Learning with an Attitude?!: Heritage and L2 Students' Language Attitudes Toward Spanish Language Varieties in the Advanced Mixed Class

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study aims to gain deeper insights into language attitudes in the educational context while contributing to the emerging field of advanced mixed, second language and heritage language (HL) courses. Considering that the majority of heritage language learners (HLLs) and second language learners (L2s) in the United States (US) are enrolled in mixed classrooms (Beaudrie, 2012; Carreira, 2016a, 2016b), the study of language attitudes regarding monolingual varieties, bilingual varieties, and L2 varieties is crucial to inform pedagogical best practices that serve both types of learners. Additionally, by analyzing the language attitudes of both types of students toward these three Spanish language varieties, this study demonstrates the importance of incorporating linguistic variation into the classroom to address the linguistic hierarchies that exist in such a context. Thus, the results are relevant to the fields of sociolinguistics, L2 and HL pedagogy.

The study employs matched-guise tasks at two points during the semester, as well as end-term semi-structured interviews. As different linguistic components of a language trigger different attitudes, the findings show that native-like phonetic and phonological features of Spanish speakers afford positive attitudes, as do a formal lexicon and academic register. However, morphosyntactic features do not have any effect on forming an individual's language attitudes.

To illustrate, the results of the matched-guise tasks show that native and HL varieties were generally evaluated positively, while L2 varieties were evaluated negatively. Interviews revealed native-like accent and pronunciation as the detrimental cause of negative attitudes toward the L2 variety. In contrast to the phonetic/phonological evaluations made by participants, both HLLs and L2s did agree that L2s speak a "proper" and "professional" Spanish. Furthermore, heritage Spanish

was described as the “least formal” and “incorrect” Spanish variety in comparison to the L2 variety due to dominant stereotypes and ideologies and the incorporation of lexical characteristics of US Spanish.

Based on these findings, this study has the potential to make an invaluable contribution to understanding how language attitudes and instructional practices in the classroom context intersect with a social justice movement to improve mixed courses in a social, critical, and conscious way.

DEDICATION

Maminko, děkuji za lásku, trpělivost, podporu a za možnost spokojeně vyrůstat. Děkuji za příležitost studovat, snít a žít si své sny, dělat chyby a hledat v nich ponaučení.
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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

The United States and Spanish Language Education

Currently with the United States (U.S.) being the world's second largest Spanish-speaking country (Instituto Cervantes, 2016) it is no surprise that the Spanish language is being used in all contexts of daily life (Lopez & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013). The U.S. Census Bureau (2016) reports that 17.8% of the nation's total population defines itself as Hispanic/Latino (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In particular, the Southwestern microregion, consisting of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas, have a population of Hispanics/Latinos that have exceeded 1 million, making them the largest ethnic or racial minority in the country. With immigration being a great catalyst for Hispanic growth, especially with the proximity to Mexico, it is reported that 63.2% of Hispanics/Latinos in the US are of Mexican origin. Although the proximity of the Mexican border to the Southwest US spurs this immigration, the demographic distributions of Hispanic/Latinos from other Spanish-speaking countries include 3.8% from El Salvador, 3.9% from Cuba, and 2.5% from Guatemala (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

Nevertheless, immigration is not the sole catalyst for such a growth. To illustrate, it has been reported that births have now overtaken immigration as the main promoter of Hispanic/Latino growth in the U.S. (Motel & Patten, 2013), where 57.5% of Hispanic/Latino married-couple households have children younger than 18 in the household, compared to 39.5% of all married-couple households in the U.S. With such a strong presence of Hispanics/Latinos in the U.S., it is no surprise that there is a stronger presence of the Spanish language. As children are born to Hispanic/Latino parents, these generations will grow up hearing, listening, and perhaps speaking the language(s) that

they hear in the household – a Spanish speaking microcosm in a dominant English-speaking society (Sánchez-Muñoz & Amezcua, 2019). In 2016, 40 million US residents over the age of 5 spoke Spanish in the household, constituting 13.3% of all US residents aged 5 and older (U.S. Census Bureau. 2017).

With regard to individuals identifying as Hispanic/Latino descent aged five and older, 72.4% reported speaking Spanish in the home. Considering these statistics, it might be the case that these children will not only learn Spanish in the home but will also continue to speak and develop their linguistic skills as they age. On the contrary, it is possible that there will be a language shift to the dominant language of the country (Martínez, 2006), and due to the effects of cyclical bilingualism, a newfound interest to learn and maintain Spanish might become the norm. As these Spanish speakers will want to preserve their language and culture, the possibility that they will enter into the classroom at an educational institution is highly likely (Kagan & Dillon, 2018).

While institutions may offer a wide range of Spanish courses, classes designated for each individual learner type may not always be a reality. While many foreign language departments include native speakers in their language courses (Kagan & Dillon, 2018), it is becoming clear that these "native" speakers are not in fact native, but "1.5 or second-generation speakers" (Kagan & Dillon, 2018, p. 485). Classes designated specifically for these heritage language learners (HLLs) who learned the language in a home or community context did not begin to evolve until the 21st century as a possible response to these ever-changing demographic factors (Potowski, 2002; Beaudrie, 2012). Courses designated for second language learners (L2s), who tend to have no prior knowledge of the foreign language until they enter into a classroom and learn it with a textbook, have become a staple in both two-year and four-year institutions (Furman et. al. 2015, p. 2). Notwithstanding, Beaudrie (2012) identifies that in the U.S., there were

only 169 established Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) courses offering at least one level of study for HLLs, whereas 60% of universities nationwide did not offer any separate classes dedicated to these learners.[1]

Based upon Beaudrie's (2012) findings, the reality is that the classes offered will not expand the language skills of the HLLs when they join L2 students in the same classroom. As such, it is of paramount importance to determine how to serve these two populations of language learners with respect to language teaching and how to positively acknowledge their individual language abilities. HLLs require a curriculum that is different from the typical curriculum found in L2 courses. One common and important difference between two learners is the type of language variety that they know. Many HLLs acquire a non-prestigious variety of their heritage language (HL) from learning it in a naturalistic setting. Additionally, through constant contact with the dominant language of the country, they tend to incorporate lexical characteristics, such as anglicisms and calcs, and partake in linguistic process of simplification and transfer (Montrul, 2013).

With this in mind, Fairclough (2005) argues for the validation of the home dialect (see Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski., 2014; Ducar, 2008) before teaching a second, academic variant. By validating the home/community dialect, it will give HLLs not only a valuable connection to their ethnolinguistic identity and their culture, but also choices regarding their language use. Given that a goal of HL education is developing a prestigious variety, these connections between the two dialects will serve students by allowing them to see that "the standard variety has prestige for economic and political

[1] It is plausible that the statistics found by Beaudrie (2012) have changed. To the best of my knowledge, there is not study that has undertaken the task of inquiring about the status of SHL program in 2020.

reasons, not due to intrinsic worth or linguistic superiority" (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 65). On the same token, another important goal of HL pedagogy is fostering the development of positive attitudes toward the HL and other varieties, hence the importance for constant validation of the language variety they bring to class. For L2 students, there are generally no set goals established around learning or becoming aware of diverse varieties of the language, unless perhaps they are enrolled in advanced, content courses.

In essence, the main issue of what language variety is appropriate becomes evident once the L2s and HLLs enroll in the same course. Each of these learners vary in their linguistic abilities and are familiar with a different Spanish language variety. When they become intertwined in the same learning context, such differences will prompt an abundance of attitudes and beliefs regarding the linguistic abilities of the learners. As previously mentioned, HLLs receive exposure to the language in the household and the community, while L2s usually gain exposure from being enrolled in a language course. As such, the language variety they would have been exposed to will be drastically different since the Spanish language situation present in the United States and the learning of a language in various settings can affect how language is portrayed. It is for this reason that the incorporation of linguistic variation into the classroom has been a pressing issue that has yielded a hierarchical dissonance as to what variety should be taught and what variety should be ignored.

Justification of Study and Research Questions

Recognizing that individuals learn to speak a language in different contexts and have differing skills in the language, the overall aims of this dissertation research are to apply sociolinguistic principles to a newly evident pedagogical problem. While the field of SHL pedagogy has significantly advanced in the last three decades, there is a scarcity of empirical knowledge regarding the incorporation of sociolinguistic principles and

pedagogical practices in mixed courses consisting of both L2s and HLLs. Considering that the majority of HLLs in the U.S. are enrolled in mixed classrooms with their L2 peers, the study of language attitudes between bilingual Spanish varieties and second language learner varieties is crucial to informing pedagogical best practices that serve both types of learners.

For instance, teachers in L2 learning contexts do not typically work from a sociolinguistically informed approach, but rather teach what is considered standard or "grammar-book language" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2014, p. 20). In doing so, students are not presented with opportunities to learn common regional variations of the language of study (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006). Additionally, most textbooks do not incorporate any evidence of language variation, but rather present Spanish as a monolithic construct (Padilla & Vana, 2019). On the other hand, important goals of HL pedagogy include the development of a prestigious variety and expanding the bilingual range (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Along these lines, diverse linguistic varieties are generally validated (Ducar, 2008; Leeman & Serafini, 2016), including the home dialect of the HLLs (Fairclough, 2016). Socio-affective dimensions are also lowered in these courses and HLLs are validated for the knowledge that they bring to the course while simultaneously expanding their bilingual ranges. Such different approaches prompt a line of inquiry regarding how to grapple with language varieties when these two types of learners converge. How does one view linguistic varieties when many may be utilized in the mixed classroom? At an advanced level where both types of students intertwined in the same class, do the L2s and the HLLs hold negative attitudes toward the Spanish spoken by the other speakers? Or do all students in the class validate all varieties and not hold negative attitudes toward said varieties?

Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias (2017) agree that particular linguistic uses and varieties are common to particular groups and do not always make up the speech of another group. For example, in an advanced grammar class I taught, an HLL was speaking to the class about his family and used the word *relativos* to mean *relatives.* Abruptly, an L2 shouted *parientes* means *relatives*, and *relativos* are a type of pronoun. This anecdote emphasizes how one word can fit the linguistic repertoire of one type of speaker but fails to be meaningful to another speaker. By analyzing the language attitudes of both types of students toward non-standard Spanish language varieties, the aim is to uncover the language attitudes of HLLs and L2s. The intention is to understand what these attitudes are and how to address them, such as with a sociolinguistically informed approach. The following research questions guided this dissertation study:

1. What are HLLs' and L2 learners' attitudes towards the spoken Spanish varieties found in their communities (HL, L2, native monolingual) when they begin and end:
    a. an advanced mixed language course?
    b. an advanced L2 course?
    c. an advanced HL course?
2. Is there any evidence of language attitude change in the students enrolled in the advanced mixed class?
3. Why do the HL and L2 learners hold such language attitudes?
    a. Do the pedagogies implemented in the L2 and HL courses have some effect on the student' attitudes when they are enrolled in the advanced mixed course?

This dissertation, a matched-guise study, intends to uncover the underlying language attitudes of both L2s and HLLs enrolled in the advanced mixed classroom toward specific local spoken linguistic varieties of Spanish. By employing a matched-guise task at both the beginning and end of the semester, it will be understood what language attitudes HLLs andL2s hold toward different Spanish varieties. In addition, the pre and post tasks will uncover whether or not the advanced mixed course has the potential to change language attitudes. In addition, this matched-guise study

investigates two homogeneous courses apart from the advanced mixed course in order to assess the attitudes held by students in the same learner type course and the how these students in these courses sustain language attitudes when the populations of learners are homogeneous. By including two advanced homogeneous courses, I intend to understand how the language attitudes held in these courses affect the students' attitudes once they enroll in the advanced mixed course and demonstrate if their enrollment in the homogeneous courses can combat negative attitudes. The purpose is to demonstrate what needs to be done in order to instill an appreciation of all language varieties' in all students, including those in the mixed classes where distinct language learning tracks are not plausible. The curriculum of the L2 courses at this university is constructed around the ACTFL proficiency guidelines while the HL course is designed around a sociolinguistically informed curriculum that challenges dominant language ideologies and negative attitudes towards spoken Spanish.

I intend to shed light onto the potential effects the advanced mixed classes have on combating attitudes of learners toward the varieties of the Spanish language present in this context. This study aims to show if changes to these attitudes become a reality after a semester of study where speakers of other varieties are actively enrolled, as no particular learning pedagogy is utilized to promote such a change.

Organization of the Chapter

The two sections above have presented a general overview of the state of the field of Spanish language learning in the U.S. Additionally, the justification and research questions that guide this study were introduced. To provide further contextualization, the section that follows will describe the pertinent constructs and terms, including information about each language learner and their main differences, as well as information on the mixed class and how they differ from other courses. The section to

follow will focus on operationalizing the main construct pertinent to this study: language attitudes. The remainder of the chapter will focus on the sociopolitical situation of Arizona and key sociolinguistic principles of language variation, including the description of the three language variations under study. To conclude, an overview of this dissertation will be offered.

Spanish Language Learners and Speakers

Profile of Heritage Language Learners

According to Tucker (1999), there are significantly more bilingual or multilingual people in the world than monolinguals. When entering secondary school or higher-level education, these bilinguals, multilinguals, or monolinguals typical encounter the possibility to study a foreign language. In the case of the bilinguals and multilinguals, many of these individuals speak a language other than English in their home (Beaudrie, et al., 2014). These students who choose to formally study the non-English language spoke in their home do not fit precisely into the category of a L2 and, as such, are classified as HLLs. According to Valdés (2000), an HLL is an individual who "is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken. The student may speak or merely understand the heritage language and be, to some degree, bilingual in English and the heritage language" (p.1). However, this narrow definition excludes those who have strong connections to the language. Therefore, a broader definition coined by Fishman (2001) posits that HLLs are individuals who have been raised with strong cultural connections to the target language, usually through family interaction, but who may not in fact speak or understand the language. Students who fit under the broad definition have come to be called learners with *heritage motivation* (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003).

What these definitions have in common is that the speakers in question have spent part of their prime language-learning years immersed in a naturalistic setting

learning the HL, although engrossed in an English-speaking environment where the HL is not dominant (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Even if they share this one facet of learning, HLLs are a heterogeneous group that vary along many dimensions. As Beaudrie et al. (2014) mention:

> Heritage learners are a very heterogeneous group and are different from traditional L2 learners [...] whether HL students are mixed into L2 courses or enrolled in separate courses for heritage learners, educators need to accommodate instructional materials and methodologies in order to address their needs appropriately. (p. 7)

HLLs have five dimensions of learner diversity that play an important role in their linguistic proficiency and motivation: historic, linguistic, educational, affective, and cultural (Beaudrie et al., 2014).

Historical dimension. The historical dimension refers to the language category and generation in the proficiency and motivation of the HLLs (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Language category refers to the type of language the HLL speaks. As Fishman (2001) explains, there are (i) colonial languages, (ii) indigenous languages, and (iii) immigrant languages. For the purpose of this dissertation, immigrant languages are those languages spoken by the people who immigrated to the US. HLLs grow up hearing and possibly speaking immigrant languages. With respect to immigrant languages and immigration, as studied in sociolinguistics, generational differences present patterns in understanding the proficiency of these speakers and their acquisition of the HL (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Lynch, 1999; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). The first generation are those speakers who immigrated from a Spanish speaking country after the critical period in which their language structures were firmly acquired (Silva-Corvalán, 1994). These speakers will most likely remain monolingual in the dominant language of their country and are in the process of acquiring the principal language of the new country (Valdés, 2014).

The second and third generation speakers, on the other hand, present different traits in terms of their speech. Second generation speakers are defined as (i) the children of the first generation or (ii) those who immigrated before the age of five (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Osorio, 2010; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). These speakers are considered bilingual in Spanish and English, but show higher proficiencies in English due to dominant social and educational factors (Valdés, 2014). Third generation speakers were born in the U.S. and have at least one parent who was also born in the U.S. or who immigrated before the age of six (Silva-Corvalán, 1994. These individuals are generally characterized by identifying with Spanish (Otheguy, 2008), although they do not always use nor dominate the language (Beaudrie et al., 2014). By the fourth generation, most people of immigrant background will become monolingual English speakers and retain only some competency in the HL (Valdés, 2014).

Linguistic dimension. As Beaudrie et al. (2014) explain, there are three patterns evident in HLLs: (i) bilingual first language acquisition, (ii) early second language acquisition, and (iii) late second language acquisition. The difference between these three patterns are the age at which the speakers become bilingual.

Bilingual first language acquisition occurs when the individual learns two first languages simultaneously by being spoken to in both languages from birth (De Houwer, 2009). Early second language acquisition occurs when the speaker learns their second language between one and four years of age. An example of this includes a heritage speaker who was monolingual in the HL and then began acquiring English in day care (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 22). Finally, late second language acquisition occurs when the speaker learns the language after the age of four, which usually happens with second-generation speakers (Beaudrie et al., 2014). For example, the second generation may

hear and speak the HL until they tart to attend school in the dominant language, thus acquiring English and slowly losing the HL.

Educational dimension. There are three important educational variables for assessing HLL profiles: (i) overall formal education, (ii) home literacy practices, and (iii) formal education in the HL (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 24). Some HLLs may have had opportunities to study their HL in their country before moving to a different one. Beaudrie et al. (2014) note that these HLLs have proven to generally have stronger oral and literacy skills. Furthermore, home literacy skills, such as reading, have a profound impact on a student's needs in the classroom (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Some HLLs may also have access to learning their HL in dual immersion schools or HL programs at the elementary level. It cannot be assumed that since some HLLs can speak and understand the HL that they are advanced and capable of using the HL without hesitation or doubt.

Affective dimension. HLLs have unique motivations to study their HL, the most important being identity construction (O'Rourke & Zhou, 2016). Their motivations are contingent on the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language (He, 2006; O'Rourke & Zhou, 2016). However, studies have demonstrated that HLLs tend to shift from their HL due to ideologies and prejudice from the dominant culture that distress their affective needs and desires for continuing to study the language (Leeman, 2005; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). By validating the HLLs abilities with the language through critically based pedagogies, the HLLs socio-affective needs and their speaking abilities will benefit as their needs are all harnessed in these educational contexts.

Cultural dimension. HLLs' cultural knowledge may range from very limited to extensive (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Extensive cultural knowledge and linguistic competency in HLLs can be seen in those students who have visited their ancestral home

(Beaudrie et al., 2014; Shively, 2016). Having said this, it cannot be assumed that each HLL possesses extensive knowledge in relation to culture even if they are in constant contact with the heritage culture in the home or community setting (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Emphasis should be put on these students as cultural experts of their own culture, but also as learners of other heritage speaker cultures. They should be allowed to share their experiences while also becoming familiar with the cultural knowledge of the various students in their class (Aparicio, 1997). They should be given opportunities to share their knowledge regarding a specific topic, but never should they be exploited for cultural information

These dimensions, along with the skills developed in the home or community afford some HLLs competencies that some L2s might not possess, including those related to natural communication and increased cultural information. Additionally, Parodi (2008) and Pascual y Cabo and Rothman (2012) state that some HLLs have strong aural and oral competencies, while their writing, academic, and/or grammar skills can be developed through their enrollment in HL courses.

Profile of Native Speakers

The extensiveness of language skills and personal experiences embodied by the HLLs makes it difficult to distinguish these speakers from native speakers (Edstrom, 2007; Zyzik, 2016). To highlight, HLLs identify themselves as native speakers of the language. This was corroborated in a study by Edstrom (2007) in which she found that some of her participants defined themselves as native speakers in terms of demographics, but as HLLs in relation to academic skills. This exemplifies how there is a sense of dual identity between labeling oneself as native or heritage that needs to be treaded lightly in the classroom. Rothman & Treffers-Daller (2014) assert that "competence outcomes in no way circumvent the facts related to qualifying HS [heritage

speaker] bilinguals as native speakers of the language spoken in their home" (p. 94). The prevailing issue is that *nativeness* is perceived to correlate with dominance and proficiency (Silva-Corvalán & Treffers-Daller, 2016; Zyzik, 2016) in the particular language, and as Rothman & Treffers-Daller (2014) highlight, HLLs tend to be more dominant in the majority language of their community. However, issues of proficiency are controversial as L2s can surpass HLLs on "standardized measure of proficiency" alluding to the fact that proficiency is poor indicator of membership to a particular group (Zyzik, 2016, p. 20). The myriad of definitions and debates regarding the native speaker and HLL cause for difficulty in differentiating these two individual speaker types. For this reason, it is necessary to highlight how generally the native speaker of a language is defined. Davies (1991, 2003, 2004) presents six definitions of a native speaker:

> "1) the native speaker acquires the L1 in childhood, 2) the native speaker has intuitions about his idiolectal grammar, 3) the native speaker has intuitions about features of the standard language grammar which are different from the idiolectal grammar, 4) the native speaker has a unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse, 5) the native speaker has the ability to write creatively, and 6) the native speaker has the capacity to interpret and translate into the L1" (Davies, 2004, p. 435).

Moreover, a native speaker has been defined as an individual who has spoken a certain language since early childhood in a country where that language is the official language (Beaudrie et al., 2014). The salient issues in the two definitions is that the HLLs have been exposed to the language since early childhood in the home or community where the HL is spoken and have some degree of proficiency and dominance in the language (Beaudrie et al., 2014). It is clear that the HLL can effectively complete all the aforementioned requirements of being labeled as a native speaker, although to a different degree. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this dissertation, the distinction between an HLL and a native speaker will be viewed through the lens of formal education. In essence, the definition adopted for this dissertation is from Beaudrie et al.

(2014), who mention that a native speaker is an individual who can function in all situations as other native speakers indistinguishable from them and has both received secondary education and constant input in the native language. [2]

Chapter four and five will present discussions regarding this conceptualization of the native speaker as it pertains to the present study.

Profile of Second Language Learners

The most common type of students found learning a second language (L2) in an educational context are referred to as L2. As Ferris (2009) states, an L2 is defined as a student whose first language is not the target language, or the language to which they were exposed in the home as young children. These students come to the classroom, usually at the high school level, as a *tabula rasa,* with no background in the L2. During the course of the language learning, L2s develop their writing, reading, listening, and speaking skills in the language of study, thus strengthening their academic variety of the foreign language. The acquisition of their L2 focuses on grasping different linguistic components such as syntax, semantics, phonology, and phonetics (Ghazi-Saidi, Dash, & Ansaldo, 2015). Even if being exposed to language naturalistically can facilitate more acquisition of diverse varieties, it does not produce more skill acquisition. However, L2s can reach an advanced level of proficiency in the language, but they rarely match the proficiency of a native speaker or an HLL (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Moreover, their native-like attainment of the language in unlikely given that their L2 linguistic system appears to have an effect on their L2 (Lord, 2008; 2010) and the age of acquisition affects their ability to develop native-like attainment in the L2 (Birdsong, 1999; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). Their phonological and phonetic systems will differ from that of their peers as

[2] For the remainder of the dissertation, native speaker will refer to an individual who speaks the official language of the country where they were born, raised, and completed secondary education (Beaudrie et al., 2014)

they have more explicit instruction regarding metalinguistic factors of the language, such as grammar rules and lexical items. Their pronunciation skills will be weaker in comparison to the HLLs given that their pronunciation exemplars are highly hyperstandardized (Train, 2000; 2003) and are based on idealized L1 norms. Regardless, their speech will be comprehensible when partaking in conversation, but native-like attainment of accent and pronunciation will not reach a native-like level as they are instructed in a classroom context, rather than in naturalistic settings (Polat, 2011).

Furthermore, some of these students do not hold an intrinsic motivation for language study, but rather an extrinsic motivation. Unlike HLLs, where the main goals might include language maintenance and development of prestigious varieties, L2s possibly might not hold a strong, personal connection to the language of study (Beaudrie et al., 2014) and study it due to university requirements or for better salary in the professional sphere.

It is evident from the two student profiles presented that these students differ in their knowledge of the language and their values associated with studying the language. It is therefore why distinct pedagogies have been developed to be used in the two distinct classes.

Language Learning Pedagogies

The pedagogies utilized in these separate classes differ regarding the components identified as important constituents to language learning. In the context of this present study, SHL pedagogy[3] focuses on five learning dimensions as the foundations for

[3] There is an abundance of pedagogies that can be employed in the SHL classroom. For the purpose of this dissertation, I am relying on the explanation from Beaudrie et al. (2014) and the methods of teaching SHL at the university under study.

development of proficiency and academic skills in the HLLs (Beaudrie et al., 2014). When HLLs enter courses designated for them, one of the main goals is language maintenance, along with teaching the prestigious variety and prescribing positive attitudes toward the HL and other varieties. (Beaudrie et al., 2014). This feat cannot be attained by ignoring the variety the students already speak. Therefore their home dialect must be utilized in order to teach the more academic, standard variety, and attribute positive attitudes to their speech (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Fairclough, 2016).

Fairclough (2016) argues for the implementation of second dialect acquisition (SDA) in the HL classroom. SDA is an additive or subtractive process that gives the students more communicative options and expands the sociolinguistic range of communication by "generating multiple, versatile repertoires and identities, and in terms of critically confronting the traditional monolingual bias that only values the standard and seeks to replace the student's local variety" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 145). Further, other SHL programs tend to employ a critical language pedagogy where "the goal is for students to actively engage in questioning dominant language ideologies [and] promote understanding but also to foster student agency in resisting language-based discrimination" (Leeman & Serafini, 2016, p. 63) (see Martínez, 2003; Leeman, 2005). Through a critical pedagogy, these students can lower their affective filter and understand the value of their HL variety. To illustrate, Sánchez-Muñoz (2016) notes that improvements were found in the HLLs Spanish skills during the SHL course and the students felt more confident in using the skills acquired.

On the other hand, L2 pedagogy concentrates on teaching the foundational skills of the foreign language to successfully utilize them in society. The majority of L2 courses are usually structured around the ACTFL proficiency goals in the three communicative modes (ACTFL, 2012). For example, the syllabi at all L2 Spanish language courses at the

university under study state that “the course(s) are designed to help you continue to develop your Spanish language proficiency in all four language skills (speaking, writing, reading, and listening) integrated across the three modes of communication outlined by ACTFL (interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational).” The purpose in these classes is to move the students along a continuum to reach certain goals at the end of the term through various activities that develop their skills in the language. The communicative method is advocated for in the L2 classes. Yet, as VanPatten (2015) asserts, despite ACTFL implementing teaching and proficiency guidelines to be used by the professoriate, ACTFL overestimated the knowledge of these instructors in implementing such an approach. In an anecdote, he describes how an audience of teaching professionals were not able to scientifically operationalize the construct of communication. Therefore, how are L2 instructors employing the communicative approach, argued as a necessity to foreign language teaching by Gilsan and Donato (2017), if they themselves do not know what it entails? The answer may be that the L1 is used most of the time (Polio & Duff, 1994). With this in mind, such teacher training, or lack thereof, affects the students who are interested in acquiring the language.

In addition to this issue, L2s learn the language through a textbook and tend to receive little authentic input and materials to learn the language (Gutíerrez & Fairclough, 2006). This sentiment is echoed by VanPatten (2015) who explains that the literary and cultural experts who say that they are language teachers are merely “skilled as textbook users, but not skilled in thinking beyond the confines of the textbook” (p. 7). These instructors rely on textbooks as the curriculum basis for teaching their classes, leaving their L2 students with scarce opportunities to develop their competencies in different Spanish linguistic varieties. As Gutiérrez and Fairclough (2006) stress, “a pared-down version of Spanish is often taught in the classroom because of the limited number of

classroom hours, the teachers' lack of sociolinguistic knowledge, and the quality of teaching materials available" (p. 186). Echoing VanPatten (2015), language experts at any institution should be aware of the pedagogical practices needed to teach distinct learners. However, as as he mentions, this is not the case. The consequences that can arise in the advanced classroom vis-à-vis variation and speaking can be traced to insufficient pedagogical training and knowledge of the different learner types, as well as to the lack of sociolinguistic pedagogical practices by instructors in the L2 classroom.

Prior academic experience may result in differing pedagogical expectations for HLLs and L2s when they converge in the advanced classroom, especially regarding their language skills and the variety that these students speak. The future of language learning across educational contexts is in mixed class (Carreira and Kagan, 2018). However, as VanPatten (2015) argues, the lack of personnel in language teaching has negative effects on these students. In taking a more critical approach, separate classes are needed for the two student populations, especially at the beginner and intermediate levels. Such a practice can support students in fortifying their skills and affective needs before allowing them to converge into the same class. When these individuals do converge in mixed classrooms, it is necessary for the instructor to be aware of how to incorporate both pedagogies.

Mixed Classes

The term *mixed class* refers to the type of students enrolled and is divided into three specific typologies (Carreira, 2014, 2017). *Type 1* classrooms contain very few HLLs and many L2 learners (see Potowski, 2002) while, *type 3* classes are comprised of a higher number of HLLs than L2s. In *type 2* classes, there is an even number of both L2 and HLLs (see Dones-Herrera, 2015). Unfortunately, with the most common typology being type 1, the challenges are apparent: teaching and learning are developed according

to L2 pedagogy, rather than HL pedagogy or a pedagogy focused on teaching mixed classes (Beaudrie 2011, 2012; Carreira 2012; Carreira & Kagan, 2018). Additionally, assessments and materials are indistinguishable from those in L2 classes and socio-cultural and linguistic topics are more directed toward those students who have no connection to the target language (Carreira, 2014; Fairclough & Beaudrie, 2016).

The prevalence of these courses across institutions and levels is due to the fact that separate classes are not always feasible given inadequate institutional resources. Other factors include few trained instructors, limited faculty and support, and lack of abundance of specialized programs for HLLs (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Oikonomakou, Aravossitas, & Skourtou, 2018). According to prior research on mixed classes, various differences are seen in HLLs and L2s in relation to their learning with both positive and negative experiences for HLLs and L2s documented (Bowles, 2011; Bowles, Adams, & Toth, 2014; Campanaro, 2013; Dones-Herrera, 2015; Henshaw, 2015; O'Rourke & Zhou, 2016; Wilkinson, 2010).

Results of such studies show that there is an overarching belief that HLLs and L2 need to work together so that they can benefit from each other's knowledge. Secondly, instructors need to have an increased awareness of the needs of the students, especially the HLLs since each differ in various skill sets and dimensions. Thirdly, teacher training and development courses should incorporate modules on HL pedagogy and teaching so that all instructors feel confident teaching this unique group of learners if the opportunity ever arises. Finally, mixed classes should not be presented as a teaching challenge, but rather a unique opportunity for the students and instructors to depend on each other to learn (Beaudrie, 2015; Lacorte & Canabal, 2005).

The sections above have intended to provide a detailed account on the profile of language learners and speakers that enroll in Spanish language courses.

As the mixed class is the main context for this study, this section also highlighted the general characteristics of a mixed class. Furthermore, information was presented on the language pedagogies utilized in these courses to provide an idea as to what the students learn before they enroll in the advanced mixed course. As it was made clear that the HLLs and L2s differ from one another regarding the skills that they have (especially the language variety that they speak), these learners will potentially hold negative attitudes toward the language varieties to which they are exposed. The section below presents a detailed overview of this specific construct and a summary of the sociopolitical situation of the U.S. regarding the common Spanish language varieties of the Phoenix Metropolitan Area.

What are language attitudes?

The study of attitudes was generally concerned with social psychology (Allport, 1935) but has since become a core issue in the field of sociolinguistics. Starting with early seminal studies on social stratification in speech communities by William Labov (1966), sociolinguistic principles state that language is embedded within social meaning and provide evidence for the cause of language variation and change (Labov, 1984). Sociolinguistic research on attitudes "underpin all manner of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena: how we judge other individuals, how we position ourselves within social groups, how we relate to individuals and groups other than our own" (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, p. 12). People have tendencies to hold attitudes at all levels, that is "spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects, and languages" (Garrett, 2010, p. 2). In the present context, when aiming to understand language attitudes toward individual spoken varieties, attitudes will be concerned with language use in social situations, and in particular how different language varieties are perceived.

The media, personal experiences, and society are all factors that expose an individual to certain particularities of a language that externally affect how they view and use that language (Garrett, 2010; Taglimonte, 2011). There is a degree of evaluation in the social environment where an individual identifies and learns what this object is and internally conceptualizes it to make their own decisions as to what they believe. Although particular linguistic varieties have been studied and have been found to form some sort of attitude (Labov, 1966), Garrett (2010) affirms that language attitudes rarely involve linguistic features, but rather reflect individuals' judgments of others who speak the language rather than how they speak it. Intending to define attitudes is not as straightforward as one might think because of the abundance of definitions and the differing connotations.

When the word *attitude* is mentioned, an individual might say it is the way we feel about something. However, an attitude is much more complicated than that. Allport (1935) comments that

> "attitudes are never directly observed, but, unless they are admitted, through inference, as real and substantial ingredients in human nature, it becomes impossible to account satisfactorily either for the consistency of any individual's behavior, or for the stability of any society" (p. 839).

Various scholars in the field have contributed through research finite definitions for what attitudes entail. Some authors define an attitude simply; " all the objects we want to measure that have to do with affect, feelings, values, and beliefs" (Henerson, Morris, & Fitz-Gibbon, 1987, p. 13). Even with such a straightforward, simple definition, Garrett (2010) highlights that scholars such as Thurstone (1931), Allport (1954) and Oppenheim (1982) have articulated more important explanations of this term, coining the basic understandings of what an attitude encompasses.

These scholars find that attitudes are abstractions, psychological constructs that incorporate various components: cognitive, affective, and behavioral.

For the purpose of this dissertation, an attitude will be defined as it is defined in the *Handbook of Attitudes* (Albarracin, Johnson, & Zanna, 2005), where the most contemporary explanation by Eagly & Chaiken (1993) is cited: "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (p. 1, emphasis on original). Put simply, an individual reacts positively or negatively by taking upon "an evaluative orientation to a social object" (Garrett, 2010, p. 20). This psychological tendency is what Oppenheim (1982) calls a "component of mental life" (p. 39), or an individual's internal state that may not endure for a long period of time, a disposition of sort (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Garrett et al., 2003). Then, language attitudes are an evaluation of a language encompassing all classes of evaluative response, either overt or covert, behavioral, affective or cognitive, through processes such as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements, ideas, opinions, or some other emotions that can be identified and measured (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Garrett et al., 2003; Oppenheim, 1982).

A particular individual does not hold an attitude until a psychological tendency causes them to respond to an object evaluatively (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Once these individuals respond, whether this response is overt or covert, a recurring psychological tendency continues to respond to the particular object when this object is subsequently encountered due to a mental representation that is stored in the individual's memory (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). In effect, attitudes can be either implicit or explicit as they manifest through emotional reactions and observable behavior to language use.

Sherif (1967) posits that when talking about attitudes, we talk about what an individual has learned in the process of assimilating themselves into a family, a group or society that makes the individual react to the social reality in a "consistent and

characteristic way, instead of a transitory and haphazard way" (p. 2). In order for it to become a component of mental life, there must be some tendency learned to create a specific inclination to respond in favor or disfavor (Allport, 1935; Garrett, 2010). Attitudes are an inevitable part of human socialization and are structured socially and structure society. However, this inclination to respond to any given object may be "superficial and unstable" (Garrett et al., 2003) and can occur instantaneously to any new phenomenon, thus labeled 'non-attitudes' (Ostrom, Bond, Krosnik & Sedikides, 1994) due to fictitious nature of not having evaluated the particular object fully (Garrett et al., 2003). Therefore, they are said to be very complex phenomena, phenomena that have many facets that are not easily investigated, or in other words revealed (Garrett et al., 2003). It is worthwhile to highlight that as psychological constructs, they are not directly observable, but through observations, interpretations can be made.

Components of Attitudes

Cognitive

As previously outlined, language attitudes are comprised of behavioral, cognitive, and affective components (Baker, 1992; Garrett et al. 2003). Each of these components define the person's attitude and heed them toward a specific evaluative response. This tripartite model, outlined by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960), emphasizes that each of the components mentioned emerge as distinctive mechanisms of attitudes and are at play individually.

First, the cognitive process asserts that "linguistic forms, varieties and styles can set off beliefs about a speaker, their group membership, and can lead to assumptions about attributes of those members" (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 3). At the individual level, cognitive components of attitudes can provide a neat, orderly view of the complex social world. This is done by comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences

amongst categories pertinent to individual experiences (Garrett et al., 2003). At the intergroup level, under this cognitive component, beliefs and assumptions are made between speakers of the same groups. These intergroup features include characteristics, such as ethnicity, race, community, region, gender, and sexual orientation. Often as a consequence of these distinct features, stereotypes emerge that function toward the speech of the particular speakers and groups.

Garrett (2010) highlights two functions of such stereotypes, where the social-explanatory function is concerned with the creation and maintenance of ideologies that reiterate relations between groups, while the social-differentiation function concerns the creation of differences between in-group and relevant out-groups. These functions of stereotypes generate the real-world consequences for speakers and their groups whose language varieties are stereotyped as either "not pure" or "incorrect" by the prescriptivist notions of language. It is therefore why individuals can construct an evaluation of any type of speaker to fit their cognitive needs "where stereotypes perpetrate themselves as a source of beliefs through which social life is interpreted, constituting an essential aspect of intergroup communication" (Hewstone & Giles, 1997, p. 278).

Affective

The affective component (Durán Caballero & Sauma Castillo, 2003; Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010) refers more to emotional reactions, since "a person may hear a language or linguistic variety which they are unable to identify, but may nevertheless consider it 'pleasant', or 'ugly'" (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 4). Attitudes have a strong affective component that fall in line with the cognitive component (Perloff, 1993). For instance, an individual can change their style of speech "in an effort to gain specific responses that we seek from people" by disguising "our speech in various styles…we might try to be seen as friendly, as intelligent, as being member of a particular

community" (Garrett, 2010, p. 22). As attitudes can be learned through personal experiences and society in general, speakers observe language use and the social consequences. This is why some speakers mask their speech.

Behavioral

The behavioral component, which has stirred some controversy, refers to the individual's overt actions and can reflect people's behavioral intentions (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 12; Garrett et al., 2003, p. 4). Gupta and Moradi (2015) highlight that a behavioral response does not necessarily result in a definite action, but rather can demonstrate an individual's inclination to act upon the object that creates the particular attitude. This is precisely where the controversy lies as some believe that if an individual can change another individual's attitude toward an object, then it is possible to change that person's behavior as well. The problem here stems from the fact that individuals are not always able to operate in accordance with their attitudes. There is "the tendency of respondents at times to report socially desirable attitudes rather than own private attitudes" (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 8). Martínez (2006) explains that

> a language attitude serves an integrative function when a speaker's positive attitude toward a given behavior serves to unite the speaker with a particular group … a language attitude serves an instrumental function when a speaker's positive attitude toward a given behavior results in some material or symbolic gain for that speaker. (p. 22)

Therefore, one individual might desire benefits associated with a particular group and hold positive attitudes toward the language of that group. This same individual might also want to identify with a second group and, for this reason, hold positive attitudes toward the group in question despite the fact that their attitudes can possibly conflict with the beliefs or values of the first group (Martínez, 2006).

Attitude Versus Ideology

It might seem as though language attitudes and language ideologies can be synonymous since they both concern themselves with dispositions toward language, language use, language varieties, and language practices (Kroskrity, 2004; Leeman, 2012; Lippi-Green, 2012; Woolard, 1998). However, language ideologies promote political interests through a system of beliefs of a dominant group (Irvine, 1998). Language ideologies are tied to power and concern themselves with larger social discourses about how language links an individual within the larger society (Gal, 2006). The difference is then that ideologies are concerned with the politics of language, as Leeman (2012) posits, while language attitudes are the psychological manifestations particular individuals hold toward beliefs and behavior about language. Since language attitudes interact with ideologies about language norms, an individual's reaction to language use and their anticipation of others' responses to their own use of language is ultimately shaped by attitudes; therefore, influencing the language choices speakers make. Garrett (2010) highlights this dichotomy of attitudes by speakers changing their styles of speech:

> In an effort to gain specific responses that we seek from people, we might 'fashion' our speech in various styles…we might try to be seen as friendly, as intelligent, as being member of a particular community…in the reception and production of language too, then, attitudes can be understood in terms of input and output, as a cycle of influence between social cognition and language variation (p.22)

He elaborates by noting that attitudes are learned through a variety of sources, such as personal experiences and the general social environment. For example, Lippi-Green (2012) and Milroy (2001) indicate that "standard" language use is mitigated through the notions of idealized and hypothetical correct language use put forth by those holding dominant positions in society. Through this source, speakers observe the

linguistic behavior of others and the social consequences toward using the "non-standard" put forth by those in dominant societal positions. In effect, the ideologies toward the use of "non-standard" language will generate negative repercussions for the use of non-standard varieties while the "standard" use of language will bring about positive societal benefits. At the individual level, the attitudes that one holds will encompass what they viewed in society as crafted by the dominant groups. In essence, attitudes are sustained at the individual, speaker level, while language ideologies can manifest themselves to support social hierarchies.

Language Variation and Contact

With the goal being to survey language attitudes toward specific linguistic variations, it is of best interest to highlight the field of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics, to put it simply, aims "to study language in relation to society" (Hudson, 1996, p.1). Language is a social phenomenon, and sociolinguistics considers not only the structure of the language, but also the social contexts in which the language is learned and used (Hudson, 1996). As the US is a country where English occupies a dominant position in society, those individuals of Hispanic descent who speak Spanish, will have a plethora of contact with the English language. In the Southwest, situations of Spanish and English language contact have been in existence since the early nineteenth century from territorial expansions and conquests (Waltermire, 2014). This specific contact between these two speech communities has led to the creation of new spoken varieties that incorporate the linguistic elements of both languages due to the impact of the specific interaction on the processes and structures of the traditional linguistic systems of those languages (Taglimonte, 2012). This variability is what has come to be known as variationist sociolinguistics, a type of sociolinguistics that is concerned with how language varies (Taglimonte, 2012). Foulkes (2006) states that variability is not "a

nuisance but is a universal and functional design feature of language" (Taglimonte, 2012, p. 2). It is observable in the daily speech one hears, and it encompasses internal and external factors that vary upon speaker and location and may include syntactic, lexical, morphological, phonetic, phonological, and pragmatic, differences (Taglimonte, 2012). Nonetheless, variation is also dependent on social structures such as age, sex, and socioeconomic class.

It is imperative to understand that these languages are continuously changing and creating new varieties, so one specific language variety can have many more variations (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2014). The variety pertinent to the US context is the blend between Spanish and English found in Hispanic or Latino communities in the United States that accommodates specific phenomena, such as loan translations, code-switching, claques, and *anglicisims* (Lipski, 2008, Otheguy, 2008). As this is found in all speech communities in the Southwest, these bilingual speakers will begin to acquire these linguistic phenomena as a consequence of the constant contact with the two languages (Fairclough, 2016; Parodi, 2008; Polinsky, 2006). In addition, US Spanish[4] is considered to be less prestigious compared to monolingual Spanish varieties, such as those in Spain, thereby, being negatively viewed due to hegemonic ideologies and attitudes sustained by speakers of other Spanish varieties (Escobar & Potowski, 2014; Leeman & Serafini, 2016)

Focusing on the Spanish-speaking microcosm that is the Phoenix, individuals of Hispanic or Latino origin make up 42.5% of the total population, the largest minority in the city (US Census Bureau, 2018). Specifically, Mexicans make up 35.9% of the total population as of 2019, making them the largest ethnic group in the city (Phoenix

[4] US Spanish is being referred to as the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in the context of the US Southwest, were the study takes place.

Population, 2019). As such, the largest non-English language spoken in the city is Spanish, spoken by 30.9% of the total population (US Census Bureau, 2018). With such a high rate of Mexicans in the city and use of Spanish in this locale, it comes as no surprise that individuals can hear variations of the Spanish language, based upon its contact with the English language. Although constant language contact is undeniably impossible to avoid, directly investigating varieties of a language presents complex issues, especially in the context of the United States as Spanish language varieties differ. Not only do these regional variations exist, but generational factors are present in such locales and influence the varieties of a language one speaks (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Valdés, 2014).

As this dissertation is conducted in an educational context located in the Phoenix metropolitan area, it only makes sense that the language attitudes toward the Mexican language varieties common to this locale need to be studied. As already mentioned above, Spanish is spoken by Mexican immigrants who, due to Arizona's positioning to the Mexican border, immigrate from Northern Mexican states such as Sonora and Chihuahua. Also, the children of these immigrants, who have been born in Arizona, have learned the language at home and speak it. Nevertheless, Spanish is also spoken by individuals who have learned it in the context of the classroom. These three varieties are the common variations of Spanish heard by the individuals in the university

Describing the varieties under study, a native variety of Spanish from Northern Mexico is characterized as by various phonetic, phonologic, syntactic, semantic, and lexical factors. In Lipski's (2007) dialectological manuscript of Spanish in the Americas, he describes in detail the various features of Spanish in different Spanish-speaking countries. For Mexico, particularly Northern Mexico, he explains that Mexico is *yeísta,* the /r/ is an alveolar trill, the /e/ is relaxed, especially in closed final syllables as in the

word *después*. Additionally, United States Spanish dialects initially originating from Northern Mexican varieties tend to not reduce the /s/. Nevertheless, in rural regions of this part of Mexico, the /s/ is reduced and aspiration of this same phoneme at the beginning of syllables is evident (Brown & Torres-Cacoullos, 2003). In regard to morphological characteristics, speakers of Northern Mexico utilize the second person singular subject *tú* and there is a more habitual usage of the diminutives, such as *-ito* in daily speech. Further, as this variety is in constant contact with English, the dominant language of the United States, it thus presents evidence of a contact induced language in Arizona (Anderson, 2013; Cerrón-Palomino 2016; Silva-Corvalán, 1994).

Along the same lines, the speakers of a US Spanish variety from the Phoenix metropolitan area may include descendants of Mexican families who lived in this region before the annexation to the United States after the Mexican American war (Potowski, 2005), but also children born to immigrants in the 21st century. In this region, there has been a strong shift toward English among these speakers due to the negative ideologies surrounding the use of Spanish (Bills, Hudson, & Hernández-Chávez, 2000; Potowski, 2005; Rivera-Mills, 2001) and the strong contact with English (Potowski, 2005; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Describing the actual Spanish usage of HLLs is a difficult task since their particular usage depends on the Spanish variety used in the community, the contact between the two languages, and the actual usage of the two languages in their daily life (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Potowski, 2005). For example, the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in the US Southwest context can incorporate the use of archaisms such as “haiga” for “haya” or “nadien” for “nadie .” It may be common among these learners and deserve the same respect by educational institutions as any other spoken variety (Potowski, 2005). However, not all bilingual speakers of Spanish would utilize such archaisms, such as those of Cuban or Colombian heritage. Additionally, the Spanish spoken by the HLLs

includes many phenomena that fall under the term 'Spanglish': lexical extensions, semantic borrowings, anglicisms, and code-switching (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Lipski, 2008; Otheguy, 2008; Potowski, 2005). In classifying the language abilities of HL speakers, these speakers are in no way homogeneous, and rather very heterogeneous (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Camus & Adrada-Rafael, 2015; Montrul, 2010). In essence, a bilingual spectrum that defines the capabilities of said learners has been developed to demonstrate the competencies of HLLs and the various ways they differ (Potowski, 2005; Valdés, 1997).

As already mentioned above, an L2 learner is described as a student whose first language is not the target language, or the language to which they were exposed in the home as young children (Ferris, 2009). This variety does not differ drastically from other L2 varieties since they are learned in the classroom, but L2 students can differ from one another in their abilities and proficiencies with the language. It has already been mentioned in the section above describing the L2 learner that they have more metalinguistic knowledge and usually are not able to attain native-like phonological and phonetic systems with their L2, portraying a lack of native-like accent and pronunciation. It is difficult for L2s to acquire native-like pronunciation as the age of acquisition causes them to produce L2 phonemes influenced by their L1 (Ghazi-Saidi et al., 2015). With such students, they usually acquire the language in an academic setting and in turn, learn a more prestigious repertoire of the language with the assistance of a textbook (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006), and viewed as privileged in terms of their language abilities. This acquisition in the classroom context causes their accent to be a salient marker of *foreignness* when speaking since the language was learned in a formal setting (Best & Tyler, 2007; Peltola, Tuomainen, & Aaltonen, 2007). The variety of the L2 is heavily influenced by the prescriptive norms and grammars imposed by the

textbooks and institutions such as the RAE (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006; Loza, 2017; Padilla & Vana, 2019). Nevertheless, it is plausible to posit that L2 speakers, given the context where they are learning the language, can notice and incorporate these linguistic characteristics evident in HL and native speakers. Hence, the usage of anglicisms, semantic extensions, and lexical borrowings can become commonplace in these speakers as they begin to advance in their acquisition of the Spanish language.

The way these linguistic varieties are viewed, and the attitudes students have toward these varieties' present socio-affective consequences, among other issues, for the speakers. As Duisberg (2001) mentions, "language attitudes are the basic working assumption underlying language variation" (p. 22). Speakers of particular language forms evaluate what they hear, ascribing particular attributes to those variations (un)consciously (Ferguson, 1994). For example, HLLs may have a strong connection between the HL and their ethnicity but can be rejected from their community and made fun of for their language skills since they might not have a strong command of the language (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Similarly, L2 students can be embarrassed of speaking Spanish and fear using it in the classroom since they do not have a perfect command of it (Potowski, 2002). These internalized notions equate to the effects individual language attitudes can have upon the users of variant language forms. In the section below, the sociopolitical situation of Arizona is highlighted to present the real-life consequences experienced by these individuals for being speakers of Spanish and its varieties.

The Sociopolitical Situation of Spanish in Arizona

As language attitudes are an inevitable part of human socialization and are structured socially and structure society, the sociopolitical situation of Spanish in the Southwest, especially Arizona, contributes to how language attitudes stigmatize and devalue the Spanish language. Prejudices and ideologies are evident in the society of the

Southwest toward the Spanish language spoken inside and outside the academic sphere. Arizona has historically been a Republican state that has favored hegemonic language ideologies and discrimination based upon language (Cashman, 2009). This has seen clearly in state legislation, such as Proposition 106, where English became the official language of business in Arizona; Proposition 203, which eliminated "bilingual education in state-funded schools" (Cashman, 2006, p. 42); and Arizona's 2010 State Bill 1070 which introduced an anti-immigration policy.

Although Arizona has embraced strong hegemonic ideologies toward Spanish language and immigration, these legislations have made them that much more apparent. As Ruíz (1984) explains, the dominant English speakers in society usually approach languages from certain viewpoints, with one view being *language-as-problem*.[5] In the U.S., these dominant language speakers often view "minority" languages as problematic (Cashman, 2006), hence being subject to linguistic prejudice no matter the variety that is spoken or if a certain dialect accompanies the speaker of that language (Lippi-Green, 2004). As Aparicio (1998) explains, *differential bilingualism* "describes the unequal value accorded by the English monolingual majority to the bilingual skills of Anglo members of the language majority, which tend to be seen as a resource and achievement, and those of Latinos and other language minority or immigrant groups, which tend to be seen as a problem and a deficiency" (Cashman, 2006, p. 42). Therefore, native English speakers who speak a second language, Spanish in this case, tend to be held to a higher regard than those individuals who come from immigrant and/or minority groups whose

[5] Ruíz (1984) explains that the three perspectives in which the the dominant language groups approach language include (i) language-as-problem, (ii) language-as-right, and/or (iii) language-as-resource.

bilingualism is seen “as a barrier to full participation in the democracy and at worse as a sign of divided loyalty or disloyalty” (p. 42). As English occupies a dominant position in society, individuals who speak English as a second language and those who grow up in a household where a minority and/or immigrant language is spoken are disenfranchised and made to believe monolingualism is the norm (Leeman, 2012), possibly leading to language loss in these individuals. Additionally, these bilinguals who learn their language in the home often learn the home variety of the language (Fairclough, 2016), which is also stigmatized and ideologically charged (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Potowski, 2002, Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016) .

Although there has been a steady push to resist these negative attitudes and hegemonic ideologies by conceptualizing Spanish as both a right and resource, the repercussions are salient. While research in HL teaching has pushed back against these negative discourses by fighting for maintenance and societal bilingualism (Carreira & Kagan, 2018), the reality is that many speakers internalize the hegemonic ideologies and attitudes put forth by society and shift toward the dominant language. For these reasons, once Spanish bilinguals enter the classroom, they might have internalized all these negative stances on their language put forth by society and not find interest in continuing to develop the language skills they already have. This is especially true if other students hold specific attitudes toward varieties of the language.

As the classroom is a strong driving force for appreciation and awareness (Carreira & Kagan, 2018), there need to be overarching opportunities for all the variations of Spanish that these students speak. Without such an awareness and appreciation in all classes and by all learners, the cultural and linguistic realities of Spanish are ignored (Henshaw & Bowles, 2015). By studying language attitudes, which are constructed through human socialization, the projected discrimination and

ideologies that are evident in the society toward Spanish can be made overtly known in the classroom thereby validating all language varieties as acceptable.

Overview of the Dissertation

This present chapter has discussed the rationale and significance of this study. As has been stated, it will explore language attitudes of L2s and HLLs enrolled in the advanced mixed class toward three Spanish language varieties found in the Phoenix Metropolitan area. Additionally, it will use data on student language attitudes toward the same three language varieties from two homogeneous courses, one L2 and one HL, as a means of comparison to show what occurs in homogeneous classes where distinct pedagogies focusing on different topics are used. Through understanding the realities of what occurs in advanced mixed courses toward language varieties commonly heard and used in this community, the dissertation will demonstrate the need for a sociolinguistically informed teaching approach in all Spanish language learning courses.

Looking forward, Chapter Two reviews the pertinent literature on language attitudes. Specifically, this chapter will contextualize language attitudes within language variation, focusing on the Southwest. Further, language attitudes toward speaker/learner will be addressed as well as attitudes toward fluency, accent, and pronunciation. Finally, language attitudes in a mixed educational context will be highlighted as this present study is carried out in an educational context.

In Chapter Three, the overall methodology for this present study is explained. The methodology includes an explanation of the overarching goals and hypotheses in order to further contextualize the study. Next, the research context, courses, and participants will be first described in detail followed by the materials used, the matched guise technique, and the Pratt experiment. Finally, the quantitative and qualitative analysis conducted are discussed.

Chapter Four reports the findings from the advanced mixed course. Briefly, the results demonstrate negative evaluations of the L2 Spanish, but high evaluations of Native Mexican accented and Chicano-heritage accented variations of Spanish. Additionally, interview data clarifies the reasoning for such negative evaluations of English-accented Spanish, while also presenting contradictory results pertaining to U.S. heritage accented and L2-accented speech. In addition, Chapter Four reports the findings from the two homogeneous courses: the advanced L2 course and the advanced HL course. The results mirror the advanced mixed course with negative rankings of L2-accented guises and positive rankings of native and heritage-accented guises. Although the results are the same, in the context of two uniform courses, these results are contradictory as they not only call for the reworking of both L2 and SHL pedagogies.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, discusses all the results and pedagogical implications. It also proposes limitations that can present fruitful future studies on the topic of attitudes in the advanced mixed class. Finally, the conclusion advocates for continuous research on language variation in the mixed course context.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In the present chapter, I aim to provide a significant overview of the previous research relating to language attitudes in monolingual and bilingual communities and academic contexts to address and operationalize the main overarching issue of this present dissertation research: language attitudes of L2 and HL students enrolled in a mixed class toward language varieties present in Arizona.

As this study is concerned with language attitudes, a field that is not new and perhaps well-studied, the discussion will be presented in a way that will narrow the literature from a general overview of attitudes toward Spanish to a university mixed class context where Spanish of the United States (U.S.) Southwest is common. With the goal being to survey language attitudes toward the specific linguistic variations, mentioned in Chapter One, it is of best interest to emphasize again that attitudes are psychological constructs that concern evaluative predispositions. The section that follows presents a discussion of all methods found to study language attitudes, including a review of the pertinent investigations conducted utilizing each technique. After that, a thorough discussion will be presented highlighting the extensive research conducted regarding the present topic.

Language Attitudes: Techniques and Previous Research

An attitude is not a concrete entity, but rather a construct that is psychologically formed according to external tendencies found in society. When intending to measure language attitudes, research has generally assessed this construct through the use of three main methods, each with its own pros and cons (Fasold, 1990; Garrett, 2010;

Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher, 2015; Ryan, Giles, & Hewstone, 1988; Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017):

- Analysis of the social treatment of language varieties (Garrett et al. 2003), later renamed as "content analysis" (van Hout & Konps, 1988)
- Direct methods (or speaker-evaluation paradigm)
- Indirect methods (matched-guise technique)

However, these methods can be complimented by other approaches to support and extend findings. Such approaches include questionnaires, interviews, and observations (Duisberg, 2001; Fasold, 1984). The section that follows will highlight the content analysis and direct methods, including their strengths and weaknesses.

Societal Treatment Approach

The *societal treatment approach* is concerned with a "'content analysis' of the treatment given to particular languages and language varieties, and to their speakers to gain insight into the status and stereotypical associations of language varieties" (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 15). Additionally, this method has steadily encompassed linguistic landscapes (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) as a means to study language attitudes. Common forms of research using this method are linked under observational methods, including ethnographies or participant observation. There has been an abundance of research using this method, ranging from analyzing government and educational policies (Cots & Nussbaum, 1999), advertisements in Japan (Haarmann, 1984; 1986) or Welsh advertisements in the U.S. (Coupland, Garrett, & Bishop, 2005). However, studies underlying this approach have been criticized for being too subjective and not rigorous enough to completely understand language attitudes (Garrett, 2010).

Direct Methods

Secondly, *direct methods* studying language attitudes attempt to elicit attitudes utilizing the participants full knowledge. Generally, this method utilizes questionnaires

and/or interviews that ask certain questions about linguistic uses. One of the first studies to utilize such a method was by MacKinnon in 1981. The investigator studied attitudes toward Scottish Gaelic by reporting on a large-scale survey that employed a questionnaire with sixteen questions, each that had six possible responses presented as a Likert scale: “strongly agree” to “no response.” He administered the survey orally to participants and wrote the answers onto the questionnaire. In total, data from 1,117 participants were utilized that presented overall positive results that were in line with census figures in Scotland. Although participants evaluated Scottish Gaelic positively, some participants indicated a neutral or negative stance toward the language.

Similarly, Sharp, Thomas, Price, Francis, and Davies (1973) investigated 12,000 school children, aged 10-11, 12-13, and 14-15, differing in educational level. For this attitudinal study, the school children where explicitly given the objectives of the study and were asked about their opinions toward the Welsh language. Upon analyzing the data, the authors highlighted the need for bilingual education in the locale. To illustrate, attitudes of children aged 10-11 were positive toward Welsh, but as the children got older, these attitudes became steadily neutral. However, the results toward English were positive. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that there was a possible effect of parental pressure for bilingualism of Welsh and English, and not necessarily unanimous support for bilingual education policies, since the positive attitudes toward Welsh in the younger students might have been fostered by the community, the family, or the parents.

Other important works incorporating direct methods in attitude study have been carried out with Spanish participants in multilingual schools in Spain (Fitch & Hopper, 1983), Palestinians and Israelis in Israel (Kraemer, 1992), speakers of English and Italian in Canada (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984), attitudes of aboriginal children toward Standard

Australian English and Aboriginal English (Purdie, Oliver, Collard, & Rochecouste, 2002).

Further, under the direct method to language attitude, one can situate Preston's field of perceptual dialectology (1999, 2002), which is concerned with an individual's beliefs regarding variation. As language attitude study is devoted to uncovering speaker beliefs toward language, perceptual dialectology distinguishes itself by unmasking the "specific divisions speakers make between regions on a linguistic basis and what terms and descriptions they use in labeling the language varieties they have delineated" (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 59). A common technique employed in perceptual dialectology is a map task, where individuals are provided a blank map and asked to label it according to which area the speaker they hear originates. Additionally, respondents can be asked to rank individual areas for speech quality or use cards to categorize the states that fall into particular linguistic patterns (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, 2007), such as in Benson (2003) where participants were asked about the speech found in Ohio.

It is evident that direct methods and perceptual dialectology are concerned with the overt attitudes of the select participants. Participants are asked questions directly about the language and are invited to articulate their attitudes regarding the various phenomena of the language (Garrett, 2010). It seems an obvious choice for obtaining language attitudes, as this approach "relies on overt elicitation of attitudes" (Garrett, 2010, p. 39). However, as Garrett (2010) explains, this method has been plagued with factors that prevent valid, generalizable responses. In general, a direct approach may employ hypothetical questions that ask participants how they would react to a certain situation. The issue with asking hypothetical questions stems from the relationship between attitude and behavior: "the responses to these sorts of questions are often poor

predictors of people's future behavior in a situation where they will actually encounter such objects, events, or actions" (Garrett, 2010, p. 43). An individual might react differently when an object is not compared to when the object is actually present.

The issue of social desirability bias tends to be an evident factor when eliciting attitudes directly. Also known as *ego defense* (Baker, 1992), the social desirability bias is the tendency for individuals to answer untruthfully in order to protect their self-esteem, to answer in a way that justifies their actions without making them feel guilty, or to answer in a way that they believe is socially appropriate. This is problematic as an individual could respond to any question mendaciously so as to not paint themselves in a negative light (Perloff, 1993). Although Oppenheim (1992) declares that the sociality bias is more common during interviews, it is still evident when participants partake in questionnaires, even if there is a level of anonymity.

Along the lines of the social desirability bias, the *acquiescence bias* can further convolute the elicitation of attitudes. The acquiescence bias posits that individuals tend to provide a response to a questionnaire or interview that they believe the researcher wants to hear (Garrett, 2010). In doing so, the individual's response is not an actual personal evaluation, but rather a fibbed evaluation that intends to please the researcher (Garrett, 2010). The issues with both these biases are the "pervasive phenomenon that can prevent researchers tapping into the 'private attitudes' of respondents" (Garrett, 2010, p. 45).

It is for these reasons that Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) developed the matched guise technique – an indirect approach to studying attitudes that distracts participants from the overarching goal of understanding attitudes. The following section presents a detailed account of the matched guise technique as an

indirect method for studying language attitudes since it is the technique that will be utilized in this present study.

Matched-guise Technique

The earliest study of language attitudes utilizing an indirect approach was carried out by Canadian psychologist Wallace Lambert and his colleagues in the 1960s (Lambert et al. 1960; Anisfeld et al. 1962; Lambert et al. 1965; Lambert 1967; Tucker & Lambert 1969). This seminal study was conducted in Montreal, "a community whose history centers in a French-English schism" (Lambert et al., 1960, p. 44). Lambert is considered as the first scholar to implement the matched guise technique and the Semantic Differential Scales through his investigations of English and French speakers. The study was built around the notion that a speaker's style of speech can trigger social classifications which will lead to group-related assumptions (Duisberg, 2001). In this study, two groups of participants, one French-speaking and the other English-speaking, heard recordings of a passage in English and French by four bilingual speakers. The participants were asked to rate the speakers that they heard on fourteen traits, including height, looks, sense of humor, and intelligence, among others. These ratings were all based upon personality traits that individuals possess. The participants were asked to rank them according to where they would fit based upon what they heard. It is evident that this type of evaluation sways from the explicit questioning seen in the studies of MacKannon (1981) and Sharp et al. (1973). The main findings suggested that the English guises were positively favored by both English Canadians and French Canadians. This work led Lambert et al. (1960) to understand these results as affirming stereotypes proposed by the majority groups toward minority groups and highlighting speech as the cause of such impressions.

This seminal work by Lambert and his colleagues (1960) has shown that the overall purpose of a matched-guise technique lies in uncovering the attitudes that particular speakers have toward language, as well as also their own personal attitudes and those of others. These researchers have demonstrated that such a technique presents many advantages in studying language attitudes, which can be summarized as follows:

> "1) it is a technique aimed at an individual's private attitude that is not concisely elicited, 2) there has been a fair degree of comparability among studies using the matched-guise in the past allowing for the creation of a relevant theory, 3) through the matched-guise, researchers have been able to further sociolinguistic awareness of language variation, 4) it has presented a detailed description of how language choice and style forms individuals attitudes, and 5) provided the necessary paradigms for research intertwining both sociolinguistics and social psychology of language" (Garrett, 2010, p. 57).

A firm methodology and principles have been rooted in the field thanks to Lambert and his associates. At the base of this methodology, this technique acquires data about language attitudes by subtle and illusive means rather than by asking individuals direct questions (Garrett, 2010). Participants are exposed to a series of guises that include an individual speaking in several varieties, or matched guises (Kirscher, 2015). These individuals then rank their judgments of the speaker according to some sort of scale, such as personality traits. The differential ranking of the same speaker then measures the unconscious social processing of the language varieties, while the person who recorded is not changed. Within the matched guise technique, these tests "do not contrast individual features of language, per se, but record undifferentiated responses to the language variety as a whole" (Duisberg, 2001, p. 38). Because respondents are not

usually aware that the same person records the same guise, they perceive each guise as an individual speaker and rank them, accordingly, based upon what they perceive.

Although these are significant findings, some disadvantages of using the matched guise technique have been pointed out. Before shifting the focus to more previous studies, it is necessary to mention that not one type of research method is foolproof to flaws. Thus, all methods have their strengths and weaknesses. The first issue with the matched guise technique revolves around salience (Garrett, 2010). As Lee (1971) states, having someone record a passage in various voices can present an exaggeration of the language variations, thus making them more salient in the experimental context than they would be outside of it. Along these lines, having one individual record diverse variations of the passage can control for one variable, but it can most certainly introduce another variable, such as education level when a participant is told to record the passage in a variation not common to them. This also parallels what Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias (2017) state about the necessity of finding bidialectal participants who can record in different variations of the same language.

Further, the use of semantic differential scales has been plagued with controversy (Garrett, 2010). When asking an individual to evaluate a speaker based upon a personality trait, there is an issue where a high rating on the semantic differential scale, (e.g. self-confidence) does not necessarily imply a positive attitude. Negative attitudes toward high self-confidence are not impossible for an individual to hold. Placing a value on a particular evaluation can present challenges, especially in the labeling of the ranking as semantic differential versus attitudinal differential. (Garrett, 2010). Along these lines, in bilingual situations, these personality traits can present issues that might not seem salient until actually utilized. It important to incorporate traits that pertain to the specific contexts that are under study. Wölck (1986) reports on issues in Peru when

studying a Quechua community. One of the traits used was that of the "*boss-worker*" relationship. Translated to Spanish, it was "*jefe-empleado*," yet in the Quechua community where the study was conducted, "*empleado*" was translated as "*white-collar worker*" and "*jefe*" was used as a term of endearment toward males. When incorporating the traits utilized in the semantic differential scales, the researcher needs to be cognizant of the locales where the study is taking place. For those researchers who are unaware of the customary language norms, these scales can present a challenge.

Additionally, presenting participants with predetermined personality traits (i.e., semantic differential scale) requires them to make certain judgements that are not of the norm, especially in everyday contexts. Bourhis and Giles (1976) attempted to lay this issue to rest by demonstrating a way to make judgments about language more naturally. Their population of focus included theatergoers in Wales. During intermission, these theatergoers were addressed over the PA system in three different guises asking them to fill out survey about future programming. This design demonstrated that there is a possible way to overcome the barrier of artificiality in the selected semantic differential scales by presenting recorded guises as natural as possible in an everyday context.

Issues of validity are relevant when studying language attitudes. As mentioned above, attitudes are comprised of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Behavioral components of attitudes are easier to measure because an individual can be placed in a situation where a particular attitude is being measured and the expected behavior will arise; then the attitude measure can be valid. This was seen in Fishman's study (1971) where he administered a questionnaire to a group of Puerto Ricans about their ethnicity and subsequently invited them to a Puerto Rican cultural event. Fishman (1971) then compared these responses and found that the individuals behaved according to their responses on the questionnaire. On the other hand, cognitive and affective

components of attitudes are difficult to validate since they are concerned with the internal psychology of an individual. To validate these components, a researcher would need to elicit and compare information regarding participants' feelings and thoughts using two separate methods. The fact is, a specific instrument is supposed to measure only the item it is intended to measure for it to be valid (Duisberg, 2001).

The artificiality of a matched guise technique is a final problem present in this type of method (Duisberg, 2001; Garrett, 2010). Ranking individuals based upon their voice is far removed from reality, especially if it is conducted in an experimental setting (Duisberg, 2001). Since the content is usually similar for every variation being studied, the individuals listening to the guises may become bored and withdrawn. As has been shown, the matched guised technique is not without controversies. Nevertheless, this method of eliciting language attitudes has had a leading role in many seminal works on language attitudes (Garrett, 2010). Such contributions include showing "the social importance of language and explain[ing] the social nature of language variation and change" (Duisberg, 2001, p. 42). Studying the structure of language via one linguistic item at a time or analyzing the grammatical systems in individuals cannot provide the necessary information needed to understand the norms and standards of language. For this reason, using a matched guise technique allows for a more detailed representation of attitudes of individuals that encompass issues related to communication features, speaker variables, societal issues, and contextual variables that go along with particular language varieties (Garrett, 2010).

Language Attitudes Toward the Spanish Language

Studies on language attitudes of different populations toward Spanish have evolved greatly since the early investigations in the 1970s (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; Flores & Hopper, 1975; Ryan & Carranza, 1975). This section explores research on

attitudes toward the Spanish language itself. The main concern regarding such studies is that not all geographic locations and contexts have received equal attention in terms of investigation, leaving much to be explored. The geographic locale that has received the most attention has included the U.S. Southwest (the area of the country that includes Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) given the vitality of the Spanish language in the region (Aceves, Abeyta, & Feldman, 2012; Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Lynch & Klee, 2005; Mejías, Anderson, & Carlson, 2003; Rivera-Mills, 2000).

During an individual's socialization in a community context, language attitudes emerge. Such attitudes construct their view of language and the use and cause dire effects on language maintenance and self-representation as a speaker of the particular language (Aceves, Abeyta, & Feldman, 2012). In a study conducted in Albuquerque, Aceves et al. (2012) implement a methodology similar to a past investigation conducted in Laredo, Texas (Pletsch de García, 2007) to understand whether the community has an effect on language attitudes. Through interviews with bilingual participants, the authors found that respondents are less likely to have positive attitudes toward the Spanish language given the prejudice experienced by individuals from the dominant language out-group. Despite the majority of participants mentioning positive attitudes toward the language, the negative attitudes that were highlighted displayed the socio-affective consequences such negative attitudes have on the use of Spanish in bilingual locales. Similar to participants in Beaudrie and Ducar's (2005) study, the participants expressed feelings of shame, and mentioned that they did not feel comfortable passing the language onto the next generations.

Studying a bilingual communities outlook on Spanish, Achugar and Oteiza (2009) investigated print media in El Paso. The authors created a corpus of ten newspaper articles from the *El Paso Times,* the sole English-language daily newspaper in

West Texas and Southern New Mexico, to demonstrate if and how these newspapers articles potentially counter dominant hegemonic ideologies. As stated, the *El Paso Times* "editorial board inclines toward conservative policies and Republican partisanship according to local as well as national critics" (Achugar & Oteiza, 2009, p. 375). Through a discourse analysis that focused on "interpersonal meanings integrated with the grammaticalized realizations (attitudes and graduation)" (p. 376), they sought to report how languages, their speakers, and the learning of the language are seen in the community. The authors found that although printed media did uphold the English-only ideology, it did at the same time support, albeit lightly, the multilingual ideology. They found bilingualism and multilingualism were supported, but not in a mainstream manner as that of English-only. Interestingly, although there was evidence of bilingualism and multilingualism in this community, the development of Spanish was an individual responsibility, and not the responsibility of the community. This data shows that in this bilingual locale, there was evidence of positive attitudes toward Spanish, but on the same token, needed defending since Spanish competencies were not as mainstream as those in English.

These two studies do exemplify positive attitudes toward Spanish, although the negative attitudes encountered are much more salient since the communities where the studies were conducted are largely bilingual. This is due to the dominant monolingual ideology that is widespread in these multilingual communities: English is positioned as the language of success in the educational context. Therefore, the development of competencies in the English language is prioritized over the development of competencies in the Spanish language. In a way, this demonstrates the permeability of dominant language ideologies into communities that are largely composed of minority language speakers despite the vitality of Spanish in the communities.

Similar to the discussion of attitudes in multilingual communities and the effects the society has on the language attitudes that are sustained, adolescent Spanish speakers have also been topic of much conversation in the field of language attitudes, especially as it relates to Spanish and English use. Babino and Stewart (2016) found that young native speakers of Spanish enrolled in one-way dual language schools prefer English academically and socially to Spanish. Research has shown that political, social, and cultural attitudes toward Spanish and bilingualism present challenging obstacles for Latinos in investing their Spanish language skills (Babino & Stewart, 2016; González-Carriedo, 2015; Rubin, 2014). As such, Babino & Stewart (2016) noted that all of the young speakers in their study felt that Spanish was a subordinate language which possessed little academic prestige and confidence. They stated that speaking English was necessary to be successful, thus devaluing monolingualism. Although there was evidence of students using a hybrid of Spanish and English (e.g., code-switching), there was concrete evidence the signaled shift to English, since one's environment had a priming effect on shifting language use from Spanish to English (Bernal-Enríquez, 2000; Martínez, 2006).

Further, using a matched-guise technique, Carranza and Bouchard Ryan (1975) compared high school student attitudes between Spanish and English in Chicago. Their results showed that English was considered superior to Spanish due to English dominance in society and its position as the language of success in the U.S., just as Babino & Stewart (2016) would find with dual immersion schools years later. Lynch and Klee (2005) found similar results that highlighted more positive attitudes toward monolingual education and the favoring of using English over Spanish in public realms. Similarly, in Santa Barbara, California, Beckstead and Toribio (2003) encountered higher evaluations of English than Spanish by high school students. The higher value

placed on English was attested to the possibility of educational advancement and for greater success in the professional setting. Nevertheless, the students did not completely devalue Spanish as they valued it more integratively than instrumentally, mentioning that Spanish was their tool to convey their identity and solidarity with the Spanish-speaking community. These studies signal a possible language shift in the future that can potentially impact the maintenance of the Spanish language due to the salience of English in the educational contexts. Further, they contradict the findings of Barbosa (2014) and Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) that found positive attitudes toward the Spanish language for advancement in professional and public spheres.

The review presented above of the Spanish language in general has shown that there are varying attitudes when Spanish is associated with different factors such as prestige, social class, prejudice, family, and community. The studies that have focused on attitudes toward the Spanish language itself have generally found more positive attitudes when the language is associated with familiar and cultural ties, as these participants utilize the language to maintain communication and preserve connections with their family and culture (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Barbosa, 2015; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Beckstead & Toribio, 2003; Mejias et al., 2003), while Spanish associated with stereotypes and foreignness tend to be evaluated negatively (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Galindo, 1995).

These studies neglected to recognize the importance of learning and validating the Spanish spoken by individuals in the educational contexts and, instead, directly investigated extrinsic factors rather than the intrinsic, necessary components to speaking Spanish. Given that Spanish is the dominant minority language in the U.S., it is critical that classroom-based investigations in foreign language learning contexts explore the

actual, authentic use of Spanish and English. Furthermore, the purpose of speaking a foreign language is to converse authentically outside the walls of the learning context.

The following sections highlight pertinent studies that intend to exemplify how language attitudes are formed and the outcomes of such attitudes on native speakers, heritage language speakers (HLLs), and second-language speakers (L2). Outlining relevant investigations in this context will facilitate an understanding of the realties faced in educational contexts where ranging Spanish abilities are found, as well as the effects such attitudes have on those speakers intending to continue learning and developing their language skills. This review of literature will focus on studies relating to Spanish in bilingual communities, Spanish spoken by natives, HLLs, and L2s, attitudes toward pronunciation and accent in speakers of Spanish and other languages, and Spanish in the mixed classroom.

Language Attitudes in the Spanish Bilingual Community

Focusing on bilingual communities, mainly Spanish-English locales, Galindo (1995) reports on how techniques for studying language attitudes have developed to investigate language attitudes as they are seen in Spanish-speaking communities. Early studies by Amaste and Elías-Olivares (1982), Carranza and Ryan (1975) and Solé (1975, 1981) intended to evaluate the speakers' own spoken Mexican-American speech varieties by following direct methods using questionnaires and interviews with these individuals to understand their perceptions as to what constituted a positive and a negative variety of English and Spanish. Galindo (1995) notes that the paradigm shifted from psychological methods to more ethnographic and sociolinguistic methodologies " by using naturalistic conversational speech… survey interview… with a range of informants across, age, gender, socioeconomic status and generational status" (p. 80). This new outlook not only permitted researchers, such as Peñalosa (1980) to uncover attitudes in a

range of speakers and communities, but also allowed for the creation of a possible themes for the study of attitudes in these bilingual, Spanish-English communities (Galindo, 1995, p. 78-79)

- "Attitudes of one's own language variety or idiolect
- "Attitudes of Chicanos regarding other Chicano's language varieties"
- "Attitudes of Anglos toward Chicano language varieties"
- "Attitudes of Chicanos toward Anglo's language varieties"
- "Attitudes within own group (intraethnic attitudes)"
- "Attitudes across different groups (interethnic attitudes)"

Galindo's (1995) seminal study, conducted with receptive, bilingual adolescents from Austin, Texas, explored the language attitudes of these individuals toward their own Spanish and English language varieties in comparison with those spoken by Anglos and African Americans. Through interviews that included open ended questions eliciting more discussion and informal conversations with the informants in their homes, Galindo (1995) quantitively analyzed the data through the implementation of a descriptive, thematic framework. The main themes found to have caused specific language attitudes included matters regarding language maintenance, language shift toward the dominant language, accented English, and social and ethnic identity. Her results showed that there are linguistic contradictions as some individuals displayed negative attitudes toward Spanish, yet those who speak it declared the importance of maintaining the language to pass it onto future generations. In regard to English use, the Chicano participants denigrated the abilities of immigrants while Anglos and African Americans stated that the Chicanos have unstandardized English even though they were native English speakers. The results of Galindo (1995) are one of the many works that demonstrate that attitudes are not formed based around linguistic factors, but extralinguistic factors and are sustained in the same ethnic groups to self-express a connection to the ethnic identity.

Looking at other studies that have investigated language attitudes from the perspectives of individuals who form part of bilingual communities, Kravitz (1989) found through matched guise testing that speakers in New Mexico had a more positive evaluation of "standard" Spanish in comparison with Southwest Spanish. Similarly, utilizing a questionnaire study in Brownsville, Texas, Binder (1989) uncovered that professionals, such as educators and businesspeople, evaluated the local variety of spoken Spanish as "border-slang" while the everyday citizens labeled it as "informal everyday Spanish." Also, in a border community, Martínez (2003) investigated language attitudes toward the McAllen, Texas Border variety. Implementing two verbal sales, one surveying likeness and the other pleasantness, results illustrated that 21% of participants speaking the border variety perceived the variety as "unattractive", 51% found it to be "quotidian", and 13.7% described it as "pleasant." There is evidence of a change in negative attitudes toward border varieties as seen from the time of Kravitz (1989) and Binder (1989) to the study conducted by Martínez (2003), yet what remains unchanged are the negative trends regarding the view of border Spanish.

By the same token, Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez, and Moyna (2015) implemented a matched guise test in two Texas bilingual cities to understand language attitudes of bilingual individuals toward English, Spanish, and code-switching according to solidarity, status, and personal appeal. Their results showed no significant differences between language attitudes in the two locales. Code-switching was evaluated the most negatively in all three dimensions. English and Spanish were matched for status, while Spanish was ranked highest for solidarity. Nevertheless, the results indicated that when gender was factored into the analysis, there was evidence of the three language varieties playing a role in mediating gender roles. Specifically, women preferred the standard varieties across both genders while men viewed the Spanish and code-switching equally,

demonstrating covert acceptance of the code-switching. Yet, in Edinburg, where a high social prestige toward Spanish does not exist, females were more accepting of code-switching. The results reveal an ongoing sociolinguistic change, especially in bilingual communities where there is not a single identity, or a single language attitude (Rangel et al., 2015, p. 195), but rather a trajectory of ongoing changes.

Attempting to understand standard and non-standard varieties in the bilingual context of El Paso, Achugar and Pessoa (2009) explored how power, place, and history have affected language attitudes in a bilingual community. Surveying graduate students in a bilingual creative writing program, the authors sought to identify the prevalent attitudes toward Spanish and bilingualism. Their analysis revealed that, although the dominant attitudes associated with speaking Spanish include low socioeconomic status and educational levels, the individuals who are Spanish dominant but have a high level of literacy and education are equal to the English speakers in the academic setting. On the contrary, the English speakers in the academic setting alter their preconceived notions toward Spanish dominant speakers in the professional setting but are not motivated to learn the "other's" language (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009, p. 218). In regard to non-standard varieties, the academic program welcomes such varieties as valid for the creative process. Even so, they continue to be viewed negatively and are associated with lower socioeconomic class and educational levels. Such an apparent contradiction creates a general paradox as to what language variety is commonly accepted and displaced in academic or professional spheres, supporting the conclusion of Rangel et al. (2015).

Investigating the language attitudes of high school heritage speakers in Tucson, Arizona, Duisberg (2001) found that heritage students preferred the standard varieties of Spanish, finding that their educational goals and motivations aligned positively with

their evaluation. Further, she found that the non-native Spanish variety, the variety pertinent to Tucson, was evaluated in the same positive light as the standard Spanish. However, in reference to solidarity and status of the variations, the author found that a higher solidarity and status of the variations, the author discovered that a higher solidarity, but lower status ranking toward the Tucson Spanish variety, while the Standard Mexican Spanish was ranked higher in status, but lower in solidarity. Duisberg (2001) posits that this is due "the heritage students [searching for] solidarity and friendship within their new linguistic environment" while being aware of the omnipresent changing political climate in Arizona toward their Spanish variety (p. 171).

Further, in a study exploring the sociolinguistic attitudes of bilingual heritage speakers in Tucson toward four Spanish varieties from Madrid, Murcia, Hermosillo, and Tucson, Ciller and Fernández-Flórez (2016) found that participants ranked the Spanish of Madrid higher than the other three varieties, supporting the ideology of peninsular Spanish being a prestigious variety that students strive to acquire. However, focusing on the bilingual varieties pertinent to the community where the study took place, the authors found that the Hermosillo variety of Spanish was evaluated as more intelligent that the participants' own Tucson variety. Such results demonstrate what Auer (2005) finds to be *linguistic self-hatred,* or, when there are two languages in contact and bilingual participants rank their Spanish more negatively. In diglossic societies, individuals are insecure about their own varieties of the minority language and tend to rank the native, standard varieties of the language they speak higher than their own individual variety (Beaudrie, 2009; Ciller and Fernández-Flórez, 2016).

These previous studies document positive evaluations of standard spoken Spanish in bilingual communities where differing varieties of Spanish mix. These

evaluations can be said to be influenced by the standard language ideology and the prescriptive notions of language use (Martínez, 2006). They further corroborate that since varieties of the Spanish language tend to be viewed negatively in bilingual communities, there is evidence of a lack of respect and solidarity between speakers of the same language. Further, these negative attitudes toward the particular variations of Spanish can have dire consequences on the vitality of the language in the future as these negative evaluations can cause a language shift in the speakers toward the dominant language found in society. The reasons for such a shift are abundant, but it is palpable that extra-linguistic factors dominate such representations of language.

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Language Attitudes in Higher Educational Contexts

Heritage Language Learners

Past research has asserted that HLLs generally have favorable attitudes toward their heritage language (HL) (Cho, Shin, & Krashen, 2004) and in the context of the Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) classroom, attitudes toward the HL are generally positive, yet complex (Alarcón, 2010; Beaudrie, 2009; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005).

Carreira and Kagan (2011) found in an extensive survey that HLLs have positive attitudes and experiences speaking the HL. They found that HLLs study the HL as a way to connect with their communities and family, as well as to learn about their cultural and linguistic identity (Kang & Kim, 2012; Noels, 2005; O'Rourke & Zhou, 2016; Parra, 2016; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Past studies have attested that most HLLs strongly acquire the linguistic varieties of the speech community to which they belong, thus causing them to feel the need to learn an academic and standard register (Fairclough, 2016; Parodi, 2008; Polinsky, 2006). In a study surveying 20 participants in a beginner SHL course, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) reveal that participants who are majority receptive bilinguals use Spanish occasionally. This contradicts the results about Spanish being spoken by those of low socioeconomic status in which the participants held a positive attitude toward the language and were highly motivated to study it as they viewed it as valuable. On the contrary, these students did mention discrimination and criticism as main disadvantages of speaking Spanish. In doing so, they highlighted their fear of teaching their children the language. In regard to their spoken varieties, the participants held negative attitudes toward their variety, describing it as "'pocho' Spanish" (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005, p. 13). In turn, they learning Mexican Spanish, although the classroom under study was diverse in nature regarding language varieties.

In a similar study conducted years later, Ducar (2008) surveyed 152 HLLs enrolled in a SHL program and found that the students were interested in learning a Mexican variety of Spanish (30%), just as Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) did. Nevertheless, these participants also mentioned that it was of importance to learn an academic variety of Spanish (28%). This sentiment was corroborated as, when asked about what type of Spanish they should use in the classroom, students predominantly answered academic Spanish (41%). As the students stated that they spoke either a Mexican or Mexican American Spanish variety, 96% of the students reported that they wanted their Spanish to be corrected, alluding to the use of academic Spanish in the classroom. This high percentage possibly attests to the negative attitudes that these students have toward their own varieties, similar to Beaudrie and Ducar (2005). Ducar (2008) conjectures that it is probable that the students have internalized the negative stigmata attached to their bilingual variety which has been found to be a salient pattern in studies that have been carried out in the U.S. Southwest. Thus, the participants believe that the classroom context calls for academic Spanish.

In her study of 50 bilinguals, Sánchez-Muñoz (2016) found that the participants fear a rejection from their community, fear being made fun of for their language skills, and attribute a low value to the HL since they do not have a strong command of it. These bilingual varieties have been described as *bordelingo, mocho,* or *Tex-Mex* and heritage speaker varieties are seen as being a corruption of the pure language (Zentella, 2008). Zentella (2008) further opposes this notion of corruption by stating that if individuals continue to disparage their abilities "instead of encouraging them to develop their languages, guilt may lead them to abandon one of them" (p.6). It is then not a coincidence that studies have demonstrated that HLLs tend to shift from their HL due to ideologies and prejudice from the dominant culture and, in turn, distress their affective

needs and desires for continuing to study the language (Leeman, 2005; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). The low prestige of Spanish spoken by these HLLs from the home can demotivate them and cause them to lack confidence in their language abilities (Campanaro, 2013). However, Sánchez-Muñoz (2016) concludes that SHL courses are the catalyst for linguistic self-healing, especially regarding HLLs negative representations of their own language use.

Furthermore, in regard to these negative representations of HLLs' language use, it has been stated that "bilingual and multilingual speakers are frequently denigrated as speakers of a degenerate mixed language (e.g., 'Spanglish')" (Carvalho, 2012, p. 143). Studies focusing on attitudes toward Spanglish in the SHL field have documented two conflicting opinions: (i) Spanglish is perceived as entirely neutral and is an affirmation of one's ethnolinguistic identity (Lipski, 2008) and (ii) Spanishligh has been used in a derogatory fashion as a basis for discrimination of U.S.-born Latinos since it lacks structure and order (Escobar & Potowski, 2015; Gumpertz, Drew, & Goodwin 1982; Martínez, 2010; Romaine, 1995). Nevertheless, results of studies that have documented attitudes toward the use of Spanglish have been generally mixed.

Reznicek-Parrado (2015) carried out research to investigate how students' attitudes regarding the academic debate surrounding the mixing of Spanish and English in an educational context. The participants of the study included students in one of three SHL courses who participated in a brief questionnaire and judgment task eliciting attitudes toward specific lexical items characterizing U.S. Spanish as acceptable or unacceptable. The lexical items for the task included lexical borrowings, calques, and lexical extensions, all which have been found to be the characterizing phenomena of "Spanglish" (Lipski, 2008; Otheguy, 2008). Implementing a content analysis, results depicted that participants actively engaged with the code mixing, which reflected their

ethnicity and identity. Nonetheless, the author notes that there was a disconnect between the participants' use of the language mixing and their attitudes towards it. Although participants appreciated the mixing of the two languages, they expressed negative judgments towards its use in an academic community as it could be a sign of linguistic insecurity caused by internalized sentiments towards the use of Spanglish during the process of socialization. Such results are similar to those of Ciller and Fernández-Flórez (2016) and Duisberg (2001) toward the Tucson variety of Spanish.

In a similar study, Montes-Alcalá (2000) studied attitudes toward written and oral codeswitching in bilingual adolescents in California. The author intended to understand how these attitudes affected the type of codeswitches implemented by the youth. The participants included native speakers of Spanish or bilingual speakers who had resided in California for 15 years or longer. In order to study the written component, participants were tasked with writing a fairy tale, producing Spanish-English codeswitching based upon a code-switched fairy tale that they read earlier. For the oral component of the study, the participants were asked to finish a fairy tale of their choice using code-switching. The intention of this oral component was to analyze if participants who regularly employed code switching would incorporate authentic code switches in comparison to those who did not. Although results revealed that written code switches were less accepted in comparison to oral, there were still positive attitudes toward both oral and written code-switches. Going against her hypothesis, the author concluded that attitudes toward code-switching did not determine the kind of code-switching that was produced by the participants, as their behavior was overall very homogenous.

Contrary to the findings of these previous studies, Alarcón (2010) found that advanced HLLs were proud of their HL and their language variety. They had confidence in their Spanish skills and mentioned that, though they were aware of the variety that

they spoke, they did not evaluate it negatively, stating "all Spanish varieties have the same value, and that no variety is more prestigious than the other" (Alarcón, 2010, p. 277).

Along the same lines, Sánchez-Muñoz and Amezcua (2019) examined language attitudes toward public use of Spanish in the new political climate of the U.S. to cognize the effect that the current federal administration has on language maintenance. Analyzing data from 45 HLLs enrolled in SHL courses in California and Arizona, the authors discovered generally positive attitudes toward the use of Spanish given their enrollment in the course. The participants strengthened their linguistic confidence and expressed that their language can be used to deify the present linguistic discrimination and be used for activism as "as tool of resistance against the anti-immigrant rhetoric of Mr. Trump and his supporters" (p. 71). In this context, the Spanish language is not only viewed positively, but also used as a form of resistance to tackle pervasive linguistic discrimination. The participants' confidence in using the language from the courses in which they were enrolled secures their maintenance of the language (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2013; Sánchez-Muñoz & Amezcua, 2019) for intrinsic purposes.

Although this study by Sánchez-Muñoz and Amezcua (2019) was conducted many years later in a different political climate, as part of her large-scale investigation of East Los Angeles, Silva Corvalán (1994) considered attitudes and language loyalty as they related to the different dimensions of language attitudes (e.g., communicative, instrumental, sentimental, and value). She found that the reasons to maintain or improve skills in Spanish faded throughout the different generational groups. The researcher also found that there was a gap between the positive attitudes to maintain Spanish and the willingness to commit to those positive attitudes. Despite positive attitudes towards maintaining the language, Silva- Corvalán (1994) posits that these

speakers are not willing to turn their attitudes into positive action. These results differ considerably from what Sánchez-Muñoz and Amezcua (2019) highlighted since students in such a drastic political climate do hold positive attitudes toward their Spanish and are exercising their knowledge of the language to bring about action.

As the review above has shown, there have been many mixed attitudes toward HLLs' use of Spanish and their own varieties and it is evident that there are two contrasting views. On one hand, HLLs' enrolled in the SHL courses hold negative attitudes toward their Spanish due to beliefs internalized from society. The students attach these negative stigmata to their abilities and consider language shift to escape the prejudice and discrimination. On the other hand, these HLLs believe their language abilities are their link to identity, culture, and heritage, thus holding positive attitudes toward their varieties and even exercising power to bring about change in light of such negative views toward their language. It is evident that the SHL context can dramatically alter language attitudes toward Spanish in the SHL context.

The studies in the section to follow outline attitudinal research that focuses precisely on the issues of fluency, competency, and ability in non-native speakers (NNSs), L2 learners of a foreign language. As there is still a lack of research on Spanish language attitudes toward L2 speakers by other L2/NNS of Spanish, investigations conducted involving different languages have been included to continue contextualizing the current study.

Non-Native Learners and L2s

Many individuals decide to learn Spanish as a foreign language due to not only personal or professional reasons, but also because of the high concentration of Spanish speakers in the U.S. In courses designated for L2 students, instructors encourage their students to take the language that they are learning and apply it to an authentic

environment outside the walls of the classroom (Llombart-Huesca & Daniels, 2006). However, communicative events including NNS and native Speakers in these authentic contexts are not always viewed positively.

Take for instance a study conducted by Callahan (2004) who examined native speaker attitudes toward NNS of Spanish in the public domain. The author was interested in understanding the attitudes of these individuals, as well as their opinion regarding the appropriateness of the Spanish used by Hispanics who do not speak Spanish, Spanish speaking non-Hispanics, and NNS. In distributing a questionnaire across ten states in the U.S., the author found contradicting results. In regard to the quantitative data, results showed that Spanish use by NNSs was deemed as appropriate in specific contexts and there was an overall positive attitude of Spanish use in public domains by Latinos and non-Latinos. However, through analyzing the comments left by those who participated in the questionnaire, Callahan (2004) encountered contradicting results. First, many participants commented that non-native Spanish use is flattering and that it shows motivation in connecting with the minority language culture. However, comments also described that public use of Spanish by non-Latinos is viewed as cultural appropriation, emphasizing the use of "Junk Spanish" to sound colloquial in public (Hill, 1995, 1998). This explains that out-group participants are attempting to form part of the in-group by utilizing in-group Spanish. The problem is that these individuals are not employing such speech respectfully nor do they have fluency, they are viewed negatively for their Spanish in the public sphere. The author suggests that although the study indicates overall favorable attitudes toward out-group member use of Spanish, it is imperative to employ sociolinguistically informed teaching in the foreign language classrooms prevent cultural appropriation as the reason for negative representations of the Spanish language.

Jaber and Hussein (2011) investigated native English speaker attitudes toward non-native English speech by implementing a web-based questionnaire targeting native English speakers. The questionnaire included demographic items, items eliciting attitudes toward English accented speech, and six audio short stories recorded by French, Jordanian, and Japanese English speakers. Interestingly, the study found that Jordanian speakers were ranked more positively for their English, counter to other studies focusing on Arab accents. The reasoning for such a rating is that biases are held, and negative evaluations are given due to low intelligibility and incomprehensibility of accent speech. The results of this study showed that participants viewed French and Japanese English as hard to comprehend in comparison with Jordanian English. This was evident in the professions that were attributed to the Jordanian-accented English speakers (doctor, architect, and writer) and those to the French- and Japanese-accented English speakers (teacher, taxi-driver and chef). In effect, Jaber and Hussein (2011) conclude that those sounding more fluent and comprehensible are worthy of more prestigious professions, resulting in higher evaluations of their language ability.

Focusing on attitudes toward Spanish spoken by natives and NNS, Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017) examined language attitudes held by L2s, HLLs and native speakers of Spanish toward Mexican-accented Spanish and English-accented Spanish in Washington according to five dimensions: superiority, solidarity, competence, physical appearance, and hygiene. Implementing a matched-guise technique, their results demonstrated that Mexican-accented Spanish was ranked higher for solidarity and superiority in comparison with English-accented Spanish. In regard to competence, the authors found the native variety was evaluated more positively, which is in line with previous studies. Interestingly, results showed that, as HLLs find themselves on the boundary of English and Spanish, these learners were not the most critical of the

varieties they heard. On the contrary, it was the L2s who critiqued the guises more severely, especially the L2 accented ones, since the non-native sounding Spanish is a sign of incomplete acquisition of the language. The results of this study demonstrate that cultural awareness and higher education in the Spanish language can weaken dominant prejudice toward any Spanish speakers, contributing to more positive evaluations of the Spanish language. It is evident that those viewed as fluent and competent in the Spanish language are evaluated more positively for their language skills in comparison to those that are not natives of the language.

As part of this study focuses on L2 Spanish students evaluating L2 Spanish accented speech, it is worthwhile to explore the topic of NNSs' attitudes toward other NNSs. Given that studies focusing on attitudes of L2 speakers of Spanish toward other L2 speakers of Spanish are scarce, this section will focus on studies that investigated this topic in regard to English. Episcopo (2009) investigated how English NNSs evaluated other English NNSs to explore the dichotomy between accent strength and listener attitudes. The main research question pertained to whether the language attitudes correlated with accent heard in the NNSs' speech. Implementing a four-part online questionnaire surveying attitudes toward the NNSs by NNS participants, the researcher found that only 41% often pay attention to the accent of NNSs and that it is not important to have a native-like accent. Nevertheless, when asked to comment on their own accentedness, the participants were more critical. They stated that it is very important to uphold the native accent for themselves, despite mentioning that their own accents were nowhere near native-like. Regarding their rating of the stimuli, the results demonstrated that the participants are more critical of others' accents than their own when tasked to listening to people speak. The overall results are contradicting as NNSs perceive other NNSs' accents, but do not think it is imperative to sound native-like.

While they held higher expectations for themselves to sound native, they negatively evaluated the stimuli in terms of accent. There is a large discord between NNSs' expectations of themselves and their judgments of others. Similar results have been found in the present study and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

As the findings by Callahan (2004), Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017), Jaber and Hussein (2011) indicate, it is evident that those sounding fluent and competent in a language are evaluated more positively for their language skills than those who are not native. For this reason, it can be posited that the NNS of Spanish in Callahan's study were evaluated as speaking Spanish as cultural appropriation. The unfortunate, judgmental truth that scholars have found (e.g., Arteaga 2000; Lord & Fionda, 2014) is that "pronunciation [and fluency] instruction in the Spanish L2 curricula is often excluded or relegated as a peripheral component, likely because practitioners do not have the proper training on how to teach it" (Camus-Oyarzún, 2016, p. iii), despite studies finding native-like production if pronunciation is taught in the L2 classroom (Camus-Oyarzún, 2016; Elliot, 1995, 1997; González Bueno, 1997; Kissling 2013, 2014; Lord, 2005, 2008 2010).

Whereas accent concerns itself with the act of saying a word, pronunciation refers to how an individual emphasizes syllables in the pronunciation. With such a different, it is clear as to why there are negative evaluations when speaking a foreign language (Müller, 2013; Rao, 2019). Even if pronunciation is taught, the issue of accent is still relevant in making these L2 speakers fluent and native sounding. Camus-Oyarzún (2016) highlights that studies on the perception of accent are scarce, although immensely important because "L2 learners often have a strong desire to achieve native-like production and native speakers often have an effortless intuition of what native and non-native speech looks like" (Camus-Oyarzún, 2016, p. 23). As Lord (2008) explains,

phonology is fundamental in L2 language learning because it is a prominent feature of foreigner speech.

In her study, carried out in a university phonetics course, the author investigates the use of technology to improve language attitudes toward L2 pronunciation, but conversely assist the participants in gaining phonological skills in Spanish. Through a mixed methodology, the author employed an attitude questionnaire at the beginning and end of the semester that tasked participants with expressing their attitudes toward attainment of pronunciation. Further, a podcast project was incorporated into the course curriculum that had participants orally record six tasks pertaining to particular pronunciation areas in accordance with the themes of the course (e.g. read aloud a short text from a novel at the beginning and end of the semester, read tongue twisters that focused on occlusive consonants). Finally, the pronunciation of the read aloud task was evaluated by judges according to whether or not the pronunciation had developed during the semester. Focusing primarily on the attitudes, Lord (2008) found that overall the participants had significantly more positive attitudes toward more native-like pronunciation, especially in relation to grammar and vocabulary. Similarly, the participants' own pronunciation in Spanish improved during the course of the semester, as determined by the judges. This demonstrates that L2 students can improve their pronunciation skills in the classroom in order to achieve native-like accent and pronunciation.

Along the lines of Lord's (2008) study, it is plausible to suppose that attitudes of English-speaking Americans toward NNSs of English in the U.S. can reveal attitudes related to language variation and accent of L2 speakers of Spanish. It is known that the higher social status an individual has in society, the higher their language variety will be evaluated. Substantially, studies that have investigated this topic have uncovered

predominantly negative attitudes toward non-native speech. As immigration is high in the U.S., many language varieties coexist which results in different accents of English.

Senefonte (2016) outlines a bibliographic study investigating language attitudes toward NNSs in the U.S. Generally speaking, the author found only two studies that reported positive language attitudes toward NNSs in the U.S. Anderson, Downs, Faucette, Griffin, King, and Woolstenhulme (2007) and Forbus (2010) argue that although Hispanics are usually downgraded for their speech, Americans view the language of Hispanics positively. On the same token, Will (2010) found that Honduran-accented English was evaluated more positively than Asian-accented, Alaskan-accented, and African language-accented English, although all four were in part negatively viewed in the English-speaking society.

In regard to the negative evaluations, although Bauman (2013) finds that Hispanic-accented speech is rated higher than Asian due to Hispanics sounding more intelligible, both of these accents were evaluated more negatively than ones associated with those of European descent. As Senefonte (2016) says, "Europeans and Hispanics have the same cognitive capacity to acquire the English language, however their accents are judged differently" (p. 107). Such a statement alludes to the fact that attitudes are not constructed based upon linguistic features, but rather social factors as Europeans are viewed in higher social class positions than the others. Young (2003) documents that although Spanish-accented English was downgraded and evaluated poorly, NNSs' and L2s' language varieties are much more favored by native speakers with experience in bilingual education because L2s and NNSs as more cognizant of language structure and more capable of understanding NNSs' mistakes. Nevertheless, those not familiar with the bilingual education realm still view NNSs' language skills negatively.

This demonstrates that foreign-accented English is negatively viewed when those speaking English are not of an intelligible foreign language descent, such as European. Since the speakers are evaluated as unintelligible and are viewed negatively for their English, it is possible to conjecture that the people communicating have a predisposition toward that language variety. More specifically, as Brooks (2002) comments, "if the listener already dislikes [particular] accents, possibly from a negative experience with a native speaker, he or she will probably tune out the other person or discount what he or she says" (p. 27-28). This ties into what Callahan (2003) found with NNSs speaking Spanish with natives: there is evidence of mock Spanish and cultural appropriation. Galindo (1995) encountered the same reactions in her study investigating Chicano adolescents in Austin. The participants agreed that speaking English with a Spanish accent is a barrier to accessing certain social groups. Surveying adults in El Paso, Velázquez (2009) shows that, 14 years later, adults still believe speaking English with a Spanish accent causes discrimination and exodus from certain social classes. These negative attitudes can already be predisposed due to negative social evaluation toward the accent being used by the speaker in areas where the dominant languages are valued more than the minority languages (Lippi-Green, 2012).

Furthermore, Ryan (1983) and Cargile, Giles, Ryan, and Bradac (1994) argue that negative attitudes toward non-fluent and accented second language speakers arises due to an individual's lack of understanding If an individual has difficulty understanding the language, they will not be disposed to carrying on the conversation and will view it negatively. Accented speech is discriminated against in any situation and there is no way in avoiding it. As studies have shown, an individual's accent when speaking a language is decisive in their portrayal and evaluation as a speaker of that language, as Lippi-Green (2012) found where individuals were accepted or rejected from jobs for their accents.

Similarly, De La Zerda and Hopper (1979) and Haney and Hurtado (1994) found that applicants without an accent more likely obtained supervisory positions, whereas those with a stronger accent would be downgraded to semi-skilled professions.

Additionally, surveying language attitudes of Mexican-Americans high school students in Kansas City and Chicago, Brennan, Carranza, and Ryan (1980) found more preference for English than Spanish. They stated “accentedness as a handicap," (p. 152), albeit they evaluated bilingualism positively. However, comparing the results from Kansas City and Chicago, they found that Chicago would be subject to more discrimination. Moreover, the participants with less of an accent experienced more freedom to accomplish anything that they desired without worrying about stereotyping and prejudice. Finally, Brooks (2002) studied language attitudes of 26 participants from Iowa toward Spanish-accented English. The results depict that more negative reactions were found toward Spanish-accented speech. The native Spanish speakers were labeled as unintelligent and unreliable more often than other non-native English speakers and native English speakers.

The preceding discussion has intended to highlight studies toward accented speech by NNS of a language. It has been shown that, dependent on the society of study, NNSs of a particular language are negatively evaluated for their variety of speech when they utilize the target language. Lippi-Green (1997) explains that “when a conversation is carried out, both interlocuters are supposed to share the communicative burden. The first thing a person must do upon entering a new conversation with an accented person is to decide if he or she wants to accept the responsibility of the communicative burden” (p. 70). It is possible that this communicative is “due not so much to accent as it is to negative social evaluation of the accent in question, and a rejection of the communicative burden" (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 71). Therefore, if an individual does not appear to enjoy

the conversation with another individual, they will already have formed an attitude toward both that accented speech and the individual. It is for this reason that the language attitudes one has toward English-accented speech will transfer to the learning of a foreign language, in this case Spanish. As the studies above have demonstrated, if there is no tolerance toward foreign accents in English, there will not be patience for foreign accents in Spanish. Given that the HLLs and L2s have lived in the U.S. that reflects this reality, it is plausible negative attitudes will transfer when assessing the language varieties of speakers of Spanish, who include NNSs.

The final section that follows emphasizes the attitudes of students who are enrolled in mixed classes. As much research is still to be done on advanced mixed classes and this study intends to shed light on this specific context, the research highlighted below is focused primarily on beginner and intermediate mixed classes.

Language Attitudes in the Mixed Classroom

Scholars studying mixed classes agree that HLLs and L2s should be taught separately since each hold different competencies and skills vis-à-vis the language being learned. Despite the general accord in the field, the reality is different (Carreira, 2016a; Oikonomakou, Aravossitas, & Skourtou, 2018). The majority of students will meet in mixed classes since beginner HL courses are usually not offered for HLLs and not all institutions have developed SHL programs (Beaudrie, 2011, 2012). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the pedagogies employed in L2 classes and SHL classes differ vis-à-vis the target learning goals. In L2 classes, teaching goals focus on moving the students along a spectrum of proficiency and teaching them the skills that reflect real-world communication (Beaudrie et al., 2014). On the other hand, although SHL pedagogy can be said to be based loosely upon the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) standards (Martínez, 2016), researchers in the field of HL have

come to disregard these standards given that they do not take into consideration the unique circumstances of the HLLs (Martínez, 2016). For this reason, HL pedagogues have since adopted the goals summarized by Beaudrie et al. (2014) as ways to model HLL curriculum. Irrespective of the pedagogical goals, HLLs and L2s both vary in their proficiency and skills (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Their strengths and weaknesses are more easily defined according to their proficiency and level of language learning . When the pedagogies are distinct and prior academic experiences are not homogeneous between the two student learners, issues arise in the advanced mixed classroom.

Research on mixed classes has greatly evolved through survey-based investigations (Carrerira & Kagan, 2011), assessment studies (Kagan & Kudyma, 2012), and classroom linguistic skill acquisition studies focusing on dyads (Bowles, 2011). Although experimental and self-reporting type studies present implications regarding how to utilize the knowledge of both student types to harness reciprocal and successful acquisition of language in the mixed classroom, Carreira and Kagan (2018) stress " more classroom-based research across different languages, instructional levels, and institutional contexts is needed to correct this situation" (p. 158). Here, this "situation" refers to a context in which there is not a "binary student population" of HLL and L2s (Carreira & Kagan, 2018, p. 158). Instead, HLLs and L2s are, unfortunately, not matched in proficiency. Furthermore, the classroom unbalanced in terms of student types, language skills, and language variations (Carreira & Kagan, 2018).

While some of the work that has been done on mixed classes does stem from an experimental standpoint, there are some classroom-based research. Studies have shown showed that there are both strengths and weakness to a mixed classroom and the language attitudes and beliefs sustained by the students vary. For example, Campanaro (2013) examined Canadian learners' perceptions of being enrolled in mixed classes. A

total of 55 students from four different upper level courses partook in the study. The author found that HLLs and L2s expressed positive perspectives regarding being together in the mixed classroom as both groups can benefit from collaboration. The L2s claimed that they benefited from exposure to the HLLs' natural language and to different varieties, as well as opportunities to discuss culture and to practice communicating. Similarly, the HLLs identified benefits of collaboration with L2 learners as being able to learn from different points of view, perspectives, and cultures.

Bowles (2011) encountered the same positive perceptions in her study of nine HLL-L2 pairs in task-based interactions. The author found positive attitudes as HLLs benefit from L2 learner knowledge of orthography, accentuation, and grammatical rules, while HLLs benefit L2 learners by being "a respected source of information" (p. 53). This has also been documented by Edstrom (2007) who mentions that HLLs are models of authentic target language usage for L2 learners. Edstrom (2007) emphasizes that there was a positive impact on listening and oral skills since HLLs brought fluent speech and variation to the classroom. Blake and Zyzik (2003) also found this to hold true four years earlier when they researched the potential linguistic benefits by examining interactions between HLLs and L2s enrolled in an intermediate Spanish course. Data revealed that L2s benefited by HLLs as they provided them opportunities to expand their knowledge of their linguistic registers, while HLLs were able to increase their confidence in using the language, as well as their cultural and linguistic skills by assisting their L2 partners.

However, Dones-Herrera (2015) claims that HLLs and L2s would prefer separate classes even if they find it advantageous to work together. The author found that there are specific advantages in being in mixed class, such as the opportunity to learn about culture, engage in reciprocal learning, and experience feelings of appreciation and being valued. Nevertheless, the negative attitudes toward the mixed class stemmed from the

instructor's expectations of each student and the lack of teaching specific material to each of the student types. Yet, as already mentioned, the idea of separate classes was more fruitful for the students, especially for the L2 students enrolled.

From the point of view of L2 students in the mixed classroom, Burgo (2016) focused on understanding the perceptions of these students toward the HLLs in the same class. In general, research has shown that there is a positive impact on oral skills and listening comprehension for the L2s as they have constant contact with authentic speech and dialectal variation (Edstrom, 2007). Similarly, Burgo (2016) not only substantiates these findings by emphasizing that the L2s in the mixed class appreciated the other Spanish dialects and viewed the HLLs Spanish as better, but also contradicted the findings of Edstrom (2007) since some L2s found the Spanish of the HLLs not to be perfect, stating "there is a reason we are in the class together" (p. 63). Following the positive perceptions toward the HLLs, the author considered how L2s are perceived by the HLLs. She found that L2s were perceived to speak more formal Spanish and agreed with the fact that the HLLs learn informal Spanish at home. Nevertheless, self-reported attitudes toward each of their own varieties demonstrated that L2s reported negative attitudes toward their Spanish since "it is not as good as theirs [the HLLs]" (p. 64).

Reporting on attitudes of HLLs in the mixed class, Potowski (2002) sought to report and interpret the experiences of 25 HLLs enrolled in lower-division classes catering to L2 learners at a large research university. The author utilized qualitative research methods to elicit the participants' personal stories in order to elucidate each participant's personal account about the Spanish language. An important result encountered was how HL learners found their Spanish to be inadequate in comparison to the L2s due to "their lack of formal schooling and literacy training in the language or the educational level and socioeconomic status of their families" (Potowski, 2002, p. 37).

These participants internalized the negative representations of their Spanish, causing them to evaluate their abilities negatively. Despite the students mentioning that they learned incorrect Spanish, some participants reported their pronunciation as advantageous over their L2 peers. Others stated that they needed to mask their abilities because they did not want to sound too native-like yet questioned their speaking and pronunciation for being "Spanish with an English accent" (p. 38). Regarding instructor beliefs, they stated that HLLs have faulty grammar, bad spelling, and flawed pronunciation. The teaching assistants were keener on expressing the HL students' weaknesses, rather than praising their strengths, such as with messages of inadequacy in feedback and no desire to teach or validate U.S. Spanish.

In order to eradicate these low affective dimensions in each of the student and the feelings of inadequacy in the mixed class, it has been shown that students working in dyads or groups have possibilities to share their language learning journeys (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Bowles, 2011; Carreria, 2016). If given opportunities to work together, each of the students can use their skills in the language to assist one another. As Carreria (2016) advises, it is imperative to employ reciprocal learning strategies that give both learners opportunities to self-teach since "a critical feature of mixed activities is instilling a sense of individual and collective empowerment though mutually beneficial partnerships between HLLs and L2s" (p. 11). Since the HLLs' naturalistic acquisition of the language may present knowledge gaps in their skills, L2s can assist these speakers given the explicit knowledge they have of the language from their courses. Furthermore, L2s can demonstrate to the HLLs that continuing development in their HL is fruitful and a necessary component to life in the U.S. since the domains of Spanish use continue to increase rapidly.

In regard to the variation of Spanish in the mixed classroom, there are clear language attitudes toward the speech of the other students. L2s positively view the HLL variation, as they view it as natural and target-like. Additionally, L2s view their language as more academic since they have taken classes that have developed their academic skills in the language, feeling as though they have an advantage over the HLLs (Potowski, 2002). From the point of view of the HLLs, these students know that they are capable of using the language, yet are aware that some of their skills falter when compared with the L2s. Nevertheless, there is a lack of research regarding how Spanish language varieties are viewed in upper-division mixed content courses when students are *tasked* with using the language and how such perceptions may differ in lower-level, beginner, and/or intermediate classes where the students are *taught* how to use the language.

Summary

This present chapter has intended to contextualize and recognize the most relevant research related to the topic at hand: language attitudes toward Spanish varieties. Research on Spanish spoken in bilingual communities in the U.S. has uncovered that the Spanish language and the native and heritage speakers of Spanish are seen as members of lower socioeconomic classes and are viewed as having lower educational attainment when compared to English and their English-speaking counterparts (Beckstead & Toribio, 2003; Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017). As wealth and higher education tends to be associated with Anglos and the English language, the Spanish language and those speakers are disenfranchised and negatively represented (Achugar & Pessoa, 2009; Wollard, 1989). Language use is frequently determined by the prevailing language group, since this group has societal power and is portrayed as having a higher social, educational, and economic status (Riagain, 2008; Starks, Davis & Bell, 2002; Suek, 2014; Taumoefolau). Further, these negative attitudes toward Spanish and

its particular variations have shown that, even though bilingual communities create language varieties that are pertinent to the specific locale, individuals of the same communities can develop hegemonic ideologies and attitudes toward their own language. Such ideologies and attitudes can have dire consequences on the vitality of the language in the future as these negative evaluations can cause a language shift in the speakers toward the dominant language found in society. The reasons for such a shift are abundant, but it is palpable that extra-linguistic factors dominate such representations of language. Most importantly, once individuals from these communities enroll in language classes, their socio-affective dimensions are at risk as they might have internalized the negative beliefs toward their speech variety from the dominant language ideologies and attitudes in society which can diminish the use of the minority language completely (Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2006; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016).

On the other hand, it has been found that accented speech is also negatively evaluated from the standpoint of native speakers of a language. Although no studies have sought to analyze and discuss L2 Spanish, it is clear from the highlighted studies that those students who are not native in the target language will be negatively viewed for their speech. Furthermore, the socio-affective consequences might affect their abilities in acquiring the language.

It is for these reasons that courses in educational institutions have been developed to take into consideration each of these student's necessities in learning the target language. Although many educational institutions cater language programs to L2 learners, language programs have steadily increased in offering courses and tracks for the students who learned the language in the household or in the community. However, there is still a lack of programs that dedicate separate tracks for the L2s and HLLs nationwide. In these programs, the mixed classes in which students enroll are identical

to the sperate L2 courses and do not take into account the diversity of language skills and abilities the HLLs possess. For this reason, Carreira and Kagan (2018) urge scholars in the field that

> the importance of this type of work cannot be overstated. Though it is widely accepted that HL learners are best taught in specialized HL classes, large numbers of HL learners study their home language in mixed classes (see Carreira, 2016). This is true across all languages, including Spanish (Beaudrie, 2011, 2012), and it is likely to remain this way into the foreseeable future, which makes it vitally important to devise a pedagogy for mixed classes that is responsive to the needs of HL learners along with those of L2 learners. (Carreria & Kagan, 2018, p. 158)

The nature of a mixed HL-L2 language course presents a challenge to the instructor who may not be cognizant to the different instruction necessary for each learner type yet has to teach a course that combines both learner types. Mixed courses can also present challenges to the different students who speak the language in the variety they have been taught, and are probably unfamiliar with the strengths and weakness of their classmates. As language variation is commonplace in an advanced mixed course and many varieties will be used and heard, the issue then is: what are the attitudes of students toward the different language varieties used in an advanced mixed classroom? As the first attitudinal study of advanced mixed courses using a matched-guise technique to elicit attitudes and interviews to discuss the language attitudes, the present study seeks to fill this research gap on advanced mixed courses. Furthermore, it attempts to understand the reality of Spanish language varieties in an advanced mixed class at the university level.

Looking Ahead

The previous and present chapter have introduced the principal constructs of the present dissertation study by laying out the theoretical foundation for studying language attitudes toward language varieties of Spanish. The chapters that follow focus directly on

the present study. Chapter Three operationalizes the constructs and highlights in detail the processes, procedures, and instruments developed and implemented for data collection. Following the methodology chapter, Chapter Four highlights the analysis of the results from the classes under study and offers a thorough discussion. Finally, Chapter Five presents a conclusion that includes pedagogical implications, limitations, and future directions.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter will describe the methodology for the present study. To begin, the overarching goals of the study, including the justification, research questions, and hypotheses, will be explained in order to contextualize the rationale for the study. Next, the participants and research context will be described in detail, following an explanation of all the materials used (e.g., demographic questionnaire, matched guise technique which includes the voice stimuli). In regard to the actual experiment, an overview of the PRAAT task will be provided to understand the process used to collect results that will potentially support the research questions drafted. Finally, the procedures for the quantitative and qualitative analyses will be presented.

As explicated in the previous chapters, the language contact situation present in the United States (U.S.) and the learning of a language in familial and community settings can affect how language is portrayed and, in turn, language teaching. The incorporation of linguistic variation into the classroom has been a pressing issue that has yielded a hierarchical dissonance as to what varieties should be taught and what varieties should be ignored. As a response, the overarching goal of this study is to explore the language attitudes that second language learners (L2s) and heritage language learners (HLLs) hold while being enrolled in the advanced mixed class toward three distinct spoken varieties of Spanish pertinent to the location where the dissertation study was carried out. In addition, this study seeks to understand if and how these attitudes change from the beginning to the end of the semester. In order to explore the latter, data from two homogenous courses (an advanced L2 course and an advanced HL course) were collected as a means of comparison to understand if a there are differences in language

attitudes in courses where the configuration of student learners is homogenous and teaching methodologies are distinct (Beaudrie et al., 2014).

Through the results, this study aims to determine if the advanced mixed class can be beneficial in fostering an understanding and acceptance toward the linguistic diversity of the Spanish language in all types of language learners. As outlined in Chapter 1, the research questions that guide the direction of the investigation include:

1. What are HLLs' and L2 learners' attitudes towards the spoken Spanish varieties found in their communities (HL, L2, native monolingual) when they begin and end:
    a. an advanced mixed language course?
    b. an advanced L2 course?
    c. an advanced HL course?
2. Is there any evidence of language attitude change in the students enrolled in the advanced mixed class?
3. Why do the HL and L2 learners hold such language attitudes?
    a. Do the pedagogies implemented in the L2 and HL courses have some effect on the student' attitudes when they are enrolled in the advanced mixed course?

Each research question was drafted in order to address a specific need that has been uncovered in the literature on advanced mixed classes and language variation in the classroom (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Carreira, 2016a, 2016b, 2017; Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2013; Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006). Research questions number one and two specifically addresses the main topic of interest to the present study: the language attitudes of each student toward the specific varieties found in the Phoenix metropolitan area. The purpose of these questions is to understand what the attitudes are, either positive and or negative, and if the advanced mixed course can alter the attitudes of the learners. Research question 3 goes beyond the mere quantitative representations of the language attitudes and delves into explanations as to why each learner had such an attitude. This question is important as it will present valuable data for pedagogical implications and possibilities in (re)creating teaching methodologies

used in the specific classes in the future. As it is known that language attitudes are said to develop from human socialization (Garrett, 2010), question 3 intends to look at the students own cultural background, as either of Hispanic descent or not, and their experiences learning the Spanish language to cognize if personal knowledge might have shaped their current language attitudes. Sub-question 3a takes the question of why students hold such attitudes a step further by looking at the course itself, precisely the pedagogies utilized in covering the curriculum. Chapter 1 described the two distinct pedagogies found in Spanish programs where there are L2 and HL tracks and it is evident that the two separate language learning tracks teach the language in different manners. This question intends to understand whether these pedagogies have some sort of effect.

Hypotheses

Three hypotheses were developed to expand my perception and consider all perspectives and possibilities. The process of developing these hypotheses informed my data collection and the necessary instruments and procedures. More importantly, the hypotheses determined whether such suppositions agree or not with the real-world observations. I established the hypotheses based upon the Cognitive Dissonance Theory. As the theory suggests, "we [individuals] have an inner drive to hold all our attitudes and behavior in harmony and avoid disharmony, or dissonance" (McLeod, 2018). If contradictions happen to occur between our attitudes and behaviors, individuals make necessary changes (i.e. in attitude or behavior) to eliminate the dissonance (Festinger, 1957; McLeod, 2018). After beginning the mixed class, each individual student might hold attitudes toward the language varieties evident in the class based upon their previous experience in the classroom. However, after constant exposure to different varieties, it is plausible that inconsistencies might appear between students' attitude and

behavior, thus allowing for particular change. In effect, each of the student's dissonance may be eliminated, or not, by developing new attitudes that change their learned-behavior. Further, these students might acquire new information that outweigh their dissonant beliefs. For instance, they might find that language is constantly changing, as well as that all varieties are acceptable. Or, it is also plausible that these students will not change their attitudes and continue viewing non-standard varieties of Spanish negatively by correcting those individuals who use it. In other words, they may use the knowledge that they learned in their classes about language in lieu of adopting integrative motives to change their attitudes.

I first hypothesized that L2 students will have positive attitudes toward the native speaker's varieties since it is the variety to which they are accustomed hearing in the classroom. More precisely, it is the variety prescribed by the textbooks, which is the variety from Spain (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006). These same students will present similar attitudes toward the Spanish spoken by the HLLs. Studies report that, whether speaking Spanish or English, voices perceived as Latino rank lower than voices perceived as Anglo, especially in the acquisition of a second language (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; Carranza & Bouchard Ryan, 1975). However, Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017) found that Mexican-accented guises were ranked more positively than English-accented guises. In reference to the Spanish spoken by L2s, I posited that there will be negative attitudes toward this variety as it is learned variety and not native. Therefore, L2 speakers might not sound and use the language in the manner in which it is intended.

In reference to what HLLs will perceive of the spoken varieties, it is fair to postulate that they will have more positive attitudes toward the varieties spoken by other HLLs. I based this postulation on what Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) discovered in their research: 65% of participants stated that they were aware of the diverse varieties from

being exposed to a conglomeration of varieties in their HL classes that provided them authentic exposure toward different spoken Spanish. Furthermore, the authors found that the HLLs held a strong preference toward Mexican Spanish, since it was the Spanish of the region in which they resided. Albeit it is plausible to believe HLLs will hold positive attitudes toward other HL speaker, I also hypothesized that these speakers will more positively rank the spoken varieties of native speakers as more prestigious. This hypothesis is in line with Beaudrie et al. (2014), Ducar (2008), Potowski (2002), and Sanchéz-Muñoz (2016) who found that HLLs are adamant on having their speech corrected. By having their speech corrected, it correlates to the fact that the HLLs want to speak a more developed, standard form of the Spanish language, which falls in line with one of the goals of HL pedagogy (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Finally, the variety of the L2s will be ranked more negatively as it is not the traditional variety of spoken Spanish, but rather a textbook derived variation.

With the hypothesis mentioned above vis-à-vis the pre-task, at the conclusion of the data collection period when the post task is carried out, it is probable that L2 and HLLs students will have differing opinions of the spoken varieties. It is believed that, after a semester of being assimilated to a vast array of different variations of the Spanish language, these students may feel as though they have learned the reality that is speaking Spanish and understand how the language varies from locale to locale and speaker to speaker. Just as Burgo (2016) found that HLLs provide L2s with knowledge of different linguistic variations of Spanish and Bowles (2011) highlights HLLs benefit L2 learners by being "a respected source of information" (p. 53), these past findings may hold true during the post task.

To test the hypotheses described above, the same study was conducted utilizing two classes with homogenous student populations. The data from the two homogenous

groups will provide comparable data that can assist in making conclusions about the reality of the mixed advanced classroom. When conducting any study, one independent variable needs to be manipulated and its effects need to be measured by some dependent variables while other factors stay controlled (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989). In this study, the advanced mixed class acted as its own control, and the two other classes represented the two different populations of learners found in the mixed class: one population of L2 and one of HL.

As a way to see if the advanced mixed class has an effect on attitude change where both L2s and HLs enroll, advanced L2 and HL courses were used as a means to understand what happens in regard to language attitudes and language varieties at the homogenous classroom level to possibly support the hypotheses suggested. By including these two courses, it will be possible to understand if the context of the mixed classroom can be a catalyst for attitude change among the students by comparing them to the language attitudes of students enrolled in either the L2 or HL classFor this reason, it is hypothesized that in the homogeneous courses, there will be no change in attitudes from the beginning to the end of the semester due to being immersed in a classroom context with the same type of learner and two distinct pedagogies, one focused on the L2s and the other focused on the HLLs.

Research Context

The research questions and hypothesis have stated that language attitudes will be studied in three distinct contexts, including an advanced mixed class, an advanced L2 course, and an advanced HL course. The section below outlines the main differences of each of the courses at the university under study, including the content, assessments, and learning outcomes.

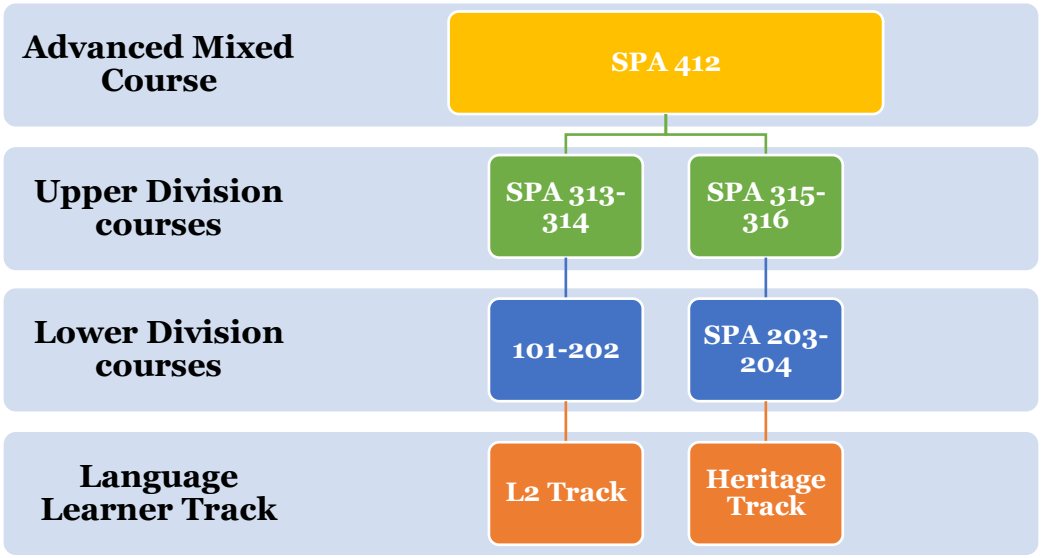

Figure 3.1 Sequence of Spanish courses at the university under study[6]

SPA 412: Advanced Conversation and Composition

For this present study, the advanced mixed class is studied to understand the students' language attitudes at the beginning of the semester and at the end of the semester. This course is the first required advanced mixed class at this university where both HLLs and L2s are simultaneously enrolled. The purpose of this course is to strengthen oral and written Spanish communication skills, with particular attention given to developing fluency and facility with the language and strengthening the student's capacity to critically think and analyze through the use of literature and film. The students' acquisition is continuously developed within a dynamic literary and cultural context where students are exposed to culture, history, and literature of Spanish-speaking countries. The guiding objectives are to develop the written and oral expression in all students, as well as increase the understanding of authentic texts through listening and reading comprehension.

[6] Although SPA 325, Introduction to Hispanic Literature is offered at this university and is an advanced mixed course, it is not highlighted in the figure since it is an upper division Spanish elective and not a required course for all Spanish majors, unlike SPA 412.

At the end of the course, the students are expected to have mastery of:

- Utilizing the Spanish academic register
- Understanding the process and composition of academic essays
- Mastering grammar and advanced spelling
- Participating effectively in public and academic speaking
- Having the capacity to critically analyze literary texts and films

During the course, students are presented various literary works, each relating to a particular theme such as love, morals, and the questioning of gender roles. Using the textbook *Intrigas* (Courtad, Everly, & Gaspar, 2017), students actively participate and continue to learn about the Spanish language through films such as *Como agua para chocolate* by Alfonso Arau, *El laberinto del fauno* by Guillermo del Toro, *El hijo de la novia* by Juan José Campanella, and *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* by Pedro Almodóvar, stories like "Los gallinazos sin plumas" by Julio Ramón Ribeyro and "Emma Zunz" by Jorge Luis Borges, theatrical fragments like *El eterno feminine* by Rosario Castellanos and *El delantal blanco* by Sergio Vodanovic, and poems such as "Tú me quieres blanca" by Alfonsina Storni, "Explico algunas cosas" by Pablo Neruda, and "Canción de otoño en primavera" by Rubén Dario. The integration of films, literature, and culture provides students with rich opportunities for discussion, critical thinking, and interpretation, utilizing the target language, but also various literary techniques and devices are introduced and taught such as foreshadowing, simile, metaphor, allusion, imagery, allegory, anaphora, and anthromorphisim. During the class time, analysis and discussion of the works are presented in various ways to get the students to utilize the target language to engage with the works, devices and techniques. Conversation is the key skill that is focused on in the classroom as it takes up about 90% of the class time. Nevertheless, students also participate in partner work and written exercises all focused on the content of the class. For example, traditional activities such as comprehension

questions are given, and students are asked to answer them in groups or more innovative tasks are used such as to summarize the details of the particular work solely utilizing memes. Further, a big difference from other courses is that there is no explicit metalinguistic instruction, but rather it is expected students utilize the metalinguistic knowledge they have learned to analyze and discuss the content. As this is the final language course, its focus is on advancing students with their acquisition of the Spanish language, and hence it does not provide any direct content regarding language variation. The works that the students are exposed to come from different Spanish-speaking countries, hence different varieties of the Spanish language are presented. Explicit instruction of Spanish language varieties is not taught as it would be in a linguistics course devoted to the Spanish of the world. The variation of the Spanish language the students are exposed to is presented in the textbook through the literature. The literary variety, also referred to as the standard (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2014; Jordan, 1985; Rose, 2005) is what the students in SPA 412 are exposed to, possibly exhibiting diglossia as there is divergence between the written, literary form, and the spoken vernacular in Spanish. This difference in this course is not explicitly discussed.

Assessments in SPA 412 are designed to integrate what the students have discussed in class, viewed or read as well as develop their language skills in accordance with the ACTFL proficiency guidelines (2012). In order to meet the advanced level proficiency in speaking and writing and the advanced high-level proficiency in reading and listening, various assessments were given to the students.[7] For example, to continue developing public speaking skills, students are tasked with two individual oral

[7] It is important to note that even though ACTFL levels appear on the syllabus, they aren't mapped correctly onto the actual student development in these courses as there are no ACTFL based assessment implemented.

presentations, one on the literary works in the textbook by presenting information on the author, the background, and providing an analysis of the text in front of the class, and the second on the final research paper. Also, the students participate in three debates (*mesa redonda*), where they debate a theme or topic addressed in one of the films or literary works, such as gender roles (i.e. should men be stay-at-home dads) as a class using information they have researched. Finally, the last oral assessment is the final oral exam, where students are evaluated on the development of their oral expression during the semester. Listening and reading skills are assessed through online homework as well as classroom participation. In reference to the written assessment, students write two compositions based upon the writing styles presented in the textbooks. To exemplify, students are introduced to an interpretive literary essay, a compare and contrast essay, a critical review, a literary report, a detailed character analysis, and a cause and effect essay. Based upon the topic selected by the instructor, students write a particular essay utilizing the writing style assigned with the particular topic. The last writing assessment is an investigation on a topic discussed with the instructor relating to any of the themes discussed in the course, four pages in length with a bibliography.

In the semester of data collection, three sections of SPA 412 were offered during the noon hours, each with 24-26 students. The classes were offered twice a week for an hour and fifteen minutes each, Monday/Wednesday and Tuesday/Thursday lasting 16 weeks.

SPA 314: Spanish Conversation and Composition II

At the university under study, SPA 314 is the sixth semester course in the Spanish as a second language program. This class is a homogenous L2 learner course. The primary purpose of this course is to develop the students' writing skills. Each chapter of the textbook used, *Taller de escritores: Grammar and Composition for Advanced*

Spanish (Bleichmar & Canon, 2016), outlines a different type of writing style: description, narration, exposition, argument, and academic essay. The students are presented examples of each type of writing through reading famous pieces of literature, including *Platero y yo* by Juan Ramón Jiménez*,* "La siesta del martes*"* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, "Una bandera rota y embarrada*"* by Isabel Allende, "La generación de los mil euros" by Antonio Jiménez Barca, "La civilización del espectáculo" by Mario Vargas Llosa, and a literary critique about the anthology *Recuerdos inventados* by Rosa Beltrán.

In essence, each of the lessons is divided into three sections: a focus on (i) the readings, (ii) the metalinguistic information, and (iii) the final on the writing process. Regarding the readings, the purpose of these pieces is to present examples of the writing style that the particular lesson addresses. The sections that emphasize metalinguistic information focuses on the lexicon, structures, orthography, and punctuation where the students increase their sophistication of the Spanish language by employing a wide range of grammatical structures and specialized lexicon in a variety of written contexts. Topics that are covered include the silabification process, verb tenses such as future, grammatical moods, usage of the period, comma, colon, and semicolon, to name a few. The final section of the chapters focuses on the writing process where the students are exposed to writing as a process of techniques, including brainstorming, collaboration, planning, review and editing.

The guiding objectives of the course are focused on developing each student's written expression. Students learn to write different types of texts such as narrative, argumentative, and academic essays. They also learn to develop oral skills in defending their own point of view. By the end of the course, students are expected to:

- Describe places, people, and events using specialized vocabulary and metaphors
- Narrate in the past, present, and future

- Successfully argue for or against something using facts and evidence
- Present and defend an opinion orally and in the academic written context
- Write a well-written academic essay using the information learned in the course

In order to reach these objectives, students are charged with various assessments. In regard to assessing written skills, the students develop two essays during the semester. The first essay in this course is a description where students describe a historical event, a great discovery, or a natural catastrophe using what they have learned in class. The second essay is an exposition paper where students choose a question and write an opinion piece. Questions to write about include:

- Is it important to travel to learn about new cultures and ways of life or is it not necessary?
- What is the ideal age to become independent?
- Is it preferable to exclusively go to school or to work to gain experience?

Students in the course select one question and write a 700-word essay using two sources. The final assessment for the written component consists of a final, argumentative essay, four to five pages in length with a bibliography on a topic of their choice.

Next, the oral component of the course is assessed with one mid-semester, five-minute presentation on the student's own topic, and a second, final presentation on the topic of their final essays. Students prepare PowerPoint presentations and speak to the class, and once finished, students ask questions. These two oral assessments enable the students to continue developing their public speaking and academic presentation skills in the Spanish language. Finally, lesson quizzes are administered where students were tested on the readings, grammar, orthography, and punctuation presented in the class.

Referencing the topic of language variation, this course did not present students with direct contact with Spanish language variation but rather students were tasked with developing their writing skills. The language variety to which students were exposed was

the one found in the textbook through the literature presented and the grammar explanations. Charity-Hudley and Mallinson (2014) assert "grammar-book style English is often viewed as the target for how students should express themselves in school settings" (p. 20) alluding to the notion that written language presented in a textbook is what is considered the standard. Although the topic of Anglicisms was presented in the course, it was explained in the context of the development of the Spanish language perspective, from the time of the Arabs on the Iberian Peninsula to the influx of immigration in the United States. The Anglicisms that were taught focused on technology, administration, sports, and nutrition and although Anglicisms could have easily swayed into a lesson on language variation and Spanglish, the curriculum did not include it as this course is taught by numerous instructors who all have differing specializations and is a core course in the Spanish second language program, and not a topic course on language variation and Spanglish.

SPA 316: Advanced Spanish for Bilinguals II

In lieu of SPA 314, SPA 316 is for those HLLs who have been exposed to Spanish from inside the household, relatives, or community, and who can read and write in the language. SPA 316 is the fourth and final semester course in the Spanish for heritage language program which uses Potowski's (2011) textbook, *Conversaciones escritas: lectura y redacción en context*. As the course is advanced, students continue to strengthen their writing and speaking skills to develop advanced abilities for use in professional, educational, and academic contexts. Further, the class provides a dynamic cultural context to critically examine issues related to Hispanic communities, bilingualism, and education in the U.S. It provides a rich educational context to critically examine these issues and allows for students to participate in dynamic group activities

and projects by using the language for authentic communication. The guiding objectives for students in SPA 316 include:

- Expand academic and professional Spanish repertoire
- Develop advanced writing skills
- Develop oral, public speaking skills
- Utilize advanced Spanish grammar and orthography
- Understand and analyze literary texts
- Appreciate various aspects of bilingualism and develop critical thinking skills to analyze topics related to language maintenance, bilingualism, and identity
- Be consciously aware of the political, social, and economic situations of Spanish language use in the United States

To meet these objectives, students are assessed on their oral skills and their written skills. The main oral assessments include classroom participation and three presentations: a debate, a presentation on a topic related to their community, and a final presentation on their final research paper where the students are assessed on their overall improvement in using academic Spanish. In regard to the writing skills, students are tasked with three cultural projects where they investigate language attitudes, learn about the Spanish in the Southwest, and participate in a service-learning activity. These projects give students the opportunity to learn about their own Hispanic community. Further, to assess their academic writing skills, students develop, research and write two papers during the semester, one an argumentative essay and the other a monograph about a topic of their choice. After each paper, students write a reflection about their Spanish language skills, examining the challenges, achievements and goals they have faced while writing each essay in order to understand what they need to do to improve their oral and written skills. Finally, students are given a final exam that covers the content of the course, ranging from the readings and grammar instruction they received during the semester, therefore these assignments all implicitly privilege the use of the prestigious, academic register.

Nevertheless, as the guiding objectives of this course include not only the development of language skills, but also the fostering of an appreciation for the dialectal and linguistic differences of the Spanish language, this course does devote specific time to unearthing and analyzing language variation and differences in spoken Spanish. The syllabus of this course explicitly states students are to appreciate linguistic and cultural differences related to the Spanish language in order to appreciate and utilize their own variations or registers in various contexts. In chapter 1, a description was presented that explained in detail the characteristics of HLLs and it was made evident that these speakers are in no way homogeneous. As it has been noted in the descriptions of the two other classes, SPA 412 and SPA 314, Beaudrie et al. (2014) highlight that two important goals of heritage language pedagogy include maintenance of the HL and the development of a positive attitude toward the HL, goals that typically do not appear in the curriculum of L2 courses. For these reasons, topics relating to sociolinguistics are included in the final advanced HL language course, but not the final advanced L2 language course.

As one of the primary purposes of the present study is to discover whether teaching pedagogies have an effect on the student's language attitudes, incorporating a course that utilizes a different pedagogy allows for the collection of data that may demonstrate the need to alter aspects of language teaching pedagogies, precisely in the L2 courses. Furthermore, through analyzing this data, there is the possibility of allowing for the conclusion of pedagogical implications that can further alleviate the issues found in courses where variation is not discussed.

Participants

In order to recruit participants for this study, the director of the Spanish division and the coordinators of the Spanish as a second language program and Spanish as a heritage language program at the university were contacted and were meticulously

explained the details and the purpose of the study. After obtaining consent from these two individuals, four instructors of the three different classes were sent an email message, explaining in full detail the purpose of the study. Further, the researcher asked permission to visit each of the classes to explain to the students the rationale and the premise of the investigation, although no specifics of the study's expected purpose or outcome were mentioned.

The classes were selected based upon student enrollment. Specifically, the classes had to reflect a maximum enrollment of 28 students in order to present the researcher with a high number of participants and ensure that there would be enough participants for the study to be reliable and valid in the cases were some were to miss the tasks or lose interest in the study. As Mackey and Gass (2016) explain, participant mortality is inevitable in studies that are longitudinal in design (p. 163). In total, five class sections participated in the study: SPA 314 (n = 1), SPA 316 (n = 1), and SPA 412 (n = 3). By receiving each of the instructor's permission, the pre and post tasks were incorporated into the class calendar and all the students were made aware of these tasks time in advance.

Given that the participants from the advanced HL and L2 classes only participated in the matched guise task, the criteria was less stringent than that of the SPA 412 courses. In order to be considered as a participant for the study, the students in the SPA 314 classroom has to represent a classic L2 linguistic profile. Similarly, students in the SPA 315 classroom needed to reflect a classic HL profile where the individuals learned Spanish in a familial/community setting since childhood. In order to determine which students were eligible to participant, the researcher relied upon his observations made while visiting the classes at the onset of the semester. From these observations, one individual from SPA 314 was deemed as ineligible given that they met the profile of a

receptive HLL. Three students from SPA 316 were also deemed as ineligible to participant given that their connection to the Spanish language and cultures stemmed from serving missions in Spanish-Speaking countries for an extended period of time. Therefore, data from 23 participants in SPA 314 and 20 participants in SPA 316 were analyzed.

When selecting the participants from the three SPA 412 sections, the selection criteria was determined by the language background and contact questionnaire (see explanation below), as well as the number of classes that they had taken before the advanced mixed class. When selecting HLLs, those students who were of Mexican descent and who had taken two or more years of HL Spanish courses at the university were selected. As for L2 students, the same approach was taken and only those students who had taken at least two years of Spanish at the same university where included.

In the three sections of SPA 412 combined, there was a total of 50 students participating in the pre-task: a total of 16 HLLs and 34 L2s. This number already accounted for the ten students from SPA 412 who were excluded from participating because they were either familiar with the goals of this study, had taken a prior class with the researcher, or were not over the age of 18. During the post-task, there was mortality as nine students did not participate: six HLLs and three L2s. In effect, the nine students who did not attend the post-task were eliminated from the study, including their data from the pre-task in order to have an even data points for comparison, as the SPA 412 class was the main class under study. Therefore, in total there were 41 participants for SPA 412: 10 HLLs and 31 L2s. Table 3.1 shows the number of participants for this study, divided by student learner and class type.

Table 3.1. Number of Participants

Class	L2	HL	Total
SPA 314	23	-	23
SPA 316	-	20	20
SPA 412	31	10	41

As seen in table 3.1, there is an uneven distribution of participants for SPA 412. The reasoning for such an uneven distribution stems from the simple fact that the mixed class is not homogenous. As Carreira (2014, 2017) asserts, there are three main mixed class typologies. The most common is a type one typology in which L2 students outnumber the HLLs. Further, the university under study has a much larger L2 language program than the HL program. To illustrate, in the semester of the data collection, there were 61 L2 courses offered versus 13 HL. In regard to the student enrollment, there were a total of 723 students enrolled in L2 courses while only 159 students were enrolled in the HL courses. Hence, the imbalance between the number of courses serving each of these student learners and the overall number of students enrolled impacted the uneven distribution of the participants from the SPA 412 course.

SPA 412: Participant Profiles

Describing the participants for this study in more detail, in SPA 412, the 10 HLLs who participated were of Mexican decent, precisely of Northern Mexico, speaking a Northern Mexican variety of Spanish. They were all born in the U.S., including five who grew up in the southern border towns of Nogales and Yuma. Each of these participants learned Spanish in the household. Further, all HLLs completed at least two courses in

the SHL program and were aware of their strengths and weakness using the Spanish language.

On the other hand, the 31 L2 students all learned Spanish in the educational context, beginning their language learning journey from as early as kindergarten in dual immersion schools (n = 3). A total of 10 L2s stated that they studied abroad for at least one semester in a Spanish speaking country, mentioning they were comfortable understanding and even speaking the language variety of that country. All L2 participants completed at least two courses in the L2 Spanish program, with SPA 202 being the first, lowest-level course that a participant completed. All of the L2 participants described their skills with the language above intermediate, mentioning that they needed improvement in all four skills with speaking and reading being the skills needing the most improvement.

Concerning the language varieties to which the participants had been exposed, the participants reported Mexican Spanish as the most common variety via the questionnaire and interviews (n = 41).[8] Also, many participants stated the Spanish of Spain (n = 15), Colombia (n = 5), and Argentina (n = 4) were common variations to which they were accustomed. Similarly, the most common Spanish variety spoken by the participants' instructors were that of Spain (n = 24), Mexico (n = 16), U.S. (n = 15), Puerto Rico (n = 8), Colombia (n = 6), and Argentina (n = 4).

SPA 314 and SPA 316: Participant Profiles

In regard to the SPA 314 course, the 23 participants were all classified as L2s of Spanish, either majoring or minoring in Spanish. These individuals reported having had contact with the language throughout their educational context, starting with courses in

[8] Not all participants answered every question in the questionnaire. For this question, only 20 participants included an answer.

high school and the communities where they lived. In SPA 316, the 20 participants learned Spanish in the community or home setting in the Southwest and spoke a Mexican variety of Spanish. These participants also either majored or minored in Spanish, yet five stated that they were taking the course because it was a requirement for their major. Finally, each of the participants from the two classes reported having completed at least two courses prior to enrolling in the present course, thus having a previous foundation in the language through the previous courses offered at the university. In the chapters that follow, more details about the participants will be presented as they relate to the research questions and the data.

Materials

The materials and instruments used for this study were carefully modeled after previous studies on language attitudes. The procedures, materials, and instruments eliciting language attitudes toward the varieties mentioned follow an indirect method, namely the use of a matched-guise and ranking technique (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017; Garrett, 2010; Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher, 2015; Lambert et al., 1960; Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017). The present study does not intend to disprove or reconsider the methods already utilized, but instead apply them to a population of Spanish learners and speakers in an original context: the advanced mixed class in the context of the U.S. Southwest.

Language Background and Contact Questionnaire

The language background and contact questionnaire used was modified and adapted from Carreira (2011) and Torres (2012). Specific components from each of these questionnaires were adapted to create the questionnaire used for this study. The questionnaire served a multitude of purposes. First, it was used to elicit demographic information referencing language and cultural profiles in order to find out who were my

participants. Second, the questionnaire was used to understand the language contact and exposure that the students enrolled in the three different Spanish courses had with the diverse variations of Spanish. Third, it served in a qualitative manner by clarifying patterns in the student attitude scores during the pre and post tasks. Finally, in the case of SPA 412, this instrument also served as a way to determine the learner type of the students (L2 versus HLL). As this particular class is mixed, it was necessary to know the number of HLLs and L2s in the three sections.

The questionnaire was created in Qualtrics, a user-friendly, web-based survey tool used to conduct survey research. By using this platform, the completed survey was easily distributed to the instructors of the courses used for the data collection and the responses were recorded to be analyzed. The survey was assigned and distributed by the instructor of the class during the first week with the overall goal to understand the language use, contact, and exposure of the participants. The results then assisted the researcher to select the participants who would participate in the two tasks and those to be interviewed at the conclusion of the data collection period. The students had a one-week timeline to complete the survey. In total, there were 31 questions, with one being optional for the participants to complete. The survey consisted of 16 free response questions, 12 multiple choice questions, and one question that had them rate their Spanish proficiency on a scale from 1 (excellent) to 4 (poor). The estimated time students took to complete the survey was about 10 minutes. In total, 126 questionnaires were collected See appendix A for the questionnaire.

Matched-guise Experiment

To accomplish the goals of this study, a matched-guise technique was implemented. As already mentioned, the matched-guise technique was first developed to investigate people's attitudes toward geographical, social, or ethnic language varieties

and to the languages spoken in bilingual communities in an indirect manner (Lambert et al., 1960; Stefanowitsch, 2005). It contrasts with the direct method of simply asking people about their attitudes toward languages, which generally reveals cognizant stereotypes predominant in their community rather than their actual attitudes (Kircher, 2015; Stefanowitsch, 2005). Hence, the matched-guise technique circumvents conscious reflection by confronting participants with recorded examples of the language or the language varieties by eliminating individual speech characteristics (Garrett, 2010; Gass & Mackey, 2011; Loureiro-Rodriguez, Boggess, & Goldsmith, 2012; Stefanowitsch, 2005). The first step in conducting the matched-guise experiment was to create the voice stimuli that the participants would listen to and rank.

Voice stimuli script. In this matched-guised experiment, the topic of the voice stimuli for the guises focused on a hypothetical job interview (Casillas, 2013) for a gym serving the Hispanic community in the Phoenix metropolitan area. In previous studies, semantic differential scales have been utilized to rank the guises (Duisberg, 2001; Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Osgood, May, & Miron, 1975). As highlighted in Chapter 2, these presented controversies (Garrett, 2010) and for this reason, this study shifted from the semantic differential scales and instead incorporated a hierarchical scale that presented distinct job positions that represented either positive or negative attitudes. In accordance with Wölck (1986), the topic of a match-guise voice stimulus needs to be a topic familiar to all those who recorded it and to those who listened. The topic for the experiment was one that all speakers were familiar with since interests in jobs is a common occurrence in the real world, especially at the university-level, and many individuals have had experience calling and explaining their qualifications for possible jobs. Before the stimulus was recorded, a basic script was written in English which consisted of five different experiences a hypothetical individual

would have had that would complement a job advertisement for a gym. After the script was written, it was sent to two instructors teaching SPA 314 (L2) and SPA 316 (HL). These instructors projected the English script for their students and gave them about 15 to 20 minutes to translate the script from English to Spanish with just their knowledge of the Spanish language. The instructors were advised to not allow partner work, the use of dictionaries or translators, or ask any questions of the instructor. The reasoning for such strict guidelines was to have the most adequate representation of Spanish abilities pertinent to each learner and control for the introduction of possible variables that could influence the study. In the L2 course, SPA 314, a total of 16 translations were done. However, four were discarded for not being fully translated and another three were discarded for the use of many English words. In total, nine were analyzed by the researcher using the designated writing rubrics of SPA 314. As SPA 314 is a class that focuses heavily on writing, the researcher analyzed the grammar, conventions, and vocabulary. The written translations needed to include a wide range of grammatical structures consistent with the forms learned in the course, very few or no faults with respect to spelling. Further, the use of idioms, a wide range of vocabulary and no English interference were analyzed in the translations as well. The final translations for the L2 variety stimuli were selected based upon the criteria mentioned above and exceled in using vocabulary, a wide range of structures such as the subjunctive and si-clauses.

The HL script presented the same issues as the L2. A total of 16 scripts were translated by students in the SPA 316 course. However, as the instructor of this course mentioned, three students were not asked to participate since these students either did not immigrate to the U.S. until after the age of 16 and/or spent two years on mission trips in South America. Further, out of a total of 13, five scripts were also eliminated for incomplete translation and misunderstanding. Finally, two scripts were selected as

exemplar scripts of the HL learner. Studies have shown that when HLLs are tasked with written texts, they make use of their oral registers (Beaudrie, 2012; Beaudrie et al., 2014; Torres, 2016), combine traits of native and L2 in their writing (Beaudrie et al., 2014), and rely on implicit knowledge and translation when composing written texts (Schwartz, 2003). These three criteria were used when reviewing the two scripts. It was found that neither of the scripts utilized all of the criteria found by researchers. For example, one of the scripts contained direct translations from English (i.e. work-related experience – *trabajo-relacionado experiencia*). In the other script, there was more use of English words, such as *platforms* instead of *plataformas* and difficulty in using the prepositions *por* and *para*, which is a common for L2 students. For this reason, using what previous studies have documented about HL writing and the criteria above, it was necessary to manipulate these two scripts into one given that HL learners all range in their abilities and are not a homogeneous group of learners (Beaudrie et al., 2014) and the purpose of the HLL voice stimuli was to encompass the abilities of an HL.

Finally, to develop a native speaker script, an English translation was given to a group of native speakers of Spanish who grew up in Northern Mexico (Ciudad Juarez, Ensenada and Hermosillo) and immigrated to Arizona after the age of 15. A total of four scripts were written and the final script was chosen solely for the purpose that it was written completely in Spanish, without the use of English.

After the three scripts that were used as the basis for the voice stimuli were chosen, 11 more variations of these basic scripts were written. In order to guarantee that the participants in this study would not be cognizant to the fact that each script was the same and was recorded by the same individuals, it was necessary to create lexically altered scripts and adjust the order of the content presented. In the final 12 scripts, there are various linguistic differences encompassed in the three variations of the script. It is

evident that there is not a consensus in terms of the content produced in the writing by the three speaker types. The content translated from the basic English script was not uniform across all three varieties and the scripts all presented lexical, morphological, and syntactic differences, alluding to the authentic nature of Spanish used in society. Furthermore, once recorded, phonological and phonetic differences were heard in the recordings done by the participants, such as the aspiration or elision of the /s/. Table 3.2 displays particular differences found in the written scripts.

Table 3.2. Linguistic Content of Voice Stimuli

Example	L2 Spanish	Heritage Spanish	Native Spanish
1	ud. esté bien	estás bien.	estén muy bien
2	las posiciones que hay libres	las posiciones libres	los puestos abiertos
3	University of Central Arizona	University of Scottsdale	Chandler State
4	el marco de compras	experiencia en ventas	con experiencia en venta
5	la tienda de ropa	el hotel	la tienda
6	mis tíos	mi abuelo	mis abuelos
7	otra experiencia de trabajo	otro trabajo-relacionado experiencia	otra experiencia laboral
8	la primera cara	la primera cara	el primer rostro
9	demonste	demuestre	demuestre
10	espero que nosotros continuemos hablar	espero que continuamos en contacto.	yo espero que nos mantengamos en contacto

It is observable that there are many differences in the choice of items used in these written scripts. For example, example 1 in Table 3.2 shows three differences in terms of greeting, including the use of three different subject pronouns and two verbal

moods. The use of different moods is also seen in example 10, where there is the use of subjunctive and indicative, including two different verbs to express a desire. In reference to the lexical differences, these are seen in examples 2, 3, 5 and 6, each utilizing a different lexical item to reference the same referent (e.g. different university names, family members, and professions). Nevertheless, there are obvious discrepancies in the morphosyntax, especially in the L2-accented guise, such as in example 6 were a common conjugation error is seen (*demuestre* vs. *demonste*). Finally, as seen in paradigm 7, the heritage/US Spanish-accented guise incorporates a direct translation from English (e.g. work-related experience is translated to *otro trabajo-relacionado experiencia*). What this information in table 3.1 shows is the diverse linguistic variations found in all types of speakers, exemplifying how language is used differently. Interestingly enough, the array of different linguistic items utilized in the script does not alter the overall topic, content or the understanding. The scripts followed the same theme all the way through and were solely altered for linguistic content and order.

Despite the lexical content being altered as seen in table 3.1, the overall content of the scripts was not changed in anyway, following the criteria proposed by Wölck (1986, p. 41):

- "Stimuli from different speakers should contain approximately the same content, so that the effect of content differences upon ratings is minimized. This is achieved by having the topic of conversation be constant for all speakers."
- "The stimulus should be a sample of natural conversational speech and contain all aspects of phonological, grammatical and lexical pragmatic, prosodic and stylistic structure known to influence attitudes and ratings."
- "The topic needs to be familiar to all speakers and listeners, native to the speech community and of minimal emotional appeal, so that the listeners' reactions are not overly influenced by their agreement or disagreement with the speaker's statements."

Using these criteria mentioned above, it was ensured that all stimuli were similar and did not incorporate any extraneous variables that would differentiate each voice. Kircher

(2015) emphasizes that stimuli intended to be used in matched-guise experiments need to be as neutral as possible and have little to no influence upon the participant's evaluations of the speakers' guises. Subsequently, this includes no incorporation of ideological or political issues pertinent to the individuals under study or the context where the study takes place (Kircher. 2015).

Procedures

The sections that follow address the procedures followed for the matched-guise experiment, beginning with the recording of the scripts to creating the experiment.

Recordings

The spoken variations that were incorporated include a L2 accented Spanish, a heritage, HL/US-accented Spanish, and a native Northern Mexican Spanish, each easily found to the linguistic community of the metropolitan area where the study was conducted. Each individual, or voice, was charged with recording three renditions of the basic script given to them in each of these varieties (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017; Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010; Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017). In this case, the recordings are matched, or as Kircher (2015) explains, the person recording the guises and the content being recorded are similar, just the variety in which the text is delivered is different. It was important that the same speaker recorded all three variations in order to not introduce any new independent variables.

Furthermore, when selecting an individual to record the stimulus, Kircher (2015) emphasizes that all speakers need to be similar to each other in terms of age, ethnic, and socio-economic background, as well as any other characteristics pertinent to the study. Since this dissertation study included male and female guises, the possibility of gender bias was eliminated. Kircher (2015) states that it is necessary to include an equal number of males and females as past studies have shown that gender influences one's

perceptions and evaluations of speech (Deuchar, 1990; Duisberg, 2001; Eckert, 1989; Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017; Garrett, 2010; Tannen, 1990; Trudgill, 1972). All of the factors mentioned above were taken into consideration when selecting the voices to record the script in order to exclude any confounding variables.

To record, the free and open-sourced digital audio editor, Audacity was used. Audacity, created by Mazzoni and Dannenberg (1999)[9] at Carnegie Mellon University, permits recording of audio from multiple sources. It allows for post-processing of all types of audio by incorporating effects such as normalization, trimming, pitch, and reduction. For the purpose of this study, the only effects used in Audacity were pitch and trimming.

Two male and two female speakers local to the U.S. Southwest were chosen as the voices to control for possible gender bias. It is necessary to note that, at the beginning, a total of six speakers were asked to record the guises. However, two recordings were discarded (one male and one female) due to not sounding natural or not being able to produce the dialectal variations necessary. Table 3.3 below presents basic demographic information about the voices that participated in recording the stimuli. Each speaker as assigned a pseudonym.

[9] Audacity Team (2019). Audacity(R): Free Audio Editor and Recorder [Computer application]. Version 2.3.2 retrieved May 20th 2019 from https://audacityteam.org/

Table 3.3. Demographic Information of Speakers in Voice Stimulus (n=4)

Speaker	Sex	Age	Languages	L2, HL, Native	Place of birth
Raul	Male	28	Spanish and English	HL	Arizona
Marta	Female	24	Spanish, English, and French	HL	Nevada
Jen	Female	26	Spanish and English	HL	Texas
Alex	Male	21	Spanish and English	HL	Arizona

The four voices were in their early to late 20's, all identified as HLLs of Spanish, lived in the U.S. Southwest, and completed or were in the process of completing a university degree. Additionally, as Table 3.3 shows, all speakers stated they spoke Spanish and English fluently. Additional demographic information about each participant is presented below.

Raul. As a native to Arizona, Raul grew up in a household where he received constant verbal input in Spanish. His parents were born in Durango and Guanajuato, Mexico respectively, and immigrated to the U.S. in the 1980s. He was exposed to solely Spanish in the household by his other family members and the television, but started acquiring the English language once he enrolled in pre-school. He considers himself fully bilingual, but states that his native language is Spanish and identifies as Mexican-American.

Marta. Born in Lake Tahoe, California to parents from Nayarit and Guadalajara, Mexio and raised in Las Vegas, Nevada, Marta grew up speaking Spanish from the constant interaction with her family in the household and learned to read Spanish from reading the bible in church. Through her interaction with friends in the neighborhood,

she started to learn how to speak English. Once enrolled in kindergarten, she started to develop her English skills. Now, as a graduate student, Marta considers herself trilingual, also speaking French, and identifies as a heritage speaker of Spanish.

Jen. Identifying as *Tejana* and a native speaker of Spanish, Jen was born and raised in Houston, Texas to family from Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico. Growing up in a community where Spanish and English coexisted, she learned to speak Spanish during her childhood, since it was spoken strictly in her household and with her family that also included her family living in Monterrey. Interestingly, Jen was part of a bilingual education program up until fourth grade where she continued to develop her Spanish abilities as well as her English skills. Although she self-identified as a native speaker of Spanish, Jen did learn the language in a society where Spanish was not the overall dominant language, and as stated above, strictly used the language in the household and with family, strongly encapsulating herself in the definition of HLL proposed by Valdés (2001).

Alex. Having grown up in Arizona to parents who did not speak any Spanish, Alex states his Spanish learning occurred mostly through his contact with his grandmother, who was of Mexican descent. Although he did not have constant contact with Spanish while growing up, he enjoyed the language and the opportunities it brought him, especially the opportunity to backpack throughout Mexico for a couple of months. During this trip, he continued to acquire the language and developed fluency and a connection to the language. Furthermore, at his university, he was a student in Spanish for heritage speaker courses where he continued learning about his Mexican-American heritage and improving his language skills. He does identify as a HLL and fits precisely into the definition proposed by Fishman (2001), which highlights a strong cultural

connection to the language through familial interaction, which in his case, was his grandmother.

Recording and Editing Process. The recordings were conducted in a quiet office, away from background noise and distractions. The speakers were given the three full scripts (i.e., HL, L2, and Native) either printed on pink or blue paper according to the gender of the speaker and were asked to read them as if they were a native speaker of that specific variation leaving a voice mail for the manager who posted the job advertisement. They were instructed to read the recordings sounded as natural as possible, as though they were leaving a voice mail, instead of reading directly from the script. In the cases were the recorded guises sounded as though they were being read, they were discarded and re-recorded. Additionally, long pauses and stuttering were trimmed from the recording. Taking into account the studies by Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017) and Garrett (2010), I took additional steps to ensure validity that included inserting silence at the beginning and end of each of the audio files, having all the guises recorded in the same exact way, taking the same pauses and reading at the same speed, and using the normalize effect in audacity, or "applying RMS leveling to ensure that all the recordings are at the same level of loudness" (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017, p. 183). Once the recordings were completed, all the files were changed to .aiff and edited for pitch using Audacity. By changing the pitch of each of the voices, I was able to control for individual variation so that each of the voices were able to be used for multiple guises. See Table 3.4 below for the ordering of the varieties and the pitch changes for pre and post tasks.

After the edits in Audacity, these voices were given to others to be tested for authenticity. Following this first trial of testing, it was evident that the edited recordings sounded unnatural; all the pitches were changed again to make them sound more

disguised, yet natural. As Kircher (2015) advises, these recordings should constantly be played for test judges who assess each of the recordings to verify that they are natural and until they sound like the variation intended. The test judges in this particular study included heritage students at the university chosen at random, graduate student colleagues, and professors.

Praat Experiment

After the recordings were found to be consistent, and all agreed that the stimuli sounded as the variations they were intended to mimic, a computer-generated experiment was created through Praat utilizing the experimental stimuli "as the trigger for the participants' evaluative responses" (Kircher, 2015, p. 227). This Praat experiment was then used as the pre-task and post-task. As Dones-Herrera (2015) states, the incorporation of pre and post tasks have not been steadily utilized in research and are what investigators have said are needed in order to understand attitudes, especially in different learning contexts. In order to differentiate between the pre-task and the post task, changes in pitch were assigned between the guises as factor differentiating one guise from another, as well as differentiating the pre-task from the post task. The pitch changes were changed to either positive or negative, but it was important that the altered guises still sounded natural and not heavily disguised to sound artificial. The data collection was conducted in a computer lab and lasted about 30 minutes. The pre-task occurred during the second week of the spring semester while the post-task, was conducted during the 14th week of the same semester. Table 3.4 shows the order of the varieties and the pitch changes for both the pre and post tasks, demonstrating the difference between the two tasks in regard to pitch.

Table 3.4. Order of Varieties and Pitch Changes

Speaker	Variety	Pitch changes for Pre-task	Pitch changes for Post-task
Raul	HL	+10	Natural
Raul	Native	-10	+6
Raul	L2	Natural	-10
Marta	HL	-15	+13
Marta	Native	Natural	-15
Marta	L2	+10	Natural
Jen	HL	+10	-7
Jen	Native	-7	+4
Jen	L2	+4	+10
Alex	HL	Natural	-10
Alex	Native	+10	Natural
Alex	L2	-5	+10

The reasoning for utilizing the same recording for pre and post is because it allows for variable control. Had I utilized different recordings in the post task, new independent variables could have been introduced that in turn could have affected the validity and reliability of the study. Additionally, each speaker used a different script that was altered. Furthermore, it was important that the participants did not have any idea that the recordings were of the same four individuals mirroring all three variations, which is another reason as to why there were two versions of the matched-guise experiment.

In the actual experiment that the participants partook in, the first page presented the students with the directions as to what their purpose was in listening to the twelve guises. Figure 3.2 below shows what this screen looked like.



Figure 3.2 First page of PRAAT experiment

Once the participants clicked start, a recording began to play. Each guise was played in random order that differed from participant to participant, hence they did not listen to the same order of the recordings.

The categories that the participants saw and used to assign jobs to the guises were created according to the hierarchical positions found at an actual LA Fitness gym. This hierarchy was utilized as a means to articulate positive and negative attitudes in the participants by having them assigned each position in relation to each other according to the guises they heard. The positions listed present differing job requirements and expertise and the rationale for ordering the positions in such a way is cognizant upon the type of position, either full time or part time, the type of expertise needed, and the benefits. There are variable differences between each of the positions listed, where the first four categories hold more expertise in the given area and receive more benefits and salary as compared to the latter four. For example, a general manager is responsible for overseeing all administrative functions of a specific business and per the description of this position, there is a need for:

> Previous experience in sales, leadership and motivation are necessary. This is a full-time position with the opportunity to advance. They receive paid vacation, full medical benefits, vision benefits and dental benefits. They are paid commissions and bonuses based on meeting club performance goals and receive a complimentary club membership (LA Fitness, n.d.).

This description labels the general manager as a salaried professional. Next, the personal trainer must have education in any field relating to fitness and health; "true professionals, each possessing a certified Personal Training Certificate from a qualified, reputable organization" (LA Fitness, n.d.). highlighting the need for an outside certificate to validate their expertise. Also, the membership counselor is crucial to the business and as such, "this is a full-time position with full medical and vision benefits" (LA Fitness, n.d.).

On the other hand, occupations 5-8 are positions that do not require as much expertise in the specific area. For example, janitorial services do not require specific training or education in the field, while front desk associates or kids club attendants are jobs that might require some qualification, although not valued. Per the website LA Fitness (LA Fitness, n.d.)., the requirement for Front Desk Associate include:

> Provide excellent customer service, update members' account information using various computer applications and perform basic cleaning duties. Must be assertive, enthusiastic and punctual. These employees are the face of the club! They are who members and guests see first, so it's their job to set the tone for the rest of the members' club experience by being friendly and welcoming. Club Staff personnel who are interested and skilled in working with children, also provide babysitting in our Kids Klub (LA Fitness, n.d.).

In order to validate the hierarchy, the researcher utilized the careers section on the LA Fitness website (LA Fitness, n.d.). where every position was explained in detail, including the benefits and estimated pay. Further, a colleague who was a member at an LA Fitness in the area validated the ranking through hiring materials and contact with gym employees at the LA Fitness gym he attends. Differing from other studies, this

matched-guise experiment included a category *would not hire*. As in any job search, there are possibilities of not receiving a call to schedule an interview, and if one does schedule an interview, there is the possibility of not being hired. In effect, the reasoning for such a categorization was to allow for a follow-up interview where the participants would explain their reasoning as to why the selected this category to see if they actually held truly negative attitudes toward those guises they assigned as *would not hire*.

As seen in Figure 3.3, the job positions were ordered in a left to right, top to bottom array, with the top left, *general manager*, being the most positive ranking and the bottom right, *would not hire,* being the most negative. The final hierarchy included:

1. General Manager
2. Group Fitness Instructor
3. Personal Trainer
4. Membership Counselor
5. Front Desk Associate
6. Kids Club Attendant
7. Janitorial Services
8. Would not hire

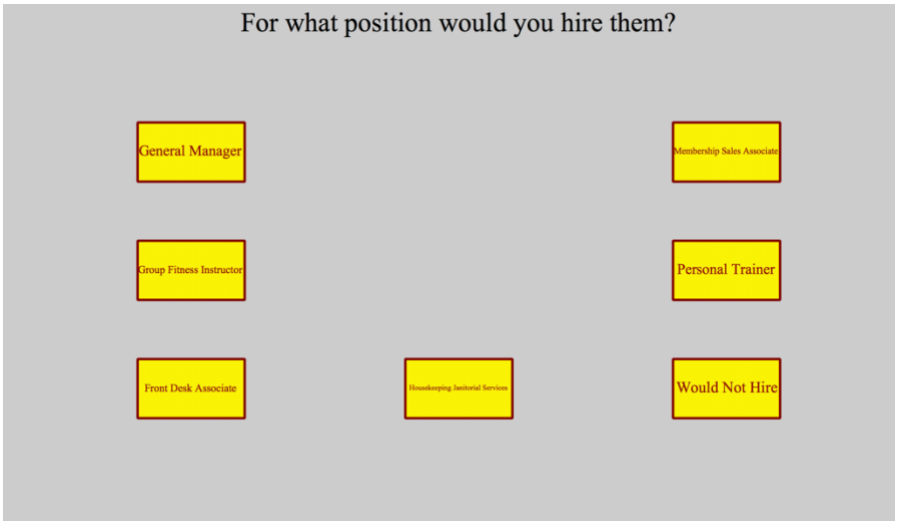

Figure 3.3 Experiment screen for one of 12 recordings

As mentioned earlier, there were a total of 12 guises the participants listened to. In order to not overburden each participant with listening to 12 recordings in succession, each about 2.5 minutes in duration, the experiment included a short break after four guises. Figure 3.4 below shows the break window the participants were presented.

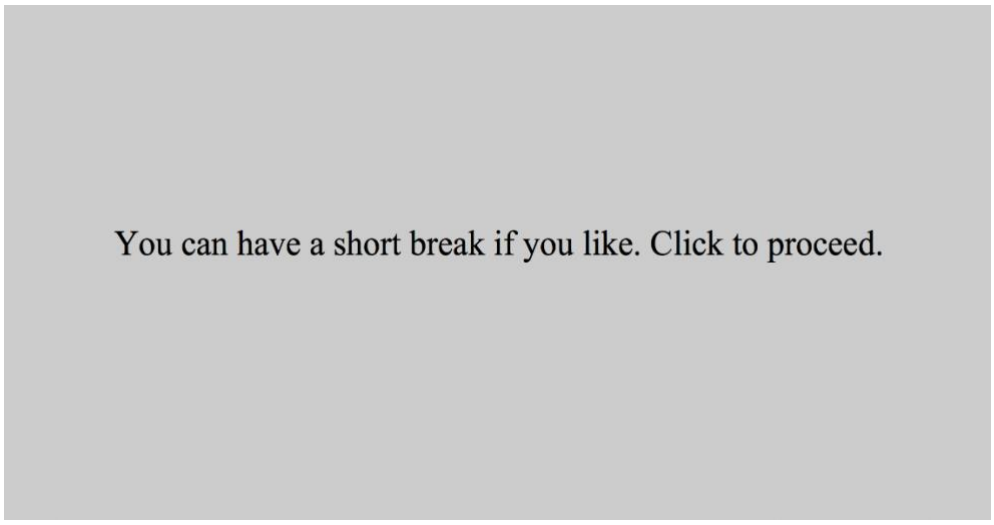

Figure 3.4 Break screen

Once all twelve guises were played and jobs were assigned by each of the participants, the experiment concluded, and the participants were presented the last screen, as seen in Figure 3.5.

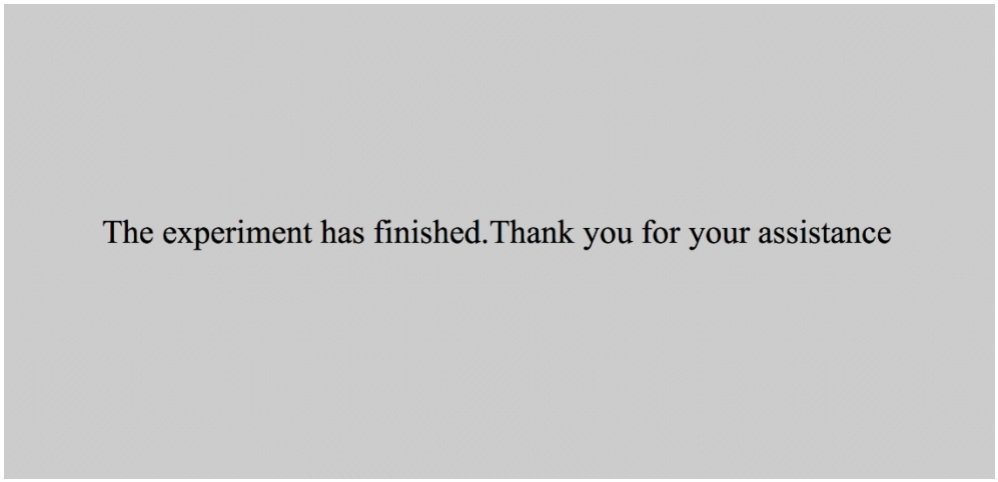

Figure 3.5 The end of the experiment window

On average, each class participated for 40 minutes. After each participant finished, the results were extracted and placed into designated files, labeled with the participant's ID, either pre-test or post-test, and categorized by class type: L2, HL, or mixed.

Interviews

Semi-structured, conversational interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Patton, 2001) were conducted with the participants from the SPA 412 course immediately after the post-task in order to understand their experience with the tasks. As previously mentioned, the participants who completed the tasks were already chosen based upon specific criteria. All participants from SPA 412 who participated in the pre-task and post-task were asked to participate in an interview.

The purpose of these interviews was to follow-up with each participant in order to discuss the selections they made during the experiment for the purpose of understanding what causes them to have negative attitudes. These interviews functioned as a stimulated recall. For example, all the participants who assigned the voice stimuli as *would not hire* needed to provide an explanation as to why they chose that response. Further, these interviews were an instrument in learning more about each of their backgrounds with the language as well as their experiences being enrolled in the advanced mixed class as a way to interpret the effect the mixed class has on validating student language varieties and creating awareness and agency in the students toward the varieties.

These qualitative interviews were used to enrich the data analysis with description, and to strengthen the findings in order to add another layer of analysis to the quantitative data found (Duisberg, 2001; Vollmer Rivera, 2018). Additionally, the interviews helped in the discovery of themes that assert why students hold negative attitudes toward the Spanish varieties. In total, 30 interviews were conducted in a quiet

conference room away from distractions of the language chosen by the interviewee. As these interviews were carried out during the last weeks of the semester at the university, 11 participants declined. However, the 30 individuals (10 HLLs[10] and 20 L2s) who agreed to be interviewed were paid $20 for the time they took away from final papers and studying. This incentive made it possible for the researcher to obtain a sufficient amount of data for the analysis. The average time of the interviews was 23 minutes and 24 seconds each. See Appendix B for the interview questions.

Data Analysis

Through the procedures mentioned above, a mixed-method research design was implemented to understand language attitudes. Below is a description of the analysis for the quantitative data and the qualitative data.

Statistical Analysis

This study used three different classes to understand student language attitudes toward the Spanish varieties. In effect, the results for each class were analyzed separately. After the results were extracted from Praat, they were coded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet respective to the class, among SPA 314, SPA 316, and SPA 412. After coding, all the data were transferred to Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and analyzed using this software.

Descriptive statistics and frequencies. The first statistical analyses conducted were descriptive statistics and frequencies. Descriptive statistics are important as they organize and summarize the data, so it is comprehendible (Coladarci, Cobb, Minium, & Clarke 2011). As it was of interest to analyze the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, it was necessary to compare the results for

[10] These 10 HLLs are the same ones who completed the pre and post task seen in Table 3.1

one or more variables (i.e. student type) with the results of another (i.e. attitude), cross-tabulations were used. It was necessary to utilize cross-tabulations as the relationships within the data were not readily apparent when analyzing the total responses (DeFranzo, 2012). The purpose of analyzing my data descriptively at the beginning was to describe, show, and summarize my data in a meaningful way to present any significant patterns among all the data.

Paired sample t-tests. Further, to know if there were any changes to attitudes from the pre- to the post- task and whether or not the changes were significant, the means of the two tasks were compared using a paired sample t-test (Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017). Sometimes called a dependent sample t-test (Colodarci, Cobb, Minium, & Clarke 2011) these tests are used when repeated-measure research designs are used in any investigation. A repeated-measure design is "a case where the means are based on the same individuals, basically a before and after scenario" (Colodarci, Cobb, Minium, & Clarke 2011, p. 278). The purpose of the present study was to measure the language attitudes of the students enrolled in the specific courses before and after completing the course to see if there would be a change. It is therefore why the paired sample t-test was selected as the statistical test, since it concerns itself with just that, determining whether the mean difference between two sets of observations is zero, if there is a change in the students' language attitude. The null hypothesis considers that the mean difference will be zero, no change in attitude, but as it is of need to see if there is change, the alternative hypothesis states that the difference of the means will not be zero, a change in attitude.

When interpreting the results, the statistical significance and the practical significance are to be considered. As this study considers a large sample, it is common to view results that are practically significant, but not statistically significant, or the

opposite (Colodarci, Cobb, Minium, & Clarke, 2011). The results of this study consider language attitudes and the effect of the classroom on combating these attitudes; therefore the practical significance outweighs the statistical significance, as it will be seen in Chapter 4 when the results of these tests are presented.

Variables

As an attitude is a psychological construct, it is not directly observable (Allport, 1935) since it is near impossible to know what is happening inside the participants individual psychology. As the dependent variable in this study is the response given during the Praat tasks and does not involve numbers that are easily measured, one nominal variable with eight defined values was included as a basis to test the construct under study and served the particular function of indicator of language attitude:

1. General Manager
2. Group Fitness Instructor
3. Personal Trainer
4. Membership Counselor
5. Club Staff/Front Desk Associate
6. Kids Club Attendant
7. Club Pride/ Janitor
8. Would not hire

The categories above were collapsed; rankings 1-4 were re-coded as positive attitude while rankings 5-8 were re-coded as negative attitudes, creating a binary variable. The rationale for such a categorization is that there are variable differences between each of the positions listed, where the first four categories hold more expertise in the given area and receive more benefits and salary as compared to the latter four. Additionally, the data were further analyzed according to the following independent variables, since each of these variables can have an effect on the student's attitude toward the language variety.

Together, these represent the independent variables used in the analysis:

- Class type
    - SPA 314 (L2 course)
    - SPA 316 (HL course)
    - SPA 412 (advanced mixed course)
- Guise (speaker)
    - Jen (HL)
    - Jen (N)
    - Jen (L2)
    - Marta (HL)
    - Marta (N)
    - Marta (L2)
    - Alex (HL)
    - Alex (N)
    - Alex (L2)
    - Raul (HL)
    - Raul (N)
    - Raul (L2)
- Gender
    - Male
    - Female
- Language variety of Guise
    - Native variety of Northern Mexico
    - Heritage, Chicano-accented variety
    - L2, non-native variety

Qualitative Analysis

As mentioned above, interviews were used as measures to complement the quantitative data. First, the interviews conducted were all transcribed using an online, IRB approved transcription service. The audio files were transcribed as clean verbatim, not including any false starts, filler words, or speech errors as these were not necessary for analyzing the data. In total, there were 697 minutes and 16 seconds of transcriptions. After reviewing all the transcriptions for any errors and/or missed discourse, a corpus was created manually using NVivo. The data analysis began with the categorization of the basic units of the data that seemed important (Maxwell, 2013). This open coding was used to get a general feel for the interview data by taking notes and highlighting

important instances found in order to create the general coding categories, or themes, pertinent to the study. Following open coding, the data were reviewed once again, this time focusing on the specific instances that were identified during the open coding. The purpose of the focused coding was to continue to reflect on the data found and collapse or expand the basic units found according to theories, past research, and individual reflections that fit into the scope of the overall themes found (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Maxwell, 2016; Vollmer Rivera, 2018). For example, one overall theme found in the interview data through open coding was the notion of a speaker's accent. Through focused coding, the theme of accent was divided further into sub-topics of accent as confidence, accent as fluent, and accent as bad Spanish, each instances of data found that expand and support the overall theme of the study.

Summary and Looking Forward

This chapter has presented in detail the research design, instruments, and materials utilized for this dissertation research. Furthermore, data collection and analysis procedures have been described to show what was done to arrive at the results. As the advanced mixed course is the main focus of this present study, the subsequent chapter will present all results for SPA 412, including the interview and observational data. Chapter Four will also describe and explain the results for the two other courses, SPA 314 and SPA 316, including the discussion regarding both types of courses on how they relate to language attitudes in the students. Finally, Chapter Five will describe in detail any implications and limitations of the present study, including the conclusion.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, the overarching goal of this study is to gain insights into language attitudes that second language learners (L2s) and heritage language learners (HLLs) hold while enrolled in an advanced mixed class, advanced L2 course, and advanced HLL course toward three distinct spoken varieties of Spanish pertinent to Phoenix. It has been hypothesized that, at the beginning of the semester, attitudes will remain positive toward the native and United States (U.S.) heritage language (HL variety). However, after constant exposure to the different varieties in the advanced class, it is possible that inconsistencies appear between students' attitude and behavior, allowing for a change in the language attitude from the beginning of the semester. In the homogeneous courses (SPA 314 and SPA 316), it has been hypothesized that student attitudes will remain static and not change due to the lack of contact students have in these classes with the other language varieties. Through the incorporation of two matched guise tasks (pre and post task) in all three courses and semi-structured interviews with participant's in the advanced mixed class, the questions under investigation that guided the data collection were:

1. What are HLLs' and L2 learners' attitudes towards the spoken Spanish varieties found in their communities (HL, L2, native monolingual) when they begin and end:
    a. an advanced mixed language course?
    b. an advanced L2 course?
    c. an advanced HL course?
2. Is there any evidence of language attitude change in the students enrolled in the advanced mixed class?
3. Why do the HL and L2 learners hold such language attitudes?
    a. Do the pedagogies implemented in the L2 and HL courses have some effect on the student' attitudes when they are enrolled in the advanced mixed course?

The first section of the present chapter will explain the results found regarding the language attitudes by the students enrolled in the advanced mixed course. To begin, the frequencies of positions selected for the guises in the pre task and post task are explained. In order to answer the first two research questions, the pre and post task quantitative data will be presented in the form of tables and cross tabulations, but also through comparing means by using paired sample t-tests. Interview data have been incorporated into the quantitative analysis to explain some of the statistical results. Following the description of the quantitative results, interview data will be discussed in order to answer questions three and four. The second half of the chapter will present the results from each of the homogenous courses, the one advanced L2 course and the other advanced HL course, toward the same three varieties of Spanish

RQ1 and RQ2: The case of the advanced mixed course: SPA 412

This section will concern itself with answering research questions one (a) and two. Part one will focus on the frequencies of the job positions given to the 12 guises. Jen, Marta, Raul, and Alex represent speakers of the three different language varieties the participants listened to at the beginning of the semester and from the post-task at the end of the semester. Following that, part two will explain what attitudes the participants held toward the three Spanish varieties.

The matched-guise tasks that were assigned to the participants focused on a hypothetical job interview for a gym serving the Hispanic community in the Phoenix metropolitan area. Based upon what was heard, the informants decided what position they believed the guises were worthy of at the gym. The hierarchy implemented for job positions available at the hypothetical gym, each that corresponded to a positive or negative attitude, included:

- General Manager
- Group Fitness Instructor
- Personal Trainer
- Membership Counselor
- Front Desk Associate
- Kids Club Attendant[11]
- Janitorial Services
- Would not hire

Job Frequencies

Native, Northern Mexican Varieties As Table 4.1 displays, heritage students in SPA 412, the advanced mixed class, had varied reactions to each of the guises when selecting for which position the native speakers should partake. Regarding Jen, four students each selected general manager and front desk associate, while Marta was chosen for general manager and membership counselor. In reference to the males, eight students selected front desk associate for Alex and personal trainer or front desk associate for Raul. It is evident in Table 4.1 that more females were selected for the managerial position that the men, alluding to gender differences.

[11] Kids Club Attendant has been removed from the results as not one participant selected this job for any of the guises

Table 4.1. Frequency of each job selected for each Native guise by SPA 412 participants during pre-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	4 (40%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Personal Trainer	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (30%)
	Membership Counselor	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Front Desk Associate	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	8 (80%)	3 (30%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Would Not Hire	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
L2	General Manager	9 (29.0%)	16 (51.6%)	3 (9.7%)	0 (0%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	9 (29.0%)	0 (0%)	6 (19.4%)	1 (3.2%)
	Personal Trainer	2 (6.5%)	1 (3.2%)	10 (32.3%)	13 (41.9%)
	Membership Counselor	4 (12.9%)	7 (22.6%)	1 (3.2%)	5 (16.1%)
	Front Desk Associate	7 (22.6%)	6 (19.4%)	9 (29.0%)	10 (32.3%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.2%)	2 (6.5%)
	Would Not Hire	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

While there were more L2 students participating in the tasks, the same pattern is seen with regard to the positions selected for each guise. 29% of the students hired Jen as a general manager or a group fitness instructor, whereas 51.6% of students selected general manager for Marta. For both the female guises, more than half of the L2 students selected higher ranking professions for the females. Next, for the male guises, 32.3% evaluated Alex as a personal trainer, while 41.9% did so for Raul. Similar to the heritage students, there is an evident gender difference between the males and females regarding

the managerial positions. Table 4.2 below presents the frequencies for the post task, conducted at the end of the semester.

Table 4.2. Frequency of each job selected for each Native guise by SPA 412 participants during post-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	3 (30%)
	Membership Counselor	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Front Desk Associate	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
	Would Not Hire	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)
L2	General Manager	9 (29.0%)	14 (45.2%)	0 (0%)	3 (9.7%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	5 (16.1%)	0 (0%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (9.7%)
	Personal Trainer	8 (25.8%)	0 (0%)	5 (16.1%)	10 (32.3%)
	Membership Counselor	2 (6.5%)	10 (32.3%)	2 (6.5%)	8 (25.8%)
	Front Desk Associate	6 (19.4%)	6 (19.4%)	18 (58.1%)	7 (22.6%)
	Janitorial Services	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0%)
	Would Not Hire	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

The data collected during the post-task displays similar patterns in the evaluation of the guises as during the pre-task. After being enrolled in the advanced mixed class for over 14 weeks, the students evaluated the guises almost identically to their previous evaluations in the pre-task. For Jen, three students selected general manager and front desk associate respectively, with a decrease in one student from that of the pre-task for

each profession. However, for Marta, the distribution is different from that of the pre-task. Heritage students selected Marta for each of the professions. While for Alex and Raul the evaluations were similar to those in Table 4.1, the majority of heritage students did not view the guises of Alex and Raul suitable for general manager, and instead evaluated them as personal trainer.

These results show an interesting dynamic in terms of what the heritage students believe constitutes a higher-level occupation. The heritage students were more critical of the native the guises during the post-task, listening more attentively. The heritage informants present an uneven distribution of evaluations for Marta, demonstrating a deviation from the norm of what a native speaker is. A native speaker tends to be seen as the idealized, correct speaker of a language, commanding all language aspects (Beaudrie et al, 2014; Holliday, 2006). As a native speaker has completed secondary education and has received constant input in the native language (Beaudrie et al., 2014), we see that heritage students are critiquing these guises for not being completely native. I speculate that the participants might have heard non-native-like pronunciation, colloquial speech, or some other linguistic aspect in the guises that made evaluations of them more negative. Valdés (1997) and Davies (2003) note that a native speaker can function in all situations as other native speakers indistinguishable from them. Nevertheless, the results presented in Table 4.2 do not support this definition, suggesting a deviation from the norm of a native speaker since many of the evaluations appeared in the lower sections of the hierarchy. If the Natives guises sounded correct and native-like, there should have been more positive rankings for the native speakers in the higher-level positions, such as general manager.

However, excerpts (1) - (4) below from the interviews conducted with the students of SPA 412 contradict the results presented in Table 4.2, as they mentioned that

the speakers with native-sounding Spanish have an advantage in speaking Spanish. The actual rankings did not align with the comments made during the interviews. The participant excerpts highlight how in order to be in a managerial position, one must have a high competence in the language and have native sounding pronunciation.

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(1) LR412LAS2[12] (HLL): The person that I chose for general manager or whatever, **I think she has the upper hand with it (speaking about Marta_N). She brings the girls up and then the guy just brings them way down, and the other two are in the middle.** One outweighs other."

(2) JV412LAS2 (HLL): The people that **obviously speak Spanish better are those that were raised learning this language, or that their first language is Spanish** and then they learned English, obviously they're dominant in that language, as to those that are barely learning they're still shaky in their Spanish.

(3) NF412LAS2 (L2): [speaking about Jen (N)] Because it was for a LA Fitness that was geared towards Latin Americans and Hispanic people**, the people who had the stronger, native Spanish accents I feel like would fit the front desk job and manager job better because they're dealing with more people that speak the language so I felt like those people should have the higher positions because they can deal with it better,** whereas those that can't speak Spanish as well, they may have similar capabilities but in that setting they won't be functioning at their best because they don't have a strong grasp of Spanish and that's going to be really important, probably.

(4) SW412LAS1 (L2): I think I put General Manager because **she sounded kind of professional (Jen_N).** [laughs]. Her voice was clear. If it was a voicemail that's important. She spoke slowly and easy to understand. Honestly, **her pronunciation sounds like she would be proficient in both English and Spanish,** which I thought would be good for a manager. I don't remember all the qualifications and stuff she said, but I think I was listening to that too when I was deciding what they would do.

On the other hand, L2 students in the post task evaluated the guises in a similar fashion as during the pre task. To illustrate, the majority of the L2 students ranked the

[12] This refers to the participant ID when data was collected and analyzed. The two letters are the participants' initials, followed by the class number, followed by the instructor initials and which section of the class they were enrolled, as the same instructor taught two sections of the advanced mixed course.

two female guises as general manager, while the male guises presented different evaluations. Ten L2 students, 32.3% of all L2s, ranked Raul for personal trainer, 25.8% for membership counselor, and 22.6% for front desk associate. For Alex, 16.1% raked him as a personal trainer, 6.5% for membership counselor, and 58.1% for front desk associate. These differences between the two males are interesting as they are different from one another. Raul was evaluated for a higher position at the gym while the majority viewed Alex's employability as worthy of a lower-tired position.

Excerpts (1) – (4) above make it is clear that both HLL and L2 participants agree upon the need for a native speaker to have Spanish pronunciation that sounds native and versus a non-native accent[13] that portrays them as learners. The section below highlights the frequencies of professions for the U.S.-HLL guises.

Heritage Varieties Table 4.3 presents both student participant evaluations for all four heritage guises according to what job they would deserve.

[13] For the purpose of this dissertation, accent refers to the act of a saying the word, phrase, or sentence when speaking aloud. A native-like accent refers to the speech of a native speaker of a language whereas a non-native accent refers to the speech of an individual who incorporates linguistic structures and pronunciation from their native language (Lindemann, Litzenberg, & Subtirelu, 2014; Lord, 2008, 2010)

Table 4.3. Frequency of each job selected for each Heritage guise by SPA 412 participants during pre-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)
	Membership Counselor	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)
	Front Desk Associate	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Would Not Hire	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)
L2	General Manager	11 (35.5%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.2%)	4 (12.9%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	2 (6.5%)	8 (25.8%)	0 (0%)	4 (12.9%)
	Personal Trainer	1 (3.2%)	7 (22.6%)	0 (0%)	9 (29.0%)
	Membership Counselor	7 (22.6%)	1 (3.2%)	21 (67.7%)	9 (29.0%)
	Front Desk Associate	9 (29.0%)	11 (35.5%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (9.7%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)	2 (6.5%)	1 (3.2%)
	Would Not Hire	1 (3.2%)	2 (6.5%)	3 (9.7%)	1 (3.2%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

Beginning with the heritage students, it is clear that all guises were evaluated more positively as each of the speakers were given jobs in the upper portions of the hierarchy. Jen and Raul were the only two guises to be selected for general manager, whereas for Marta, the majority of HL students selected her for front desk associate and Alex for membership counselor. It is interesting that 30% of HL students stated they would not hire Alex, even though they spoke a similar language variety. With L2 students, although at least all the guises were evaluated for general manager by one L2

student, Jen is the only guise where the majority evaluated her as a general manager. Marta was evaluated as front desk associate by the majority and Alex as membership counselor. In addition, the evident issue here is that at least one L2 student selected would not hire for these heritage guises, alluding to the notion that the heritage variety was not capable for a position at a Hispanic-serving gym. Table 4.4 below shows the frequencies for the jobs given during the post-task.

Table 4.4. Frequency of each job selected for each Heritage guise by SPA 412 participants during post-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	6 (60%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	4 (40%)
	Membership Counselor	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)
	Front Desk Associate	0 (0%)	6 (60%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)
	Would Not Hire	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
L2	General Manager	15 (48.4%)	4 (12.9%)	1 (3.2%)	3 (9.7%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	1 (3.2%)	5 (16.1%)	4 (12.9%)	5 (16.1%)
	Personal Trainer	1 (3.2%)	7 (22.6%)	1 (3.2%)	12 (38.7%)
	Membership Counselor	5 (16.1%)	2 (6.5%)	10 (32.3%)	3 (9.7%)
	Front Desk Associate	7 (22.6%)	12 (38.7%)	8 (25.8%)	4 (12.9%)
	Janitorial Services	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.5%)	2 (6.5%)
	Would Not Hire	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.2%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (6.5%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

For the post-task, six HL students hired Jen as a general manager, which is an increase of two students in comparison with the pre-task. Despite Alex being assigned general manager by one informant, the majority evaluated his speech as capable for membership counselor. In reference to Raul, 40% of HL participants ranked his speech as personal trainer and another 40% as membership counselor. However, Marta presents a different pattern in comparison to the other guises, including her native guise from Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Marta's native guises were ranked higher on the hierarchy, but heritage guises are ranked lower between personal trainer and front desk associate.

These participants are basing their hiring off of the vocal articulatory features of Spanish during the tasks. It is not surprising that L2 participants are selecting native-sounding guises for higher-ranking positions as these varieties are what the L2s are accustomed to hearing in the classroom and in public. For the HLLs, it was expected that the native varieties would be given the higher positions in comparison to the HL variety due to their morpho-syntactic competence in the language. However, HLLs also grew up in a household or community where Spanish was spoken, and it could have been expected they would have received higher level positions. Still, the results demonstrate that this was not the case. It has been suggested that the extensiveness of language skills and personal experiences encompassed by the HLLs makes it difficult to distinguish these speakers from native speakers (Edstrom, 2007; Zyzik, 2016). Nonetheless, the participants were able to distinguish these differences, possibly due to the HLLs being aware of what constitutes an HLL, as all the HLL participants completed a SHL course, where a critical pedagogy was implemented, prior to the advanced mixed class. The HLLs were aware of different varieties and how it was important to validate all varieties, including their own. This contrast between what the participants learned in the course versus the results presented above might allude to how unconsciously they still hold onto

internalized beliefs regarding their Spanish and thus evaluate someone who sounds like they do negatively. The section below illustrates the student participant evaluations for all four L2 guises according to what job they would give.

L2 Variety During the pre-task, it is evident that heritage participants from the advanced mixed course did not evaluate any of the guises heard as worthy of general manager, group fitness instructor, or personal trainer, the three top ranking jobs. Instead, heritage participants evaluated the L2 guises overall negatively, attributing *would not hire* as the common ranking for all the L2 varieties. It is worth mentioning that some heritage students found that the L2 guises were worthy of a position at the LA Fitness, and evaluated what they heard for Marta, Alex, and Raul as capable of front desk associate, and Jen and Alex for membership counselor. Regardless of the higher ranked positions for some of the individuals, the majority of heritage participants still chose *would not hire*.

On the contrary, three L2 participants in total evaluated Alex and Raul for general manager, unlike with the HLL participants. Nevertheless, along the same lines of the heritage participants, the majority of L2 participants selected *would not hire* for the four guises that were heard. Additionally, the L2 participant evaluations for the four guises stayed toward the bottom of the hiring hierarchy, which was explained in Chapter Three. Over half of the L2 participants assigned the L2 guises as either front desk associate, janitorial services, or *would not hire*. This contradiction is interesting as it shows that L2 students, who are enrolled in a higher-level course, are capable of negatively judging L2 Spanish, despite the participants themselves speaking L2 Spanish. This will be discussed in the section “Understanding why”.

Table 4.5. Frequency of each job selected for each L2 guise by SPA 412 participants during pre-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Membership Counselor	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
	Front Desk Associate	0 (0%)	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)
	Would Not Hire	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	6 (60%)
L2	General Manager	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.5%)	1 (3.2%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	0 (0%)	4 (12.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	7 (22.6%)	0 (0%)	3 (9.7%)
	Membership Counselor	4 (12.9%)	1 (3.2%)	3 (9.7%)	2 (6.5%)
	Front Desk Associate	4 (12.9%)	13 (41.9%)	7 (22.6%)	1 (3.2%)
	Janitorial Services	4 (12.9%)	0 (0%)	3 (9.7%)	4 (12.9%)
	Would Not Hire	19 (61.3%)	6 (19.4%)	16 (51.5%)	19 (61.3%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

The post task, conducted at the end of the semester, shows very similar evaluations of the L2 varieties. It is clear that majority of heritage participants selected *would not hire* for the L2 varieties, just as in the pre-task.

Table 4.6. Frequency of each job selected for each L2 guise by SPA 412 participants during post-task

Student Type	Job Position	Jen	Marta	Alex	Raul
Heritage	General Manager	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Membership Counselor	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
	Front Desk Associate	1 (10%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)
	Janitorial Services	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
	Would Not Hire	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	8 (80%)
L2	General Manager	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Group Fitness Instructor	1 (3.2%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.2%)
	Personal Trainer	0 (0%)	3 (9.7%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)
	Membership Counselor	3 (9.7%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0%)
	Front Desk Associate	4 (12.9%)	13 (41.9%)	2 (6.5%)	0 (0%)
	Janitorial Services	4 (12.9%)	5 (16.1%)	9 (29.0%)	6 (19.4%)
	Would Not Hire	19 (61.3%)	3 (9.7%)	17 (54.8%)	24 (77.4%)

Heritage n = 10, L2 n = 31

According to excerpts (5) and (6), the heritage participants stated:

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(5) KZ412NG (HLL): For me personally, having been in an actual Hispanic community and growing up in a complete Hispanic community, whether that's Yuma or around my family, I mainly focused on the little town that I go to in Mexico. I envisioned these Hispanic people coming across, the people that were speaking in the audios. For me, **I know that people in the Hispanic culture can be very ruthless.** There was one that, even though what they were saying was meaningful and there was a point to it, the way they were speaking it, it wasn't fluent. The way I envisioned people looking at them was like, **"Oh, look at this little--" Whatever color they are, like, "Gringa or güerita. No sabe hablar español bien y aquí la tienen trabajando."** That's what I imagined [laughs], you know?

(6) RV: This one (referring to Raul_L2) you said would not hire.
Raul: Hola, buenas noches, espero que ustedes estén bien. He visto tu anuncio y las posiciones—
SR412LAS2 (L2): Yes, [laughs] I'm sure he's a nice guy, [laughs] sure, it's nothing personal. **But if you're looking at hiring a position that is going to interact with the Hispanic community, you need someone that's going to not offend them. [laughs]**

It is clear from the statements made in excerpts (5) and (6) and tables 4.5 and 4.6, speaking Spanish signifies being able to connect to the language community whose language you are speaking in a respectful manner. Both these participants mentioned that the L2 varieties they heard where not appropriate for a job at a Spanish-serving gym, as they would have offended the Spanish-speaking individuals. Additionally, KZ412NG states that a speaker of Spanish as a second language will be seen as a *gringa* or *güerita*, two colloquial lexical items that might carry negative connotations. Although she mentions “whatever color they are”, KZ412NG still relies on the euphemisms to express her attitude toward L2 Spanish speakers. The data from tables 4.5 and 4.6 show that the majority of the participants would not hire the L2s for any position at the gym, except for Marta.

Although some heritage participants viewed the L2s as not capable of holding Spanish to a high standard (excerpts 5 and 6), instead offending the native speakers of

the language with their unformulated and non-native abilities, other heritage participants selected the L2 guises as front desk associate, while only one heritage participant assigned an L2 variety as general manager. The heritage participant who chose Jen as a general manager during the post-task stated the following:

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(7) RV: What's your opinion on that?
JV412LAS2 (HLL): **I don't mind it.**
RV: You like what they doing?
JV412LAS2: Yes, **though you can understand that they're struggling, but they know**…
JV412LAS2 [laughs] **They sound like an accent, but they know how to speak it, obviously**.

There is an interesting dichotomy regarding how heritage informants evaluated L2 Spanish. Some heritage participants were keen on pointing out the flaws of these speakers they listened to and not hiring them, while others believed they were capable for some positions due to their knowledge of the language, although they had non-native accents when speaking.

During the post-task, L2 participants were more ruthless when evaluating the varieties they heard. Not one single L2 assigned another L2 variety as capable of general manager, but rather many stated they were suitable for front desk associate or janitorial services. Therefore, they viewed their abilities negatively by hiring them in these positions, but still viewed their skills in the Spanish language as proficient enough for some sort of position at the gym.

Yet, the majority of all L2 participants wouldn't hire any of the L2 guises they heard. For example, participants stated:

(8) RV: Why did you chose, "Would not hire"?
HS412LAS2 (L2): **With the context, that is a gym in Guadalupe for the Spanish-speaking, I feel like it's really important that it sounds like you speak proper, fluent Spanish.**

(9) LD412NG (L2): (speaking about Raul_L2) I think just like **the speed and the fluidity of how you're speaking.** It would probably just be **a much more efficient experience if you're doing personal training to have someone fluently speaking so you can keep things moving** rather than someone who's going to take five minutes to train, say what they want you to do.

(10) MB412LAS2: (speaking about Jen_L2) Yes, it does sound like this person has a **very rudimentary knowledge of Spanish**, which is fine, I mean, she might just be starting. That being said, **if you are just starting to learn Spanish you probably shouldn't be applying to a job where you probably are only going to speak Spanish. She hasn't mastered the pronunciation yet**, like "Guadalup" I mean—

The overall theme from the quotations above is that the varieties L2s heard did not sound appropriate enough in order to work with a Spanish-speaking population. Overall, the participants stated that pronunciation and native-like accent are important when speaking a foreign language in order to be understood and coherent when communicating with individuals who speak the language (excerpt(9)). However, as the L2 participants all completed at least four semesters of Spanish at this institution, it is interesting to observe them negatively evaluate speakers of Spanish as an L2. A thorough analysis of this issue will be discussed in the "Understanding Why" section.

In conclusion, the tables above present descriptive data regarding the positions given to each of the speakers of the native, HL, and L2 varieties. In general, the native variety speakers were afforded the highest-ranking jobs at the LA Fitness, while the HL variety speakers were given middle-tiered jobs. Finally, the speakers L2 varieties were indicated as not capable of being hired at this LA Fitness, as majority of the participants stated that they (i) would offend the Spanish speaking population, (ii) possess

rudimentary knowledge of the language, and (iii) have non-native sounding pronunciation or spoken accent.

In part two below, the actual language attitudes held toward each speaker and variety will be explained.

RQ1 and RQ2: Language Attitudes in SPA 412 Toward the Varieties

The preceding discussion was concerned with highlighting the quantitative data vis-à-vis the positions offered to each speaker of the three language varieties studied. In this section, the language attitudes of the L2s and HLLs in the advanced mixed course, SPA 412, will be explained. Each of the positions corresponded to a type of language attitude, either positive or negative according to the actual job listings found at an LA Fitness. The first four positions corresponded to positive attitudes (General Manager, Group Fitness Instructor, Personal Trainer, and Membership Counselor) while the remaining four positions related to negative attitudes (Front Desk Associate, Kids Club Attendant, Janitorial Services, *would not hire*). Table 4.7 presents a crosstabulation of language attitudes with each speaker during the pre-task.

Table 4.7. Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 412 during pre-task

Speaker	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners		Second Language Learners	
		N	%	*N*	%
Jen (N)	Positive	6	60.0%	24	77.4%
	Negative	4	40.0%	7	22.6%
Marta (N)	Positive	8	80.0%	24	77.4%
	Negative	2	20.0%	7	22.6%
Raul (N)	Positive	6	60.0%	19	61.3%
	Negative	4	40.0%	12	38.7%
Alex (N)	Positive	1	10.0%	20	64.5%
	Negative	9	90.0%	11	35.5%
Jen (HL)	Positive	8	80.0%	21	67.7%
	Negative	2	20.0%	10	32.3%
Marta (HL)	Positive	5	50.0%	17	54.8%
	Negative	5	50.0%	14	45.2%
Raul (HL)	Positive	7	70.0%	26	83.9%
	Negative	3	30.0%	5	16.1%
Alex (HL)	Positive	4	40.0%	22	71.0%
	Negative	6	60.0%	9	29.0%
Jen (L2)	Positive	2	20.0%	4	12.9%
	Negative	8	80.0%	27	87.1%
Marta (L2)	Positive	0	0.0%	12	38.7%
	Negative	10	100.0%	19	61.3%
Raul (L2)	Positive	0	0.0%	7	22.6%
	Negative	10	100.0%	24	77.4%
Alex (L2)	Positive	2	20.0%	5	16.1%
	Negative	8	80.0%	26	83.9%
Total n= 41		n= 10		n= 31	

The language attitudes of the participants during the pre-task show that HLLs ranked native and heritage guises positively, except for Alex, who received negative evaluations for his native and heritage guises. With regard to the L2 guises, all HLLs

evaluated the guises negatively, showing that not even a majority of participants believed the L2 variety was worth a positive evaluation. Furthermore, Marta and Raul both got 100% negative evaluations by the heritage students, alluding to the view of their Spanish as not effective for communication in the professional field. On the other hand, L2 learners evaluated all native and heritage guises more positively than negatively. Nevertheless, similar to the HLLs evaluations, the L2 students evaluated all the L2 guises negatively, with only Marta being viewed as the most capable, with 12 out of 31 L2 participants believing her speech was adept for the gym. Table 4.8 that follows displays the language attitudes during the post-task, which was taken 14 weeks after the pre-task.

Table 4.8 .Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 412 during post-task

Speaker	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners		Second Language Learners	
		N	%	*N*	%
Jen (N)	Positive	7	70.0%	24	77.4%
	Negative	3	30.0%	7	22.6%
Marta (N)	Positive	6	60.0%	24	77.4%
	Negative	4	40.0%	7	22.6%
Raul (N)	Positive	6	60.0%	24	77.4%
	Negative	4	40.0%	7	22.6%
Alex (N)	Positive	5	50.0%	11	35.5%
	Negative	5	50.0%	20	64.5%
Jen (HL)	Positive	9	90.0%	22	71.0%
	Negative	1	10.0%	9	29.0%
Marta (HL)	Positive	4	40.0%	18	58.1%
	Negative	6	60.0%	13	41.9%
Raul (HL)	Positive	8	80.0%	23	74.2%
	Negative	2	20.0%	8	25.8%
Alex (HL)	Positive	5	50.0%	16	51.6%
	Negative	5	50.0%	15	48.4%
Jen (L2)	Positive	1	10.0%	4	12.9%
	Negative	9	90.0%	27	87.1%
Marta (L2)	Positive	3	30.0%	10	32.3%
	Negative	7	70.0%	21	67.7%
Raul (L2)	Positive	1	10.0%	1	3.2%
	Negative	9	90.0%	30	96.8%
Alex (L2)	Positive	0	0.0%	3	9.7%
	Negative	10	100.0%	28	90.3%
Total n= 41		n= 10		n= 31	

The crosstabulations in Table 4.8 show the same general pattern regarding attitudes as in Table 4.7. HL participants evaluated all native and heritage guises positively, except for Marta (HL), where 60% of HL students evaluated her speech

negatively. Interestingly, HLL evaluations of the L2 guises fluctuated in terms of the positive and negative evaluations. Overall, the L2 guises all ranked negatively, yet the positive evaluations of the L2 guises changed, showcasing fewer positive attitudes toward the variety than during the pre-task. Some participants in the post-task ranked the guises positively, demonstrating that their language variety was capable for some position at the gym. For example, no HLLs in the pre-task evaluated Marta (L2) positively, yet during the post-task, 30% of HLs evaluated her positively.

During the pre-task, heritage participants ranked all three of Alex's varieties negatively, with 90% of heritage students for the native variety, 60% for the heritage variety, and 80% for the L2 variety. With regard to the L2 students, the native and heritage varieties were ranked positively, with 64.5% and 71% of L2 participants holding positive attitudes respectively. However, the L2 variety was ranked negatively by 83.9% of the L2s. The post-task showed different results. First, for the native and heritage varieties for Alex, there was not a unanimous agreement regarding what the HLLs heard, as 50% of the HLLs viewed it as positive and negative. For the L2 variety, all the HLLs ranked it as negative, showing a change of 20% from the pre-task to the post task. The post-task saw that ranking diminish, and all HLLs ranked him negatively. For L2s, there was a change in attitudes for Alex (N) from the pre-task to the post-task, as 64.5% of L2s viewed the variety negatively, compared with 35.5% during the pre-task. The attitudes toward the heritage and L2 varieties did not change, as there were positive attitudes toward the heritage variety and negative attitudes toward the L2 variety.

Paired sample t-tests found that no statistically significant changes in language attitudes in SPA 412.[14] In appendix E, the data from the t-tests is presented for all the

[14] Each job position was assigned a number. For example, General Manager was labeled as 1, and so on.

guises. Additionally, Table 4.9, in Appendix D, displays a comparison of the pre- and post-task attitudes toward all the guises.

Language attitudes toward each language variety

In order to understand the overall language attitudes regarding the language varieties under study, crosstabulations were conducted that split the data according to the specific language variety. Table 4.10 shows the language attitudes for each of the three Spanish varieties according to the participants.

Table 4.10. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 412 during pre-task

Language Variety	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners		Second Language Learners	
		N	%	*N*	%
N	Positive	5	50%	23	70.2%
	Negative	5	50%	8	29.8%
HL	Positive	6	60%	22	69.4%
	Negative	4	40%	8	30.6%
L2	Positive	1	10%	7	22.6%
	Negative	9	90%	24	77.4%
Total		n = 10		n = 31	

From table 4.10, it is clear that during the pre-task, the HLLs did not view the native varieties as either positive or negative. A possible reason for this discrepancy between the language attitudes is that on one hand, the HLLs who ranked it negatively were going against the norm of what it means to be a superior speaker of a language. These participants found the HL variety native-like, and as such, went against the norm of the native speaker having the most prestigious variety. Another possibility is that the participants were not able to tell the difference between the two varieties. Excerpt 11

shows how a heritage participant does not believe there is one Spanish that is better than another.

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(11) YE412LAS2 (HLL):I don't know, I don't really have like, "**This Spanish is better than this one, or is more proper."**

As one goal of HL pedagogy is to instill positive attitudes toward the HL, it seems as though this goal was reached as they positively evaluated the HL variety, exhibiting language pride. Martinez (2006) identifies language pride as "an oppositional ideology of language panic … 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 expressing one's voice" (p. 13). Therefore, one can hypothesize that the five HLLs exhibited pride for their language and showed negative attitudes towards what it means to be a native speaker. On the other hand, the other five participants who ranked the native guise as positive found it to be the overarching standard way to speak Spanish and attributed it the native monolingual variety that they want to speak to fit into their community and possibly not feel stigmatized. Excerpt 12 supports this idea.

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(12) MB412LAS2 (L2): I'd say it's the best that can be. Basically, **whenever I can speak as if a native would, that's as high as you can go.**

For the L2 students, 70.2% ranked the native guise as positive, agreeing with the notion of speaking like an idealized, native speaker is one of the ambitions in the L2 courses. Similarly, the heritage variety was evaluated positively by both the HLLs and L2 students with 60% of HLLs and 69.4% of L2s evaluated it positively. On the contrary, the second language variety is evaluated negatively by both types of students, HLLs and L2s.

In terms of positive attitudes, 10% of the HLLs ranked the second language guises positively, whereas 90% of the same speakers ranked them negatively. For the L2s, 22.6% evaluated the English-accented Spanish positively, but 77.4% evaluated it negatively. In effect, at the beginning of the semester before any actual interaction with the other language learners in the class, HLLs and L2s ranked native and heritage Spanish more positively than they did L2 accented Spanish.

Table 4.11. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 412 during post-task

Speaker Type	**Attitude**	**Heritage Language Learners**		**Second Language Learners**	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*
N	Positive	6	60%	21	66.9%
	Negative	4	40%	10	33.1%
HL	Positive	7	70%	20	63.7%
	Negative	3	30%	11	36.3%
L2	Positive	1	10%	4	14.5%
	Negative	9	90%	27	85.5%
Total Runs		n = 10		n = 31	

It was hypothesized that by the end of the semester, there would be a change in language attitudes, in that participants would hold positive attitudes toward all three language varieties. As it is seen in Table 4.11, the hypothesis only slightly holds true as all language learners, HLLs and L2s, evaluated native and heritage Spanish positively, showing a difference in attitudes between the HLLs previous evaluations. It is plausible that during the semester of the course, the HLLs became intimidated by the other speakers. They felt that those students who might have been considered heritage, might have actually been more native-like for having been able to use the language in the

academic context (see chapter 1 for discussion regarding this HL/native dichotomy) However, the L2-accented Spanish is still evaluated negatively by both student types. The L2 evaluations of the second language Spanish variety became more negative, showing an increase of 8.1% of students evaluating these guises negatively compared to the pre-task. The possibility of this change results from the fact that the L2 students were intimidated in the course with their Spanish proficiency. Given the reality of this, as they listened to the guises during the post-task, the basis for the evaluations might have been due to their own experiences during the semester in the class. In a way, as the L2s probably did not feel equivalent in their abilities compared to the other students in the course, they used their own internalized beliefs of their own Spanish to evaluate the L2s.

This first section has presented the quantitative results for the language attitudes held by participants enrolled in an advanced mixed course to answer research questions one (a) and two. Results show that at both the beginning and end of the semester, participants held positive attitudes toward the native Northern Mexican Spanish variety and the US Heritage Spanish variety. In contrast, participants exhibited dominant negative attitudes toward the second language varieties. In regard to the change in attitudes from the beginning to the end of the semester, paired sample t-test did not reveal any statistical significance between the pre and post tasks, demonstrating lack of evidence for language attitude change ($p>0.05$).

In the section following, research question 3 will be discussed to understand why these attitudes were held by the students. The sections following highlight the results of research question one (b-c).

RQ3: Understanding why

To understand why the participants held the attitudes uncovered in the matched-guise tasks, interviews conducted after the post task attempted to gain more insights as to what caused them to positively and negatively evaluated the three language varieties. After the interviews were transcribed and coded according to a thematic analysis (Creswell, 2014; Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017), the top three themes found included: i) pronunciation and accent, ii) language learning background, and iii) dominant ideologies and stereotypes in society. Each of these three themes will be discussed in detail below.

Pronunciation and Accent

The most salient reason as to why there were negative attitudes toward the L2 variety was regarding native-like pronunciation and spoken accent. Moyer (2014) attests that spoken accent is the only linguistic characteristic that hints at an individual fitting into the non-native mold. Additionally, the teaching of pronunciation and accent has typically been disregarded in the general paradigm of L2 teaching (Lord & Fionda, 2014; Meléndez-Ballesteros, 2014). Instead, focus has been placed upon the teaching of grammar, vocabulary, and orthography, among other aspects. When dissecting the ideas of pronunciation and accent, the main difference between the two is that pronunciation concerns itself with saying a word and accent is concerned with how an individual emphasizes syllables upon pronunciation (Müller, 2013; Rao, 2019). Moyer (2014) asserts that accent is not only related to "phonetic precision but to sound 'native-like,' the learner must control a number of different features that operate in conjunction with one another, including tempo, rhythm, pause, juncture, pitch patterns, and intonation" (p. 420). Pickering and Baker (2014) assert that acquisition of the native-like accent is heavily dependent on the listener background (i.e., native/non-native status) and the

individual language attitudes towards background with the language. As the interview results will demonstrate, the language attitudes toward the individual guises took into consideration the background of the learners, hence presenting negative attitudes due to the lack of pronunciation and non-native accent.

During the interviews with the participants, all HLLs and L2s unanimously revealed that the negative attitudes toward the L2 variety were due to the way that the individuals sounded:

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(13) AC412NG (HLL): *(speaking about Raúl_L2)* I feel like **someone with this accent they'd be like, "Are you sure that you understand what I'm saying to you?"** Stuff like that. That's why I decided not to hire someone with that accent.

(14) AL412LAS1 (L2): I definitely preferred people who spoke Spanish natively. I tend to give them the jobs because I feel like if Spanish is not your first language and **you're representing yourself in a very Hispanic community, I think it would be a disadvantage for you**.

(15) DH412NG (L2): *(speaking about Marta (L2))* I wouldn't hire them because **they lack in accent, they lack practice, they're not speaking quickly enough, didn't sound very natural.**

(16) KA412LAS1 (L2): **The better the accent the better I think they speak.** Some of them pick it up a lot easier and better than others, and some struggle. Again from my experiences **I know people that lived in Mexico for two years and they could not get the accent down, they just sounded like a United States citizen, white person, trying to speak Spanish**. It was hard.

(17) KZ412NG (HLL): *(speaking about Marta (L2))* The way I envisioned people looking at them was like, **"Oh, look at this little--" Whatever color they are, like, "Gringa or güerita. No sabe hablar español bien y aquí la tienen trabajando."** That's what I imagined [laughs], you know?

(18) JK412NG (L2): Some of the **non-native speakers still sound very inexperienced in the way that they talk**, but they do know what they're saying and their grammar is right.

The participants above all agree that in order to successfully be employed in a Hispanic serving gym, it is important to sound as though you know the Spanish language and have a native-like accent and native-like pronunciation when speaking Spanish. As mentioned before, the matched-guise tasks revealed that the HLL and Native varieties were all viewed positively, whereas the L2 ones were viewed negatively. These findings parallel studies conducted in the past, such as De La Zerda and Hopper (1979) and Haney and Hurtado (1994) who found that applicants without a non-native accent would more likely obtain supervisory positions, whereas those with a stronger non-native accent would be downgraded to semi-skilled professions. Additionally, an article published on Market Watch by Keshner (2020) discusses how speaking with a strong non-native accent could lower your salary given that people perceive individuals according to how they sound, supporting the notions of linguicism, or linguistically argued racism. The participants uphold this notion due to perpetrating "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kanngas, 1988, p. 13).

From the comments made by the participants above, it is clear that they are submitting to a notion of 'us versus them' with regard to the spoken abilities and supporting the idealized monolingual ideology (Lynch, 2012), where they should speak correctly as all agree that a person has to sound as native as possible to demonstrate they know the language.

In addition, participants mentioned how having a native-like accent is more esteemed in comparison with error free speech when speaking in authentic contexts outside the classroom as seen in (19) - (22).

(19) NF412NG (L2): **I feel the Spanish accent with errors**. A sense of practicality and being able to use it, **I think that using your accent and being able to speak with a few errors is okay because they can fill in the blanks and get what you're saying normally**, so I think that would be more beneficial than speaking slow and making sure every word is correct.

(20) SR412LAS2 (L2): **That's why I don't think grammar may be as necessary as pronunciation and authenticity, because I feel like you can always develop the grammar and develop the actual literature way.**

(21) VH412LAS2 (L2): **I think the accent might do better. I feel it comes off more real and more natural and you don't want people to sound like they're robots.** Even though it makes sense to have perfect grammar structure, at the same time if it makes you uncomfortable or not fluid in how you're talking, **people might think you're weird and distance themselves from you**. I think as long as you're just making some errors and it's not like you're completely messing up everything you're trying to say to someone, I think it's fine.

(22) JV412LAS2 (HLL): You have to be able to have the correct Spanish obviously because it's correct Spanish, but I **feel your accent has to be a little bit more towards the Spanish accent.** As a Hispanic sometimes if you hear someone speaking Spanish and it's a little tone, you can tell it's a tone. **Especially to be able to speak to Hispanics you need to be able to have a tone, an accent, where they would be able to trust in you.**

The four comments above made by the participants further demonstrates how having a native-like accent contributes to an individual forming part of the in-group of Spanish speakers. Both HLLs and L2s agree that speaking as though you know the language and sounding like a competent speaker affords better interactions with other speakers of the language and creates mutual respect. It is interesting how both student learners agree that, when learning the Spanish language, the speaker should be able to use it successfully outside the walls of the classroom to sound authentic and be competent speakers. For all the participants, there was an agreement on how native-like pronunciation and accent affords positive attitudes toward ones Spanish and foments an individual as a competent speaker of the language. This section has made it clear that pronunciation and accent are constructs that affects one's attitudes toward a Spanish

language variety. When the participants listened to the guises, they ranked the varieties according to the affective component, asserting that the L2 guises were not pleasant due to the emotional response trigged when they first heard the specific variety. Additionally, they ranked them according to the behavioral aspect, stating they would not hire the individual speakers for the gym in the Hispanic serving locale.

As it will be discussed in the section that follows, the results presented in this section vis-à-vis native-like pronunciation and accent became marked aspects of the speech varieties presented in the tasks due to the participants' own learning experience and their own background with the Spanish language.

Language learning experience and background

The conversations carried out in the interviews revealed that the language learning background and experiences each of the participants had affected their attitudes toward the varieties they heard during the matched-guise tasks. This discussion will be divided according to each of the student types, beginning with the HLLs, followed by the L2s.

The HLL experience The HLL participants exhibited confidence when speaking about their language abilities as it related to their background learning the language in their community or at home. When interviewed, these students mentioned that they relate to individuals who speak like them because they are easier to understand and have had the same experiences growing up speaking Spanish in the United States (excerpts 23-25).

(23) AC412NG (HLL): Man, I don't even know. **I feel like I wouldn't be as comfortable talking in that class as with a heritage** or someone like that.

(24) KZ412NG (HLL): I would say [instructor]. I understand more out of her. **I think it's because I can relate to her in a way.** When she speaks, I can guess what she's going to say next and I feel like that's-- I don't know, I just do that unconsciously that I'm assuming what she's going to say. When she doesn't say what I expect her to say, my mind records that. **Whereas this other professor, he was very eloquent when he spoke in Spanish but it was different because I didn't know what he was talking about.** Sometimes he would say some words and I'd be like, "Excuse me, what does that mean?", and he'd be like, "Oh, yes". He would refer to words that my Spanish-speaking family would not use.

(25) KCB412LAS2 (HLL): I could relate more to [instructor] being that **he would speak Spanish more like me** because he is from the Phoenix area **and he knows what it's like to be born into the Spanish language but still be in the United States.**

In the above comments, the HLL participants stated that, for them, there is more motivation and confidence to learn and use their Spanish when they are surrounded with other HL students. Additionally, the use of the Spanish variety was an important factor, as excerpts (24) and (25) highlight. The participants felt more comfortable speaking and learning the Spanish from someone growing up using it in the U.S. In essence, the positive attitudes attributed to the matched guise tasks shows that there was solidarity between the HL participants, for they speak a variety they are all accustomed to and went through similar experiences in learning and using the language.

As it will be explained below, the L2s' Spanish and ideologies and stereotypes toward U.S. Spanish and HLLs will contradict what these participants stated about their abilities. This paradox explains that, when tasked with listening, the students exhibited self-pride. They believed that their own Spanish is more prestigious. This is seen in the responses to the interview question regarding how they would hire themselves at this

same gym. There was an evident contrast between how some HLLs hired themselves versus other HLLs. These first responses highlight those participants who believed they were worthy for the higher ranked positions at the gym.

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(26) RV: What makes you be able to communicate with them in English and Spanish?
AM412LAS2 (HLL): **I'm bilingual, I can speak both languages.**
Interviewer: Do you think you're dominant in both? You're confident in speaking both?
AM412LAS2: **Yes.**

(27) JV412LAS2 (HLL): I'm not going to say my Spanish is perfect, the best one there is, but **I'm able to communicate with two people in formal languages. My Spanish can be formal, my Spanish can be peppy, so I can fully have a full conversation with someone if it needs to be in business form or stuff like that.**

(28) KZ412NG (HLL): Because front desk, I just feel like I'm a little bit more qualified than to just be at the front desk, but not as qualified to be a general manager and completely be the person that is in charge of the other people. Membership sales, I feel it's like in between both. **I feel I can articulate what I'm trying to say well enough to be able to communicate thoroughly and be able to help people understand what I'm selling to them.** That's why I would choose myself as that.

(29) YE412LAS2 (HLL): I don't know. I personally **have a pretty good way of speaking, talking with people,** I have my way around it, so maybe that. I could be like that from their face I can see at the beginning when they enter but also be in charge of everything in general.
Interviewer: Do you think by learning Spanish at home and being forced by your dad, that gives you an advantage?

YE412LAS2 (HLL): Yes, definitely, yes. **In that way, it does give me the whole advantage of being a little bit more fluent and learning those Spanish words como more-- How do you say it like? Well developed, I guess.**

These HLLs all chose positions that are in the higher rankings in the job hierarchy at the gym. They all believe they qualify to be hired as general managers or membership sales, although they do mention the possibility of succeeding as front desk associate. When they were asked to explain why they chose the positions, they

mentioned that their level of bilingualism in the two languages is proficient enough in being able to articulate themselves formally in both languages. In addition, the participant in excerpt (29) mentions how being forced to speak Spanish from a young age at home has given her the necessary fluency in communicating in Spanish with others. These answers support the notion of self-pride in these individuals in regard to their Spanish abilities and viewing their own Spanish as more prestigious. Nevertheless, in excerpt (28) above, the participant states she is good enough to communicate in Spanish, yet in excerpt (30), she speaks about the stigma that is attached her Spanish for being born in a border town close to Mexico:

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(30) KZ412NG (HLL): **Until the current class I'm taking right now, Spanish 412, I thought I actually did a decent job articulating myself, writing and speaking**. The hardest thing for me is using the accents when I'm writing. I would say I'm pretty decent as far as the professional aspect of it. At the same time, sometimes I get nervous. **I feel like people who were born and raised in Mexico hear me speak, they're kind of like, "What are you saying?", because I am from the United States. I'm still from the same ethnicity; they still make me second guess my Spanish abilities, which is difficult**. Especially coming from that ethnicity, you expect yourself to know and be able to represent yourself well. An example I can give you is, in the Spanish class I currently have a B. For me that's like, "Wow, I'm a failing Hispanic. I should have an A." For me, it's just like, **"Why do I have a B? What's wrong with what I'm doing?", and all these things. It makes you feel a little bit of a failure in a sense.**

In excerpt (30), she mentions how being of Hispanic background make her feel as though she should be proficient enough and succeed in all aspects of using the Spanish language. Although she was confident in her abilities when asked how she would hire herself, in a way, being enrolled in the advanced mixed class seems to be a detriment to how she views herself and her language. She highlights this by speaking about her grade in the class, which is not an A, but rather a B. It is clear that having grown up in a Spanish-speaking locale does not give her the necessary self-pride and confidence in the

language. For her, language is not only related to getting the highest grade in the class, but also linked with her ethnicity which is a marker for her to be a competent Spanish-speaking individual. The language attitudes that have been prescribed to her by other Spanish speakers from Mexico have caused her to internalize the notions of her Spanish not being proficient enough. The issue present is that intraethnic attitudes (Galindo, 1995; Peñalosa, 1980) are commonplace and do have an effect on the motivation and confidence of HLLs.

The remaining HLL participants below self-hired themselves as front desk associates, which corresponded to lower-level ranking for the gym. Therefore, its plausible that the learning background, no matter if there is confidence, has affected these HLLs when asked to speak about their Spanish.

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(31) MD412NG (HLL): I think I'd probably go in as a front desk associate.
Interviewer: Why?
MD412NG: I think with **my Spanish it's competent enough to definitely interact with anyone coming in, anyone who simply knows Spanish and knows English.**

(32) KCB412LAS2 (HLL): I would put myself as the first person they talk to, the Desk Assistant.
Interviewer: Why?
KCB412LAS2: Just because **I feel like my Spanish is good enough** in order to be the first person they see. **I feel like I need a little bit of work in order to be a General Manager where it would be more professional.**

(33) JR412LAS2 (HLL): I think the front desk one.
Interviewer: Tell me about your Spanish, more in relation to the front desk.
JR412LAS2: I just think for a front desk, you need to be able to communicate clearly. **If I had someone come in and I spoke clearly to them, with my accent, I don't know, they would be comfortable.**

(34) AC412NG (HLL): Just because I'm a front desk assistant now. I feel comfortable in that position **because I don't use my Spanish all the time, but when it's necessary, I do and it's effective. I can communicate at that basic level of front desk assistant** where like, "Here's the information that you need, and I can connect you to people who know more." That basic conversation Spanish.

As all these participants are HLLs of Spanish, they have been exposed to Spanish in the home or community and enrolled in SHL courses at the university. It is surprising to see them all describe their Spanish as "good enough." Nevertheless, the participants above did rank the guises that they heard in a way that correlates with their own self-views of their Spanish. They do believe that their Spanish is effective and useful for situations that arise with other Spanish speaking individuals, but also believe that they need more professionalization with their skills to reach the levels of general manager. Although all of the HLL participants completed courses in the SHL program at the university and spoke Spanish with their families, these excerpts from the interviews demonstrate that the HLLs do not hold the same positive attitudes toward their own Spanish as compared with the attitudes they held toward the guises. The evidence states that they would not hire themselves in the higher-ranking positions, but rather the positions towards the lower end of the spectrum, demonstrating that the HLLs might have internalized negative attitudes they have heard toward their own Spanish.

There is an inconsistency in the rankings presented by the HL participants. By exploring their own opinions regarding their Spanish abilities, it is likely that half of the participants viewed their language abilities similarly to what they listened to in the tasks and that their evaluations were based upon their own experiences using Spanish. However, the other participants based their evaluations on their subconscious biases toward heritage variety speakers as they all hired themselves for high level positions at the gym demonstrating more pride in their abilities. The language learning experiences, and their educational background play a key role in the attitudes they held, and as it was discussed, these attitudes all varied and were made evident through their confidence, motivation, and abilities.

The L2 experience As expected, the language learning background and experience of the L2 participants has been different. All the L2 participants lacked any previous exposure to the Spanish language in their household and were not of Hispanic descent, but some attended dual immersion schools (n=3) and studied abroad (n=10). To exemplify, in excerpt (35), the participant mentions that beginning a class with heritage and natives made her uncomfortable because she was not confident speaking the language.

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(35) RV: Do you feel confident speaking to those native speakers in a conversation?

KD412LAS1 (L2): **Not always.** As the semester went on, I had my group of people who sit next to me. I was the only L2 and they were like native and listening for the entire semester, now we're friends. **Now I'm a lot more confident than I was. Before I was like, "Oh my gosh, they're going to think I don't know anything," but now it's fine.**

This demonstrates how L2 students are aware of their Spanish and compare it to the natives or HL varieties due to those sounding natural and correct. KD412LAS1 (35) admits that she did not feel comfortable or confident speaking Spanish beside her classmates. As such, it supports the negative evaluations of theL2 varieties due to the way they themselves feel toward speaking the language. Additionally, a HL participant from the SPA 412 course stated the following:

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(36) JV412LAS2 (HLL): The people that obviously speak Spanish better are those that were raised learning this language, or that their first language is Spanish and then they learned English, obviously they're dominant in that language, **as to those that are barely learning they're still shaky in their Spanish.**

JV412LAS2 comments that native and HL speak the better Spanish while the L2s are "shaky in their Spanish" supporting these negative attitudes. The L2 learners tend not to

have previous educational contact with the language and learn it precisely in the classroom context. In addition, L2s learn the language through a textbook and do not get much authentic input and materials to learn the language to be able to utilize more authentic pronunciation (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006). Focusing on the idea of learning the language, the L2s own language learning experience and background had an interesting effect on the attitudes that they held toward the guises. Just as the HLLs, the L2s were asked how they would hire themselves at this same gym and reflect on it according to their skills and abilities with the Spanish language. The purpose was to understand if the participants viewed their language skills comparably to what they heard based upon their own experiences or if was based upon their subconscious biases toward other L2 speakers.

Similarly, L2s either believed they were qualified for the high-level positions or they evaluated themselves negatively and stated they would benefit from not being hired at the gym.

(37) AL412LAS1 (L2): **I feel like I would be a receptionist. Nothing more because I don't really know the technical terms.** The general manager I think would be a long stretch for me. A personal trainer, I don't think I would know specific words for that. The receptionist I feel would be okay because it would be with greetings and signing in, checking out, showing them where the bathroom is, like really conversational stuff that wouldn't be too in depth. If they asked any more questions that I couldn't answer, I could always refer them to the general manager. **Other positions, I feel like I would have to rely on my own Spanish level.**

(38) RV: Why not membership or general manager?
DH412NG (L2): **Because I would probably need more practice. I need a little more immersion to be able to speak quicker and really have a better accent.**

(39) KC412LAS2 (L2): Maybe at the front desk.
Interviewer:Why?
KC412LAS2: **I think I'm proficient enough to have a conversation with people, checking them in, things like that. Maybe I'd stumble into a few challenges but it's definitely something I'd be able to manage, but I'm definitely not at the level to be able to go and sell memberships or train anyone yet.**

(40) MM412LAS2 (L2): I'd give myself probably either receptionist or janitorial. **I speak Spanish pretty well, I know what I have to say, but sometimes I do pause. I do think,** "Oh, how do you say that?" I feel like reception just because I'd be able to speak to a lot of people and understand what they're saying. I'd probably have to think for a minute and then tell back. Janitorial because of all the pauses that I'd have to take or think, "How do you say this?"

The comments in excerpts (37) - (40) speak about the confidence the L2 participants have toward their abilities. Studies have shown that in the mixed classes, L2s, just as HLLs, are not confident with their speaking abilities (Potowski, 2002). The comments contrast the findings of these studies and show that these participants are confident with their Spanish skills and would hire themselves for a position at the gym, commenting that they "speak pretty well," "proficient enough to have a conversation," and "rely on their own Spanish level." They believed that their Spanish was more esteemed in comparison to the recording that they heard, thus having negative attitudes

toward the variety in the guise for not being advanced enough. It is plausible there was lower solidarity toward the L2 guises that the participants heard, demonstrating how enrollment in the advanced course motivates these informants to be confident in their abilities. As the L2s are enrolled in the course with other speakers who are of Hispanic descent, participant in discussions, and utilize their Spanish, excerpts (36) - (39) reveal how they see themselves as developed speakers of Spanish. Enrollment in SPA 412 makes them seem superior to the beginner learners or even to the Spanish speakers in the guises. Their attitudes toward the guises were attributable to their own views on their language skills, showing that they distance themselves from other speakers who are not proficient in the language.

The issue raised here is that, at one point, the participants were leaners of Spanish with no abilities. Now that they are enrolled in the most advanced course, they attribute their skills as more advanced and competent, showcasing the "us versus them" paradigm. Fernández-Mallat and Carey (2017) encountered the same results in their study, showing the L2 learners to be more critical of the guises heard, stating the reason for such responses is due to "English-accented voices [being] an incomplete process of acquisition in which there is still room for improvement" (p. 190). As such, the paradigm of "us versus them" demonstrates that the SPA 412 L2s are much more advanced with their Spanish skills when comparing to other L2s who are speaking and learning Spanish. These individuals are exhibiting self-pride and believe that they are much more capable with Spanish.

Nevertheless, the majority of the L2s mentioned the opposite and alluded to their Spanish not being completely developed in order to work for a Hispanic serving gym. With these examples, there is concrete support of what Potowski (2002) encountered

with the L2s in the mixed class: they were embarrassed of their speaking abilities in Spanish.

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(41) RV: So how would you hire yourself?
CK412LAS2 (L2): **Probably wouldn't. [Laugh].**
RV: Why?
CK412LAS2 (L2): **I just don't think my Spanish abilities are there yet, I think that they could be.**

(42) KD412LAS1 (L2): I think based **on my speaking skills right now, I'd put, "would not hire."** Maybe, now I'm like, "Where would I like to work?" [laughs] Maybe like the janitorial services. Someone who kind of knows but can't have a conversation with a customer and be like, "What do you need? What can I assist you with**?" I'm not confident enough of my speaking skills to be like, "Yes, I could be a front desk person." Maybe I could and then I'd get better but I don't know if I was hiring me if I would right away put myself there.**

(43) KK412NG (L2): I don't know that I would hire me for a position in a largely Hispanic community. RV: Why?
KK412NG**: Simply because I still stumble and I still struggle with understanding people that are speaking at me, especially if they're speaking quickly**. I don't know I would feel like I had enough time to get my thoughts together.

(44) L2412LAS2 (L2)**: I personally wouldn't give myself a very good position** just because I would not be able like right at the front desk, I wouldn't be able to answer half the things I know what they're talking about. I definitely don't think of myself anything above that. Personal trainer, well, I could do that but then that's in Spanish. I could learn my stuff for that though. Maybe that one form below.
RV: Just because of your-
L2412LAS2 (L2)**:** Yes, just because I'm not up to speed with them. **If it were an English-speaking job, it'd be different but since it's Spanish, I wouldn't be able to do the job to the best of my ability.**

(45) MB412LAS2 (L2): **I haven't really been around a large group of native speakers so I'm not sure how I would sound in a situation like that (…) I don't know. I feel I'm probably not good enough. [**chuckle] I am in an advanced Spanish class but if I were to go out into the real world and actually tried speaking Spanish it'd probably-- I mean I don't know how it'd go but I would guess it wouldn't go as well as the native speakers.

Excerpts (41) – (45) support the results presented in the matched guise tasks since the negative attitudes prescribed to the L2s are also based upon the participants'

own experience with the language. In all of the example, the participants mention not hiring themselves for the Hispanic serving gym due to not being confident in their Spanish skills. A possible explanation for this can stem from the lack of sociolinguistic competence during L2 acquisition (Geeslin, 2011; Linford, 2014). Defined as "the receptive and productive knowledge of sociolinguistic variants and of the linguistic, social, and stylistic factors that govern their usage" (Mougeon, Nadsadi, & Rehner, 2010, p. 1), acquiring the mere grammatical structure and lexical items is not sufficient enough to afford L2s the discourse competence necessary to use the language outside the classroom (Mougeon, et al., 2010). The comments made above all highlight how, when tasked with using the language outside the classroom, the L2s would "stumble and struggle with understanding people" and "it wouldn't go well out in the real world." The participants are relying on the knowledge of the language that they have attained from being in the classroom yet agree unanimously that there has not been enough preparation to use the language in authentic contexts.

In Chapter 3, Table 3.2 showed that the scripts written for the matched guise varied according to speakers' abilities with the Spanish language. The L2 scripts contained items that were predominately classroom acquired and part of the interlanguage of these learners. The native and HLL scripts were much more variable, including items that were sociolinguistically different from what would be learned inside the classroom. The point in case is that when working at a locale that is predominately Hispanic, it is probable that the language used will differ from what is considered the standard, textbook language learned in the L2 class (Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006; Padilla & Vana, 2019). In effect, the excerpt below highlights this issue:

(46) SR412LAS2 (L2): **As learning in an educational setting, I feel like we strip it down so much just to learn, "Hola," and, "Buenas."** All that stuff. **It's so stripped of any relevance**. I don't even think I could learn English like that, I know people do and I'm amazed at them. I didn't even know subjunctive was an English thing, I thought it was just in Spanish. [laughs] How do you even-- I'm really surprised, I learned as much as I did in the setting, honestly, because I feel like-- **So many people quit, and that's why so many people quit, it's because you don't get anywhere with it.**

SR412LAS2 explains that Spanish learned in the classroom lacks the necessary relevance. It is common knowledge that many times students only take a foreign language to fulfill a university requirement. In a way, SR412LAS2 indicates the needs for relevant language instruction in the class because many learners quit learning the language "because they do not get anywhere with it." The need for sociolinguistic competence in the L2 courses is a topic that still needs to be addressed. As Padilla and Vana (2019) found, L2 textbooks lack descriptions and explanations of sociolinguistically informed language variation. In a study of language ideologies found in the instructor editions of L2 textbooks used at a university in the Southwest US, they found that textbooks portray Spanish as a monolithic construct that hide the diversity of the Hispanophone world. The lack of knowledge of variation causes the L2 students to only view idealized native sounding Spanish as positive and a non-native accented Spanish as negative, and not attribute upon themselves the creditability to use it outside the classroom in authentic situations. JV412LAS2 exemplifies this by stating:

(47) JV412LAS2 (HLL): **School settings they teach you very proper** like, "You have to follow this. You have to follow this rule. You have to follow this." **In the community, you go as you go. You just speak your Spanish as you go, you feel what you think.**

If L2 students had knowledge of variation, borrowings, calques, ideologies, and the sociopolitical situations regarding Spanish in the US, there would be more possibilities for the informants to feel comfortable speaking Spanish outside the classroom. The results might have been different if the L2 pedagogy did not lack the necessary sociocultural awareness and components of Spanish in the US needed vis-à-vis the speaking and learning of Spanish. Instead, it prescribes the students a 'standard, academic Spanish.'

Although the negative attitudes predominately favored the L2 varieties across both the tasks and the mention of a lack of authentic language, it is thought-provoking how both HLL and L2 participants revealed L2 Spanish as the best Spanish variety. In the examples below, there is evidence of participants saying that L2 Spanish is the most proper variety, demonstrating an apparent counter claim to those attitudes found in the matched guise tasks.

---

(48) RV: What's proper Spanish?
VH412LAS2 (L2): [laughs] **I guess the Spanish that we learn in class settings as opposed to casual conversations.**

(49) AL412LAS1 (L2): Yes, **because I feel like school teaches you how to professionally speak**.

(50) JR412LAS2 (HLL): Yes. They **definitely use proper terms**, and I'm more slang in some things because I already know it, and I just-- Whatever it's inside of my mouth comes out. [laughs]

(51) LR412LAS2 (HLL): Definitely knowing it because at the end of the day **it's about communicating. Whether you sound good or not, whatever, but if you know how to speak it,** that's what really matters.

(52) YE412LAS2 (HLL): *(speaking about Marta (L2))* **They learned from the beginning the proper way of speaking Spanish.**

The educational context carries prestige and students have come to "see Spanish as an important type of economic and social capital which can enhance their professional opportunities in a broad range of fields" (Leeman & Martínez, 2007, p. 53). Those learning Spanish in the educational context are attributed to speaking the proper, new global language (Leeman & Martínez, 2007). When taking into account the subconscious attitudes from the matched guise tasks with the learning experience of each learner, the present issue is that speaking Spanish is not only dependent on speaking it professionally, but speaking it in different contexts, with different speakers. Based upon the widespread beliefs of language learning, the participants realized that foreign language education prepares an individual to speak properly and correctly, supporting what Lippi-Green (2004) calls the standard language ideology. This ideology is "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying *spoken* language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions"(Lippi-Green, 2004, p. 293). With regard to foreign language learning, these educational institutions are part of the standardization of language, promoting a homogeneous standard language (Lippi-Green, 2004). Therefore, the results above are not uncommon. The individuals enrolled in these language classes generally are L2s, and the classroom is imposing on them this idealized monolingual Spanish that is considered proper and prestigious, although unrealistic. Loza (2019) found that individuals in the Spanish mixed classroom were questioned and explicitly corrected by the instructor when they incorporated lexical items from their community/home in the classroom to communicate, portraying the standard, idealized variety as correct. Nevertheless, by disapproving the notion of the standard language, the same individuals continued to use their lexical items despite the negative attitudes and corrections, as the subsequent section explains.

Lexical characteristics and stereotypes

Similar to results found in excerpts (47)-(52), widespread beliefs toward the HLL variety were revealed to be salient. Many HLLs are bilingual in both the dominant language and the minority language in the United States and have two developed linguistic systems. The evidence of these two linguistic systems converging is first seen in the lexical characteristics these individuals incorporate into their speech. Escobar and Potowski (2015) highlights Anglicisms and calques are two common features in the Spanish in the US and of heritage students that are produced by almost all Spanish speakers, regardless of their generation or their Spanish language dominance. Table 3.2 in Chapter 3 highlights the differences of the scripts and these Anglicisms and calques were incorporated into the HL speech samples in the matched-guise tasks, where participants ranked them positively.

To exemplify, excerpt (53) below demonstrates the assumption that individuals who speak Spanish by combining lexical characteristics are misinformed and do not speak a proper Spanish.

---

(53) AM412LAS2 (HLL): **I hear people say, "Parquear" for, "Park" when that's not a word** (…) but I try to speak the proper Spanish that I learned at home.
Interviewer: What is proper Spanish?
AM412LAS2: **Not saying, "Parquear" or, "Apliqué" or, "Te llamo para atrás". I don't like it.**

It can be deduced that individuals who speak Spanish by combining English lexical characteristics into their Spanish are misinformed and do not speak a proper language variety. Although these participants listened to the guises and ranked them positively on both occasions, excerpt (53) demonstrates that, for this individual who was tasked with learning Spanish in the household, the common lexical items pertaining to Spanish in

the U.S. are not appropriate nor proper. AM412LAS2 states that she does not like items like *parquear* or *apliqué* for they are not a "word." In her opinion, proper Spanish does not contain any regionalism or other unattractive language features because they are not proper words or phrases in the Spanish that she learned at home. For these participants, their experiences with hearing and using these lexical characteristics have been targets of negative attitudes, not due to the linguistic features themselves, but rather the extralinguistic features that circumscribe the uses of such characteristics. For AM412LAS2, the household formed her knowledge of what it means to speak Spanish and the language used in her household did not incorporate the use of anglicisms and calcs. Therefore, for AM412LAS2, the use of anglicisms and calcs signals the lack of standard Spanish acquisition in the household, sustaining her own discriminatory beliefs about those speakers who use such lexical items.

In contrast, in excerpt (54), although *lonche* was not accepted as a legitimate word, it was a common, acceptable word that the participant used in her daily speech:

---

(54) VH412LAS2 (HLL): There are certain words that I've used in Spanish, I'm certain that they're words but they're not**. I'd say like "chanza" or "lonche"; people tell me those aren't really real words**. I'm like, "What do you mean those aren't real words?" I've used them before and it works in Tucson.
RV: Do they understand you?
VH412LAS2: Yes, in Tucson, **but when I came up here one of my friends was like "What are you saying?" I was like, "Lonche. That's like lunch", "No, it's not"**, and I said, "Yes, you say that in Tucson. It's a word."

This points to this stigmatization of the HLLs' speech by others who are not familiar with the U.S. variety. VH412LAS2 stresses that *lonche* is common to Tucson and all individuals use it and are accustomed to it. As Jaramillo (1995) and Bills, Hernández-Chávez, and Hudson (1995) assert, proximity to a border favors language maintenance. With the case of Tucson, the ethnolinguistic vitality and language pride in the city

positively resonate with HLLs (Loza, 2019) and their speech because there is an abundance of Hispanaphones speaking a contact variety. There is a solidarity within the linguistic environment in the city that has accepted such convergence. VH412LAS2 exhibits language pride and solidarity (Martínez, 2006) and accepts *lonche* as a word that has a place in her Spanish lexicon. Contrary to her friend, VH412LAS2 presents more positive attitudes toward the use of such lexical characteristics due to the linguistic repertoire that she has acquired living in the Southern Arizona city. In sum, this apparent contrast between the positive attitudes first encountered and the variable attitudes during the interview demonstrate a polarization of what constitutes a "good" variety and a "bad" variety. When listening, pronunciation and accent was the determining factor for negative attitudes. However, regarding the HLLs, the lexical characteristics became marked signals that created variable evaluations of their variety. Hence, different linguistic components of a language trigger different attitudes.

The case of *chunti*

Finally, excerpt (55) illustrates how heritage Spanish and its speakers have evolved into becoming a stereotyped representation of growing up bilingual in the US borderlands, affecting individuals' attitudes toward that variety.

---

(55) KZ412NG (HLL): **I guess you can translate chunti to ghetto Spanish and very slang Spanish.** Especially when it's talking about girls that are Hispanic, **some in the class, like hot cheetos, and they have the red fingers like, "Oh, that girl is so chunti", or, "No manches", or stuff like that; it's just a very ghetto type of Spanish. I still use it because I'm accustomed to using it,** like the very vulgar ghetto Spanish like, "You're so chunti." Or like, "No mames, güey", stuff like that. **My parents always, especially since I'm a girl, they're like, "You're not going be using those words. That's not what a decent young lady is going to say."** Especially in my current Hispanic culture.

KZ412NG explains that the Spanish she grew up speaking incorporates slang and is viewed negatively in the community. She bases her description of this Spanish upon her own experience and her views of the individual speakers who speak the HL Spanish. Ultimately, she utilizes the words *chunti,* and the phrase "ghetto Spanish" to present her stereotypical explanation. This colloquial term *chunti* is used in mainstream society to propagate stereotypes toward Hispanics/Latinos as evidenced in the definition from the website *Urban Dictionary*. Urban dictionary provides humorous definitions and contexts of popular cultural terminology that is not found academic dictionaries. *Chunti*, as defined by Urban Dictionary, is:

> "A person of Hispanic / Latino descent that exhibits fashion, music, language (formal and informal), and other customs resembling those from Mexico. Fashion typically consists of a cowboy hat, cowboy boots (made of leather or alligator), tight jeans, and big belt buckles as used in Mexico which is perceived as "tacky" and "ghetto" by other hispanics / latinos that refuse to follow those trends in the US. Language is (obviously) Spanish (formal). However, it varies regionally and consists of many slang words (informal). Popular music styles are "banda", "rancheras", and "corridos"; all exhibit loud trumpets, accordions, and men/women with sharp annoying tones as if they were plugging up their noses with themes surrounding "drunkenness", "drinking to get rid of sadness", "masculinity", "la migra" (immigration), and songs about their beloved land Mexico." (Urban Dictionary, n.d.)

As the definition states, it is 'tacky' and 'ghetto,' supporting the descriptions made by KZ412NG. When searching for additional sources that explained this colloquialism, not one source was found besides videos on the video streaming platform YouTube

From the search of *chunti*, many videos appeared, that emphasized the physical appearance and speech of the bilingual Hispanic/Latinos. For example, a video titled "How to be chunti" holds this disclaimer "just bored!! were [sic] not trying to be racist because we are part mexican and love being it !!! no haterz [sic]" (locasprimas99, 2010). These performers understand the racist connotations the word *chunti* has and although they make it clear they are not being racist, the publication of the video supports how

they are discriminating against Hispanics/Latinos Additionally, the variety the performers use is Chicano English that incorporates some of the phrases mentioned in excerpt (50) by KZ412NG.

In another video, titled “Cooking with Chef Chunti | 5 Different Ways to Eat Hot Cheetos!” (Rae, 2016), the performer explains “the definition of "Chunti" on Urban Dictionary is used to describe a ghetto Hispanic. I took that negative definition and reinvented it into my own… From here on out the definition of "Chunti" is someone who eats a lot of Hot Cheetos! How many Chunti's are watching?” (Rae, 2016). The performer intends to subvert the negative representation by stating it is just someone who eats a lot of Hot Cheetos, but from excerpt (54), a speaker of *chunti* is ideally represented as a Spanish speaker, who is also a female and who eats Hot Cheetos, and “they have the red fingers like, ‘Oh, that girl is so chunti.’"

Based upon the sources that undertake explaining this colloquialism, this *chunticizing*[15] has become a popular culture phenomenon, as seen in the abundance of YouTube videos that negatively impact the representations of bilinguals who grew up on the borderlands. The representations found online have become commonplace to displace and discriminate against these individuals for their language background by exaggerating their speech and physical appearance. The notion is that the visual representations and their actions are intertwined with their language to position them negatively in the society and the media:

> “provide the symbols, myths, and resources through which a common culture is crafted, a culture experienced by Latinos, and offered to others as a way to learn about Latino culture. Media culture provides the materials for constructing identities, behavior, and views of the world” (Olivares, 1998, p. 437).

[15] See Zentella (1995) for an explanation of what she calls *chiquitafication*. Similar to Zentella (1995), *chunticizing* is the exoticizing of these stereotyped representations of the borderland Spanish speaker to cause their language, physical appearance/actions, among other aspects to be scrutinized.

The comment by KZ412NG supports these media representations. Although she is aware that it is not acceptable speech through what her parents have told her and the Hispanic culture, she states she is accustomed to it and use it to communicate.

The reality is that these individual experiences and the media representations of bilinguals growing up in the borderlands inflects linguistic insecurities toward the Spanish they speak, but also perpetuate myths about their identities, their culture, and their language. KZ412NG describes the Spanish she speaks in a negative connotation, yet she declares she still uses it from her experience growing up in the borderlands. In fact, many individuals differ from KZ412NG with regard to their Spanish and feel stigmatized and tend to shift away from the language. Their linguistic insecurities are what they rely upon when confronted about their Spanish (Reznicek-Parrado, 2015) and base their attitudes upon such insecurities. Scholars have shown that HLLs have been stigmatized for their Spanish abilities, for being informal, and not speaking in a proper manner. Subconsciously, the participants evaluated the HLL variety positively, yet when asked to discuss their reasoning, they evidently relied on their own language learning journey. KZ412NG can be the exemplar of appreciating the variety one speaks and owning their *chunti* speech. Nevertheless, KZ412NG, as a member of the borderland community, defines the speech of all borderlands as this informal, 'ghetto' variety, consciously holding these negative attitudes toward the variety of the HLL.

Summary

The analysis and discussion of SPA 412 presents insights vis-a-vis the reality of language variation and language attitudes in an advanced mixed class context. Quantitative data showed that, after a semester, language attitudes did not change toward the different Spanish varieties. The pre task and post task uncovered overarching positive attitudes toward both the Native, Northern Mexican variety and the U.S.-HLL

Spanish variety by the HLL and L2 participants. The L2 variety was evaluated negatively on both sides, displaying a consensus by participants regarding their language attitudes.

Qualitative data in the form of oral interviews found that L2 Spanish was ascribed negative attitudes for not sounding native-like. Specifically, participants stated that they sounded naïve and beginner-like in their Spanish skills. On the contrary, although the lack of native-like pronunciation and accent was a substantial finding in the L2 speech by both learner types, the ideology of standard language was pertinent in differentiating who spoke the best Spanish. Both HLL and L2 participants stated that the L2s language learning background in the educational context prescribes them a more professional and proper Spanish, differentiating them from the HLLs who learned it in the community and/or household. Along these lines, HLLs explained that they are bilingual and can function in all aspects of the language given their experience learning the language at home. However, the stereotypical representations of such speakers did cause the HLLs to negatively evaluate their variety. First, lexical characteristics (e.g., Anglicisms and calques) defined the HLL variety and was the overarching phenomenon that circumvented their variety to be prescribed as professional and proper. Additionally, the *chunticizing*, or exoticizing these stereotyped representations of the borderland Spanish speaker to cause their language, physical appearance/actions, among other aspects to be scrutinized, causes a disregard of the actual Spanish competencies and abilities. Instead, the participant focused on denigrating the variety based upon stereotypes ascribed to borderland Spanish speakers insisting all speakers spoke an informal and devalued Spanish.

Subsequently, the differences in language attitudes that were uncovered in the advanced mixed class are not solely related to how a person sounds when speaking the language (i.e. pronunciation and native-like accent), but the linguistic elements,

ideologies, and stereotypes utilized in the speech and/or attributed to each speaker and their variety. Therefore, what does it mean to speak Spanish if there is not a consensus among all individuals regarding what variety is overarchingly the best and/or is the correct way to speak? Or who is the best speaker? In sum, as L2412LS2 asserts, it is about communicating and being understood. The lack of phonetics and phonology in the L2 pedagogy has a possible effect in perpetuating the negative attitudes toward the L2s. Similarly, the lexical characteristics were deemed as negative representations of a Spanish variety. These results parallel those of Carreira (2005), who carried out an analysis of *eye dialect* in literary works of Puerto Rican write René Marqués and Cuban novelist Guillermo Cabrera Infante. Eye dialect, coined in 1926 by linguist George Krapp refers to the representations of language varieties in writing (Krapp, 1971). Carreira (2005) found that the authors primarily use pronunciation and secondly lexical characteristics to represent the spoken variety of the speech community in written form, while morphosyntactic properties of the language are not significant features in representing the variety. Hence, individuals base their language attitudes on pronunciation and vocabulary, and not the morphosyntactic constructions in the language. The pedagogical consequences succumb these Spanish speakers and learners to be negatively judged for their Spanish skills given the fact that there is not emphasis on phonetics and phonology, as well as a lack of focus on developing a broad lexicon.

With these results in mind, what happens in the separate learner courses? What language attitudes do the L2 students and HLL students hold toward the same varieties studied?

The Separate Learner Courses

As the present study was also concerned with understanding the language attitudes of students enrolled in upper-division L2 and HL courses, the pre and post matched guise tasks were assigned to students in the L2 SPA 314 and the HL SPA 316 courses. The results from the two separate tasks given to the students in each of these courses present crucial evidence regarding the (in)effectiveness of language learning pedagogies employed in homogenous language learning courses. As mentioned in Chapter 3, I hypothesized that there will be no change in attitudes from the beginning to the end of the semester as the students are immersed in a classroom context with the same type of learner and distinct pedagogies. The two sections that follow answer research question one (b-c).

RQ1 and RQ2: The case of SPA 314

The students enrolled in SPA 314 are in their sixth semester of Spanish, in the Spanish as a second language program. This class is homogeneous, and per the language background and contact questionnaire, all the students enrolled in SPA 314 stated they had no prior exposure to the Spanish language, either in the home, community, and have solely learned the language though educational contexts. The primary purpose of this course is to develop the students' writing skills and their Spanish academic register. SPA 314 did not present students with direct contact with Spanish language variation and students were exposed to the Spanish language through the literature and the grammar explanations in the textbook.

In addition, this course was structured around the American Council of Foreign Language Teaching (ACTFL) proficiency goals (ACTFL, 2012). The purpose is to ideally move students along a continuum to reach certain goals, such as proficiency and cultural competency, through various activities that develop their skills in the language

(Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006). As the acquisition of the language is attained with the help of textbooks where the ideal Spanish speaker is a monolingual native from a Spanish speaking country, it is probable that L2 students will not have awareness of Spanish language diversity (Padilla & Vana, 2019).

It is for these reasons that the matched-guises tasks were assigned to the SPA 314 course, as a measure to understand the (in)effectiveness of the L2 pedagogy and the possible repercussions that arise once these students are enrolled in a course with HLLs.

Table 4.12 displays the L2 students' attitudes toward all the different language varieties, including each individual guise, during the first week of the semester when data were collected.

Table 4.12. Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 314 during pre-task

Speaker	Attitude	Second Language Learners	
		N	*%*
Jen (N)	Positive	15	65.2%
	Negative	8	34.8%
Marta (N)	Positive	16	69.6%
	Negative	7	30.4%
Raul (N)	Positive	18	78.3%
	Negative	5	21.7%
Alex (N)	Positive	10	43.5%
	Negative	13	56.5%
Jen (HL)	Positive	13	56.5%
	Negative	10	43.5%
Marta (HL)	Positive	15	65.2%
	Negative	8	34.8%
Raul (HL)	Positive	16	69.6%
	Negative	7	30.4%
Alex (HL)	Positive	15	65.2%
	Negative	8	34.8%
Jen (L2)	Positive	5	21.7%
	Negative	18	78.3%
Marta (L2)	Positive	9	39.1%
	Negative	14	60.9%
Raul (L2)	Positive	1	4.3%
	Negative	22	95.7%
Alex (L2)	Positive	5	21.7%
	Negative	18	78.3%
			Total N= 23

Table 4.12 indicates that during the pre-task, all native guises, but one, and all HL guises were evaluated positively by the students in SPA 314, with more than 60% ranking the guises positively. Nonetheless, Alex (N) was the sole native guise evaluated negatively, with only 10, or 43.5% of L2 students ranking what they heard positively. A possible explanation for this evaluation stems from the fact that Alex grew up in Arizona to parents who did not speak any Spanish. However, Alex learned Spanish through

contact with his grandmother, who was Mexican. It is plausible that the L2 students viewed his Spanish as not monolingual due to their prior knowledge of a native speaker. The L2 guises in Table 4.12 highlight obvious negative attitudes toward L2 Spanish speakers. 60.9% to 95.7% of all L2 students in SPA 314 raked all four L2 guises negatively, strongly contrasting the results of the Native and HL guises.

At the end of the semester, during week 14, students participated in the post-task. Table 4.13 displays the L2 students' attitudes toward each individual guise during the end of the semester.

Table 4.13. Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 314 during post-task

Speaker	Attitude	Second Language Learners	
		N	%
Jen (N)	Positive	12	52.2%
	Negative	11	47.8%
Marta (N)	Positive	18	78.3%
	Negative	5	21.7%
Raul (N)	Positive	19	82.6%
	Negative	4	17.4%
Alex (N)	Positive	15	65.2%
	Negative	8	34.8%
Jen (HL)	Positive	17	73.9%
	Negative	6	26.1%
Marta (HL)	Positive	15	65.2%
	Negative	8	34.8%
Raul (HL)	Positive	17	73.9%
	Negative	6	26.1%
Alex (HL)	Positive	16	69.6%
	Negative	7	30.4%
Jen (L2)	Positive	1	4.3%
	Negative	22	95.7%
Marta (L2)	Positive	13	56.5%
	Negative	10	43.5%
Raul (L2)	Positive	0	0.0%
	Negative	23	100.0%
Alex (L2)	Positive	4	17.4%
	Negative	19	82.6%
			Total N= 23

The results for the post-task are seemingly similar. 52.2% to 82.6% of SPA 314 students evaluated the native guises positively. In reference to Alex (N), who was evaluated negatively during the pre-task, the post-task shows a change where 65.2% of L2s evaluated him positively after a semester of study in the SPA 314 course. It is possible that during the course, students were made aware by the instructor of distinct language learners as at the university under study, the Spanish language program offers to separate tracks of Spanish language study, one for L2s and the other for HLLs. For

example, during the first two weeks of the semester, instructors from the HLL program visit L2 Spanish courses to make the students aware of the heritage program and to recruit individual students who might be heritage or native speakers but might not be aware of it. Therefore, this might have affected the L2 students' evaluations of Alex (N) as they became cognizant that HLLs and native speakers might enroll in L2 Spanish classes to continue developing their Spanish language skills.

Similar to the rankings for the native guises, all the HL guises were evaluated positively, where 65.2% to 73.9% of L2s ranked them positively. These results concur with those found during the pre-task. Finally, all L2 guises were evaluated negatively, with 100% of all L2 students evaluating Raul (L2) negatively. Although during the pre-task 4.3% of L2 students evaluated Raul (L2) positively, the change between the pre-task and post-task for Raul (L2) is not statistically significant. Attitudes for Jen (L2) also drastically decreased, from 21.7% of participants evaluating her a positively, to only 4.3% during the post-task. Similarly, the attitude changes for all three guises from the two tasks do not present statistically significant changes. A probable reason for these results relates to the SPA 314 participants believing their Spanish is much more proficient than the Spanish of the guises. These results parallel to the SPA 412 course where the L2 students critiqued the L2 guises more harshly, believing they were much more advanced.

In sum, table 4.14 and 4.15 below present the descriptive statistics for all the language varieties. Each of the variables above were collapsed into one variable according to the language variety. Therefore, during the pre-task, 64.1% of SPA 314 students evaluated the Native and HL guises positively, while only 21.7% evaluated the L2 guises positively.

Table 4.14. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 314 during pre-task

Speaker Type	Attitude	Second Language Learners	
		N	%
N	Positive	15	64.1%
	Negative	8	35.9%
HL	Positive	15	64.1%
	Negative	8	35.9%
L2	Positive	5	21.7%
	Negative	18	78.3%
Total		n = 23	

During the post task, 69.6% evaluated the Native variety and the HL variety as positive. For the L2 language variety, 19.6% evaluated what they heard as positive, and 80.4% evaluated it as negative.

Table 4.15. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 314 during post-task

Speaker Type	Attitude	Second Language Learners	
		N	%
N	Positive	16	69.6%
	Negative	7	30.4%
HL	Positive	16	69.6%
	Negative	7	30.4%
L2	Positive	4	19.6%
	Negative	19	80.4%
Total		n = 23	

Paired sample t-tests did not show a statistical significance between the pre and post-tasks for the language varieties. Therefore, the results were not statistically significant (see Appendix F for the results of the paired sample t-test for SPA 314).

The four tables above present statistics regarding how students in the L2 course evaluated three common language varieties found in the Phoenix Metropolitan Area. The results demonstrate predominant positive attitudes for native and HL language varieties

and predominately negative attitudes toward L2 language varieties. As the changes from the pre-task to the post-task are not statistically significant, it is evident that the L2 course does not change the students' language attitudes toward the Spanish language varieties, predominantly the L2 language variety that they speak themselves. Nevertheless, the L2 students presented overarching positive attitudes toward the Native and HL varieties, supporting the fact that these two varieties are seen as the language varieties that L2s strive to achieve and which are seen as the target way to speak in these classes.

RQ1 and RQ2: The case of SPA 316

SPA 316 is the final HL course designated for those students who have been exposed to Spanish from the household, relatives, or community, and who can read and write in the language. These students continue to strengthen their written and oral language to develop advanced skills for use in professional, educational, and academic contexts. The semester-long course provides a dynamic cultural context to critically examine issues related to Hispanic communities, bilingualism, and education in the U.S. Additionally, this course is structured around important pedagogical tenets from HL pedagogy (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Instructors in this course attempt to address the ways in which HLLs are unique when compared to other learners of the language, such as L2s, and when compared to each other (Beaudrie et al., 2014). For this reason, there is more emphasis placed on literacy and experiential, content-based, and critical-based approaches (Beaudrie et al., 2019; Kagan, 2012). In addition, the language is often taught alongside cultural practices as HLLs' cultural identity informs their language and language learning.

Previous studies have shown that, in courses dedicated to HLLs, these learners have positive attitudes and experiences with the HL when enrolled in these courses

(Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Other studies have shown that learning in the HL classroom promotes HLLs' connection with their communities, family, and their individual cultural and linguistic identities (Kang & Kim, 2012; Noels, 2005; O'Rourke & Zhou, 2016; Parra, 2016b, Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). In essence, incorporating the matched guises tasks into the curriculum of the SPA 316 course was a measure intended to understand the (in)effectiveness of HL pedagogy and the possible learning consequences for these students once they are simultaneously enrolled in a course with L2s.

for these students once they are simultaneously enrolled in a course with L2s.

Table 4.16 represents the pre-task descriptive statistics of the attitudes held by the HLLs toward each individual spoken guise.

Table 4.16. Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 316 during pre-task

Speaker	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners	
		N	*%*
Jen (N)	Positive	13	65.0%
	Negative	7	35.0%
Marta (N)	Positive	18	90.0%
	Negative	2	10.0%
Raul (N)	Positive	13	65.0%
	Negative	7	35.0%
Alex (N)	Positive	12	60.0%
	Negative	8	40.0%
Jen (HL)	Positive	18	90.0%
	Negative	2	10.0%
Marta (HL)	Positive	9	45.0%
	Negative	11	55.0%
Raul (HL)	Positive	13	65.0%
	Negative	7	35.0%
Alex (HL)	Positive	12	60.0%
	Negative	8	40.0%
Jen (L2)	Positive	3	15.0%
	Negative	17	85.0%
Marta (L2)	Positive	12	60.0%
	Negative	8	40.0%
Raul (L2)	Positive	4	20.0%
	Negative	16	80.0%
Alex (L2)	Positive	8	40.0%
	Negative	12	60.0%
			Total N= 20

From the crosstabulations in Table 4.16 above, HLLs attitudes vary according to the variety of the guise. For example, beginning with the native varieties, all four guises were evaluated positively by 60%-90% of all HLLs. In regard to the negative evaluations, it is plausible that different communities have different kinds of attitudes and aspirations in relation to the language that they hear (Crystal, 2000). Therefore, people tend to hold

positive attitudes when "(i) people believe that particular language has a benefit to them; (ii) people tend to feel like when they accept the variety of language, they will use it; (iii) people's belief and feeling towards a particular language will make them use the language itself " (Ginting, 2018, p. 126). The four individual varieties were spoken by individuals who learned Spanish from family members who were all raised in different Mexican states, hence different variations of Mexican Spanish (Lipski, 2007).

Next, 60%-90% of all HLLs evaluated the HL varieties of Spanish positively. Nevertheless, Marta (HL) was evaluated negatively for the Spanish variety that she spoke. As Marta grew up in Las Vegas to family from Guadalajara and Nayarit, its plausible that her Spanish skills weakened as she gradually started having contact with friends in the community as a child and acquiring her English skills once enrolled in kindergarten. Beaudrie et al. (2014) state that this is an example of late L2 acquisition which occurs when HLLs learn the L2 after the age of four, usually with second-generation speakers (Beaudrie et al., 2014). The second generation heard and spoke the HL until they started to attend school in the dominant language, thus acquiring English and gradually losing the HL. Therefore, her contact with English could have possibly affected her competence with Spanish, thus being different from the other varieties of the other three individuals. In addition, as the other speakers of the HL variety in the pre task encapsulate the late L2 acquisition descriptions proposed by Beaudrie et al. (2014), the other negative attitudes held by the HLLs toward this variety for the other speaker might also be due to the age of acquisition of English and the coexistence of the HL with the dominant language.

Finally, the L2 language variety presented some negative evaluations. Jen (L2), Raul (L2), and Alex (L2) were viewed negatively by the HLLs, whereas Marta (L2)'s variety was evaluated positively by 60% of the HLLs. These positive attitudes toward

Marta (L2) support late L2 acquisition as proposed by Beaudrie et al. (2014) due to the assimilation into the English educational context and possibly having to strengthen her Spanish skills through SHL courses at the college level. Nevertheless, L2 students learn the L2 after puberty, or after the critical period, as a *tabula rasa,* possibly with no background in the L2 unlike the HLLs who had previous contact with Spanish. Therefore, the positive evaluation of this L2 variety stems from her exposure to the language in the class setting, as a possible L2 that she reacquired after development in the English language.

The results for the pre task have demonstrated that positive language attitudes are attributed to those speakers who have a general strong command of the language. Additionally, the results show that the native Spanish varieties are all evaluated positively, while the HLL and L2 varieties present opposing language attitudes among the HLL student participants. The descriptive statistics in Table 4.17 represent the language attitudes held by the same students toward each individual language variety during week 14 of the HL course. The results highlight whether or not the language attitudes change after a semester long, homogenous learner course.

Table 4.17. Attitudes toward each guise by language learner in SPA 316 during post-task

Speaker	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners	
		N	*%*
Jen (N)	Positive	18	90.0%
	Negative	2	10.0%
Marta (N)	Positive	16	80.0%
	Negative	4	20.0%
Raul (N)	Positive	14	70.0%
	Negative	6	30.0%
Alex (N)	Positive	9	45.0%
	Negative	11	55.0%
Jen (HL)	Positive	11	55.0%
	Negative	9	45.0%
Marta (HL)	Positive	14	70.0%
	Negative	6	30.0%
Raul (HL)	Positive	15	75.0%
	Negative	5	25.0%
Alex (HL)	Positive	13	65.0%
	Negative	7	35.0%
Jen (L2)	Positive	0	0.0%
	Negative	20	100.0%
Marta (L2)	Positive	5	25.0%
	Negative	15	75.0%
Raul (L2)	Positive	1	5.0%
	Negative	19	95.0%
Alex (L2)	Positive	2	10.0%
	Negative	18	90.0%
			Total N= 20

The descriptive statistics for the individual native varieties at the post task slightly differ from that of the pre-task. Three of the four native guises were overarchingly positive, with 70% to 90% of HLLs holding positive attitude. However, a point of differentiation is that of Alex (N), whose native variety was positively evaluated during the pre-task but negatively ranked during the post task. As it was already mentioned above, SPA 316 is the final course in the HL program sequence, and the course is focused on developing advanced skills for use in professional, educational and academic contexts. It worthy to speculate that the negative evaluation of Alex (N) comes

from the notion of who the native speaker is and what it means to be a native speaker. When listening to Alex (N), the participants possibly noticed his spoken Spanish was very formal and prestigious, as the participants were listening to a voicemail for employment at LA Fitness. This emphasizes the dichotomy between the native speaker and the content and pedagogy employed in SPA 316. Educated native speakers are able to communicate in all instances using the language naturally (Beaudrie et al., 2014), having the ability to use formal registers and colloquial expressions. SPA 316 incorporates components of critical language awareness-based pedagogies, where the goals "call for social justice in literacy education, including equitable treatment of students with diverse racial, cultural, gender/sexuality, and linguistic identities and explicit teaching about societal inequalities, prejudices, and privileges in service of disrupting them" (Godley & Reaser, 2018, p. 3). As the course focuses on equitable treatment of linguistic identities, students are made aware that all linguistic varieties and identities are valid, including their own. The course takes on a critical standpoint toward the Spanish language and focuses on empowering the students to view their own varieties and other spoken varieties of Spanish as valid and positive. In effect, its plausible to postulate that the 11 students who ranked Alex (N) as negative are contesting the notion of what it means to be native, since HLLs have been seen to want to reach that ideal native speaker proficiency and ability (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016).

It is worthy to speculate here that the critical pedagogies are producing negative attitudes toward this one native individual to counter the set language ideology of the native speaker, "an imagined, problematic generalized Other" (Holliday, 2006, p. 386). Students are made to believe that the native speaker is an individual who speaks the prestigious, 'standard' variety of the language and the variety that should be strived for when learning the language, eradicating any other varieties (Leeman & Serafini, 2016).

In this case, the 11 students who evaluated Alex (N) negatively, are confronting this imposition of the native language by becoming proud of their own varieties instead of what is considered the standard, prestigious. Nonetheless, this self-validation at the hands of negative evaluations of the native go against the tenets of critical pedagogies, which affords equitable treatment of all varieties of language, not just their own.

Consequently, it is seen with the heritage varieties of the language in Table 4.17 above, more than 50% of all participants in SPA 316 evaluated the heritage varieties heard positively. The change in attitudes for Jen (HL) was the only statistically significant change for the HL varieties in the SPA 316 course. Pre-task attitudes were 10% negative, but post task attitudes revealed 45% of the HLLs in SPA 316 evaluated her negatively (p=.008). A possible reason for this negative evaluation is the students listened carefully to her speech the second time and noticed she speaks differently than the other guises, due to her upbringing in Texas and her contact with English and Spanish. However, this highlights both ends of the spectrum with the critical pedagogies. First, in regard to the other varieties, the critical pedagogies implemented in this class did give the students the necessary awareness to view the heritage varieties as positive, thus contributing to the important goal of language maintenance in SHL education (Beaudrie et al., 2014). On the other hand, despite the positive attitudes that uphold the benefit of the critical pedagogies implemented in this course to empower students to view all varieties as valid, there was about 30%-40% of participants who negatively evaluated the varieties suggesting they do not view HLL variety as appropriate, as was seen in the "Understanding why" section above.

The last variety, that of the L2, received predominantly negative evaluations, ranging from 75% to 100% of participants holding negative attitudes toward the variety. Along the same lines as the native variety discussed above, the issue present is that there

is no information readily available in heritage courses regarding L2 students and the Spanish they speak. The case for this stems from that fact that both learners differ from one another and the classes developed for each learner have different goals and pedagogies. In L2 classes, teaching goals are based upon moving the students along a spectrum of proficiency and teaching them the skills that reflect real-world communication (Beaudrie et al., 2014). On the other hand, although SHL pedagogy can be said to be based loosely upon the ACTFL standards (Martínez, 2016), researchers in the field of HL have come to disregard these standards given they do not take into consideration the unique circumstances of the HLLs (Martínez, 2016) and have since adopted the goals summarized by Beaudrie et al. (2014) as ways to model HLL curriculum. These evaluations stem from the global understanding that L2 students are learners of the language, needing substantial time and effort in acquiring the language (Beaudrie et al., 2014). In a study conducted by Henshaw (2013), she found the HLLs did not incorporate any information given to them from their L2 partners, suggesting that HLLs question the authenticity of L2 learners' knowledge of Spanish. As such, the significant change in attitudes for Marta (L2) demonstrate this. Marta (L2) was evaluated positively in the pre-task, with only 40% negative evaluations. However, during the post-task, the positive evaluations turned predominately negative, as 75% of the HLLs evaluated her negatively. This change demonstrates that at first, before the semester started, the HLLs might have believed that the L2s do have the proper professional Spanish, and when they heard the guise, heard a professional person speaking. Nevertheless, after the end of the semester, they changed their attitudes due to possibly questioning the L2s authenticity with the language.

Therefore, the negative attitudes toward the speech of the L2s is potentially a sign of lack of information by the HLLs toward the skills and experience the L2s have with the

language in their courses and based solely upon what was heard when listening to the four speakers. Paired sample t-tests are presented in Appendix G for the SPA 316 course and their attitudes toward each of the guises.

Overall Attitudes toward language varieties in SPA 316

In sum, participants from SPA 316 have overall the same language attitudes toward the three varieties found in Metropolitan Phoenix after a semester enrolled in SPA 316. As seen in Tables 4.18 and 4.19 below, there were no statistically significant changes in language attitudes after each of the individual guises where collapsed into one variable according to the language variety.

Table 4.18. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 316 during pre-task

Speaker Type	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners	
		N	%
N	Positive	14	70%
	Negative	6	30%
HL	Positive	13	65%
	Negative	7	35%
L2	Positive	7	35%
	Negative	13	65%
			Total N = 20

For the native language varieties, 70% of participants in SPA 316 ranked them positively, whereas for the HL language variety, there was a 5% decrease, to only 65% of participants ranking them positively. In regard to the L2 varieties, only 35% of participants evaluated what they heard as positive.

Table 4.19. Attitudes toward language variety by language learner in SPA 316 during post-task

Speaker Type	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners	
		N	%
N	Positive	14	70%
	Negative	6	30%
HL	Positive	13	65%
	Negative	7	35%
L2	Positive	2	10.0%
	Negative	18	90.0%
			Total N = 20

During the post-task, 71.25% of participants evaluated the native varieties as positive and 66.25% ranked the HL variety as positive. Unfortunately, there was a drastic shift in positive attitudes toward the L2 variety, and after 14 weeks in SPA 316, only 10% of participants evaluated the variety as positive. Although looking at the data, there is a visible change in language attitudes, especially toward the L2 varieties, Paired sample t-tests did not reveal any statistically significant changes.

RQ3: What is Actually Happening?

Similar to the discussion of previous research presented in Chapter 2, language attitudes are present not only in society, but in the educational realms. As individuals are speakers and listeners of language, they are often triggered by how others speak, causing them to act and react to a particular stimulus they hear. This reaction might be positive or negative and may even shape the way we perceive that specific individual. When tasked with the matched-guise, participants in the SPA 412 course prescribed positive evaluations onto the speakers of the native and US Heritage variety in both the tasks. Regarding the L2 variety, both participants evaluated their variety negatively in both instances.

Focusing on the two homogeneous learner courses, L2s in SPA 314 evaluated the Native and US Heritage as positive while the L2 guise as negative in both tasks. Similarly, HLLs in SPA 316 evaluated the same two guises positively, native and HL, and the L2 guise negatively on both occasions. Although these courses are comprised of different student types, their overall subconscious attitudes reveal the same result; native sounding Spanish is viewed more positively than non-native sounding Spanish. The participants in all the courses made character judgments based upon the pronunciation and accent they heard when listening to the guises, especially since the purpose was employability at a Hispanic-serving job. These judgments revolve around the notion of native-like language attainment. All students evaluated the L2 guise negatively because it did not sound natural. Scholars have shown how "L2 learners often have a strong desire to achieve native-like production and native speakers often have an effortless intuition of what native and non-native speech looks like (Camus-Oyarzún, 2016, p. 23). In essence, it does not come as a surprise that these negative evaluations were made based upon accent and pronunciation, as employability and accent are correlated due to the fact a non-native accent is considered a hinderance for effective job performance (Carlson & McHenry, 2011; De La Zerda & Hopper, 1979; Haney & Hurtado, 1994). In regard to speaking English, the Equal Employment Opportunity Coalition (EEOC) states how "an employer may only base an employment decision on accent if effective oral communication in English is required to perform job duties and the individual's foreign accent materially interferes with his or her ability to communicate orally in English" (EEOC, 2010). Although this was a hypothetical situation, the SPA 412 participants stated in the interviews that L2s would not be able to successfully communicate in Spanish, the dominant language of the gym, due to not sounding competent (see excerpts 11-16) which can have severe real-world consequences for these individuals.

Additionally, the L2s in the SPA 314 course evaluate the other L2s negatively. Their positive evaluations of the HL and the native align with the native speaker goal in the language learning context (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017). The problem stems from the critical evaluations of the L2s by other L2s; they place a high value on sounding native or heritage due to their experiences learning the language in a classroom that at times lacks authenticity. For them, pronunciation and accent afford the necessary element to be seen as a competent speaker of the second language. They are aware they learn the prestigious variety of the language from being in this context, but, as these results show, there is a lack of awareness and knowledge that would make them capable to communicate and interact with Spanish speakers in this region.

However, although accent was a salient factor in constructing negative language attitudes, another important finding was uncovered from the interview data. Conscious reflection on language variation uncovers drastically different language attitudes than those found from subconscious reflection. Although some L2s did mention they were not comfortable working in a Hispanic speaking locale, both L2s and HLLs described the L2 Spanish as "proper" and "professional" (see excerpts 43- 48). The inconsistency with who speaks a good variety and who speaks a bad variety is evidenced through the global representation of the foreign language classroom as supporting this standardization of language (Lippi-Green, 2004). The underlying assumption is in the classroom: an individual reaches a level of what is considered proper and professional language and is viewed as more proficient and competent. With regard to the HLL variety, results showed that lexical characteristics caused negative views of their variety for not aligning with what would be considered the proper alternative learned in the classroom context (see excerpts (48) – (50)). The HLLs in this study all stated they grew up in bilingual community and spoke Spanish growing up. Examples 49-51 demonstrate the disparity

among HLLs vis-à-vis their bilingualism. The Spanish heritage courses at the institution are guided by the goals proposed by Beaudrie et al. (2014); especially the development of positive attitudes toward the HL variety and other varieties. Nevertheless, the results from the SPA 412 course shows otherwise in that the participants still devalue the variety of their peers. Despite having taken two courses in the heritage program, including SPA 316, participants still relied on dominant ideologies and negative attitudes found in society to judge the HLL variety. For example, AM412LAS2 in example 53, exemplifies this by othering herself from other HLLs because she does not incorporate Anglicisms or calques in her speech because "she doesn't like it." As such, these individuals do not continue appropriating a just and equitable approach to their language variety, but rather rely on dominant stereotypes and ideologies regarding their own speech.

Focusing on SPA 316, the HLL advanced course, HL pedagogy seems to be fruitful because the matched guise tasks revealed positive attitudes toward the HL and native varieties. Nevertheless, the L2 variety was negatively evaluated by the HLLs in the course. These are positive findings since HLLs are encouraged to see all varieties as equitable and just. The issue at hand, though, revolves around the lack of awareness of L2 Spanish in the courses, which will be offered as a pedagogical implication in Chapter Five.

To conclude, the language attitudes found in the present study are sustained by the participants' expectations of what it means to be a native, correct speaker of Spanish. The reasoning behind that is due to a lack of non-native accent, which was the most salient part of an individual's speech that became the marked feature scrutinized by the participants. Additionally, the preconceived notions of who speaks the best Spanish afforded a contrast in language attitudes, showcasing the HLLs' and L2s' scrutiny of other HLLs for not speaking properly or professionally as a consequence of their

language learning background and use of certain lexical items. As Charity-Hudley and Mallinson (2011) found, the reality is that individual speakers of home varieties are devalued and disenfranchised for their language skills, which may result in dire consequences because of how their language variety differs from the standard norm in the classroom. In sum, native-like phonetic and phonological elements in Spanish speakers affords positive attitudes, just as a formal lexicon and academic register. However, the morphosyntactic elements, which can be considered the grammar of a language, does not have any effect on the individual's language attitudes. As a consequence, L2 and HLL varieties were both negatively judged by the participants. This calls attention to the importance of classroom interactions between the students on a personal level, but also the need for an improvement and addition of dialectal awareness in the pedagogies and the curricula implemented in the courses studied. Language learning pedagogies need to emphasize phonetics and phonology, which usually tend to be overlooked, as much as they need to incorporate lexical awareness of the language, so that all speakers and learners are aware of the vast array of lexical choices when communicating.

Looking Ahead

In the present chapter, the results and analysis have been discussed in detail alluding to some needed next steps and implications. Next, Chapter 5, will focus on summarizing the study and its findings in order to achieve a fruitful discussion of its pedagogical implications. Finally, it will highlight the limitations and future directions that can be undertaken to continue studying language attitudes in these contexts.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Results

As language attitudes have an important role in the classroom. Understanding language attitudes matter because they shape how students are perceived by educators, but more importantly, how second language learners (L2s) and heritage language learners (HLLs) perceive each other's language varieties. This dissertation study has provided a detailed account of the language attitudes HLL and L2 students in the advanced mixed courses hold toward three Spanish varieties found in the Phoenix Metropolitan area. Additionally, the language attitudes of both L2s and HLLs in two homogeneous language learning courses were included as a means of comparison. Data was collected through the implementation of matched guise tasks, one at the beginning and another at the end of the semester, as well as through semi-structured interviews with participants from the advanced mixed course. Findings revealed that through an indirect method of analysis, participants held attitudes dependent on what was heard in the guises. Nevertheless, through interviews, different attitudes were seen as a consequence of participants' own held beliefs and dominant stereotypes and ideologies found in society. Language attitudes are mediated through the everyday human socialization; therefore, the educational context is not divested of language attitudes as all students and instructors hold onto particular attitudes.

Data from both the matched guise and the interviews have answered the following research questions that guided the present study. Research question one (a-c) was concerned with the actual language attitudes held by all participants at the beginning and end of the semester. Table 5.1 shows the language attitudes.

Table 5.1. Overall language attitudes toward language variety by all participants in all three classes

Class	Variety	Pre-Task		Post Task	
		HLL	*L2*	*HLL*	*L2*
SPA 412	N	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
	HL	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
	L2	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
SPA 314	N	-	Positive	-	Positive
	HL	-	Positive	-	Positive
	L2	-	Negative	-	Negative
SPA 316	N	Positive	-	Positive	-
	HL	Positive	-	Positive	-
	L2	Negative	-	Negative	-

The overall positive attitudes for all three classes, during both the pre and post tasks, were toward the native and HL variety, whereas the negative attitudes for all participants in all classes, both pre and post-task, were toward the L2 variety.

Research question two concerned itself with a language attitude change. Through same sample t-tests, the changes in attitude from pre and post tasks were not statistically significant in SPA 412 or SPA 314 ($p>0.05$). However, there were changes in the language attitudes for the individual guises in the SPA 316 course. For example, the change of attitudes toward Marta (L2) ($p=0.015$) and Jen (HL) ($p=.008$) were significant. As only two of the guises were significant and the changes in attitudes toward the varieties were not, the discussion below will help contextualize why there was not any significant change in the attitudes.

Research question three focused on understanding why the participants held such attitudes. The data form the interviews revealed three common themes vis-a-vis the language attitudes: (i) pronunciation/native-like accent, (ii) language learning

experience and background, and (iii) lexical characteristics/dominant stereotypes. Participants from the advanced mixed course explained that L2 Spanish lacks the native-like accent and pronunciation that is required when working in a Hispanic serving community. Whereas the native and HL recordings did not lack native-like pronunciation and accent, the L2s marked speech was unfavorable to all participants, thus prescribing upon the L2s negative attitudes.

Differing from these comments, when the participants spoke about their own language learning experience and background, there was a contrast between how the participants each viewed their Spanish abilities. Some HLLs and L2s highlighted that they were confident with their skills and could take upon the higher-ranking positions at the gym, whereas other participants did not find their skills suitable for such higher ranked positions. HLLs reported that they would be a better fit for lower-tiered positions, while the L2s would not hire themselves as they were not comfortable speaking Spanish outside of the classroom. Additionally, the notion of the standard language was a topic of discussion with participants stating that L2s are both taught and use the proper, professional Spanish learned in the classroom. Although one L2 participant mentioned that the L2 class strips away the relevance of learning and using Spanish in authentic contexts, it was shown that the lexical characteristics of U.S. Spanish and stereotypes denigrated the HL variety from the personal experiences of the HLLs. This paradox shows that, on the one hand, the participants need more encounters with authentic language to communicate successfully. On the other hand, the authentic language is viewed negatively by other speakers, including speakers of the same background. This is an interesting shift from what the matched guise tasks revealed in comparison with the interviews. When they are allowed to express their opinions,

participants rely heavily on their personal experiences as either detrimental factors toward their views of other varieties, or as beneficial to their abilities.

Language attitudes develop in accordance with the socialization that takes place. The learning context and background of how each participant learned Spanish affected the language attitudes sustained toward each of the varieties. Toward each variety, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of each participant's attitude were made clear as the reasons for holding such an attitude. The lack of native-like pronunciation and accent were the two salient factors that caused negative views of the L2 Spanish, as the participants were comparing the L2 speakers to native and HL speakers whose speech is accented according to the norm of speaking the language natively. As Garrett et al. (2003) assert, the cognitive process shows that "linguistic forms, varieties, and styles can set off beliefs about a speaker, their group membership, and can lead to assumptions about attributes of those members" (p. 3), highlighting that the L2 variety is not viewed as competent enough for a Hispanic serving institution and that L2 speakers lack authentic language skills. Davies (2004) points out that the native speaker, despite various interpretations of the term, is used as the end goal for L2 speakers during language instruction. Additionally, he highlights that native speakers are "criterion for employment" (p. 431), indicating that they are the most suitable for employability. This strongly supports the results of the study, as it was the native and HL individuals who were given the higher-ranking positions due to their supposed *nativeness*. The discussion section below details this issue of *nativeness* and native-like pronunciation and accent.

Similarly, the attitudes mentioned toward borderland varieties spoken by many of the participants displayed how personal experiences and society, in general, have denigrated their language and caused these negative evaluations. The HLL participants

stated the Spanish that they learned in the community and household is viewed as "informal," "ghetto," or "*chunti*". Additionally, due to the negative representations of such speakers, participants mentioned they do not use such lexical items or U.S., borderland Spanish because it lacks professionalization and standardization. The results highlight that an individual's attitude is not only attributed to mental dispositions that favor or disfavor a particular entity, but rather their behaviors, beliefs, and emotional well-being is based upon both a particular stimulus and their own experiences.

In the section that follows, a discussion will be presented that considers the main findings and the implications. Particularly, the discussion below will center on answering research questions three (a) and four.

Discussion

Although there are two distinct tracks in the Spanish language program at the university under study, the results clearly show that pedagogies implemented in the L2 and HL courses do have some effect on the attitude's students hold before merging into the advanced mixed course. Table 5.1 above shows that in SPA 314 and SPA 316, positive attitudes are afforded to the native and HL speakers, whereas negative attitudes favor the L2 speakers. This present section will discuss some issues evident in the L2 and HL pedagogies that affected how the participants evaluated each of the varieties that they heard.

***Nativeness*: Pronunciation and Accent**

In the L2 courses, there is a heavy focus on explicit language learning and comparisons are made to the idealized speakers of the language. The issue with the idealized speaker of a language stems from the ongoing debate regarding *who* this speaker is and *how* this speaker is defined.

As already mentioned, Davies (1991, 2003, 2004) presents six definitions of this native speaker:

> "1) the native speaker acquires the L1 in childhood, 2) the native speaker has intuitions about his idiolectal grammar, 3) the native speaker has intuitions about features of the standard language grammar which are different from the idiolectal grammar, 4) the native speaker has a unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse, 5) the native speaker can write creatively, and 6) the native speaker can interpret and translate into the L1" (Davies, 2004, p. 435).

These definitions highlight the linguistic capacities that the so-called native has with using the language. The present issue is that an L2 speaker of the language, the individual who learns the target language in the classroom, has some capacity to reach these six criteria. Despite it being uncommon for these L2s to reach such native-like proficiencies, advantageous learning goals that promote successful communication are needed in these L2 classes. Ideally speaking, when the L2s enter the advanced mixed class from these separate courses, they might believe that they have reached a certain level of proficiency that is acceptable and advanced. They have spent time learning the language, immersed in a setting that focuses on the acquisition of the language. However, the main issue that prevents these learners from being evaluated positively for their abilities and reaching so-called *nativeness* is the outlook that the pronunciation features of their L2 have on the listeners.

As pronunciation and accent were an overall theme found and it was noted that L2s want to sound native-like and attain a high level of correct pronunciation and native-like accent, there seems to be a lack of explicit focus on these skills in the L2 courses. Within L2 courses, working with students who often might be a *tabula rasa*, class time does not always afford enough explicit instruction focusing on pronunciation and accent, as these two components of language learning are usually dismissed (Arteaga, 2000; Camus-Oyarzún, 2016; Lord & Fionda, 2014). Lord (2012) discusses how explicit

instruction of pronunciation in the Spanish foreign language classroom is not readily taught as the majority of the focus is given to syntax and morphology. She states that pronunciation studies have been readily conducted in laboratory settings to understand the L2s specific articulation and pronunciation of specific phonological elements. The issue is that laboratory studies do not afford pedagogical implications for incorporating pronunciation into the classroom, but rather isolate and raise awareness for the specific phonological properties causing problems.

The results of this study showed that pronunciation and accent are perceived as marked attributes of non-native, non-competent speakers, and are ascribed negative attitudes once enrolled in upper-level courses. The Spanish language has a myriad of pronunciation norms (Schwegler & Kempff, 2007), and by stating the L2s have non-native accent and pronunciation, it is problematic as there is not one, specific, common pronunciation guise in the Hispanaphone world. Hayes-Harb and Watzonger-Tharp (2012) state that, to describe an L2 speaker's accent and pronunciation as native-like, it needs to be compared to the specific pronunciation of the native-speaker. This issue revolves around the notion of the native-speaker as the fluent speaker of a language with a native-like accent and pronunciation indistinguishable from other speakers of the same language, which is not possible given the myriad of differences among Spanish-speakers. It is well attested that the articulatory features that individuals produce when speaking can affect comprehensibility in any given communicative situation. The production of natural pronunciation poses a challenge to L2 learners as they were not taught nor assimilated to the language since childhood (Davies, 2001). Additionally, for many L2 learners, their first language (L1) interferes with their L2 phonological system, thus producing sounds that are neither L1 nor L2 (Lord, 2010). It has been argued that more emphasis should be placed on the elements that can make the L2s competent in the

language (Lee, 2005), such as improving the pronunciation of the problematic [p, t,k, ð, β, g, l, n] (Díaz-Campos, 2004; Lord, 2010). In essence, the most important facet relating to pronunciation and accent is comprehension, and pronunciation must be taught, but not to an exaggerated degree.

Regarding comprehensibility, Hayes-Harb and Watzonger-Tharp (2012) showed that there are no negative relationships concerning non-native accent and being understood, but rather the core of this debate lies in the perceptions speakers of the target language have toward the L2 speakers. McBride (2015) agrees that it about being understood, but to the same degree, understanding the perceptions listeners have on the L2 speakers. McBride (2015) attempted to understand what features of L2 Spanish speakers' pronunciation most affected their evaluation. Native speakers from different Spanish-speaking regions and non-native Spanish instructors evaluated speech samples according to a Likert scale (comprehensibility and pleasantness) and stated specific features of the pronunciation that they found either satisfactory or unacceptable. The results showed that negative personality traits were associated with negative pronunciation evaluations. L2 pronunciation matters in the classroom because it impacts the impressions that speakers have towards the L2s as the majority of the negative personality traits were ascribed to the L2s speaker in the study. This present study found the same results since the negative attitudes toward the L2s contributed to natives and HLLs describing them as incapable and *gringa/güerita,* among others. For example,

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(1) DH412NG (L2): I don't mean to be disparaging to the girl but **she sounded like maybe she was from Scottsdale. She sounded like a little white**. I don't want to [unintelligible]. If I saw her in person or whatever, maybe I would want to ask her more questions.

In the comment above, we see DH412NG comparing Marta (L2) to a female living in Scottsdale[16] who is white, which is not factual given the participants had no demographic information about the guises. This exemplifies how accent and pronunciation not only disparages an individual's ability to speaking the language but cause judgments. Despite the need for comprehensibility, L2s need to be made aware of how pronunciation and native-like accent can affect how they are viewed by other speakers. Elliot (2003) states that attitude plays a pivotal role in the mastery of phonological elements in Spanish. The attitudes held toward the pronunciation of the L2s by the other participants are rationalized through the native speaker, L1 norms associated with being monolingual (Lindemann, Litzenberg, & Subtirelu, 2014). By teaching pronunciation, students might view their development of native-like accent and pronunciation as advantageous to their learning, causing them to lower their affective-filter and feel confident speaking (Elliot, 2003). Yet, the reality is that this is not ideal given the prejudices afforded to the L1 accent. As the results showed, this was not the case for the L2s in the study, who were all negatively evaluated and stated that the L2 course strips the language of it is actual significance. It is necessary to place focus upon the teaching of pronunciation, but to the degree of being understood versus developing the L2s into monolingual speakers of the target language (McBride, 2015). Moreover, "the need to challenge negative attitudes toward L2 speech should be at least as clear as the need to improve pronunciation teaching" (Lindemann et al., 2014, p. 189). The idea of striving for *nativeness* needs to be pared down in the classroom as it remains unlikely for L2s to achieve *nativeness* given the *hyperstandardization* of the language inside the classroom (Train, 2000).

[16] The most common stereotype associated with Scottsdale is that all individuals are highly affluent, upper-class and Caucasian.

Instead, it is pertinent to give the L2s the necessary instruction on pronunciation and accent so that they feel comfortable speaking and are not negatively judged.

The Standard-Language Ideology

Along these lines, foreign language learning contexts ascribe to the so-called teaching of the "standard-language." Lippi-green (2012) asserts that this so-called standard is a "hypothetical construct" that is idealized and associated with the educated class (p. 55). As a mental phenomenon, the idea of the standard is related to prestige and prescription of language and affects individuals' judgments of particular language use (Nugaraitė, 2017; Woolard, 1998). The standard language ideology is reinforced in the educational context because the so-called "standard" is elevated to a superior position by the context where the learning is taking place (Leeman, 2012). This assimilation is what causes speakers of other varieties of a language to view the classroom language as the standard and correct way of speaking and place on the L2s the privileged Spanish variety (see Chapter Four for discussion on attitudes toward L2 Spanish). The reality of speaking a language is that

> "language is communication; communication must be clear to be effective; to be clear, language must be unvarying, static, standardized …We know with certainty that spoken language is not homogeneous and can never be homogeneous, that communication is more complicated than the simple sharing of surface information, and most crucially that the goals we have developed for written language cannot apply to spoken language any more than our expectations for automobiles (speed and mileage) can be applied to the way we walk" (Lippi-Green, 2004, p. 295).

Within Spanish, there are diverse variations of the language that are spoken by many individuals across the Spanish-speaking world. Despite Spanish being seen as a pluricentric language (Leeman, 2012), there is a preference for the *norma culta* in teaching and learning. This issue then is there is a favoring given to the educated elite, those who speak the language of the capital. With such an outlook, there is a negation of

the regional, geographic, and individual variations spoken by the many individuals (Leeman, 2012), supporting this standard language ideology that is pervasive across all contexts and institutions.

However, once inside the classroom, the language that is being taught will be considered a hyperstandard, or no one's native language (Train, 2000, 2003). The hyperstandardized language will portray the L2 Spanish as the pure, correct, and proper variety since they learned it in the classroom and it has been institutionalized through textbooks, the instructors, and the educational institution, thus privileging these speakers across contexts. Despite this, the classroom Spanish is not the reality of how the language is usually spoken in society (Train, 2003). The problem with such sanitation of the language is that language is variable and constantly changing (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2011) and, as the results have shown of this present study, succumbing to the standard does not prepare students for the use of Spanish in the real world, outside the walls of the classroom. As Ruiz (1988) asserts, there needs to be a departure from this idealized standardization, and a focus on the idea of language as a resource and a right. Language variation needs to be a resource for these L2 students so that they can be aware of language differences once immersed in a societal setting. SR412LAS2 mentioned in his interview that there is no relevance of learning Spanish in the classroom as it sanitizes it to the point these learners "do not get anywhere with it." The issue of not incorporating variation into the classroom is dependent on the notion of sociolinguistics and language variation as a problem (Train, 2003).

Viewing variation then as a problem will have drastic effects because "once students leave the classroom and come in to contact with real native speakers in a diversity of situations, the norms of accuracy and appropriateness may change, reflecting the relationship between the standard language norms and the larger variability in language practice (Train, 2000, p. xxv).

The negative attitudes inflicted upon the L2 students demonstrate that L2 pedagogies require core linguistic principles regarding language use as it is used in the real world. The criticality of the L2 students toward the L2 guises is dependent on the self-pride that these participants feel for reaching a higher-level course and their internalized positive beliefs regarding their Spanish (Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017). They feel confident in using the language to describe, analyze, critique, and/or discuss in the classroom, but once tasked with communicating or interacting with speakers of the language, they are unprepared as their language learning focused on the sanitizing of authentic language needed to successfully communicate outside the walls of the classroom. Carrerira (2000) highlights that phenomena pertinent to speakers of U.S. Spanish, such as borrowings, are not in line with the so-called standard, hence unsuited for academic contexts and professional interests, regardless of the commonality of these lexical characteristics and phenomena used in the Spanish in the Southwest. The negative attitudes encountered in SPA 412 toward the L2 variety allude to the teaching of Spanish that is spoken by an hyperidealized monolingual, rather than the real world linguistically varying language necessary to effectively communicate.

Attitudes and Ideologies Toward the HL Variety

The guiding goals of HL pedagogy focus on many aspects of the HLL experience with the language. As the most important goal is language maintenance, the courses are designed to have the HLLs strengthen their abilities and become effective bilinguals

(Beaudrie et al., 2014). Additionally, another important goal is developing positive attitudes toward the HLL and other varieties. The results for SPA 316, similar to SPA 314, showed that there are positive attitudes toward the native and HLL variety, but negative attitudes toward the L2 variety. On the one hand, these results demonstrate that during the SHL courses, the content and curriculum do foster positive attitudes and appreciation towards the HLLs' own variety, which they do transfer to the advanced mixed context since positive attitudes toward the HLL and native varieties were found. Nevertheless, during interviews conducted with the HLLs, participants expressed negative evaluations of the HLL stating it lacks the proper structure and incorporates characteristics of US Spanish. The problem is that when tasked with listening to speakers, the HLLs heard the HL variety as positive. But, when asked to discuss the variety, the participants rely on the negative representations of their Spanish and their conscious reflections of their experiences and backgrounds. In essence, it is plausible to believe that their own personal attitudes toward the variety are not to blame for such a representation as they are accustomed to hearing it every day. The issue that sustains such a negative outlook on their variety when allowed to discuss is the cause of dominant ideologies that are present in society.

Language ideologies are comprised of a system of language attitudes that are expressed by institutions, such as schools, dictionaries, the government, and the society as a whole (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002; Loza, 2019; Woolard, 1998). The issue that caused the particular discussions about the HL variety as bad was due to how society, in general, portrays bilingualism and bilingual speakers, especially in the Southwest. As Leeman (2012) describes, "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 beliefs

about the people who speak given languages or varieties or who engage in specific language practices" (p. 43). At the individual level, they have positive attitudes, but due to the social representations of their language, they rely on these ideologies when directly questioned about their variety and their abilities as bilingual speakers of Spanish.

Although they all completed at least two courses in the SHL program, they still rely on the negative aspects of their language and their experiences due to the dominant discourses surrounding Spanish and their background. Urciuoli (2008) found that bilingual speakers who enrolled in Spanish classes were told that their home varieties were non-standard due to how language varieties are portrayed when they are not considered the standard. Additionally, the author found that these bilingual speakers were insecure about their linguistic skills as Spanish proficiency was the marker of Latino identity and authenticity. No matter the case, it is plausible that HLLs might consciously reflect on their own experiences with the language and the dominant discourses surrounding their language. Although Beaudrie et al. (2014) explain how the HL classroom "should provide a welcoming and nurturing environment where students gain confidence both in their language competence and in the value of their heritage language and culture" (p. 69), but once in an advanced mixed classroom, these classrooms can reproduce negative ideologies or stereotypes regarding the skills and background of the HLLs (Pomerantz, 2008). For example, KZ412NG evaluated the HLL variety positively during the tasks, but in the interview, she did not recognize the value of the HL and culture, especially as she described it as *chunti* and "ghetto", which are ideological representations that are hegemonically charged in society. This stems from the idea that in the Spanish-speaking community where she grew up, the prevalence of the monolingual ideology causes such representations of her language, because as her parents told her "You're not going be using those words … Especially in my current

Hispanic culture." Similarly, in the mixed classroom, Pomerantz (2008) shows that the classroom itself can reproduce these ideologies, causing the HLLs to rely on their personal experiences of being affected by these hegemonic ideologies prevalent in their Spanish-speaking society Another possible explanation for this is the stereotypes toward the HLLs and their lack of self-confidence of when enrolled in a course that has L2 students who were said to speak properly and professionally (Harklau, 2009).

The advanced mixed class causes the HLLs to be a minority as the majority of the students are L2 (Carreira, 2016a, 2016b, 2017). Once they finish the HL course(s), where it was solely HLLs, they enter into a new context that causes them to possibly feel intimidated by the L2s. They potentially lack solidarity in such advanced courses and excerpts (2) – (5) support this claim.

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(2) AC412NG (HLL): **I feel like I wouldn't be as comfortable talking in that class as with a heritage or someone like that.**

(3) JV412LAS2 (HLL): Obviously, not all of us spoke good Spanish, **but I feel it was easier, not to understand but to relate to someone who speaks like me.**

(4) KZ412NG (HLL): I understand more out of her. I think **it's because I can relate to her in a way**.

(5) KCB412LAS2: I **could relate more to [name] being that he would speak Spanish more like me because he is from the Phoenix area and he knows what it's like to be born into the Spanish language but still be in the United States**

Although they do describe their Spanish as competent, the advanced mixed course causes some sort of negative attitudes toward the HLLs due to lacking solidarity between the heritage speakers and the heritage Spanish they know, coupled with feeling intimidated, as AC412NG says in excerpt (6).

(6) AC412NG (HLL): I would say **I'm not as good as some students** that is just for them [sic]. It just comes out as really naturally. **I know I have to think a lot before I say anything, and I feel that's why in class, l take long pauses**, and then I'm just this is what I want to say. **I'm not as good as some of the other students**, but I'm not terrible [laughs]

The issue is that both attitudes and ideologies are predominant in these courses, just as they are in SHL courses (Loza, 2017) and L2 courses, with the prevalence of *hyperstandardization* (Train, 2000; 2003) of the target language and the standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2004). Nevertheless, the results also showed that the L2 accent was evaluated negatively while at the same time discussed in a positive light for being standard and professional.

HLLs' Views of L2s

The lack of L2 awareness by the HLLs causes negative representations of the L2 Spanish variety. Just as the HL students learned Spanish in a household or community context, L2 learners learned it in a classroom context and possibly through interaction with Spanish in the community, as many of the L2 participants are employed in places that allow them to interact with Spanish speaking co-workers and guests. The prevailing issue is the HLLs' scarcity of knowledge regarding L2s learning experiences. It is disadvantageous to the L2s socioaffective needs as they are negatively judged for their speech even though studies showed that L2s assist the HLLs with metalinguistic information regarding the language (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Bowles, 2011; Burgo, 2016; Carreira, 2016a, 2016b). In the advanced mixed course, the only exposure that the HLLs had to the L2 variety was from the spoken activities. Scholars have shown that L2s report negative attitudes toward their own Spanish since "it is not as good as theirs [the HLLs]" (Edstrom, 2007, p. 64). The accent and pronunciation were the marked characteristics of

their speech that afforded the HLLs a reason to negatively judge them, rather than their metalinguistic knowledge and other language abilities.

The unfortunate rejection of the L2s by the HLLs is caused by the overarching monolingual ideology, which is inverted in the context of this study, and issues of non-native pronunciation. For example, Shuck (2006) found through interviews with English-speaking college students in the U.S. that a non-native speaker is correlated with not being Caucasian and speaking in a strong non-native accent. As the results of this study showed, the L2 speakers were judged for speaking in a broken Spanish and lacking a native-like accent. This representation, despite the L2s being elevated to a higher position for being taught the language and coming from the dominant society, correlates to the fact that HLLs and natives are considered the monolingual speakers of the language, while the L2s are "the other." Lindemann and Moran (2017) studied how the descriptor "broken English" constructs speakers within the standard language ideology as non-native. Analyzing a corpus, they found that "broken English" was used to describe comprehensible speech, although those speakers were still identified as non-native and as Other. The issue is that

> "'broken English' was very frequently described as allowing for successful communication, it appears to be a folk assessment of a speaker's linguistic accuracy, or match to an assumed norm, rather than of communicative ability. In fact, the descriptor may be used to refer to nonnative features that may be common even at very advanced levels of proficiency, such as differences in article use. This focus on accuracy allows the descriptor to be used to indicate any speech identified as nonnative (or in limited cases, stigmatized native). As a result, its use simply emphasizes the nonnativeness or nonnative-likeness of the speaker whose language is being described, constructing them as Other" (p. 10).

Therefore, the HLLs in the present study all stated that they understood what the L2s were saying, but the lack of accent made them non-native. Therefore, even though the standard language ideology is enforced in these L2 classes, it goes against the notion

of being monolingual as they have a strong non-native accent. The issue is that the monolingual ideology prevents the L2s from having successful interactions and communications at a Hispanic serving gym, where the clientele will be mainly Hispanic. As such, if the gym was not located in such a community, the L2s Spanish and non-native accent would be an asset and would coincide with the standard language ideology, despite being accented (Lindemann & Moran, 2017). The context of non-Hispanic serving community alludes to the notion that in a non-native speaking setting, the L2 Spanish will be a resource and their pronunciation, as it has been established according to the native speaker norms, will be privileged due to the attitudes individuals have toward different social groups (Lindemann et al., 2014) It is common knowledge that in the Southwest, differential bilingualism is prevalent. The bilingual Latinos are disparaged for their languages whereas the monolingual English-speaking elite is praised for speaking an L2. Therefore, when L2 individuals are tasked with speaking the Spanish language, they will be privileged and elevated to higher positions, regardless of their competency, due to the dominant attitudes toward the social groups (Lindemann et al., 2014). As such, the present issue is that the negative widespread views of the L2 pronunciation are foregrounded based upon unidealistic L1 norms, and pronunciation teaching based upon these native-like paradigms propagate these negative attitudes and legitimatize the native-monolingual speaker norms. In the classroom, there needs to be a focus on mitigating these negative attitudes toward the pronunciation rather than insisting that these L2s mimic and acquire unrealistic pronunciation paradigms.

As the discussion above has shown, various factors in both L2 and SHL instruction do have some negative effects on the attitudes students hold toward different varieties of the Spanish language. The reality is that, in these separate courses, the students are provided experiences that give them skills and linguistic capabilities that

function positively and correctly in such separate learning contexts. However, the issue is the lack of awareness for each of the learner types and their specific language varieties in that separate courses that propagate negative attitudes in the advanced mixed course. For this reason, the section below presents a detailed explanation of pedagogical implications that could benefit the advanced mixed class concerning language attitudes and the experiences of both the HLLs and L2s.

Pedagogical Implications

At the lower levels of foreign language education, mixed classes are oriented toward L2 teaching practices (Carreira, 2016a, 2016b; Carreira & Kagan, 2018), where micro-based approaches are implemented to move these L2 students "from smaller, simpler units of knowledge such as grammar and vocabulary" (Carreira, 2016a, p. 161) to gain the abilities in understanding authentic materials. HLLs are forced to assimilate to such teaching, despite the common knowledge that HLLs are better suited when maro-based approaches are used. Additionally, assessments and materials used are indistinguishable from those in L2 classes and socio-cultural and linguistic topics are more directed toward those students who have no connection to the target language (Burgo, 2016; Carreira, 2014, 2016a, 2016b). Although the commonality of these courses across institutions and levels also is due to a myriad of other reasons (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Oikonomakou, Aravossitas, & Skourtou, 2018), programs that do offer separate learning tracks for HLLs and L2s present a new type of mixed courses, an advanced mixed course at the upper-division content levels. To the best of my knowledge, no studies have undertaken the task of identifying what happens in the advanced mixed courses.

Based on the results of this study, it is evident that an advanced mixed course affords some challenges for both HLLs and L2s. An advanced mixed course focuses on

using the language learned by implementing effective communicative activities and content-driven writing assessments. Additionally, the course focuses heavily on the in-class discussion where students are tasked with actively participating and/or presenting. As the results have shown, the negative attitudes afforded to each variety cause negative representations of each of the speakers and in turn, present socio-affective consequences for each of the student- types.

Globally speaking, there is a need for a mixed class pedagogy that successfully incorporates the needs of both the HLLs and the L2s (Carreira & Kagan, 2018). This study has shown that both learner types have different linguistic abilities and needs, but also language attitudes toward different Spanish varieties that need to be addressed when they are simultaneously enrolled. The overarching issue is that language ideologies and attitudes propagate the negative representations of the speech varieties of the student learners in these courses, causing socioaffectvie consequences among the learners. There is a need for an overarching appreciation of various dialects and registers in mixed classes because, without such awareness and appreciation, the cultural and linguistic realities of Spanish are ignored (Henshaw & Bowles, 2015). The discussion presented above supports the development of a pedagogy devoted to a mixed class that should not present "greater focus on pronunciation teaching, or insisting on first-language (L1) models, but rather as a reason to address the negative attitudes [and ideologies] themselves" (Lindemann et al., 2014, p. 171). Possible ways to eradicate these negative attitudes and ideologies are through the incorporation of critical service-learning components in the mixed course.

Community Service Learning

As pronunciation and accent were not the only factors that determined the attitudes, the L2s and HLLs views of their language, including the lack of linguistic confidence, affected their attitudes toward the language varieties. One possible methodology that affords students contact with authentic language communities and opportunities for improved linguistic confidence is community service-learning (CSL). CSL "goes beyond the classroom and looks to the surrounding communities as cultural, social, and linguistic resources for academic and civic learning (Lowther-Pereira, 2016, p. 238). Students who participate in CSL can interact with individuals in the community who speak the target language by developing critical language awareness and by responding to their affective needs to address any uncertainties and issues that they might have with their language (e.g., motivation) and increase positive attitudes toward their variety (Lowther-Pereira, 2015, 2016). When incorporated into the classroom curriculum, CSL has been shown to positively affect the language acquisition and language use of both HLLs and L2s. Also, CSL has proven to legitimatize U.S. Spanish, as society is more multilingual than ever. It is important that language learners and speakers are prepared to enter the community and able to utilize the language they are learning (Leeman, Rabin, & Román-Mendoza, 2011; Zapata, 2011).

Focusing on CSL in the HL classroom, despite many studies explaining how to design a curriculum for CSL in the SHL classroom (Martínez & Schwartz, 2012; Villa, 2010), there has been a lack of scholarship that has presented empirical data on the effects of CSL on HLLs (Pascual y Cabo, Prada, & Lowther Pereira, 2017). In a study of 42 Spanish speakers enrolled in an intermediate bilingual Spanish conversation course, Pascual y Cabo et al. (2017) focused on understanding the effects CSL had on HLLs' attitudes toward their culture and variety. Through the use of pre and post experience

surveys and a CSL experience, quantitative data revealed that, although participants had positive attitudes toward their HL and culture, they did not have the confidence to use Spanish outside the realm of the home. Once the participants completed the CSL experience, results demonstrated that involvement in CSL afforded a positive experience as they were able to develop their linguistic abilities and identities while feeling comfortable utilizing their language as an asset in an authentic context that transcended the walls of the classroom.

As one of the more important goals for acquiring the language in the classroom for L2 learners is to utilize the target language outside the classroom in authentic contexts (Darhower, 2008), McLeod (2017) asserts that CSL affords these students "a chance to think and be flexible in applying their knowledge, [which] prepares them for the job market and living in the world beyond the classroom" (p. 22). CSL allows the L2 students to be in constant contact with members of the target language and culture who form part of the local community, affording the L2s a myriad of opportunities to utilize the target language (Askildson, Kelly, & Mick 2013; Barreneche, 2011; Caldwell, 2007; Thompson, 2012; Zapata, 2011), but also increase their metapragmatic and cultural knowledge (Tocaimaza-Hatch & Walls, 2016; Zapata 2011). For example, in the L2 courses, language and culture are intertwined when acquiring the target language. When one uses language to interact with others, they are also interacting with the particular culture that speaks the language of their interlocuter (Zapata, 2011). In their study, Zapata and Torkaz (2008) found that, through a service-learning project in Canada, the 13 intermediate Spanish learners displayed more linguistic self-confidence and a better understanding of the Spanish culture through their involvement in the CSL project. In addition, Zapata (2011) investigated the effects of CSL in Canada on the development of a cultural understanding in 52 Spanish intermediate and advanced L2 learners. Through

a CSL project or a cultural presentation, Zapata (2011) found that the L2 learners who participated in the CSL project had greater positive evaluations of the target language and the culture than those who completed the presentation. However, intermediate L2 learners still lacked the linguistic self-confidence after completing the CSL project due to their limited proficiency in comparison to the advanced L2 students. Zapata (2011) concludes that is it of importance to have L2 students in all levels have contact with authentic language use so that they can communicate effectively and confidently when tasked with using the language.

Zapata and Torkaz (2008) and Zapata (2011) have demonstrated that CSL is a fruitful methodology that affords students opportunities utilizing the target language to gain a deeper understanding of the language and the culture. However, the L2 classroom is still responsible for teaching the morphosyntactic and lexical components of the target language. Tocaimaza-Hatch and Walls (2016) mention that the majority of work on CSL with L2s has generally focused on cultural competency, rather than other learning objectives. Focusing on 10 L2s and 10 HLLs who participated in a CSL project as L2-HL dyads at a local zoo, the participants were given an assignment asking them to translate zoo signs from English to Spanish. As Tocaimaza-Hatch and Walls (2016) were intrigued in understanding whether CSL can affect the acquisition of lexical items in the target language, they found that such a task did increase all students' lexicon and contributed to their growth as language speakers and learners. For L2 learners, they found that the CSL task brought the necessary language authenticity to the classroom, motivating them and providing them the opportunity to see language use in the real world context. Additionally, for the HLLs, the task did meet the four main goals of HL pedagogy (language maintenance, expansion of the bilingual repertoire, acquisition of prestigious variety, and transfer of literary skills) and proved to be a worthwhile experience for the

HLLs as they became aware of their linguistic variation, spelling, and register. The authors conclude that CSL is an effective methodology in both L2 and HLL contexts as it provides authentic experiences for the acquisition of different facets of the target language.

Finally, Carreira (2011a), whose study builds upon the work of Valdés, González, López García, and Márquez (2003), analyzed language attitudes of 56 high school Spanish teachers in Southern California. One of the goals of her study was to understand the language attitudes these high school teachers held toward the local Spanish spoken in the community. Implementing a written questionnaire adapted from Valdés et al. (2003), the purpose was to acquire the views of the high school teachers toward five specific themes: i) Spanish of Latin America and Spain, ii) Spanish as pure and formal, iii) the native speaker norm, iv) US Spanish speaker limitations, and v) the purpose of Spanish departments in teaching Spanish. For the purpose of this paper and the pedagogical implication of critical service learning, Carreira (2011a) found that US Spanish services and important function in the community. She states that the high school teachers' experiences with speakers of US Spanish (e.g. parents, Latino students, neighbors)

> "shine a light on the many functions fulfilled by US Spanish, including serving as a marker of identity for US Latinos, facilitating communication between generations of immigrants with varying degrees of fluency in English and Spanish, and facilitating interactions between Latinos from different dialectal and socioeconomic backgrounds" (p.72)

The importance of this finding is that the community is an exemplar of the linguistic realities that are Spanish as these teachers were shown to be highly tolerant of the different Spanish varieties in the classroom from their interactions with community members and are least supportive of the idealized monolingual norm.

Hence, this supports the idea that CSL is an effective tool for students to gain linguistic self-confidence and understand Spanish linguistic diversity.

In reference to the results of the present study, incorporation of CSL can be productive as it can provide all HLL and L2 learners the necessary exposure to the authentic, target language community while disparaging the prevalent standard language ideology and negative language attitudes. The studies above showed that students gain linguistic confidence with the target language through interaction with members of the language community. As the results of the current study demonstrated, L2s did not feel confident using the language outside the classroom context and were negatively evaluated for their speech. HLLs relied on their own experiences with the language as a means to denigrate their abilities and their variety. CSL affords these learners self-motivation by presenting them opportunities to learn the language through their interactions within the community (Caldwell, 2007; Faszer-McMahon, 2013), while also investing their time into the community with those speakers of the target language to (i) develop their abilities professionally and authentically (Lear & Abbott 2009; Zapata, 2011) and (ii) gain linguistic self-confidence and appreciation for authentic language use (Pascual y Cabo et al., 2017).

Moreover, other possibilities to rid negative attitudes and reliance on hegemonic ideologies begins with separate language-learning courses. Such courses need to address these prevalent societal issues toward the varieties of both L2 and HLLs.

Critical Approaches to Language Variation

Concerning the HLLs, this study supports the need for components of critical language awareness in all SHL courses. Past studies have attested that most HLLs acquire the linguistic varieties of the speech community to which they belong due to their exposure from childhood. These local varieties differ from that of the hyperstandardized

language that L2 students are accustomed to learning in the classroom. This study showed that the L2 variety is elevated to a higher position for teaching proper and professional Spanish due to the ideologies that portray the foreign language classroom as standardized and prestigious (Lippi-Green, 2004). The L2s are enrolled in a course that promotes the standard language ideology and are often taught from a prescriptive standpoint. Despite the teaching of this textbook-style language, the results showed that they are not confident enough in using the language they learn in an outside, authentic context because the L2 course strips away the relevance of the language (see comment by SR412LAS2). On the other hand, HLLs are aware that the variety they acquired in their communities differs from the monolingual norm (see comments made by KZ412NG), possibly causing them the need to learn an academic and standard register (Fairclough, 2016; Parodi, 2008; Polinsky, 2006). Hence, supporting and enhancing linguistic capabilities in all student learners should be of utmost importance (Parra, 2017).

When HLLs enroll in an SHL course, one of the main goals is language maintenance so that HLLs continue utilizing it, but also pass it onto other generations. Nevertheless, as Beaudrie, Amezcua, and Loza (2019) discuss, dominant hegemonic ideologies in society favor educational varieties over colloquial ones and standard monolingual language varieties are more positively viewed than bilingual, contact varieties. HLLs might feel as though their language varieties are stigmatized and negatively judged due to the dominant ideologies.

Although the issue is that the educational context, as Lippi-Green (2004) states, standardizes and promotes these monolingual, hyperstandardized representations of language, it fails to take into consideration the unrealistic nature of such a representation of language (Lindemann et al., 2014). In the context of HL, another goal considers teaching the prestigious variety (Beaudrie et al., 2014). However, teaching this

variety cannot be attained by eradicating the variety that the HLLs already speak and taking into account the reality that is speaking a language. Consequently, scholars such as Beaudrie et al. (2019), Leeman, (2005, 2018), Leeman & Serafini (2016), and Martínez (2003) have called to action a change in curriculum, centralizing the students' language varieties as central tenets of instruction through the implementation of critical language awareness-based pedagogies.

Critical language awareness-based pedagogies

> "reject traditional pedagogy's primary focus on individual students' acquisition of "standard" Spanish and academic registers. Instead, they seek to promote students' understanding of the social, political and ideological dimensions of language as a means to promote students' agency in making linguistic choices with the broader goal of challenging linguistic subordination and promoting social justice both inside and outside the school setting (Leeman, 2018, p. 345-346).

As Leeman notes above, these pedagogies strive to understand how language is intertwined with social meaning and power relations with the goal to promote students' understanding of how language works and "supporting students' progress in their use of the heritage language as a vehicle to become agents of social change" (Parra, 2016a, p. 167). HLLs are not homogeneous and instructors need to move toward critical language frameworks in the classroom that advocate for diversity and utilize the heterogeneous student population as a source of knowledge and discussion (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Leeman, 2005; Parra, 2016a). Critical language awareness-based scholarship has focused on many aspects relating to the Spanish language in the SHL contexts, such as dispelling language ideologies regarding variation in SHL teaching (Leeman, 2012), contesting power issues (Martínez, 2003), and validating all language varieties through sociolinguistically informed teaching practices (Leeman & Serafini, 2016).

To exemplify some of the proposals implemented in the field of SHL that have been fruitful in enhancing the HLLs understanding of their language, Martínez (2003),

introduced Classroom-Based Dialect Awareness, in HL courses. He highlights the need for HL students to make their own decisions about language use and be able to defend such uses. He states

> "if they [HLL] walk in saying *haiga* and walk out saying either *haya* or *haiga* and having the ability to defend their use of *haiga* if and when they see fit, then there has been value added. It is critical that we strive to allow students to develop this type of sociolinguistic sophistication I our endeavors as SHL educators" (Martínez, 2003, p. 10)

He advocates for not only ethnolinguistic observations as a way to connect social categories and language and allow students to see worthiness in the language use but the incorporation of dialectological principles regarding language variation, such as the function and evaluation of diverse varieties.

Leeman (2005) advocates for a critical pedagogy as a way to bring out the experiences of the marginalized students and promote empowerment. The author suggests that ways to promote the use of other varieties are to have students collect their own data from their community and complete lexical scavenger hunts. Moreover, the HLLs identity was an important facet of her proposal, arguing that the linguistic variation of the HLLs foments more positive outlooks on their identity, thus implementing discussions on the sociopolitical aspects of language choice and language variation.

Along the same lines, Leeman & Serafini (2016) call for the incorporation of sociolinguistics in not only teacher training and undergraduate Spanish courses, but in HL education. By incorporating sociolinguistics in the courses, there is stress placed upon "the social, political, ideological dimensions of language as well as the need for socially responsive pedagogies that incorporate students' experiences, promote equity both inside and outside the classroom, and foster student agency in making linguistic (and other) choices" (Leeman & Serafini, 2016, p. 56).

The proposals and ideas mentioned above all have proven to be worthwhile in the SHL context. However, as critical language awareness-based pedagogies are all theoretical frameworks that need incorporation and validation in the classroom context to understand if the HLLs are critically aware of the reality of speaking Spanish in the contexts of the US society, Beaudrie et al. (2019) carried out a study to directly measure the effect of critical language awareness of HLLs enrolled in an SHL classroom. Although Holguín-Mendoza (2017) examined the impact of critical language awareness in an HL course, she found that the quantitative method did not adequately evaluate the impact of such awareness. For this reason, Beaudrie et al (2019) implemented a questionnaire in an SHL course where critical language awareness-based pedagogies were implemented. Through statistical analysis of the validity of the questionnaire, the researchers encountered a change in the critical language awareness of the 301 participants regarding the attitudinal items. They argue that to be critically aware, students need to be "cognizant of the naturalness of language variation and its loading of social, political, and economic power structures while accepting the intrinsic value of their own bilingual varieties and all others" (Beaudrie et al., 2019, p. 587).

The results of this present study showed that although the HLL students were afforded the opportunity to complete the SHL program where critical language awareness-based assessments are implemented, they relied on their own experiences with the language, but also the dominant ideologies and attitudes toward Spanish they have encountered to negate their language variety. Even if these frameworks and approaches contest the norms of the standard language ideology and demonstrate to the students the reality that is variation, there needs to be more effort and training in continuing to implement such approaches to show all students that the target language is not a static construct, but rather something greater than that; that differs across contexts

and is valid. The negative attitudes students individually hold are made apparent from the actual attitudes found in the Spanish program and their classes, from the other individuals in the course, and the attitudes and ideologies that are dominant in society. In effect, critical language awareness-based methods are powerful frameworks that when implemented into specific courses, can weaken these language attitudes (Beaudrie et al., 2019). By incorporating these methods in the classroom, HLLs will not only be able to see the relationship between power, language and the sociopolitical reasons for the language use, but understand the diversity among themselves as learners of a language to strengthen their affective dimensions and feel pride toward not only their language skills, but toward the skills of other speakers of the language. However, it needs to be understood that one semester in a course that implements frameworks of CLA is not effective in combating the attitudes, ideologies, or even opinions HLLs hold toward their language variety (Holguín-Mendoza, accepted).

Techniques for L2 "Attainment" of Pronunciation and Accent

As the discussion section above described, the issue of non-native pronunciation revolves around the idealization of the native speaker accent and "teachers' arguments that native-like accent is crucial" (Lindemann et al., 2014, p. 171). This mitigation stems from these individuals' attitudes and beliefs of what is considered the standard language and what a native speaker is idealized to represent with regard to the linguistic capabilities. The results of the present study showed that the attitudes toward the L2s were contingent on the L2 speakers' lack of *nativeness* in the context of a Hispanic-serving gym. In essence, these attitudes not only stemmed from the way the L2 guises were articulated but the attitudes the other students had toward the L2s being employed in a Hispanic-serving group, correlating to past studies that nonnative speakers appropriate their non-native language to fit into a group to which they do not belong

(Callahan, 2004). The most important implication and need for the L2s are to understand the specific language attitudes that promote such beliefs regarding native-like pronunciation attainment and notions of *nativeness* and standard language. Conforming to the native-like accent acquisition and implementing such models in the L2 courses "positions the learner as responsible for speaking 'better' in order to not fall victim to marginalization" (Lindemann et al., 2014, p. 185). As such, materials, instructors, and language learning programs must be careful to not have pronunciation curricula controlled by native-like pronunciation attainment, but rather focus on problematic aspects of pronunciation that differ from the L2s first language (Lindemann et al., 2014). Moreover, it is imperative to take into consideration the L2s student's goals concerning the language and pronunciation. Unless the L2 students are needing an exaggerated L1 accent for theatrical performances (Lindemann et al., 2014), the reality is that L2s should not conform to an idealized *nativeness* but focus on intelligibility. Therefore, materials and curricula need to take into consideration the learners' purpose in learning the language regarding pronunciation.

As phonology is fundamental in L2 acquisition of Spanish (Lord, 2008), L2 programs should incorporate courses on phonetics and phonology that L2 students should be required to take. However, such courses should focus on the issues that differ from the L1 of the L2 speakers, instead of ascribing to an idealized native-speaker paradigm. Despite Lord (2008) encountering more positive attitudes toward pronunciation and improvement in pronunciation in the L2 students after a semester enrolled in a phonetics and phonology course, the L2s need to be made aware of how variable Spanish is across the Hispanophone world. Furthermore, it is necessary that they also understand that there is not one idealized native speaker of the language that they should strive to mimic.

Consequently, improvement in pronunciation and accent is attainable in a course dedicated to teaching the various phonological and phonetic components of Spanish, but it should also include discussions on Spanish in the U.S., language ideologies and attitudes, and sociolinguistic principles that are interwoven into the curricula in the L2 courses (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Lindemann et al., 2014). Finally, L2s, HLLs, and native speakers must "remain mindful that intelligibility is a contextual phenomenon that involves contributions from all interlocutors, whether L1 or L2" (Lindemann et al., 2014, p. 187). The guiding principle when speaking a language is to be understood and not attain some level of competency that parallels to the monolingual, idealized norm. As Cogo (2012) and Murray (2012) discuss, pragmatic and communication strategies should be implemented in language courses as these particular components can assist in identifying the issues in pronunciation teaching that cause unintelligibility.

Also, Spanish programs should hold weekly Spanish conversation hour/clubs open to all students. Again, such conversation hours/clubs open to all speakers will portray the myriad of Spanish abilities and varieties that exist within the Spanish language. The purpose of these conversation hours is to meet for a specific amount of time once a week and speak in Spanish. For example, the university under study holds a weekly conversation club called *Entre Amigxs*, which has proved to be a success. Although there is no actual empirical data, informal conversations with instructors and participants have shown that the students enjoy the club for giving them a space to practice using Spanish outside the walls of the classroom with many different students of different levels and proficiencies in Spanish.

Therefore, as this study was conducted in a university that offers two separate language learner tracks before enrollment in advanced mixed courses, I propose mutually beneficial interactions between the students in the HL courses and L2 course at

both the lower- and upper-division levels so for L2 students there are possibily no issues regarding intelligibility, nor the *nativeness* norm.

Mutual Interactions

This study also demonstrates the need for interaction between each of the students to learn about each of their language background and experiences using the language The results have shown that there are attitudes and ideologies sustained by each learner toward their Spanish varieties causing them to have the particular outlooks on the language varieties. The need lies in the students' understanding of their experiences with the language and learning about the challenges they have faced and the global ideologies and attitudes toward their Spanish. For example, possible topics that L2s and HLLs can discuss vis-à-vis their experiences with the language and their learning include:

- Stigmatization of the HL home/community variety
- Societal representations of Spanish speakers in the US and the effects on HLLs
- Embarrassment afforded to speak/participate aloud in the classroom
- Lack of colloquial terminology for the L2s
- Not enough practice with the language for the L2s
- Unfamiliarity with US Spanish/academic registers
- Stigmatization of the L2 varieties, particularly as they pertain to accent

Figure 5.1 below highlights the possibility of how to afford these interactions between the students in both the HL track and the L2 track.

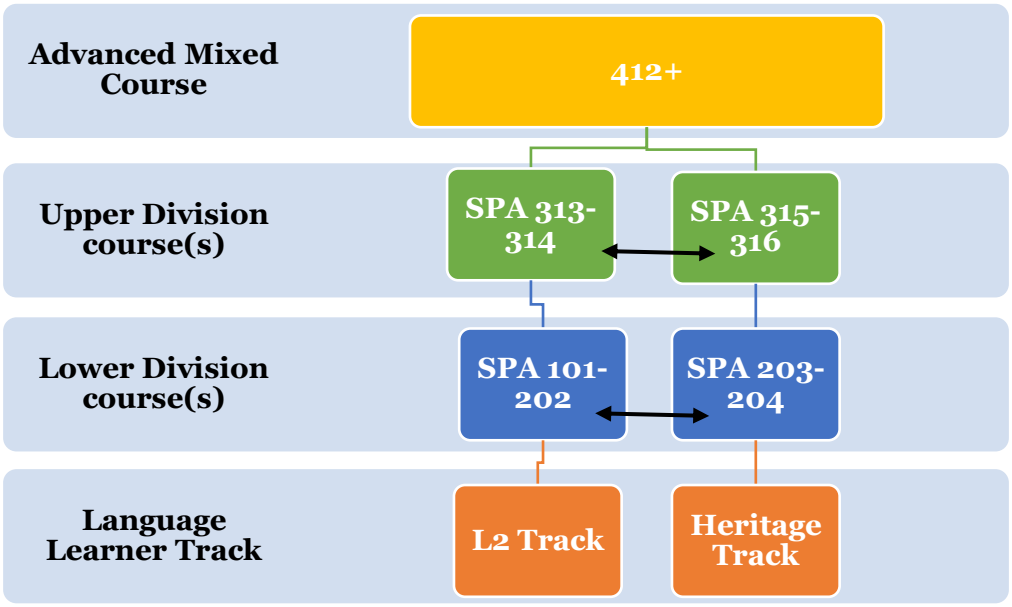

Figure 5.1 Proposal for inter-course student interaction

I propose mutually beneficial interactions between the students in the HL courses and L2 courses at both the lower and upper-division levels. A possible way to eradicate these negative attitudes is to have these students work together while in their separate courses in dyads or groups and have possibilities to share their language learning journeys and begin addressing the some of the topics mentioned above (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Bowles, 2011; Carreira, 2016a). If given opportunities to interact, the possibilities are endless in the sense that the HLLs can provide their oral histories regarding what it is like for them to speak Spanish, while the L2s can share their personal experiences with Spanish.

For example, in the lower-division courses, the SHL courses include cultural projects that have them investigate the lexical differences about a specific topic. Instead of interviewing solely their family or acquaintances and using the internet to find such differences, students in the HLL course can interview L2 students from the lower division to learn about how they have been taught such words specific to the theme. Additionally, this same assessment can be implemented in the L2 course to give the L2s

the necessary introduction to language variation at the lexical level that tends to be lacking from the courses.

In the upper-level courses, SPA 313 includes a module focused on the media: *"la influencia de los medios."* The L2 students can meet HLLs from the upper-division HL program and interact with them to learn about their opinions and/or experiences being bilingual Spanish speakers and how the media portrays them (see Chapter 4 for an explanation of how the media propagates negative representations of Spanish-speakers and *chunti*). The HLLs would benefit from such a task as they would get to learn about the opinions and world views of the L2s on issues that pertain to the Spanish in the U.S. and the Hispanic/Latino culture. There is an abundance of possibilities when allowing HLLs and L2s to form mutual partnerships that are beneficial to their acquisition of Spanish and knowledge pertaining to the language, beyond the scope of the mere linguistic elements.

Moreover, as both student types have different linguistic abilities with Spanish, each of the students can use their skills in the language to assist one another. As Carreira (2016a) advises, it is imperative to employ reciprocal learning strategies that give both learners opportunities to self-teach since "a critical feature of mixed activities is instilling a sense of individual and collective empowerment through mutually beneficial partnerships between HLLs and L2s" (Carreira, 2016a, p. 166). Since the naturalistic acquisition of the HLLs presents some knowledge gaps in their skills, L2s can assist these speakers given the explicit knowledge that they have of the language from their courses. Furthermore, L2s can prove to the HLLs that continuing development in their HL is fruitful and a necessary component to life in the U.S. since the domains of Spanish use continue to increase rapidly (López & González-Barrera, 2013).

The HLLs authentic language use benefits the L2s (Edstrom, 2007). The results of the study showed that L2s lacked native-like accents and pronunciation, causing other Spanish speakers to form negative attitudes toward their variety. Lindemann et al. (2014) argue that pronunciation paradigms modeled after idealized L1 speakers are not effective in improving the pronunciation of L2 students. For this reason, the mutual partnerships between both learner types can be a great resource as the HLLs are not speakers of Spanish that are idealized or hyperstandardized as those in the L2 courses, but rather examples of authentic, real world Spanish spoken in the U.S. Conversations between L2s and HLLs can assist these speakers in developing more legitimatized pronunciation that is not mitigated through lackluster, unrealistic norms.

Teacher Preparation and Curriculum Development

There is a myriad of implications a study on language attitudes in the advanced mixed course can support. In the section above, I have described some of the more worthwhile implications this present study has afforded. Revisiting the idea of a pedagogy devoted to the mixed class, the needs of both the L2s and HLLs must be met in such a course. A successful pedagogy for a mixed course relies on teacher training and preparation to afford all the learners an enjoyable classroom experience, with productive and effective learning. Loza (2019) explains that to date, teachers lack the necessary sociolinguistic awareness and Lindemann et al. (2014) urge teachers to dispose of their internalized negative attitudes toward the speech of language learners. If not, all learners are then provided unrealistic linguistic information that does not support the real-world usage of language (Carreira, 2000). Therefore, teacher training is an essential tenet for successful instruction in the mixed class that can begin the needed steps for devising a necessary pedagogy. Teacher training should not only encompass modules devoted to general sociolinguistic principles, moving away from a focus on mere morphosyntactic

properties, but focus on the lexical, phonetic, and phonological characteristics of the language and how they differ across Spanish speaking norms. If instructors are aware of how to successfully implement such approaches in their courses, all students will confidently learn about the linguistic realities of the Spanish speaking world. As Shin and Hudgens Henderson (2017) found

> "adding sociolinguistic content did not detract from learners gaining an advanced understanding of particular aspects of Spanish grammar. Rather, addressing sociolinguistic concepts appears to have helped [all students] gain a deeper understanding of grammar and an appreciation for language variation as a domain of human diversity that can be celebrated and studied" (p. 207).

Until teacher training incorporates the necessary paradigms of authentic language learning, successful pedagogies cannot be devised that take into consideration the needs of both HLLs and L2s. It is essential that instructors have the knowledge of both learners' skills and competencies to offer them a worthwhile learning experience that transforms them into confident speakers of the language.

Moreover, a potential pedagogy in the mixed course requires different methodological paradigms that can provide students a worthwhile learning experience. I have highlighted above that critical service-learning can provide students the necessary exposure to the real-world usage of the Spanish language while at the same increasing their linguistic self-confidence. Critical language awareness-based frameworks can give learners agency by "[encouraging] students to question taken-for-granted assumptions about language and to analyze how such assumptions are tied to inequality and injustice, with the ultimate goal of promoting positive social change" (Leeman, 2018, p. 345). Next, pronunciation and accent instruction should involve the learners in the class as exemplars of diverse language use and ability, rather than focusing pronunciation teaching on an idealized L1 norm. Also, instructors and language programs should

distance the teaching and curricula from hyperstandardized norms of language and expel their preconceived attitudes toward the speech when inside the classroom. Finally, the mixed class pedagogy should support mutual partnerships for the students to have an understanding of each other's' linguistic journeys and recognize the importance and reality of language variation in and outside of the classroom to make all students competent, globalized speakers of Spanish.

Study Limitations and Future Directions

Despite this study offering an unparalleled view of language attitudes by HLLs and L2s toward Spanish language variation, some study limitations need to be mentioned. First, during the semester that study was carried out, only three in-person sections of the SPA 412 course were offered. Moreover, the majority of the enrolled students were L2 learners. The unfortunate reality is that a mixed class is commonly composed of majority L2 speakers, with a small population of HLLs (Carreira, 2016b). Therefore, the amount of L2s that participated in this study compared with the amount of HLLs was not balanced, presenting a discrepancy with regard to the amount of interview data and outlooks on the different language varieties. As such, the need for studying more mixed classes that are the same level would be a fruitful next step to get a holistic view of what the actual language attitudes are towards both the student learner types when the number of participants of the same learner type is even. Also, two of the three SPA 412 courses were taught by the same instructor suggesting that this instructor's teaching style could have had effects on the language attitudes held by the participants. For this reason, it is necessary to also take into account the instructors of the course and their attitudes and stances toward language variation. It would be beneficial to study advanced mixed courses that are taught by the same instructor so there is less likelihood that the teaching style and the instructor's influence have a

particular effect on language attitudes. Additionally, it needs to be taken into consideration that instructors themselves hold attitudes. It would be beneficial to interview instructors and have their opinions and attitudes taken into consideration in a future study on language attitudes to see whether the instructor's attitudes permeate into the class and affect the attitudes of the students. Finally, concerning the SPA 412 course, observations were not carried out due to time constraints. With what has been mentioned vis-à-vis the student populations and teaching styles, classroom observations are a necessary next step in understanding more about language attitudes to examine the real-world exchanges that occur in the classroom between the L2s and HLLs. As Carreira & Kagan (2018) stress, "the existing, very limited, classroom-based research paints a worrying picture of the current state of mixed classes" (p. 158). With observations, there could have been more rich data that possibly could have explained the criticality of the L2 toward the L2 and the HLL toward the HLL, and what the realities are in the classroom when both students are enrolled and actively learning.

Regarding attitude change, the data collection occurred over one semester, 15 weeks. As the results demonstrated, there were not many significant changes to the language attitudes in the L2s and HLLs. The limitation is that a semester-long study focusing on attitude change in a mixed class is not feasible as it remains unclear how much interaction occurred between the HLLs and L2s in the course. A more longitudinal study, following the group of students for one year, may have possibly presented differing results that could speak to attitude change and the effect a mixed class has on such change.

Next, participants from two homogeneous courses partook in the study, one advanced L2 and one advanced HL course, as control groups. These participants only completed the pre and post matched-guise tasks, which is an indirect method in studying

language attitudes. One important limitation is these individuals were not interviewed nor given the opportunity to explain their choices from the tasks. As was seen with the results of this study, indirect methods and direct methods provide distinct attitudes and rationale behind the attitudes. Through the matched-guises, I was only able to present quantitative data about their positive and negative attitudes, with no interview data support. The issue is that each of the distinct methods provides either a subconsciously driven attitude or a consciously motivated attitude. The results would have been more diverse and reliable if there was interview data to support the quantitative data from the matched-guise for the two separate learner courses .

With regard to the language varieties under study, all the varieties that were studied were educated-speaker varieties so it cannot be assumed that education was a variable. Therefore, there are no reliable conclusions that can be made regarding the language attitudes students would hold toward the varieties spoken by non-educated individuals. In the future, it would be fruitful to compare and contrast the language attitudes students hold toward educated and noneducated speakers when enrolled in an advanced mixed course to understand whether or not being educated influences the students' language attitudes.

Theoretically speaking, future studies on language attitudes must incorporate both indirect and direct methods of analysis since attitudes are a mental disposition that cannot be directly measured. Utilizing numerous methods assists with validating the possible results encountered and proving them reliable. This study has demonstrated that a matched guise, an indirect method, would not have provided sufficient evidence and rationales for the attitudes selected without actual interviews, a direct method. As such, scholars focusing on language attitudes need a firm methodology that incorporates

various techniques to encounter fruitful results that can support and reflect the participants' actual attitudes.

The methodology for studying language attitudes has been under scrutiny from scholars for years given that attitudes are mental constructs that are not directly measurable. In hopes of encountering generalizable results, this study implemented a matched guise, which has been shown in previous research to offer the most reliable results when studying language attitudes. Nevertheless, as all the participants received the same version of the matched guise for the pre and post task, it is not possible to eliminate the difference in tasks as a possibility for the sustaining of language attitudes. Along these same lines, the randomization effect in PRAAT presented all participants the guises in a distinct order. However, as there were two sets of differing recordings (one for the pre and one for the post), it would have been more valid to have implemented a mix between both sets of matched guise tasks for each pre and post task.

Moreover, when deciding upon the scale that would be used for this study, the decision was made that positive and negative attitudes would correlate to the monetary benefits an employee would receive when hired in a particular position at the LA Fitness. For example, a General Manager was the highest paid position and had benefits at the gym, hence being coded as a positive attitude. A Front Desk Associate was not paid as much as a general manager and did not have benefits and therefore was coded as a negative attitude. Thereby, the rest of the scale was coded according to these parameters. However, it was not valid to take into consideration only the monetary benefits as a way to decide the coding of attitudes. The issue is that many of these positions differ according to their linguistic demand, and as the participants were told to hire each individual guise based upon what they heard in the recording, it was clear that the hiring was based upon the linguistic competencies. Additionally, during the interviews,

participants mentioned they would hire themselves for particular potions given their linguistic abilities in Spanish. For example, participants highlighted they were confident working as a front desk associate due to their abilities in conversing in the language and interacting with customer. Excerpts (7)- (11) are the comments made by both HLL and L2 participants.

(7) RV: Then, in front desk, what? AM412LAS2 (HLL): Same, because the demographic of-- **The costumers are mostly Spanish-speakers so I can communicate with them.**

(8) KCB412LAS2 (HLL): **I would put myself as the first person they talk to**, the Desk Assistant (…) Just because **I feel like my Spanish is good enough in order to be the first person they see.**

(9) JS412LAS2 (L2): Yes, front desk. **I would say I'm passable in a conversation to the point where I'm not saying, "Jola",** but at the same time I'm not fluent

(10) MM412LAS2 (L2): I'd give myself probably either receptionist or janitorial. **I speak Spanish pretty well, I know what I have to say,** but sometimes I do pause. I do think, "Oh, how do you say that?" **I feel like reception just because I'd be able to speak to a lot of people and understand what they're saying.**

(11) VH412LAS2 (L2): Front desk assistant (…) I'm super personable and **I love having conversations. I think that that's a good position for me to start getting more comfortable with the language,** and then from there possibly moving up into a different position.

The more linguistically demanding positions, such as Front Desk Associate were chosen by many of the participants given their personal views on their proficiency and abilities with the language. For this reason, despite the scale showing Front Desk Associate as negative, it cannot be generalized that these attitudes were negative as they were more linguistically demanding in terms of using Spanish. As such, the way the scale for this study was created is a limitation. Results would have been different if the scale was coded according to a different paradigm and the participants were able to rank the

positions themselves regarding what they believe would constitute a positive attitude and a negative attitude. This could have also shown statistically significant changes if such a scale was implemented rather than a scale that coded the attitudes according to the monetary benefits.

In sum, the possibilities for future research are abundant. This section has addressed the salient limitations of the present study and proposed a few future directions that a study on language attitudes can take based upon those limitations.

Concluding Remarks

The reality of foreign language learning is that it is constantly evolving and scholars, such as Carreira and Kagan (2018) advocate for the need of classroom-based research that takes into account "important real-world complexities" (p.158). One of the most detrimental "real world complexities" that has negative effects on students in the classroom is how they speak and the views that are held toward their varieties. Language variation is common in all societal and educational contexts and individuals need to be "aware and respect language diversity … and able to make informed choices about how to use language" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2014, p. 13). Through classroom-based research, these realities can be witnessed, and next steps can be taken to provide equitable and just education for all students concerning learning and speaking a language.

Nevertheless, as mixed classes are steadfastly becoming the norm across educational institutions, the lack of knowledge on language variation among the students will present challenges that can hinder and negatively affect HLL's and L2's learning. This study has shown that language attitudes are abundant in the course due to preconceived notions of language use, ideologies, hyperstandardization of language, an idealized, artificial L1 norm, and a lack of a mixed class pedagogy. By investigating the

advanced mixed class context, I have intended to highlight the importance of awareness of distinct language varieties by pinpointing the actual attitudes that are held toward the Spanish varieties of the students enrolled in the course. The overarching goal has been to curb negative representations held toward Spanish variation and demonstrate the need for an overarching appreciation for all linguistic varieties. Nevertheless, in this context, until one "devise[s] a pedagogy for mixed classes that is responsive to the needs of HL learners along with those of L2 learners" (Carreria & Kagan, 2018, p. 158) that builds students' awareness of the diverse Spanish varieties and allows them to question such pedagogical traditions, the cultural and linguistic realities of Spanish are and will always be ignored.

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APPENDIX A

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Adapted and edited from Carreira (2011b) and Torres (2012)

1. Name:_____
2. Gender: _____
3. Age: _____
4. Where were you born?
   a. U.S. _____
   b. Other country _____

5. If you were born in the U.S., where were your parents born?
Country: _____ City/Town/Village: _____

6. How old were you when you arrived in the U.S.? If it does not apply, please skip.
_____

7. What language(s) do you consider to be your first language(s)?

At what age did you learn your second language?

---

8. What languages did you hear at home (growing up)?
   1.) English 2.) Spanish 3.) Other _____
   a. If more than one, who spoke each of these languages?
   _____
   _____

9. What languages did you speak at home (growing up)?
   1.) English 2.) Spanish 3.) Other _____
   a. If more than one, with whom did you speak each of these languages?
   _____
   _____

10. What language do you speak at your current place of residence in the U.S.? For all that apply, indicate the percentage of the time you speak this language.
   English _____ % Spanish _____ % Other _____%

11. How would you describe yourself as a Spanish speaker?

Native Heritage Language Learner Second language learner I don't know.

Why?_____

_____

12. What year are you in school? (circle one)

Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior Graduate Student

Other. Please specific: _____

13. What is your major(s)?

_____

14. What is your minor(s) or certificate concentration?

_____

15. What are your reasons for wanting to take Spanish?

_____

16. How many years (if any) have you studied Spanish in a formal school setting?

a. Elementary School: __No __Yes, for _____ years.
b. Junior High (middle) School: __No __Yes, for _____ years.
c. High School: __No __Yes, for _____ years.
d. University/college: __No __Yes, for _____ years.
e. Other (please specify): _____
f.

17. In the future, do you expect to make professional use of your Spanish-language skills? If so, how?

_____

18. Have you ever been to a Spanish-speaking region such as in Latin/South America or Spain?

Circle one: Yes / No

a. If yes, when? _____
g. Where? _____
h. For how long? _____

i. For what purpose? (e.g., academic study, travel, visiting family or friends?

_____

_____

j. Describe your living situation (e.g. lived with host family, lived with other Spanish-Speakers, other English-speakers, alone)

_____

_____

19. What Spanish dialects have you been exposed to? For example, Argentinian, Colombian, Costa Rican, etc.

_____

_____

_____

20. What Spanish speaking countries do your Spanish professors come from?

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

4 = Poor *3= Average* *2. Good* *1 = Excellent*

	SPANISH	ENGLISH
	Speaking	Speaking
	Reading	Reading
	Writing	Writing
	Listening	Listening

21. Optional - Other important background information about your Spanish, English, bilingualism, or culture you would like to share:

APPENDIX B

MATCHED-GUISE SCRIPTS FOR EACH VARIETY

L2

Hola, buenas tardes. Espero que ud. esté bien. He visto tu anuncio y las posiciones que hay libres para el nuevo LA Fitness que va a abrir en Guadalupe, y que será específicamente para la comunidad hispanica. Pués, por la primera posición, sé que, si pudiera ser parte de este equipo, tendría tiempo para ayudar con todo. Ustedes esta buscando a una persona que ha estudiado algo que trata de la salud y la nutrición para la primera posición libre. Yo estudie la salud a mi universidad y estoy listo para hacer una subespecialidad en la nutrición si a ustedes les gustarían. También, yo ví, que para la segunda posición, ustedes necesitan alguien con experiencia en el marco de compras. Trabajé a la hotel de mis abuelos, donde me pusieron como jefe de seleción, evaluación, y comprar materiales. Otra experiencia de trabajo en el hotel de mis abuelos, durante los veranos, fue que siempre les ayudé a la recepción y también con varios quehaceres en el hotel. Pués, también tengo mucha experiencia trabajando con computadoras y estoy comfortable trabajando con las muchas plataformas que ustedes necesitan para la tercera posición. Yo sé muy bien como trabajar, con mucho estrés también, y ser allí cuando ustedes lo necesitan. Yo Tengo una personalidad excelente. Me encanta hablar con personas y me siento confortable conociendo nuevas personas y hablando con ellos. También, seria capaz de ser la primera cara que personas ven cuando entren en el edificio. Espero que este demonstre a ustedes que puedo hacer cualquiera de las posiciones. Espero que nosotros continuemos hablar. Me gustaría hablar más con ustedes en el futuro.

HLL

Hola, buenas tardes. Espero que estás bien. He visto tu anuncio y las posiciones libres que tienes para el nuevo LA Fitness que se va a abrir en Guadalupe, que sería para la comunidad hispana. Pues, para la primera posición, yo sé que, si yo fuera capaz de ser parte de este equipo. Yo estaré libre para ayudar con todo. Ustedes están buscando a alguien que ha estudiado algo relacionado a la salud y nutrición para la primera posición libre. Yo estudié salud en mi universidad y estoy disponible para hacer un certificado en nutrición si ustedes quisieran. También ví que para la segunda posición necesitan a alguien con experiencia en ventas. Yo trabaje en el hotel de mi abuelo, donde me pusieron en cargo de la selección, evaluación, y compra de materiales para la mercancía. Otro trabajo-relacionado experiencia en el hotel de mi abuelo, durante los veranos, era que yo siempre les ayudaba en la recepción y también con unos quehaceres en el hotel. Pues, yo también tengo experiencia con computadoras y conozco las tantas plataformas que requieren para el otro puesto libre. Yo se muy bien como ser deligente y trabajador, sabes, bajo presión y siempre ser libre cuando me necesitan. Tengo una personalidad ejemplar. Me gusta hablar con personas y me siento muy cómodo conociendo y hablando con ellos. También, podría ser la primera cara que las personas vean cuando entren al edificio. Espero que este les demuestre que yo puedo hacer cualquieras de las posiciones libres. Espero que continuamos en contacto. Me encantaría conocerlos a todos y decirles más.

NATIVE

Hola, buenas tardes. Espero que estén muy bien. He visto su anuncio y los puestos abiertos que tienen para el nuevo gimnasio LA Fitness que va a abrir en Guadalupe y que servirá a la comunidad hispana. Yo sé que podría ser parte de este equipo. Yo podría ayudar con todo. Ustedes están buscando a alguien que haya estudiado algo relacionado con la salud y nutrición para el primer puesto vacante. Yo estudie salud y bienestar en mi universidad y estoy dispuesta a hacer un certificado en nutrición si fuese necesario. También, yo vi, que, para el segundo puesto, ustedes necesitan a alguien con experiencia en venta. Yo trabaje en el hotel de mis abuelos, en donde me pusieron a cargo en la selección, evaluación y compra de materiales para publicidad. Otra experiencia laboral en el hotel de mis abuelos que ocurrió dentro de mis vacaciones de verano fue de siempre ayudar en la recepción y ayudar con diferentes tareas y labores dentro del hotel. También tengo experiencia en computación y estoy familiarizada con muchas plataformas que ustedes requieren para las otras posiciones vacantes. Sé muy bien cómo ser una empleada diligente y trabajadora. Se estar bajo presión y siempre estar disponible cuando se necesite. Tengo una personalidad excelente. Me gusta hablar con las personas y me siento cómoda conociendo personas nuevas y hablando con ellas. También, yo estaría dispuesta a ser el primer rostro que las personas vean al entrar al edificio. Espero que esto demuestre todo lo que puedo hacer en todos los puestos disponibles. Yo espero que nos mantengamos en contacto. Me encantaría agendar una cita para hablar con más detalle sobre mi previa experiencia y mis aptitudes para este trabajo.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did you learn Spanish?
2. How would you describe your Spanish language skills?
3. If you had an opportunity to study Spanish anywhere in the US (Miami, New York, Phoenix, etc.), would you choose to come study the language here? Why or why not?
4. What would your overall ranking/opinion be regarding the recordings you heard in the two experiments?
5. Why did you choose the specific positions you chose for hiring or not hiring the specific people you heard in the recordings? (play 3 recordings, 1 Native, 1 HL, 1 L2, alternating between gender)
6. According to the results, you gave this speaker this position. Why? Can you explain? (play 3 recordings pertinent to the individual)
7. Where do you think the interviewees (who left the voicemails) are from? Why?
8. What positions would you give yourself if you were applying to this gym? Why?
9. From what Spanish speaking country have your teachers at ASU or in the past come from? What did you think about their Spanish?
10. In your own opinion, do you think that some people speak Spanish better than others? Who? Why?
11. Where is the best Spanish in the world spoken?
12. Where is the best Spanish in Latin America spoken?
    i. So, how does the Spanish of people of Mexican nationality rank?
13. Where is the worst Spanish in Latin America spoken?

APPENDIX D

TABLE 4.9. COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES FROM PRE AND POST TASKS

Speaker	Attitude	Heritage Language Learners				Second Language Learners			
		Pre-Task		Post-Task		Pre-Task		Post-Task	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Jen (N)	Positive	6	60.00%	7	70.00%	24	77.40%	24	77.40%
	Negative	4	40.00%	3	30.00%	7	22.60%	7	22.60%
Marta (N)	Positive	8	80.00%	6	60.00%	24	77.40%	24	77.40%
	Negative	2	20.00%	4	40.00%	7	22.60%	7	22.60%
Raul (N)	Positive	6	60.00%	6	60.00%	19	61.30%	24	77.40%
	Negative	4	40.00%	4	40.00%	12	38.70%	7	22.60%
Alex (N)	Positive	1	10.00%	5	50.00%	20	64.50%	11	35.50%
	Negative	9	90.00%	5	50.00%	11	35.50%	20	64.50%
Jen (HL)	Positive	8	80.00%	9	90.00%	21	67.70%	22	71.00%
	Negative	2	20.00%	1	10.00%	10	32.30%	9	29.00%
Marta (HL)	Positive	5	50.00%	4	40.00%	17	54.80%	18	58.10%
	Negative	5	50.00%	6	60.00%	14	45.20%	13	41.90%
Raul (HL)	Positive	7	70.00%	8	80.00%	26	83.90%	23	74.20%
	Negative	3	30.00%	2	20.00%	5	16.10%	8	25.80%
Alex (HL)	Positive	4	40.00%	5	50.00%	22	71.00%	16	51.60%
	Negative	6	60.00%	5	50.00%	9	29.00%	15	48.40%
Jen (L2)	Positive	2	20.00%	1	10.00%	4	12.90%	4	12.90%
	Negative	8	80.00%	9	90.00%	27	87.10%	27	87.10%
Marta (L2)	Positive	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	12	38.70%	10	32.30%
	Negative	10	100.00%	7	70.00%	19	61.30%	21	67.70%
Raul (L2)	Positive	0	0.00%	1	10.00%	7	22.60%	1	3.20%
	Negative	10	100.00%	9	90.00%	24	77.40%	30	96.80%
Alex (L2)	Positive	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	5	16.10%	3	9.70%
	Negative	8	80.00%	10	100.00%	26	83.90%	28	90.30%
Total n= 41		n= 10				n= 31			

APPENDIX E

PAIRED SAMPLE T-TEST TABLE FOR SPA 412 CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

Paired Sample T-Test for Changes in Attitude in SPA 412

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Lower	*Upper*			
Jen (N)	0.024	0.524	0.082	-0.141	0.19	0.298	40	0.767
Jen (HL)	0.049	0.631	0.098	-0.15	0.248	0.495	40	0.623
Jen (L2)	-0.024	0.418	0.065	-0.156	0.107	-0.374	40	0.71
Marta (N)	-0.049	0.631	0.098	-0.248	0.15	-0.495	40	0.623
Marta (HL)	0	0.632	0.099	-0.2	0.2	0	40	1
Marta (L2)	0.02439	0.65145	0.10174	-0.18123	0.23001	0.24	40	0.812
Alex (N)	-0.122	0.6	0.094	-0.311	0.067	-1.302	40	0.2
Alex (HL)	-0.122	0.6	0.094	-0.311	0.067	-1.302	40	0.2
Alex (L2)	-0.098	0.436	0.068	-0.235	0.04	-1.432	40	0.16
Raul (N)	0.122	0.64	0.1	-0.08	0.324	1.22	40	0.23
Raul (HL)	-0.049	0.669	0.104	-0.26	0.162	-0.467	40	0.643
Raul (L2)	-0.122	0.458	0.072	-0.267	0.023	-1.705	40	0.096

APPENDIX F

PAIRED SAMPLE T-TEST TABLE FOR SPA 314 CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

Paired Sample T-Test for Changes in Attitude in SPA 314

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Lower	*Upper*			
Jen (N)	-0.13	0.548	0.114	-0.367	0.107	-1.141	22	0.266
Jen (HL)	0.174	0.576	0.12	-0.075	0.423	1.447	22	0.162
Jen (L2)	-0.174	0.491	0.102	-0.386	0.038	-1.699	22	0.103
Marta (N)	0.087	0.515	0.107	-0.136	0.309	0.81	22	0.426
Marta (HL)	0	0.739	0.154	-0.319	0.319	0	22	1
Marta (L2)	0.174	0.717	0.149	-0.136	0.484	1.164	22	0.257
Alex (N)	0.217	0.6	0.125	-0.042	0.477	1.738	22	0.096
Alex (HL)	0.043	0.638	0.133	-0.232	0.319	0.327	22	0.747
Alex (L2)	-0.043	0.562	0.117	-0.287	0.2	-0.371	22	0.714
Raul (N)	0.043	0.562	0.117	-0.2	0.287	0.371	22	0.714
Raul (HL)	0.043	0.638	0.133	-0.232	0.319	0.327	22	0.747
Raul (L2)	-0.043	0.209	0.043	-0.134	0.047	-1	22	0.328

APPENDIX G

PAIRED SAMPLE T-TEST TABLE FOR SPA 316 CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

Paired Sample T-Test for Changes in Attitude in SPA 316

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
				Lower	*Upper*			
Jen (N)	0.25	0.639	0.143	-0.049	0.549	1.751	19	0.096
Jen (HL)	-0.4	0.598	0.134	-0.68	-0.12	-2.99	19	0.008
Jen (L2)	-0.1	0.308	0.069	-0.244	0.044	-1.453	19	0.163
Marta (N)	-0.1	0.553	0.124	-0.359	0.159	-0.809	19	0.428
Marta (HL)	0.2	0.616	0.138	-0.088	0.488	1.453	19	0.163
Marta (L2)	-0.35	0.587	0.131	-0.625	-0.075	-2.666	19	0.015
Alex (N)	-0.1	0.718	0.161	-0.436	0.236	-0.623	19	0.541
Alex (HL)	0.1	0.788	0.176	-0.269	0.469	0.567	19	0.577
Alex (L2)	-0.25	0.55	0.123	-0.507	0.007	-2.032	19	0.056
Raul (N)	0.05	0.605	0.135	-0.233	0.333	0.37	19	0.716
Raul (HL)	0.15	0.671	0.15	-0.164	0.464	1	19	0.33
Raul (L2)	-0.1	0.447	0.1	-0.309	0.109	-1	19	0.33

APPENDIX H

IRB APPROVAL

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Sara Beaudrie
International Letters and Cultures, School of (SILC)
480/965-1110
Sara.Beaudrie@asu.edu

Dear Sara Beaudrie:

On 10/2/2018 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Attitudes of HLs and L2s enrolled in the Spanish advanced mixed class: What are their perceptions about diverse spoken varieties of Spanish?
Investigator:	Sara Beaudrie
IRB ID:	STUDY00008839
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Vana protocol V2, Category: IRB Protocol; • Vana Script for recordings, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Vana consent V2, Category: Consent Form; • Ranking .pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Vana language survey V2, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (1) Educational settings, (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 10/2/2018.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

CC Rosti Vana