going to allow them to continue renewing it, but we are there in the office. We also do that, and I believe that --</p>
8 María	<p>¿Le ofrece ayuda económica?</p>	<p>Do they offer economic help?</p>
9 CM 7	<p>-- más económicas que va a tener la gente aquí en Phoenix.</p>	<p>-- most economic that the people are going to have here in Phoenix.</p>
10 Penélope	<p>Y, ¿muchas veces las abren [las clases] por las personas que no tienen los ingresos para poder completar todos los trámites? ¿También ofrecen ustedes ayuda económica para las personas?</p>	<p>And, do you open them up [the classes] often for people that don't have the income to be able to complete all of the procedures and paperwork? Do you also offer economic help to people?</p>

(Observation, 03-28-18)

Although María's guidance as an expert during this and other interviews did not necessarily serve the function of mediating Penélope's linguistic knowledge, this mediation process did play an important social function for both individuals. During in situ production activities, the role of a producer is to simultaneously oversee operations and make production decisions in real time. To take on the role of a competent and bilingual producer, María not only needed to interact with the English-speaking tech crew to ensure that all graphics were correct and camera shots were framed correctly, but she also had to follow Penélope's conversation to give her production notes in real time.

María's scaffolding and mediation, in turn, helped to ensure that Penélope would cover all the necessary talking points smoothly and without breakdowns in communication. In doing so, she assumed the role of a competent broadcast journalist whose role was to conduct interviews with their sources in order to report their stories. Examples of María's guidance through production notes can be seen in Lines 2, 6, and 8.

After following Community Member 7's answers, in Line 2, María prompted Penélope to transition the conversation towards one of the talking points: services offered to Dreamers. Penélope waited for Community Member 8 to finish his response in Line 3 and before incorporating María's guidance of turning the conversation towards this population. This same process is repeated in Lines 8 – 10. María prompted Penélope to ask Community Member 7 about another point of interest: the economic help that his organization offers to community members. With María's scaffolding as a produced, Penélope was able to hit all of the key talking points for her interview without experiencing any breakdowns in communication in the target language.

Such interactions may mirror real workplace situations in which colleagues act as mediating artifacts for one another. This points to an advantage for EX-LL versus in-class language learning: although students can help to mediate each other's knowledge within the classroom, these professional settings are a more practical venue for authentic and professional language use.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

This chapter has been dedicated to examining Penélope's and María's strategic knowledge by analyzing the resources, the CSs, and their respective functions, implemented by these two interns during their SSP internships. Whereas these interns utilized the resources of (i) *mediation by (traditional) artifacts*, (ii) *mediation by technology as an artifact*, and (iii) *mediation by others* during the pre-meditative that their internships afforded them, they implemented the CSs of (i) *resource deficit*, (ii) *own-performance problems*, and (iii) *other-performance problems* during in situ encounters.

In order to accurately analyze the interns' use of CSs and their social function, I proposed several new strategies. In addition to outlining the proposal of including such CSs to the classification repertoire in the discussion section, I compared/contrasted Petra's, Penélope's, and María's development of CS usage. Finally, I discussed the roles and actions of others that served as mediation artifacts at each internship site.

In the final chapter of this dissertation work, I will discuss the implications of this research from different perspectives: (i) experiential language learning-based research: colonized versus humanizing research, (ii) critical community collaboration inside and outside of experiential language learning, (iii) communicative strategies and communicative competence, and (iv) experiential language learning/languages for specific purposes pedagogy and internship design.

CHAPTER 10

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data analyses and discussions presented in the previous chapters, this final chapter will be dedicated to exploring the implications from this experiential language learning (EX-LL) and Spanish for Specific Purposes (SSP) study from five different viewpoints – each founded upon the tenets of *Critical Applied Linguistics* (CALx) (Pennycook, 2001). These implications center around (i) experiential language learning-based research: colonized versus humanizing research, (ii) critical community collaboration inside and outside of experiential language learning, (iii) communicative strategies and communicative competence, and (iv) experiential language learning/languages for specific purposes pedagogy and internship design. Finally, possible limitations of the study will be discussed, followed by concluding remarks and future research possibilities.

Implications for Experiential Language Learning-Based Research:

Colonized Versus Humanizing Research

Choosing an EX-LL-based dissertation topic that focused on interactions outside of the classroom and within a community-based context did present a variety of what I initially considered to be “challenges” for the methodology and data collection of this study. As I continued upon this investigatory journey, I engaged in critical self-reflection in which I came to recognize my own privileged position in both taking and perpetuating a colonized perspective on social sciences research. Or, as Tuck and Yang (2014) explained, “settler colonial knowledge is premised on frontiers; conquest, then, is an exercise of the felt entitlement to transgress these limits” (p. 225).

Through this process, I have attempted to transform my investigatory practices to represent *humanizing* versus *colonial* research, in which I recognize that “refusal, and stances of refusal in research, are attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs of discussion, what is sacred, and what can’t be known” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 225).

“Challenges” and Restrictions of Working On-Site

Participant and site selection. While on this journey, one of the earliest “challenges” that I encountered was related to participant and site selection, as there were a variety of key actors involved in this decision process. Not only was it necessary to find SSP student interns that were willing to participate in this study, but it was additionally necessary that the supervisors/directors of their community sites agreed to allow me to enter their spaces to observe and approach potential community members. To illustrate, in addition to Petra, Penélope, and María, there were two other potential interns who, during the spring 2018 semester, were completing an SSP internships at a community site that provided legal services to the community. As much of the SSP literature that I read highlighted the lack of access to legal services that led to real world ramifications for Latinx/Hispanic individuals, I was very excited as I believed that this context would yield data that could have provided insights into closing this gap.

However, after presenting my research proposal that detailed the methodology – which included what I considered ethical decisions to maintain and respect the anonymity of all potential community member participants – I was denied entry into this site. The rejection of this site would serve as a catalyst to reflecting and understanding what scholars Tuck and Yang (2014) meant when they coined social science research as the “r” word – a topic that will be discussed at the end of this section.

Data collection methods: Audio and video in vulnerable contexts. Another “challenge” that inspired this reflection emerged while creating my data collection methods for the two principle community sites (and other community-related spaces) where I was allowed to conduct this research. Specifically, this challenge was centered around collecting data in a way that prioritizes the anonymity and needs of the community members.

As outlined previously, like many other linguistic ethnography practitioners, I believe that there is ever-interacting relation between language and society. As the data collection and analysis methods that I had chosen were based upon the tenets of linguistic ethnography, I believed that recordings (audio or video) of naturalistic discourse would be paramount. Such recordings would allow me to not only analyze authentic discourse to uncover these relations and interactions in relation to the interns’ strategic knowledge, but also help me to stay true to the participants by means of reporting their discourse verbatim. There were also instances when video-recorded data would have been ideal – such as in analyzing the kinesthetic strategies (e.g., circumlocution via gestures) that Petra implemented as communicative strategies (CSs) during interpretive encounters with patients.

Although I was given permission to audio-record Penélope's and María's interactions at the Phoenix Reportaje and accompanying community sites (with the consent of all participants), the situation was different at the Phoenix Community Clinic. While collaborating with the Medical Director of this site, I was informed that I would not be able to audio record the actual interactions between Petra, the physicians, and the patients. This was due to privacy laws that were in place at the clinic – mainly, the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA). However, with the consent of the patients, I would be able to observe and take field notes during the provider visits. Additionally, I would have the opportunity to approach these patients after the visit regarding their willingness to engage in an audio-recorded community member debriefing. Through taking thorough field notes of Petra's interaction with patients at the Phoenix Community Clinic, as well as including audio-recorded data from the other data collection methods outlined in Chapter Four (e.g., interviews, video diaries, community member debriefings), I was able to examine her implementation of CSs and their social functions within these encounters.

The toll of academic research on community members. A final “challenge” that I encountered while conducting community-based research, was related to the frequency and reputation of *research* itself. While establishing a collaborative partnership with the Phoenix Community Clinic, the Medical Director communicated that one of his concerns was that, due to the high quantity of academic research taking place at this clinic, the patients would feel pressured to participate in some type of research-based intervention at every visit. Such pressure could potentially discourage them from coming to the clinic or feel pressured to participate in said research in order to receive services.

Similarly, the director of the legal site included this concern in the well-founded case to reject my request to conduct research at this establishment. Like many other community-based organizations, this particular site applied for and received grant funding that required certain types of research to be carried out (e.g., surveys). Therefore, asking their community members to perform additional tasks for research purposes would have been an unnecessary burden. Additionally, the director explained that many of the community members were already anxious, panicked, and in a hurry due to the nature and time constraints of the services that they were seeking. Although the director believed that my research was well organized and the data collected at this site would indeed provide interesting insights into this topic, permitting me entrance would not have been in the best interest of the community members.

Critical Applied Linguistics and Understanding the “R” Word

I was admittedly discouraged while encountering these “challenges” until I critically reflected on my own privileged views surrounding how I conceptualized applied linguistics and, consequently, social research. I began this journey by turning towards a framework that I had incorporated in previous investigations: CALx. As outlined in Chapter Four, this framework creates a space in which scholars can critically explore the relationship between language use and power structures within society and, in doing so, call for social reformation from an interdisciplinary approach. Furthermore, CALx is “concerned not merely with related language contexts to social contexts but rather does so from a point of view that views social relations as problematic” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6).

Although I feel that such a belief has always motivated *why* and *how* I approach language learning and language learning-based research, I realized that I was not considering how research as an intervention could create problematic social relationships within the communities I sought to support. To delve deeper into this reflection, I called upon the aid of two scholars to whose work I had been introduced in an ethnography course. In 2014, Tuck and Yang dedicated an article to the discussion of conceptualizing social science research, or the “r” word, as a reflection of the essence of colonization in which the researcher (the discover) feels entitled to enter, explore, and stake claim to the knowledge of the target group (the indigenous community). The authors argue that by acknowledging this perspective, reflective academics decide to engage in humanizing research in which they turn away from stories of pain and understand that research is not always the most appropriate social intervention, nor do they have the *right* to all knowledge.

In denying academic research to be carried out in vulnerable contexts, as well as limiting the type of data collection methods to be implemented, the directors of these sites were doing what I had not been doing: interrupting the colonial essence of research in order to prioritize and protect the community members of their sites. In these cases, the information that the community members could have potentially shared, although valuable, was not for me to hear. This was a direct lesson to me on the importance of continued reflexivity (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016) – in this case, reflexivity regarding when to *step back* (Anthony-Stevens, 2017). As Tuck and Yang wisely state, “Refusal understands the wisdom in a story, as well as the wisdom in not passing that

story on. Refusal in research makes way for other r-words – for resistance, reclaiming, recovery, reciprocity, repatriation, regeneration” (p. 244).

Through this reflection, I re-defined my own practice as *critical* in the sense that my work is *motivated* by “taking social inequality and social transformation as central to one’s work”, (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6), *marked* by self-reflexivity (Ravitch & Mittenfelner Carl, 2016; Pennycook, 2001), and *manifested* through critical alliances (Anthony-Stevens, 2017) and humanized research (Tuck & Yang, 2014). I suggest that researchers who seek to engage in EX-LL-based research in community spaces take this lesson on *critical* reflection into account when choosing research topics, creating research methodologies, and creating collaborative partnerships with supervisors/directors and community members in such spaces.

Implications for Critical Community Collaboration Inside and Outside of Experiential Language Learning

In addition to the need for scholars to engage in critical reflection and humanizing versus colonial EX-LL-based research, it is imperative that students participating in EX-LL via collaboration with community members also engage critically with such individuals. In order to foster these types of critical partnerships and relationships, purposeful pedagogical interventions should be included in Languages for Specific Purposes-(LSP) and EX-LL programs. In addition to the critical tools described in Chapter One and tenets of critical service learning described in Chapter Two, the need for other critical practices arose throughout the course of this research.

Critical Awareness/Political Education Training

As outlined in Chapter One, while engaging in community member debriefings with individuals (Community Members 1-5) for whom Petra had interpreted as they were seeking services at the Phoenix Community Clinic, a reoccurring theme arose: the majority of these individuals were not aware of the free/low-cost services available for Hispanic/Latinx/Spanish-speakers in the local community. In addition to a resource board containing bilingual pamphlets of such services located in the lobby of the clinic, many of these community members reported watching Univisión, a television network that advertised local services. Even with these resources available, various community members shared with me that they were in need of services (e.g., legal representation, English as a second language courses) but did not know where to turn or who to trust.

Simply increasing advertising or spreading the word is not a viable solution. One of Penélope's interviewees offered a deeper analysis as to *why*. Specifically, Community Member 6, a Mexican lawyer who worked with an organization to facilitate pro bono legal services to immigrants in the Metro Phoenix area, circled back to the tensions existing within the state of Arizona (and nationwide) as an influential element. Specifically, he cited the broken relationship between community members with documentation and those without:

You know, it's a tough question for me. Because I feel like getting the information out, educating people, getting it out there, having access to it -- to me, it makes sense that we do that. And we inform people. And get it out to the community. But then I put myself in their shoes too.

And I go, "Just because it's out there it, or I may be able to access, it doesn't mean I'm going to be open to it. It doesn't mean that my wall, my automatic wall as an immigrant family or immigrant person is not going to block that." And say, "I don't trust it. What's the catch? What's going on?" Even as our organization, or any other organization, we go, "Hey, we are going to give you this free service," and they're going to say, "What's the catch?"

And I think back to even just my family. It's a tough one for me because even though we can work on the access and information and education to the community -- it's much more than that. We need to work on the trust with our community. We need to work on them [immigrants] actually feeling like they have a place in our community. A place of security. A place where they are safe so that they can then reach out and accept these services. And I think that's part of the work that we have to do.

(Community Member Debrief, 03-27-18)

The manner in which the majority of community members with whom I conducted debriefings had found out about the services offered at the Phoenix Community Clinic seemed to corroborate Community Member 6's assertion. Specifically, these individuals reported learning about the clinic and making the decision to pursue care at this site by word-of-mouth via a neighbor, friend, or family member. Such a method implies that they made their decision based on a level of familiarity and trust that they had with the referring party.

In addition to policy reform, one of the ways that privileged members of society can potentially do this work is through critical reflection that leads to cultural reformation. Here again, the tenets of CALx can provide a helpful framework do this type of work. The *critical social inquiry* component is especially helpful, given that it emphasizes that the exploration of language “in social contexts [that] goes beyond mere correlations between language and society and instead raises more critical questions to do with access, power, disparity, desire, difference, and resistance. It also insists on an historical understanding of how social relations came to be the way they are” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6).

Community Member 8, the services coordinator for a grassroots organization dedicated to educating the community on immigration services through advocacy and civic engagement, was already engaging Hispanic/Latinx community members in doing this type of work. While giving Penélope and me a tour of the organization, he showed us the curriculum for one of the units of their most popular six-week courses that focused on *political education*. This objective for this specific lesson, entitled *the Three Pillars*, was to inform and spark discussion regarding three different pillars that represent modern society in the United States: (i) *patriarchy*, (ii) *capitalism*, and (iii) *white supremacy*. In order to reach this objective, the students worked with “building blocks” – cardboard boxes that represented each of these pillars – that were labeled in Spanish and English and decorated with symbolic images (e.g., shame/vergüenza; CEO/patron vs worker/trabajador; mass incarceration/encarcelamiento masivo).

Community Member 8 explained how this course played out:

This [building blocks] is for one of the lessons that we use and we basically construct it [building blocks] and then, it's like, "What happens if we take down white supremacy?" And the whole thing collapses.

The people that go through this course, they're the ones that are volunteering almost every day because they understand everything that's working in the background to get them the experience that they have. And so, they're fighting to try to get rid of legislators, trying to pass all these bills and things like that. So, this is really cool course, that's really, really empowering because they understand things. I wish I would've gone through this!

But it's based off of people's experiences. We'll name something and they're like, "Oh my gosh. I've experienced that," and it actually as an academic name because it's been identified and there are studies behind it.

(Observation, 03-29-18)

Although this course was designed for bilingual Hispanic/Latinx youth as a means to foster civic engagement, if LSP/EX-LL students are to be working with immigrant or other marginalized community members, it is imperative that they, like Anthony-Stevens (2017), have a critical understanding of both their individual ideologies and connection to and positionality within historical ideologies.

This was a point that Community Member 8 brought up during our debriefing session when I asked if he had any suggestions for the internship program. He specifically mentioned requiring the interns to take a course similar to the politically-based Education course, the Three Pillars, offered at the organization where he worked.

Community Member 8 explained:

Getting some kind of training with that would be really, really helpful. Because they understand what the community is facing. Even if they don't know it -- so, like I didn't know what different types of racism they were. Institutional racism. How they play and they work together and how they affect different communities until I came here. And I'm 31 years old.

We have some students who are like 16 and they know all that, all those things, they just way ahead of where I was when I was 16. So, there were a lot of things that were going on in my life that I didn't understand until this happened.

So if you have a good understanding of the political education, you have a better idea what the community is facing. Even if the community doesn't know where its coming from. They're just experiencing the symptom but you kind of have a better understanding of what's causing that to happen?

(Community Member Debrief, 03-29-18)

Community Member 8's thoughts mirror those of Anthony-Stevens (2017) who, as described in Chapter One, noted the obligation for critical allies to have a "deep understanding of *who I am recognized to be* within the ethnohistoric context of Indigenous [and other marginalized] communities, as well as an active cultivation of *who I want to be recognized as* in relationship with others" (p. 90).

Complimenting this critical reflective process, there is the precedence of engaging heritage language (HL) students in critical reflection regarding language ideologies within social and institutional contexts. Specifically, researchers (Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2003) have called for the incorporation of such critical pedagogical practices into the HL classroom via *critical language awareness*. In requiring some type of critical awareness/political education course in LSP and EX-LL programs, students who could be considered both insiders and outsiders of the target community can gain practical and professional experience while working to repair the broken trust between majority and minoritized community members and creating critical alliances.

Implications for Communicative Strategies and Communicative Competence

Additional findings from this research indicate the need for other critical changes to be made to LSP/EX-LL programs and language acquisition theory regarding what is needed of learners to communicate successfully with interlocutors in the target language. Although the purpose of this dissertation is not to provide sweeping generalizations, it *is* possible to generalize the findings of the cases to larger theories.

Communicative Strategies

As described in Chapters Eight and Nine, while carrying out their SSP duties, Petra, Penélope, and María implemented innovative CSs while bridging breakdowns in their discourse with community members. In order to account for such strategies, I proposed the expansion of the current communicative repertoire to include the these strategies outlined in Table 10.1 below.

Table 10.1. Proposal of New Communicative Strategy Categories

Proposed CS	Definition
Resource Deficit	<i>“Gaps in speakers’ knowledge preventing them from verbalizing messages” (Lafford, 2004, p. 203)</i>
Circumlocution via gesture	<i>Demonstration of a target item/action using kinesthetic movements</i>
Fillers for stalling to use Google Translate	<i>Speakers’ use of discursive element (sound, word, phrase) to buy time while translating an unknown target language item by means of Google Translate</i>
Translanguaging	<i>CS that expresses the sentiment of the ideological movement that celebrates a bilingual’s/multilingual’s abilities and takes into account their full range of semiotic resources, including those afforded through digital mediums</i>
Mediation by Technology as an Artefact	<i>Technology-based tools in one’s environment that permit cognition and/or the completion of a task</i>
Google for cultural mediation	<i>Use of Google to remedy cultural discrepancy</i>
Google Translate	<i>Translation of unknown target language item by means of Google Translate</i>

Communicative Competence

In addition to the expansion of the CS repertoire, the findings of this dissertation show that, despite coming from unique backgrounds and representing distinct speaker classifications – second language (L2), HL, non-local native speakers (NS) – each intern engaged deeply in language- and ethnically-/racially-based identity work that transcended the goals of the SSP program. This identity work was informed by language ideologies

held by the interns, their interlocutors, and the social context in general, which influenced the types of storylines that they operated and positions available to take up/be assigned.

To date, none of the communicative competence models proposed by scholars, including that of Bachman and Palmer (1996), have specified a construct that accounts for the influence of these factors on a speaker's ability or success in communicating in a target (first, second, heritage, or other) language. The construct that most closely approaches is *sociolinguistic knowledge*. Even so, it focuses on the necessary knowledge of linguistic variation to transmit and understand a message versus a *critical sociolinguistic* approach which is “concerned with a critique of ways in which language perpetuates inequitable social relations” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 6).

Furthermore, such models do not highlight one's willingness to communicate – a phenomenon from the field of psycholinguistics – as a factor in a speaker's communicative competence. Originally a construct related to first language (L1) use, *willingness to communicate* was later applied to the field of communication by McCroskey and Baer (1985). Making its way to the field of second language acquisition (SLA) This term has come to be defined as “the probability of engaging in communication when free to choose to do so” (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998, p. 546).

Using the findings of this EX-LL study as a foundation, informed by poststructuralist theories of identity and CALx, I propose an expansion to the communicative competence model (Bachmann & Palmer, 1996) to include the establishment of *critical knowledge* as a principle construct that includes the notion of WTC.

Critical knowledge: A new construct. As hinted, the proposed construct of *critical knowledge* refers to the complex interplay between the elements involved a speaker’s identity, willingness, ability, and success in constructing social discourse with interlocutors. To operationalize this interplay, I propose the following sub-constructs: (i) *power-based knowledge* and (ii) *positional knowledge*.

Communicative competence: Language knowledge

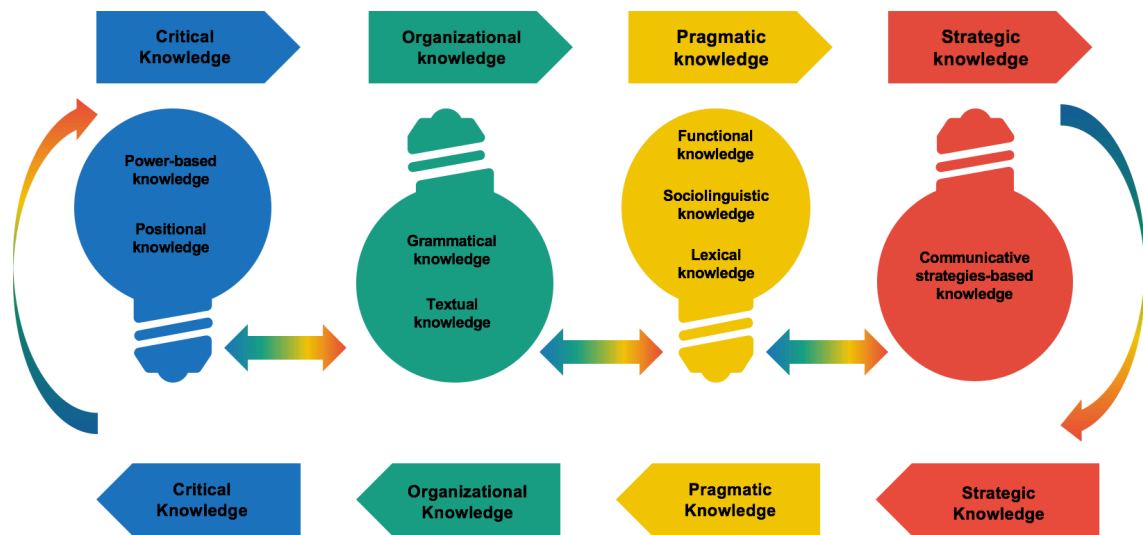


Figure 10.1: Model of communicative competence (Adapted from Bachmann & Palmer, 1996; expanded by Vollmer Rivera, 2018)

Following the design of the current study, the newly established construct/sub-constructs are designed to be viewed through an *ecological approach* to language learning (Kramsch, 2002; Leather & van Dam, 2003, van Lier, 2004). To reflect such a perspective, I have created a cyclical infographic that represents the interactive nature of communicative competence. Within this infographic, I have color-coded each of the main constructs and the sub-constructs for which they are commonly associated. Going beyond the interpretation that each item is a discrete and impermeable piece, each element is then

connected by multi-colored arrows to instead represent interconnectivity. I advocate for scholars to frame their own research and practice through such an ecological approach. By doing so, practitioners can create a space that moves beyond the static conceptualization of communicative competence – allowing for profound analyses of the complex relationships of each construct and sub-construct.

Power-based knowledge. Recognizing the relationship between language and society that serves as the foundation of CALx, the sub-construct of *power-based knowledge* refers to elements that shape social actors' perceptions on a personal, institutional, societal, and global level. Examples of such elements are *language ideologies* and the various *social, political, and economical tensions* at play.

Positional knowledge. Drawing upon *Positioning Theory* (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991), the sub-construct of *positional knowledge* refers to the ways in which discourse and social interaction enable particular types of identities to be claimed or assigned to others and how this positioning process can sometimes unravel without us wanting it to. The elements involved in this social process are *discourse* (mode and purpose), *storylines*, and *positions* available to be taken up and/or assigned by others.

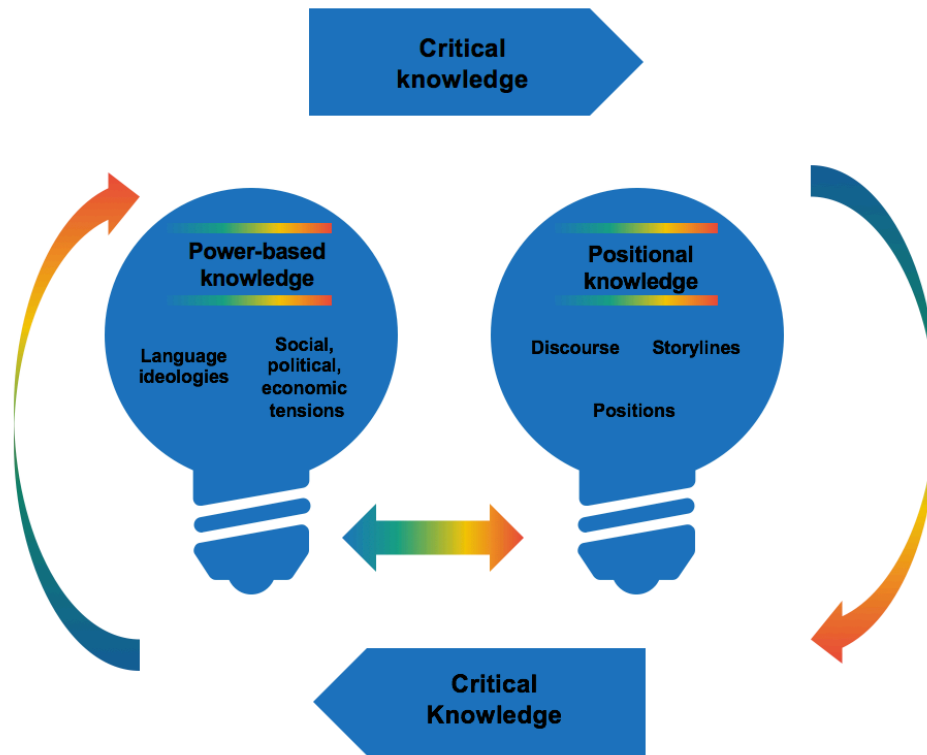


Figure 10.2: Critical knowledge and its subconstructs (Vollmer Rivera, 2018)

Not only do the sub-constructs of power and positioning offer an avenue to better understand the social and intrapersonal elements at play during discourse construction, but also offer an arena to explore the developmental relationship between identity and communicative competence.

Identity and communicative competence: A complex relationship. Although identity and communicative competence may develop through similar means, there are also instances in which they may be at competition. Such an example comes from Petra’s interactions at the Phoenix Community Clinic – specifically, in the case where I deferred to Petra the decision of which patient room to enter. When confronted with two different patients – a female being seen for diabetes or a male being seen for a mass on his eye –

Petra elected the former out of comfortability. Even though working with patient with a mass on his eye would have provided her with an authentic opportunity to develop her communicative competence, she avoided this situation of linguistic discomfort to protect her identity as a competent medical interpreter.

Implications for Experiential Language Learning/

Languages for Specific Purposes Pedagogy and Internship Design

With this expanded view of communicative competence as a foundation, the findings of this dissertation work also point to implications for EX-LL/LSP pedagogy and internship design. Having said this, it is important to note that each practitioner, coordinator, and/or administrator should make decisions based upon the unique context and needs of both the learners and target communities.

Fostering Opportunities for Language- and Ethnicity/Racially-Based Identity Work

With the proposal of critical knowledge as a principle construct in the communicative competence model, it is necessary for EX-LL/LSP programs to go beyond focusing solely on the more traditionally taught constructs of this model (e.g., grammatical knowledge) and expand their reach to foster opportunities for language- and ethnically/racially-based identity work. The findings of this dissertation research illustrate the importance of creating a space in which learners can engage in this type of work. For example, Penélope engaged in teasing apart the language ideologies that she had internalized throughout her life as a Mexican-American woman, second generation immigrant, and HL learner. Although much of this work was done on an internal level, Penélope identified and created professional relationships of support with strong figures

present at her internship – specifically, the newscast supervisors of the Phoenix Reportaje and Frontier News.

Petra and María, on the other hand, did not have a support system to aid them in engaging in their identity work during their internships. As such, they faced this work in solitude that potentially could have been mediated by supportive allies. While Petra worked through racialized moments as a Black L2 Spanish-speaker across different contexts alone, María’s journey was centered around her position as a non-local NS in a speech community very different from her own. Without aid in fostering her *puertorriqueñidad* as an element of her professional identity, she internalized hegemonic language ideologies in support of an academic standard in response to the fear of losing her ethnic identity.

Through curriculum, such as the critical awareness and political education training described previously in this chapter, EX-LL/LSP students can begin to explore (with support) not only their own positionalities to various communities, but also to understand how their interlocutors’ own perceptions may come to bear in social discourses. An example of such curriculum comes from Parra (2016), who writes on the importance of critical awareness in HL pedagogy:

The purposes of our profession comprise engaging students in deep reflections to raise their critical awareness around important and sensitive issues such as language ideologies and the power structures that have shaped students’ beliefs about their own languages, cultures, and identities. The ultimate goal of teaching heritage languages is to empower students’ ethnolinguistic identity as part of their lives in the United States and as part of their global citizenship. (p. 166-167)

A course focusing on these elements from a CALx perspective could serve as a medium to support students in understanding and constructing their “ethnolinguistic identity” as part of *both* their personal and professional lives inside and outside of the United States.

Instruction for All Language Learners/Speakers

Fostering opportunities to engage in identity work within a supportive space points to a second pedagogical implication for EX-LL/LSP-based programs: including instruction that meets the needs all language learners and speakers. Even though the majority of language courses at the university level are “mixed classes” (L2, HL, and NS) (Beaudrie 2011, 2012b; Oikonomakou, Aravossitas, & Skourtou, 2018), the dominant teaching methodology of such classes tends to reflect that of SLA (Carreira, 2014, 2016, 2017). In subscribing to such methodologies, all learners in the classroom are often exposed to grammar-based instruction that, despite presenting information on linguistic variation, supports an academic “standard” variety.

Such a practice neglects the needs and goals of other unique learners, such as HL and non-local NSs. In addition to providing opportunities for critical awareness/political education training, an example of extending the curriculum to meet the needs of all types of language learners includes incorporating instruction based upon the seven goals of HL pedagogy (Valdés 1995, 2005; Aparicio, 1997) described in Chapter 6. In doing so, instructors can facilitate learners’ proficiency in a specific professional genre, while also providing them with resources and opportunities to validate their HL and make connections to their HL communities – such as the case of Penélope who worked to overcome her “self-doubt” and connect with her own HL community across transnational fields.

Another class of unique learners are non-local NSs. Given that these individuals have acquired a variety different than that of the majority speech community in which they currently find themselves, they may face distinct challenges than L2 or HL learners. As was the case with María, it is possible that these students may encounter difficulties “entering” and collaborating with the local communities due to a small or non-existent network, as well as differences in variation and culture. Furthermore, in being surrounded by a different linguistic variation non-local NS may lack the resources necessary to foster a professional image that takes into account their ethnic/racial identity. To support the needs of these students, programs can build in opportunities for non-local NSs to bridge their learning and professional goals to include their own speech communities. Doing so may include surveying students regarding their professional goals and setting up a mentee-mentor partnership between the learners and qualified/trained members of the local community based on these goals. Not only could these mentors act as a model and support system for the student, they may also be able to expand their professional network.

An additional pedagogical practice to support non-local NSs would be to take advantage of technology-based resources in order to connect these students to their speech communities virtually. In doing so, an instructor could assist students in locating digital resources that present members of their own speech communities engaging in the type of professional work that the learners aspire to pursue. Such an intervention could mirror the digital practices that María engaged in on her own. Positioned outside of her own speech community, María lacked the resources to continue self-fashioning a professional identity as producer/reporter that allowed her to represent her

puertorriqueñidad. As such, she took the initiative to seek out digital news packages from reporters in Puerto Rico on her own to assist her in this process. As these authentic, digital products were representations of how members in her own speech community constructed their professional identities in her field of study, these resources guided her in making decisions as to how *she* wanted to position herself as both a professional and Puerto Rican woman.

Instruction on Mediation by Technology as an Artifact

Continuing the discussion of harnessing technology for language learning purposes in EX-LL/LSP programs, an additional pedagogical implication for such programs would be to include *instruction* on how learners can affectively and appropriately utilize technology-based artifacts to mediate their learning. Given the ubiquity of technology in both the personal and professional lives of language students, I encourage language instructors to embrace Fields' (2014) "mischievous idea" that what educators typically perceive as *cheating* "can be a kind of new literacy, important for navigating digital media, digital spaces, and everyday life – even school – if we think about it in a particular way."

Drawing upon observations of children engaging in game play within digital spaces, Fields (2014) described how the concept of "cheats" and "cheating" had become a normalized aspect of many games. Working together or individually, gamers utilize and create cheats to assist them in playing a particular game their own way (individualization) and getting past difficulties they may encounter (mediation). Although "cheating" is framed within the context of digital spaces and gaming, such a concept can be extended to other areas of life – such as language learning.

Within this context, students are often taught that using online translators or other technology-based artefacts is “cheating,” resulting in the rejection and banishment of technological tools inside and outside of the classroom. However, as illustrated through the findings of this dissertation, technology can be a powerful tool for language mediation, as well as a required element of one’s professional role. In contrast to many language-learning classrooms that reject the integration of technology, the interns of this study were allowed, and even required, to utilize technology to mediate their linguistic knowledge and internship duties. Having said this, none of the participants reported receiving instruction on *which* resources to use or *how* to use them.

Therefore, answering Fields’ (2014) call for scholars to extend cheating as a “new literacy” to other disciplines, EX-LL/LSP pedagogues can incorporate the principles of “cheating” within their classroom – perhaps presented to students as “taking advantage of technology mediation” – as an avenue to instruct students on how they can use technology-based artifacts to meet their own needs and goals (individualization) and how to get past difficult concepts or encounters (mediation) both inside and outside of the classroom. One such example is for instructors to identify the types and purposes of technology that students utilize while carrying out professional duties. After having identified these elements, the instructor can then create short mini-lessons (in-person/for review digitally) or compile resources that outline how students can maximize the potential of such artifacts.

To illustrate this point, identifying when and where to place accents in written discourse is a difficulty that many Spanish HL learners experience due to acquiring the language within a more familial-/community-based context that takes place primarily through aural exposure (Beaudrie, 2012a, 2017; Carreira, 2002). In the case of the current study, Penélope reported at both the onset and conclusion of the research process that accents in written Spanish were her “biggest nightmare” (Interview, 0217-18), despite having had received explicit instruction on this grammar topic. This orthographic practice was a reoccurring issue when Penélope used technology-based artifacts (e.g., GoogleDocs or Microsoft Word) to write out scripts for her news stories or, as well as when she utilized different social media applications (e.g., Twitter, Facebook) to reach out to community members as potential interviewees/sources. Given that these tools have built in spell-check features, these applications could have turned into powerful tools to both aid in the completion of her internship duties and mediation of her knowledge of Spanish orthography. However, this was not the case as Penélope had not received instruction regarding changing the spell check language in word processing/social media applications on laptop or mobile devices.

Instruction of Translanguaging as a Multilingual Practice

Another pedagogical implication that serves to aid EX-LL/LSP students in preparing for the demands of the professional world centers around considering the multilingual nature of the workplace. As Littlewood and Yu (2011) explain, “for many decades, foreign language teaching has been dominated by the principle that teachers should use only the target language (TL) and avoid using the mother tongue (L1) except as a last resort” (p. 64). This principle is reflected in language classes that implement a

“target language only policy” in which the use of an L1 is reprimanded in different ways – such as participation penalties and other forms of grade reduction. Although teachers should “aim to make maximum use of the TL” (Turnbull & Arnett, 2002, p. 211), *exclusive* language policies are not reflective of the environments that EX-LL/LSP students will most likely face upon entering the workforce.

In the case of Petra, Penélope, and María, translanguaging was not only found to be an important practice for their identity work but it was also found to be a *necessary* practice while engaging in their internships. Despite the fact that each of these students were completing an internship with the goal of utilizing *Spanish* to interact with and facilitate services for local Hispanic/Latinx community members, their internship sites were situated within larger English-dominant institutions. As such, not only were they required to interact with English-speaking interlocutors, but the majority of materials and technology (e.g., electronical medical record system, video editing software) with which they were required to work was in English. As such, each of them had to draw on and develop their English linguistic systems to carry out their daily tasks successfully.

Taking into account the dominance of the English language on a societal level, translanguaging skills are often required for individuals working within community sites that solely facilitate services in Spanish. This was the case for María who, in addition to completing an internship at the Phoenix Reportaje, was pursuing professional experience as a producer/reporter at a national Spanish-language network. Given the prevalence of translation and interpretation in LSP, I asked María during our first interview if she had any experience or interest in either. She responded:

No me interesa tanto la traducción, pero me he dado cuenta aquí específicamente en Estados Unidos -- por ejemplo en esta organización, todos los comunicados de prensa -- la mayoría nos llegan en inglés. Y todas las noticias y las notas son inglés, pero el show es en español. So, todos los días sí estás trabajando de traductor, basically. So, no me interesa ser una traductora, pero es inevitable si voy a trabajar aquí.

I'm not really interested in translation, but I've realized that here in the United States specifically -- for example in this organization, all of the press releases, the majority of them arrive to us in English. And all of the news and the new stories are in English, but the show is in Spanish. So, yeah, every day you are working as a translator, basically. So, I'm not interested in being a translator, but it's inevitable if I'm going to work here.

(Interview, 02-26-18)

Despite not having an interest to participate in translation or interpretation, María explained that engaging in such practices are an inevitable element of working as a professional within the mainland due to the influence of English as a dominant language within the larger society.

In addition to engaging in translanguaging to complete EX-LL/LSP internship duties, this multilingual practice may already be a resource that students who do not fit into certain categories – being white with “standard” English as an L1 – feel required to use in order to navigate racial boundaries and access *similar* opportunities and privileges as other students. Such was the case for Petra. As described in Chapter Five, as a Black woman in a professional program and community site that privileged such attributes, Petra was often penalized for her use of Ebonics via racialized treatment and denial of opportunities (e.g., role as scribe for the Racist Doctor at the Phoenix Community Clinic, broadcasts at the Phoenix Report). As such, Petra learned to strategically utilize her

multidialectism in both Spanish and English to increase her social and labor mobility within these discriminatory environments.

The experiences of Petra, Penélope, and María demonstrate the need for students to engage their entire linguistic and semiotic repertoires if they are to successfully seek out careers in which they utilize LSP in the United States. As such, it is imperative that EX-LL/LSP programs to move beyond coursework that allows only the use of the target language, and instead extend the curriculum to include instruction and opportunities for translanguaging as a powerful and social multilingual practice.

Preparation, Partnerships, and Procedures/ Guidelines for Internships

In the case of Southwestern University, community-based internships serve as the culminating experience in the completion of the SSP minor. As such, the internships should be a practical experience within a student's study of field that provides them with the opportunity to utilize their knowledge from previous SSP coursework. As such, the final implications regarding EX-LL/LSP pedagogical and internship design to be offered in this chapter look to the procedures and guidelines for adequate internship preparation, placement, and partner collaboration.

Adequate internship preparation. Given the culminating nature of the internship experience, students cannot be expected to simply “jump” into a community site and be successful. Rather, they need to be prepared adequately through preceding SSP coursework that both reflects the real-world work environment and is relevant/meaningful to their professional goals. Such preparation can be facilitated through building the EX-LL/LSP curriculum that takes into account the implications offered previously in this section. Furthermore, CALx can serve as a foundation for such

pedagogical interventions, given that the “strong” definition implemented by Pennycook (2001) not only encourages analysis and associations to be drawn within the field of linguistics, but that this be done from an interdisciplinary perspective.

Building critical awareness. The findings of this dissertation indicate that an integral component of an EX-LL/LSP student’s coursework should be anchored in creating opportunities for the development of critical awareness in a multitude of contexts. Therefore, a required course within the first semester of the LSP program should be a *Building Critical Awareness* course that carves a space in which all types of learners (L2, HL, local and non-local NS) are encouraged to raise their critical awareness from a variety of perspectives that are highlighted in CALx. To begin, instructors should provide education on the idea of communicative competence with an emphasis on the tenets of *critical knowledge*, *power-based knowledge*, and *positional knowledge* proposed in this chapter, as well as how these constructs can interact with other elements in the larger model.

With a working understanding of the interconnected relationship between society and language, the instructor can scaffold learners in engaging with these constructs from a theoretical to a personal level through a focus on fostering opportunities for language- and ethnically-/racially-based identity work. Although this is a complex and iterative process, in this course, students can begin to engage in identity work that they later continue to build on through the rest of the EX-LL/LSP program and into their future professions.

After students have the essential tools to begin reflecting on their own ethnolinguistic identities, instructors can incorporate the types of critical awareness/political education suggested by Community Members 6 and 8, as well as HL researchers (Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2003). These units can integrate opportunities for students to both learn about the sociopolitical history of the target community within the larger society and reflect on “*who [they are] recognized to be* within the ethnohistoric context of Indigenous [and other marginalized] communities, as well as an active cultivation of *who [they] want to be recognized as* in relationship with others” (Anthony-Stevens, 2017, p. 90), emphasis maintained. Through establishing this course as a first semester requirement, all EX-LL/LSP students will be provided with the education and tools necessary to continue building upon the understanding of their personal and professional identities/goals, as well as the implications of their work in relation to different communities.

Local and non-local mentors and resources. To continue creating opportunities for *all* language learners/speakers within EX-LL/LSP programs to engage in identity work, each student should have the ability to connect with successful individuals that represent the students as both individuals and professionals. Two practices that have been suggested in this chapter are (i) connecting students with adequate mentors within the local community and (ii) harnessing the power of technology to help students find digital resources that represent members of their own (or target) speech communities. As mentioned, such resources may not only open students up to different professional networks and opportunities, but also support *each* student in making decisions regarding how they want to position themselves as professionals.

Communicative strategies, translanguaging, and technology. A final consideration in ensuring the adequate preparation for EX-LL/LSP interns focuses on opportunities to learn and practice different CSs, translanguaging practices, and technology as an artifact to bridge professional tasks.

Communicative strategies. This findings of this dissertation support the earlier presented notion that CSs are not only for L2 learners, but rather that NSs (Bongaerts & Poulisse, 1989; Dörnyei, 1995; Lafford, 1995) and HL learners also employ these metacognitive processes during discursive events. Although individuals may be classified differently through terms such as L2 learners, HL learners, local NSs, or non-local NSs, the students in the EX-LL/LSP program are united as *learners* of their professional practice. As each student is learning how to utilize the target language to facilitate some type of professional support or service within their field of study, it is inevitable that there will be “gaps” in their linguistic and/or cultural knowledge. Therefore, it is necessary to offer training on different CSs, as well as opportunities to practice using CSs (e.g., roleplays, recorded authentic conversations while carrying out LSP duties) and reflect on the linguistic and social implicaitons of their chocies.

Translanguaging. In both the *Building Critical Awareness* and *Communicative Strategies* courses, special attention should be given to translanguaging as an *acceptable* multilingual practice and *powerful* CS. In the case of the latter, students should be exposed to the theoretical underpinnings, social implications, and high frequency of this multilingual practice within professional contexts in the United States (and potentially other countries). With this as a base, instructors should then provide students with

opportunities to experience (e.g., authentic digital or physical realia) and practice (e.g., roleplays) this CS in authentic contexts related to their future professional duties.

Technology. Finally, when writing on the influence of technology in language learning, Blake (2013) explains that “the language profession must move beyond a simple computer functional competence (knowing how to use the tools) toward both a critical competence (realizing what the tools are good for) and then, finally, to a rhetorical competence (understanding how these tools will help transform the learning environment)” (p. xvii). Applying this call to action to EX-LL/LSP programs, it is necessary that instructors provide students with education and practical experiences in utilizing technology as an artifact to bridge professional tasks.

As described previously, instructors can first build their “functional competence” and “critical competence” by surveying and observing the role and affordances of different tools that are pertinent for in bridging professional tasks for students in different disciplines. Then, moving towards building their “rhetorical competence” instructors inform themselves on the most affective and appropriate ways to harness these tools for specific purposes. Similarly to instruction on CSs and translanguaging, it is important that educators incorporate both authentic models and opportunities to practice utilizing technology in this way.

Once students have seen this process modeled, it would be valuable for instructors to scaffold this process with the students. In assisting students in identifying and utilizing technology as mediating artefacts, instructors can help these individuals become autonomous in building their own functional, critical, and rhetorical competences beyond the EX-LL/LSP courses and instead as independent professionals.

Adequate internship placement. Although adequately preparing students to engage in EX-LL/LSP internships through relevant coursework and opportunities is important, even in the most ideal circumstances, unexpected logistical issues can arise that prevent the internship instructor/coordinator from establishing internships that meet all of a student's needs. This dissertation has offered an example of such a case.

Internship programs and student experiences. As described previously, Petra was a journalism student that had originally requested to carry out her SSP internship at a new community site: a local news channel where she would translate stories for their Spanish-speaking audience. However, due to the short notice of such a request, there was no time to establish a collaborative partnership or create an internship contract with the director of the site before the start of the semester. Therefore, the only viable solution was to offer her an internship in a different field of study at a site with an existing contract in place: the Phoenix Community Clinic.

Despite the fact that Petra reported enjoying and learning from her experience, the findings of this research illustrated that she had not received the adequate preparation (e.g., training on medical interpretation) to maximize her potential while taking on this role. A possible way to combat such logistical issues for LSP programs that require/offer an internship is via the implementation of a policy in which upon registering officially for the program (e.g., minor, certificate) students are both informed of this experience and required to commit to a certain field, role, or site by an indicated deadline. Such a policy is tangible in the subfield of LSP as many students are coming from professional programs in which they have already chosen their career paths upon acceptance to the program.

Ideally, implementing such a policy will allow internship instructors/coordinators a larger timeframe to seek out potential internships sites that will fit the needs and goals of their students. Furthermore, by making this commitment early on in their SSP trajectory, instructors/coordinators will have the appropriate information to advise students on which courses (e.g., suggesting translation and/or interpretation courses as required program courses to prepare them for their internships) are essential for the successful completion of their overall professional goals and internship experience.

Patient care and experiences. The adequate placement of interns also has implications for both the field of translation and interpretation and the larger social issue at hand: the lack of access to high quality care and services for Spanish-speakers/Hispanics/Latinxs in the United States. Despite the fact that that that the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) has outlined different competencies that are required for an individual to be considered a “qualified interpreter” (Basu, Phillips Costa, & Jain, 2017), there still exist instances in which individuals who do *not* meet such requirements are expected, coerced, and/or allowed to take up this position during high-stakes events. This was the case for Petra. Despite not having received any training in medicine or interpretation (inside or outside of the medical field), Petra was allowed to take on this role after only having had an interview with the Medical Director of the community site. Extending beyond the dissertation, this practice has been documented extensively in instances of language brokering (Harris, 1973; Kam, 2011; Orellana, 2009; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009; Tse, 1995).

Neglecting to provide individuals with limited English proficiency appropriate interpretation services can lead to serious consequences for both the patients and the individuals being assigned an interpretive position. For example, in a study examining the errors and their clinical consequences in medical encounters with professional interpreters, “ad hoc interpreters” (e.g., family members, strangers, other staff), and no interpreters, Flores, Abreu, Pizzo Barone, Bachur, and Lin (2012) noted that, “professional interpreters result in a significantly lower likelihood of errors of potential consequences than ad hoc and no interpreters” (p. 545). Therefore, in addition to ensuring the proper placement (and training) of LSP students in order to foster relevant professional experiences, it is vital that community sites offer interpretation and translation services that meet existing standards (e.g., DHSS) so as to be considered high quality and appropriate services.

Adequate partner collaboration. Placing an LSP intern at an appropriate community site is only a portion of ensuring that students have a positive and meaningful practical experience. An additional factor that may influence the quality of a student’s internship experience is their interactions with staff and other authority figures at the community site. To exemplify the importance of adequate partner collaboration, I again turn to Petra’s experience.

In addition to completing an internship outside of her field, there were several instances in which Petra was unable to carry out her duties due to encounters with certain physicians at her internship site. Such experiences were not only related to discrimination (the Racist Doctor), but also stemmed from the doctors' lack of experience and training in collaborating with interpreters. As described in Chapter Eight, there were various encounters in which Petra was unable to interpret the message of her interlocutors (patients and physicians) in its entirety due to the length of discourse. Although maintaining one's natural speech is common in simultaneous interpretation, smaller chunks of discourse are preferably for consecutive interpretation.

A second experience took place with a different physician that treated both Petra and the patient with disrespect. As described in Chapter Eight, while interpreting for a 30-year-old female patient who had come into the clinic for diabetes and sciatic nerve pain, Petra experienced a breakdown in communication during the physical exam portion of the visit. Upon hearing the doctor's commands ("*Kick. Push back.*"), Petra struggled to come up with the target vocabulary and grammatical forms necessary to interpret the message to the patient. Growing seemingly frustrated and impatient after the passage of only seconds, the physician cut off Petra from her interpretation duties and instead assigned her the role of "Witness." Rather than allowing her time to retrieve the target forms and/or implement a CS to bridge this gap, the physician resorted to verbalizing the commands directly to the patient in an even louder volume, while physically manipulating her legs. In both of these cases, a more successful and respectful outcome could have been possible had the physicians received training on working with

interpreters – and in the case of the male physician, education on working within multicultural/multilingual contexts.

Given these points, another procedure that EX-LL/LSP programs can adopt is requiring that all pertinent staff (and other authority figures) at target community sites receive training regarding how to collaborate effectively and appropriately with the interns. To facilitate this task, the training could take place in the form of a short informational video or pamphlet on partner collaboration guidelines. Considering that some organizations may have a large quantity of staff and volunteers, this education process should be executed with the help and approval of the target community site's supervisor/director. Such a request can be included in the guidelines for partnership collaboration upon establishing and/or reviewing an internship contract.

Limitations

In addition to the findings and implications of the current EX-LL study, there exist both limitations and opportunities for future research.

Sample Size and Generalizability

For example, depending upon one's research goals and beliefs, the small sample size of this research could be considered a limitation. However, although the number of participants was small, working with three interns allowed for an in-depth analysis via a comparative study that included rich ethnographic narratives and descriptions of the language-based identity work and strategic knowledge development among the three interns. Following the work of Frake (1990), such *fine description* “mandates a closer attention to the finest scale of languaculture, such that more documentation survives to

the writing-up stage, for possible verification, falsification, and extension” (Anderson, 2003, p. 395).

Furthermore, the goal of this qualitative-based research is to engage in generalization, but in a manner distinct from that of most traditional quantitative-based studies. Whereas quantitative studies may seek to generalize to larger populations, this qualitative research focuses on making assertions about the specific cases presented in the research that then “situate the case[s] in broader professional conversations about the phenomenon itself” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 113). This study has sought to do such work by means of the data analyses and discussions via two different generalization practices coined by Stake (1995):

- 1) *Propositional generalization*: “assertions about how a studied phenomenon was enacted in a case” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 114)
- 2) *Naturalistic generalization*: “if a study gives readers a sense of ‘being there,’ of having vicarious experiences in the studied site, then readers may generalize from that experience in private, personal ways, modifying, extending, or adding to their generalized understanding of how the world works” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 115)

With these practices in mind, there are opportunities for quantitative-oriented scholars to contribute to the EX-LL/LSP research landscape. For example, larger-scale and quantifiable research is necessary to provide different types of generalizable findings that may be of interest to distinct stakeholders – such as program statistics for administrators.

Physical Location and Social Context

In addition to sample size and goal of generalizability, it is important to highlight the location and social context of a study as a potential limitation. In defining CALx, Pennycook (2001) noted that “there is often a problematic tendency to engage in applied linguistic research and theorizing then to suggest pedagogical or other applications that are not grounded in particular contexts of practice” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 3). Along these lines, this research was carried out within a state characterized by political and social tensions that are both representative of the nation at large and unique to the history of the local Hispanic/Latinx communities. Given that the dominant ideology in Arizona is “overwhelmingly anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual” (Cashman, 2009, p. 45), various considerations will need to be taken into account in those contexts with different relationships to multiculturalism and multilingualism in the United States. Such contexts may include areas of Hispanic/Latinx diaspora and areas in which there is a lower/higher concentration of Spanish-speakers. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out similar work in other regions of the United States to create a more diverse understanding the state of EX-LL/LSP programs in the nation.

Restrictions of Research On-Site and “In the Wild”

A third limitation of this study derives from the restrictions of engaging in EX-LL-based research “in the wild” at different community sites. As this type of research moves beyond the physical and digital walls of the academic institution at focus and into community spaces, the “rules” of the game change.

Data collection methods: Internal policies and procedures. Each community space of focus may abide by policies and procedures that are site specific and/or have been established on a larger scale (e.g., HIPPA). In turn, such policies and procedures may prohibit certain types of data to be collected, as well as the *manner* in which other types of data may be collected. In the case of the current research, I was prohibited from audio recording Petra’s interactions with patients and other staff during medical visits, as well as video recording at the Phoenix Community Clinic in general due to HIPPA. In order to be able to collect the data that I needed while still protecting patients’ rights, I worked with the Medical Director of the site to identify a possible solution: observations coupled with extensive field notes. Such an example demonstrates that it is imperative that EX-LL researchers begin the planning process with ample time before the start of the research in order to investigate what policies and procedures, if any, may affect the study’s methodology.

Observations: Scheduling. A second possible “restriction” of engaging in EX-LL-based research outside of the physical or digital classroom stems from on-site scheduling constraints. In the case of the current study, although it would have been preferable to conduct observations at consistent time intervals during the 15-week semester, this was not a possibility. As the students were acting as interns and taking on professional positions that required them to carry out a variety of duties, they were not always engaging in the same *type* of task at specific intervals.

When and where they completed such duties was not only dependent upon the decisions of the internship supervisors/directors, but also on the schedules of the community members. For example, Petra interpreted and scribed for both English- and Spanish-speaking patients. She had no control over when Spanish-speaking patients would schedule their appointments or if they would do so during her shift. In the case of Penélope, although she committed to a specific topic for her story early on in the semester, establishing contact and setting up interviews with different community members was a lengthy process. Furthermore, when she did receive confirmation from community members for an interview the date, time, and location was often determined by that individual's schedule and availability. Finally, the individuals with which María interacted (Reportaje team, English-speaking tech crew, community members) were dependent upon the events that were taking place in the studio.

Students as interns and corporate protection. A third limitation in this category is connected to the students' roles within larger community sites. As these focal participants were taking on the position of interns, it is possible that they may not have had access to the same information as hired employees did – leaving a possible gap in the contextualization of the research. Such a restricted access could stem from the fact that the interns did not need full access to the company to complete their duties. Given that the students were not contracted employees, it is also possible that such access was not granted in order to protect the corporation from outside eyes (e.g., corporate spies).

Restricting access to “outsiders” is something interns may not only face, but also EX-LL researchers seeking to carry out a study at community sites. As mentioned, during the semester in which this research took place, María completed two separate Spanish-language internships at two distinct community sites in the Phoenix Metro area: (i) the Phoenix Reportaje and (ii) a television network. Although I had originally planned to follow María as she carried out her internship at the television network, my access to the site was restricted based on this exact premise.

Pre-Meditative Planning

A final limitation of EX-LL and community-based research is connected to the extensive amount of pre-meditative planning to which the researcher must commit.

Working relationships. In expanding research from inside the academic institution to different community spaces, the quantity and types of working relationships that must be initiated by the researcher change. In addition to reaching out and establishing a connection to course instructor(s)/program coordinator(s), the researcher must also create working relationships with other social actors – such as individuals that have the authority to grant permission for research to be conducted at their site (site supervisors, directors, coordinators). The contact between the researcher and these individuals is likely to take place before, during, and after the actual research is carried out.

Collaborative partnerships. Establishing contact with these key individuals should be done with ample time, as creating these collaborative partnerships may entail scheduling meetings with decision makers of the research site of interest in order to present one's research goals, methodology, and time commitment for prospective participants. Depending upon the site's willingness, availability, and policies/procedures, the researcher may need to seek out other community sites and/or make changes to their research plans.

As previously mentioned, I was denied access to carry out research at a legal site in which two other SSP students were completing interns due to the unnecessary stress such interventions could place on the already vulnerable patrons of this venue.

Additionally, after meeting with the Medical Director of the Phoenix Community Clinic and presenting my research methodology, I was required to make adjustments to my data collection methods so as to respect the HIPPA policy in place. Had I not begun to establish collaborative partnerships with these key individuals well before the start of the semester, it is possible that the research could have been pushed back due to the time constraints of making methodological changes and receiving different permissions.

Permissions and consent. In addition to receiving permissions to carry out research and consent to participate from the internship coordinator/instructor, community site supervisors/directors, and focal participants, there may be other individuals that the researcher needs to approach regarding consent to participate in the study. These individuals could be community members, staff, and/or volunteers with whom the interns work at different community sites.

While on-site at the Phoenix Community Clinic, it was necessary that I received consent from Petra, the patient, and any other individuals present in the room, as well as from the volunteer doctors and medical residents that were facilitating the patient visits. When working with Penélope and María, this took the shape of speaking with other staff members present at the various community sites we visited – such as the tech crew at the School of Journalism and employees at the interviewees’ places of work. Although carrying out EX-LL research at external community sites may involve intensive and continuous planning and communication with a variety of social actors, it can be facilitated through taking a proactive approach.

Conclusions and Looking Forward

This dissertation research has sought to carry out an in-depth exploration of the experiences of three unique interns (Petra, Penélope, and María) who engaged in EX-LL- and SSP-based internships during the spring semester of 2018. By means of a linguistic ethnography, such experiences have been narrated and analyzed through the focus of two key elements: (i) identity work and (ii) development of strategic knowledge. The insights drawn from these analyses can be used to inform pertinent social actors in a variety of settings – such as EX-LL/LSP researchers, educators, pedagogues, coordinators, community partners, and students.

In addition to the implications (and limitations) presented, the novelty of researching EX-LL and SSP topics within a CALx framework provides for exciting opportunities for future studies. It is my hope that future researchers will continue to answer the call of scholars (e.g., Lafford, 2013; Sánchez-López et al., 2017), to provide language educators and pedagogues with relevant information to reflect *critically* upon

their own EX-LL and LSP/SSP programs, as well as advocate for the inclusion of SSP with an internship (and/or critical/community service learning component) in university language programs across the nation. Perhaps by preparing students to *collaborate* critically and respectfully with target community members, we can continue to do our part in narrowing the gap of access to high quality care and services that Hispanic/Latinx/Spanish-speaking community members and other marginalized individuals continue to experience within the United States.

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APPENDIX A
LANGUAGE CONTACT PROFILE

PART I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name:

2. Gender:

3. Age: _____

4. Country of birth:

5. What language(s) do you consider to be your first language(s)?

6. What languages did you hear at home (growing up)?

1.) English 2.) Spanish 3.) Other _____

a. If more than one, who spoke each of these languages?

7. What languages did you speak at home (growing up)?

1.) English 2.) Spanish 3.) Other _____

a. If more than one, with whom did you speak each of these languages?

8. What language do you speak at your current place of residence in the U.S.?

For all that apply, indicate the percentage of the time you speak this language.

English ____% Spanish ____% Other _____%

9. Have you ever been to a Spanish-speaking region?

Circle one: Yes / No

a. If yes, when? _____

b. Where? _____

c. For how long? _____

d. For what purpose? (e.g., academic study, travel, visiting family or friends?)

e. Describe your living situation (e.g. lived with host family, lived with other Spanish-Speakers, other English-speakers, alone)

10. What year are you in school? (circle one)

Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior Graduate
Student

Other. Please specific: _____

11. What is your major(s)?

12. What is your minor(s) or certificate concentration?

13. Please list all of the university-level Spanish courses you have taken prior to this semester. This includes Spanish language courses as well as content area courses taught in Spanish.

List the most recent courses first:

Course name and number

Semester (e.g. Fall 2010, Spring 2011)

14. Optional - Other important background information you would like to share:

PART II: LANGUAGE ABILITIES

15. In the boxes below, indicate your language ability in each of the language that you know.

Use the following ratings:

0 = Poor / 1 = Good / 2 = Very good / 3 = “Native/native-like”

Language	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing	# of years of study
English					
Spanish					

16. How many years (if any) have you studied English in a formal school setting?

- a. Elementary School: No Yes, for _____ years.
- b. Junior High (middle) School: No Yes, for _____ years.
- c. High School: No Yes, for _____ years.
- d. University/college: No Yes, for _____ years.
- e. Other (please specify): _____

17. How many years (if any) have you studied Spanish in a formal school setting?

a. Elementary School: ___ No ___ Yes, for _____
years.

b. Junior High (middle) School: ___ No ___ Yes, for _____
years.

c. High School: ___ No ___ Yes, for _____
years.

d. University/college: ___ No ___ Yes, for _____
years.

e. Other (please specify): _____

PART III: OTHER LANGUAGES

18. Do you speak any other language(s) other than English or Spanish? If yes, what are they?

19. If you know other language(s), please indicate your proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing, as well as indicate the number of years studying each language in a formal school setting

0 = Poor / 1 = Good / 2 = Very good / 3 = “Native/native-like”

Language	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing	# of years of study
Indicate:					
Indicate:					

20. Aside from the previously mentioned time studying in a Spanish-speaking region, have you ever lived in a situation where you were exposed to a language other than your first language (such as exposure through family members or living in a multilingual community)?

Circle one: Yes / No

If yes, please give details below. If more than three, list the others on the back of this page.

	Experience 1	Experience 2	Experience 3
Country/Region			
Language			
Purpose			
Living Situation			
From when to when			

PART IV: CURRENT LANGUAGE USE

21. Between the moment you woke up and left for your community internship each day, how often did you perform any of the following activities in English and/or Spanish?

	0 min	1–5 min	5–15 min	15–30 min	30–45 min	45–60 min	1–1.5 hrs	1.5–2 hrs	2–2.5 hrs	2.5–3 hrs	3+ hrs
Speaking (SPAN)											
Speaking (ENG)											
Listening (SPAN)											
Listening (ENG)											
Reading (SPAN)											
Reading (ENG)											
Writing (SPAN)											
Writing (ENG)											

22. During the time spent on your internship activities?

	0 min	1–5 min	5–15 min	15–30 min	30–45 min	45–60 min	1–1.5 hrs	1.5–2 hrs	2–2.5 hrs	2.5–3 hrs	3+ hrs
Speaking (SPAN)											
Speaking (ENG)											
Listening (SPAN)											
Listening (ENG)											
Reading (SPAN)											
Reading (ENG)											
Writing (SPAN)											
Writing (ENG)											

23. After leaving your internship venue on internship activity days?

	0 min	1-5 min	5-15 min	15-30 min	30-45 min	45-60 min	1-1.5 hrs	1.5-2 hrs	2-2.5 hrs	2.5-3 hrs	3+ hrs
Speaking (SPAN)											
Speaking (ENG)											
Listening (SPAN)											
Listening (ENG)											
Reading (SPAN)											
Reading (ENG)											
Writing (SPAN)											
Writing (ENG)											

APPENDIX B
INTERN ROLEPLAYS

PRE: MEDICAL SETTING

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 1:

Usted es intérprete para una clínica comunitaria que tiene una población grande de pacientes hispanohablantes. La próxima paciente es una muchacha unos 21 años que se presenta con un dolor de garganta. Ella está esperando a ver al médico en una sala de examinación. Antes de que llegue el médico, usted entra la sala para (i) presentarse, (ii) explicar el papel que va a jugar durante su cita y (iii) cualquier otra cosa que le parece pertinente a la situación.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 1:

You are an interpreter for a community clinic that has a high population of Spanish-speaking patients. The next patient is a young girl around 21 years old that says her throat hurts. She is waiting to see the doctor in the exam room. Before the doctor arrives, you decide to enter the room to (i) introduce yourself, (ii) explain what your role will be during her visit, and (iii) anything else that you feel is pertinent to the situation.

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 2:

Usted es intérprete para una clínica comunitaria que tiene una población grande de pacientes hispanohablantes. La próxima paciente es una señora de unos 75 años que se presenta con un dolor de garganta. Ella está esperando a ver al médico en una sala de examinación. Antes de que llegue el médico, usted entra la sala para (i) presentarse, (ii) explicar el papel que va a jugar durante su cita y (iii) cualquier otra cosa que le parece pertinente a la situación.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 2:

You are an interpreter for a community clinic that has a high population of Spanish-speaking patients. The next patient is a woman around 75 years old that says her throat hurts. She is waiting to see the doctor in the exam room. Before the doctor arrives, you decide to enter the room to (i) introduce yourself, (ii) explain what your role will be during her visit, and (iii) anything else that you feel is pertinent to the situation.

POST: MEDICAL SETTING

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 1:

Usted es intérprete para una clínica comunitaria que tiene una población grande de pacientes hispanohablantes. La próxima paciente es una muchacha unos 21 años que se ha diagnosticado recientemente la diabetes. Ella está esperando a ver al médico en una sala de examinación. Antes de que llegue el médico, usted entra la sala para (i) presentarse, (ii) explicar el papel que va a jugar durante su cita y (iii) cualquier otra cosa que le parece pertinente a la situación.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 1:

You are an interpreter for a community clinic that has a high population of Spanish-speaking patients. The next patient is a young girl around 21 years old that was diagnosed recently with diabetes. She is waiting to see the doctor in the exam room. Before the doctor arrives, you decide to enter the room to (i) introduce yourself, (ii) explain what your role will be during her visit, and (iii) anything else that you feel is pertinent to the situation.

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 2:

Usted es intérprete para una clínica comunitaria que tiene una población grande de pacientes hispanohablantes. La próxima paciente es una señora de unos 75 años que se ha diagnosticado recientemente la diabetes. Ella está esperando a ver al médico en una sala de examinación. Antes de que llegue el médico, usted entra la sala para (i) presentarse, (ii) explicar el papel que va a jugar durante su cita y (iii) cualquier otra cosa que le parece pertinente a la situación.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 2:

You are an interpreter for a community clinic that has a high population of Spanish-speaking patients. The next patient is a woman around 75 years old that was diagnosed recently with diabetes. She is waiting to see the doctor in the exam room. Before the doctor arrives, you decide to enter the room to (i) introduce yourself, (ii) explain what your role will be during her visit, and (iii) anything else that you feel is pertinent to the situation.

PRE: JOURNALISM SETTING

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 1:

Usted es reportera para un canal de noticias local para hispanohablantes. Le han asignado un reportaje acerca de la presencia del lenguaje español en la universidad local y está buscando personas para entrevistar. Mientras está en la universidad, ve a una muchacha de unos 21 años que puede ser una buena candidata para entrevistar. Acérquese a ella para (i) invitarla a participar en una entrevista y (ii) iniciar el protocolo de entrevista.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 1:

You are a reporter for a local news channel for Spanish speakers. You have been assigned a news story about the presence of the Spanish language at the local university and are looking for people to interview. While you are at the university, you see a young girl around 21 years old that could be a good candidate for your interview. Approach her to (i) invite her to participate in an interview and (ii) initiate the interview protocol.

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 2:

Usted es reportera para un canal de noticias local para hispanohablantes. Le han asignado un reportaje acerca de la presencia del lenguaje español en la comunidad local y está buscando personas para entrevistar. Mientras está en un mercado donde van de compras muchos hispanohablantes de la comunidad local, ve a una señora de unos 75 años que puede ser una buena candidata para entrevistar. Acérquese a ella para (i) invitarla a participar en una entrevista y (ii) iniciar el protocolo de entrevista.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 2:

You are a reporter for a local news channel for Spanish speakers. You have been assigned a news story about the presence of the Spanish language in the local community and are looking for people to interview. While you are at a market where many Spanish speakers from the local community go to shop, you see a woman around 75 years old that could be a good candidate for your interview. Approach her to (i) invite her to participate in an interview and (ii) initiate the interview protocol.

POST: JOURNALISM SETTING

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 1:

Usted es reportera para un canal de noticias local para hispanohablantes. Le han asignado un reportaje acerca de la representación legal para inmigrantes en Arizona y está buscando personas para entrevistar. Mientras está en la universidad, escucha una muchacha de unos 21 años hablando con un grupo de amigos acerca de la inmigración. Acérquese a ella para (i) invitarla a participar en una entrevista y (ii) iniciar el protocolo de entrevista.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 1:

You are a reporter for a local news channel for Spanish speakers. You have been assigned a news story about the legal representation of immigrants in Arizona and are looking for people to interview. While you are at the university, you hear a young girl around 21 years old speaking with a group of friends about immigration. Approach her to (i) invite her to participate in an interview and (ii) initiate the interview protocol.

JUEGO DE ROLES

Situación 2:

Usted es reportera para un canal de noticias local para hispanohablantes. Le han asignado un reportaje acerca de la representación legal para inmigrantes en Arizona y está buscando personas para entrevistar. Mientras está en un café, escucha una señora de unos 75 años hablando con un grupo de amigos acerca de la inmigración. Acérquese a ella para (i) invitarla a participar en una entrevista y (ii) iniciar el protocolo de entrevista.

ROLEPLAY

Situation 2:

You are a reporter for a local news channel for Spanish speakers. You have been assigned a news story about the legal representation of immigrants in Arizona and are looking for people to interview. While you are at the university, you hear a woman around 75 years old speaking with a group of friends about immigration. Approach her to (i) invite her to participate in an interview and (ii) initiate the interview protocol.

APPENDIX C

INTERN SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

PRE: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (AVAILABLE IN SPANISH)

Background:

Tell me about where you are from and how you ended up at ASU.

Tell me about how you learned Spanish.

Tell me about where you live.

- Who are the people that you see on a daily or weekly basis?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?

Where do you spend most of your time?

- Who are the people that you see daily in these spaces?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?
- What kinds of things do you do and discuss?

Professional aspirations:

Why did you decide to study (area of study)?

- What does a future career look like for you?

Tell me about why you decided to take Spanish for the Professions classes?

- What impact do you hope these classes to have on your future life? Career?

Do you or have you had any interest in interpreting or translating? Do you have any experience doing so?

Community internship:

Tell me about where you will be engaging in this internship.

- How did you choose this specific community internship site?
- Have you been involved with this internship site before? The community to which the clients belong to?

Tell me about the access to high quality care and services for Spanish-speakers in the local community.

- Any difference to access that English-speakers experience?

Tell me about the treatment of Spanish-speakers in the local community.

- Any difference to English-speakers? Other groups of individuals?

Tell me about what you expect this internship to be like.

- How do you feel about taking part in this internship? For example, excited? Nervous?
- What do you think your role will be?
- What do you hope to get out of this internship?
- What do you think your relation to the community clients will be?

- What type of relation do you hope to have with your internship site mentor? What type of support do you hope to receive from your mentor?
- In what types of Spanish-language activities are you expecting to engage (e.g., conversations, interpretations, translations)?
- Are there specific challenges you are worried about in these encounters?
- Are there specific parts of this work that excite you?
- What difficulties or successes do you expect?
- How do you think you will deal with interactions/encounters that will be particularly difficult or challenging, for whatever reason, during the internship? What strategies/resources will you use to do so?

Tell me about how you think this internship will impact you as a person? Student? Future professional?

- How do you think **you** will impact the clients that you will be working with?
- Ideally, what type of impact do you **hope** to have on the clients that you will be working with?
- What kind of impact do you think you think you will have on the community site where you will be completing your internship?

Textual Knowledge:

- Do you think that there will be any differences in how you open, maintain, and close a conversation with a community client at your internship site versus in a casual conversation? Classroom conversation? Spanish-speaker v. English-speaker?
- What strategies will you use to learn how to appropriately open, maintain, and close a conversation with a community client at your internship site?

Strategic Knowledge:

- What strategies will you use to learn and remember new Spanish words at your internship?
- What strategies will you use to learn more Spanish grammar or improve the grammar you know?
- If you do not know a Spanish word or are unsure of the grammar you want to use, how will you get help on these issues? Who would you ask?
- Would you interrupt the flow of a conversation to get help with Spanish vocabulary or grammar? Why or why not?
- If you misuse a Spanish word or a grammar point would you want people to correct you? Do you think they will at your internship site? Why or why not?
- Would you correct other learners of Spanish or of English when they are talking during a casual conversation? In a classroom? At your internship site?
- How do you think that this internship will impact your language skill in Spanish (e.g., textual and strategic knowledge)?

Pragmatic Knowledge:

- Do you think there will be any differences in how you interact (verbally or nonverbally) with different community clients? Explain and give examples.
- Any differences when interacting with a male vs. female? Younger client v. older? Client that appear to have some type of authority?
- What strategies will you use to learn/improve your use of appropriate language use and actions in this internship?

Cultural Knowledge:

- Do you think the culture of the Spanish-speaking clients will impact the way that you interact with them? How?
- What strategies will you use to learn more about the culture(s) of the Spanish-speaking clients?

Closing:

How would you describe yourself in terms of race/ethnicity?

Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?

POST: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (AVAILABLE IN SPANISH)

After completing this community internship...

Background:

Tell me about where you live.

- Who are the people that you see on a daily or weekly basis?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?

Where do you spend most of your time?

- Who are the people that you see daily in these spaces?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?
- What kinds of things do you do and discuss?

Professional aspirations:

What did you learn during your community internship and the course that accompanied it?

What exactly from the Spanish for the Professional classes were you able to rely upon during your encounters in your internship? Can you give me a few examples?

- What would you have like to have learned during the internship/the classes that you did not?
- Is there something that you would have liked to be able to do but were unable to during the internship?

What does a future career look like for you?

Community internship:

Tell me about how your experience of engaging in your community internship.

- How involved did you feel you are with this site? The clients' community? The clients? The staff? (Examples)
- And now? In the future?

Tell me about the access to high quality care and services for Spanish-speakers in the local community.

- Any difference to access that English-speakers experience?
- Has your perception changed over the period of your internship? If so, why?

Tell me about the treatment of Spanish-speakers in the local community.

- Any difference to English-speakers? Other groups of individuals?
- Has your perception changed over the period of your internship? If so, why?

Tell me about how your internship has been.

- How do you feel about this internship coming to an end? For example, sad? Happy?

- What you think your role has been? Did it change over time? Explain.
- What do you feel you got out of this internship? Anything you wish you would have gotten out of it?
- What do you think your relation to the community clients has been? Did it change over time? Explain.
- What type of relation have you had with your internship site mentor? Did this change over time? Explain.
- What type of support did you receive from your mentor? Did this change over time? Explain.
- In what types of Spanish-language activities did you engage in (e.g., conversations, interpretations, translations)?
- Were there specific challenges that you encountered? What did you do in these cases?
- Were there specific parts of this work that excited you? Explain.
- What difficulties or successes did you have?
- How did you will deal with interactions/encounters that were particularly difficult or challenging, for whatever reason, during the internship? What strategies/resources did you use to do so?

Tell me about a few examples of interactions/encounters that were particularly difficult or challenging, for whatever reason, during the internship. How did you deal with these? What strategies and/or resources did you use to do so?

Tell me about how you think this internship has impacted you as a person? Student? Future professional?

- How do you think **you** have impacted the clients that you will be working with? Examples?
- How do you think that you have impacted the community site where you completed your internship? Give examples.

Textual Knowledge:

- During your internship period, do you think that has been any change in how you open, maintain, and close a conversation with a community client at your internship site versus in a casual conversation? Classroom conversation? Spanish-speaker v. English-speaker? Explain with examples.
- What strategies have you used to learn how to appropriately open, maintain, and close a conversation with a community client at your internship site? Give examples.

Strategic Knowledge:

- What strategies have you used to learn and remember new Spanish words at your internship? Did these strategies change over time? Explain.
- What strategies have you used to learn more Spanish grammar or improve the grammar you knew? Did these strategies change over time? Explain.

- If you didn't know a Spanish word or were unsure of the grammar you wanted to use, how did you get help on these issues? Who did you ask?
- Did you interrupt the flow of a conversation to get help with Spanish vocabulary or grammar? Why or why not?
- If you misused a Spanish word or a grammar point did you want people to correct you? Did they correct you at your internship site? Why or why not?
- Did you correct other learners of Spanish or of English when they are talking in a casual setting? In a classroom? At your internship site? What was their reaction to your correction?
- How do you think that this internship has impacted your language skill in Spanish (e.g., textual and strategic knowledge)?

Pragmatic Knowledge:

- Do you think there were any differences in how you interacted (verbally or nonverbally) with different community clients? Explain and give examples.
- Any differences when you interacted with a male vs. female? Younger client v. older? Client that appeared to have some type of authority?
- What strategies did you use to learn/improve your use of appropriate language use and actions in this internship?

Cultural Knowledge:

- Do you think the culture of the Spanish-speaking clients has impacted the way that you interact with them? Explain with examples.
- What strategies have you used to learn more about the culture(s) of the Spanish-speaking clients? Did these strategies change over time? Explain with examples.

Closing:

What are your next steps as a person? Student? Future professional?

How could the internship program be improved?

Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX D
COMMUNITY MEMBER DEBRIEFINGS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (AVAILABLE IN SPANISH)

Background:

Tell me about where you are from.

Tell me about where you live.

- Who are the people that you see on a daily or weekly basis?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?

Where do you spend most of your time?

- Who are the people that you see daily in these spaces?
- What language(s) do you speak with these people?
- What kinds of things do you do and discuss in these spaces?

Are you working at this time?

- What languages(s) do you use to communicate with different people at work?
- Can you describe a typical interaction you have at work? Or one that happened recently?
- Do you find it easy to communicate with other people at work?

Do you attend any type of school? Or do you children attend school? If so, tell me about this.

- What languages(s) do you use to communicate with different people at school?
- Can you describe a typical interaction you have at the school? Or one that happened recently?
- Do you find it easy to communicate with other people at the school?

Community internship site:

How did you find out about (name of facility)?

If you or someone in your family was hurt and needed medical attention, what would you do to find help?

- If you were to go to a hospital or clinic, how would you be able to communicate with the secretaries, nurses, doctors, and other staff members?
- Would you find it easy to communicate with these people?

If you or someone in your family needed to legal help, what would you do to find this help?

- If you were to go to a legal office, how would you be able to communicate with the secretaries, social workers, layers, and other staff members?
- Would you find it easy to communicate with these people?

If you or someone in your family wanted to get registered to vote, how would you go about doing so?

- If you were to go to an organization for voting registration, how would you be able to communicate with the staff members?
- Would you find it easy to communicate with these people?

If you or someone in your family wanted to be up-to-date on current events, how would you go about accessing this information?

- What types of media outlets would you use? In what language(s) would you consume these media outlets and information?
- Would you find it easy to access this information?

Perceptions of intern:

As I mentioned, I am here to help with the program for ASU interns, such as the one that you worked with today. These interns are currently taking classes to continue developing their Spanish to be able to work with Spanish-speaking community members in their future professions. Therefore, I will be sharing the results with the program coordinators to see how we can better it. I would to learn more about how they are doing, if they are doing a good job, your thoughts, etc. Your comments have no impact on the intern's grade or standing at this facility.

Tell me about how today worked. How did the interactions with the intern go?

- Do you feel that there were any things that they had trouble with? Moments when it was difficult to communicate with him/her?

Tell me about the way in which they addressed you – verbally and/or nonverbally.

- How did you feel about these interactions? For example, did you feel good? Frustrated? Nervous?
- Did you feel confident in what was being said by the intern (and/or other members in the interaction)? Why or why not?
- Did this interaction with the intern make you want to come back to this site? Why or why not?
- Other ways in which the intern affected you/the community site positively or negatively?

Have you worked with this intern before?

- Do you have a good relationship with him/her?
- Do you feel comfortable working with him/her? ¿Talking about personal information with him/her?

What do you think are the intern's strengths?

- What do you think they could do better?
- What type of support do you think that the intern should receive from a mentor at this community site?

- Do you have any suggestions for us? Things that you think they should know before engaging in an internship at a site like this? How they could do a better job?

Conclusions:

With what gender category do you self-identify?

How would you describe yourself in terms of race/ethnicity?

Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX E
CODING SCHEMA AND EXAMPLES

Coding scheme for Petra's corpus

Parent codes: Identity, language

Subcategory 1: Authentic, multilingual/multidialectal self

CODE: TRANSLANGUAGING – LABOR/SOCIAL MOBILITY

e.g., *I can speak formally and proper if I have to*

CODE: TRANSLANGUAGING – MULTILINGUAL/SOCIAL

e.g., *Your palabra del día is "chispa," meaning spark.*

Subcategory 2: Self-protection in situations of linguistic discomfort

CODE: SITUATIONS OF LINGUISTIC DISCOMFORT

e.g., *I don't even know how to spell these words in English.*

CODE: LOWERING EXPECTATIONS/AVOIDING

e.g., *My Spanish might not be up to this.*

Subcategory 3: Language as a vehicle for interpersonal connection

CODE: CONFLICT BETWEEN INTERNSHIP AND MAJOR

e.g., *But it's different than my professional career of journalism*

CODE: WRITTEN COMMUNICATION

e.g., *I also had to write every day in the patient records.*

CODE: ORAL COMMUNICATION

e.g., *communication and interpretation*

Subcategory 4: Hair as a site of resistance

CODE: RACIAL SHAMING

e.g., *You're trying to be Caucasian*

CODE: NONCONSENSUAL HAIR TREATMENT

e.g., *relaxing/straightening treatment.*

CODE: LABOR AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

e.g., *needs to wear your hair the same way*

Coding scheme for Penélope's corpus

Parent codes: Identity, language

Subcategory 1: Journalism as a bridge to family and community

CODE: SELF-DISCOVERY THROUGH THE SSP PROGRAM

e.g., because it kind of made me learn about myself

CODE: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PRIDE

e.g., that it makes them proud that I'm using my culture

Subcategory 2: Development of (linguistic) empathy for generational journeys

CODE: OVERCOMING SELF-DOUBT THROUGH MIRRORED EXPERIENCES

e.g., work through what she calls her "self-doubt"

CODE: REFLECT AND REGRET BASED ON LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

e.g., and I feel like I kind of make fun of her, like teasing her a little bit

Subcategory 3: Re(Claiming) a Mexican-American identity

CODE: COMMITMENT TO THE SPANISH-LANGAUGE MARKET AND OVERCOMING STEREOTYPES

e.g., verified and helped me to decide and know that I do want to be reported for a

Hispanic community

CODE: PHONETIC POSITIONING

e.g., No, my name is Penélope.

Coding scheme for María's corpus

Parent codes: Identity, language

Subcategory 1: Claiming puertorriqueñidad in broadcast

CODE: ACCENT AND DELIVERY

e.g., *It's not an issue of accent when it had to do with reporting.
Because it's delivery*

CODE: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES TO PR VARIETY

e.g., *Don't let the jibara out*

CODE: FINDING HER VOICE

e.g., *They've helped me a lot to begin, begin exploring what is going to
be my style*

Subcategory 2: Linguistic proficiency/commitment to an academic standard variation

CODE: LANGUAGE LOSS AND MAINTENANCE IN AZ

e.g., *I don't see an interest in maintaining Spanish*

CODE: PR SPANISH AS MORE "CORRECT" SPANISH

e.g., *but I want to maintain the correct use of Spanish*

Subcategory 3: Maintaining her authentic self within a gender-biased professional environment

CODE: "SELLING" HERSELF

e.g., *How am I going to sell --? How am I going to present Maria?*

CODE: COMPROMISING/LIMITING HERSELF

e.g., *I conform and I limit myself because I don't want to be too much.*⁴⁴²