Exploring Language Ideologies in Action:

An Analysis of Spanish Heritage Language Oral Corrective Feedback in the Mixed Classroom Setting

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study follows an instructor and four Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) learners in an elementary-level, mixed Spanish course at a community college over the course of 11 class visits. In studying how language ideologies shape oral corrective feedback (oral CF) practices, data were collected through ethnographic observations (field notes, researcher memos), classroom audio recordings, and semi-structured interviews (student, teacher). Specifically, this study analyzes (1) language ideologies prevalent in the classroom context in relation to the conceptualization of errors, (2) the instructor's goals for oral CF, (3) how the instructor provides oral CF and in what contexts, and (4) how the mixed class environment relates to oral CF.

To do so, the data were analyzed via a bifocal approach in coding interview and classroom discourse (Razfar, 2003) and engaging in Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2016) informed by frameworks in Linguistic Anthropology (Irvine, 1989; Kroskrity, 2004, 2010; Leeman, 2012) and Second Language Acquisition (Ellis, 2009; Li, 2017; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). The findings demonstrate how oral CF becomes ideologically charged in a classroom context primarily designed to impart foreign language instruction. Under the guise that SHL learners' varieties represent negative characteristics (e.g., low socioeconomic strata, Mexicaness, immigration), oral CF is used to eradicate their Spanish varieties. Findings also illustrate the (in)congruency of the instructor and learners' perceptions of oral CF and what takes place in the classroom. In some cases, SHL learners demonstrated language pride and resisted the imposition of a foreign variety but reported hegemonic beliefs about their own varieties.

Exemplifying how the instructor and SHL learners contribute to the complex dynamics of ideologization of oral CF, this study advocates for the adoption of Critical Language Awareness frameworks (Martínez, 2003; Leeman, 2005) in mixed language classrooms that encompasses this practice (e.g., focus-on-form instruction). Additionally, in acknowledging that teachers and educational institutions play a key role in the (re)production of dominant language norms, this study calls for the creation of instructional guidelines for oral CF as a pedagogical practice. Such guidelines must include critical discussions with students about the relationship between "correct," "correcting," and "being corrected" and asymmetrical power relationships.

DEDICATION

A mi querida familia*: Esta tesis se la dedico a mis padres quienes siempre se quitaron el pan de la boca para que nunca me faltara nada. Sin ellos no hubiera logrado mis sueños.*

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

--	Speaker self-repairs or restarts
[ ]	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

More than thirty years after Valdés-Fallis and Teschner's (1978) initial call to action, the subfield of Spanish as a Heritage Language (HL) has grown exponentially with the goal to provide a quality educational experience to the ever-growing Latino student population in the United States (Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012). On account of such demographic growth, a wide body of research comprised of numerous articles and volumes has significantly advanced the subfield forward. The knowledge gained from such research strides has consolidated the general principle that "mixed classes of heritage and foreign language learners are not an ideal environment for either group" (Beaudrie, 2012, p. 204). Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) learners' educational, linguistic, and socio-affective needs are more effectively addressed in specialized courses of their own. Despite this tenet, the fact remains that the majority of SHL learners study their HL in mixed classes all throughout the country (Beaudrie, 2011, 2012; Carreira, 2014, 2016a, 2016b). Research on how to effectively provide language instruction that is equally responsive to the educational needs of both SHL and second language (L2) learners within such an environment remains limited. So too, is mixed class sociolinguistic research scarce. The present study aims to fill in this gap by examining the language ideologies and the oral corrective feedback (oral CF) practices pertaining to SHL learners within the mixed class context.

This qualitative study examines interview discourse data of a language instructor (n = 1) and SHL learners (n = 4), as well as classroom oral CF episodes in an elementary level, mixed Spanish class at a community college. To reach this analysis, data were collected from various sources that include ethnographic observations during classroom visits (n = 11), recorded classroom audio, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. Through these gathered data, this present study seeks to address the overarching question:

> *How do language ideologies mediate the oral CF practices of a Spanish language instructor that has not had specialized training to teach SHL learners, but nonetheless must provide them with language instruction that is tailored to L2 learners?*

In doing so, this study attempts to address constructs such as the standard language ideology, normative monolingualism, appropriateness, as well as form-focused instruction to examine how and why oral CF is used to modify SHL students' speech.

To address these above-mentioned issues, this study draws from two main levels of data analysis. First, this study takes an ethnographic approach to documenting classroom oral CF episodes and utilizes Second Language Acquisition (SLA) frameworks to contextualizes such instances. Oral CF, one manifestation of focus on form instruction, is defined as a type of negative feedback that "takes the form of a response to a learner utterance that contains a linguistic error" (Ellis, 2009, p. 3). According to Ellis (2009), the instructor's response to the error is an *other-initiated* repair that is generally comprised of:

1. An indication that an error has been committed by the learner;
2. The learner is provided the correct target language form;
3. Metalinguistic information about the error is provided, or any combination of these three elements; and
4. Sometimes includes learner uptake (p. 3-4)

With this in mind, the current study seeks to discern both the oral CF strategies employed by the instructor, as well as learner responses to such repair attempts. In addition, the data is examined to better understand which language forms are targeted during oral CF episodes, which are not, and how such 'errors' differ between SHL and L2 learners. Furthermore, this study looks at the (in)congruency of student-teacher expectations regarding oral CF and documents teacher beliefs and self-perceptions regarding CF practices toward SHL learners. Lastly, data are examined to understand how oral CF relates to the instructor's goals for the development of SHL learners' varieties, as well as to gauge how SHL learners perceive CF of their home varieties.

The second level of data analysis pertains to gaining sociolinguistic insight to this seemingly neutral form-focused instructional practice. By adopting frameworks from Linguistic Anthropology and Critical Linguistics, language ideologies are understood to be "values and belief systems regarding language generally, specific languages or language varieties, or particular language practices and ways of using language" (Leeman, 2012, p. 45). Following this definition, classroom and interview discourse are examined to gain insight into how participants' beliefs and values regarding the 'relative worth' of bilingual discourse and its associated practices and features constitute the oral CF process. This study also aims to analyze ideologies relating to language

appropriateness within the classroom setting, as well as how such ideas are simultaneously interconnected to broader social structures that relate "to the beliefs about the people who speak given …varieties or who engage in specific language practices" (Leeman, 2012, p. 45). This second level attempts to present a view of oral CF that is typically not discussed in SLA driven inquiry. Accordingly, by questioning how language ideologies and oral CF are connected, this research endeavor seeks to explore how such an instructional practice is related to broader dominant discourses about language norms, as well as how it is complicit in the reproduction of language hierarchies within the classroom context.

As Razfar (2010) notes, discussions surrounding oral CF are typically grounded in cognitive perspectives of L2 learning, "with the focus being on the individual learner and their subsequent language development" (p.12). The author argues that such debates rarely set their sights on the underlying beliefs and assumptions that mediate this common instructional practice. This study offers an alternative view of oral CF that analyzes it "as an index of language ideologies rooted in the social and cultural interests of participants" (Razfar, 2005, p.407), as well as an index of the "teacher's ideas, perceptions, and expectations of language, learning, and the speakers themselves" (Razfar, 2010, p. 14). In this way, oral CF can be understood as an explicit manifestation of the instructors' conscious or unconscious, "sometimes-idealized evaluation and judgments of appropriate language forms and functions along with opinions about the individual and groups that follow or flout conventional expectation" (McGroarty, 2010, p. 3). Because language ideologies are often commonsense notions and actions (Siegal, 2006), this study draws from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover the hidden

and taken-for-granted language ideologies present within these two levels of data (see subsection 3.6.1). Following Ducar (2006), the present research is not an attempt to denigrate the instructor participant; rather, such an analysis is intended to draw attention to the fact that despite the instructor's best intentions, the decisions taken with respect to how learners' varieties are 'corrected' have underlying ideological implications. Under this lens, I will attempt to provide a critical view of oral CF. The significance of this study is sustained by four major current needs within the SHL educational research.

1.1.1 Rationale for the Study

Countless studies have highlighted the fact that SHL research is vital to understanding and improving United States (U.S.) Latino students' educational experiences in higher education. Usually this research need is supported by citing the growing enrollment of such learners in post-secondary educational institutions across the country which, of course, coincides with the growing U.S. Latino demographic population. Beaudrie's (2012) crucial contribution to surveying SHL programs throughout U.S. universities has revealed an important presence of these course offerings throughout the Southwest and the country as whole. The researcher contacted all four-year institutions with at least five percent Hispanic student enrollment that offered Spanish courses. The elicited data demonstrated that out of 422 U.S. universities, 169 institutions (40%) were identified as having an SHL program. The Northeast region of the U.S. was found to have the highest percentage (50%) of SHL programs, the lowest was the Mountain West (26%) and all other regions showed similar distributions (31-38%) to the Mountain West. Beaudrie (2012) noted that these findings were surprising considering that the Northeast houses the largest population of Hispanics after the

Southwest and Southern regions. Finally, it was found that states with the highest percentages of SHL programs were New Mexico (5/8 universities, 63%), New York (26/44 universities, 59%), California (36/71 universities, 51%), New Jersey (9/18 universities, 50%), Massachusetts (11/25 universities, 44%), Florida (10/23 universities, 43%), Pennsylvania (6/14 universities, 43%), Connecticut (7/17 universities, 41%), Texas (20/63 universities, 32%), and Illinois (14/26 universities, 28%). These numbers have a significant relationship to the number of Latinos enrolled at these universities, which, in turn, plays a factor in whether these institutions offer SHL courses.

Even with such findings, HL research in community colleges remains scant. As such, it is difficult to speak to the state of SHL education in this particular context of higher education. Therefore, I argue that the HL field's panoramic view of SHL instruction throughout the U.S. is limited on account that community colleges are often overlooked. Community colleges "provide a gateway to postsecondary education for a large number of students who otherwise would have limited access to such opportunities; consequently, CCs play an important role in the social mobility by preparing students" (Nagano, Funk & Ketcham, 2017, p.621-622). The authors further note that community college students account for nearly 40% of overall undergraduate enrollment in the U.S. Thus, community colleges are more likely to service students of color, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, recent immigrants or descendants of immigrants (first-generation college students). Given these students' immigrant backgrounds, many of them have been exposed to HL at home and "may have greater potential for acquiring a high level of multilingualism and multicultural skills than do their monolingual and monocultural peers" (Nagano et al., 2017, p. 622). The exclusion of such institutions

from university-/post-secondary-based HL research limit not only the field's understanding of where HL "best-practices" have been adopted, but also its knowledge of such students' educational experiences. This study not only aims to provide empirical findings on such a context, but also calls attention to the need to further promote HL research on this 'invisible' student population.

The second rational for this study relates to how scholars have advocated for more classroom-based research that goes beyond survey and laboratory studies to provide insight into the real-world context of instruction:

> At the heart of HL education are the learners themselves: their needs, strengths, dispositions, etc., and what these mean for teaching and learning. So far, data on HL learners have been collected mostly through surveys similar to Carreira and Kagan's (2011) and rely on students' self-reporting; through assessment studies…and through linguistic research in laboratory setting. Though extremely valuable, these approaches are limited in terms of providing a comprehensive account of HL teaching and learning because they all necessarily involve simplifying assumptions. These simplifications mean that important real-world complexities are overlooked. To address those complexities, class-based studies are needed. (Carreira & Kagan, 2018, p. 157-158)

In particular, an important aspect of the "real-world complexities" that Carreira and Kagan (2018) point to are instructional issues relating to mixed Spanish courses. The existence of mixed courses results from a myriad of administrative and social circumstances such as inadequate or limited institutional support, resources, teacher training, and faculty or low numbers of SHL learners (Carreira, 2016b). Carreira (2016b) underscores the difficulties that may arise in such courses:

> Crucially, the term [mixed class] does not refer to classes that employ methods and materials designed specifically for teaching HL and L2 learners together. This distinction serves to highlight a significant shortcoming of mixed classes as they are currently conceived: they are indistinguishable from those of L2 classes. (p. 135)

Despite some experts arguing for the potential reciprocal learning that can result from both types of learners collaborating (Bowles, 2011), there presently exists a dearth of materials, approaches and general classroom-based empirical knowledge regarding the best practices for this type of class environment. As explicated by the above quote, the present state of affairs with regard to mixed language classes is that they are, in most cases, disadvantageous for SHL participants on three general fronts.

First, according to Carreira (2016b), mixed classes, especially at the lower elementary levels, tend to be oriented toward L2 teaching practices that depart from a micro-based approach. As such, L2 learners first need form-focused (micro-based) instruction that "progress from smaller, simpler units of knowledge such as grammar and vocabulary" in order to develop their abilities and to be able to access authentic—discourse level—materials (Carreira, 2016a, p. 161). Whereas the opposite is true for SHL learners whose language abilities consist of functional skills in "complex and authentic activities from the outset of instruction" (Carreira, 2016a, p. 162). This, in turn, means that such learners should be taught through macro-based practices that draw support from form-focused instruction. Second, the sociocultural topics in such courses are typically chosen for learners without familial connections to Spanish. Third, the language topics are "fined-tuned to the needs of L2 students" (Carreira, 2016b, p. 135).

With this context in mind, the study of oral CF becomes crucial to gaining important classroom-based knowledge about the actual treatment of SHL learners in mixed classes and how to conceptualize and construct curriculum and approaches that best serve their educational needs. Moreover, by paying particular attention to how this form-focused practice is "adjusted" to SHL learners' varieties in a context where such

micro-based instruction is foregrounded to meet the needs of L2 learners, further insight can be gained regarding how oral CF can become a subjective act based on belief and value systems rather than on actual research-based instruction. In sum, I demonstrate the need for sociolinguistic research in the mixed class environment, as well as to show how instructional approaches and practices common to the L2 teaching context must be reexamined to incorporate sociolinguistic tenets particular to U.S. Spanish.

Regarding the third rational point, I aim to contribute to the overall body of SHL educational knowledge that pertains to language ideological research. Recently, the study of language ideologies has gained significant currency among SHL scholars. Research and pedagogy concerning Critical Language Awareness (CLA) has significantly expanded in recent years (Beaudrie, Amezcua & Loza, 2019; Holguín Mendoza, 2017; Leeman, 2005; Leeman & Serafini, 2016; Martínez, 2003; Parra, 2016; among others). With a critical eye toward social inequity, language discrimination, and the supremacy of certain dominant varieties over other communities of speakers, CLA proposes challenging and transforming such hegemonic language ideologies through language instruction that instills awareness of such matters on students. Thus, what is known about language ideologies regarding SHL learners and their varieties both in society and in the classroom significantly contributes to the social transformation proposed by CLA. However, there are still aspects of language ideologies that remain unknown:

> Whereas language ideological research examining SHL educational policies, approaches and materials, and the ways in which they reproduce and reinforce dominant ideologies has made important contributions, there is a clear need for ethnographic studies exploring how such ideologies are embodied in educational practice. Future research should look at what instructors actually do in the classroom, including how they use such artifacts, how they structure classes, how they discuss and respond to linguistic variation, and how they treat students. (Leeman, 2012, p. 56)

As Leeman (2012) notes above, there is a clear need to further the field's understanding of the various institutional mechanisms by which language ideologies continue to promote dominant language ideologies and, thus, continue to undermine the goals set forth by CLA. The present dissertation contributes to studies in language ideologies through the problematization of mixed classes, how they are unaccommodating to SHL learner needs and, as such, present everyday teaching practices (i.e. oral CF) that are also problematic to the U.S. Latino students enrolled in such classes.

Finally, considering that a large body of language attitudinal research attests to the discriminatory treatment of the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos (Galindo, 1995; Hidalgo, 1986; Peñalosa, 1980; Zentella, 1990a, 2007), SHL experts have long condemned such treatment of SHL learners' varieties within education (Hidalgo, 1997; Rodriguez Pino, 1997; Sánchez, 1981; Valdés, 1981, 1997). Given this social reality, experts have advocated for a sociolinguistic approach to language variation in the classroom. With the intent to mitigate linguistic discrimination, several educational proposals have emerged over the years (Carreira, 2000; Gutiérrez, 1997; Kondo-Brown, 2003; Potowski, 2005; Samaniego & Pino, 2000) to "accommodate" SHL learners' non-prestigious varieties alongside the instruction of prestigious Spanish varieties taught by educational institutions. In some proposals, SHL learners are taught about the linguistic

aspects of their own varieties as they develop simultaneously their abilities in a prestigious variety.

Despite the overarching concern regarding the mistreatment or the "correcting" of U.S. Spanish in the classroom, there are presently no empirical studies that critically analyze oral CF (an everyday instructional practice) and its interrelationships with language ideologies within the SHL context. More broadly, there is a dearth of Formal Applied Linguistics studies concerning oral CF that include SHL learners. To the best of my knowledge, a study by Gass and Lewis (2007) is among the few SLA-focused attempts at understanding this instructional practice in relation to SHL learners' language development. However, similar to the many Formal Linguistics studies in the SHL subfield, this CF research focuses on determining the linguistic and learning (in)congruencies between L2 learners and SHL learners. Accordingly, with this present study I attempt to contribute to the scarce body of research on SHL-based oral CF. Furthermore, because what is known about oral CF is often devoid of broader social contexts, I also aim to contribute a critical perspective of oral CF that reaches beyond the "individual" and looks more broadly toward language and society; thus, forming connections between micro-level classroom utterances and macro-level ideological relationships (Pennycook, 2010). Before delving further into such matters, the following subsection discusses two important definitions of the notion "heritage language learner" and how such definitions are important to this present research.

1.1.2 Who is a Heritage Learner?

As mentioned in the introduction, the mission of SHL education is to provide a quality experience to such learners that is responsive to their educational, linguistic, and socio-affective needs. This need emerges from the fact that SHL learners are a heterogeneous group: "HS cannot be thought of as a homogenous group, nor be easily tagged/identified as such given the vast array of characteristics that make up and determine their respective and individual profiles" (Pascual y Cabo & DeLaRosa-Prada, 2015, p. 3). Given this notion and that SHL learners attain varying degrees of language abilities in their HL, SHL learners' bilingualism is more appropriately represented as a continuum rather than a binary. SHL speakers attain varying degrees of proficiency due to a range of both social and linguistic variables that include elements such as affiliation to the HL[1], immigration[2], ethnicity[3], multiple-language exposure[4], early age of onset of bilingualism[5], nonnativelike attainment[6], and literacy/schooling[7] (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013; Ortega, 2019). These varying degrees of proficiencies range from SHL speakers attaining high proficiency levels approximate to monolinguals (Bayram, Prada, Pascual y Cabo, & Rothman, 2018) to receptive SHL speakers that have passive language abilities (Beaudrie, 2009a, 2009b; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira, 2004). On account of this heterogeneity, solidifying a single definition of "heritage language learner" is a difficult task.

HL experts have put forward several proposals of the notion "heritage language learner" (e.g., Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013; Fishman, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Valdés, 2000). As Carreira (2004) notes,

> All definitions can be said to be valid for particular communities in the U.S. and to be of value for specific linguistic tasks (i.e. teaching, linguistic maintenance, revival etc.). However, no sole definition is capable of embracing all and only such individuals that could conceivably be argued to fall under the heading heritage language learner. (p. 2)

The author argues that such a notion depends greatly with respect to the varying historical, social, linguistic, and demographic realities of the individual or group of speakers. To this end, two principle definitions have emerged relevant to the SHL context. First, Fishman's (2001) definition foregrounds speakers' personal connection to the HL via family background/heritage as a defining characteristic (e.g., Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). Learners such as these typically enroll in classes to study their HL seeking to reconnect with their familial roots. Second, proficiency-based definitions call attention to HL learners who were "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" (Valdés, 2000, p.1). Because proficiency-based definitions are the most "narrowly" constructed, they often exclude receptive HL speakers who have significantly strong familial and personal ties to the HL but "lack the minimum linguistic skills to participate" in an SHL course (Carreira, 2004, p. 15). Carreira (2004) notes that SHL specialists generally adopt Valdés' definition. This fact highlights the reality that many receptive individuals are often excluded from taking SHL courses; however, "the restrictive nature of these definitions is not motivated by elitist attitudes, but by practice considerations" (Carreira, 2004, p. 9). Generally, such students

are placed in SLA courses with the rationalization that their linguistics needs will be better served. However, the author also notes that such courses do not address these learners' other educational or affective needs pertaining to "being Latino."

This subsection highlights receptive bilinguals in particular as it is crucial to understanding the context of this present study. Because the ethnographic context of this study centers on a mixed class, a "narrow" definition of "heritage language learner" was not adequate to encompass the U.S. Latino diversity found among the SHL learner participants. This study includes SHL learners with significant proficiency, as well as one learner that linguistically resembled her L2 peers in terms of language learning needs. Nevertheless, as the data will show, this participant resembles her SHL counterparts in terms of socio-affective experiences and needs with respect to the HL. As such, I argue that research in the mixed class context must be prepared to include the different types of SHL learners found within its walls to properly gauge their educational experiences and needs. Specifically, oral CF must include receptive bilinguals, as well as proficient SHL learners to fully understand the sociolinguistic aspects of this instructional practice for this learner population. Research on this form-focused practice should address the following: (1) oral CF differences between receptive and non-receptive learners, (2) ideological differences between both types of learners with respect to oral CF, and (3) teacher differences in perception of these two types of SHL learners in terms of HL development.

1.2.1 Research Questions

The present study attempts to fill in the gaps mentioned in the introduction and rationale by addressing the following research questions:

1. What language ideologies are prevalent in the classroom context in relation to the conceptualization of errors?
    a. How do instructors and students define an error?
    b. What is "good" CF for Spanish heritage language learners according to instructors and students?

2. What are instructor's goals for oral CF?
    a. How does this converge with their beliefs and practices?

3. How do instructors provide oral CF and in what contexts?
    a. What type of feedback do they provide?
    b. What ideologies mediate these decisions?

4. How does the mixed class environment relate to the practice of oral CF?

The research findings of this study contribute to the field of HL by bringing to light the importance of examining oral CF in a manner that addresses language form, student affective aspects, as well as broader societal issues. This study also highlights how instructional guidelines based on research need to be established with respect to how oral CF should be included within the SHL context. By examining oral CF and language ideologies, I address the need to better understand how language instruction propagates hegemonic language ideologies and, as such, how language teaching reinforces social inequity. Thus, the results of this research contribute to the overall effort of providing SHL learners with a quality education that meets their needs, as well as to the effort to transform SHL education by adopting critical philosophies and teaching practices.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter sets the path to understanding the specific frameworks important to the objectives of the present study. Moreover, the focus of the following subsections pertains to explaining two main constructs: (1) language ideologies and (2) oral corrective feedback (oral CF). Regarding the former, research from Linguistic Anthropology will be discussed to define "language ideologies," to delineate important tenets of their study, and to understand their sociolinguistic importance in the Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) context. With respect to oral CF, the subsections will draw from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) frameworks to define and describe their instructional manifestation and their importance for the language learning process. The second component of the oral CF overview also includes previous research that takes a critical approach to this instructional practice; thus, connecting oral CF to language ideologies.

Generally, the study of language ideologies can be divided into two approaches: a neutral and a critical approach (Woolard, 1998). On one hand, Kroskrity (2004) explains that language ideologies are studied as any system of cultural representation from an objective standpoint[8]. On the other, critical approaches zero in on specific phenomena that center on the possibility of bias and distortion based on speakers' social and political interests: "The consequent distortion…may help to legitimize mechanisms of social domination" (McGroarty, 2010, p. 6). It is through this latter lens that I aim to turn a critical eye toward oral CF and examine its connection to broader macro-level issues. Examining oral CF in this way is important to gauging how its practice contributes to

reinforcing dominant views of language. In particular, extending the tenants of language ideology studies to oral CF affords the possibility of exposing mechanisms of domination, bias, and distortion and how such mechanisms indirectly relate to the sociopolitical and economic interests of dominant varieties and speakers of such varieties.

2.1.1 Language Ideologies

Whether expressed explicitly or embodied implicitly in communicative practice (McGroarty, 2010; Kroskrity, 2004), language ideologies represent an abstract intersection between human beings and the social world (Woolard, 1998). This intersection between language and society is concerned with speakers' values in and beliefs about language, and more importantly, what their cultural ideas about language convey about particular groups of speakers within unequitable power relationships. Language ideologies can be broadly defined as "values and beliefs systems regarding language generally, specific languages, or language varieties, or particular language practices and ways of using language" (Leeman, 2012, p. 43). Examples of this construct can be heard when people express their dismay for United Sates (U.S.) Spanish through notions such as: "that's ghetto Spanish," "that sounds *pocho*" or "Spain has the purest Spanish." All of these sentiments have in common that they are not solely about language:

> 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. (Leeman, 2012, pp. 45)

Because language is often used as a proxy to enact discrimination on other grounds (Milroy & Milroy, 2000, n.p.), such "commentary" about language is really about who people are, what communities they belong to, the socioeconomic status of their families, their immigrant backgrounds, their culture, their race, etc. Such beliefs and values about different aspects of human communication matter as they critically shape society's understanding of language on multiple fronts; they "enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology…they often underpin fundamentally social institutions" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 56).

Crucially, language ideologies "come into being in the contexts of power relations at the local, national, state and global levels" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 121). As many experts have come to acknowledge (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002; Bloomaert, 1999; Bloomaert & Verschueren, 1998; Pavlenko, 2002; Woolard, 1998, among others), language ideologies are "constructed in discourse at micro and macro levels, and in institutional as well as everyday practices" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 122). In this respect, it is not only language form that "hinges" on ideologizations of language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), but also social institutions—the language policies and actions that embody them—that "emerge and reinforce" relationships of power and domination (Leeman, 2012). Specifically, it is how institutions shape, promote, and normalize a constellation of commonsense and taken-for-granted cultural beliefs and value systems about languages, language varieties and language practices (Blommaert, 1999; Kroskrity, 2004, 2010; Leeman, 2012; McGroarty, 2010; Siegel, 2006).

The (re)production of language ideologies within institutional settings is exemplified by Valdés' (2016, 2017) concept of the "curricularization of language". The curriculuarization of language is the process of treating language as an academic subject in the educational context rather than as a "species-unique communicative system acquired naturally in the process of primary socialization, but as an academic subject or skill the elements of which can be ordered and sequenced, practiced, and studied, learned and tested in artificial contexts within which learners of the target language outnumber proficient speakers" (Valdés, 2017, p. 76-77). Valdés (2017) argues that the process of curricularization is informed and determined by an intricate and interactive process of epistemological (e.g., conceptualizations of language), theoretical (e.g., theories of SLA or second dialect acquisition) and practical mechanisms (e.g., language policies) that are not always apparent to program designers, pedagogues, language learners, or scholars. Crucially, the author delineates the importance of curricularizing language as a determiner in program goals and outcomes, how language teachers are trained and hired, what materials are used during instruction, how language learners are categorized and classified, and, finally, how learners are assessed. Importantly, in Valdés' (2017) model, ideologies about language, race, class, and identity permeate every element of the mechanisms involved in such a process, which underscores the precedence of unmasking the different ways value and belief systems shape language education on multiple levels (e.g., the everyday instructional practices that promote dominant language ideologies).

The present study draws its attention to how such belief and value systems underpin educational institutions that embody and promote core notions about what constitutes "correct" and "incorrect" language use. The decisions language programs and instructors take with respect to their SHL learners' varieties have underlying ideological implications. Whether language programs/instructors choose to celebrate SHL learners' varieties or choose to eradicate them, both approaches are rooted in language ideologies. Such approaches are not benign, given that educational institutions have the authority to define what counts as knowledge, what is considered to be "correct" or "ideal," and certainly—for minority language students—defines what is worth knowing (Leeman, 2010). Often, the knowledge underprivileged students bring to the classroom does not align with the educational value system. In effect, SHL learners' home varieties are perceived as something to "fix." Of special concern to this current study is how language ideologies are articulated explicitly and embodied in practice through oral CF and how the broader social structures pertaining to SHL learners and the varieties that they speak simultaneously shape the instructional context around them.

2.1.2 A Framework for the Study of Language Ideologies

Departing from a Poststructuralist framework, this study draws from Irvine's (1989) definition of language ideologies as "cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships; together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p.255). This definition calls upon the way in which language ideologies are shared in society and, thus,

> not only entails the examination of belief systems and their interactions with other social systems, but also explores how language ideologies emerge from and reinforce power relationships, as well as how certain ways of thinking about language simultaneously interact with other social structures.
> (Leeman, 2012, p. 44)

To exemplify this interaction, Leeman (2012) points to how normative monolingual ideologies that "imagine monolingualism as a universal norm and link multilingualism to cognitive confusion, in intergroup conflict and a lack of national cohesiveness—contribute to the portrayal of bilingual speakers as intellectually compromised and of minority languages as inherently unpatriotic" (p. 46). This example demonstrates the complexity of language ideologies and their varied—sometimes overlapping—multilevel connections between language and society. Because research on language ideologies lacks a unifying—central—theoretical body, different research perspectives have shaped what this construct means for the study of language. To be able to discern how the different manifestations of language ideologies interact as a system of beliefs and values, it is essential to understand three axioms that "organize" the various strands that comprise language ideological research relevant to the present study (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). As such, the following "levels" of organization will help in fine-tuning and contextualizing the literature review of previous works, as well as the findings of this study.

The first axiom represents an analysis of the mechanisms that legitimate unequal power relations by what is considered to be "true," "morally good," or "aesthetically pleasing" about language: "language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests. These notions often underlie attempts to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those

interests" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 501). Applied to Spanish, this idea is illustrated through perceptions of which language varieties/languages/language practices are considered to be "standard," "correct," "educated," "academic," "proper" and which are considered "slang," "improper," "ghetto," "not standard." By no means are such notions of correctness neutral, arbitrary or inherently true, but rather, as Leeman (2012) argues, serve to "legitimate the accrual of disproportionate privilege, power, and material resources to speakers of preferred varieties while rationalizing the subordination of other language varieties and the people who speak them" (p. 45). Accordingly, one such mechanism that sustains dominant language norms to the benefit of specific groups of speakers is the ideology of "normative monolingualism".

According to Fuller (2013), normative monolingualism is conceived as being comprised of two domains: (1) "monolingualism is presented as the ideal state for social and political entities, such as the nation state" (e.g., English-only) and (2) "normative monolingualism is that if an individual is bilingual, the two languages must be kept separate" (p. 10). Although these two domains might seem unrelated, they critically affect U.S. Latinos on two fronts: (i) how their familial/educational context sees them and (2) how mainstream U.S. society views bilinguals of immigrant languages. Thus, these two domains of normative monolingualism are crucial in understanding SHL learners' institutional experiences across several contexts.

On the one hand, normative monolingualism is embodied through anti-bilingual activism, such as the promulgation of legislative initiatives that restrict minority languages from public institutions (Crawford, 2000; Mar-Molinero, 2000; Schmid, 2000; Zentella, 1997b). Significantly, SHL learners' opportunities for studying their HL in

public school is severely undermined—a situation that only serves to propagate social norms that benefit non-immigrant populations. On the other hand, SHL learners' educational experiences are often oriented toward the learning of a so-called "standard." Because normative monolingualism shapes what is essentially considered "good communication," bilingual discourse is socially portrayed as "corrupted" or somehow "damaging" to both the Spanish language and the culture:

> borrowing and mixing are often frowned upon, leading some insiders and outsiders to patrol their respective language borders against what they consider a linguistic deformation…but chagrining them with corrupting their heritage language and culture prove counterproductive. Instead of encouraging them to develop their languages, guilt may lead them to abandon one of them. (Zentella, 2008, p.6)

As the above quote explicates, a "good" bilingual is a speaker that resembles two monolinguals in one person. In other words, a good bilingual draws boundaries between their two languages, keeping them separated at all costs so as to not engage in inappropriate language use that goes against dominant norms (e.g., monoglossic language ideologies). Thus, SHL learners' varieties, often consisting of language contact and/or rural linguistic features (see Lipski, 2008; Sánchez, 1993), are juxtaposed against upper-class monolingual varieties of Spanish which are deemed inherently superior and the only variety worthy of using and teaching in an institutional context.

Related to the above-mentioned context is the "standard language" ideology. Because the notion of a "standard" is a hypothetical construct of an idealized form of language (Lippi-Green, 2012), SHL experts have criticized how learners are generally taught to adopt such a variety in school. The goal of teaching SHL learners to expand their abilities to include a prestige variety is not necessarily problematic. However, its

teaching in isolation from the sociolinguistic context and validity of bilingual discourse sustains a monolithic idea of language as being static and uniform across all speakers of Spanish. Language classrooms transmit explicitly or implicitly such idealizations of language by seeking to eradicate non-desirable features and practices from learners' repertoires. Experts have long critiqued how classrooms address linguistic variation by having learners compare and contrast lists of vulgar forms to prestige uses of Spanish (Bernal-Henríquez & Hernández-Chávez, 2003). In addition, learners are taught that the standard is both the only acceptable means to communicate in professional contexts and only path toward attaining success (Villa, 2002). Teaching materials, such as textbooks reflective of the standard language ideology, also promote this idea (Ducar, 2006; Leeman & Martínez, 2007; Padilla & Vana, 2019). More broadly, Lippi-Green (2012) notes how lexicographers compile dictionaries by consulting with upper-class speakers of standard varieties, whereas forms from lower-class speakers are discarded. Of course, which varieties dictionaries reflect matter because, like Spanish textbooks, they serve as artifacts that mediate the teaching of language (Tollefson, 2002). This axiom is important for this present study given that notions, such as these, are crucial to understanding how both SHL learners and the instructor participant rationalize "correct" Spanish and how ideologies sustain dominant language norms, as well as mediate classroom practices pertaining to SHL learners' varieties.

Drawing from the second axiom that organizes this type of research, language ideologies are conceived to be multiplicitous, "because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of

group membership" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 503). Leeman (2012) notes that ideological multiplicity is carried out when "not all members of a particular group take up dominant language ideologies, and sometimes actively resist them" (p. 45). As the author illustrates, whereas some people view bilingual discourse as a deficit, others see creativity and proficiency in bilingualism. Within the classroom, multiplicity might be seen in how not all SHL learners have the same perceptions toward bilingual discourse. Whereas some studies, such as the work by Vergara Wilson and Ibarra (2015), demonstrate SHL learners having supportive and positive attitudes toward their varieties, others have demonstrated how learners perceive their varieties as not belonging within the classroom (Reznicek-Parrado, 2015, p. 57-58). This suggests that, depending on the instructional approaches taken with respect to language variation, learners across different language program contexts can reflect varying beliefs and values regarding U.S. Spanish. This particular aspect of language ideologies is relevant to this study as it presents an opportunity to examine how different participants can represent diverging views regarding Spanish. Thus, such ideological variance can illustrate important differences with respect to how oral CF is interpreted in its relationship to learners' varieties, as well as for how the learning of a prestige variety is characterized as discussed above.

The third axiom organization this research states that speakers' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. Such mediation is related to three processes that include iconization, fractal recursivity[9] and erasure[10]:

> Language users' ideologies bridge their sociocultural experience and their linguistic and discursive recourses by constituting those linguistic and discursive forms as indexically tied to features of their sociocultural experience. These users, in constructing language ideologies, display the influence of their consciousness in their selection of features of both linguistic and social systems that they do distinguish and in the linkages between systems that they construct. (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 507)

Specific linguistic features are linked to certain sociocultural features through an indexical relationship mediated or, in other words, shaped by ideologies (Leeman, 2012). Although this axiom is comprised of three processes, this present study draws primarily from the construct of iconization (sometimes called "iconicity").

Iconization is the process by which language form becomes an icon or an essentializing feature for the entire group (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In this sense, a particular language variety or phenomenon does not simply pinpoint a community of speakers but "is assumed to be a representation of the group, sharing characteristics with it" (Fuller, 2013, p, 7). Fuller (2013) provides an example of how the ideology that Spanish is an "easy" language to learn and less complex than other languages indexes Spanish-speakers as simple and rural people. Drawing from the works of Hill (1995) and Lipski (2002), Fuller (2013) asserts that because Spanish indexes such values, there is a prevalent belief that Spanish is just English words with -o endings. "Mock Spanish" perpetuates the portrayal of Spanish-speakers as stupid and lazy.

Similar parallels can be drawn with respect to SHL speakers. For instance, since SHL learners' varieties generally contain language-contact and stigmatized regional features of Spanish, it is worth questioning what indexical relationships arise on account of such stigmatized language use. Given that SHL varieties are associated with lower class strata, it is vital to understand how the values regarding such language use are also

extended to sociocultural notions about the actual group of students. For instance, if stigmatized variants such as "*haiga*," "*nadien*," and "*dijiste*" index unintelligent or ignorant speech, the question must be asked if learners' themselves are also academically classified in the same manner. This axiom is important because it will provide insight as to how learning goals are shaped for SHL learners in terms of their language development given that students may index certain sociocultural notions based on the Spanish that they speak. In this regard, the forms targeted by oral CF will tie into the indexical value of learners and the perceived needs that they have with respect to attainting the "knowledge" necessary to fit within the educational value system.

This study draws from these three relevant axioms to contextualize and explain the current research findings within the ideological processes that mediate language and society. This overview serves to explain the broader social structures found (e.g., students' culture, indigeneity, immigration history, lower class socioeconomic status) to characterize SHL learners' varieties. As such, these axioms are vital in discerning why some variants are deemed appropriate for being "corrected," while others are not. The following subsection reviews and discusses previous research findings relating to language ideologies in the SHL subfield. Specifically, the continuing subsections begin broadly with the notions that language ideologies matter for the organization and creation of language classes.

2.2.1 Literature Review of Language Ideologies in the SHL Context

Several important studies set the scene to illustrate the importance of language ideologies within the educational context. First, an ethnographic study of a university-level Spanish department by Valdés, López García, and Márquez (2003) found several relevant themes that characterize the weight language ideologies have in institutionally reinforcing dominant language norms. This study found that, among graduate students and staff (consisting of native, non-native and U.S. Latinos), Latin American as Spain Spanish were described as superior to U.S. Spanish. The participants' understanding of language in relation to U.S. Spanish speakers was mediated by dominant discourses as they positioned "good" Spanish as pure, formal, and free of errors. As such, native speakers were conceived to be the ideal model for such "good" language use, whereas U.S. speakers were described as being prone to struggling with attaining such a prestigious variety.

Moreover, U.S. varieties of Spanish were conceived as a result of specific linguistic barriers. Native and non-native participants who had previous experience teaching such learners described U.S. speakers as a product of their home environment and a lack of adequate linguistic models, desire to learn, high self-esteem, and academic preparation. Importantly, U.S. Latino informants in the study expressed feeling prejudice, fear, pain, and embarrassment stemming from how their varieties were treated in the academic context. Other Latino participants noted that their greatest barrier was not developing their academic Spanish, but rather being accepted professionally and as equals by native Spanish speakers. Valdés et al. (2003) summarize these results:

> In sum, generalizations made about the barriers experienced by native speakers, foreign language learners, and U.S. Latinos revealed a different set of assumptions, expectations, and beliefs about each group. With regard to U.S. Latinos, an ideology of correctness and standardness, and a view of the existence of an agreed-upon standard (the native speaker) resulted in an especially negative evaluation of U.S. Latino Spanish and U.S. Latino bilingual speakers. (p. 20)

The above quote importantly points to how U.S. Latinos are held to a different set of expectations grounded in beliefs compared to elite monolingual speakers. As a result, U.S. Latinos' educational experiences are shaped on entirely different "assumptions" and "beliefs" that, in turn, construct how they are evaluated, how they are taught, and what set of goals are determined for the development of their varieties. The evidence strongly suggest that these three mentioned areas are modeled by normative monolingualism. In all, Valdés et al.'s (2003) study produces significant discursive evidence to suggest the existence of a hierarchy in which Latin American and Peninsular speakers are positioned at the top, second language (L2) speakers of Spanish in the middle, and U.S. bilinguals at the very bottom.

Carreira (2011) expands on the findings illustrated in Valdés et al. (2003) by conducting her own investigation of language ideologies in a post-secondary context and comparing them to Valdés et al. (2003). Not surprisingly, Carreira (2011) finds similar tendencies regarding the value of language, but also notes important differences between these two instructional contexts. For instance, whereas Valdés et al. (2003) found participants to connect "good" Spanish to monolinguals from Latin America or Spain, secondary school teachers linked this notion to social class. Further, non-native teachers "expressed concern over their lack of facility in colloquial Spanish, a variant that was described as having practical value…and being 'real'" (Carreira, 2011, p. 63). Despite the

positive value attached to U.S. Spanish in this regard, participants characterized "best Spanish" as pure, formal, and error-free and conceptualized the native speaker norm as a model for such "correct" language use. Participants also linked "good" Spanish to *La Real Academia* (the Spanish Language Academy) and framed it as ideal for clear communication. This viewpoint is important because mainstream Spanish is "frequently portrayed as the variant that is universally understood" (Carreira, 2011, p. 65), whereas U.S. Spanish is framed as a hindrance to the supposed practically of human communication. As Lippi-Green (2004) argues, the institutional standardization process consists of the idea that "language is communication; communication must be clear to be effective; to be clear, language must be unvarying, static, standardized" (p. 295). Because mainstream varieties are presented as uniquely possessing such characteristics, the devaluation of U.S. Spanish is justified by its counter productivity in this regard. After all, people may ask "how can 'mixing' two languages together be conducive to clear and effective communication?" Of course, this fallacy has been demystified by scholars like Zentella (1997a) whose works have illustrated such practices and features as a sign of proficiency rather than evidence of semilingualism.

Carreira (2011), like Valdés et al. (2003), found teachers to characterize Latino students as having a general lack of interest in school, bad habits, and a "know-it all" attitude toward Spanish, which resulted in low motivation to study Spanish. Furthermore, participants described Latino students' varieties as prone to "errors." The examples of such errors that teachers offered were variants widely present through the Spanish speaking world, as well as English borrowings. Although the home environment was

indicated to be the source of such linguistic "barriers," several teachers pointed to institutional factors:

> A number of teachers also voiced their concerns about the institutional factors such as inappropriate pedagogical materials, inadequate sources, bad placement decisions, and insufficient professional development opportunities…they saw their own profession as contributing to the barriers faced by U.S. Latinos in the academic context. (Carreira, 2011, p. 69)

Furthermore, an interesting difference that Carreira (2011) found compared to the original study is how secondary teachers were more aware of the individual differences between Latino students. Instead of painting them all with the same brush, teachers noted that a particular challenge in working with Latinos students is how they vary individually with respect to their backgrounds and language abilities. Carreira (2011) notes how the teachers' evaluations of U.S. Latinos "are not indicative of an ideology of monolingualism and stadardness," but rather showcase how they praise their skills over L2 learners. This is quite different from Valdés et al. (2003) whose participants applied dominant ideologies to evaluate U.S. Latinos language skills (p. 69). These two studies demonstrate how ideologies diverge, as well as converge at different points. While teacher participants demonstrated ideologies congruent to the original study, the secondary school context also formed their beliefs and values in different ways. The author postulates that given the diversity high school teachers are exposed to, they are more inclusive compared to Spanish professors who interact with people of certain language, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds.

Speaking on another education context, Randolph (2017, 2016) and Russell and Kuriscak (2015) provide ethnographic accounts on language ideologies toward U.S. Latinos in the mixed classroom. In many ways, these three studies echo the above discussion regarding dominant views of SHL learners' varieties and of the students themselves. However, different to the previous two studies, these data have the added "L2 variable" due to the mixed class context. As such, the discussions that the authors provide speak to a context in which teachers must rationalize the presence of both learners in the same class. The first significant finding pertains to how SHL learners' Spanish was characterized as a deficiency in all three studies. Russell and Kuriscak (2015) found that preservice and in-service language teachers at a high school described SHL learners as being deficient in their grammatical and writing abilities. As such, some of their participants noted that "The Spanish that students speak is often not 'true' Spanish, but a slang or Tex-Mex version…Spanish is slightly different in each country and students don't 'get' that there are different ways to use language" (Russell & Kuriscak, 2015, p. 419-420).

Likewise, Randolph's (2017) study demonstrates how language teachers often designate which varieties are "correct" and which ones are "incorrect," despite having additive ideologies regarding SHL learners' varieties. Such a philosophy stands in contrast to subtractive teaching models, which imply "that HLLs maintain their heritage language and culture during the process of adapting to the new cultural environment" (Randolph, 2017, p. 276). Nonetheless, the results were conclusive that, without training on the political implications of nonstandard varieties of Spanish, teachers became frustrated with SHL learners' continued use of such variants:

> Throughout the data collection process, all of the teachers made reference to the academic or textbook variety of Spanish as being 'correct' and other varieties as being 'wrong,' 'substandard,' 'bad,' or 'incorrect,' 'a bad habit'…and something that students could only 'get away with' in certain contexts.
> (Randolph, 2017, p. 270-280)

Randolph's (2017) study also provides evidence that teachers' position as the linguistic authority in the classroom has a number of complications. Specifically, the teacher's authority became challenged by SHL learners who became confrontational and resisted having their speech modified to standard forms. Such a finding aligns aligns with the fact that students may become offended if their home varieties are corrected (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014). As such, these findings speak to how language teachers (who were primarily taught standard Spanish as L2 learners) with no sociolinguistic training specific to teaching this student population can feel insecure and have their "academic authority" threatened by SHL learners' varieties: "HLLs' language skills may prove to be intimidating for teachers who are used to being more fluent than all their students (the L2Ls)" (Randolph, 2017, p. 282).

The author importantly notes that teachers had difficulty reconciling their additive and pluralistic ideals with the reality of students' needs, attitudes, and performance. As such, Randolph documents how despite teachers being aware and accepting of linguistic variation, SHL learners were still expected to conform to textbook Spanish (e.g., son las ocho y cuarenta y cinco 'it's eight forty-five' vs. son las nueve menos cuarto 'it's a quarter to nine'). The researcher notes that such "judgment calls" on what is considered acceptable or appropriate speech did not have consistency. Randolph (2017) recommends that:

> because many instructors do not have adequate knowledge of sociolinguistics and the politics of language, which can lead them to impose linguicism and prejudice against the non-standard…dialects that many HLLs and their families speak…language educators must engage in self-reflective practice to critically examine how their views about linguistic agency and language acquisition may affect their instructional practices. (p. 276)

Randolph's (2017) examination of the ideologies circulating in this context suggest that mixed classes embody such beliefs and value system in various ways. Because mixed classes provide a unique instructional context in which two vastly different elements interact (e.g., L2 and SHL learners), the way in which U.S. Latinos are treated and receive instruction is crucial to fully grasping the extent to which language ideologies influence the SHL classroom context.

Russell and Kuriscak (2015) discuss how teachers hold SHL learners to a different expectation when compared to their L2 peers. Because of their abilities, participants noted that SHL learners should be the "perfect" students. Assuming SHL learners already understand the material, some teachers reported to sometimes overlooking them, which simultaneously provides L2 learners with more opportunities to participate and learn. The authors further explain that SHL learners become bored in class and prefer to socialize in class rather than engage in learning. These findings illustrate the need for an appropriate instructional approach that engages students and addresses the linguistic, educational, and socio-affective needs of SHL learners.

Randolph (2016) finds that teachers perceive the mixed class dynamic to be problematic. This view is based on a self-perception that they are not successful in meeting the educational needs of SHL learners. In contrast, Russell and Kuriscak (2015) find that teachers are resistant to implementing instructional approaches, such as

differentiated instruction that provides adequate instruction to both types of learners, because they prove to be burdensome as a daily practice. Without keen knowledge of the intricacies of the mixed class dynamic, teachers can propagate dominant beliefs about SHL learners that lead to classroom practices that reflect such an ideology.

Randolph (2016) finds teachers to conceive the presence of SHL learners in class as a cultural and linguistic resource for L2 learners' development. These cited data demonstrate how L2 learners often rely on SHL learners for help in translating or explaining class activities, whereas the SHL learners never receive assistance form their L2 peers. In other cases, teachers organized the class so that the L2 learners could benefit from the SHL learners' knowledge and would not allow SHL learners to work together in the same groups for this same reason. According to Carreira's (2016a) proposal on flexible grouping strategies for mixed classes, it is crucial for the instructor to know when to facilitate reciprocal learning in which both learners work of each other's strengths. In addition, teachers must know both when to separate learners into homogenous groups so that SHL learners may carve out a space within the classroom to discuss Latino issues essential to their learning experience and scaffold both learners on topics that they may not be familiar with (e.g., culture or authentic contexts for the L2s and grammar topics/terminology such for the SHL learners). As such, Randloph (2016) notes that the dynamics of the class points to an environment that is inherently more "conducive to the academic needs of L2s than to those of HLLs" (p.182). These findings evoke questions regarding the inconsistent and often ideological manner that SHL learners' varieties are "corrected" based on the norms of classroom Spanish.

Lowther Pereira's (2010) ethnographic study examines the negotiation of identity and language ideologies of SHL learners in a university-level SHL course. One of the areas that the researcher studies is the language instructor's role in transmitting dominant ideologies in the classroom. This is achieved by specifically analyzing the approaches the instructor takes toward standard and non-standard U.S. varieties of Spanish and students' attitudes and interpretations of such classroom discourse. Through ethnographic observations, Lowther-Pereira demonstrates how the instructor took a prescriptive approach to "correcting" SHL learners' Spanish regardless of the situational context and in both writing and oral language. The author states, "Students who used nonstandard forms in speech, whether before the class started in informal conversation or during classroom discussions, were corrected and instructed to use standard forms" (Lowther Pereira, 2010, p. 212). The instructor is documented in correcting language contact lexical items, such as *papel* instead of *ensayo* and *moverse* instead of *mudarse*. The instructor would also engage in mocking such lexical variants and utilize humor to illustrate their incorrectness by dancing or using mocking gestures. But, as the researcher states, "such humor can sometimes be humorous only for the person in the position of authority. For heritage students it can, instead, be real source of embarrassment or shame" (Lowther-Pereira, 2010, p. 218).

Lowther-Pereira (2010) indicates that learners were corrected on their word choice without any discussion of language variation or contact forms:

> the instructor's correction of the student's word choice does not entrail any discussion at all of linguistic varieties or contact forms, even though *tirar una fiesta* is clearly related to the English phrase *throw a party*. The teacher does not provide an explanation that *hacemos fiestas* is merely another way of saying what the student has expressed. The prescriptive response of the teacher intends nothing more than to correct the student because he has somehow used an *incorrect* form. (p. 219)

The above quote provides a clear indication of the lack of sociolinguistic context necessary to validate SHL learners' varieties. As such, the correction is applied, as the researcher notes, with the intent to eradicate the learner's local variety. It is also important to note that such an act is not congruent to the course goals outlined by the SHL program which seeks to increase student's linguistic awareness. Furthermore, the instructor participant reveals that she corrects students' local varieties as a way to build their awareness of language and formal variety. The findings also point to how the participant self-perceives engaging in appropriateness-based approaches to students' varieties when highlighting the contextual use of formal and informal variants. In addition, the participant indicates that her pedagogy values both the students' varieties and the standard. However, as the researcher notes, "the instructor continually engages in eradication practices" (Lowther Pereira, 2010 p. 220). The educational consequences of such practices can be attested by Lowther Pereira's (2010) student participants' interviews in which they voice their "overwhelming" concern for correctness and their use of words such as *moverse*, which is evidence of their assimilation to the teacher's authority of language (p. 240-241).

This section illustrates several important points on language ideologies within the educational context. First, the various discursive mechanisms that position SHL learners' varieties as inferior show the pervasiveness of the normative monolingual ideology and the standard language ideology across different contexts, which include post-secondary, secondary, and mixed classes. Second, such language ideologies play an important role in shaping how SHL learners are treated in the classroom. As a result, learners are held to different expectations, assumptions, and beliefs that, in turn, shape the educational context around them. SHL learners receive differentiated educational treatment that systematically ignores their needs. Whether learners are completely ignored, used as a resource to the sole benefit of L2 students, or their needs are addressed through the imposition of a standard, the root cause is the lack of instructor training and necessary sociolinguistic awareness to meet the demands of having such learners in their classroom. Third, these data draw attention to the "chaotic" context in which participants are documented to "correct" their students' varieties. It is apparent that, without specialized training or clear curricular guidelines and objectives to teach SHL learners' in mixed classes, teachers struggle between reconciling their somewhat positive perceptions of SHL learners' varieties and enforcing classroom Spanish.

These findings point to a situation where oral CF is described to be, at times, inconsistent and oriented toward standard Spanish and, at other times, unwittingly oriented toward the eradication of SHL learners' home varieties. Importantly, these data demonstrate that understanding oral CF is not only grounded in examining isolated classroom utterances and linking them to broader discourses but must also include the surrounding educational context in which such feedback is conducted. As such, the

present study engages with (1) the way language ideologies perforate the various levels of the classroom to understand oral CF, (2) how teachers are willing or unwilling to adopt appropriate classroom approaches and objectives for SHL learners, (3) how their classroom practices organize activities to the benefit of L2 learners, (4) and which philosophies drive their feedback all critically matter to gaining a "complete picture" of oral CF.

2.2.2 Philosophical Approaches to SHL Learner Variation

The previous subsection demonstrates how educational institutions operate under a constellation of commonsense language ideologies and classroom practices that create an "ideal" situation to exercise oral CF in a way that has negative consequences for SHL learners. This section draws attention to another way that language ideologies shape the SHL context. As described previously, Lowther-Pereira's (2010) study contextualizes data pertaining to "correction" of learners' varieties through labels such as "eradication" and "appropriateness-based." Such terminology points to how, over the years, different ideologies have influenced the various proposals experts have put forward to address SHL learners' varieties in the classroom, as well as the overall goal of language learning for such students. Discussing these different approaches is important to contextualizing oral CF by linking its practice to particular philosophical assumptions that are vital to how SHL learners' varieties are positioned within the classroom. Specifically, this section will discuss five approaches to SHL learners' varieties in the SHL context: (1) the eradication approach, (2) the expansionist approach, (3) the appreciation approach, (4) the appropriateness approach, and (5) the critical language awareness approach.

The first and oldest approach to SHL learners' varieties is the *eradication approach* (also known as the *limited normative approach*), depicted in Figure 1 below:

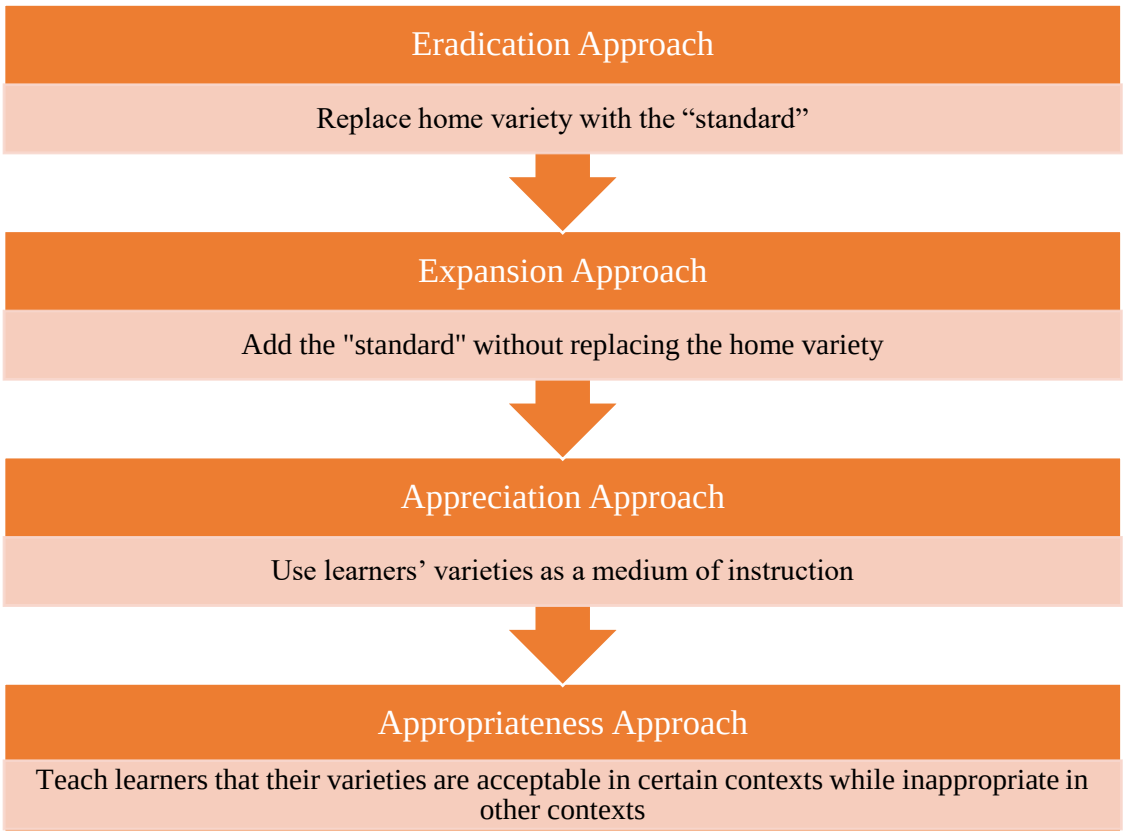

Figure 1. Approaches to SHL non-prestigious varieties (Adapted from Beaudrie, 2015)

This approach promotes a deficit view of SHL learners' dialects in that "the standard dialect itself is primarily the *subject* of instruction rather than the *medium* of instruction…growth or learning is expected to take place principally from the formal study of the standard dialect as a subject" (Valdés-Fallis, 1978, p. 103-104). The principle concern of this approach is to find the extent to which these learners' bilingual dialects deviates from the accepted norm and eradicate non-normative variants. As such, the process of implementing this approach aims to:

1) Make learners conscientious of the differences between their non-standard variety and the standard.

2) Provide lists for comparison between non-standard and standard (mostly lexical).

3) Eliminate non-standard items like anglicisms and archaisms, as well as acquire standard features through mechanical vocabulary and grammar drills (Rodriguez Pino, 1997).

4) Teach students traditional grammar so that students notice morphological differences between the standard and non-standard.

5) Eliminate students' speech of non-standard phonological characteristics.

Valdés (1981) explains further by pointing out that educators that follow this philosophy also feel a "solemn" responsibility to aid learners in riding themselves of the wrong type of dialect features and to become speakers of a "correct" type of language: "[the standard] well known to be a passport to achievement, success and acceptance" (p. 15). Although this approach appears to be an outdated model, recent studies (e.g., Beaudrie, 2015; Valdés, Fishman, Chávez, & Pérez, 2008) have provided evidence that this approach is still adopted by some language programs. The erradiction approach is clearly problematic for several reasons. Generally, in the current field, such an approach is considered to be morally wrong. In fact, Villa (2002) notes that many SHL learners will utilize their Spanish within their own communities; therefore, rather than a disadvantage, their varieties are an advantage in the job market. In addition, SHL learners should develop a sense of community and identity through the learning of Spanish (Villa, 2002), which is clearly hindered by such an approach.

Second, some experts (Acevedo, 2003; Kondo-Brown, 2003) argue for a *biloquialism* approach (*expansion approach*) which consists of "adding a second dialect to the dialect a student already knows" (Beaudrie, 2015, p. 3). Sánchez (1981) notes that the "instructor's task is simply to facilitate the acquisition of a second or third grammar of Spanish that students must acquire for practical reasons" (p. 94). Under this approach, SHL learners' dialects would not be excluded from the classroom (Porras, 1997). As such, the goal of 'expansionism' is anchored in learners employing a standard dialect on academic papers, for reading literature and for future career options: "it is for concrete material reasons, not idealistic reasons, that one must acquire a standard variety of language" (Sánchez, 1981, p. 94).

The benefits of such an approach are believed to keep learners' from feeling that their dialects are somehow "lacking" and that specific aspects of their language use must change, but rather each variant is appropriate for specific domains and situations (Valdés, 1981). Although the expansion approach attempts to reverse the prejudicial treatment of non-standard dialects, it continually perpetuates concentrated practice on the points in which learners' dialects and the standard differentiate. Besides practical difficulties in implementing this approach, its contrastive style in some ways echoes the eradication approach in its similar use of mechanisms to delineate marked differences between standard and non-standard. Furthermore, the bias toward the standard can be seen implicitly reflected in this approach by its transmission model to teaching:

> A number of researchers have noted a connection between the standard language ideology and a transmission model of teaching…teachers convey information to students about what is important and student soak up this knowledge as passive participants. The instructor initiates and carefully controls the language of the classroom and students use language in very limited ways, mainly to regurgitate information. Often, this information is decontextualized and stripped of personal connection for students. (Carreira, 2011, p. 61)

In many ways, the expansion approach reflects the tenets described above. Although SHL learners' varieties are not eliminated, the standard is the focus of instruction without having any meaningful connection to students. As such, the language instructor is the facilitator that guides students toward attaining a standard for academic purposes.

Third, as pedagogical innovations continued and new paradigms emerged in SHL teaching and research, the *appreciation approach* recognized the disservice of the previous approaches and sought to instill linguistic self-esteem in SHL learners. Carreira (2000) advocates for such an undertaking, stating that SHL students may choose to reject the standard in "rebellion" and "frustration" or take advantage of its professional and social benefits. The opportunities in utilizing a prestige-dialect potentially affords SHL learners many career options in the ever-growing profitable U.S. Hispanic market. To take full advantage of their bilingualism in the market, SHL learners must embrace both the standard and their own dialect at the same time. To achieve this, their home dialects "must be cherished for its link to the personal history of students, and it must be respected for its linguistic richness and legitimacy" (Carreira, 2000, p. 341). Differences between language varieties are often discussed in a limited way within the classroom and serve only to communicate to students that their varieties are somehow different to classroom Spanish; thus, perpetuating a deficit view of SHL learners' Spanish. As such, Carreira's (2000) proposal includes sociolinguistically-based activities that go beyond

basic comparison between regional lexical differences that address the systematic or social nature of language. Leeman (2012) notes that "Stressing the legitimacy of regional differences does little to validate the varieties and practices that are associated with marginalized social groups" (p.50). In all, this approach seeks to communicate to students' the validity of their own varieties while simultaneously challenging commonsense notions associated with the standard language ideology.

Fourth is the *appropriateness approach*. This approach has garnered significant support in SHL education in the past decades and has been promoted by Gutiérrez (1997), Samaniego and Pino (2000), and Potowski (2005). It posits that learners should be taught about equity among all dialects; however, some are more appropriate than others in specific contexts (Beaudrie, 2015). Essentially, this approach teaches students the contexts in which the use of the standard and non-standard dialects is acceptable. Typically, educators that practice this approach communicate to students that their home dialects are acceptable for use with friends or family, but inappropriate in professional or academic contexts. Nonetheless, prominent figures like Fairclough (1992) have criticized this approach by arguing that the underlying ideology perpetuated through this artificially dichotomous separation of dialects serves to uphold the dominant (im)position of dominant ways of speaking. At face value, the philosophy of appropriateness may seem to respect linguistic variation in all its forms; however, in reality, it is built on the

> misrepresentation of linguistic variation and acts to legitimize the dominant position of prestige varieties…the claim that all language varieties have their appropriate place gives the false impression of equality among varieties, thus obscuring the relationship between socioeconomic power and the privileging of certain varieties and styles in high-status public domains (Leeman, 2005, p. 38)

Leeman criticizes this approach for its artificially constructed notions of language taught to learners. Instead, the author posits, learners should be taught to deconstruct the falsehood of the "separate but equal" view of language use and work to contest hegemonic language ideologies that uphold inequity.

A fifth approach relates to the last point above: scholars in recent years have called for a critical approach (Critical Language Awareness) toward SHL learners' varieties and language learning that is responsive to the sociopolitics of language (Beaudrie, 2015; Leeman, 2005; Leeman & Serafini, 2016; Martinez, 2003; Parra, 2016; among others). Critical Language Awareness (CLA) was first developed by scholars in the United Kingdom (e.g., Clark, Fairclough, Ivanič & Martin-Jones, 1990, 1991), who argued for the vital inclusion of explicit discussion about language and power in language and literacy education. The scholars

> wanted to add to the push for more explicit conversations and conscious reflections about how meaning is made with language [sic] the idea that these meanings and choices were part of a larger social context. This meant not only acknowledging that certain *preferred choices* were not so because they were more correct…but also questioning the idea that the substitution of *correct* for *appropriate* hid the power struggles by which certain choices were deemed more valuable or acceptable. (Achugar, 2015, p. 1)

CLA not only aims to transform instruction to directly address the problematic nature of appropriateness, but also calls into question dominant language ideologies about monolingualism, the standard language ideologies, language policy, learning materials, learning objectives, curricula, and so on. Further, CLA envisions the language classroom to be a politized space where students explore, question, and resist the underlying—taken-for-granted—broader social structures of class, race, gender, socioeconomic status,

etc., that uphold the status quo and reinforce oppressive (often invisible) ideologies about their own multilingualism, multilingual varieties, and practices.

It is well-known that hegemonic ideologies permeate through various social contexts and shape the beliefs that SHL learners hold about their HL, varieties/practices, and linguistic abilities. Because such belief systems are propagated throughout education and mainstream society, experts have advocated for a sociolinguistically informed curriculum (Carreira, 2000; Leeman & Serafini, 2016) that teaches learners the inherent value of their varieties and of all others. Besides informing on language variation, contact, and change as it relates to SHL learners, sociolinguistics can inform learners of critical aspects—such as the hegemonic ideologies that promote and reinforce monolingualism and the standard language ideology. As such, the CLA approach to SHL education acknowledges the sociopolitical reality of US Latinos as minority language users as they navigate academic contexts that devalue their non-prestigious varieties, promote the standard, and value upper-class varieties and cultural production (Beaudrie, 2015; Bernal-Enríquez & Hernández-Chávez, 2003; Leeman, 2010). Additionally, CLA calls upon the inclusion of SHL learners' experiences as minority language users and knowledge of their HL to be legitimized and brought to the center of the classroom. Furthermore, explicit discussion on such topics reach beyond linguistic self-esteem, the individual, and descriptions of language varieties (Leeman, 2005).

Beaudrie's (2015) survey study on course syllabi illustrates the approaches taken by language programs toward their SHL learners' varieties. The researcher utilized content analysis on 62 SHL syllabi collected from 35 four-year universities in 15 different states in the U.S. (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Approaches to SHL Learner Variation. Data Taken from Beaudrie (2015).

Syllabi Approach	Percentage out of 35 Universities
Eradication	4.2%
Expansion	52%
Appreciation	30%
Appropriateness	13%
Critical	2%
Total	62 syllabi

The study revealed that the most common philosophy found among programs in the sample was the expansion approach followed by the appreciation approach. Whereas the outdated traditional eradication approach persists to a lesser extent in some programs, the appropriateness approach is adopted to a greater extent by language programs. Importantly, the CLA approach is the least prevalent out of all five philosophies. These percentages suggest that the teaching of the standard remains a focal point through many programs in the U.S.

Crucially, Beaudrie's findings suggest that many language programs have yet to adopt curriculum that explicitly addresses the sociopolitics of language with an aim toward social transformation. Not addressing relationships between language and dominance only serves to propagate the commonsense and hidden ideologies about the worth of non-prestigious varieties and its speakers which, in turn, supports societal hegemony that privileges elite language users. Per the data in Table 1, it becomes apparent that SHL learners enroll in Spanish courses where they may or may not learn

about the linguistic features of their varieties. Additionally, the courses generally focus on learning a standard variety, which may also include or not include instruction about where it is (in)appropriate to use their varieties. Furthermore, the quality of such linguistic instruction also becomes questionable given that many teachers do not have proper sociolinguistic training. Usually these discussions are carried out in a "narrow" way that relegates SHL learners' Spanish to the home context without an in-depth conversation about the relevant sociolinguistic issues. Thus, the implicit message to the student becomes the same: "My Spanish is different from proper classroom Spanish; it does not belong in the classroom because it is… (insert any pejorative adjective)." In all, these findings suggest that there is a dire need in SHL education to adopt pedagogies that provide students with the appropriate analytical tools to identify linguistic discrimination, validate multilingualism, question overtly dominant implicit beliefs and values regarding (non)prestigious varieties, and instill agency to challenge and transform the root causes of such inequities.

In sum, this subsection delineates all the relevant approaches that exist within SHL educational research. I draw from the tenets pertaining to the various philosophies described to contextualize oral CF findings to broader instructional philosophies. Therefore, oral CF can be related to specific goals pertaining to SHL learners' varieties as outlined above. In addition, utilizing this taxonomy of approaches will facilitate detecting incongruencies between what teachers think they are practicing and what their actual oral CF is achieving (e.g., Lowther-Pereira, 2010). In addition, using these various approaches will aid in illustrating how the instructor may draw from more than one philosophy to construct their treatment of SHL learners' varieties which will more effectively help

discern ideologies in the classroom. While the previous sections will aid in contextualizing oral CF to the broader macro-level issues pertaining to ideologies and the overall class context, the following subsections provide a framework for studying and contextualizing the specific discursive oral CF episodes observed in this study.

2.3.1 What is Oral CF?

Oral CF has received wide attention from both SLA researchers and language teachers. As Ellis (2017) argues, teachers are concerned with whether they should engage in corrective feedback and, if this is the case, where and how should it be carried out. SLA experts are interested in testing theories of SLA "which make differing claims about the effect that CF has on acquisition and which type is the most effective" (Ellis, 2017, p. 3). Feedback can be both positive and negative; the former refers to when a learners' response to an activity is correct. As Ellis (2009) notes, positive feedback provides affective support and motivation to continue in the language learning process (e.g., "Great job" or "Good"). However, positive feedback does not always signal to the student that they are correct as it might be a preface to a subsequent correction of the learner's utterance. Negative feedback is an indication to the learner that their utterance somehow "lacks veracity or is linguistically deviant…Both SLA researchers and language educators have paid careful attention to corrective feedback (CF), but they have frequently disagreed about whether to correct errors, how to correct them, and when to correct them…" (Ellis, 2009, p.3). CF is one type of negative feedback that is a response to the linguistic error contained in the utterance of a language learner.

This response to the linguistic error is comprised with what Ellis, Loewen and Erlam (2006) and Ellis (2009) have described as an "other-initiated repair". This repair consists of (1) an indication that an error has occurred, (2) providing the correct form of the target language, and (3) inclusion of metalinguistic information about the error (see Table 2). CF can include any of these three elements separately or in combination. In sum, CF episodes include a trigger, the feedback move (strategy), and uptake (optionally). As Ellis (2009) cites from Ellis and Sheen (2006), in example (1) a teacher (T) asks for a clarification request from a student's utterance (S1) and then utilizes a recast which result in a second student uptaking (S2) the correction:

---

(1) S1: What do you spend with your wife?

T: What?

S1: What do you spend your extra time with your wife?

T: Ah, how do you spend?

S2: How do you spend

Example (1) illustrates that CF episodes are not clear cut within the discourse of the language learning environment. In essence, CF episodes can be straight forward, or they can be complex. Most importantly, an episode can possibly include several corrective and triggering moves. Bearing in mind the complexity of CF also brings forward important questions regarding which learner errors should be corrected and if CF should be focused or unfocused. Overall, a true "error" is considered to occur due to lack of knowledge while a "mistake" is a result of "processing failures that arise as a result of competing plans, memory limitations, and lack of automaticity" (Ellis, 2009, p. 6). As the author

further notes, some experts propose that teachers should only address "global" errors which affect the overall sentence (e.g., word order, wrong sentence connectors, and syntactic overgeneralizations) instead of local errors comprising of single elements. However, it is difficult to determine precisely what is a global error and what is a local one; in practice, teachers may view every error as equally important:

> There is no widely accepted theory of grammatical complexity to help teachers (or researchers) decide which rules are simple and portable or to determine which features are marked. Hard-pressed teachers often do not have the time to ascertain which features are problematic. Even is the careful selection of errors to target were possible in written correction, it would be well-nigh impossible in on-line correction. (Ellis, 2009, p. 6)

Furthermore, the author points out that it is advisable that teachers select which errors to correct by providing focused CF on a few targeted errors instead of an unfocused approach that seeks to address all errors committed by learners.

The importance afforded to CF, and the different types of corrective feedback strategies hypothesized to facilitate acquisition, are contingent on whether theories derive from Universal Grammar (UG) theory or Cognitive Interactionist theories (Ellis, 2010; Sheen & Ellis, 2011). Broadly, feedback has been an important issue in most theories of L2 learning and language pedagogy:

> In both behaviorist and cognitive theories of L2 learning, feedback is seen as contributing to language learning. In both structural and communicative approaches to language teaching, feedback is viewed as a means of fostering learner motivation and ensuring linguistic accuracy. (Ellis, 2009, p. 3)

Specifically, it is within cognitive theories where CF has been considered to represent a significant role in the acquisition of an L2. Under Cognitive theories there are several theoretical perspectives: the Interaction Hypothesis, the Output Hypothesis, and the

Noticing Hypothesis (Sheen & Ellis, 2011). The culmination of these hypotheses come together in what is widely known as 'focus-on-form' (Long, 2007).

Scholars working within SLA generally use the term "formed-focused instruction" (FFI) to reference two different constructs: focus-on-form and focus-on-forms. As such, focus-on-form (FonF) is defined as drawing students' attention to "linguistic elements as they arise incidentally in lessons whose overriding focus is on meaning or communication" (Long, 1991, p. 45-46 as cited by Loewen, 2011). FonF can be exemplified through the "provision of corrective feedback in response to learners' erroneous utterance during communicative activities" (Loewen, 2011, p. 577). In contrast, focus-on-forms (FonFS) is described as the "presentation and practice of isolated linguistic structures apart from any communicative need" (Loewen, 2011, p. 577). Under FonF, oral CF is thought to enable learners to notice gaps in their knowledge and compare their utterances to the provided feedback (input). In addition, CF can equip learners with the opportunity to self-repair (uptake) the error committed; thus, producing modified output. Uptake may help to consolidate form-function mapping and incorporate the form into the interlanguage of language learners (Lightbown, 2000; Sheen & Ellis, 2011). However, uptake is debated among scholars. Some maintain that CF enables acquisition solely through CF input rather than repaired output (Sheen & Ellis, 2011; Long, 2007).

Early studies into oral CF focused on creating taxonomies of strategies that teachers utilized (Chaudron, 1977; Lyster & Ranta, 1997). Oral CF is comprised of strategies that belong to theoretically driven taxonomies (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994; Lyster & Ranta, 1997) that fall into the input/output and explicit/implicit acquisition

debate. For instance, recasts are exclusively input providing but can be either implicit or explicit by simply providing the learner with a reformulation of an incorrect utterance to resolve communication breakdown (Ellis & Sheen, 2006). Didactic recasts are explicit reformulations without a communication breakdown occurring between learner and interlocutor. In addition, other explicit input-providing CF strategies include explicit corrections in which a direct signal that there is an error and the correct form is provided. Lastly, there is also explicit correction with metalinguistic explanations that provide learners with a signal of the error and a metalinguistic comment (see Table 2 below for a summary of these Oral CF types).

Table 2. Oral CF types. Adapted from Lyster, Saito and Sato (2013).

	Implicit	Explicit
Reformulations (Input providing)	***Conversational Recasts*** • Reformulation of a student utterance in an attempt to resolve a communication breakdown • Often take the form of a confirmation checks	***Didactic Recasts*** • Reformulation of a student utterance in the absence of a communication problem ***Explicit Correction*** • Reformulation of a student utterance plus clear indication of an error ***Explicit Correction with Metalinguistic Explanation*** • In addition to signaling an error and providing the correct form, there is also a metalinguistic comment.
Prompts (Out-put prompting)	***Repetition*** • A verbatim repetition of a student utterance, often with adjusted intonation to highlight the error ***Clarification Request*** • A phrase such as "Pardon?" and "I don't understand" following a student utterance to indirectly signal an error	***Metalinguistic Clue*** • A brief metalinguistic statement aimed at eliciting a self-correction from the student. ***Elicitation*** • Directly elicits a self-correction from the student, often in the form of a wh-question ***Paralinguistic Signal*** • An attempt to non-verbally elicit the correct form from the learner

Some scholars advocate for the superiority of output-prompting feedback which include several strategies: repetitions, clarification requests, metalinguistic clue, elicitation, and paralinguistic signal (Lyster, 2004; Sheen & Ellis, 2011). Output-prompting implicit strategies include repetition and clarification. “Repetition” occurs when the teacher repeats the erroneous utterance. A “clarification request” involves drawing attention to the problem by letting the learner know that they were not understood. Output-prompting explicit strategies consist of “metalinguistic clues” that provide a short metalinguistic statement to elicit the correct linguistic form. What’s more, “elicitation” tries to elicit the correct form by asking a prompting question. Finally, a “paralinguistic signal” is used to non-verbally elicit the correct form from learners (Sheen & Ellis, 2011). Having said this, as illustrated in example (1), oral CF episodes are complex. An oral CF episode may or may not include one or more than one CF strategy (see Sheen, 2006). This is important to note because such a classification system, as seen above in Table 2, “is somewhat crude, however, as it fails to acknowledge the variation that can occur in the performance of a single CF type” (Ellis, 2009, p. 8). As the author notes, CF can take shape by correcting only part of the learner’s utterance in which only the off-target segment is reformulated. On the other hand, the entire erroneous segment can be completely reformulated “and it may involve correcting just one or more than one feature” (Ellis, 2009, p. 8). The author also points out that a recast can be fully implicit but can also become more explicit if it occurs with another CF strategy. An implicit strategy, such as a recast, can take an explicit shape by also being performed along with repetition and as a statement with prosodic emphasis (Ellis, 2009).

In the context of HL learners, several studies have addressed some of the already mentioned issues regarding CF and FFI. Gass and Lewis (2007) have carried out one of the only existing experimental studies that include oral CF and HL learners. Specifically, aiming to analyze interactional feedback—which in their study encompasses feedback on errors (recasts), learners' attention to erroneous forms, and their "push to make modifications" —the researchers posit that such "an indication of a problem, in turn, focuses attention on the problem area and allows learners to notice the problem, with, in ideal conditions, learning being the result" (Gass & Lewis, 2007, p. 79). As such, the researchers sought to understand the differences between HL and non-HL in their interactional involvement. The results from the two experimental groups consisting of L2 learners (n = 7) and HL learners (n = 6) yielded two types of data: interactional feedback episodes and stimulated-recall comments on the same episodes. While L2 learners had higher number of feedback episodes with lexical items, HL learners' common episodes involved semantic difficulties with conveying meaning accurately. Importantly, during the stimulated recall, HL learners tend to focus on the semantics:

> the heritage language learners' tendency to focus on semantics sometimes seemed to cause a misrepresentation about the feedback given…with regard to the way heritage language learners perceived lexical feedback, in several cases learners seemed to think that lexical feedback was actually related to semantic issues. (Gass & Lewis, 2007, p. 96).

Although HL learners were corrected, they focused on whether they conveyed the meaning successfully rather than focusing on the error (e.g., lexis).

These findings are echoed in recent HL research that has found that, contrasting from L2 learners, HL learners are less likely to hypothesis test and to attempt finding patterns when receiving feedback (Bowles, 2018). Because HL learners use their language to communicate and not analyze it, they have a distinct approach to the language and to language task when compared to L2 learners; this can have an "impact on learning outcomes" (Bowles, 2018, n.p.). Overall, HL learners are not form-focused oriented and are likely to perceive CF as commentary on content (HLs have a performative orientation) and not as a correction (Torres, 2018).

Some studies have demonstrated that explicit grammar instruction has its benefits toward this student population. For instance, studies by Bowles (2011), Montrul and Bowles (2010), and Potowski, Jegerski and Morgan-Short (2009) have shown that learners can benefit from such FFI. However, explicit grammar instruction by itself is not enough. As Beaudrie (2009a) has argued, explicit grammar explanations can be a source of confusion and anxiety for HL learners. In sum, for HL learners, explicit grammar instruction must be contextualized to their unique linguistic profiles and socio-affective experiences with the language in order to successfully attain gains in their language development.

This subsection has highlighted the important tenets to studying oral CF—such as the taxonomy to classify corrective strategies and SLA theory associated with such practices. This study draws from this SLA framework mainly to categorize the episodes documented. Furthermore, the few studies dedicated to SHL learners and oral CF also contribute to understanding the particular caveats related to SHL learners and FFI. With these issues in mind, the following pages discuss the social aspects of oral CF.

2.3.2 The Socio-Affective Side of Oral CF

There are SLA studies concerning CF that take an interest in teacher beliefs regarding their use of corrective feedback. These studies focus mainly on Likert-scale surveys aimed to measure attitudinal data (Agudo, 2014; Bell, 2005; Rahimi & Zang, 2015, among others). There are relatively fewer studies that rely on qualitative evidence of teacher beliefs on CF and their CF practices (Basturkmen, Loewen & Ellis, 2004; Dong, 2012; Junqueira & Kim, 2013; Kameiya, 2014; Kartchava, 2006). Interestingly, the bulk of qualitative research on CF focuses on whether teachers are consistent with what they identify to be their preferences in providing CF and what they do in actual classroom practice (Li, 2017). Beyond the issue of congruency, beliefs are important because the effectiveness of CF may depend on learners' receptivity of CF. In addition, mismatches between learners' expectations and teachers' beliefs of CF may have an impact on dissatisfaction and ultimately effect motivation to learn a language.

Outside the context of SLA, research on classroom repair illustrates the social implications of oral CF—specifically, the role that language ideologies play in repairing learners' utterances. As discussed in the introduction, a critical approach to oral CF goes beyond the instrumental value of this practice by aiming to understand critical questions important to SHL communities within the language learning context. Razfar (2010) indicates that such a view of correction

> begs a critical instructional, ideological and moral question…is correction always good or bad? Instructors listening to this polemical exchange are left in a quandary: Should I correct or not? As long as I correct nicely, revoice or indirectly correct, everything should be all right, one argument goes. (p. 15).

Perhaps correcting indirectly or "nicely" so as to not "hurt" students' feelings may do more harm than good, as the author argues. Although seemingly counterintuitive, not correcting learners to dodge "difficult" or "awkward" situations still contributes to sustaining dominant ideologies; essentially the instructor is avoiding correcting learners for all the wrong reasons. Instead, a critical approach to CF would involve teachers engaging in critical reflections about their role in perpetuating dominant language ideologies, as well as developing the necessary abilities to approach such difficult situations in a sociolinguistically informed manner.

Following this line of thought leads to critically interrogating oral CF and its place in the SHL classroom. Because SHL education has, in many cases, advocated against correcting learners' non-standard varieties, a conundrum arises in whether to "correct or not correct." Moreover, contemplating the prevalence of CF in language education invokes questions about how SHL education should respond to the general tendency of SHL learners wanting to be corrected on pronunciation, agreement, syntax, and word choice (see Ducar, 2008). As these first two chapters discuss, critical questions come to the forefront when contemplating the correction of non-standard Spanish speakers and the implication of language ideologies as a powerful social phenomenon (and the interconnectedness of this practice with broader social structures). For Razfar (2010), the question becomes:

> If teachers decides [sic] not to correct a student's regional speech in favour of the 'standard' variety nor at least engage in a conversation about 'code-switching' for a different purpose, because they want to affirm the student's identity, are they doing the child a favour? There are real social consequences to using on variety over another and isn't it the teacher's responsibility to generate this meta-pragmatic awareness? These questions and scenarios problematize the narrow debates surrounding corrective feedback and repair in English instruction. (p. 16)

Indeed, “narrow” discussions of correction exclude the intricate questions of “what to do?” with learners’ non-standard variations. Excluding learners from critical discussions about the social appraisal of certain varieties over others is to deny learners the linguistic reality of the inherent nature of language. As such, in many of the studies discussed, the teachers did not have the necessary skills to engage in such sociolinguistic conversation with students; thus, they were not able to contextualize language variation, the standard language ideology, and much less explain to the students the instructional purpose of oral CF.

A “reductive view” of oral CF overlooks a crucial need to understand how language ideologies mediate this FonF practice as it relates to other key social and institutional factors. Critically examining CF enables inquiry that goes beyond socially decontextualized debates on oral CF to craft a more socially situated approach to its understanding. According to Razfar (2010), figuring the relational and affective dimensions to CF is more valuable than arguing against it. Three studies taking place in very distinct contexts illustrate the underlying ideological power of CF as a tool to promote dominant discourses.

Friedman’s (2009) 10-month ethnographic study of Ukrainian language instruction in two fifth-grade classes provides evidence that children’s use of Russian forms was subject to CF based on political motives. As such, Friedman (2009) explores a microanalysis of CF sequences which consist of: (1) the nature of the trouble source, (2) who initiates and who completes the correction, and (3) the outcome of the correction (if there is uptake). In addition, the researcher looks at the macro-level issues to situate error correction to larger societal contexts pertaining to Russian-Ukrainian geopolitical

tensions. Larger societal beliefs about the purity of language (e.g., not mixing Russian and Ukrainian) socialize children into dominant Ukrainian language ideologies that prescribe drawing "boundaries" between their languages. This standardization is part of a larger context linked to preserving the "purity" of the Ukrainian language as an "emblem" of a distinct and independent nation.

Martinez' (2017) describes the negative experiences youth endure as minority language users: "I heard teachers shame Black and Latinx youth for uttering 'ax' instead of 'ask.' I saw youth being called *illiterate* by teachers simply for walking by their classrooms looking and sounding Black or Brown" (p. 181). Martinez (2017) notes how these same learners possessed the remarkable ability to sound "White" in the contexts that required such language use. In another study, Martinez (2016) provides further evidence of linguistic discrimination in his ethnography of a Latina language teacher. The teacher provided African American and Latino students with CF focused on their home and community language practices; thus, enforcing the standard language ideology found to be rampant among urban school settings. Importantly, students resisted such feedback: "While Ms. Luz displayed a narrow approach to what counted as language with her students, the youth in her class did not always passively accept the corrective feedback she offered, signaling their emerging critical meta-awareness" (Martinez, 2016, p. 660). Drawing from the ethnography of communication tradition (Hymes, 1964), the researcher notes how students actively resisted corrective feedback attempts by rupturing ongoing participation frameworks "opening up a potential space where youth tacitly worked toward sustaining their language practices" (Martinez, 2016, p. 660). Other studies (e.g., Godley, Carpenter & Werner, 2007) have echoed this tendency of student resistance by

"breaking" classroom discourse that reinforce the view that "language learning is prescriptive or regulated by rules and authorities" (p.117).

Finally, demonstrating another aspect of the teachers' role in promoting language ideologies, Razfar's (2010) data showcase a Latina teacher who builds "respect y *confianza*" with her students. The teacher engages in effective corrective feedback and repair through the use of endearing terms to address her Latino students. As such, the teacher instills trust and solidarity with her student while sustaining and expanding the values of the home:

> Confianza goes beyond the surface and aesthetic level of caring typically found in schools … and points to the broader historical and institutional relationships that states, "we are with each other." It is more than just "correcting nicely" or teachers attempting to avoid repair practices such as language choice for highly valued objectives, endearing terms of address, and engaging in common problem-solving narrative. Effective models of corrective feedback and repair are predicated on such relationships…creating a community of confianza for second-language learners. (p. 23)

Moreover, the teacher rejected harsh and direct error correction due to her experience as an English learner and the feeling of embarrassment and humiliation that she felt. The solidarity the teacher strived to create with student and her empathy was rooted in her own experiences as an English learner. Therefore, she avoided direct correction and preferred reformulating students' utterances to model the correct form. These findings are indicative that language instructors can also connect their own experiences with language to the oral CF context. Razfar's (2010) work highlights that oral CF can be linked to positive aspects, such as empathy and cultural awareness of students' backgrounds, to understand the sociolinguistic value of such practices and how they need to be adjusted.

In sum, this chapter discussed two issues: (1) language ideologies and (2) oral CF. Each of these constructs includes various intricacies that related to each other in different ways and are important for the educational experiences of SHL learners in a range of learning contexts. I draw from the tenets mentioned in this chapter to frame my findings on oral CF and to bridge micro-level and macro-level discourses. Additionally, the studies discussed highlight the importance of the overall classroom context as a significant force in determining oral CF and its connection to language ideologies. This chapter has also demonstrated the importance of language ideologies in different aspects of the classroom, such as in teacher practices and approaches taken toward SHL students. Bearing this information in mind that answers the "why," the following chapter answers the question "how" and discusses this present study's methodology to investigate such matters.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In the last Chapter (2), I discuss succinctly the pertinent theoretical frameworks and literature that guide my research questions and methodology. Essential to the research at hand, I thoroughly discuss the implications of ideological research in language education for minority students relating to language and power structures. To effectively construct my justification for this study's focus on the mediating role of language ideologies in oral corrective feedback practices, I draw from various research perspectives on language minority users whose dialects are non-prestigious. After framing the background and precedence of my study for the subfield of SHL education, this Chapter (3) discusses the methodology for this empirical undertaking to provide a clear outline of the theoretical reasoning behind the units of analysis, research procedures, instruments, data collection, and analysis.

Investigating language ideologies in educational contexts as they relate to Spanish HL learners' dialects requires research instruments and methodology deriving from several fields: sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and ethnography. As Johnstone (2000) notes, "sociolinguistics work is based on observations of people using language and analysis of those observations" (p.1). To research language ideologies for the purposes of this study, the data sought must be driven by documenting language in use and in the context of language instruction; a meaning-making process for both Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) students and teachers. Moreover, the present research acknowledges what scholars have long noted about the construct in question: language ideologies are abstract belief systems linked to linguistic behavior and to the

sociopolitical interests of dominant groups of speakers (Kroskrity, 2010; McGroarty, 2010).

Taking direction from Razfar's (2003, 2005, 2010, 2011) work on the underlying ideologies of student language classroom repair practices in English as a Second Language (ESL) contexts, two fundamental theoretical guidelines for this study's methodology emerge for my study. First, oral corrective feedback (oral CF) serves as an explicit index for instructor language ideologies. Second, language ideologies can also be affirmed by explicit articulations of beliefs about SHL speakers by both teachers and learners within classroom and interview discourse. As such, this study takes a bifocal approach to researching the phenomenon in question consisting of two main units of analysis. The first unit of analysis centers on ideologies in practice within classroom discourse (i.e. oral CF) and the second unit of analysis concerns the language ideologies explicitly stated by teacher and student regarding SHL speakers. The ethnographic observations were key to contextualizing these data within the broader classroom context.

As mentioned in Chapter (1), the present study employs several research instruments to collect various sources of data: classroom ethnographic observations, recording classroom discourse for oral CF, participant interviews, and participant surveys. On one hand, the abstract nature of language ideologies for this study must be inferred from classroom oral CF practices in how non-standard dialects of Spanish are treated by instructor. On the other, it must identify explicit discourse about United States (U.S.) Spanish and its speakers. I code the data categories and utilize Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the discursive data to uncover relevant dominant language ideologies.

In sum, compounding these two levels of analysis in researching language ideologies not only demonstrates the ways oral CF can index teacher beliefs on learners' non-standard dialects, but also explicitly points to classroom and interview discourse to further validate the study's findings. In addition, I discuss data gathered regarding the programmatic practices of the Spanish language program to further add validity to the research findings. In the following subsections, I provide a pithy description of the research site, data collection methods, the study's participants, my positionality as the researcher, my entrance into the research site, and data analysis. Furthermore, I speak to the researcher-participant rapport established throughout my time at the research site, my role as the researcher, and the degree of my involvement in the classroom during my observations. The next subsections delineate the research context at the state and research site level to provide insight to the city's milieu and how my study is vital to SHL education for the local Latino community.

3.1.1 Ethnographic Context: State Level

I initially gained interest in researching SHL education in urban Phoenix, Arizona from my own experiences growing up in the area and noting the strong Mexican immigrant presence in schools and throughout the community. For many residents, Spanish is a daily part of private and public life. The U.S. Census indicates a substantial Latino presence in Arizona, which is especially true in certain counties that have large populations centers, such as urban Phoenix (see Appendices A and B). Demographic data from the 2016 American Community Survey reveals that, there is not only a significant presence of Latinos throughout Arizona, but specifically the Mexican community comprises much of the state's Spanish-speaking population. The southern half of

Arizona, near the U.S.-Mexican border, is where the state's Latino community outnumbers or approximates the non-Hispanic population. The three counties listed in Table 3 represent the highest percentage of Latino populations near the southern U.S.-Mexico border and farther north of the border close to the state's capital (Phoenix in Maricopa County). Data from Table 4 points to both Pima County (where the city of Tucson is located) and Santa Cruz County (near Nogales, Sonora) as having a considerable Latino population in relation to non-Hispanics; this is especially true for Santa Cruz County where the Latino demographic is larger than that of non-Hispanics.

Table 3. Arizona County Hispanic Population of Three Counties. Data cited from the American Community Survey (2016)

	Pima County	**Santa Cruz County**	**Maricopa County**
Total Hispanic	362,265 (36.1%)	38,736 (83.2%)	1,238,292 (30.3%)
Mexican	328,102 (32.7%)	37,736 (81.1%)	1,100,750 (26.9%)
Puerto Rican	6,272 (0.6%)	311 (0.7%)	26,519 (0.6%)
Cuban	1,895 (0.2%)	27 (0.1%)	9,710 (0.2%)
Other Hispanic	25,996 (2.6%)	650 (1.4%)	101,313 (2.5%)
Non-Hispanic	641,073 (63.9%)	7,811 (16.8%)	2,850257 (69.7%)
Total Population	1,003,338	46,545	4,088,549

As expected, the percentage of Latinos in relation to the total population of each county decreases with distance from the border toward the northern regions of the state where the non-Hispanic population increases. As of 2017, the U.S. Census Bureau reports Arizona's total Latino population to be 31.4% of its total population of 7,016,270.

Moreover, it is reported 41.8% of the total 1,626,078 individuals in the City of Phoenix (the state's capital) identify as Latino (see Table 4 below).

Table 4. Arizona County Hispanic Population in Phoenix. Data cited from the American Community Survey (2016).

	Arizona	Maricopa County	City of Phoenix
Total Population	7,016,270	4,088,549	1,626,078
Hispanic/Latino	31.4%	30.3%	41.8%

This geographic detail is important to note as a further distance from the Mexican-U.S. border seems to favor a shift to English while a closer proximity to it favors the retention of Spanish (Bills, Hernández-Chávez & Hudson, 1995). Jaramillo (1995) researched Tucson, AZ (located in Pima County) near the Mexican border and found "promising" results for the maintenance of Spanish:

> Tucson behaves as a "hybrid" entity…The attrition of Spanish appears to be allayed, in some measure, by the preponderance of particular macrosociolinguistic factors operating in the direction of language vitality… (1) distance of the target area from nation-state where the target language is the common…official language… (2) continual influx of visitors, immigrants, and workers whose dominant tongue is the target language… (3) size, density, distribution, in-group proportion, growth, and homogeneity of the target ethnolinguistic population (Mexican-American)…(5) ethnolinguistic group pride and language loyalty. (p.86)

It seems that all those years ago Jaramillo (1995) predicted that proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border supports keeping language shift at bay. It is also the case that the relative distance to the border favors ethnolinguistic vitality, pride and language loyalty that, in turn, positively affects Spanish as a heritage language (HL). Moreover, U.S. Census data provides some traces of evidence that many Latinos utilize Spanish in private domains—such as in Santa Cruz County where there are reportedly 33,047 individuals that speak

Spanish at home, Pima County has 223,058 and Maricopa County has 775,185 (see Table 5). Although Spanish speakers might appear to have a large presence, this does not necessarily equate to SHL maintenance across generations of Latinos. Researchers (Silva-Corvalán, 2004) argue that constant flow of first-generation immigrants into the U.S. maintains the high numbers of Spanish users throughout this region.

Table 5. Arizona County Hispanic Population Languages Spoke at Home. Data cited from the American Community Survey (2016).

	Pima County	**Santa Cruz County**	**Maricopa County**
English Only	673,576 (71.4%)	9,735 (22.5%)	2,804,227 (73.6%)
Spanish	223,058 (23.6%)	33,047 (76.5%)	775,185 (20.3%)
Spanish: Speak English Less Than "Very Well"	63,820 (6.8%)	10,713 (24.4%)	277,648 (7.3%)
Total Population	1,003,338	46,545	4,088,549

Given the data, it is clear that Spanish has a significant presence in public and private domains due to recent immigration trends in the last three decades and historical ties to Mexico. Arizona, once part of the Spanish Empire during the colonial period and later a region of northern Mexico as part of Alta California and Sonora, has always had a significant Spanish-speaking population since before it was annexed by the U.S. after the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848 (see Dobyns 1976; Officer, 1987; Sheridan, 1986). Nevertheless, the public presence and use of Spanish has faced wide-spread castigation as a result of becoming the target of political spectacle and controversy. The geographical divide between southern and northern Arizona is not only clearly marked by differences in Latino population, but also denotes a clear political and ideological division. The

juxtaposition between the northern capital's promulgation of anti-immigrant law-making and the southern region's contestation of such laws creates what scholars have called *moral-geography*:

> Moral geography can be described as contested space where ethical choices are made…Bluntly put, Arizona residents had distinct visions about what was right and good, and what was wrong and bad for the region. The moral geography of the Arizona-Sonora region of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands has been fraught with a series of ideological fault lines…the Gila River, which became a locus of political division between the more populated and Anglo Maricopa County and home of the state capital of Phoenix, and Southern Arizona, the state's second most populated area, and whose population historically has a higher percentage of Mexican origin residents. (González de Bustamante, 2012, p.22)

Political debate over immigration and language has impacted the Latino community in recent decades. In the wake of the English-Only movements of the 2000s (see Crawford, 2000; Schmid, 2000), Arizona promulgated anti-bilingual legislation (Proposition 203) which mirrored similar initiatives in other U.S. states (e.g., California's Proposition 227, Colorado's Amendment 31). As the literature review discerns the increase of SHL programs, during the 1990s and 2000s the Latino population increased significantly, thus, changing the demographic landscape of states such as Arizona—especially in public schools. In effect, these changes prompted public support to "protect" and consolidate English as the official language for instruction. Charged with language panic, myths about bilingualism, and the dire need to teach English to immigrant children attending school spread (usually English monolingualism is linked to academic and future life success) throughout Arizona's local news outlets and in the public reinforcing the English monolingual ideology (Cashman, 2006; Johnson, 2005; Wright, 2005). Unfortunately for Latino children in Arizona, Spanish was again brought into the spotlight in 2003 when an overwhelming majority (over 60%) helped promulgate Proposition 20, legislation that

essentially eliminated bilingual education in public schools (Cashman, 2006, 2009; Wright, 2005, 2014).

Arizona's government has had a history of targeting its Latino community via anti-immigration legislation, such as Propositions 200, 100, 102, and 300, deportation sweeps in high-density Latino areas by Joe Arpaio's (nicknamed America's toughest sheriff) Maricopa County Sheriff's Office or, more recently, SB1070 (Cashman, 2009; González de Bustamante, 2012). It is also true that in a state that institutionally tolerates an anti-Latino climate, non-English languages (e.g., Spanish) become central to the political debates surrounding issues of immigration. After all, language and its speakers are two sides of the same political coin. In the 1980s, there were attempts to declare English as the official language of the state, a move that would essentially institutionalize English as the official language for government, education, and business (Combs, 1999). Although this initial attempt failed, in 2006 Proposition 206 was approved by voters and, unfortunately for the Latino community and other minority speakers, English became the official language of Arizona.

This demographic and political overview is important to encapsulate the socio-political challenges Spanish-speakers face in Arizona. Spanish education matters in a context where language shift is promoted and, as the literature review makes quite clear, the disdain for U.S. Latinos' dialects along with the pressures of mainstream society to abandon their HLs corners SHL learners into a "double jeopardy" situation (Villa, 2002). Despite these political controversies, Arizona is home to many informal and formal institutions that consist of cultural and political organizations supportive of Spanish ethnolinguistic identity and language maintenance (see Cashman, 2009).

3.2.1 Ethnographic Context: SHL Programs in the Southwest

Contextualizing SHL programs in the southwest, Beaudrie (2011) surveyed four-year university institutions in the Southwest and found that out of 173 universities, 66 (38%) had SHL programs. Of these Southwest universities that offered specialized SHL courses, many "addressed a limited range of instructional goals and only accommodated learners who had a very specific profile" (Beaudrie, 2011, p. 206). These programs offered a curriculum focused primarily on improving literacy and writing skills, ignoring other language skills and students' culture. What's more, these courses were mainly designed for students at the "midpoint" of the bilingual continuum; thus, excluding advanced and receptive SHL learners'. Additionally, Beaudrie (2006) discovered that out of the four universities in the state of Arizona, three university institutions offer more than 1 SHL course (see Table 6 below).

Table 6. Arizona University SHL Courses. Data Taken from Beaudrie (2006).

Number of SHL Courses Offered	Number of Universities
0 courses	1 (25%)
1 course	0 (0%)
2 courses	1 (25%)
3 courses	0 (0%)
4 courses	1 (25%)
5 courses	0 (0%)
6 courses	1 (0%)
Courses for Receptive Bilinguals	1 (25%)
	Total Number of Universities: 4

Arizona with its significant Latino population throughout the state and in its universities, offers a fair quantity of specialized SHL courses within post-secondary educational contexts.

In her 2006 study, Beaudrie also collected of Hispanic/Latino student enrollment at these four universities (see Table 7 below).

Table 7. Arizona Universities: Hispanic/Latino Student Enrollment. Data Taken from Beaudrie (2006).

University	Number of Hispanic Students	Number of SHL Classes	Classes Offered for Receptive Bilinguals
Arizona State University	4635 (12%)	4	0
Grand Canyon University	1301 (10%)	0	0
Norther Arizona University	109 (7%)	2	0
University of Arizona	4272 (15%)	6	1
Total	10,356	12	1

Current Hispanic/Latino student enrollment at these four universities provides an overview of how these numbers have changes since 2006. For example, as of Fall 2017, Arizona State University indicating having 22% Hispanic Latino students enrolled. As of Fall 2017, Northern Arizona University had a total of 23% Hispanic/Latino students enrolled. Lastly, University of Arizona reported in 2008 a total of 26% Hispanic students enrolled.

Survey research permits scholars to examine the extent to which SHL programs have reached Latino communities across U.S. educational institutions—an invaluable tool for experts working in the field to examine programmatic and curricular issues (Beaudrie, 2006, 2011, 2012; Ingold, Rivers, Chavez Tesser, & Ashby, 2002; Wherrit & Cleary, 1990). In addition, insight gained from survey research is a lens for scholars to "enhance their understanding of best practices in several interrelated areas: curriculum design and implementation, program design, evaluation programs and the effectiveness of

instruction, and teacher development" (Beaudrie, 2012, p.215). These issues matter and have a stake in assuring that SHL learners benefit from a quality education that includes programmatic, curricular, and instructional best-practices that consider the various goals, learner dimensions, and principles of SHL instruction (Beaudrie, Ducar & Potowski, 2014).

3.3.1 Research Site: Community Colleges in Maricopa County

Despite significant growth in the subfield, there is a dearth of empirical SHL educational research in the community college context. This subsection contends that research on community colleges has the potential to contribute new insights to the field by learning about the educational experiences of this SHL student population. The Spanish course researched by my study (which, like the true names of all participants involved, will remain confidential) is taught in a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) as declared by the U.S. Department of Education; a status only shared by one four-year university in Arizona (the University of Arizona). To achieve this classification, institutions must have at least 25% Hispanic student enrollment. In turn, institutions of this category have access to grants aimed at improving Hispanic student enrollment and success in higher education. The sizable Latino presence at this community college campus not only defines it as an important educational resource for the local Hispanic community, but also makes it a potentially lucrative context for SHL education.

Analogous to the research site, the surrounding secondary student population is also predominantly Hispanic. To illustrate, the Phoenix Union High School District reports that its combined student population of 18 total schools consists of 81.7% Hispanic students, 4.4% Anglo students and 8.3% African American students. Students

from these local schools commonly enroll into local community colleges after graduating from high school to continue their post-secondary education. The research site where I conducted my data collection is one of several community colleges that are in range of many of these high schools in urban Phoenix.

This subsection streamlines basic demographic information of the research site to contextualize it within the broader state and national SHL survey data previously discussed. The community college in question is part of the Maricopa Community Colleges (MCC) system that consist of 10 different institutions—three of which are HSI. I will refrain from providing exact numbers or statistics that would risk exposing the school that served as the research site. In the case of the research site, its status as an HIS speaks volumes about its campus demographics and the community it services. Tables 8 and 9 below outline some basic descriptive statistical information on MCC as a whole to gain a more efficacious view of the Latino population enrollment.

Table 8. Ethnicity of Maricopa Community Colleges in Spring 2018, 45th Day

Ethnicity	Percentage
American Indian/Alaskan Native	2.4%
Asian/Pacific Islander	4.8%
African American/Black	6.5%
Hispanic/Latino	32.6%
Caucasian/White	43.8%
Two or More	3.0%
Not Specified	7.0%
Total student population	110,305

Table 9. Student Educational Intent from Spring 2018, 45th Day

Educational Intent	Percentage
Transfer	38.3%
Workforce	24.4%
High School Dual/Concurrent Enrollment	18.9%
Fulfilling University Requirement	2.5%
Personal Interest	10.0%
For another Maricopa college	1.1 %
Undeclared	4.8%

Looking at Table 8, the Hispanic/Latino student population is significantly larger than many of the other minority groups of students for all community colleges in the county. The percentages in Table 8 further support the idea that many Latinos, who may be heritage speakers of Spanish, are receiving Spanish instruction through any of the 10 community colleges in the MCC school system. Additionally, Table 9 illustrates students' educational intents for being enrolled in community college. A large percentage of students indicate their intent to transfer to a four-year university. In effect, many SHL learners may obtain their lower division credits in Spanish before transferring to universities. This has important implications for university-based SHL research, since students may very well arrive to large university SHL programs with attitudes, language skills, language ideologies etc. acquired through their initial contact with post-secondary school. A such, SHL learners' initial contact studying their HL in a post-secondary setting may impact whether they continue SHL coursework at a four-year institution.

3.3.2 The Spanish Language Program: Courses Offered

After attaining IRB approval in mid-February in the Spring 2018 semester, I began the processes of accessing the research site by contacting the Spanish language program coordinator (see Appendix G). I scheduled a meeting with Vivian to discuss the possibility of conducting research with the Spanish language program's instructors. Upon describing my research in general terms as per the IRB, Vivian offered to put me in contact with two instructors that taught in-person classes on campus in addition to inviting me to attend her own class that she taught in-person. The initial contact with the instructors was quite welcoming—they were mainly curious about my research objectives and why I was specifically interested in their language program. I informed them that research at the community college level in my field was practically non-existent and that I was mainly concerned with student-teacher interactions, given the large Latino community at the school and surrounding area of the city.

The community college that served as the research site does not offer specialized courses for SHL learners—only Spanish as a second language (L2) courses. As is common in community colleges, only lower-division courses are offered to students. During the Spring 2018 semester when I gathered data at the research site, there were a total of four in-person and four online classes in the catalogue (as seen in Table 10 below).

Table 10. Courses Offered During Spring 2018 at the Research Site

Class	Delivery Method	Number of Sections Offered
Elementary Spanish: SPA 101	In Person	4
Elementary Spanish: SPA 101	Online	4
Elementary Spanish: SPA 102	In Person	1
Elementary Spanish: SPA 102	Online	2
Intermediate Spanish: SPA201	In Person	0
Intermediate Spanish: SPA201	Online	1
Intermediate Spanish II: SPA202	In Person	1
Intermediate Spanish II: SPA202	Online	1

After an extensive web-search, I collected all the available information on course descriptions through the institution's class catalogue. Table 11 below displays the courses designed for L2 learners and their descriptions found on the school's course catalogue.

Table 11. Course Descriptions of Spanish Classes Offered at the Researched Community College

Course	Description
Elementary Spanish: SPA 101	Basic grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary of the Spanish language. Includes the study of the Spanish-speaking cultures. Practice of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. Prerequisites: None **Textbook used**: *Plazas* 5th edition (Hershberger, Navey-Davis & Borrás Álvarez, 2017)
Elementary Spanish: SPA 102	Continued study of grammar and vocabulary of the Spanish language and study of the Spanish-speaking cultures. Emphasis on speaking, reading, and writing skills. Prerequisites: (A grade of "C" or better in SPA101 or SPA101AA), or permission of Department or Division. **Textbook used**: *Plazas* 5th edition (Hershberger, Navey-Davis & Borrás Álvarez, 2017)
Intermediate Spanish: SPA201	Continued study of essential Spanish grammar and Spanish-speaking cultures. Continued practice and development of reading, writing, and speaking skills in Spanish. Emphasis on fluency and accuracy in spoken Spanish. Prerequisites: A grade of "C" or better in SPA102, or SPA102AA, or SPA111, or permission of Department or Division. **Textbook used**: *Alianzas* 2nd edition (Spaine Long, Carreira, Madrigal Velasco & Swanson, 2014)
Intermediate Spanish II: SPA202	Review of grammar, continues development of Spanish language skills with continued study of the Spanish-speaking cultures. Prerequisites: A grade of "C" or better in SPA102, or SPA111, or permission of Department or Division. **Textbook used**: *Alianzas* 2nd edition (Spaine Long, Carreira, Madrigal Velasco & Swanson, 2014)

In all online course descriptions, many of the same instructional goals are listed through the different Spanish levels. For example, there is emphasis given to the development of grammar as a central component of these courses. At the elementary Spanish level, vocabulary is listed along with grammar and pronunciation while at the intermediate levels, grammar remains a central instructional goal. With the surrounding population of Latinos, it is logical to assume that the L2 courses listed in Table 11 are comprised of both L2 learners and SHL learners.

In addition to class credits in Spanish, the language program offers students other opportunities, such as a certificate in language studies that can be in Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Sign Language, or Spanish. The certificate is described as follows: "[The Academic Certificate] provides intensive study of written and oral communication in different context. Students will develop skills to enhance their professional, social, and personal interactions, and become more competitive in our global community." To obtain the certificate, students must fulfill the prerequisite of 101, 102, and 201 courses of the language listed. After taking the required courses, student take 202 and 2 classes (or 6 credits) of electives (e.g., Intercultural communication, Race and Ethnic Relations). The Spanish program also facilitated a Spanish student club that would host informational sessions on transferring to four-year universities from the community college and Spanish exam reviews. However, SHL learners did not participated in these events or form part of the student-led committee.

All language students are placed in the same type of language courses, regardless if they are an SHL or L2 learner. The language program does not have a written or online placement exam for students seeking placement into appropriate language courses. The program policy for student placement is described in the Spanish course syllabi found in Figure 2 below.

Excerpt of Placement Information Found on Spanish Course Syllabi

Important Information:
Placement

You belong in SPA 101 if you:

a. Have never taken Spanish language courses before
b. Have studied Spanish for one year or less at the High School level
c. Have taken SPA 101 before but did not get a passing grade
d. If you do not fulfill any of these requirements, you should not be in SPA 101. Please talk with your instructor for more information

Figure 2. Student Placement Information Found on Course Syllabi

Speaking with the coordinator, I was informed that instructors are responsible for asking students during the first day of class to self-identify as bilinguals. From there, students that acknowledge their bilingualism are sent to speak with the language program coordinator and she determines in which Spanish class they should be placed.

The process consists of students taking the final exam in the language coordinator's office for whichever class SHL learners are trying to "test out of" and if they pass with at least a 70% they are generally placed into a higher-level course. Students can also receive credit for Spanish courses by applying their Advanced Placement credits if they took these Spanish courses during high school. The coordinator also informed me that some students do not switch to more advanced courses (e.g., SPA 202) because it does not fit with their schedule, they do not desire to move levels, or

because they express concern about learning more grammar or learning the "basics" to become more proficient speakers. In many of my informal conversations with the Spanish program coordinator and staff, it was evident that there is a program wide belief that SHL learners stay in the elementary-level Spanish courses because "they just want an easy 'A.'" Immediately following these assertions, staff often indicated that SHL learners benefited greatly from these basic language classes.

I heard this reasoning many times during my chats in the language program's administrative building. In addition, when I inquired about why the program did not offer specialized SHL courses for Latino students, the coordinator indicated that there were two prior attempts to open specialized courses but were cancelled due to insufficient enrollment. As Beaudrie (2016) discusses, building a successful heritage language program is a difficult undertaking. Many times, SHL courses do not receive adequate funding or support. Construction of an SHL program requires: (1) gathering information to justify the creation of such a program, (2) gathering resources to build the program, (3) investing in teacher development in HL instruction, (4) deciding on a program structure and course content, (5) identifying HL students (what does the community look like and what are their needs), (6) placing HL students in appropriate course levels (see Beaudrie & Ducar, 2012; Fairclough, 2012), (7) program promotion and student recruitment, and (8) evaluating the program.

Indeed, kick-starting an SHL program is difficult, and usually requires tedious amounts of student recruitment and wading through internal department politics. Efforts such as these were not brought up by participants in interviews or informal conversations with me. Instructors in this study described the situation as lamentable but framed it as a

definitive reality that SHL learners were just not interested in these types of classes. Most of the Spanish instructors at the research site were part-time faculty while Vivian (the coordinator) was the only full-time faculty who carried out various administrative tasks, service commitments on campus, and taught various courses in both French and Spanish. Considering this situation, difficulties in crafting and promoting SHL courses must be contextualized within this community college where resources and staffing differ from larger four-year universities.

3.4.1 Course Context for the Study

Upon receiving IRB and departmental approval, I spoke with the instructors that agreed to participate in my study about the research parameters and what was required of each participant. I was not able to research SPA 102 or SPA 201 as these classes were only offered online during the Spring semester (online courses are out of the scope of this current study). As outlined in Table 13, I had to discard one of the language instructors, Araceli, from the study due to a lack of participation during the data collection process. Although her classes were observed consistently, on many occasions Araceli was absent from class due to health issues. Furthermore, when approached about interviewing on matters relating to the research objectives, she was often evasive and unavailable. Despite reassuring Araceli that all interviews and observational data were confidential, I was only able to obtain one brief phone interview that provided limited insight. Therefore, Araceli's classroom data has been discarded, as well as interview data from the SHL learners in her classroom. Furthermore, upon entering Vivian's SPA 202 class, it was evident that the majority of her students were SHL learners. Although data was gathered in Vivian's course, this present study's scope is limited to mixed classes in which SHL

learners are the minority and L2 learners are the majority. In effect, this study provides in-depth analysis of Belinda's SPA 101 elementary level Spanish course that fit the present parameter of this study.

Table 13. Course and Instructors of the Current Study

Instructor	Courses Taught	Time
Vivian (Language Coordinator)	SPA 202: Intermediate Spanish II	Afternoon Class
Belinda	SPA 101: Elementary Spanish I	Morning Class
Araceli	SPA 101: Elementary Spanish I	Night Class

Looking at the course syllabi, there is an emphasis on the communicative approach to reach proficiency in all four language skills: speaking, writing, reading, and listening (see Figure 3 below).

Course Syllabi
Welcome to your SPA class This course is designed to help you develop your Spanish language proficiency in all four language skills (speaking, writing, reading, and listening). Our class adopts the communicative approach where students will speak Spanish as much as possible. Learning a language is so much more than simply learning grammar and vocabulary. Your ability to understand and communicate in written and oral Spanish will be expanded, and you will also further grow your intercultural competence by being exposed to the right cultures of the Spanish-speaking world. Becoming proficient in a foreign language is a journey that requires a lot of consistent practice to be successful. You are expected to work diligently on a daily basis in class and at home. Get ready to become a global citizen and have fun while studying one of the most wonderful language in the world!

Figure 3. Example of Course Syllabus

Furthermore, the course syllabi have the same introduction for each course. Figure 4 describes the syllabi description of the flip method[11]:

Flip Method as Described by the Course Syllabi

Methodology: The Flip Method

This course uses the flipped methodology. This means that you will be expected to learn and practice Spanish on your own prior to each class meeting. Class time will be devoted to communicating in Spanish and using the structures and vocabulary that you have practiced on the computer before coming to class. This course incorporates the **flip teaching model** by capitalizing on the use of technology, so that you will learn outside of class, and then apply what you have learned in the communicative environment. We expect you to take **responsibility** for studying the basic rules of grammar, the uses of the tenses, and vocabulary items. Your grammar tutorials will be in your iLrn virtual homework for **Plazas.** Every class, you will have one hour and fifteen minutes to practice the material with communicative activities. You will take a ten-minute break. The rest of the class, 25 minutes, you will work on the computer.

This flipped model offers the following advantages to you as you learn Spanish:

a. Self-pacing: you can take the time you need to complete the homework in the textbook's online component
b. Immediate feedback: you will receive instant feedback and immediate results, which will allow you to learn from your mistakes.
c. Easy access: you can complete online activities from any computer that accesses the Internet through a reliable Internet browser.

Figure 4. Example of the Methodology Described in the Course Syllabi

Table 14 provides an overview of the SHL and L2 learner population in the in-person classes at the research site. Overall, SHL learners comprise 31% of the total students taking Spanish in these four courses.

Table 14. Number of SHL Learners and L2 Learners in Each Course Studied

Spanish Course	Number of SHL Students	Number of L2 Students
SPA 101 (Belinda)	4	12
SPA 101 (Araceli)	5	15
SPA 202 (Vivian)	6	3
Total	20	44

The only class where SHL learners outnumbered L2 learners was in SPA 202. Although a small class (n = 9), 66% of students were SHL and the rest were L2 learners. This is because many SHL learners were placed directly into the language program's most advanced course or, in other cases, SHL learners took prior Spanish courses until reaching the intermediate level.

In all, it is important to note that the philosophy promoted by the syllabi is not limited to structure and vocabulary, but rather indicates a broader social and cultural view of communication. What's more, the methodology for instruction implemented into the design of all four courses is the "Flip Method". Lastly, in neither the course catalogue or the syllabi is there any mention of SHL learners with respect to their linguistic or affective needs relating to instructional objectives. The previous discussion of programmatic approaches to SHL learners' dialects indicates that language programs often take specific ideological approaches to U.S. Spanish (Beaudrie, 2015). After all, language ideologies are part of the curricularization of language (Valdés, 2016, 2017). In the case of the courses researched for this study, the mixed class context makes it so that there is no mention of SHL learners' needs or presence in any of the program's official documents (e.g., syllabi, course descriptions, website). The lack of programmatic

acknowledgement and instructional organization for Latinos enrolled in Spanish courses creates a situation where individual teachers must each cope with the diverse linguistic and socio-affective needs of SHL students taking their classes. Instructors participating in this study do not have the specialized preparation necessary to teach SHL learners (see Table 15), an essential component to providing student with a quality educational experience (Potowski, 2002; Potowski & Carreira, 2004).

3.5.1 Instructor Participant

The following subsections describes general information about Belinda. First, I discuss her basic background information. Second, I describe background information about SHL learners in the course observed.

Belinda originates from Colombia and moved to U.S. to pursue an advanced graduate degree in Psychology. Looking at Table 15, Belinda's 50 years of language teaching experience primarily come from teaching elementary-level classes in Colombia. She began to teach in the U.S. after finishing graduate school. Since residing in the U.S., she lived in the state where she attended graduate school and later moved to Arizona. She has lived in Arizona for 10 years and, in that time, has secured a part-time teaching position at the community college where she teaches one class and tutors Spanish students.

Table 15. Instructor Background Information

Instructor	Education	Language Teaching Experience	Country of Origin	Training on SHL Teaching
Belinda	B.A. Spanish & Communication (Latin America) M.A. Education with a focus on Early Childhood Education (U.S.) M.S. Professional Guidance & School Counseling (Latin America)	50 years	Colombia	No

Belinda identifies as a native speaker of Spanish. Out of the Spanish program staff, only Vivian, the program coordinator, has a doctorate degree (Spanish literature). Belinda and Araceli both have master's degrees in education-related fields. All participants studied Spanish at the bachelor's level, but only Belinda completed her bachelor's and one of her master's degrees in Latin America while the other participants completed their degrees in the U.S. Despite the presence of SHL students in the language program, all the instructors at the research site reported not having prior training in SHL pedagogy. Therefore, their lack of knowledge pertaining to these students' linguistic profile or pedagogical needs reflects the general programmatic tendency to not address these students' educational needs. Furthermore, only Vivian received formal L2 pedagogy training during her graduate student years as a Teaching Assistant. Compounding this issue is the fact that none of the Spanish staff have had SHL teaching development, which is less common than foreign language training. It must also be questioned whether one Teaching

Assistant methodology course in graduate school is enough for Vivian to be able to adopt appropriate language teaching methods and set proper programmatic goals. In addition, issues surrounding part-time staff and whether they would have access to SHL training and be willing to take on additional work commitments must also be called into question within the research context. Such issues are important to the quality education SHL learners experience while taking courses at this institution.

3.6.1 Focal SHL Learner Participants

This section describes background information about the SHL focal student participants (n=4) in this study. Due to the mixed class context of the Spanish class studied, the participants have differing proficiency levels in their HL. Specifically, using the definitions previously described, three participants are proficient Spanish speakers and one is a receptive learner. Initially, student participants completed a language background questionnaire (Torres, 2012) in which they self-identified as Latino or non-Latino (see Appendix C). Afterward, students took the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP) questionnaire to assess language dominance (Birdsong, Gertken, & Amengual, 2012).

There were both commonalities and also variation found among participants' backgrounds (see Appendix D). For example, the majority of the participants reported learning Spanish as their first language from birth—with the exception of Petra who first learned English. As such, María, Reina and Maira are considered as sequential bilinguals and acquired English in formal schooling. Additionally, three of the four participants self-reported as second-generation speakers. All of these participants' parents immigrated to the U.S. from Mexico. In the case of Petra, both of her parents are second generation Mexican Americans, making her a third generation SHL learner. The majority of

participants were born and raised in Arizona, with the exception of María who moved to from California to Arizona at the age of five. Lastly, all student participants reported having taken Spanish in high school, as well as to having visited family in Mexico. Moreover, the BLP (Birdsong, Gertken & Amengual, 2012) scores indicate that Reina and Maira are closer to being balanced in English and Spanish. Both María's and Petra's scores show their English dominance over Spanish.

Along with their linguistic background information, the participants also indicated their reasons to study Spanish (see Table 16 below).

Table 16. Participant Reasons for Studying Spanish

Participant	Course	Reasons for Studying Spanish
María	SPA101	To speak better.
Reina	SPA101	I feel like I need to learn it given my family.
Maira	SPA101	It's a requirement for my career.
Petra	SPA101	To not be a disgrace to my family and culture.

The SHL learners' reasons for studying Spanish were diverse, but there are some noticeable commonalities. Some students expressed wanting to study Spanish for personal reasons, (e.g., family, heritage, culture). Within this affective dimension, Petra indicated not wanting "be a disgrace to her family and culture," indicating that she has internalized negative beliefs about her abilities in Spanish. Lastly, Maira indicated wanting to improve her abilities, while María mentioned her desire to expand her abilities for instrumental reasons. These results mirror what Carreira and Kagan (2011) found in their national survey in which SHL learners study Spanish for a range of reasons. For example, SHL learners study Spanish to communicate with family members, for professional success, to learn more about their cultural and linguistic roots, and to fulfill an academic language requirement.

3.7.1 Data Collection Methods

As mentioned earlier, the research design utilizes a combination of instruments to address the study's research questions. Methods included in-class observations (n = 11) and audio recordings of classroom discourse. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with students and instructors. Additionally, I incorporated recorded researcher (analytical) memos, field notes during ethnographic observations, and collected artifacts from the classroom (e.g., textbooks, corrected assignments, documentation of classroom whiteboard examples). My overall objective was to gather sufficient evidence of language correction to further validate research findings. As stated before, the study included two questionnaires that were given to SHL participants to gather information about their language background history (Torres, 2012) and the BLP questionnaire (Birdsong, Gertken & Amengual, 2012). In addition, instructors took an online questionnaire that inquired about their previous experience teaching SHL learners and basic educational background information.

3.7.2 Observations and Timeline

These data were collected during the Spring 2018 semester. I observed the course in question starting at the beginning of March and concluding at the end of April—close to the end of the Spring semester and before final exams. Classroom observational data consisted of ethnographic observations including field notes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011), classroom audio recordings, and research memos. During class observations (each class was one hour and fifty minutes long), I took detailed field notes on oral CF and other discourse relating to SHL learners, Spanish in the U.S., student interactions, and/or anything of general interest. Simultaneously, classroom interactions were being audio

recorded to ensure accuracy of both general observations and oral CF episodes. Furthermore, field notes were used to document informal conversations that took place outside of the instructional and interview contexts that related to the overall research objective (Maxwell, 2013). Between classes or when the day was finished, I would record research memos, extensively noting interesting and important interactions or patterns that were relevant to the research objectives of the study.

For the in-class audio recording I used a Swivl C Series recording device with four wireless microphones specifically designed for education contexts (See Figure 5).

Scheme for Classroom Audio Recordings

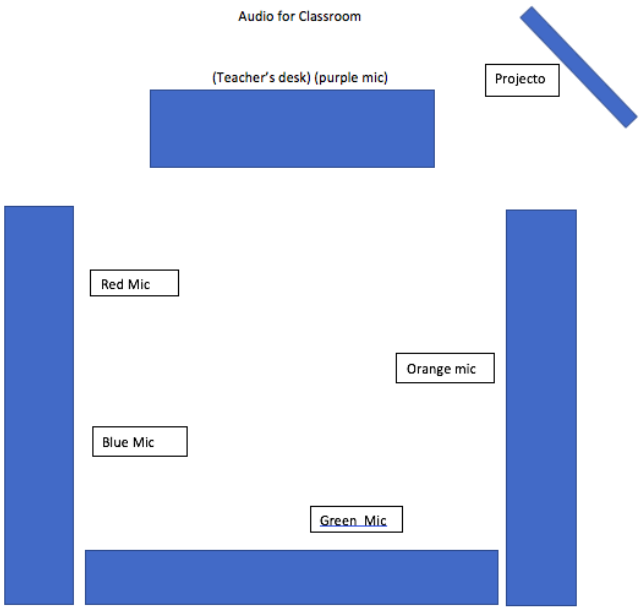

Figure 5. Example of Microphone Placement for Spanish Classroom

To organize the recorded data collection process, I identified who the SHL learners were and where they sat during each class meeting. I observed that students, for the most part, sat consistently in the same seats everyday as part of the normal classroom routine. Taking note of where SHL learners sat, I developed a microphone schema to consistently

place the wireless microphones in the appropriate place to effectively record the focus participants. The Swivl microphones recorded synchronously and were placed on the tables around the room. Speaking to the observer paradox that microphones in any given research context affect participant behavior, Swivl microphones are small and look like thumb drives to reduce their impact on the data collection. Finally, instructors wore the principal microphone around their necks on a lanyard so that their discourse was always being recorded. Due to IRB restrictions, I was not allowed to video record. Additionally, at the beginning of the study, students voiced their concerns about being video recorded.

3.7.3 Interviews

As Codó (2008) notes, interviews are fast and effective means to gathering a large amount of data in a short time period. Having semi-structured interviews allows for flexibility in asking participants follow-up questions: "there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up of the specific answers given and the stories told by subjects" (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015, p. 150). I initially constructed the interview questions by developing key thematic questions relating to language ideologies and oral CF—formulating the questions to avoid technical terms. Interview questions generally addressed beliefs about language learning, language use, U.S. Spanish, teaching philosophies, SHL learner needs, difficulties in teaching SHL learners, mixed courses, and beliefs relating to oral CF (see Appendix E). Student interviews mirrored the instructor interview to an extent. I asked students about their perception of the classroom, as well as their experiences with oral CF. After initial interviews with students and the instructor, I carried out additional follow-up interviews to gain further insight to patterns that I observed in the classroom and to address topics not fully explored in the initial

conversation. In total, I had five separate interviews with Belinda and two interviews per SHL student participants. Lastly, general informal conversation with students and the instructor were documented via the researcher memos.

It is important to note that the data from semi-structured interviews analyzed in the next Chapter (4) largely shows conversations between myself and the individual participants. However, two student participants (Reina and Maira) interviewed together. Because they were best friends and I had the sense that Maira did not want to interview alone with me, both students scheduled their meetings with me at the same time. An additional point that is important to make is that the term "Spanglish" is used throughout the data set to reference phenomena such as code-switching, extensions, and borrowings. Acknowledging the debate surrounding this term in the wider field of sociolinguistics (see Otheguy & Stern, 2010; Zentella, 2008), this study utilizes "Spanglish" as a common and colloquial term that most laypeople will understand in reference to Spanish in the U.S. and its differences to monolingual Spanish norms. As such, I use this term to elicit participants' opinions about such matters.

3.7.4 Coding Schema

While Phase 1 involved entering the research site and collecting data, Phase 2 consisted of transcribing and coding the classroom discourse that was audio recorded with focused attention to oral CF (see Appendix F). Taking direction from Razfar (2003, 2005) and the theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter (2), language ideologies were coded in two domains: (1) language practices (i.e. oral CF) and (2) explicit articulations of language ideologies. Coding oral CF practices draws on taxonomies of corrections utilized in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies (Ellis, 2010) to differentiate

between strategies used by the instructor. Coding was done iteratively (Maxwell, 2013) in conjunction with interpretations of the ethnographic field-notes (Emerson, Frets & Shaw, 2011) and analytic memos (Marshall & Rossman, 2016) to pinpoint emerging themes on oral CF within the context of the classroom (Razfar, 2005). Data segments were organized using QSR International's NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software.

Phase 3 involves the data analysis stage of the discourse in the class and in the interviews. The coding scheme differentiated between class-wide language instruction and general classroom discourse. Explicit articulations of language ideologies were coded into subthemes that related to notions of "correctness," "proper," language forms that supposedly do not "exist," and/or academic Spanish. Instances of oral CF were also coded by error addressed, such as pronunciation, syntax, and lexical. Finally, explicit language ideologies from interview and classroom discourse were analyzed utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to further uncover dominant language ideologies. To illustrate, vignettes of explicit language ideologies segments will be presented in the next chapter (4).

3.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Adopting a Critical Applied Linguistics framework (e.g., Pennycook, 2001), CDA guides the analysis of these present discourse data. Drawing from Post-Structuralism, CDA is shaped by several theories and scholars that include Foucault, Bourdieu, and neo-Marxist tradition (Ducar, 2006). As Wodak and Meyer (2016) point out, Marxist frameworks provide CDA with the viewpoint that discourse pertains to ideologies conceived "as constructions of practices from particular perspectives" or interests. Further, the Foucauldian tradition inserts the notion that "it is not the subject who makes

the discourse, but the discourses that make the subject" (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p.117). In this sense, social actors are not autonomous but rather conceived as products of discourses. Such discourses are a manifestation of social action which, in turn, are shaped by mechanisms and institutions of power. Bourdieu's theories have also shaped CDA by contributing the notion of cultural capitals (the distribution of economic, cultural, and social resources) that interact with discourses and practices.

The varying ways that power and ideology are conceptualized highlight the overarching goal of CDA to reveal structures of power, to contest abuse of power, and to unmask ideologies that are hidden in everyday beliefs which are often disguised as conceptual metaphors, and analogies, among other discursive devices (Blackledge, 2008; Fairclough, 2016; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Because dominant ideologies appear as "neutral" and are linked to normalized assumption that are rendered unchallenged (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 9), CDA provides a powerful lens to uncover how dominant discourse stemming from powerful institutions shape how we think. Ducar (2006) argues that CDA is particularly important in educational systems because of how schools "meld students into knowledgeable citizens" (p. 43). Drawing inspiration from Ducar's (2006) work, this present study, in a general sense, questions what counts as knowledge within the language classroom and how such dominant ideologies discussed in Chapter (2) are reflected in the discourses studied.

With a critical eye toward social domination, CDA examines discourse through an array of linguistic mechanisms that include grammatical, semantic, pragmatic, interactional rhetorical, stylistic, narrative, as well as through ethnography, interviewing, life stories, focus groups, and participant observation (van Dijk, 2013). As such, text

analysis at the micro-level is considered by CDA scholars to reveal relationships of power and domination. Fairclough's (2010) three-dimensional dialectical model illustrates how analysis of discursive practices, events and texts can lead to uncovering how ideologies—rooted in relations of power and struggles over power—mediate wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. Thus, discourse is constitutive of the social world but is also constituted by it; discourse is a form of social practice that not only contributes to the shaping and reshaping of social structures, but also reflects them.

Although there are various approaches to finding the ideological relationship between discourse and society, the present study draws direction from van Dijk's (2016) approach to CDA. Such analysis is described by van Dijk (2016) to consist of a "triangle" between discourse, society, and cognition. Whereas other approaches to CDA study the relationships between society and discourse, van Djik (2016) claims that such a relationship is cognitively mediated. As such, discourse and social structures are related through "mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members" (van Dijk, 2016, p. 64). In this model, social knowledge is argued to consist of beliefs shared by most members of epistemic communities or cultures. There are also social beliefs that are shared only by specific groups (e.g., attitudes and ideologies). Whereas there is shared social knowledge about immigration, some groups have different ideologies about such notions. As such, general social knowledge, as well as specific language and attitudes shape the mental models of the members of ideological groups: "And if these (biased) model control discourse, they are often expressed in polarized ideological discourse structures…at all levels of text or talk" (van Dijk, 2016, p.69). The researcher has used his model to examine structures of discourse and their relationships

to social and political contexts that include racism in the media (e.g., van Dijk, 2005, 2008).

Following the model above, the present research began with the general coding process described in subsection (3.6.1). I follow Razfar's (2003, 2005) approach to organizing the class and interview discourse data following a coding scheme to organize and reduce the more than 40 hours of recorded classroom and interview audio to the relevant constructs under investigation. This second step was crucial in determining the themes related to SHL learners on multiple levels (see Chapter 1). After this initial data organization, I preceded to apply the CDA tenets discussed above to gain an in-depth understanding of the linguistic aspects of the discourse. This study analyzed the following discursive devices: pronouns, verbs to denote processes, metaphors, diminutives, allusions, evaluative attributions, quotes, quotatives, and adjectives (Ducar, 2006; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; van Dijk, 2016). These devices are analyzed in order to understand the treatment of U.S. varieties within the discourse data, as well as to understand the representation of broader social structures linked to U.S. Latinos (e.g., language learning is prescriptive or regulated by rules and authorities). Given how language ideologies manifest themselves in society and how they interact with other social structures within the context of a hegemonic society, I also focused on particular discussions about U.S. Spanish, monolingualism, language contact/multilingualism, and standard Spanish. Following Ducar (2006), the discourse was also analyzed to gain a better picture of the underlying philosophical approaches toward SHL learners' varieties and the instructional objectives particular to these students' language development (e.g., appropriateness, expansion, appreciation, critical language awareness, and eradication

approaches). To determine such approaches, the metalanguage present in the discourses pertaining to U.S. varieties of Spanish and the metalanguage used to justify the variety of Spanish taught in class were also analyzed (Ducar, 2006, p. 61). Lastly, the descriptive data of oral CF episodes and the observational class data relating to dynamics in the mixed class (e.g., practices, interactions, and activities) were used to contextualize and provide a further layer of evidence of dominant language ideologies in the classroom.

3.9.1 Researcher Positionality and Rapport

Right at the beginning of the study, I started as an observer where I naturally had a degree of detachment. No one talked to me. In most cases, neither the students or the teacher would acknowledge me. However, as the study progressed, I gradually became an observer-participant. Instead of just sitting in the back of the room silently collecting data, students would turn to me and ask me questions or would just want to chat (of course I would try to tell them to focus on their task). The teachers would also ask me questions to involve me in some class conversations. As my position unfolded, so did my relationships with the participants. Building rapport with the students and teacher was key in reflecting on my positionality and my overall intention of presenting research that is critical, but fair.

Crucially, my positionality within the research site is defined by the fact that I have preconceived notions of language discrimination. This bias comes, in part, from my personal background as a Latino, SHL speaker of Mexican heritage. In addition, as a specialist in HL pedagogy, I acknowledge that I have preconceived notions about how SHL students and their educational experiences should be addressed by Spanish teaching professionals and language programs. These preconceptions are directly influenced by

my privileged position in having access to such specialized education at a large four-year university that has the resources to sustain a successful SHL program and provide appropriate training.

Another component of my identity includes being a language teacher. As such, teachers generally felt comfortable talking to me about classroom issues, problematic students, and program concerns during my many visits to the teachers' lounge. In addition, student participants saw me as a Latino college student that they could relate to. On many levels I related to both instructors and students. I will note that more than once I found myself sympathizing more with the Latino students than the instructors—an issue that I had to keep balanced in my analysis and overall study. Given that my SHL training and my area of expertise are inclined to critical aspects of language research, I had to also keep in mind the overall institutional context that positioned teachers to draw upon their subjective understanding of SHL learners. Throughout the research process (including during the data analysis), I reflected upon how my identities can affect my data collection and analysis. These two aspects of my researcher identity influence how I built rapport with both student and teacher participants (Berger, 2015).

Throughout the data collection process, I was able to leverage my identities as both a teacher and as a Latino local to the research area. Furthermore, building trust required me to be open-minded and let go of my "academic armor" as Marshall and Rossman (2016) call it. Some of the ways to mitigate my status as an academic outsider were dressed casually—not as though I was going into a job interview or to instruct. An advantage I had was that I am still in my late 20s, which helped me establish trust with student participants. I would often wear college shirts and talk to them about topics that

related to both the class and their personal interests. I would listen to their concerns about learning Spanish or just their life goals.

Part of my involvement in the research site included attending Spanish program activities. These included Spanish club meetings, cultural awareness events, as well as potluck gatherings with staff and students. In addition, I offered open tutoring to Spanish students on other subjects that were not related to Spanish class. As for the instructors, I would talk with them in the staff lounge or buy them a coffee while I asked them questions. I also offered to work with the program teachers after my research concluded to provide them with guidance on SHL education and to provide them with materials and resources to address learners' needs. I believe that crucial research should give back and not just "consume" data for the sole benefit of the researcher.

In sum, this chapter (3) provides an overview of the ethnographic research context, research site, the instruments, participants, research procedures, CDA, as well as researcher rapport and positionality. Chapter (4) provides analysis of the discourses at the classroom and interview level. In addition, this chapter (4) provides descriptions about the course investigated and the oral CF episodes. The order of the following chapter begins with the discourse data and follows with the oral CF data.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

Belinda's SPA 101 morning class ran in a disciplined fashion, following a strict routine that emphasized the formalities of the classroom settings and language learning. Upon starting each day, Belinda made it a point to greet every student at the door by saying "*buenos días*" (good morning) and offering them snacks inside a hand-woven basket. As students walked into class at 10:30 AM and grabbed their snacks, Belinda would reformulate L2 students' discourse when they used the informal *tú* to respond to her early morning greeting. The following example is taken from field notes.

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(2) Belinda: ¿Cómo estás?

L2 student: Huh?

Belinda: ¿Cómo estás?

L2 student: Uh. Muy bien y ¿**tú**?

Belinda: Muy bien y ¿**usted**?

Belinda often reformulated students' utterances to reinforce her beliefs of respect and appropriate classroom communication. This section begins with this short episode as the objective of this chapter is to illustrate effectively how beliefs and values mediate oral corrective feedback (oral CF practices) for Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) learners. To address the research questions of this study, it is paramount to gain an in depth understanding of how Belinda constructs her perceptions of SHL learners on multiple levels that includes: (1) language ideologies, (2) oral CF, and (3) the mixed class context.

Drawing from data collected during eleven class observations and interviews with participants, the following sections delineate data that sheds light on these issues.

4.1.1 La Maestra Estricta

Several informal conversations with Belinda revealed that, as a teacher, she values respect and discipline above all else. The participant would often discuss how she found it frustrating that students were not mindful of the respect owed to the classroom setting and, especially, to the teacher. Occasionally, I would hear students whispering comments about Belinda to themselves such as "She's so mean" or "Watch out, don't get it wrong." Belinda presented herself as a strict teacher that was tough on rules and even tougher on "getting it right" the first time. This general dynamic can be seen reflected in her sometime stern interactions with students and short answers to their questions. Besides language development, Belinda sees her role as a teacher related to developing students' character.

As such, Belinda's interview reveals that, in part, her teaching goals focus on students' character development and emotional well-being.

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(3) Researcher: ¿Qué son sus metas en la enseñanza?

Belinda: Que la persona tiene que **ser responsable**, paso por paso, etapa por etapa de su propia vida, **ser responsable** de sí misma… Yo pienso que eso me ayuda mucho a reflexionar a que la gente tome **responsabilidad** de su educación, de sus cosas, de que no espere que la mamá le tienda la ropa, la cama, le ponga los zapatos y le haga un montón de cosas.

In excerpt (3), Belinda indicates that, in her view, an important goal in her classroom is to develop students' sense of responsibility. The words "*responsible*"/"*responsabilidad*" (responsible/responsibility) is repeated four times in reference to students. The students

are categorized as lacking the characteristics of a "good" student. As such, the process of developing students' sense of responsibility is described as occurring gradually "*step by step*" (paso por paso) and "*stage by stage*" (etapa por etapa). This goal is further illustrated in how Belinda's predication strategy—in which allusion is utilized as a discursive device—indirectly qualifies her students as being childish and, thus, immature. Belinda's use of allusion is telling of her negative perceptions of students as dependent young people who still need their "*mom*" (mamá) to "*hang their clothes to dry*" (le tienda la ropa), "*make their bed*" (le tienda la cama) and "*put their shoes on*" (le ponga los zapatos). This is a quality she aims to change through her teaching.

In excerpt (4), Belinda denotes a contrast between a "good student" and a "bad" one:

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(4) Researcher: ¿Qué considera que son sus objetivos para sus estudiantes?

Belinda: Bueno, queda claro que el objetivo principal de mi relación como educadora con los estudiantes es establecer una buena comunicación lingüística y hacer que el estudiante se sienta **feliz, alegre** y que no sea **un martirio**…motivarlo para que se sienta ah, con verdadero interés de **seguir adelante** y **tener éxito** en la vida, eso es lo que yo quiero, o sea, ese es mi objetivo… ¿Usted trabaja por ganar un dinero? Sí, es cierto, pero yo no trabajo tampoco por ganar el dinero, yo estoy, yo estoy aquí haciendo una misión, o sea, para mí. Yo estoy tratando de cambiar una actitud, hacia una **actitud positiva** hacia **el éxito**, hacia una **motivación** para que el estudiante realmente **siga adelante**, que no se sienta **frustrado**.

She does this via her repeated discursive qualification of ideal students through positive adjectives: *feliz, alegre* (to be happy) and *positiva* (positive). This is contrasted to "bad" students who are: *frustrados* (frustrated) and *un martirio* (to be a pain). Accordingly, possessing such positive qualifications relates to students' overall success. Such

achievement is seen in via the twice repeated word "*éxito"* (success) and the verb "*seguir adelante*" (to move forward). In this light, Belinda's goal is to change the negative traits of "bad" students to good ones.

Continuing with excerpt (4), Belinda asks a rhetorical question on whether I teach for the "money" and then indicates that she teaches to fulfill her "mission." Belinda intensifies her described learning objectives by using the word "mission" as a deontic device to raise her personal stake and importance as a teaching professional. She constructs her role as an educator as someone that impacts students in a meaningful and life-changing way. Such a statement is important in understanding how the participant views her role as someone who can impact and shape SHL learners' Spanish. Besides students' psychological well-being, the theme of language development is also brought up.

Belinda's second instructional goal pertains to developing students' language: "con los estudiantes es establecer una buena comunicación lingüística" (to establish good linguistic communication with students). In example (5), Belinda explicates her views on this goal, which also relates to being part of the "responsibility" of a "good" student.

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(5) Belinda: Del aprendizaje, ese sí, en el sentido de tomar **la responsabilidad** de hacer sus etapas, quemar sus etapas y seguir en una meta, en un gol o sea la meta, el objetivo principal, es aprender la lengua entonces él tiene que desarrollar gradualmente etapa por etapa, ir avanzando hacia el logro de los objetivos de esas metas…En últimas yo pienso que lo que uno va es como si fuera una escalera, subiendo una grada hasta lograr el aprendizaje de la lengua y así es la enseñanza de la lengua.

Utilizing a predication strategy, Belinda constructs the language development process as one that unfolds "*gradually*" (gradualmente) as well as through metaphors such as

"*stages*" (etapas) in which learners must climb a "*ladder*" (escalera) or "*stairs*" (grada) —"*step by step*" (etapa por etapa). Cognitive linguists, such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Santa-Ana (2002), have indicated that metaphors reflect mental concepts such as theories and arguments. As such, Johnstone (2018) notes that cognitive metaphors are reflected in how speakers describe an "argument being *shaky*" or use phrases like "is that the *foundation* of your theory?" (p. 47). In the above excerpt, Belinda's source domain (STEPS, LADDER, and STAIRS) are mapped onto the target domain, which is her theory or argument on language learning. The connotation of such a metaphor reflects the argument that there is a specific "high point" or "advanced point" to where students are expected to reach.

Although attempts were made to elicit Belinda's thoughts on formal teaching methodologies, the participant mainly focused on her students' emotional profiles. Belinda's position on language teaching reflects her academic background and interests in psychology and general education, and not necessarily as a formally trained language educator. To learn more about Belinda's views on SHL learners, I elicited information on what she perceives to be SHL learners' language learning needs. Because Belinda does not have any formal training on teaching SHL learners or knowledge of sociolinguistic aspect of Spanish, it became evident that her objectives for developing both SHL and second language (L2) learners' language abilities were indistinguishable at first glance. However, as these data will reveal, SHL learners' expectations, assumptions, and beliefs distinguish their perceived learning needs compared to L2 learners. Furthermore, interview data and class observations reveal that the underlying language ideologies that drive Belinda's goals for SHL learner language development were not neutral, but rather

take form from dominant discourses about language. Given that Belinda characterizes language development metaphorically as taking various "*steps*" (etapas) which lead students' Spanish toward a desired endpoint or quality, I wanted to further understand how this process manifests for SHL learners.

4.1.2 Learning Not to Speak like "El Pueblo"

Speaking on the linguistic needs of SHL learners, Belinda, in excerpt (6), utilizes repeated adjectives and adverbs such as "*very medium*" (muy medio) and "*low*" (bajo) to create an assessment of their Spanish compared to institutional expectations of how they should speak. Accordingly, Belinda adds that a goal for SHL learner instruction is to "elevate" (subir) the "low" (bajo) language they bring to the classroom:

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(6) Researcher: ¿Qué otras necesidades pueden tener los estudiantes que ya vienen con el español?

Belinda: ¿En cuanto a los estudiantes que ya saben el español?

Researcher: Sí.

Belinda: Para mí lo más importante es **subir el nivel** del lenguaje, porque en realidad los estudiantes que llegan tienen un léxico **muy medio**, dijéramos **medio** o **bajo**. Utilizan **demasiadas** palabras**,** yo sé que **el pueblo** las usa**,** pero eso no es lo **normal**. No se me ocurre ahorita los ejemplos, pero yo todos los días en las clases digo, "Yo puedo decir esa palabra, pero esa no es la correcta", ese **no** es **el nivel** de español que queremos enseñarle. Ellos ahí se quedan pensando "a ver por qué," pero sí hay **muchas palabras**.

Although seemingly neutral, Belinda's above goal is mediated by dominant language ideologies that express "the relative worth of different languages, what constitutes 'correct' usage, how particular groups of people 'should' speak in given situations" (Leeman, 2012, p. 43). This point is illustrated through Belinda's use of adjectives and

adverbs that serve as euphemisms to implicitly convey her classist values about SHL learners' varieties relative to the classroom context.

For Belinda, such "*low*" (bajo) variants are deemed unsuitable for instructional context because they index SHL learners' speech to underclass groups of speakers. As the participant adds, SHL learners' Spanish contains "*muchas*" "*demasiadas*," (too many) and "*no es la correcta*" (incorrect) words associated with "*el pueblo*" (i.e. meaning popular or vulgar speech); a characteristic that she notes as not being part of the "*norm*" (normal) or, rather, how everyday Spanish is spoken. Further, Belinda utilizes perspectivization (positioning the speaker's point of view and expressing involvement or distance) to position her involvement in the teaching of such "normal" Spanish. This is done by quoting what she says in class to communicate to students that one could use such a vulgar word, but it is not "*correct*." She adds that such "*level*" (nivel) of Spanish is not what should be taught in class.

Bernal-Henríquez and Hernández-Chávez (2003) observe that the majority of SHL learners of Mexican origin have "*campesino*" or "*obrero*" (blue collar or rural) roots; therefore, the slight against their varieties is simultaneously disparaging of the socioeconomic status of their families (p. 107). Belinda's stereotypical appraisal of student lexicon as a deviation from everyday Spanish suggests that her instructional goals and even instructional practices are shaped by deficit-oriented beliefs that link SHL learners' varieties to social class distinctions. Considering how social class distinctions shape Belinda's instructional goals for SHL learners, it becomes crucial to interrogate the beliefs and values that are associated with "*elevated*" or "*normal*" Spanish—what groups of speakers represent such a prestigious variety? As Valdés et al. (2003) point out,

"beliefs and values centered around conceptualizations of monolingual educated native speakers and the ways in which educated is also understood as a euphemism for membership in a particular social class" (p. 118). Considering how SHL learners' varieties index a low social stratum, Belinda's use of "normal" is an indirect means to say that they should speak like upper-class/educated/monolingual Spanish speakers.

Excerpt (7), (8) and (9) provide further clues to answering the question posed above. Importantly, excerpt (7) shows how Belinda connects "normal" Spanish to her own variety—Colombian Spanish:

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(7) Belinda**: Nosotros** [los colombianos] no **somos** inmigrantes así, siempre todos nos venimos con título. **Nosotros** llamamos inmigrantes el que pasa la frontera sin permiso, esa es la idea que uno tiene de inmigrante, pero **nosotros** no somos inmigrantes en ese sentido, sino que la mayoría del 80% llega con sus papeles **normales** y entran **normal**.

Belinda constructs herself as an upper-class/privileged/educated language user by differentiating her Colombian variety from the local Spanish-speaking community. In this way, she imbues herself with the epistemic authority to teach Spanish, as well as to work with this underprivileged student population.

In this excerpt, the assertions stated above are corroborated by the way in which Belinda calls upon class distinctions to characterize her community and the variety they utilize as not being associated to a low socioeconomic background. Specifically, Belinda utilizes the concept of "*immigration*" (inmigración/inmigrantes) to exemplify her community's privilege through her twice repeated use of the third person pronoun "*nosotros*" (we) and the negation "*no*" to communicate "we [Colombians] are not immigrants." As van Dijk (2016) notes, speakers use pronouns to denote their and other's

membership to ideological groups. In this sense, the opposite of *We* is the use of *They* to denote dominated groups of speaks. In the case of excerpt (7), the underprivileged people that are the "*They*" are identified by Belinda to be Mexican immigrants. Her description of such immigrants demonstrates prejudicial underlying ideologies through polarization, which are negative representation of the outgroup and positive representation of the in-group.

In her view, Colombians in the U.S., including herself, do not fall into the same stereotypical category as the local Mexican immigrant community. According to the participant, a large portion of Colombians arrive "normally" to the U.S. with college degrees and green cards. Excerpt (7) shows the use of the adjective "normal" 3 times to indicate privilege; Belinda uses it as a euphemism for people that have the economic and educational resources to immigrate to the US "legally" (e.g., *sino que la mayoría del 80% llega con sus papeles normales y entran normal*). These findings are indicative that, in Belinda's eyes, "real immigrants" are those who cross the southern border and bring with them less educated—vulgar—Spanish of "*el pueblo*."

The connection between Mexican immigrants bringing "too many" of their undesirable words into the U.S. is related to how public discourse often references Latino immigrant communities through the metaphors of IMMIGRATION AS A NATURAL DISASTER or LANGUAGE-MINORITY STUDENTS AS INVADERS (e.g., Santa-Ana, 2002; Johnson, 2005). The underlying connotations of such metaphors relate to immigrants "invading" or "flooding" the U.S. and its educational system. Likewise, undesirable Mexican immigrants' bringing their "bad" Spanish linguistically creates the problem source for the supposed "erroneous" state of U.S. Spanish. Noting the context in

which the geopolitical anthroponym "*colombiano*" (Colombian) is used in reference to immigration, as well as language variety, it becomes apparent that this word takes on a metonymical meaning for "good" Spanish. As Ducar (2006) states, metonymy "perhaps is even more powerful than the metaphor due to its subtle and naturalizing nature" (p. 93). Of course, this is evident given how "*colombiano*" (Colombian) connects to both immigration and the "*They"* vs "*US"* polarization to implicitly construct values and beliefs about the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos.

Continuing to construct the ideological group of "who's in and who's out" with respect to speakers that possess "good" Spanish, Belinda turns to the media:

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(8) Researcher: Esa idea de elevar el español o llegar al español meta ¿Cómo lo describiría?

Belinda: El **español normal**, dijéramos así, porque dentro del lenguaje existe el lenguaje que **el pueblo** lo habla, el lenguaje un poco a un nivel **más alto**, y el lenguaje que es **lo perfecto** del lenguaje. Perdón que diga, pero si usted se pone a ver en la televisión, en los noticieros, usted encuentra la diferencia del lenguaje. Usted coloca un noticiero o una televisión y usted va a notar que unas personas hablan con **un lenguaje alto**, sería interesante una investigación de esas, y otras muy alto. Por qué, por ejemplo, si usted mira Univisión, ¿cuántas locutoras son **colombianas** de las que dan las noticias? Por el lenguaje. Ahí es donde yo digo, sí hay que **pulir**, hay que **manejar** y **corregir** para que la persona entienda que es necesario **mejorar** el lenguaje, **no dañarlo**.

Here again, the "*They"* vs "*US"* polarization is illustrated in words such as "*orgullo*" (pride) used with the Colombian variety; the opposite of how "*el pueblo*" speaks.

Additionally, Belinda uses Colombian Telemundo newscasters as examples of professional/ideal upper-class speakers with the desired linguistic qualities that SHL learners should aspire to obtain. In particular, Belinda describes a Colombian newscaster that worked in England because she "*handles a language that is so good*" (ella maneja un idioma tan bueno):

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(9) Belinda: Se ve ahí más de tres o cuatro personas, y esas han sido los mejores locutores allá en **Colombia**, en la televisión, ellos venían a trabajar aquí. Es que es **un orgullo** oírlos hablar de la forma tan correcta. Hay una que trabaja y llegó hasta ahora a reemplazar a otra aquí en el noticiero de las 10:00 PM de Telemundo, no me acuerdo cómo se llama. Qué idioma tan **lindo**, ella fue clasificada, cuando yo estaba allá en **Colombia**, de las mejores. A ella la contrataban **en Inglaterra**, ella estaba en Inglaterra y de ahí se vino ahorita a trabajar acá, pero ella **maneja un idioma tan bueno**.

Researcher: ¿En Telemundo?

Belinda: Sí, en Telemundo. Mire Telemundo y verá**.** La mayoría son **colombianos**, y bastante, no solamente en eso, sino en otras actividades dentro de la misma televisión. Hasta decían que a lo mejor esa emisora es **colombiana**…. Sí, tienen bastantes, lo que pasa es que la gente no sabe que son **colombianos**, pero ellos de vez en cuando dicen que son **colombianos.**

Up to this point, it is apparent that "elevated" Spanish is synonymous to a prestigious variety. Such idealized Spanish related to educated and socioeconomically privileged Latinos whom are different from rural and blue-collar Mexican/Mexican American speakers. As such, in excerpts (8) and (9), Belinda describes the target variety that she considers to be the benchmark for SHL learners' language development through adjectives and phrases such as "perfect" (perfecto), "*normal*" (normal), "*beautiful*" (lindo), and "*high language*" (alto) (Kroskrity, 2004). Qualifications such as these are not by any means neutral or arbitrary constructs, but rather construct the standard language

ideology, as well as the normative monolingual ideology. As Leeman (2012) argues, such notions "serve to legitimate the accrual of disproportionate privilege, power, and material resources to speakers of preferred varieties while rationalizing the subordination of other language varieties and the people who speak them" (p.45). Under this guise, Belinda contributes implicitly to sustaining and legitimizing unequitable relationships as she imparts knowledge upon her pupils with these underlying beliefs shaping her professional decision-making.

Given these data, one might ask how SHL learners attain such an idealized variety of Spanish. Belinda argues in excerpt (8) that one must "*polish*" (pulir) "*control*" (manejar), and "*correct*" (corregir) the language so that SHL learners may "*improve*" (mejorar) their language skills and to "*harm*" or "*damage*" (dañar) the Spanish language. Such a vantage point corresponds to broader societal beliefs that SHL learners are expected to linguistically control both their languages as if they were monolingual speakers of each one of their languages. As such, U.S. Latino multilingualism is commonly perceived as a corruption of the heritage culture and language (Ortega, 2019; Zentella, 2008). Sentiments such as these are a product of the wide-spread normative ideologies of language, which can take the form of the *norma culta* or normative monolingualism. This ideology posits that "if an individual is bilingual, the two language must be kept strictly separate…above all else, no codeswitching or bilingual discourse" (Fuller, 2013, p.10).

Considering the data, the moral imperative to rescue the purity of Spanish from the threat that SHL learners pose is also connected to the educational effort to sanitize their varieties that are determined by the sociolinguistic, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical reality of Spanish in the U.S. (Villa, 2002). As heritage language (HL) experts have long pointed out, the language classroom has often become a site in which attempts are made to mold young Latinos after idealized language standards considered to be free of unwanted regionalisms and other undesirable linguistic features (Rodriguez Pino, 1997). Often, language goals, such as the ones outlined above, are justified on the depoliticized pretense of providing a service to a group of socially disadvantaged students. However, such teaching goals simultaneously legitimize the erasure of non-prestigious cultures and bilingual discourse from both the learner and the classroom context.

In sum, this section introduces two aspects of Belinda's goals for teaching language. First, she centers on the emotional aspects of her students' character by aiming to develop values such as respect, motivation, and a positive attitude toward learning and attaining success. Second, Belinda also speaks to how she aims to change SHL learners' speech to resemble "normal" Spanish free of unwanted non-prestigious features. This section provides discursive evidence that the participant abides by dominant language norms to assess SHL learners' language development needs, it becomes essential to further understand how she conceptualizes language variation in the classroom; the following subsection speaks to this aspect.

4.1.3 SHL Learners as a Problem

Having established the link between SHL learners' Spanish and class distinctions, it is important to further understand Belinda's beliefs about language variation in the classroom. Belinda's interview data addresses this question in two ways. First, Belinda indirectly expresses her beliefs about language variation through anecdotes that negatively portray former SHL learners that have previously taken her class. Second, further into her interview, Belinda discusses more explicitly her views about specific variants that she deems problematic. In this way, since learners are constructed as problematic, so too, is the Spanish they speak and vice-versa.

On the first point stated above, excerpt (10) shows how Belinda begins her anecdote by painting a picture of a problematic SHL learner that previously took her course:

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(10) Researcher: ¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia de tener estudiantes que ya saben el español en su clase?

Belinda: Hay una experiencia muy interesante de un estudiante que estudiaba medicina o que iba a estudiar medicina. Ella sabía **mucho español**, yo no sé por qué estaba ahí, tal vez por el crédito o algo así. Fueron dos experiencias, pero ella salía conmigo y en la clase le fastidiaba la clase, porque ella estaba en un nivel **muy bajo,** pero en comparación como ella estaba. Yo le dije que si quería no volviera a la clase porque si se sentía mal.

In this excerpt, Belinda states, "*Ella sabía mucho español, yo no sé por qué estaba ahí, tal vez por el crédito o algo así*" (She knew a lot of Spanish, I don't know why she was there, may for the credits or something like that). Although normally "knowing a lot of

Spanish" might be a positive trait in a Spanish course, Belinda points to her abilities in order to construct the learner as out of place in her elementary L2 course.

In Excerpt (11), Belinda describes yet another former SHL:

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(11) Belinda: Yo tuve una vez, un ejemplo, ¿no? Un estudiante, siempre venía a la clase y nunca hablaba. Y pasaron como dos meses y el estudiante-- Yo pensaba que el estudiante sabía el idioma-pero él- él no contestaba ni hablaba nada para, tal vez pa que se die-- Pa que no se dieran cuenta que estaba, que-que era que sabía el idioma. Yo no entiendo, o sea, para mí eso es como un poco traumático y además de eso, pues como un espía que estaba en la clase. Entonces, yo un día le dije, no sé cómo fue que le dije, "Yo a usted lo conozco", algo así, fue una frase. O sea, yo quería decir que a él lo conocía como estudiante, porque, pues, sabía perfectamente que algo estaba pasando, ¿no?

Researcher: ¿Sí?

Belinda: Fue en la-- Y no volvió más. Entonces, yo me quedé como con la duda, ¿no? Para mí que él sí sabía el idioma, por todas las formas y la como yo siempre los hago hablar-entonces, la-las veces que él hablaba, hablaba perfecto.

However, in contrast to the previous excerpt, this time, Belinda constructs this particular learner as silent and as unwilling to speak Spanish in her class. Suspecting that he was a Latino that in fact did speak Spanish, Belinda metaphorically compares him to a "*spy*" (espía). Belinda utilizes such a metaphor to qualify the learner's actions as dishonest, as cryptic (because she does not understand why he was in her class), and as attempting to cheat his way through Spanish class by impersonating an L2 learner. Of course, not letting him take advantage of her *naiveté*, Belinda reports exposing the "spy," or rather the problematic students' true intents; thus, causing him to never return to class. As such, regardless of whether SHL learners are silent or overtly proficient in Spanish, they are

nevertheless constructed as problematic. This suggests that the disparagement of these learners is based on other grounds that are not entirely related to language.

Belinda's descriptions in excerpt (11) reflect the way in which SHL learners are sometimes perceived by teachers as problematic and as disingenuous about their reasons for taking Spanish. Often, educators perceive learners in such a way because they lack the necessary sociolinguistic awareness, training, materials and instructional guidelines to understand and address the needs of such learners. In effect, such a situation leads to stereotypical perceptions of SHL learner as only taking Spanish to obtain an "easy A" (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Such reductive views of these learners only serve to downplay their personal goals and needs for wanting to study their HL, as well as to simultaneously justify the continued implementation of inadequate language instruction.

Often, a consequence of the situation described above is SHL learner dissatisfaction. SHL learners sometimes enroll into elementary level Spanish courses and feel disengaged and discontent with L2-appropriate materials and instruction (see Beaudrie, 2009b; Beaudrie et al., 2014; Carreira, 2016a, 2016b; Potowski, 2002; Randolph, 2016). Excerpt (10) echoes this predicament, as Belinda negatively describes the SHL learner as being frustrated with her course. However, rather than pointing to an instructional or programmatic problem as the root cause, Belinda rationalizes that this learners' frustration is result of her "*bajo*" (low) language skills (in comparison to where they should be as a native speaker); thus, placing the responsibility of the present educational inadequacies upon the student. In the same way, Belinda does not analyze how the student she describes in excerpt (11) may have felt anxious or self-conscious

and, therefore, was unwilling to publicly speak Spanish; rather, his unwillingness to speak was interpreted by Belinda as a deliberate and dishonest act.

Furthermore, in excerpt (10), Belinda indirectly expresses her negative views of SHL learners in her self-reported response to the student's explicit frustration with her class. Belinda made class attendance optional for the learner to mitigate her discontent ("Yo le dije que si quería no volviera a la clase porque si se sentía mal"). The same response can be seen in excerpt (11) as the SHL learner never returned to class. This view stands in stark contradiction to Belinda's educational "mission" of responding to student emotional well-being through pedagogy that instills happiness, motivation, and positive attitudes (see excerpt 4). Clearly, SHL learners' discontent with the L2 classroom is the exception to Belinda's teaching goal. Moreover, Belinda on more than one occasion expressed her *laissez faire* attitude toward SHL learners by stating that, through no fault of her own, they often drop out of her courses because they feel bored or because they were simply lazy. Belinda's complacency reflects Valdés' (1997) observation of SHL learners in L2 Spanish courses. Because these students present an insertion of incongruent variables to the traditional Spanish classes, the response has typically been to hold these learners to an expectation that they silently "pass off" as L2 learners (Valdés, 1997). Undoubtedly, the insertion of SHL learners' varieties represent a significant challenge for teachers like Belinda that do not have SHL training. Further into the interview, Belinda begins to more explicitly voice the connection between her views that SHL learners are problematic because of the Spanish they speak.

Employing perspectivization as a discursive strategy, Belinda reconstructs class episodes in which SHL learners' Spanish are described as problematic due to language related issues. Specifically, Belinda uses quotes and quotatives[12] as discursive devises to not only position herself but also her point of view with respect to the Spanish spoken by learners: "…choices about how to create a representation of another voice that fits the purposes of the present discourse" (Johnstone, 2018, p. 60). Accordingly, excerpt (12) demonstrates Belinda's use of reported speech to directly quote what SHL learners said in class, to quote her responses to what was said, as well as to quote examples of their Spanish varieties:

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(12) Belinda: La otra es que ella **me corregía**, ella me decía, **"El español que ustedes tienen, no sé si usted es de México, es muy distinto del español mío"**, yo estaba enseñando y ella me decía, "Es que así no es", le dije, "Un momentico, sí es así, lo que pasa es que ustedes manejan un concepto distinto al de nosotros". Por ejemplo, **fregar**, nosotros decimos, "Está **bregando**"… cambio de vocabulario, pero en el fondo el concepto es el mismo...Eso ha pasado. Otra que también tuve una experiencia, ella iba hacer la especialización en español, y ella cuando entró a la clase dice, "Yo creí que iba a perder mi tiempo y que esto me iba a salir negativo". Cuando terminó me dio las gracias y me dijo que ella nunca pensaba que iba a aprender tanto como esperaba en el español.

Researcher: ¿Cómo maneja esa diferencia de léxico, de vocabulario?

Belinda**:** Primero, si es **distinto**, yo escribo las palabras en el tablero, las dos palabras o las tres y hago explicaciones de por qué es **distinto**. Si ya es un concepto que es **equivocado**, o **no equivocado sino diferente** porque de acuerdo con el país yo les hago esa aclaración, que los países reciben **una cultura** y su lenguaje depende de **la cultura** y de acuerdo con eso el concepto de ciertas cosas va cambiando. Ellos claramente perciben cómo es el juego del lenguaje, y de acuerdo con ese lenguaje es interesante, porque en realidad ellos sí tienen palabras **muy distintas**, pero yo les explico los dos conceptos, el concepto que ellos tienen respetándoselo, y el otro concepto que también existe.

Continuing with excerpt (12), Belinda's use of such discursive devices re-creates a picture of a disobedient SHL learner who—through her intervention—becomes an appreciative pupil that learned more than she expected about Spanish. Belinda calls upon regional variation to characterize the problematic student as a speaker of Mexican Spanish that would "correct" the Spanish that Belinda was attempting to teach (e.g., "ella me corregía"). To illustrate this account, Belinda employs quotes of the SHL learner's interjections during her teaching to create a representation of a disobedient student that broke classroom discourse norms. Furthermore, this anecdote suggests that SHL learners may feel frustrated or confused with in-class variational differences, especially when the Spanish that they normally speak is not represented in the classroom. Throughout classroom observations it was apparent that students primarily utilized the class textbook (e.g., Plazas 5th edition) and online supplemental materials during lessons which, of course, reflected a standardized variety of Spanish. Although textbooks (including HL textbooks) often include regional variation, they tend to do so with an "emphasis on uniformity" (Leeman, 2012, p.50). Traditionally, "standard" Spanish has been the focus of academic Spanish textbooks, while U.S. Latino cultural and linguistic representation are typically marginal and often portrayed as a deficiency rather than a marker of proficient bilingualism (see Leeman, 2010; Leeman & Martínez, 2007; Padilla & Vana, 2019). It is not surprising that SHL learners may feel disconnected or confused by the Spanish taught in L2-oriented courses.

As stated above, Belinda self-reports mitigating the problematic student's concerns by explicating lexical variational differences to her. Belinda's process to address lexical variation includes, first, making the student aware that there is a

distinction between her Colombian variety and the student's Mexican variety (e.g., *…ustedes manejan un concepto distinto al de nosotros*). Second, this process also involves Belinda utilizing the classroom whiteboard to illustrate the distinctiveness of the words in question. Further, Belinda quotes herself demonstrating examples of regional lexical variation to the learner to show her how different lexical variants share the same meaning (e.g., *…pero en el fondo el concepto es el mismo*). The next step in the process is Belinda's clarification to students that such differences are not erroneous, but rather a result of regional differences. As Belinda posits, lexicon varies between "countries" because of the differences in culture that they receive (e.g., *…les hago esa aclaración, que los países reciben una cultura y su lenguaje depende de la cultura y de acuerdo con eso el concepto de ciertas cosas va cambiando*). Importantly, Belinda notes that her approach to addressing variation differences "*respects*" students' Spanish (respetándoselo) and simply makes them cognizant that the other variant exists. Contrary to these interview findings, Belinda was never documented engaging in such a process during class observations. Experts such as Carreira (2000) have criticized the sole use of lexical variation to raise learners' awareness of variation differences.

As Carreira (2000) notes, since

> the lexicon is the most susceptible to change…linguistic activities that focus strictly on the lexicon have the effect of amplifying the apparent differences between dialects at the expense of the overwhelming number of grammatical rules shared by all dialects of Spanish…Valuable opportunities are lost for dispelling…standard Spanish. (p. 339)

Thus, "Stressing the legitimacy of regional differences does little to validate the varieties and practices that are associated with marginalized social groups" (Leeman, 2012, p.50). On one hand, such an approach reinforces the belief that learners' varieties are inferior

because they do not adhere to dominant language norms reflected in classroom teaching, textbooks and materials. On the other hand, this approach can also be conceived as sustaining Belinda's own discriminatory beliefs about SHL students' non-prestigious varieties. Because this approach gives Belinda the false impression that she is being "inclusive" of different regional variants, her problematic language ideologies toward non-prestigious variants remain uncontested and hidden (and presumably still remain a driving force behind the decisions she takes with respect to SHL learners' varieties). Compounding these findings is the fact that later in her interview Belinda discusses the unacceptability of certain US Spanish lexical variants.

Given that Belinda's views of SHL learners' take shape from dominant language norms, it is not surprising that variants associated with bilingual discourse are presented as problematic by the participant. On the surface, Belinda seems accepting of Spanglish by stating the appropriateness of such words in some contexts and, in turn, there are contexts in which they are not appropriate. Nevertheless, in excerpt (13) Belinda denotes her negative view of such variants by noting that the majority of Spanish words are taken from English.

(13) Researcher: ¿Y qué opina sobre el Spanglish en la clase?

Belinda: Pues, simplemente es, eh, pues, hay situaciones aceptables y hay situaciones que son de-- Yo no sé qué palabra decir para decir que son detestables.

Researcher: ¿Cómo?

Belinda: No, yo me puedo morir, yo-yo cuando voy cami-voy en el carro y mi-miro y dicen la **wuashatería**, yo me quedo en la, en, yo pienso que es como un insulto al idioma, ¿no?

Researcher: ¿Wuashatería?

Belinda: **Wuashatería** por **lavandería**, w**uashatería**

Researcher: Oh.

Belinda: Washing machine, ¿sí? Entonces le ponen w**uashatería** y bien grandote.

Researcher: ¿Sí?

Belinda: En la puerta. **Aseguranza,** es pasable, **aseguranza** no es mucho, pero **aplicación** es okay, pero, por ejemplo, hay otra palabra, **taipiar**. Taipiar, eso **no existe** en el vocabulario.

Researcher: Y también dicen tipear creo.

Belinda: **Tipear, tipear**. Eso tampoco existe, o sea, ellos, la mayoría se ha tomado las palabras americanas y las ha pasado al español eh, así.

Belinda states that some Spanglish borrowings are "*detestable*" (detestables) such as "*washatería*" instead of "*lavanderia*" (laundromat) and "*taipiar*" instead of "*teclear*" (computer keyboard typing). She further says that they "*do not exist*" (no existe). Despite the fact that pedagogues deny such lexicon, such lexical items do exist in U.S. Spanish (Lowther Pereira, 2010). However, other English extensions such as "*aplicación*" (application) and "*aseguranza*" (insurance) are deemed "passable" by Belinda. Because

such evaluations are not based on sociolinguistic facts, but rather on ideologies they are inconsistent and inaccurate. Furthermore, evaluations such as these are driven by ideologies that speak more about the community of speakers that use such variants rather than to language form itself. Whereas Belinda considers some regional variation to be more or less acceptable, some variants and language practices common in multilingual contexts are qualified as unacceptable for classroom contexts.

Further evidencing Belinda's negative beliefs regarding language contact situations is her anecdote about her time living near the Colombian-Venezuelan border in excerpt (14):

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(14) Researcher: ¿Cómo se compara al español que uno encuentra en los Estados Unidos?

Belinda: Es que **el problema** que tenemos aquí en los Estados Unidos es por la frontera, porque ese idioma que tenemos aquí es **idioma mexicano**.

Researcher: Okay.

Belinda: Porque estamos en la frontera.

Researcher: Claro.

Belinda: Yo puedo identificar perfectamente**,** porque ustedes utilizan **muchas palabras** y las traen acá, pero estamos viviendo **el problema** de la frontera y lo mismo cuando yo estuve en Colombia yo vivía al lado de Venezuela y yo tenía el lenguaje de Venezuela.

Researcher: ¿En qué ciudad?

Belinda: Yo viví en Cúcuta, cerca-

Researcher: Cerca de Venezuela.

Belinda: - a Venezuela, mi lenguaje tenía que manejarlo de acuerdo con Venezuela porque si no la gente no me entendía.

Importantly, Belinda compares Spanish-English contact in the U.S. to regional variation contact between Colombian and Venezuelan Spanish to make a case as to why such a situation is damaging to Spanish. As the participant calls it, the "*border problem*" (problema de la frontera) consists of Spanish in the U.S. being an extension of Mexican Spanish. Moreover, this influence is portrayed as overwhelming, she uses the adverb "*mucho*" (many) to describe the quantity of words brought over by Mexicans. Because of this proximity, Belinda argues that Mexicans bring their "many words" (muchas palabras) to the U.S.—a similar situation that she experienced near the Colombia-Venezuela border. In an indirect manner, Belinda is expressing her distaste for the Mexican varieties of her SHL student who are majority of Mexican immigrant decent. This sentiment is an echo of the problematic SHL learner discussed earlier that interrupted the flow of the classroom because of her Mexican variety.

This "border problem" can also be seen in how Belinda reports having to accommodate to Venezuelan Spanish despite living in Colombia because otherwise people would not understand her (e.g., *…mi lenguaje tenía que manejarlo de acuerdo con Venezuela porque si no la gente no me entendía*). In the same fashion, Belinda notes that she has had to "adopt" to local Arizona Spanish over the years. This view is in contradiction to what Villa (1996) argues:

> A possible objection to using such varieties in SNS classes is that a communication gap would be created between students and other native speakers, as the latter could not understand U.S. 'regional' varieties…There is no tremendous lack of understanding that arises from differences in spoken varieties. (p. 196).

Belinda's views reflect the broader negativity held by society toward language contact situations, while also supporting the assertion that Colombian Spanish represents prestigious language. Because prestigious varieties are fallaciously conceived to be static, unvarying, clear, and optimal for efficient and universal communication, non-prestigious speech is oppositely seen as an obstacle. Thus, the responsibility of accommodation to Venezuelan Spanish is placed upon Belinda.

In all, this subsection reveals how Belinda both indirectly and directly speaks to SHL learners' Spanish as being problematic. Specifically, these data demonstrate how Belinda first describes episodes in which SHL learners' presence and varieties become burdensome not only to the classroom but also to her teaching. A second finding pertains to how Belinda explicitly voices her distaste for variants common in multilingual contexts, whereas some regional variation is considered acceptable. Significantly, Belinda's dominant language ideologies about SHL learners' non-prestigious Spanish are upheld and left invisible through two main mechanisms.

First, her contrastive approach to addressing classroom lexical variation presents a façade of respect and "linguistic tolerance." Second, Belinda's beliefs about appropriateness toward Spanglish in which it is deemed acceptable in some contexts and not in others (the classroom) only serves to perpetuate variation uniformity in the classroom and the ideological fallacy that language should be kept separate (Leeman, 2005). Belinda perceives herself to be engaging in constructive classroom practices and opinions that not only validate SHL learners' varieties but that also teaches them new ones. Instead, Belinda continues to hold discriminatory beliefs about the way her students speak like "*el pueblo*." It stands to reason that Belinda's deep-seated values and beliefs

regarding the worth of such varieties and language practices remains an underlying element that critically shapes her teaching.

4.1.4 Culture as a Problem

The previous subsection alluded to the importance that Belinda places on culture as being a significant element that determines SHL learners' varieties and, thus, the worth of their Spanish within the instructional setting. This subsection begins with a short vignette of an in-class moment that represents Belinda's ideologies toward other minoritized cultures. During a read aloud of the textbook's introduction to Bolivia and Paraguay, indigenous cultures were brought up in the class discussion. Specifically, the reading described the importance of the *Kallawayas* as indigenous healers. While Belinda was trying to explain who *Kallawayas* were to L2 learners, Reina excitedly added the term "*curandero*" (healer) to the discussion. Following up on Reina's contribution, Belinda characterized indigenous medical practices as "*atrasados"* (backward):

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(15) Belinda: ¿Qué curan? Enfermedades is like a medical doctor ¿sí? Porque **esos países** son muy **atrasados** entonces por eso ellos. Ellos saben muchísimo porque ellos tienen ¿Cuáles son las hierbas que ellos utilizan? Como se llama la hierba.

Maira: Hojas de cocoa, el clavel.

Belinda: Hojas de coca, el clavel, el romero, la manzanilla, el algodón etcétera. Esas son las hierbas que usan para poder curar.

As van Dijk's (2005) own Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of racism in Latin America has demonstrated, the political arguments (topos) related indigenous people often represents them as a "problem." Such dominant arguments are stereotypical and describe indigenous people and "those countries" as "backwards," "uncivilized people" and

"superstitious," which is accompanied by discourses of "helping" the "Indian" to become like "us" (civilized people) (p. 103-104). Of course, in Belinda's stereotypical representation, such people are without 'modern medicine' and because they are "backward" and superstitious, they rely on herbs and natural remedies to cure ailments. It is also interesting that field notes indicate the noticeable excitement SHL learners demonstrated when they had the opportunity to share what they knew about such remedies to the class. However, the excitement quickly dissipated when Belinda described the *Kallawayas* as "backward."

Using this vignette as a starting point, the following interview discourse will illustrate how Belinda conflates appropriate classroom language use and culture to SHL learners' low-class Mexican varieties that possess stigmatized features of Spanish. Additionally, excerpt (12) hinted at how Belinda uses "culture" as a euphemism to place learners' varieties with her linguistic hierarchy and in exceprt (8) she delineates: "*El español normal, dijéramos así, porque dentro del lenguaje existe el lenguaje que el pueblo lo habla, el lenguaje un poco a un nivel más alto, y el lenguaje que es lo perfecto del lenguaje*" (The normal Spanish, if we were to called it that, because within a language exists the language that the *pueblo* speaks, the language that is at a little bit higher level, and the language that is the perfection of the language). Specifically, Belinda constructs inappropriate classroom language use by SHL students as a result of the culture they receive from their family. In Belinda´s view, culture shapes language, which is important given her negative views of specific cultures.

Germain to this discussion is what Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2014) argue on culture and language with respect to minority students in educational settings: "language is a vehicle through which speakers also express their cultural beliefs and participate in cultural practices" (p.43). The authors note that as a socially acquired system, culture consists of differences "with regard to race/ethnicity and national origin but also along the lines of social class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, rurality versus urbanity, and more" (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2014, p. 43). Although there is a macroculture in which people in a given society share similar ideas and values, there is also much cultural variability present within microcultures:

> Cultural variability and linguistic variability go hand in hand, and language is a tool for expressing the elements that make up a given microculture…many other linguistic elements are part of the classroom microculture. Some linguistic elements may be shared across microcultures, but others may vary and may not be shared or understood by all members.
> (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2014, p. 43-44)

Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2014) further argue that the classroom represents a microculture in which expectations of how students should act and communicate may contradict or conflict with minority students' beliefs, values, and practices of their own microcultures. Because of this, minority students often face pressure in school to linguistically assimilate to a standardized form of using language which does not conform to their community's norms.

As noted above, the classroom expectation of language use (its microculture) often requires a level of linguistic formality. As already illustrated in the previous subsection (4.1.2), Belinda conceives Spanglish to have its appropriate place—but this use does not include the classroom. However, learners do not always follow such

normative language use. In excerpt (16), Belinda utilizes perspectivization to report how SHL learners' have engaged in inappropriate linguistic behavior; a sharp contrast to her expectations of "good linguistic communication."

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(16) Researcher: ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo de lo que ocurre con el español de los nativo hablantes de su clase?

Belinda: Ahorita no se me ocurre nada, pero es bastante diferente. No sé, tal vez la forma como hablan o manejan ese lenguaje. Por ejemplo, un día un estudiante me dijo, "Deme permiso que voy **a miar**" yo quedé **aterrada,** yo iba entrando en **shock**. Le dije, "No se dice así, se dice es orinar". Así, hay un montón de palabras que la verdad para mí fueron sorpresa. Así que dicen, "**Órale**", o "**Mande**", **nosotros no usamos eso**. Yo pienso que ese vocabulario lo utiliza mucho los aztecas, lo utilizaban en ese tiempo, y no he estudiado la cultura de ese vocabulario, pero me familiarizo bastante. Hay muchas palabras que son sacadas de esa cultura, para mí son nuevas, pero de todas maneras son interesantes.

In Belinda's view, the "problem" of how SHL learners speak is how they "*talk*" (hablan) and "*handle*" (manejan) the language. Specifically, she recalls how one student asked her if they could "*take a piss*" (miar) instead of utilizing a more appropriate alternative such as "*to urinate*" (orinar). HL scholars have long discussed how learners are sometimes familiarized and more comfortable with informal language use that derives from the home and family context.

Continuing with excerpt (16), Belinda describes her reaction to the student's word choice as being "*terrified*" (atterrada) and "*in shock*" (en shock). She further points out more ways that SHL students' Mexican varieties "surprised" her with common words such as "*órale*" and "*mande.*" Belinda paints a picture that is indirectly stereotypical of these learners without making any overt generalizations or straightforward comments about the value she perceives this variety to hold. Instead, she employs lexical examples

that allude to inappropriate—even exoticized—examples of language use in formal settings. At the same time, Belinda mitigates her deficit view of these variants by saying that "*either way they are interesting*" (de todas maneras son interesantes).

Because language ideologies mediate between language and broader social structures (Irvine, 1998), Belinda links SHL learners' Spanish to Mexican regional indigeneity (i.e. another euphemism for low socioeconomic status). She indirectly argues that the "Aztec" influence on SHL learners' Mexican Spanish varieties is accounts for their inappropriate linguistic behavior—although she admits to being unfamiliar with this culture. Because race also mediates language ideologies, white middle-class speech is "naturally" unmarked (Urciuoli, 1996), while racialized individuals are expected to assimilate to educated elites' idealized varieties representative of the *norma culta* (Urciuoli, 1996).

In excerpt (17), Belinda again calls upon class distinctions—this time culture—to rationalize variational differences in the classroom, as well as to assess SHL learners' abilities and professional potential: "*No olvide que yo clasifico a los alumnos es por la cultura, yo hablo con un estudiante y yo de una vez sé*" (Don't forget that I classify students by their culture, I speak with students and right away I know).

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(17) Belinda: No olvide que yo clasifico a los alumnos es por la cultura, yo hablo con un estudiante y yo de una vez sé, cómo es el lugar, porque la forma como la persona hable, ahí está la educación que tiene. Los niños se les enseña hablar desde que nacen y les van moldeando y dándole vocabulario y el lenguaje.

Furthermore, in excerpt (18), Belinda again states that SHL learners "can" speak the language and therefore have the potential to reach her educational goals and expectations:

Sí claro. Porque tienen todas, las habilidades, tienen el lenguaje, tienen muchísimas cosas por delante (Yes, of course. Because they have all of the abilities, they have the language, they have so many things going for them).

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(18) Researcher: ¿Usted piensa en su opinión profesional, piensa que los nativo hablantes puedan llegar a ese nivel que habíamos dicho, ese nivel superior? ¿Usted piensa que pueden lograrlo?

Belinda: Sí claro. Porque tienen todas, las habilidades, tienen el lenguaje, tienen muchísimas cosas por delante. Todo depende de ellos mismos. Me voy a poner en el puesto de uno de esos estudiantes, yo puedo seguir adelante y mejorar mi nivel o mantenerme ahí. Como uno es producto del medio ambiente ellos tienen esa cultura de acuerdo con la familia que estén. Para mí, yo quisiera hablar con uno por uno para poder profundizar más cómo es el lenguaje de cada uno.

Nevertheless, to reach such goals, Belinda notes in excerpt (17) that learners' must somehow overcome their disadvantageous family culture that shapes their speech: "*porque la forma como la persona hable, ahí está la educación que tiene. Los niños se les enseña hablar desde que nacen y les van moldeando y dándole vocabulario y el lenguaje*" (because the way that one speaks, that is where the education that they have is. Children are taught since they are born and are continued to be molded and given vocabulary and language).

Instead of acknowledging SHL learners' vast abilities in both English and Spanish, they are portrayed as having a social and linguistic "impediment;" such a viewpoint only serves to downplay their proficient bilingualism. Educators often characterize SHL learners' Spanish as incompatible to academic or professional context when in fact this is not always the case. This general view is contradicted by Villa (1996) and others who

argue that SHL learners' varieties are in fact better suited in professional contexts pertaining to their own speech communities.

In sum, this subsection reveals Belinda's ideologies about language, culture and the appropriateness of language expected in the classroom. Moreover, SHL learners' Spanish not only indexes low-class status and indigenous culture, but they are expected to "overcome" such disadvantages to improve their language. As pointed out in Chapter (2), SHL learners adhere to a distinct set of beliefs, assumptions, and expectations. Thus, the goals that motivate Belinda are ideologically charged and built on dominant beliefs about the dominated groups of speakers. The following subsection delves deeper into who the speakers are that represent dominant varieties.

4.1.5 Who is the "Standard?"

As the previous section discusses, culture becomes a significant construct to denote the stigma indexed by SHL learners' Spanish varieties. It was also acknowledged that such a euphemism can be used to refer indirectly to dominant speakers that adhere and represent dominant language norms. Key to understanding who represents the so-called "standard" is Belinda's perception of herself and her own variety. As was pointed out in the introduction to this chapter (4), Belinda considers Colombian Spanish as being the model for SHL learners to follow. It was constructed and qualified as professional and as a variety worth molding to students because of its wide-spread representation within TV programming. Belinda also utilized notions such as "perfect," "normal," "beautiful" and "high" to describe her own variety. Given these findings, Belinda's beliefs about the superiority of her own Spanish unfolded as an important theme.

The assertion that SHL learners' varieties are undesirable is further evidenced in how, in excerpt (19), Belinda indicates that her community that has been linguistically and culturally formed by Spain: "*nosotros recibimos todo el español de España*" (we receive all of our Spanish from Spain).

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(19) Researcher: "Usted tiene su propia cultura en comparación con los nativo hablantes que son de aquí…"

Belinda: Sí. Como yo ya he vivido aquí, eso ya me he **adaptado** mucho, y he aprendido bastante el lenguaje, trato de usar las palabras que me causa **cuidado** a veces, porque hay palabras que no están dentro del concepto que yo tengo, la educación de **España**, porque **nosotros** recibimos todo el español de **España.**

Therefore, there are words from the local Mexican varieties (in Phoenix) that she does not understand. Following the works of van Dijk (2005) and Leeman (2010, 2012), Europeaness and varieties linked to Spain are inherently deemed superior to those of that are not. Along these lines, SHL learners do not fit within such a value system of "good" language.

In excerpt (19), Belinda also claims that she sometimes must adopt local Mexican words into her lexicon with "precaution" (cuidado) as they are not part of the concept of language she understands. Her understanding of dialectal differences is embedded in a belief that *We Colombians* (nosotros) are educationally shaped by European norms. In effect, Belinda's assessment of her own Spanish and of all others draws from the standard language ideology in which varieties deemed closer to Spain are thought to be inherently superior.

Because Spain is home to two of the "principle guardians of the Spanish language" (e.g., Real Academia Española and the Instituto Cervantes), their position as "custodians" of the language has been historically maintained and promoted through support of the government and their network of language academies throughout the world (Mar-Molinero & Paffey, 2011, p.754). To maintain its influence on Spanish around the world, the R Real Academia Española's panhispanic language policies and initiatives aim to promote a "unified," "neutral," or "anonymous" variety that is "overwhelmingly based on the variety of central Spain" (Madrid) not only throughout the peninsula, but also "beyond its shores" (Mar-Molinero & Paffey, 2011, p.755), which includes Spanish in the U.S. (see Zentella, 2017). Furthermore, in one interview, Belinda reflected this same description of the so-called standard:

> "*El español estándar es el español que la persona habla y los demás entienden, en ese nivel de estándar eso es lo que llamamos estándar, que coge una gran cantidad de población y estamos en un nivel que la gente lo entiende, sí. Eso sería para mí el estándar*"
>
> (The standard Spanish is the Spanish that a person speaks and others understand, in that level of the standard is what we call the standard because it encompasses a large quantity of the population and we are on a level that the people understand it, yes. For me, that would be the standard).

As such, it is not only language academies that work to consolidate such hegemony, but also educational institutions play a part in promoting the standard language ideology.

Although the education system may not be the primary creator of such dominant discourses about language, it is at the center of the standardization process (Lippi-Green, 2004, p. 294). The teaching of Spanish to Latinos is solely "oriented toward the acquisition of an idealized invariant prestige variety…and the suppression of 'incorrect' forms" (Leeman, 2012, p. 50). To this end, "the educational system plays a central role in

reproducing the standard language ideology…Students are routinely taught that nonstandard language is indicative of illogical or unintelligent thinking, as well as an obstacle for communication" (Leeman, 2012, p. 49). Educators contribute such negative beliefs about SHL learners. Although Belinda is not the principle creator of such hegemony, previous studies have found that educators play an important role in socializing students into dominant beliefs about standard Spanish (e.g., Lowther-Pereira, 2010). By describing her Spanish as linked to *la madre patria* (the mother land), Belinda is not only indicating that she masters the "standard," but also draws from its linguistic capital (see Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2014, p. 51) to validate her linguistic authority and position as a teaching professional

Consistent with excerpts (17) and (18), Belinda again utilizes culture as a euphemism for socioeconomic, familial, and linguistic deficits that position SHL learners in a negative light in excerpt (19).

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(20) Researcher: Me gustaría volver a algo que usted dijo que ciertas personas representan la lengua ideal, un español correcto, perfecto. ¿Quiénes son esas personas?

Belinda: El idioma les **nace** con él, primero de **la familia**; si la familia **es culta**, la persona tiene **un lenguaje alto**; pero si **la familia** vive en **un campo** y no es que yo esté criticando eso, sino que el hecho del **medio ambiente** es el que va reflexionando y haciendo que la persona cambie el lenguaje. ¿Dónde están las personas que realmente hablan el español? En **España**. Aquí hemos tenido monitores que han venido de España y hemos aprendido bastante, porque ellos traen su puro nativo español.

Researcher: ¿Quiénes son los monitores?

Belinda: Monitores son los estudiantes que vienen hacer prácticas o pasantías aquí.

Echoing the results found in the previous subsection, Belinda utilizes nomination as a strategy to describe the process of how certain students are born into less privileged varieties through verbs and nouns such as "*nace*" (to be born), "*familia*" (family), "*campo*" (the fields), "*medio ambiente*" (the environment), and "*un lenguagje alto*" (a high language) to qualify SHL learners' familial heritage. Although similar descriptions were attested in past examples, excerpt (20) explicitly demonstrates how Belinda conceptualizes SHL learners' language development process as something that is inherited through lineage. Of course, those students whose varieties are closer to "Aztec culture" are further removed from European Spanish and, thus, inappropriate to what is considered "good linguistic communication" in the classroom and other contexts. Because SHL learners cannot change their cultural backgrounds (e.g., race, socioeconomic status, family lineage, family occupation), they are expected to change the way they speak to better fit societal expectations of appropriate language us: "*es el que va reflexionando y haciendo que la persona cambie lenguaje*" (it is what continues to reflect and make a person change their language).

Continuing with excerpt (20), Belinda states explicitly that people who speak legitimate Spanish come from Spain. She notes that in the past, student teachers originating from Spain have completed their internships and student teaching appointments at the community college. Belinda argues that these speakers' presence has had a positive impact on her and her colleagues. She notes that these student teachers have taught the veteran language instructors on campus—that have many years of experience—much because they bring with them "*their pure native Spanish*" (ellos traen su puro nativo español).

All in all, the dichotomy created by Belinda's distinction between European-like Spanish and non-European is one that intertwines language, culture, and race in which one is representative of the others. In the eyes of Belinda, culture shapes language so it is reasonable to question what language conveys about this community of speakers. Given the negative portrayals of SHL learners' varieties seen in the above excerpts, it is not unreasonable to speculate that so too are these students' culture looked down upon. Thus far, these data have provided evidence of how Belinda's beliefs and the broader social structures that they are connected to shape her instructional goals. The following subsection begins to make the necessary connection as to how these data are reflected in what Belinda conceives to be her actual practices.

4.2.1 Classroom Monitors

Throughout class observations it was evident that some students struggled with class exercises that ranged from grammar activities to reading aloud. Specifically, Petra, as a receptive bilingual, experienced significant difficulties in Belinda's class. Noticing that Petra struggled with Spanish, Belinda would make it a point to focus on Petra by having her participate more than the other SHL learners in class. On various occasions, the other students in class would sometimes whisper to each other "Why does she pick on her like that?" or "I feel sorry for her." When Petra answered questions, her voice would shake, and one could hardly hear her voice. Of course, Belinda would often stop her and yell "*Que, no te entiendo*" (I do not understand you) or "*No te oigo*" (I do not hear you). During these moments, I often observed Petra's face being bright red and her leg would be constantly moving up and down while she waited for her turn to answer the next mechanical exercise or to read the next paragraph to the class. It was also often the case

that Petra would mispronounce the vocabulary word or conjugate the verb erroneously to which Belinda would express overtly her disappointment by sighing loudly, asking who in class could help her (a fellow SHL would always offer the correct response), and then move on to the next student.

This classroom context leads the discussion to yet another striking theme from these data: Belinda connects the intellectual capacities of specific students in her SPA 101 course to their language use. She describes these students from a view that measures their intellect and, in turn, their capabilities to use and learn language. Looking at the excerpts (21-23), the word "*problema*" (problem) is repeated five times in regard to SHL learners' language use and intellect. SHL learners' intellect is qualified by words such as having a "*golpe*" (bump to the head), "*sus límites*" (their limits), "*retardado(s)*" (retard). Therefore, what constitutes normal language is related to possessing "normal" learning and intellectual abilities or, rather, the capacity to learn such dominant language norms.

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(21) Belinda: O sea, ella [Petra] viene con **un problema**. No sé, **yo no sé**, me tocara ir a preguntarle, "Usted que tiene oportunidad si cuando fue pequeña vivió con, ¿con quién vivió? ¿A quién le hizo el desarrollo? ¿Con quién se comunicó? ¿Cómo copió el lenguaje? O si tuvo algún **golpe**" porque también eso puede ser… No, sí, en la cabeza o en el-- en el-- en el **sistema fonatorio**, ella tuvo, ella tiene **un problema**.

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(22) Belinda: … por ejemplo, Maira, claro que Maira tiene también su **problemita** de aprendizaje y aunque sabe el idioma, pero como influye **la cultura**, por ejemplo, si usted habla con María, ¿cuál es la otra que está ahí al lado? La que está al lado de Maira.

Researcher**:** Reina.

Belinda: Reina sí, cómo es **la cultura** de cada una y cómo su lenguaje se diferencia uno del otro. Es interesante, sería interesante. Por ejemplo, hacerle la misma pregunta a cada una a ver qué dicen y por qué, es muy interesante.

Researcher: ¿Cómo qué retos tiene Maira específicamente? Ya que lo menciona.

Belinda: Maira tiene problemas es de-- Ella quisiera dar su nivel, pero en realidad sus **capacidades intelectuales** y **mentales** no le dan para allá. Su lenguaje es correcto, pero ella tiene **sus límites**.

(23) Belinda: Sí, es mucha las dificultades, por ejemplo, hay como le digo, las personas que mantienen su nivel de **aprendizaje normal**, los **retardados** para mí, que tienen un nivel de **aprendizaje** pero que no llegan a lo **normal**.

Researcher: Los aprendices, ¿verdad?

Belinda: No, los **retardados**. Es que hay un nivel de **retardo mental** que las personas en sí no la reconocen.

Researcher: Sí.

Belinda: Petra tiene **un problema**, ella tiene **un problema** de aprendizaje. Ella como le dijera, ella hace un esfuerzo y ella es excelente, pero en sí, en su capacidad de **aprendizaje**, se le nota que es bastante difícil y cuando habla no maneja la fluidez verbal que todos tienen.

In excerpt (21), Belinda describes Petra, a receptive SHL learner as "*coming [to class] with a problem*" (viene [a clase] con un problema). Belinda makes this assertion about Petra's intellect but mitigates this epistemic utterance by saying "*I don't know, I don't know*" (No sé, yo no sé) right after her evaluation. Similar to previous excerpts, Belinda uses quotes to create a representation of Petra. For instance, Belinda quotes the question that she would want to ask Petra to asses her intellectual "problem." Such hypothetic question asses Petra's family lineage. Crucially, evoking "family" as criteria to understand and determine Petra's capacities is not neutral or arbitrary. Instead, previous sections evidence how Belinda's concern with broader social structures (e.g., culture, socioeconomic class, Mexicaness, indigeneity, immigration, education) relates to discriminatory beliefs about particular groups of speaker and how they use language. Belinda alludes to Petra having intellectual incapacity by quoting how she would further ask if she has experienced a "*hit to the head*" (golpe). Furthermore, Belinda indirectly criticizes Petra for not being able to produce the Spanish she deems correct by saying that if it is not a hit to the head, she might possibly have a "*problem*" in the "*phonatory system*" (en el sistema fonatorio). These findings provide evidence that SHL learners' varieties are subject to normative monolingual ideologies based on their proficiency levels. While Petra is discriminated for her proficiency level, students like Reina and Maira are judged for their cultures.

In excerpt (22), Belinda describes the intellectual capacities of Maira, another SHL learner. Belinda stathes that Maira also has a "*small learning problem*" problemita de aprendizaje," utilizing a diminutive to lessen the impact of her evaluation). Belinda notes that, although Maira knows the language, her culture influences her speech. Excerpt

(22) and (23) show more examples of how Belinda interprets what she perceives to be a deviation from language norms as a learning disability. In these excerpts, she argues that although "*the retarded*" (los retardos) have a level or capability to learn, they are not able to reach the "*norm*" (normal). Belinda also says that people are not able to recognize their own level of "*mental retardation*" (un nivel de retardo mental) despite having this problem. These findings provide significant evidence to make the argument that SHL learners' varieties reach beyond indexing class distinctions. Following the work of Gal and Irvine (1995), iconicity or iconization

> means that language comes to be not only an index of a certain group, but an icon for the group; that is, it does not merely 'point to' the social group, but is assumed to be a representation of that group, sharing characteristics with it.
> Fuller, 2013, p. 7)

To this effect, Belinda's beliefs and values regarding SHL learners' varieties and what they encompass socially extend to become an ideological representation of the metal and learning capacities of her students. SHL learners' varieties become an essentializing and stereotypical icon for who they are and for their potential and capabilities.

The findings in this subsection reveal how the deficit-oriented view of SHL learners' varieties extend beyond beliefs about language form and encompass the intellectual capacities of students. As learners are framed as being intellectually compromised because of their inherent connection to multilingualism, one might wonder how Belinda accommodates the supposed dire needs of such learners in a mixed class context?

4.2.2 Correcting Students Down the Middle

Subsection (4.1.2) has already pointed to the context of the mixed class as a determining factor in how SHL learners' Spanish are perceived as problematic by Belinda. Delving deeper into the matter, class observations reveal several findings that are similar to Randolph's (2016) ethnography of a mixed class. Randolph (2016) found that SHL learners were conceived and utilized as "human encyclopedias" by both teachers and L2 students. SHL learners were valued by teachers for their linguistic and authentic cultural knowledge that served to the benefit of L2 learners:

> A closer examination of the intricacies of the dynamic present in such classes unveils a class environment that is inherently much more conducive to the academic needs of L2Ls than to those of HLLs…the mixed SFL class even exploits the strengths of HLLs to the sole benefit of the L2Ls…Several teachers commented that one of the benefits of the mixed class was that L2Ls could hear a 'native accent' and learn from the cultural experiences of student who had firsthand knowledge. (Randolph, 2016, p. 182-183)

Likewise, in excerpt (24) Belinda indicates that one of the advantages to having "native speakers" was that they could be her "*monitoras*" (monitors) or "*secretarias*" (secretaries) in the classroom.

(24) Belinda: Okay, now you fill in the blanks. If you don't understand the vocabulary, please ask me or your classmates we have three here that speak Spanish very good. They are **my secretaries, my monitoras.**

Belinda: Las personas que saben el español le pueden decir la traducción a sus compañeros. Ustedes pueden preguntarles [addressing L2s]. ¿No es cierto Maira?

Belinda: No entiendo porque las personas que saben español…Allá no veo que ustedes estén ayudando a sus compañeros. Por favor pregúntenles. Pregunten la traducción.

Belinda: Look, if you're not going to help me, I'm going to grade you bad. You have to stand up and go around and review the others.

During class activities, Belinda would call upon her "monitoras" and the SHL learners would stand up and begin to float around the room assisting L2 learners in translating words that they did not know or even doing difficult exercises for them. While the advanced SHL learners helped their peers, Petra would remain in her seat doing her work. On one occasion, while Belinda was explaining instructions to the class about a worksheet, the SHL learners remained seated. As excerpt (24) illustrates, Belinda became upset and threatened that their grades would be affected if they did not stand up to help their L2 peers to translate: *Look, if you're not going to help me, I'm going to grade you bad*.

Furthermore, in one interview, I asked Belinda what she expected of SHL learners in the classroom. She replied by sharply stating, "Nothing. I only expect them to be my monitors and help me with the students that don't know Spanish." Essentially, SHL students were relegated to serving as teacher aids when Belinda called for their assistance. Like Randolph's (2016) observations, Belinda would intentionally separate

SHL learners when they wanted to work together in pairs, thus forcing them to help their L2 learner peers. One of the more common practices by which L2 learners gained assistance from their SHL counterparts was through frequently asking them questions such as, "What did she say?" or "How do you say…?" (see Randolph, 2016, p. 183). This dynamic was indeed a "one-way street" as L2 learners never reciprocated in helping SHL learners. Although SHL learners expressed a sense of pride in being able to use their Spanish to help their L2 peers, they worried about giving them wrong information or answers that would result in them "being yelled at" by Belinda. Despite SHL learners verbalizing that they were content sharing a class with students that did not know Spanish, class observations revealed them to be passive, disengaged, and often distracted (e.g., talking among each other about topics not related to the class).

Specific to the points described in Chapter (1), classroom observations of Belinda's class confirm that the materials and grammar topics were purely oriented toward L2 learner needs. SHL learners, along with their L2 counterparts, mainly focused on the various textbook cultural topics, basic verb conjugations (e.g., present and present tenses) and other grammar points common to a SPA 101 course. Belinda's approach to language teaching reflected a micro-based instruction. Belinda invested significant class time on mechanical book and worksheet exercises that would take learners to practice key (ir)regular verbs, vocabulary, and so forth. Because oral CF is one manifestation of form-focused instruction (FFI) (Sheen & Ellis, 2011), students regularly received recasts and explicit corrections during class grammar exercises.

Due to the nature of aforementioned exercises that focused on basic Spanish 101 topics, advanced speakers like Maira, Reina, and María did not receive oral CF during textbook/worksheet grammar drills (which were quite frequent). They consistently answered the fill-in-the-blank questions correctly without difficulty and even assisted their L2 peers during the process. In contrast, Petra, being a receptive SHL learner, resembled her L2 peers in this regard and quite often received oral CF from Belinda. This class dynamic, in which Belinda had Latino students that fell well beyond the language skills expected in a Spanish 101 course, prompted her to teach to the "middle" of the class—like many teachers that find themselves in a mixed class context (Carreira, 2016a).

Excerpts (25) and (26) once again show how Belinda describes her students in terms of language levels:

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(25) Belinda: Yo pienso que cuando uno está explicándole, dijéramos, así como el término medio. Uno no puede seguir con los que están avanzados ni tampoco dejar a los que están comenzando. Yo me voy en un punto medio y en ese punto medio, los avanzados aprenden, aunque uno crea que no, ellos están prestando atención y a veces los hago reflexionar, les dijo, "Mira, es que esto es así porque así tal cosa." Entonces ellos ya entienden por qué estoy haciendo eso. Porque para ellos eso es ridículo, lo que esté haciendo.

---

(26) Belinda: Yo lo tengo como, los nativo-hablantes son excelentes, yo ya los tengo dentro de un nivel separado dijéramos así, porque tengo menos trabajo con ellos, pero tengo que hacer mucho trabajo con los otros para nivelarlos, o para mantener el estatus de la clase, es bastante difícil.

Researcher: ¿Cómo balancear?

Belinda: **Es balancear**, sobre todo para los que ya saben, que se sientan cómodos en la clase; es que ellos están ahí por unos créditos. Son pocos los que realmente están por aprender, entonces es una situación bastante difícil.

For instance, Belinda calls the SHL learners "*los avanzados*" or "the advanced ones" and, in this same way, she calls the L2 students "*los que están comenzando"* or "the ones that are beginning." Per the above quote, Belinda expresses being caught in a situation in which she cannot solely concentrate on the needs of the advanced SHL students, nor can she ignore the needs of the students that are just beginning to learn the language: "*Uno no puede seguir con los que están avanzados ni tampoco dejar a los que están comenzando*" (You cannot continue with those that are advances, nor can you leave behind those that are beginning). Belinda notes that she must "*do a lot of work*" (hacer mucho trabajo) to bring the L2 learners up to a certain level. This reflects the reality that teachers working with elementary-level language learners must spend a significant amount of time on micro-based/form-focused teaching.

Following this idea of levels, Belinda constructs her approach to the classroom situation as one that that intents on finding balance or equilibrium between the vast language differences found among her students: **"***pero tengo que hacer mucho trabajo con los otros para nivelarlos*" (but I have to do a lot of work with the others to get them on the same level). Faced with this quandary, like many teachers, Belinda feels that the most logical approach is to find the mid-point between her students' language levels: "*Yo me voy en un punto medio y en ese punto medio, los avanzados aprenden*" (I go to the middle point and in this middle point, the advanced ones learn). Importantly, Belinda reasons that from this mid-point, the advanced SHL learners can also benefit from the classroom and learn:

> *y en ese punto medio,* ***los*** *avanzados aprenden, aunque uno crea que no, ellos están prestando atención y a veces los hago reflexionar, les dijo, 'Mira, es que esto es así porque así tal cosa.' Entonces ellos ya entienden por qué estoy haciendo eso*.
>
> (and it this middle point, the advanced ones learn, even those I do not believe that they are paying attention and sometimes I make them reflect, I tell them, 'look, this is like this because of whatever.' Then they understand why I am doing that).

Belinda alludes to how SHL learners benefit from her instruction by gaining metalinguistic insight which, in turn, informs them as to why she must teach topics that may be boring or seem "*ridiculous*" (ridículo) to them: *Porque para ellos eso es ridículo, lo que esté haciendo* (Because for them, it's ridiculous whatever I am doing).

This last point is crucial to understanding another belief held by Belinda that concerns how this "mid-point" is conceptualized. Specifically, Belinda perceives SHL learners to no be comfortable in this type of basic language course; therefore, to her, finding this so-called balance or mid-point is to, in a way, accommodates them: *"…que se sientan cómodos en la clase*" (that they feel comfortable in class). This accommodation is crafted by Belinda based on beliefs that go beyond linguistic or attested pedagogical views. Belinda states that SHL learners are only enrolled to obtain course credits and only a few learners are actually there to learn Spanish. This is, in fact, erroneous considering the extensive evidence that has shown how SHL learners want to expand, not only their linguistic abilities in their HL, but also want to reconnect with their culture (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Relaño-Pastor, 2009).

In sum, these finding corroborate what previous experts have found with respect to the mixed class dynamic. Such classes benefit L2 learners, whereas SHL learners are solely valued for their vast "reservoirs" of cultural and linguistic knowledge (Carreira, 2000). Despite what SHL learners stand to offer to the classroom learning environment, Belinda is firm on her prejudicial view of these students. Furthermore, these findings are vital to gauging how Belinda forms her instructional practices (i.e., oral CF) to accommodate SHL learners' needs in the mixed class setting, as well as how such practices are mediated by dominant beliefs and values about the Spanish spoken by SHL learners. The following section sheds light on this matter by discussing how Belinda constructs oral CF as an instructional practice for both SHL and L2 learners.

4.3.1 Belinda on Oral CF

Speaking on the CF process, in excerpt (27), Belinda points to two main dimensions crucial to providing effective instruction:

(27) Yo pienso que un profesor tiene que ser claro y también sobre todo clarificarle al estudiante que es lo que quiere, porque muchas veces uno habla, y habla y habla y da vueltas pero el estudiante termina por no saber que en realidad que-como son las ah-condiciones-para la evaluación- entonces el maestro tiene que ser directo, claro y persistente-- son las tres cosas que yo pienso que son importantes para manejar el proceso educativo- y de acuerdo con ese, el conocimiento del lenguaje y de la capacidad lingüística que el maestro tenga para mantener la comunicación- con el estudiante sin humillarlo, ni menospreciarlo ni tampoco porque uno puede destruir o crear una-o cambiarle la vida del estudiante en un momento dado.

Entonces el maestro tiene que ser muy cuidadoso en eso, tanto en lo escrito como en los-las es que evaluación escrita como en las orales, las orales son más incontrolables dijéramos en- para mí las orales son más difíciles que la escritas, porque cuando uno va a escribir en una evaluación o va a hacer una observación uno siempre está pensando que quede correcto, que la gramática que si alguien lee ese mensaje eh todo lo que queda escrito, en cambio lo oral pues a veces influye mucho en la personalidad eh-del maestro y el-el estado emocional no solamente del maestro sino del estudiante.

Porque si, por ejemplo, va hacer una corrección, pero el maestro está negativo, dijéramos así, o no está en condiciones positivas, va a dañar eh a la-la parte emocional del estudiante y también el estudiante si no, si no está- - Usted sabe que en eso influyen las características personales- de los estudiantes, las motivaciones, los intereses y muchas otras cosas y la cultura y-y el lenguaje que ellos mismos manejan. Entonces, el estudiante puede entender esa corrección como una cosa negativa. O sea, eh como una percepción deformada de lo que el maestro quiere decir. Y algunas veces se presentan, ¿no? O sea, el alumno, o sea, intencionalmente uno no está tratando de hacer nada negativo, pero si el alumno está en esa actitud- negativa entonces lo interpreta.

First, she pinpoints three qualities that a teacher must exercise when providing feedback: being clear, being direct, as well as being persistent. As the participant reasons, these individual qualities prompt students' awareness of teacher expectations and evaluative criteria pertinent to the feedback given to avoid any miscommunication. Second, Belinda

also speaks to the affective aspects of oral CF. In particular, she argues that teachers must have the know-how to provide CF without "*humiliating*" (humillar) or "*looking down*" (menospreciar) on learners—a common sentiment among language teachers (Lyster, Saito, & Sato, 2013; Li, 2017).

Continuing with the second point, Belinda has self-reported her concern for practicing instruction that is respectful of SHL learners' varieties (see subsection 4.1.2). In this same manner, the participant extends a similar affect to the CF she provides students. In particular, Belinda constructs the oral CF process as potentially being detrimental to students' well-being by stating that teachers "*can destroy*" (destruir) or "*change the life of a student in a given moment*" (cambiarle la vida del estudiante en un momento dado). Therefore, as the participant reasons, if a teacher is in a negative mood when providing CF, students can the potentially be triggered into having a negative reaction to the provided feedback. Despite the gravity of the situation regarding how students can be impacted by teacher's CF, Belinda indicates that, for educators, the intent of providing feedback is purely directed toward language teaching. Thus, Belinda paints a picture of how CF is, in fact, a neutral language learning practice devoid of malice on the teacher's behalf.

Belinda indirectly places the responsibility of the potential negative effects associated with CF upon SHL learners. Belinda reasons that a range of factors such as learners' motivation, interests, culture, and the varieties that they speak influence how SHL learners can potentially react to the CF that they receive. In contrast to the teacher, Belinda constructs the learners' perception of feedback as subjective. Because SHL learners' cultures, varieties, and motivation for learning their HL are all understood

through dominant beliefs, their discontent with CF is framed as a "deformed perception" of the teacher's true intent: *O sea, eh como una percepción deformada de lo que el maestro quiere decir… intencionalmente uno no está tratando de hacer nada negativo, pero si el alumno está en esa actitud- negativa entonces lo interpreta* (Or, it's like a deformed perception of what the teachers wants to say… intentionally you are trying to do anything negative but if the student has that negative attitude then they interpret it like that).

A third important point that emerges in excerpt (27) concerns Belinda's argument that greater care must be taken with oral CF compared to written CF: "*entonces el maestro tiene que ser muy cuidadoso en eso, tanto en lo escrito como en los las es que evaluación escrita como en las orales*" (so the teacher as to be very careful in this, both in what they write like in the written evaluations and the oral ones). Belinda argues that oral CF, in contrast to written CF, is characterized through its "incontrollable" nature and, as such, the potential negative consequences of this practice can be even more intensified:

> *…uno puede destruir o crear una-o cambiarle la vida del estudiante en un momento dado. Entonces, el maestro tiene que ser muy cuidadoso en eso, tanto en lo escrito como en los-las es que evaluación escrita como en las orales, las orales son más incontrolables dijéramos.*
>
> (…you can destroy or create a-or change a student's life in a given moment. So, the teacher has to be very careful in this, both in what they write like in the written evaluations and the oral ones. We could say that the oral ones are more incontrollable).

This view highlights Belinda's keen awareness of the defining attributes of oral CF as an on-line, in the moment—sometimes instinct-driven (Ellis, 2009)—attempt to draw learners' focus onto an "error." As such, because of these attributes, CF must be clear, direct and persistent to avoid problems arising between teacher and pupil.

Despite Belinda's concern with the emotional well-being of her students, in excerpts (28), (29) and (30), she explicitly links her CF practices to the eradication of non-prestigious lexical variants and features in SHL learners' speech.

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(28) Researcher: ¿Usted cómo le da retroalimentación a los Latinos en clase?

Belinda: Yo los corrijo igual que a todos, siempre tratando de explicarles, cuáles son las ventajas de tener un lenguaje correcto -porque a veces, pues si, como le digo, tienen [los Latinos] un vocabulario distinto y o un nivel más bajo- de no es normal. Entonces, ah, yo les explicó, les explico que la necesidad de mejorar el lenguaje-para estar en un nivel eh, alt-- Como un nivel correcto, o sea, un nivel alto, porque, pues, si va a hablar como la gente popular- pues, no es lo mismo, entonces para eso estamos en la clase. Entonces, yo les explico que estamos en la clase a un nivel más profesional y por consiguiente es necesario aprender el idioma correcto, no solamente hablado, sino escrito.

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(29) Researcher: ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo de un error que cometen los estudiantes bilingües?

Belinda: Sí. Ah, no pues, como le digo, pues, eso depende de la cultura, siento que hacen muchas ajá o dicen muchas palabras que a veces no van. Por ejemplo, dicen "**Órale**" o "**Asina**" y yo pues yo les dije, "No, no es **asina**, es así es- pero no **asina**". Entonces, yo les describo la palabra, lo le descompongo la palabra y les explico por qué.

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(30) Researcher: Sí. Usted, ya hablando de la palabra corregir, ¿qué estrategias usaste como docente para corregir a los estudiantes?

Belinda: Yo primero copio la palabra que ellos dicen en el tablero, y luego les coloco la otra, les hago una comparación y les digo las explicaciones. La gente puede decir de una manera-- No me acuerdo ahorita ninguna palabra, pero, por ejemplo, dice la gente, con I americana y por eso yo pienso que la influencia de aquí es bastante el inglés con el español, le dije no es, "**Disiar**, ni **pasia**r. Es **pasear** o **desear**" es un juego ahí de las vocales, es la pronunciación.

SHL learners have, in Belinda's words, "*a distinct vocabulary*" (un vocabulario distinto) and "*a low language level*" (un nivel más bajo) that is "*not normal*" (no es normal)—all of which makes their non-prestigious variants prime candidates to be rectified through such an instructional practice. This point is later attested by Belinda's example in excerpt (48) in which she uses quotes to reconstruct her implementation of explicit correction as a strategy to rectify "*asina*" (a Spanish archaism) to "*así es*" (the prestige version of *asina*). Another component of the Belinda's oral CF process is to explicitly communicate to students the advantages of possessing "*correct language*" (lenguaje correcto) and also how speaking like "*popular people*" (la gente popular) is a social disadvantage. These findings provide further evidence of how the initial parameters under which SHL receive their feedback differ to L2 learners.

Similarly, in excerpt (30), Belinda indicates yet another feature that should be corrected because it does not conform to dominant language norms. In particular, Belinda points to dipthongization of "*pasear"* (to go for a walk) and "*desear"* (to desire) to aer>iar. Like most archaism (e.g., *asina*), this lexical variant originated in Spain, it "found more fertile soil in Latin America…the phonetic tendency to diphthongize hiatus

sequences has spread to a greater degree in the Americas, in some cases reaching the educated social class" (Garrido, 2007, p. 31). Because this phonetic tendency was marked as socially undesirable, Spain quickly rejected this linguistic innovation and opted "to keep the cultivated speech according to the norms proposed by the Spanish Academy and the literary canons…On the contrary, in the Americas the popular oral tradition had more prestige, resulting in a lesser resistance to the diphthongized forms" (Garrido, 2007, p. 31). As such, dipthongization is documented to exist throughout Latin America including Mexico (Moreno de Alba, 1994) and Colombia (Alonso, 1930). Belinda erroneously states that this phenomenon is a result of English influence on SHL students' varieties suggesting that she lacks a sociolinguistic perspective of language variation.

Belinda rationalizes her oral CF practices under the pretense that she corrects both types of learners in the same way by always explains to them "*the advantages of having a correct language*" (las ventajas de tener un lenguaje correcto) (see excerpt, 28). Therefore, both SHL and L2 learners receive the same type of instruction and equal opportunity to "improve" (mejorar) their abilities and knowledge of Spanish. In Belinda's eyes, oral CF is a neutral practice despite how learners may react. Nevertheless, this viewpoint is problematic for a number of reasons. The acquisition of "correct" Spanish and of being "corrected" are typically apolitical acts for L2 learners. In contrast, for SHL learners, these same concepts entail a range of sociopolitical and ideological implications about their bilingual discourses and communities—the same cannot be said about L2 learners. Claiming that CF is only a tool for language learning erases its inter-relation to dominant beliefs about how SHL learners should conform to an upper-class/ educated/monolingual idealized variety of Spanish. Whereas L2 learners are being

evaluated on learning "book Spanish," SHL learners in this context are being evaluated on how well they can alter their speech to be less congruent to the way their families speak and how well they "hide" their multilingualism. In essence, the oral CF that SHL learners are exposed to is constructed under a different set of criteria driven by dominant language ideologies.

The connection between oral CF and dominant language ideologies is one that is engendered by the mixed class context. Since Belinda's class is crafted on a FFI/micro-based approach, SHL learners find themselves in an L2 learning environment in which FFI is at the forefront of daily lessons, class activities, and class discussions. In particular, SHL learners with advanced abilities receive the same type of instruction that departs from a bottom-up approach that emphasizes textbook vocabulary and grammar and, as such, are assessed on this content during class instruction. Further, since Belinda "teaches to the middle of the classroom," there is no attempt to accommodate SHL learners' learning needs (e.g., differentiated instruction). Under the guise that SHL learners benefit from such an environment, Belinda provides oral CF in an indistinguishable manner—consisting of somewhat similar strategies—to both types of learners with the same supposed apolitical goal of learning "correct" Spanish.

The problem emerges when advanced SHL learners are being assessed on classroom Spanish because their varieties far exceed the basic Spanish 101 vocabulary and grammar content. To this end, because learners already master simple tenses and virtually all the vocabulary in the textbook, Belinda moves onto "correcting" learners in an unfocused manner that does not follow any particular curriculum guidelines or learning objectives. After all, she cannot engage SHL learners with oral CF if they

already utilize the present tense conjugations and know all the vocabulary pertaining to the human body. As such, Belinda's oral CF becomes sporadic and aimed at any stigmatized feature or word that comes up in any given moment. Without sociolinguistic awareness, specialized training, clear learning objectives or instructional guidelines specific to this student population, Belinda relies on her instincts and preconceptions about SHL learners to provide them with oral CF to help their language development in the only way she knows. Unfortunately for SHL learners, Belinda draws from her "commonsense" and taken-for-granted beliefs about their Spanish to shape her oral CF practices.

In sum, the decisions Belinda takes with respect to what she chooses to correct and not correct and how she does it has underlying ideologies that speak to broader social structures. Understanding Belinda's language ideologies is only half the story—SHL learners also provide key evidence that corroborate many of the findings discussed in the previous subsections. The following subsections provides important evidence regarding SHL learners' viewpoints to gain a robust understanding of language variations in the classroom.

4.4.1 SHL Learners on Language Variation

SHL participants in this study were key to gaining a robust understanding of language ideologies in the classroom. In their interviews, Maira, María, Reina, and Petra expressed varying opinions on the value of bilingual discourse. For instance, Maira spoke on her thoughts regarding Spanglish. She did not express positive opinions about of code switching.

(31) Maira: I don't like Spanglish. Like I like it, but I just feel like, like, I don't know**,** I just feel like either you're gonna talk one language or the other one, because me ***traba***. I'll be talking to you in Spanish and you'll be saying it like in English and then I'll be like you know?...It's just like, I don't know, I just feel like it's **weird**, like if I'm going to talk to you about language is going to be one because it, I just feel like it's **awkward** I don't know. To me it's a kind of **weird.**

In excerpt (31), Maira utilizes descriptive words such "*weird*" and "*awkward*" to express her discontent with Spanglish. Moreover, she further indicates that using Spanglish is an obstacle or hindrance for clear communication ("*me traba*"). In this excerpt, Maira states: "I just feel like either you're gonna talk one language or the other one."

In excerpt (32), Petra indicates that her family does not speak "correct" Spanish (or rather they speak Spanglish) because they "are from here" (the U.S.) and then indicates that because of this, classroom Spanish is confusing: *They don't talk correct, the correct form of Spanish. So when I come into class and hear words that they've used differently, it kind of confuses me*).

(32) Petra: …Because most my family is from here; all they talk is Spanglish. They don't talk **the correct** form of Spanish. So, when I come into class and hear words that they've used differently, it kind of confuses me.

This SHL learners connect her family's Spanish to her struggles in learning her HL. This sentiment is reflective of the monoglossic ideology that dictates that languages must be separated in order to be valid and appropriate for effective communication (Fuller, 2013). This view is in line with what Carvalho (2012) states: "Although speakers in bilingual communities usually command bilingual and multidialectal linguistic repertoire, when compared with monolinguals, they are often perceived as not speaking either language

well but rather as using a random mixture popularly labeled *ni uno ni otro"* (p. 143). In effect, natural bilingual discourse is constructed as out of place when juxtaposed to normative monolingual discourse; a sentiment reproduced by this SHL learner.

María on the other hand, expresses positive opinions about Spanglish, as seen in excerpt (33):

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(33) María: With **my family** we talk more in Spanglish 'cause like my brothers and sisters, they don't know as much Spanish...Everyone's in **my family** speaks **slang**. I'm just like, well sometimes I know how to say stuff in Spanish. I don't know how to translate fast enough when I'm talking to someone. I feel like that's where you go from two languages back and forth**.** I feel like it's kind of easier because like if you talk to someone like you don't know kind of, but like you have a connection as soon as she started speaking. Spanglish. You have the best of both worlds from English and Spanish.

For instance, several times she relates Spanglish to "family" and other positive attributes. Different to Maira, María notes that there is a sense of identity and community when utilizing Spanish with other speakers; a sense of "connection." Studies have shown how US Latinos have, generally, positive attitudes toward code switching and consider it an important identity marker (Montes-Alcalá, 2000, as cited by Carvalho, 2012). However, paradoxically, this SHL learner also constructs a disparaging picture of her family's Spanish use as being "slang," while also describing her use of Spanglish as a compensatory strategy triggered by difficulties in recalling words or gaps in linguistic knowledge. Zentella's (1997a) seminal work on code switching has convincingly illustrated that, although compensatory switches can occur, in general, this practice is inherent to being bilingual. Bilinguals tend to perceive that they code switch mainly because of difficulties recalling words but, in reality, "effortless CS in conversation is

unconscious, whereas a switch for an unknown or forgotten segment is likely to be a conscious choice and, hence, more easily perceived and remembered" (Carvalho, 2012, p. 144).

Reina states in excerpt (34) that she overtly likes Spanglish and further notes that Mexicans have positive feelings toward it:

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(34) Reina: Personally, I like Spanglish. I use it all the time…I think actually lots of Mexicans actually do like Spanglish…Mexicans that come over here, do speak a lot of Spanglish because they try to use the little English they know and like introduced that into their own vocabulary.

She continues to say that Mexican immigrants also incorporate the English they learn into their own language use. Thus far, this evidence is in line with previous research that has found that SHL students sometimes hold negative beliefs about the Spanish they speak by labeling it as ghetto or slang (e.g., Potowski, 2002).

Several important points emerge from these student data, specifically, how there are both varying beliefs and values regarding bilingual discourse among SHL participants. As Kroskrity (2004) discerns, there is a multiplicity of language ideologies found in society: "language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social division…within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership" (p. 503). As such, language ideologies become a site for contention, conflict and debates in which, even, dominant ideologies that are naturalized are opposed. The above excerpts demonstrate how some speakers may regard bilingual discourse as a deficiency, while others celebrate its cultural significance for the US Spanish-speaking community. Thus,

this ‘instability’ of language ideologies show how belief systems are varying in the classroom and include both opposition and pride. The next subsection connects to how SHL learners’ views of their varieties relate to how they see the Spanish taught in class.

4.4.2 SHL Learners on Language Variation: Speaking Bolígrafo

Crucially, this section illustrates the juxtaposition between learners’ authentic local varieties and “textbook” Spanish. The following excerpts showcase how SHL participants express their discontent, and at certain times, confusion with classroom vocabulary, as well as with other variants (e.g., *vosotros*). Reina, María, and Maira discuss how vocabulary items from the class materials do not reflect their home varieties that they consider to be more authentic, useful, and common. In contrast to what Belinda thinks, SHL learners’ so-called Spanish of “*el pueblo*” is the common everyday Spanish that learners want to learn and use with their community. This is reflected in the use of “*my*” to relate the personal connection students’ have with their HL: “*my culture*,” “*my family*,” “*my mom*,” and “*my community*” in excerpt (35):

(35) Researcher: Do you feel any difficulties with the Spanish you are learning in class?

Reina: Yeah, **for us Latinos**, like for example, I've never seen the word bolígrafo in my life and I have to go ask **my mom** for the meaning of it and she said "don't use that word just use pluma" and then I used pluma here and she's just "No, es bolígrafo". I'm like, "O.K."

Researcher: Yeah, are there any other examples besides bolígrafo?

Reina: Any other examples?

Reina: Oh, I hate vosotros! I don't know how to use it and I don't care. So, I usually just like skip over that complete part because it's not relevant to me.

Reina: Yeah, more like words I don't hear anyone in my culture say. I'm learning, I'm trying to like get better at stuff so I could communicate better with people from **my culture** and like form for **my family** and I, if I use ***vosotros*** in front of them, they'll roast me. Like, it's not something I'm willing to do

Furthermore, excerpt (36) denotes how Reina uses "*us Latinos*" as an anthroponym to point to (*We*) SHL learners in class experience difficulties and frustration with unfamiliar class vocabulary:

(36) María: I think it was chapter 2 where we were learning about school and everything. When I saw the word ***bolígrafo*** I thought it was biography at first and I was like "what's that**"** and Belinda was like "it's a pen" and I was like "that's not a pen."

Researcher: Really?

María: Yeah, she was kind of like "come on you should know this by now," you know? I mean, for me I use ***pluma.*** I am not going to stop using ***pluma***, I mean, I don't mind when Belinda corrects me, but I don't like it. She's so sassy sometimes, I'm like "oh my God." She gets an attitude with me when she corrects me.

Researcher: How does that make you feel?

María: She makes me feel stupid. I'm like "come on!" It still works the same for me you know. I still get places by using that word. I feel like my Spanish is the **common everyday Spanish** that you would hear not some **boujee** stuff where I'm going to be like O.K. I'm never going to use that again.

Specifically, Reina talks about how certain words cause confusion for her and the other Latino students: "I've never seen the word *bolígrafo* in my life." This sentiment is echoed by María who also expresses feeling confused by this same word. Of course, *bolígrafo* (pen) has the same meaning as *pluma*; however, for SHL learners of Mexican heritage, the latter is more commonly used by them and their families. Furthermore, in excerpts (35) and (36), Reina and María both make use of quotes and quotatives to illustrate the difficulty in having to reconcile their home Spanish with classroom expectations. As Both SHL participants express their frustration with Belinda by describing her reluctance to accept *pluma* as "sassy," having an "*attitude*," and as making them feel "*stupid*," as well as to denote the pressure they feel to know such vocabulary.

Continuing with excerpt (35), another point of frustration for Reina is that she must learn to conjugate *vosotros*. This situation is summed up by Shenk (2014):

> …nearly every Spanish language classroom already exposed students to language variation in personal pronouns through the form of *vosotros,* even though this word and related verbal morphology is only used in a relatively small part of the Spanish-speaking world, a choice that privileges some language varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain over the varieties of Spanish spoken in other parts of the world. (p. 370)

As Shenk (2014) points out, the inclusion of one variety comes at the exclusion of other less privileged ones. For example, the author argues that this power dynamic is evidenced in how *vosotros* is almost always included in textbooks, while *voseo* is virtually always excluded in most language classrooms.

Discourse such as this is indicative that SHL learners notice how their classroom materials—catered to L2 learners—fail to reflect regional lexical variation familiar to them and their communities. As such, SHL learners' express not caring for such class vocabulary as it is not relevant to them, to their families and may even become a source of ridicule within their own speech communities (e.g., *I'm never going to use that again*). Moreover, Reina and María's sentiment of wanting to learn Spanish to communicate with people from their culture and families is typical of most SHL learners' goals for studying their HL (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). In excerpt (35), Maira argues that local Spanish is important because she fulfills the role as a language broker within her family; thus, using familiar lexicon is vital to effectively helping her parents. For these SHL participants, learning in a context where their varieties are not represented while facing pressure to learn a culturally foreign variety creates a situation in which these students become

keenly aware of the linguistic differences between their "*common everyday Spanish*" and "*boujee*" (upper-class) classroom Spanish.

Following the above idea of "*boujee*" Spanish, excerpt (37) demonstrates how SHL learners characterize the variety they are learning in the classroom as "*formal*" and, a more intensified version, "*really, really formal*." Although Reina notes that the Spanish they are learning in class can be understood by others, it is labeled as "*awkward*," and "*Shakespearian*."

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(37) Researcher: What kind of Spanish would you say you're learning?

Maira: More **formal**.

Reina: Normal. **Really, really formal**.

Researcher: What does that mean to you? Like how would you describe that idea of formality?

Reina: I think, I mean it's **correct** like you could say it and all

Maira: but like I feel like that's at the same time. It's **awkward**.

Reina: It's a **little awkward**. Yeah.

Maira: It's because people are not used to it. Like if I say ***bolígrafo*** people are going to be like "oh, what do you mean" instead of you say pen

Reina: Yeah *pluma* okay

Maira: Because it's more common slang than *bolígrafo*

Reina: Like I feel like it's a little **Shakespearian** of, of us said. Yeah, I feel like it's like learning **Shakespeare English** instead of regular English. When you, 'cause I mean you could still Shakespeare English and some people will understand you but like other people will be like, "why are you talking like that?" You know?

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(38) Reina: She forces her Spanish on you, I don't know if it's **Colombian** or **formal**, I don't know like the difference, but it feels **formal** to me, but she, she wants you to **use her words** specifically.

(39) Researcher: So, you don't feel like you're learning Mexican Spanish?

Reina: No [laughs]

Researcher: What Spanish are you learning?

Reina: Yeah. I don't know if this is how they talk in **her culture**. **Colombia**, ***colombiana*** or not or if she just, you know, teaching like **legit formal** Spanish but it feels a bit **robotic** sometimes.

Maira: I feel like it's true at the same time I feel like she should be more aware of like what other people know not just about **her own culture**.

Reina: I'm not going to Columbia so, but I go to Mexico often and I communicate with Mexicans the most and I feel like they'd look at me funny if I said ***piscina*** instead of ***alberca.***

(40) Maira: I like translate for my parents so it would be easier for me to use words that we know. Like it would be easier to translate for them instead of me saying another word and they be like "que es esa palabra yo no me acuerdo de eso," so.

Maira refers back to the *bolígrafo* and argues that speakers from their community may question the meaning of such a word; thus, illustrating its discursive "awkwardness" in the real-world outside the regular classroom. In excerpt (40), she also notes the infeasibility of such variants given that she uses her Spanish to translate for family members. Reina uses quotes (e.g., "*why are you talking like that?*") to speak on how community members—outside of class—would react negatively to such a word.

Likewise, in excerpt (39), Reina notes that utilizing the textbook word "*piscina*" (pool) instead of the typical local word (e.g., *alberca*) would mark her as different. Despite the practical infeasibility of "*bolígrafo*," the community's preferred word *"pluma*" is labeled as "*slang*." For these learners, practicality and family connection is not enough to save their lexicon from a self-perceived deficit view.

In excerpt (40), Reina metaphorically suggests that the Spanish that they are learning in class has the traits of *Shakespearian English*, as well as possessing artificial traits such as being "*robotic*." Employing such metaphors is related to concept of being decontextualized from the local variety of Spanish. Because Reina cannot discern whether there is a difference between formal and Colombian Spanish, the words she must use and learn in class are, to her, the same (see also excerpt 32). Reina and Maira, in excerpts (41) and (42), point to an awareness of Belinda's bias toward her own variety and culture. In effect, Belinda is described as "*forcing*" a variety upon SHL learners which further adds to the sentiment of feeling "stupid" and pressure from the expectation that they should already be familiar with these vocabulary terms.

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(41) Petra: I don't think Belinda really likes **Spanglish** because most my family is, all they talk is **Spanglish**. They don't talk the **correct** form of Spanish. So when I come into class and hear words that they've used differently, it kind of confuses me.

Furthermore, later in excerpt (44), Petra also concurs with Reina's view that the Spanish learned in class is "confusing" and unlike the Spanish they use at home. However, Petra calls attention as to what she perceives Belinda's outlook of Spanglish to be:

(42) Researcher: What would correct Spanish be like?

Petra: I don't know how to like, describe it really good, but uh, the **correct** version would just be if you went to actual **Colombia** and like how the different ways they do it compared to **Spanglish**, which is just if you went to Mexico where it's more English and Spanish combined, so they make **slang** words where it's not even something you would hear it in **Colombia.**

Researcher: So, do you think I'm Spanish spoken in Mexico is less correct than other in other places?

Petra: That is my perception, but it's also because I haven't been deep into Mexico. I've been near one near **the border**. Yeah. I feel like if I go deeper down into Mexico, um, I would probably hear different types of Spanish.

In excerpt (42), Petra continues to add that correct Spanish comes from Colombia as it is different from Spanish. She also points out that Mexican Spanish has more English influence by localizing it to the border region (e.g., "*So they make slang words where it's not even something you would hear it in Colombia*"); a sentiment also expressed by Belinda in excerpt (7).

The varying perspectives presented by the SHL learners reveals how they are keenly aware of the variational differences between the Spanish spoken by their communities and the variety taught in the classroom. For these SHL participants, there is a dichotomous quandary between an understanding that their varieties feel more natural, familial and, thus, more practical for daily communication in their speech communities and an underlying belief that their varieties are "*slang*." Because they believe their varieties are deficient, classroom Spanish, although "*robotic*," "*Shakespearian*," and artificial, precedes to outclass the local Mexican variety. It is evident that SHL learners not only perceive Belinda to promote her own variety in class, but it is also the case that

Petra has internalized the prestigious value her teacher's variety. This suggests that the classroom plays a role in shaping these SHL learners' beliefs about what constitutes correct and incorrect Spanish. These findings reveal how Belinda's focus on lexical variation is unresponsive to validating SHL learners' varieties (see subsection 4.1.2). Instead, learners are left with the impression that their varieties are somehow different from classroom Spanish without understanding the intricacies of language variation.

4.4.3 SHL Learners on Oral CF: "¡No Son Letras! ¡Es Correo!"

Study of oral CF would not be complete without understanding the student perspective in addition to Belinda's views. As such, this subsection relates to the learning of oral CF in the classroom and how SHL learners conceive it as pertinent to language variation and language learning. Importantly, these discursive data are comprised of recollected oral CF episodes that learners describe in order to talk about how their Spanish varieties do not always 'fit' within classroom expectations. Excerpt (43) begins with Reina's recounting of an episode in which she receives oral CF from Belinda:

(43) Reina: **Like *sentencia*** I say that a lot to the teacher and <u>she gets really annoyed with me</u>. I say ***sentencia*** en vez de **oraciones** and like ***letras*** for letters.

Researcher: What does your teacher to do when you say *sentencia* o *letras*?

Reina: She's like, "¡<u>No son ***letras***! ¡Es ***correo***</u>!" She tries to correct me and then they <u>I say it again the same way and it's 'cause I'm really stubborn like that and like no</u>, and then I go ask my mom she's like "<u>yeah, it's *oración*</u>" <u>and I'm like "okay, you know what she's right, I'm sorry</u>."

Researcher: So, has it made you change how you say it?

Reina: I mean I'm **stubborn** so <u>I'm gonna just keep using **my words** and **my Spanish.**</u>

Maira: ¡*Terca*!

Reina: My mom says ***burro***, but that works too.

The above excerpt demonstrates Reina's self-reported use of "*sentencia"* instead of "*oración*," (sentence) as well as "*letras*" instead of "*correo/cartas*" (mail, letters) within the classroom context. Examples such as these are typical Spanish cognates that phonetically coincide with English words (e.g., letter and sentence) but have contrastive definitions. In monolingual Spanish, whereas "*sentencia*" signifies a judicial sentence and not a set of words that form meaning, "*letras*" signifies an alphabetical letter and not mail/correspondence. Because of language contact, it is common that U.S. Spanish speakers extend or "add" the English meaning to the Spanish cognate (Escobar & Potowski, 2015) as illustrated in the above examples. This excerpt shows how this phenomenon—unique to US bilingual discourse—is responded to by Belinda in terms of oral CF. Reina utilizes quotes and quotatives as a discursive devise to characterize Belinda's response to this variant as negative. For instance, Belinda's reported explicit

corrective strategy of the cognates (e.g., *"She's like, 'No son letras! Es correo!'"*) is interpreted by Reina as a source of irritation or, perhaps, inconvenience for the teacher (e.g., *I say that a lot to the teacher and she gets really annoyed with me*). This aforementioned reaction comes as no surprise given Belinda's beliefs about the Spanish spoken by SHL learners illustrated in previous subsections. Recalling the deficit view Belinda has about bilingual discourse, common English-Spanish contact variants are ideal candidates to receive CF.

As a social actor who engages in the use of such cognates, Reina characterizes herself as "*stubborn*," "*really stubborn*," and as dumb or stupid (burro) for not modifying her speech per Belinda's oral CF: "*She tries to correct me and then they I say it again the same way*." Furthermore, Reina talks about how she confides in her mother to confirm the validity of Belinda's feedback, but explicitly states that she will continue to use her words and her Spanish despite Belinda's disapproval: *"I mean I'm stubborn so I'm gonna just keep using my, my words and my Spanish."* On this point, Reina constructs herself as a disobedient pupil that will not listen to what the teacher corrects. These finding relates to how Belinda also constructs SHL learners as being "*problematic*" with respect to their varieties during instruction (see subsection 4.1.2). However, Reina's reaction tells a different story in which she has positive attitudes towards her variety and, therefore, resists being told that she cannot speak her Spanish: "*I'm gonna just keep using my, my words and my Spanish*."

Reina's resistance-like view of Belinda's oral CF echoes previous research findings by Helmer (2014). The researcher's critical ethnography of a high school shows how SHL learners acted out in resistance of their SHL class. Learners' resistance also

manifested in a "strike-like" behavior by learners, which stemmed "from a belief that there is no real substance to the Spanish class" (p. 193). Instead of utilizing meaningful activities and authentic materials that aligned with learners' linguistic abilities, families and cultures, the instructor relied on foreign language materials that proved to be disengaging for SHL learners. Parallels can be draw between Helmer (2014) and how Reina resists Belinda's attempts to impose a foreign variety on her, which is based on foreign language materials that reflect a standardized variety.

In Excerpt (44), Maira and Reina discuss another oral CF episode in which Belinda recasts the verb "look" or "listen" (*oiga*) from the third person imperative to the second person imperative (*oye*):

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(44) Researcher: Have there been other instances where she corrects you?

Maira: She also got **mad** last time when I said "¡***oiga***!"

Researcher: Who said *oiga*?

Reina: To Belinda, I said ***oiga*** and she's like *"¡No, it's **oye**!"*

Maira: No, she got mad because you didn't say ***señora*** Belinda or ***profesora***.

Reina: No, she said *"¡nunca diga oiga, oye!"* It's like "O.K." jeeze!

Markers such as these serve as attention-getting devices:

> The reason for using attention-getting or attention-maintaining techniques may be a speaker's feeling that s/he is not being listed to, or the need to emphasize part of an utterance because of its importance for the correct understanding of a message. (Trillo, 1997, p. 208)

This pragmatic view demonstrates the variability in attention-getting devises that exist in Spanish (e.g., *oye, oiga, mira, mire, fíjate, fíjese, escucha, escuche*) which alternate between formal and informal forms. These SHL learners paint a picture of Belinda that became upset at their lack of formality and respect when using this attention-getting device. For instance, Maira rationalizes Belinda's oral CF by stating that "*she got mad because you didn't say 'Señora Belinda.'*" This is interesting because, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, Belinda values students' respect for her and the classroom; a sentiment that seems to have been internalized by these students. In this way, Maira's use of "*señora*" as a professional anthroponym to rationalize why Reina was corrected relates to how Belinda's shapes the expectations of formality through language in her classroom. Furthermore, as it was noted in Chapter (2), it is the case that SHL learners understand oral CF through its broader context and meaning and not through its grammatical nuances (e.g., Gass & Lewis, 2007). In effect, SHL participants view Belinda's oral CF as pertaining to a lapse in formality and respect and not to differences between third person and second person imperatives of "*oír*."

Another important aspect that becomes evident in these data is the way SHL participants reconstruct the discursive process of receiving oral CF from Belinda. Such descriptions also point to the difficulties that arise from such focus-on-form (FonF) instruction. Specifically, SHL participants describe how Belinda's practice of oral CF typically involves an initial move. This initial move is followed by what they call "*repetition*" or, in other words, uptake on their behalf. In addition, these accounts are also indicative that Belinda is partial to utilizing reformulation strategies, explicit correction (without including any explicit metalinguistic explanation), as well as didactic recasts.

In excerpt (45), Reina indicates that Belinda typically reformulates "erroneous" utterances without a follow up explanation: *She doesn't like say anything after*.

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(45) Reina: Usually she [Belinda] just like repeats the correct word but she but she doesn't like say anything after. She says ***oración*** then just keeps going.

Researcher: O.K. and what do you think about that?

Reina: Sometimes I don't know what she's talking about. Like I was just like, "O.K.," just keep listen.

Researcher: Does it work for you?

Reina: Repetition works sometimes.

Researcher: Repetition?

Reina: Yeah that's just what my mom says, repetition, repetition, repetition. It helps to learn things and memorize them but honestly when I get corrected, I still don't know what I did wrong.

Importantly, Reina notes that the absence of explicit metalinguistic explanation is a source of confusion and frustration: "*I still don't know what I did wrong*." Another point that emerges is how the CF process consists of "repetition" or reformulations which, according to Reina, leads to memorization and, finally, the learning of the target form. Excerpts (45), (46), and (47) corroborate Reina's account of how Belinda practices oral CF.

(46) Petra: She would just, she would just say the word and if we didn't say it right, she would just say the word again. Speaking wise, she'll just pronounce the word. So, it's more like **repetition** and she doesn't really explain why but sometimes.

Researcher: Um, do you think that's helpful?

Petra: Sometimes. Not all the time, like a few times. It just makes me more **nervous** because I feel like everyone stops to listen.

(47) María: She'll just pronounce it the correct way and wait for me to say it properly and we'll go on and on for a couple times. She doesn't offer and explanation, she just corrects it.

Researcher: Does it help you?

María: Not really because I'll just forget it again like in ten minutes.

For Petra, besides feedback not being helpful, it is also a source of anxiety. As stated before, due to SHL learners' implicit knowledge of their HL, they often face high anxiety when faced with explicit grammar instruction (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). According to these data, in the absence of explicit metalinguistic explanations of why certain forms are reformulated, oral CF episodes become confusing and ambiguous for SHL learners. Undoubtedly, explicit grammar instruction can be beneficial to SHL learners (e.g., Montrul & Bowels, 2010; Potowski, Jegerski, & Morgan-Short, 2009), but experts in SHL pedagogy recommend approaching FFI through a macro-based approach (Beaudrie et al. 2014; Carreira, 2016a, 2016b). As Carreira (2016a) argues, "the question is not whether to include form-focused instruction in HL teaching, but rather when/how to include it" (p. 162).

Although FFI is compatible with both micro and macro-based approaches, SHL learners benefit the most from instruction that is contextualized to discourse-level activities:

> It bears noting that both approaches are compatible with form-focused instruction, but differ with the regard to the role of place of such instruction. In micro-based approaches form-focused instruction sustains and drives the progression toward more complex and discourse-based uses of language. In macro-based approaches form-focused instruction follows or emerges from discourse-based activities. (Carreira, 2016a, p. 162)

As the above quote explicates, grammar and vocabulary instruction should derive from learners' global knowledge of the language. SHL learners should engage with authentic discourse-level materials and tasks in order to analyze and process new information (Beaudrie et al. 2014; Lynch, 2003). As such, it is evident that Belinda engages SHL learners with a micro-based approach common to lower-level language courses. As such, oral CF episodes are on-line attempts to draw the learners' attention to an "*error*" in a relatively immediate manner following the utterance. In effect, SHL have difficulty discerning the linguistic aspects of the CF they receive and need explicit metalinguistic explanations that, for SHL learners, require authentic discourse-level contextualization. Without appropriate guidance, SHL learners' rationalization of CF "defaults" to their natural orientation toward language which is to focus on the communicative content rather than the language form itself (Bowles, 2018). In this light, it is possible to argue that, perhaps, the form-focused intent of oral CF would be most effective when it "emerges from discourse-based activities" (Carreira, 2016a, p.162) pertinent to SHL learner needs. Such activities should focus on a particular task or grammar point that also positively acknowledges SHL learners' bilingual "strengths" to avoid leaving learners

confused ("*I still don't know what I did wrong*") or feeling that somehow their varieties are being disparaged; a sentiment that can lead to learners resisting feedback as seen in excerpt (43).

SHL participants also spoke on receiving oral CF that conflicted with the lexicon they believed to be more appropriate. Different to the previous examples in which SHL participants acknowledged being corrected because of a formality "error" or for using a false cognate, the following excerpts showcase episodes in which Belinda's feedback is explicitly deemed invalid:

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(48) Maira: Yesterday for my oral presentation write up I used *carrera* to say career and she [Belinda] said it was ***diploma***, and **my uncle** and **my aunt**, they tell me it's ***carrera***. They said when I asked them what did you get they say "*oh, yo tengo **una carrera** en esto, en cosmeticos,*" like it's something that I already know how they say, and I feel more with them saying it than her correcting me. And also, because I feel like it has a different meaning because to me, ***diploma*** means the actual physical diploma and ***carrera*** means career to me so it's different.

In excerpt (48), Maira discusses how Belinda provided feedback on her oral presentation write up in which she had to describe her family. Part of her presentation included information about her aunt and uncle's career in cosmetology. On this, Belinda provides feedback to Maira to use the word "*diploma*" instead of "*carrera*" to say career (in cosmetology). For Maira, this was confusing given her authentic experiences with family members utilizing "*carrera*" to discuss their own careers and not "*diploma*" which, to her, means the actual physical certificate. Maira voices her trust in how her family members talk about this concept and rejects Belinda's feedback: "*like it's something that I already know how they say, and I feel more with them saying it than her correcting me*."

Indeed, an oral presentation centered on students' own personal experiences will prompt the use of their community's speech. The nature of the assignment does not align with oral CF that promotes the use of what Belinda considers to be a more appropriate word choice.

Excerpt (49) further corroborates the finding that SHL participants at times reject Belinda's oral CF on the basis of what they perceive to be appropriate:

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(49) Reina: Like ***la panza***, she corrected it to ***el estomago***. I hate that word! I don't like that word, I only use ***panza***, I used *panza* in my presentation write up.

Maira: She's going to take off points watch!

Reina: Whatever.

Researcher: So, do you feel like you're going to continue to use *carrera* y *panza*?

Reina: As long as it's correct, yeah. ***Panza*** is still, I mean**, *panza*** is still ***estomago*** but I'm not going to use it.

Reina: I use the words that people in **my culture** know, like people culture use like **regularly**.

Reina provides yet another example of how she deems "*panza"* to be more appropriate given that, in her view, speakers in her culture utilize this word more regularly. The contrast between "*panza"* and "*estomago"* can be mirrored in the difference between "belly" and "stomach." For Reina, despite these words being synonyms, and one being more formal than the other, she will continue to utilize "*panza"* regardless of possible consequences to her academic performance or evaluation.

Again, in excerpt (50), María retells a similar situation to Reina's in which her oral presentation write-up receives feedback:

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(50) María: And another thing is that she corrected my oral presentation sheet. I wrote, you know how you roll enchiladas and you put the sauce on top?

Researcher: Yeah.

María: Yeah, and she corrected me and was like "oh it's not a rolled enchilada, it's just a tortilla with the sauce on top." And I was like "no, that's not the point I was trying to get them [L2 learner peers] to understand." She worried more about the people that don't speak Spanish, if they understand.

In this situation, because the oral presentation prompted SHL learners to talk about cultural aspects about their Latino heritage (e.g., family, food, customs, celebrations), María wanted to communicate how an enchilada is comprised of a rolled tortilla. Belinda's feedback eliminated the "*rolled*" aspect of the dish to accommodate L2 learners. The excerpt demonstrates the contradiction between SHL learners wanting to communicate a cultural aspect to her L2 peers in her own words and in a way that expresses authenticity and Belinda's reported attempt to modify the discourse to include words accessible to non-native learners.

In all, these student data demonstrate how oral CF is much more complex than previously reported by Belinda. Whereas Belinda presented oral CF as a clear-cut neutral practice that provided both types of learners with the equal opportunities and equal treatment, this subsection provides evidence to the contrary. SHL students report being confused by oral CF, as well as even actively resisting some feedback that targets variants they deem more appropriate. Another significant finding is how SHL learners

contextualize oral CF in a much broader social context than their L2 counter parts which is indicative of the complexities involved in this type of formed-focused instruction. The next subsection provides an ethnographic account of how learners' and Belinda's views are reflected in the actual practice of oral CF.

4.5.1 Oral CF in Belinda's Classroom

Belinda's daily lessons of an hour and fifteen minutes consisted of approximately an hour of instruction. When Belinda was not reviewing verb conjugations, students worked on individual worksheet or textbook grammar and vocabulary exercises and, on rare occasions, group work on similar activities. The remaining fifty minutes of class were reserved for students to work on their online homework activities on the classroom computers. This in-class computer time is how the language program practiced the Flipped Method to language learning. Upon talking with the language program coordinator and the teacher, students were given class time to complete their online homework to encourage assignment completion and, ultimately, academic success. Importantly, this described classroom structure significantly reduced the amount of student-teacher interactions.

Because a large portion of class time was invested in reviewing or explaining grammar and vocabulary and the amount of teacher-student interaction was significantly limited. Thus, the oral CF episodes recorded in the 11 classroom visits were significantly less that one might expect in an L2-oriented classroom. When Belinda did provide oral CF, it was during activities that consisted of grammar exercises or repeating vocabulary words, scripts, and songs aloud as a class. She would often stop individual students during such exercises to practice difficult sounds. During these pauses, Belinda would

provide students with oral CF while the whole class listened. As such, it became clear that Belinda prioritized pronunciation over all other potential problem areas for L2 learners, as well as over grammatical topic that were part of daily lessons. Petra, being a receptive SHL learner, also received a significant amount of oral CF on her pronunciation. Since advanced SHL learners did not have difficulties with pronunciation or with basic verb conjugations, Belinda focused on their non-prestigious varieties.

Whereas Petra received feedback in a similar fashion to her L2 counterparts, Reina, Maira, and María received oral CF episodes during one-on-one interactions with Belinda outside of typical grammar drill instruction. Part of the course included an oral presentation that consisted of student writing a script and then memorizing it to be able to present it in front of the class. Interestingly, it was during class time dedicated to students working on their oral presentation scripts that SHL learners received most of their oral CF. Similarly, while the L2 learners worked on class grammar activities, Belinda would interact with SHL learners and offer oral CF as well.

Tables (17) and (18) demonstrate how oral CF took shape over the course of the class observations.

Table 17. Frequency of Oral CF in Belinda's Classroom

Coding Tree and Levels	Definition	Frequency
Oral CF	Strategy	**Total 46**
Recasts		
SHL Pronunciation	Reformulation	10
SHL Lexical	Reformulation	5
SHL Form	Reformulation	1
		Total 16
L2 Pronunciation	Reformulation	17
L2 Tense	Reformulation	3
L2 Form	Reformulation	5
		Total 25
Explicit Correction		
SHL Tense	Explicit with Metalinguistic	1
SHL Lexical	Explicit with Metalinguistic	2
		Total 3
Clarification Requests		
SHL Pronunciation	Pronunciation	2
		Total 2

Table 18. SHL Learner Correction of US Spanish Features

Type of Error	Percentage
US Spanish	38%
Error	62%
8/21	**Total 21**

At first glance, oral CF directed at SHL learners comprises nearly half of the total recorded episodes. This is noteworthy because out of the 23 students' in Belinda's course, only four were SHL learners. The coding of oral CF also indicates that most of the episodes took the form of reformulations (n = 41) for both L2 and SHL learners. For SHL learners, the total reformulations were (n = 16) recorded episodes. By far,

reformulations were Belinda's choice strategy. This aligns with her view that oral CF must be "direct" to avoid ambiguity for the learner. As the excerpts will demonstrate, almost of the explicit reformulations were didactic in nature as SHL learners' utterances did not cause communication problems. Further, the majority of the reformulations targeted pronunciation (n = 10), while the other pertained to lexical (n = 5) and form (n = 1). Belinda shows an overall preference for providing feedback on pronunciation as the L2 learner numbers are partial to such type of feedback (n = 17).

In Chapter (3), Belinda also expresses concern about practicing oral CF that is clear to students regarding the evaluative criteria and intent. However, Belinda's use of explicit corrections that include metalinguistic commentary were rarely utilized (n = 3). This lack of metalinguistic commentary was a source of confusion for SHL learners' who had various ideas as to why their variants were reformulated. Interestingly, the few recorded instances of metalinguistic commentary were exclusively directed to SHL learners, whereas the L2 received none. There was only one instance of a clarification request and it was directed at an SHL learner. Further, the SHL pronunciation oral CF episodes were not evenly distributed among the SHL learners. As stated before, Petra received the bulk of the oral CF in this regard. Often, Belinda would concentrate all her attention upon Petra during class activities. During read aloud activities, Belinda would stop Petra at every mispronunciation while the whole class listened, whereas L2 learners in many cases did not receive oral CF despite their obvious errors during activities.

As excerpt (51) shows, Belinda requests clarification of Petra's pronunciation of "araña" (spider) without the palatal nasal [ɲ] during a real aloud of a Spanish children's song. In effect, ara[ɲ]a becomes ara[n]a which sounds similar to "*rana"* (frog).

(51) Petra: Estaba araña sentada cantando debajo del agua cuando la [**a.rá.na]** se puso a cantar.

Belinda: **¿La araña o la rana?**

Petra: **La rana**.

Belinda: O.K.

In another episode, Petra was answering the question to a class exercise. Instead of pronouncing a [u], Petra produces a palatized [j] similar to the English articulation of [mju'.zik]. This was immediately followed by Belinda's recast of the target form. Petra's uptake produced the Spanish pronunciation of [mú.si.ka]:

(52) Petra: Su [**mjú.si.ka**]

Belinda: **[mú.si.ka]**

Petra: Oh. **[mú.si.ka]** ha inspirado a muchas personas. Él aprendió a tocar la guitarra.

In excerpt (53) again Petra receives oral CF on her pronunciation. In this case, Petra articulates the tonic syllable on the [na**]** instead on [sió]. Noting this difference, Belinda recasts the [na.sió], which results in uptake by Petra:

(53) Petra: Él [**ná.sio]**

Belinda**: [na.sió].**

Petra: Nació en Jalisco México el febrero 17. Vicente trabó como lavaplatos. Él actuó en muchas películas. Él actuó en una película llama Tacos al Carbón. Su hijo es Alonzo Fernández.

Except (54) shows an episode consisting of two recasts on pronunciation. First, Petra omits [xe] in [e.xém.plo]. Second, mistakenly produces a completely different word instead of [puén.tes]. For both, Petra produces the target words:

---

(54) Petra: Por **[ém.plo]**

Belinda: Por **[e.xém.plo]**

Petra: Por ejemplo, es posible caminar sobre **puntos.**

Belinda: **Puentes**.

Petra: Puentes.

Furthermore, on one occasion, Petra received feedback on morpho-syntactic mistakes such as in excerpt (55):

---

(55) Petra: Ellas van a la clase de español es muy **[ði.fi.kál]**.

Belinda: Muy [**ði.fí.sil**].

Petra: Oh yeah [**ði.fí.sil**]**.**

In the case of excerpt (56), Petra makes a mistake regarding the indirect object during the same read aloud task of the song:

---

(56) Petra: Vino la mosca y **la** hizo.

Belinda: Y **le** hizo callar.

Petra: **Le** hizo callar.

For Petra, such stops were quite frequent compared to her SHL peers. Although excerpt (54) demonstrates a conversational recast, Belinda demonstrates a clear preference for explicit didactic recasts to modify Petra's pronunciation. Out of the ten coded SHL reformulations related to pronunciation, nine were directed at Petra and only one was directed at María. The following example is from the context of a fill-in-the-blank textbook activity:

---

(57) María: Um nosotros estamos **hablando**.

Belinda: ¿Estamos qué?

María: Habliando.

Belinda: **Hablando** (recast).

Despite such episodes appearing to be "benign," Petra would react very nervously to these oral CF episodes. In her interview, she noted that her anxiety toward speaking and learning Spanish came from negative experiences interacting with family in Mexico:

(58) Petra: My family are more strict on the rules and more to show you the correct version of Spanish. [My family in Mexico] **they make fun of me** and then **they also think that I think** that I'm better than them when really it's just, I try not to communicate with them because **I don't want to be wrong with my Spanish** and I think it's better not to try when you don't know **Spanish than to actually try and fail in front of them**. So because of that **I don't talk and I sit in the corner** and so **it looks like I think that I'm so much better and higher than them** so that I don't have to associate with them **when really it's just I don't know how**…I feel pressure because most of my friends speak Spanish and they're Hispanic too. So, I feel like I should be like them and know more about my culture or know more about Spanish. When I walk into class, a lot of people expect me to already know Spanish, like Reina and Maira and it makes me feel like I should already know it [Spanish] when I don't. It's very stressful. Um, but it just makes me want to learn Spanish more so that I can like fit their expectations. Like I feel like I should already have a good grasp on it [Spanish] because we are so late in the semester and I'm still struggling so I don't know what's going on, if I need to work harder or what I should do.

In the interview text above, Petra describes her family members' harsh treatment of her as a result of her Spanish abilities. She portrays her Spanish as deficient and as the root cause for the misunderstandings that occur between her and her family members. Notably, she self-reports her silence as way to mitigate the embarrassment of committing mistakes in Spanish. However, her silence leads to her family members thinking that she considered herself to be "*so much better and higher than them*" when the fact of the matter is that she does not know how to speak to them. These findings are not surprising considering that previous research has found that Spanish monolinguals from Latin American countries generally have negative attitudes toward the Spanish spoken by U.S. Latinos (Hidalgo, 1986; Zentella, 1990a). Relevant to the classroom context is also the fact that, for Petra, receiving feedback becomes contextualized in a much broader social context as demonstrated in the previous subsection (4.2.1). Such a broader

contextualization for learners evokes memories of hurtful and embarrassing experiences of being and using language as multilingual Latino. Compounding this unfortunate situation is how Petra's vulnerability is augmented by receiving oral CF in front of her classmates in an isolated fashion.

In the L2 context, Lindemann, Litzenberg, and Subtirelu (2014) argue that negative attitudes toward L2 pronunciation are common and "in fact can be observed in many scholars' insistence on a nativelike accent- a 'standard' accent, no less" (p. 194). Such attitudes and ideologies are not exclusively about native pronunciation, "but are intimately connected to attitudes toward various social groups" (p. 194). Moreover, the authors argue that such issues should not be considered as a reason for greater focus on pronunciation teaching, but rather as a reason to directly address negative attitudes. Because attitudes toward accents are related to speakers belonging to non-dominant groups (e.g., ethnicity, nationality), Lindemann et al. (2014) argue against pronunciation models based on first language (L1) speaker norms. Attempting to change adult language learners' accent (which is an unrealistic goal) to mitigate accent discrimination only serves to propagate and legitimize L1 speaker norms.

Previous matched-guise research has demonstrated the general preference for standard Spanish over Southwest Spanish (Kravitz, 1989) and L2 speakers' positive attitudes toward Mexican-accented Spanish (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017), which points to accent hierarchies within the Spanish context similar to the discussion above. For Petra, her non-nativelike pronunciation of Spanish faces a double jeopardy with respect to pronunciation norms. On the one hand, her non-nativelike pronunciation is stigmatized in relation to L1 speaker norms. On the other hand, her proficiency, relative

to her SHL peers, appears to differentiate her within the class context. As SHL learners are generally regarded as possessing native phonological perception and production (Carreira, 2016a), Petra is unlike her SHL peers in this regard. As a receptive SHL learner, Petra faces the stigma and social pressure of being a Latina who is expected to possess certain abilities in Spanish (see excerpt 58)—pronunciation being one of them. Receptive SHL learners like Petra can benefit from appropriate curriculum that addresses their linguistic, identity, and socio-affective needs (see Beaudrie, 2009b). However, SHL courses designed specifically for receptive bilinguals are uncommon among language programs (see Beaudrie, 2006). Learners such as these are typically enrolled in L2 courses given their foreign language-like needs, whereas their affective needs tend to be rarely addressed (Carreira, 2004). In this context, Petra receives focused-on-forms (FonFS) instruction quite often, which serves to onlt reinforce the negative experiences and beliefs that Petra has about her own language abilities and identity as a Latina. Excerpt (58) demonstrates clearly Petra's insecurities with Spanish and her self-perceived expectation that she should have already improved her abilities by taking Belinda's class. As mentioned before, appropriate instruction for learners like Petra should include discussing issues like identity, as well as having conversations about reclaiming the HL and what the process of language learning entails—topics certainly not discussed in Belinda's class.

During Reina's oral presentation, Belinda used oral CF on non-prestigious features of Spanish. For instance, while Reina was giving her presentation about her family that included personal information, Belinda interrupted her and reformulated "*piores*" (the bad times):

(59) Reina: Yo amo a mi familia y no los cambiaría por nada del mundo y por en las buenas, en las malas y **piores** estaremos juntos.

Belinda: **Peores**, okay.

Reina: **Peores**, O.K. sorry.

Belinda. No, es que **la mayoría de la gente** pronuncia así, está bien y **es lo normal**, pero pues **estamos aprendiendo español** y **estamos mejorando el idioma**. Entonces se pronuncia correcto. O.K.?

Excerpts (60) and (61), illustrate corrective feedback on variants that are considered to be stigmatized and indexing of low socioeconomic strata:

(60) Maira: **Nadien** en mi familia ha ido al colegio. Yo soy la primera.

Belinda: Nadien no existe. Es **nadie**.

Maira: Sorry. **Nadie** Maira: Sorry **nadie**.

(61) María: Ellos **dijieron** que iban a ir.

Belinda: No se dice dijieron. **Dijeron** es la forma correcta.

María: O.K. **Dijeron**.

Belinda: **No repitas el error.**

The word "*nadien*" (nobody/no one) is considered to be an archaism of Spanish, whereas the prestige form is "*nadie*". In addition, "*dijieron*" (they said, you all said) is also explicitly corrected. This variant is a common overgeneralization of the third person plural preterit of "*decir*". Variants such as these are quite common through the Spanish

speaking world. Contrary to what Belinda tells Maira, such words do exist and are widely used.

Excerpt (59) illustrates the instructor recasting the diphthongization of the hiatus in "*peores*." As previously discussed, this phonetic phenomenon indexes a lower-class Spanish speaker; thus, it is a feature rejected by standard norms. The observation noted that Belinda did not provide any positive feedback, nor did she compliment Reina on her well-constructed presentation. The oral CF episode took center stage while simultaneously interrupting Reina's flow. Furthermore, Belinda's "explicit metalinguistic explanation" is based on ideologies about language appropriateness and dominant norms: "*la mayoría de la gente pronuncia así, está bien y es lo normal, pero pues estamos aprendiendo español y estamos mejorando el idioma*" (the majority of people pronounce it like this, and that's okay and it's normal, but we are learning Spanish and we are betting the language). This episode is consistent with what Belinda self-reported. She took the time to explain to the learner what "*normal*" language is and is not.

Another episode took place between activities when Reina had a question about an assignment and called out to get Belinda's attention:

---

(62) Reina: ¡**Oiga**!

Belinda: Nunca diga oiga. Es **"oye**."

Reina: Do I still need to take the exam? Because you said that I didn't have to.

Reina called out "*oiga*" (hey) and Belinda reacted quickly by explicitly correcting this form to the informal *"oye.*" As previously discussed, both the learners and the teacher

had very distinct perceptions on this episode. While Belinda considers "*oiga*" to be rude as opposed to its formal conjugation, the learners though that they were corrected because they forgot to add "*señora*" in front of the declaration. Without any clear indication of why the teacher engages in oral CF, learners can miss the specific pragmatic reasons why such forms are corrected. Moreover, for SHL learners, their use of "*oiga*" is abiding by the norms of speaking respectfully to the teacher in their Mexican varieties. In this sense, Belinda provides feedback on this attention-getting-device based on norms pertaining to her variety of Spanish.

In another episode, Belinda corrected Reina's use of "*sentencia"* instead of "*oración*" (sentence):

---

(63) Reina: Profesora.

Belinda: ¿Sí?

Reina: ¿Cuántas **sentencias** tenemos que escribir para el oral presentation sheet?

Belinda: **Se dice** "**oraciones**"**, no** "**sentencias**." Ustedes tienen que escribir quince.

While asking a question about an assignment, Belinda provides explicit feedback that she must not use "*sentencia*." Without any context the learner is left with the impression that this form is wrong without question. These features common in US Spanish are not wrong, but rather they emerge from natural language contact in which these learners use and develop their HL. Maira's experience with oral CF is characterized by its absence. She was not directly "corrected" by Belinda, as she was careful never to use features associated with Spanglish. This, of course, aligns with Maria's personal views of

Spanglish which differ from Reina's views. Although Maira did not engage in using English extensions or borrowing, she was in a sense "corrected" by being told to slow down or to repeat herself. Belinda attempted to clarify what Maira said so that the rest of the class understood (see excerpt, 60).

Excerpt (64) shows how Maira had to accommodate her presentation to her L2 peers:

---

(64) Maira: Yo me llamo Maira y estoy presentando de mi familia. Yo tengo una familia muy grande y la mayoría vive en Arizona, Las Vegas, California, Chicago también…

Belinda: Excuse me. **Can you please speak slowly? Because you know the language and not everyone can understand**.

Despite having to obey the classroom language "speed limit," Maira's presentation was met with appraisal by Belinda:

---

(65) Belinda: ¡Excelente! Les cuento que en todo mi trabajo que he estado aquí quince años es la primera vez que veo una presentación tan perfecta como la suya. ¿Por qué? Porque ella demás de saber el idioma a coordinado las imágenes con los tópicos y ella ha coordinado muy bien y ha sabido colocar las figuras apropiadas para cada frase y **sobre todo ha obedecido porque ella ha hablado despacio** ¿sí?

Es muy difícil cuando una persona está haciendo una presentación oral que uno le haga una observación y la persona se pone nerviosa y no obedece, en fin. Pasan muchas cosas cuando están haciendo una presentación oral, pero está muy excelente. Felicitaciones.

Belinda verbally rewards Maira for utilizing her Spanish abilities following the expected norms of the classroom which are oriented to L2 learner needs. In particular, "*ha obedecido*" (she has obeyed) is interesting and relates to how Maira and Reina are treated

and corrected under a different set of criteria. One of which is to accommodate their presence in the mixed class to the benefit of the L2 learners.

Other oral CF episodes occurred in less structured discourse. While some of the previous episodes consisted of initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) sequences, other times learners received feedback during discussions of regional lexical variation. For example, in excerpt (66), Belinda was attempting to explain to L2 learners the differences between the words "*to have breakfast*" (desayunar) and "*to have lunch*" (almorzar).

---

(66) María: What is the difference between almorzar and desayunar?

Belinda: **Depende del país**.

Maira: Pero se puede decir **comer** ¿no?

Belinda: Sí, también. Muy bien Maira. Resulta que, **si usted va a México, resulta que almorzar es desayunar**. ¿No? **Y si usted va a Suramérica, a Perú, a Ecuador, Chile, almorzar es to have lunch**. ¿Sí? O sea, **los términos cambian de acuerdo con el país**. Pero **lo más importante es que la mayoría de los países tienen tres partes**. Una es el desayuno que es el breakfast, el numero dos es el almuerzo

---

While this was unfolding, María asked if you one could simply say "*to eat*." This prompts Belinda to begin explaining to the class how in Mexican Spanish "to have lunch" is also utilized to say, "to have breakfast." Moreover, Belinda states that while this is true for Mexico, in the norm in all other Latin American countries is to have three words for the distinct meals (e.g., breakfast, lunch and dinner).

In excerpt (67), María indicates her word for lunch is "*lonche"*—a loan word from English. Belinda asks a clarification of it means and states that it is wrong:

(67) María: We say **lonche.**

Belinda: ¿Qué es eso?

María: Almuerzo.

Belinda: **Eso está mal.**

While Reina shared her word (lonche) and was not acknowledged by Belinda, Maira's contribution to the discussion is that she simply likes to say *comer*. Belinda's response demonstrates how different countries possibly utilizing a variety of lexicon is a "problem."

Again, Belinda commented on the Mexican Spanish variety. While SHL learners were working to complete their fifteen sentences for the oral presentation Vicky (an L2 learner) raised her hand to ask a question. She wanted to clarify that the common Mexican ingredient *Clamato* was the same as tomato juice. Upon reading her sentences, it became clear that part of her presentation included explaining the ingredients of her favorite "*antojitos*" (a type of Mexican snack). While Vicky was reading her sentences, Belinda questioned the word "*cuerito curtidos"* (pickled pork rinds)—a word that she had written down as part of the ingredient list. The SHL learner, who sat next to Vicky, visibly became excited and began to answer her question. Not knowing the word or the ingredient, Belinda began to translate it as "skin" (piel). Reina attempted to describe to Belinda the meaning of the word. Belinda answered by explicitly stating that the word is wrong and that it is difficult to "translate to translate the Mexican style."

(68) Vicky: I have a question

Belinda: Go ahead.

Vicky: For this [pointing at paper] these are ingredients.

Belinda: ¡Ah!

Vicky: Clamato is like tomato juice.

Belinda: ¿Cueros curtidos? [referring to Vicky's paper] What kind of ingredient is that? Because **cuero is skin**.

Vicky: Its skin? Like pig skin.

Belinda: Ah. Es la piel.

Reina: ¡Oh! ¿**Los cueritos**?

Maira: Son como las **rajas del cuero**.

Reina: Los cueritos son los que le pongo a mis Tostilocos.

Belinda: Okay, eso parece mal, pero **es difícil interpretar al estilo mexicano.**

This oral CF episode was the most complex example given that it did not happen in a clear-cut "answer-response" style like the previous examples. However, it does point to the fact that at every turn, SHL learners' varieties are the subject of oral CF. Furthermore, such oral CF episodes include explicit comments that are not metalinguistic, but rather ideological. Such commentary is not based on sociolinguistic facts about SHL learners' varieties but demonstrates how Belinda taps into her ideological belief system to provide these learners with what she perceived to be equal learning opportunities.

4.6.1 Oral CF: What Does This All Mean?

Akin to the discussion in Chapter (2), SLA scholars have disagreed about the role of oral CF in the foreign language classroom. While some scholars have been cautious about adopting oral CF (e.g., Krashen, 1982), other SLA experts working within interactionist frameworks have viewed such as practices as facilitating the acquisition process (Ellis, 2010; Sheen & Ellis, 2011). As such, oral CF is thought to help learners to notice their errors in the L2, as well as to create form-meaning connections (Ellis, Loewen, & Erlam, 2006). Further, Ellis (2009) discusses how oral CF can either target specific errors or target all errors committed by learners. Whereas some experts may advocate for focused correction (e.g., global vs. local errors[13]), some teachers may regard all errors equally as important and in need of correcting. Under the guise of helping SHL learners "improve" their "*pueblo*" Spanish, Belinda's practice of correcting resonates with an unfocused approach that targets any form or variant deemed non-prestigious. Because such oral CF was not grounded to any specific activity or objective, learners were corrected based on what Belinda's subjective understanding of U.S. Spanish.

A second relevant point pertains to Belinda's choices about which strategies to use when correcting learners. As shown by the data, Belinda is partial to recasts. Her beliefs about being clear, direct, and not embarrassing learners are found to be a common sentiment among language teachers. As Ellis (2009) points out, teachers tend to be hesitant to use unmitigated direct feedback so as not to embarrass the learner. Instead, pedagogues typically prefer indirect strategies, such as recasts. However, researchers argue that recasts can be ambiguous. SHL learners pointed out this ambiguity in their perception of having to "*repeat*" the correct form but were confused as to the cause of the

"error." In general, studies have found that students prefer to be told what the correct form is rather than having to figure it out on their own (Lee, 2013). In the same way, SHL learners' tent to need explicit metalinguistic instruction due to their implicit knowledge of the HL. Because the correction they receive is based on a subjective preference without a concrete linguistic reason, it proved to be a difficult challenge to prove SHL learners with an object explanation for Belinda's oral CF.

The type of oral CF SHL learners experienced within the context of the observations targeted specific variants and not errors or mistakes that impeded communication. This is evident by the type of "commentary" that accompanied Belinda's oral CF strategies. Such comments were ideologically charged in the sense that students' variants were deemed as non-existent or they were told to "*mejorar el lenguaje, no dañarlo"* (to improve the language, not damage it). Explicit comments like these related to Belinda's beliefs and values about who SHL learners are and the varieties that they speak. This is perhaps implicitly related to how Belinda demonstrates using a broader range of oral CF practices with the SHL learners than with Petra or the L2 students. Belinda's self-reported desire to respect students while correcting them comes into question considering that SHL learners received explicit corrections that spoke to the worth of their varieties as being inferior. The "few" documented oral CF episodes relating to SHL learners are clearly different in nature compared to errors corrected within SLA context. As such, the evidence shows how Belinda's oral CF practices have underlying ideologies about the expectations, beliefs, and assumptions regarding SHL learners.

While Belinda's oral CF was unfocused with respect to advanced SHL learners, it can also be conceived as being unbalanced between SHL and L2 learners. Both groups of learners received similar amounts of oral CF. L2 learners mainly received recasts on pronunciation errors and a significantly less amount on tense or form issues. A large portion of the documented oral CF episodes were directed at Petra. These episodes were principally related to pronunciation errors and comprised most of the oral CF episodes for the entire SHL group. In the case of Petra, her oral CF can also be regarded as ideological. Given how Belinda perceived her as being intellectually compromised, her focus on Petra above all the other students can be seen as ideologically motivated rather than benignly about the acquisition of "correct" pronunciation. The observed inconsistency of how SHL and L2 learners receive oral CF brings attention to how teachers rely on their intuitions to correct the errors learners commit:

> rather than knowingly in accordance with some predetermined error-correction policy. This may explain two general characteristics of teachers' error correction practices—they are imprecise and inconsistent. Imprecision is evident in the fact that teacher use the same over behavior (e.g., 'repetition') both to indicate that an error has been made and to reinforce a correct response...Inconsistency arises when teachers respond variably to the same error made by different students in the same class, correcting some students and ignoring others. (Ellis, 2009, p. 10)

Accordingly, Belinda did demonstrate using her preconceived knowledge not only about what type of oral CF works best, but also about the value of the Spanish spoken by Latino students. As stated above, I argue that the inconsistency in oral CF given by Belinda demonstrates her bias toward SHL learners given that she "breaks" with her own tendency of using recasts aimed at pronunciation to correct non-prestigious forms. At times, Belinda did allow L2 learners to "get away" with errors that were not related to pronunciation. Having the SHL element in the mixed class prompted Belinda to

accommodate the purpose her oral CF to advanced SHL learners who have high oral abilities. Unfortunately for the students, Belinda accommodated by focusing negatively on their varieties.

Another important finding with respect to oral CF is how both SHL learners and Belinda have tension regarding opposing views about oral CF. This opposition is rooted in how some SHL learners perceive that their varieties are more authentic and necessary for communication in their communities. Underscoring the multiplicity of language ideologies, not all learners were supportive of Spanglish and/or non-prestigious Spanish. As such, speakers like Reina and María demonstrated having *language pride* for the Spanish that they and their families speak. Martínez (2006) defines language pride "as the belief that the language of one's home and community is a viable public language and a real option to be used and infused in expression one's voice" (p. 13). This quote resonates with how SHL learners resisted being told by Belinda to use vocabulary that does not belong to their speech communities, as well as learning forms that they deem pointless (e.g., *vosotros*). Reina spoke about disregarding actively Belinda's corrections and using her words and her own Spanish. Martínez (2006) also indicates that negative discourses about Spanglish and other dialects are just as common inside the Mexican American community as they are outside of it. This is evident in how despite a certain level of pride, SHL learners considered their varieties to be "*slang*." In particular, Petra's internalization of dominant language ideologies was apparent in her deficit view of "*border*" Spanish and of the prestige of Colombian Spanish. Further, the SHL learners perceived Belinda's Colombian Spanish as an imposition of a foreign variety, which they describe as "*formal*." These findings evidence that oral CF is a complex phenomenon in

the SHL context; not only does Belinda shape oral CF but also SHL learners contribute to its ideologization.

These contextual data from the classroom are indicative of the fact that without clear and appropriate objectives or sociolinguistic training (as the instructor questionnaire shows), SHL learners' oral CF becomes inconsistent and subjectively based on language ideologies. For SHL learners, the oral CF that they do receive is not tendered to any particular lesson objectives or, in some cases, to any activity. Many of the oral CF episodes occurred while Belinda helped students one-on-one, during individual work time, or during the oral presentations. Given the prominence of FFI within the mixed class environment, Belinda applied this practice to SHL learners despite the lack of instructional guidelines. Overall, both the program and the class made no true attempt to accommodate the special needs of SHL learners. However, since SHL learners' abilities far exceed the so-called "midpoint," Belinda attempted to serve all her students, both advanced and beginners. By using the same micro-based instructional approach for both groups of students, SHL learners are measured up against classroom Spanish and Belinda's ideologies. Lastly, the classroom context reveals that Belinda invests significant class time to reviewing vocabulary and grammar. This dynamic significantly reduced the interaction time between her and the students. In effect, the small amount of interaction that students did have with Belinda partially resulted in the oral CF episodes documented.

In sum, the first half of this chapter provides evidence of the dominant language ideologies that guide Belinda's understanding of SHL learners as observed over the course of eleven class sessions and participant interviews. These data shed light on how such language ideologies relate to how students are treated, as well as to the overall classroom dynamics that include lessons and activities. This classroom context also reveals important classroom discourse that further attests to the dominant language ideologies that shape SHL learners' educational experiences. Besides being regarded as speaking a deficient variety of Spanish, the class context shows how the class is primarily designed to impart foreign language instruction. Furthermore, the classroom discourse reveals how Belinda treats students by forcing them to serve as her "secretaries" and how Mexican regional lexical variation is dismissed by Belinda. More broadly this discussion brings to the forefront the discrepancy between Belinda's beliefs and practices. On the one hand, Belinda preaches appropriateness and claims to respect SHL learners' regional varieties. She even claims to carry out in-class explanations of the similarities and differences between lexical variants (although this was not observed in the classroom). On the other hand, in practice, Belinda adopts an eradication approach that aims at erasing SHL learners' varieties.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1.1 Summary of Findings

This dissertation provides an in-depth analysis of language ideologies and oral corrective feedback (oral CF) in an elementary level Spanish 101 course within the context of a community college in the Southwest. Using methods from sociolinguistics and ethnography, these data were collected through classroom observations of eleven class sessions, recorded classroom audio, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. The findings illustrate how language ideologies are hidden in oral CF practices and used as a vehicle to reinforce them in the classroom. This everyday instructional practice is mediated by the values and beliefs that both the instructor and students have regarding United States (U.S.) Spanish. Data from the two main levels of analysis address the research questions that drive this dissertation.

Regarding the first research question, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the interview discourse revealed several findings relating to dominant language ideologies. The instructor participant viewed SHL learners' "errors" as being rooted in broader social structure that, in turn, shape their Spanish varieties. The CDA revealed that Belinda constructed Spanish Heritage Language (SHL) learners' varieties as being associated to "*el pueblo*." By labeling SHL learners' variety in such a way, she demonstrated her preconceived notions about which Spanish variety is appropriate for classroom use and teaching. Based on hegemonic dominant ideologies about what is considered "standard," "educated," "upper-class," and "proper" Spanish, Belinda considered U.S. Spanish features, as well as stigmatized features from low socioeconomic strata to be "erroneous."

Although Belinda reported to respect SHL learners' varieties via an appropriateness approach philosophy, U.S. Spanish was generally framed as a corruption of the Spanish language and as an impediment to academic success. SHL learners' varieties were viewed as something to "fix" given that they index indigeneity, Mexicaness, and being of an immigrant background. For Belinda, such connections are detrimental to Spanish and certainly problematic for the classroom. In fact, the discourse data shows how the deficit-oriented view of SHL learners' varieties included an association with students' proficiencies levels.

The CDA analysis indicated that Belinda considered her own Colombian variety to represent an ideal Spanish, which also served as a model for SHL learners. This viewpoint clearly stemmed from the normative monolingual ideologies and the standard language ideology that positioned monolingual Spanish as superior. The participant suggested that upper-class Colombians represent the ideal characteristics of a so-called "perfect" Spanish. Compounding this fact is how Belinda claimed that her variety was shaped by European standards (*España*). Thus, for Belinda, "establishing good linguistic communication" means imposing a foreign Colombian "standard" variety on SHL learners to somehow erase their undesirable culture, immigrant background, and socioeconomic status. As such, SHL learners' varieties are perceived as needing to be "*polished*" and "*perfected*" to meet her criteria of what is considered "*high*" and " i" language. Of course, such labels are euphemisms to categorize SHL learners into a specific class of speakers.

Although SHL learners demonstrated some adherence to dominant language ideologies, the discursive data demonstrated that classroom Spanish was described as "*awkward*," "*upper-class*," and "*formal*" by some participants. Some students indicated that the Spanish they were learning in class was the instructor's variety. In effect, SHL learners conveyed their discomfort with classroom Spanish, whereas their community's Spanish was described as more authentic, useful and common. For these students, their U.S. Spanish is "normal," everyday Spanish. This is in stark contrast to Belinda's perception that "correct" Spanish—her Spanish—is "normal" and common. Further, SHL learners voiced their dissatisfaction with the vocabulary words learned in class; they considered their variants to be more appropriate and better suited for their communicative needs. Despite such supportive perceptions of U.S. Spanish, some student participants indicated having dominant views about the value of not only their Spanish but also of how their family speak. In some cases, SHL learners even demonstrated to have internalized the notions of the prestige of Belinda's Colombian variety. This evidence demonstrated the tensions that arises between juxtaposing ideologies with regard to the place of U.S. Spanish within the classroom.

In response to the second part of the first research question, these data demonstrate the (in)congruency of learner-teacher expectations relating to how oral CF should be practiced. On the one hand, Belinda aimed to be clear and direct with her practice of oral CF. Given her views that oral CF is "chaotic" in nature, she worried about communicating to the learner her true intent, as well as the evaluative criteria on why they were being corrected. Belinda expressed concern for SHL learners feeling offended by oral CF. On the other hand, SHL learners expressed feeling confused by Belinda's oral

CF. In general, students reported not understanding why certain variants were corrected. This is especially true for lexical items that they use commonly within their everyday Spanish or with family. As such, students self-reported resisting Belinda's oral CF by committing to continue to use their words despite her disapproval. These findings suggest that SHL learners need explicit metalinguistic explanations as to the nature of the correction and not be left to hypothesis test (make formed-focus connections) the intent of such episodes on their own.

The second research question relates to how oral CF and language ideologies converge. Errors are constructed based on a language hierarchy that is justified and reproduced through Belinda's belief and value systems. This relationship is illustrated in how, for Belinda, "good" oral CF eradicates SHL learners' non-prestigious varieties. This is evident in how Belinda's oral CF contains comments that designate such variants as not existing or telling students that their Spanish is not "*normal*." It is also the case that, following the initial oral CF move, students were told by Belinda that they are in class to "improve" their Spanish. Without sociolinguistic knowledge or proper SHL training, Belinda relies on her subjective beliefs and values regarding SHL learners' varieties to correct variants that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, are not erroneous or hinder communication. This point is evident in episodes where SHL learners were corrected for using words like "*oiga*" because Belinda thinks this word is too "harsh" sounding in her own Colombian variety. Moreover, Belinda expressed negative perceptions regarding contact language environments and reflected this view in her oral CF. For instance, Spanglish words (e.g., "*lonche*"), Mexican words, and non-prestigious forms all received oral CF.

The third research question is related to how the instructor provides oral CF and in what context. Belinda self-reported engaging SHL learners' "incorrect" variants by illustrating the similarities and differences between prestigious and non-prestigious forms. Classroom observations confirmed that such discussions on lexical variation never took place. Belinda also claimed to respect SHL learners' varieties arguing that some Spanglish words were acceptable in some contexts but not in others. Despite her appropriateness philosophy, Belinda consistently engaged in an eradication approach to learners' supposedly "*abnormal*" language use. Such treatment of SHL learners' varieties was justified, in her mind, by the fact that appropriate classroom communication dictates the exclusion of such "vulgar" forms and attaining dominant language norms. Such dominant ideologies even extended to oral CF that was seemingly not ideologically charged. For instance, Belinda´s correction of Petra´s pronunciation mistakes may seem "neutral," but considering Belinda's perceptions of her suggests otherwise. Further supporting such a claim is the fact that Belinda's showed a bias for correcting Petra more than other students. This is important considering Petra's painful experiences as a receptive SHL learner in both familial and learning contexts.

These data also demonstrate Belinda's preference for recasts and explicit corrections within the context of focus-on-forms (FonFS). Since Belinda concentrated on teaching and reviewing grammar, her corrective feedback departed from an approach that centered on isolated linguistic structures separated from any communicative need. Her practices align to some extent to her beliefs about what constitutes "good" oral CF. While Belinda engaged in some explicit corrections, the oral CF largely comprised of recasts. Experts have noted the ambiguity of recasts for learners; thus, Belinda's practices in this

regard do not align with her desire to be direct and clear about her corrections to students. The variants that index non-prestigious Spanish (e.g., "*nadien*" and "*dijistes*") were noticeably corrected more explicitly by Belinda. Besides correcting non-prestigious variants, most of the oral CF documented pertained to the instructor's preference for targeting pronunciation above all else. A large part of the documented oral CF episodes concerning pronunciation were aimed at Petra during specific activities, whereas the other SHL learners were corrected outside of such contexts. Advanced SHL learners did not have trouble reading aloud or answering simple tense exercises; thus, their oral CF occurred mainly in a context were language was not "scripted" (e.g., oral presentation, conversations with Belinda, asking Belinda questions).

Finally, the overall context of the mixed class sustains and promotes an environment conducive to practices that reflect dominant language ideologies (e.g., oral CF). SHL learners are largely passive students in a class environment that is strictly catered to second language (L2)-learner needs. Furthermore, SHL learners were told to slowdown for the benefit of their peers. SHL learners also had to forcefully accommodate to the L2 environment by having to serve as Belinda's "secretaries" and help their peers. María even reported having received CF based on accommodating L2 learners in the classroom. These data provide substantial evidence to suggest that the mixed class environment leaves Belinda with the responsibility of having to somehow teach SHL learners without the appropriate support or materials. In an environment where micro-based instruction is foregrounded, Belinda applies the same approach to SHL learners as she teaches to the "middle" of the class. However, without clear learning objectives for SHL learners or sociolinguistic training to impart that instruction, Belinda calls upon her

preconceptions of SHL learners in order to provide ideologically charged oral CF that targets forms that are thought to service the needs of the students. The general context of the mixed course prompts Belinda to provide oral CF to SHL learners that is inconsistent, subjective, and counterproductive to the language learning process. In such a context, oral CF becomes an ideological act that expresses dominant beliefs and values about SHL learners and how they speak.

5.2.1 Study Limitations

While this study provides crucial evidence of how language ideologies mediate oral CF, there were some study limitations that must be discussed. First, the generalizability of this study is limited to eleven class observations. More oral CF episodes should be documented across various contexts and over the span of an entire semester to more effectively understand its caveats. For instance, oral CF practices should be understood in contexts where SHL training and best practices are applied. This study is specific to a language program that does not aim to meet SHL learners' needs. As such, it is vital to gain insight into how pedagogues that have counter hegemonic ideologies regarding U.S. Spanish and language diversity in general practice the "correction" of students. Furthermore, this study does not account for written corrective feedback—an important complementary practice to oral CF. Accounting for such feedback would provide further evidence of language ideologies in the classroom.

Second, this study's CDA component can implicate certain limitations in relation to the data results. As Blommaert (2005) argues, critics of CDA "focus on what they see as bias in the analyses and argue against particular tactics and methodological shortcoming" (p. 31). Principally, scholars have pointed to CDA's provision of biased

interpretations of discourse as bringing into question issues about "representativeness, selectivity, partiality, prejudice, and voice" (p. 31). As such, Blommaert (2005) notes how texts are found to have ideological meanings that are forced upon the reader, as well as how practitioners of CDA assume *a priori* the

> relevance of aspects of context: analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data, and analyze them accordingly…power relations are sketched, often based on little more that social and political common sense and then projected onto (and into) discourse. (p. 32).

Of course, this debate has, to some extent, taken root in differences between those who advocate for the attachment of Conversational Analysis to limiting the context of text analysis to the relevant elements in participants' conversation versus those who perceive such an approach to be non-ideological. Some critics have argued that Conversation Analysis "assumes participants have equal rights to talk and takes for granted that speakers share the same organization principles of talk" (Cashman, 2008, p. 289). While acknowledging the limitations of CDA, this dissertation attempts to provide enough contextual data from eleven class observations to further illustrate how dominant language ideologies are also reflected in the general classroom environment to mitigate some of the limitations of CDA. Furthermore, I reflected on my own positionality throughout my research to address the potential for bias in the analysis. This study also looked at a range of discursive devices to ensure a detailed account of language ideologies in the classroom discourse. Following Wodak and Meyer (2016), the data selection, data collection, data analysis, and interpretation presented in this study are all grounded in prior interpretations of empirical analysis. As such, I followed CDA "best

practices" via a "circular and recursive-abductive relationship between theory and discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 14).

Lastly, the goals of this study do not include quantitative evidence that measures whether such oral CF effectively eradicates the use of stigmatized variants from SHL learners' Spanish. Future research should look at how different oral CF strategies can be used in combination with one another to provide SHL learners with focused feedback that results in language gains. It is clear that not having general guidelines to providing learners with oral CF is related to the use of ideologically charged oral CF. In order to develop the necessary guidelines and "best practices" for oral CF, more empirical evidence is needed as to how SHL learners can develop their language abilities and which strategies work best for different types of students across multiple proficiency levels.

5.3.1 Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study call attention to the broader social discourses that intervene in the decision-making process relating to oral CF. Considering the evidence, researchers and pedagogues should set their sights on a critical approach to oral CF. Going beyond the individual, classroom practices should be crafted with a critical eye toward society and should therefore be contextualized within a philosophy that aims to challenge dominant discourses about U.S. Latinos. Given the goals of SHL education (Beaudrie et al., 2014), oral CF must be reconciled with wanting to respect learners' varieties, actually respecting learners' varieties, while also aiming to develop their varieties to include a prestige variety. To achieve such a feat, I propose that oral CF practices should be reimagined and embedded within a Critical Linguistic Awareness (CLA) framework. By doing this, the field of heritage language (HL) would take a step

forward to not only transforming practices used to teach but also to transforming how SHL learners interact within a broader context where dominance is (re)produced through linguistic hegemony (Beaudrie, Amezcua, & Loza, 2019; Holguín Mendoza, 2017; Leeman, 2005, 2016, 2018; Martínez, 2003; Parra, 2016, among others).

Adopting such a philosophy entails recognizing the classroom as a space where the politics of language are overtly discussed and challenged. Because CLA promotes in-class explicit discussions about the very nature of language discrimination, sociolinguistic variation, and dominant ideologies, teachers should have discussions about the purpose of oral CF. As Ellis (2009) has proposed in the context of Second Language Acquisition (SLA): "Teachers should ascertain their students' attitudes toward CF, appraise them of the value of CF, and negotiate agreed goals for CF with them. The goals are likely to vary according to the social and situational context" (p. 14). I argue that teachers, with proper training, should have overt discussions about how the notions of "correcting," "correct," and "being corrected" all have entanglements to asymmetrical relationships of power. Such relationships have negative consequences that reach beyond the individual and affect how U.S. Latino speakers are viewed by mainstream society and other Spanish speakers. Teachers should also acknowledge their authority within the classroom to decide what counts as legitimate language—what type of Spanish is correct, proper, educated, aesthetically pleasing, and so on.

I concur with Razfar (2010) in his sentiment that when teachers who are sociolinguistically untrained avoid correcting minority students, they contribute to sustaining dominant language ideologies. By the same token, choosing to correct learners without engaging in appropriate sociolinguistic discussions about language and power provides learners with a reductive view of language. Although I am not promoting the idea of correcting students on a regular basis, I argue that teachers sometimes avoid correcting students for all the wrong reasons. Within the mixed class context, teachers may simply avoid "problematic" SHL learners' varieties which renders dominant views of the Spanish spoken by Latinos unquestioned. Because L2 classrooms, such as this one, are heavily centered on form-focused instruction (FFI), SHL learners may not be included during class instruction, which only leads to student disengagement and dissatisfaction. This dissertation's findings demonstrate how Belinda, rather than avoiding SHL learner corrective feedback, attempts to accommodate her FonFS instruction to correct SHL learners without adopting differentiated instruction techniques. Teachers should not always provide oral CF in the same manner to both types of students within the same types of activities. Instead, teacher should provide oral CF to specific target forms within macro-based learning contexts, which builds upon students' global knowledge of the HL and engages such forms through discourse-level materials and tasks to analyze new concepts. However, as the results show, the oral CF provided to learners was ideologically charged, not bounded to any instructional objectives and inconsistent. Thus, future research should focus on the development of pedagogical guidelines for oral CF in both the mixed (SHL/L2) and the SHL context.

Mixed classes should practice oral CF that is focused to the needs of SHL learners by first assessing their linguistic and affective needs, their own personal language learning goals, and then identifying how macro-level activities will take learners to exploring specific micro-level linguistic issues. In addition, SHL learners should understand why they are receiving FFI. Teachers should give explicit guidance to learners on what oral CF strategies mean for the language learning process, as well as ask learners which oral CF strategies they prefer and seem to work best for them. SHL learners have unique experiences with respect to the sociopolitics of their HL and, so too, will their affective and linguistic needs vary in relation to corrective feedback. As stated before, teachers should build trust with their students by having open conversations about corrections. Often, learners and teachers take this common practice for granted because it is expected within the language classroom, which leads to its unsystematic implementation.

In SLA research, it is generally thought that focused oral CF that focuses on few predetermined errors is more effective than attempting to correct all the errors learners make (e.g., Bitchner, Young, & Cameron, 2005). As such, determining what SHL learners' needs are, while also accounting for what variants are "idiosyncratic" to learners (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 154) can prove fruitful for future SHL oral CF proposals. On this note, I argue that such proposals must also establish predetermined utterances that should and should not be used while engaging in oral CF with SHL learners. For instance, it is clear that teachers often tell students that non-prestigious forms "do not exist," "are wrong," "we are here to improve the language," and so on. Such ideologically charged metalinguistic commentary proves to be counterproductive to the learning

process, as well as serves to alienate SHL learners. Instead, proposals should aim to provide "set phrases" that reaffirm the validity of learners' home varieties. Besides negative feedback, it is important to bear in mind that future proposals should set their sights toward including positive feedback that validates SHL learners' Spanish (e.g., "good job" and "that's another correct way to say that"). Further, considering this study's evidence, SHL learners feel more comfortable when they are explicitly told why their receiving oral CF. Utilizing indirect corrective strategies prove confusing and frustrating. Therefore, SHL learners need explicit oral CF that includes clear explanations about the nature of the feedback.

Throughout this discussion, the lack of teacher training is a reoccurring issue that plays a key role in all the above-mentioned issues. This dissertation shows how Belinda's lack of awareness and knowledge about SHL learners contributes to how she treats SHL learners. Such effects of not having appropriate training are often mitigated by appropriateness philosophies. Instructors whose practices are ideologically charged may say statements like: "I explain to students that their varieties are correct in certain contexts" or "I respect students' Spanish, but we are here to learn formal Spanish." However, in many cases, teachers lack the necessary SHL and sociolinguistic training and, thus, have difficulties reconciling their own long-held ideologies, what the textbook Spanish reflects, and their belief that they respect student's speech. Instead, teachers practice eradication strategies or simply provide students with superficial linguistic information that fails to validate their multilingual varieties (e.g., Carreira, 2000).

This dissertation is a call to action for more teacher development in contexts that are often ignored by the field of HL. Heritage speakers and instructors in community college contexts deserve to also benefit from appropriate materials and instructional guidelines. Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, and Carpeter (2006) underscore the vital role of teacher development on stigmatized varieties:

> dominant pedagogical responses to stigmatized dialects are damaging and counterproductive…A substantial body of scholarship has demonstrated strong connections between teachers' negative attitudes about stigmatized dialects, lower teacher expectations for students who speak them, and thus lower academic achievement on the part of the students. (Godley et al., 2006, p. 31)

As the quote above explicates, the lack of teacher development is strongly related to promoting instruction that is a disservice to minority language students. In SHL education, teacher training that includes sociolinguistic tents pertaining to U.S. Latino populations has been identified as being crucial to servicing the U.S. Latino student population (Lacorte, 2016). This study's results illustrate a strong need to further promote appropriate training to contexts that go beyond the four-year university level. Community colleges serve a significant population of Latinos. The risk of not providing adequate instruction can result in low academic achievement. Given the state's sociopolitical past with respect to bilingual education and the general treatment of the Mexican immigrant population, providing instruction that imagines the language classroom as a political space where students can examine issues relating to Latinos in the U.S. Additionally, Spanish in the U.S. is vital to promoting and encouraging attitudes among students that sustain the learning of the use of Spanish as a heritage language.

The issues that I have discussed relating to the "correcting" of non-prestigious varieties are not by any means exclusive to the SHL context. Within English educational linguistics studies in urban settings, scholars have questioned the arbitrary correction of students' home varieties, as well as the negative treatment they endure in school (e.g., Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2014; Godley et al., 2007; Martinez, 2017). Aiming to address such a pervasive issue, Godley, Reaser and Moore (2015) discuss developing *pedagogical content knowledge* for pre-service English language arts teachers. Because content knowledge is not enough to prepare teachers to teach effectively, the researchers propose developing their knowledge "about how to explain, frame, assess, and develop the content knowledge for diverse groups of students" (Godley, et al., 2015, p. 41).

Godley et al. (2015) further note that such content knowledge should include shaping teachers' knowledge and beliefs about language variation that relates to their learning of sociolinguistics, which involves accurately explaining features of varieties and grammatical patters. In addition, such development also includes developing teachers' abilities to evaluate learners' linguistic choices: "developing students' competency in Standardized Written English; and teaching about systems of power and privilege that are maintained via language ideologies" (Godley et al., 2015, p. 42). The SHL contexts has similarly called for SHL learners' acquisition of a prestige variety within the context of CLA (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, as Godley et al. (2015) argue that, while CLA is crucial to addressing dominant language ideologies, sociolinguistic awareness (see Leeman & Serafini, 2016) is a vital foundation for the learning of tenets related to CLA.

Considering the above-mentioned issues, Godley et al. (2015) propose a mini course to achieve such teacher development. The course consisted of four modules that included themes regarding: (1) teaching about dialects in literature, (2) responding to vernacular dialects in student writing and speech, (3) leading discussions and investigations of identity and language variation, and (4) teaching about linguistic discrimination and power. The various themes relate to specific learning goals, materials/activities, and discussion questions to lead teachers toward developing CLA for teaching language. Within the SHL context, similar teacher development should be widely available for teachers to access. All of the topics highlighted by Godley et al. (2015) are relevant to the SHL context and should be modified to the U.S. Spanish context. Presently, there are no existing proposals that include CLA for teacher development in SHL; however, curriculum guidelines for implementing such an approach to teach learners offer insight to how teacher development may take shape.

Presently, Holguín Mendoza (2017) is one of the first within the SHL context to address teacher CLA development, as well as the construction of an entire SHL program based on CLA. The researcher indicates that a fundamental step in building an entire curriculum based on CLA is holding various sessions and workshops for program language instructors:

> We came to the conclusion that we needed to build a strong unit of trained teachers who were willing to participate in a continuous process of self-reflection and pedagogical revision; in other words, we realized that we needed to become critically are of our own sociolinguistic ideologies.
> (Holguín Mendoza, 2017, p. 4)

Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, and Carpenter (2006) point out that a significant barrier in preparing teachers for dialectally diverse classrooms is the difficulty in changing their values and belief systems. Because such beliefs about language remain stable over time, resistance to change and often connect to personal identity, the researchers note three ways to address such a challenge. First, Godley et al. (2006) indicate that while teachers may resist accepting the inherent validity of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and having a dialectally diverse classroom, they are still open to debate and change. Second, teachers should be asked to study their own varieties to demonstrate the naturalness of language variation. Third, teacher development can take teachers to place formal written and oral forms within the context of wider language choices that vary by audience, text, and purpose to de-center the role of the standard. Lastly, development should teach teachers about the natural variation found in any language.

Beaudrie, Amezcua, and Loza (2019) created modules similar to Godley et al. (2015) to develop SHL learners' CLA. The themes of the modules included: (1) language variation and linguistic diversity, (2) English hegemony, language ideologies, and linguistic prejudice, (3) Spanish in the U.S., bilingualism, and code-switching, and (4) language policies and language maintenance/shift. The topics in these mentioned modules include content on both ideologies and sociolinguistic tenets crucial to developing CLA among students as mentioned earlier. More importantly, the results of the study resulted in quantitative evidence that SHL learners increased significantly their CLA relating to most of the themes. Compounding these results with the qualitative evidence presented by Godley et al. (2015) demonstrate that developing CLA among

teachers and students is possible. Of course, the topics developed by Beaudrie et al. (2019) must include themes related to language teaching and assessment to effectively address such a need within the SHL context.

The need to develop critical teacher development is vital to advancing the field's mission to provide quality education that is responsive to the sociolinguistic and sociopolitical reality of minority language learners. As such, the difficulties associated with responding to SHL learners stigmatized varieties during language instruction can prove difficult given that CLA aims to transform instruction "by actively changing discourses around marginalized forms of language use" (Holguín Mendoza, 2017, p. 9). However, I argue that SHL oral CF can occur when it is contextualized in a learning environment that: (1) adopts appropriate approaches to explicit grammar instruction, (2) that provides opportunities for learners to explore their varieties and identities through projects and critical service-learning opportunities that validate who they are and how they speak (see Lowther Pereira, 2015), (3) when explicit conversations about linguistic discrimination and how to combat such injustices are held, and (4) when overt conversations about how correction can target people's racial and cultural backgrounds.

To achieve this, teacher development could begin to take shape by combining similar content found in Beaudrie et al. (2015) and in Godley et al. (2015) to provide a complete picture of CLA that would address problematic ideologies prevalent in the learning environment, as well as create a space where a practice like oral CF could be imparted in a "safe space." In this way, teachers (and learners) would have the necessary sociolinguistic and sociopolitical awareness to facilitate discussions about non-

prestigious language forms without having to rely on reductive explanations about SHL learners' varieties (e.g., appropriateness).

5.4.1 Concluding Remarks

This present dissertation has provided valuable insight into language ideologies and oral CF practice relating to SHL learners in the mixed class context. The findings aim to start a conversation among critical pedagogues regarding the need to craft instructional approaches that align with the goals of SHL education and of CLA. Additionally, more sociolinguistic research is needed within the mixed class context to gain insight as to how L2 and SHL learners can cohabitate a classroom that is fruitful for both groups of learners. As such, this study is intended to advocate for more research on language ideologies to further the field's understanding of the different ways they are embodied by instructional practices.

More broadly, I wrote this dissertation with the intention to continue the work of critical scholars who have consistently exposed the failed and prejudicial state policies that determine the "linguistic fate" of many Spanish-speaking immigrant children. The lack of appropriate and quality language education continues to proliferate on many macro and micro levels. The data in this study show how an institution can be Hispanic serving but overlook the learning of the HL. The multitude of students that walk on campus with dreams of attaining higher education deserve to build their confidence and abilities in the Spanish they have inherited from their families. I see this as being one of the most important goals for Latinos in education. Considering the extremely hurtful and damaging rhetoric and state legislation Arizona has propagated in recent memory, young

Latinos should have the right to understand the politics associated with their HL and how to resist and subvert such dominant discourses.

ENDNOTES

1. Benmamoun et al. (2013) and Ortega (2019) indicate that HL speakers may have distant or close affiliation to the HL through linguistic interaction with family members or only through family ancestry with no direct access to the speakers (e.g., Fishman, 2001; Valdés, 2005). This this aspect also includes whether HL speakers have productive bilingualism during early childhood.

2. Ortega (2019) notes that immigration includes when HL speakers arrive to the US (generation), as well as their indigeneity and history of colonialism also serve as definitional factors (Benmamoun et al., 2013; Fishman, 2001).

3. This factor points to the existing majority and minority relationship between the HL and the dominant language (Benmamoun et al., 2013; Fishman, 2001).

4. This factor refers to how HL speakers may have exposure to more than two languages because of their indigenous or colonial histories.

5. HL speakers who acquire the HL and the majority language at the same time are considered simultaneous. Those speakers that are first exposed to their HL and later are exposed to the majority language during schooling considered sequential bilinguals (Beaudrie et al. 2014).

6. Ortega (2019) states that this dimension can include HL speaker "Eventual proficiency or ultimate attainment in adulthood is nonnative-like…any variable degree of minority- language proficiency as begin and/or end point of development is possible and expected" (p.3).

7. This factor refers access to the formal education in the HL which may result in low literacy in the HL (Ortega, 2019).

8. Rumsey's (1990) definition of language ideologies demonstrates a homogeneous understanding of the phenomenon within a cultural group by defining language ideologies as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world," and fails to problematize the social variation that exists among speakers, communities and groups etc.

9. Recursivisty or sometimes called fractal recursivity is "the tendency of ideological features that differentiate among social groups or establish social hierarchies to be deployed at multiple levels or scales…the same features that distinguish between one group and another can also be used to discriminate within groups and subgroups recursively" (Leeman, 2012, p. 47). In other words, recursivity is "…the way, for example, each bud of cauliflower mirrors the shape of the entire head of a cauliflower…that a phenomenon at one scale might be projected onto another level" (O'Connor, 2016, p.131).

10. Erasure is the process by which practices are “ignored” or rendered “invisible” if they contradict hegemonic language ideologies (Fuller, 2013, p. 8). As already stated previously, the monolingual ideology prevalent in the U.S. that imposes an over-arching idea that the default linguistic condition in the country is of only one language. In order to uphold this domineering language ideology, multilingualism is attached to notions of belonging to a poor immigrant community which Fuller indicates as being thought as being separate from “mainstream” America: “In order for this ideology to stand, several sociolinguistic realities must undergo erasure. Middle class multilinguals, the success of bilingual education programs, and the existence of many multilingual nations must be ignored or refuted— or, at the minimum, portrayed as exceptions to the rule” (Fuller, 2013, p. 9).

11. Yang (2017) defines the ‘flipped classroom’ as referring to “flipping the direct teacher instruction to online lessons and then having group activities in face-to-face classes (p. 2).

12. Choosing to incorporate another person’s voice can the take the shape of reported speech which can be both from the perspective of the reported voice or of the reporting voice (Johnstone, 2018, p. 61). In this case, Belinda is taking the perspective of reported voice and directly quotes what was said in class by SHL learners, as well as quotes their language variants in question.

13. Global errors are considered to be errors “that affect overall sentence organization…wrong word order, missing or wrongly placed sentence connectors, and syntactic overgeneralization.” Local errors are errors that pertain to single elements in a sentence such as morphology or grammatical elements (Ellis, 2009, p.6).

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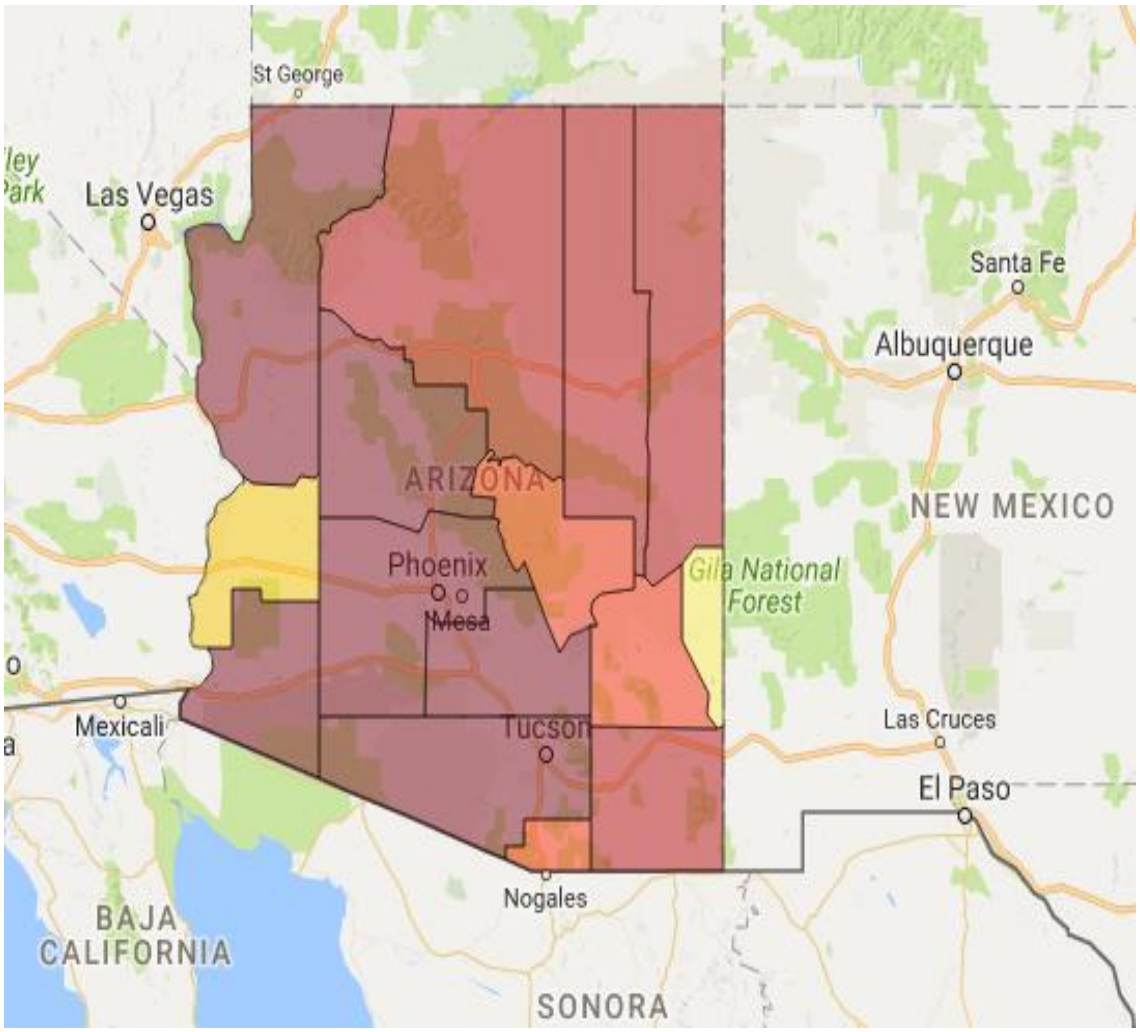
APPENDIX A

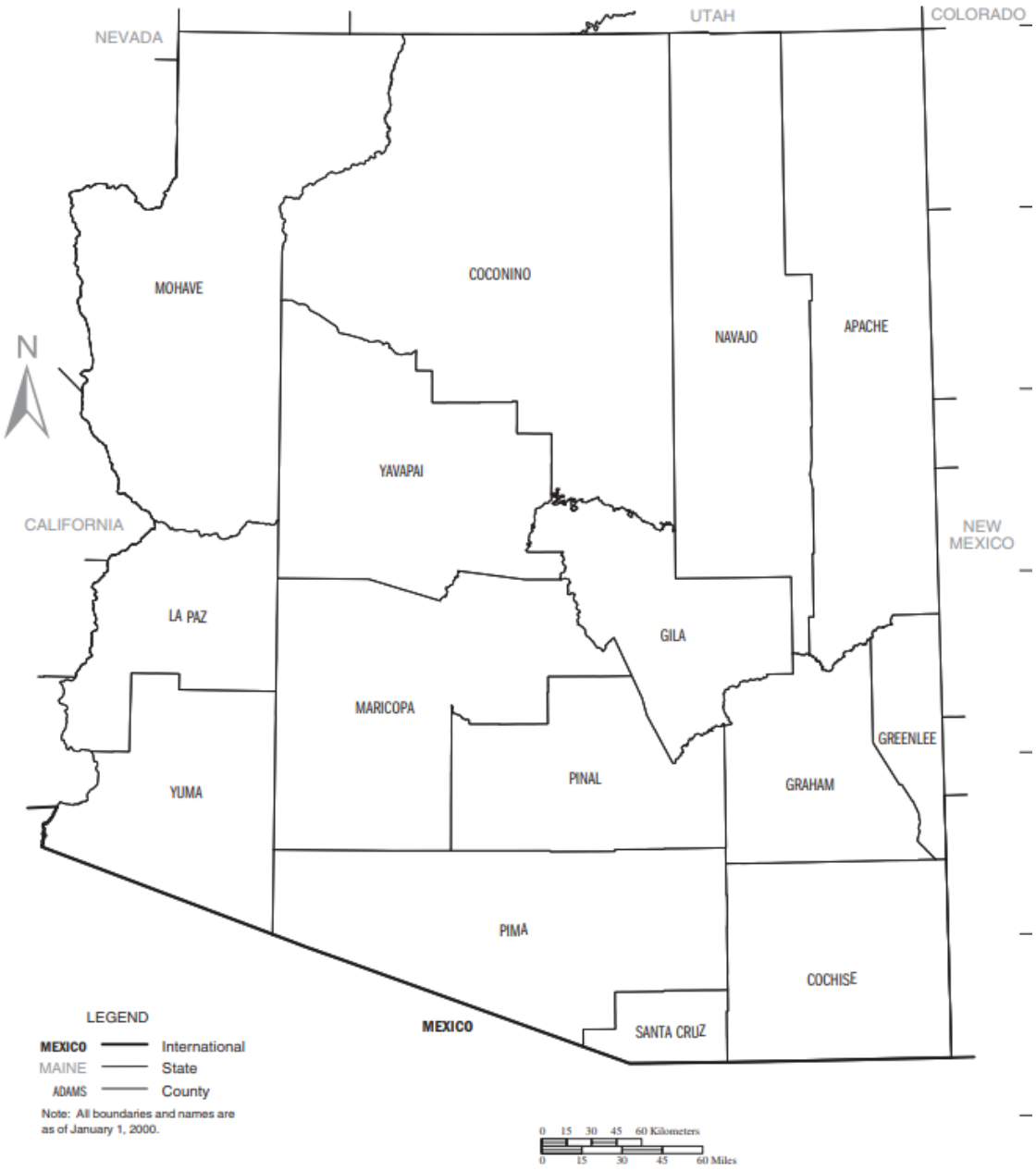
ARIZONA COUNTIES BY POPULATION DENSITY



Taken from U.S. Census Bureau website. Darker shaded areas of the map indicate a greater population density than the lighter areas.

APPENDIX B

ARIZONA COUNTIES NAMED



Taken from U.S. Census Bureau website.

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Title: ***Language background questionnaire for heritage speakers of Spanish***
Author: Julio Torres
Date: 2012
http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/data/questionnaires.asp

IRB # ASU: STUDY00007698

MCCB: 2018-02-609

Name _____ Sex: M F Gender unspecified (Circle one)

AGE: _____ Number of years living in the United States _____

Answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

1. At what age did you begin learning Spanish? (for example: from birth or age 5)

2. At what age did you begin learning English? (for example: from birth or age 5)

3. Did you start school in the United States? Circle one: **YES NO**

4. Have you studied in a Spanish-speaking country? (e.g., Puerto Rico, Mexico)
Circle one: **YES NO**

*If you answer **YES**….*

What country? _____ From age _____ to age _____

5. Have you studied in a bilingual education, immersion or dual language program (a school where you learned Spanish and English at the same time)?? Circle one: **YES NO**

*If you answered **YES**….* Which grades? _____

6. Do you study Spanish in school now? Circle one: **YES NO**

Have you studied Spanish in the past? Circle one: **YES NO**

*If you answer **YES,*** please write how many academic years you have been studying Spanish: __

7. If you study Spanish, write briefly your main reason for studying Spanish.

8. Do you identify as Latino/a? Circle on: **YES NO**

Other? _____

9. What generation are you in the United States (1st, 2nd, 3rd)? _____

If applicable, list you and your family's Latino heritage or country of origin _____

10. Do you travel to your family's home country? **YES NO**
*If **YES,*** how often: _____
For how long? _____

11. Mark an **X** for the language(s) you used most in the following periods of your life:

AGE	**SPANISH**	**ENGLISH**	**BOTH SPANISH & ENGLISH**	**OTHER LANGUAGES**
0-5 yrs. old				
6-12 yrs. old				
13-18 yrs. old				
18+ yrs. old				

12. Rate your proficiency in Spanish and English (speaking, reading, writing, listening) according to the following scale (write the number next to each skill):

6 = NATIVE FLUENCY **3 = INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY**

5 = NEAR (ALMOST) NATIVE FLUENCY **2 = BASIC FLUENCY**

4 = ADVANCED FLUENCY **1 = BEGINNING FLUENCY**

SPANISH	ENGLISH
Speaking	Speaking
Reading	Reading
Writing	Writing
Listening	Listening

13. Read the following statements about Spanish and **CIRCLE** to indicate your response.

a. *Knowing Spanish is an important part of who I am.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

b. *Knowing Spanish is useful.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

c. *Knowing Spanish made school more enjoyable.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

d. *Knowing Spanish has helped me make friends.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

e. *Knowing Spanish is a valuable skill.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

f. *Knowing Spanish is a necessary skill.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

g. *Knowing Spanish at times is embarrassing.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

h. *Knowing Spanish has been a barrier to learning English.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

i. *Knowing Spanish has made school more challenging.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

j. *Knowing Spanish has made school less enjoyable.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

k. *Knowing Spanish had made it difficult to make friends.*

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

II.

Please answer the following questions about your daily language use. Circle each answer.

For English:

1. *I speak English with my parents or caretakers……*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

2. *I speak English with my brothers and sisters…….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

3. I *speak English with my relatives (cousins, uncles, grandparents)….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

4. *I speak English with my friends at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

5. *I speak English with my friends in my neighborhood….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

6. *I speak English with my teachers….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

7. *I speak English to the school staff….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

8. *I speak in English in my community (grocery stores, mall, supermarket, church, community center)….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

9. *I write in English at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

10. *I write in English (notes, e-mails, text messages, chat) at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

11. *I write in English at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

12. *I read in English at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

13. *I read in English at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

14. *I read in English at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

15. *I listen to English at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

16. *I listen to English at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

17. *I listen to English at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

18. *I watch T.V. in English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

19. *I listen to music in English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

20. *I watch movies in English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

For Spanish:

1. *I speak Spanish with my parents or caretakers……*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

2. *I speak Spanish with my brothers and sisters…….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

3. *I speak Spanish with my relatives (cousins, uncles, grandparents)….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

4. *I speak Spanish with my friends at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

5. *I speak Spanish with my friends in my neighborhood….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

6. *I speak Spanish with my teachers….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

7. *I speak Spanish to the school staff….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

8. *I speak in English in my community (grocery stores, mall, supermarket, church, community center)….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

9. *I write in Spanish at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

10. *I write in Spanish (notes, e-mails, text messages, chat) at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

11. *I write in Spanish at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

12. *I read in Spanish at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

13. *I read in Spanish at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

14. *I read in Spanish at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

15. *I listen to Spanish at school….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

16. *I listen to Spanish at home….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

17. *I listen to Spanish at work….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

18. *I watch T.V. in Spanish….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

19. *I listen to music in Spanish….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

20. *I watch movies in Spanish….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

21. *When I speak to my parents/caretakers, I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

22. *When I speak to my siblings, I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

23. *When I speak to my friends/peers, I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

24. *When I speak to my teachers, I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

25. *When I speak to members in the community (stores, supermarket, church), I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

26. *When I speak to the staff at school, I switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

27. *I feel more comfortable speaking with people who can switch between Spanish and English….*

ALWAYS FREQUENTLY SOMETIMES RARELY NEVER DOESN'T APPLY

APPENDIX D

STUDENT PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Table 19. Background Information for Belinda's SPA 101 Course SHL Participants

Participant	First Language	Years of Formal Education in Spanish	Place of Birth	Parents' Immigration to U.S.	Grandparents' Immigration to U.S.	Generation	Contact with Country of Origin	Linguistic Profile: BLP
María	Spanish	14	U.S./CA	Yes	No	2nd	No	31.32
Reina	Spanish	2 in High School	U.S./AZ	Yes	No	2nd	Yes	5.448
Maira	Spanish	2 in High School	U.S./AZ	Yes	No	2nd	Yes	-2.724
Petra	English	3 in High School	U.S./AZ	No	Yes	3rd	Yes	85.824

APPENDIX E

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1. How did you become a Spanish teacher?
2. What do you consider are the key points of your teaching style (teaching philosophy, but this term is too formal and may deter participants)?
3. In your experience what are the main educational/language? needs of heritage speakers?
4. What are the specific challenges you experienced in teaching heritage speakers?
    a. In general, how do you respond to these challenges?
5. In your opinion, what are some of the difficulties that heritage students have in relation to their use of Spanish?
6. What do you consider are your heritage students' strengths?
7. What are typical examples of errors that students make when they speak?
8. What are primary objectives in developing your HL students' Spanish?
9. What type of Spanish do you teach in the classroom?
10. What do you teach your students about language variation of Spanish? What do you teach about registers? Do you think that there is a difference between a formal register and Standard Spanish?
11. With respect to your students' speaking abilities, what are your teaching goals?
    a. Does this vary depending on the activity or assignment?
12. How do you define an oral error specific to a heritage speaker? Shouldn't this question be earlier
13. What do you consider corrective feedback to be?
    a. What about quality feedback? Bad feedback?
14. What do you consider to be "good" or the most useful corrective feedback for heritage students?
    a. Do you consider oral feedback necessary? Why/why not?
15. How do you provide feedback?
16. Do you promote the academic standard? Why?
17. How do you correct your students when they speak?
    a. How, can you provide example or situations?
    b. What things do you choose to correct and what do you not correct? Why?
18. What contexts are appropriate to correct students' orally?
    a. Are there contexts where it would not be appropriate? Why?
19. What do you expect from your students' oral production in the class?
    a. Does this change depend the activity in class or assignment? How?
20. What variety do you think heritage students should use in your class?
    a. How do you reconcile this learning of the standard with their home varieties?
    b. Do you employ any strategies to make your students feel comfortable about being corrected?
    c. What do you think your students expect?
    d. Has this expectation been made clear? If so how?
21. How do you define the standard or academic Spanish?

22. What is or should be the role of U.S. bilingual Spanish in the classroom?
    a. Is this role different from academic Spanish?
23. What is or should be the role of English in the classroom?
24. What is or should be the role of academic Spanish in the classroom?
25. In your classroom, what type(s) of Spanish do you hope that your students utilize? What about in activities such as in blogs, essays and presentations?
26. What aspects of Spanish from your students do you think should be changed based on your class and which should remain the same?

APPENDIX F

CODING SCHEMA

Coding Tree for classroom oral CF practices and interview/classroom discourse

Language ideologies/Language practices/Oral CF
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Recasts
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Explicit Correction
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Elicitation
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Clarification Requests
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Metalinguistic Feedback
Language Ideologies/Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/Repetition

Subcategory SHL oral CF

Language Ideologies/Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/Oral CF/SHL
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/SHL Lexical
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/SHL Pronunciation
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/SHL Structure
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/SHL Agreement
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/SHL Tense

Subcategory L2 oral CF

Language Ideologies/Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/Oral CF/L2
Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/L2 Lexical
Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/L2 Pronunciation
Language Practices/ Teacher Oral CF/L2 Structure
Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/L2 Agreement
Language Practices/Teacher Oral CF/L2 Tense

Language Ideologies/Explicit/Discourse
Language Ideologies/Explicit/Correct Spanish
Language Ideologies/Explicit/Language Diversity
Language Ideologies/Explicit/Bilingualism
Language Ideologies/Explicit/U.S. Spanish
Language Ideologies/Explicit/Non-Standard Varieties
Language Ideologies/Explicit/Culture
Language Ideologies/Explicit/SHL Learners

APPENDIX G

IRB APPROVAL

Maricopa County Community College District
2411 West 14th Street
Tempe AZ, 85281
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DATE:	March 02, 2018
TO:	Loza, Sergio, Foreign Languages & Literature
	Beaudrie, Sara, Foreign Languages & Literature
FROM:	MCCCD Institutional Review Board
PROTOCOL TITLE:	Investigating language ideologies in practice: an analysis of oral corrective feedback in the context of Spanish heritage language learners
FUNDING SOURCE:	NONE
PROTOCOL NUMBER:	2018-02-609
FORM TYPE:	NEW
REVIEW TYPE:	EXEMPT

Dear Principal Investigator,

The MCCCD IRB reviewed your protocol and determined the activities outlined do constitute human subjects research according to the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 45, Part 46.

The determination given to your protocol is shown above under Review Type.

You may initiate your project.

If your protocol has been ruled as *exempt*, it is not necessary to return for an annual review. If you decide to make any changes to your project design which might result in the loss of your exempt status, you must seek IRB approval prior to continuing by submitting a modification form.
If your protocol has been determined to be *expedited or full board review*, you must submit a continuing review form prior to the expiration date shown above. If you make any changes to your project design, please submit a modification form prior to continuing.

We appreciate your cooperation in complying with the federal guidelines that protect human research subjects. We wish you success in your project.

Cordially,
MCCCD IRB