

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE HLL-TURNED-LANGUAGE-TEACHER: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HERITAGE-LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND PEDAGOGICAL CONTENT KNOWLEDGE

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For over four decades now, fields like applied linguistics and world-language education, have investigated *heritage languages*, the “nonsocietal or nonmajority languages” (Valdés, 2005, p. 411) typically used in the homes and communities of immigrants and their descendants. While still growing and diversifying, heritage language (HL) research has often focused on how users of these languages—also known as *heritage language learners* (HLLs)—are different from other language learners, and how teachers can best adapt their instruction to their needs.

With so much literature focusing on either HLLs as learners or their teachers, this study aims to bring together these topics in a novel way. Specifically, this multiple-case study centers around three adult HLLs who currently work as teachers of language-related subjects, and it aims to explore whether there is a relationship between their life experiences with HL maintenance and their pedagogical content knowledge. The research questions explored in this study are:

1. How do the focal HLL-turned-language-teachers in this study describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?
2. What kinds of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) are evident in the practice of these HLLs-turned-language-teachers?
3. How do these HLL-turned-language-teachers’ experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?

Data collection included teaching observations, interviews with the focal teachers and some of their colleagues who know their teaching directly, and the gathering of relevant teaching artifacts and documents. Data analysis, meanwhile, occurred in a two-tiered approach: *within-case* and *cross-case*. That is, each focal case was analyzed individually first, and then patterns were sought across cases during the second phase of data analysis.

Findings from this study support the idea that the HL maintenance experiences of HLLs-turned-language-teachers affect their PCK. Moreover, there is remarkable consistency across cases; for not only did they all report the influence of similar factors in their HL maintenance (e.g., supportive families and communities, constant exposure to their HLs through written and spoken media), but they also embraced similar pedagogical techniques and behaviors as part of their PCKs (e.g., translanguaging and native-language supports, building strong bonds with their students). Furthermore, in rationalizing many of these moves by alluding to learning experiences they did not have growing up, or to their own struggles with HL grammar rules, these teachers also show consistency in the potential connections between their life experiences as HLLs and their pedagogy and PCK.

Implications from this study, then, are pertinent to heritage-language studies as well as language teacher education, and they include calls to expand the notion of PCK to account for the influence of experiences with language maintenance and loss. Regarding practitioners, this study underscores the relevance of biographical reflection to pedagogical decision-making, and it encourages teachers who wish to make the most of this sort of reflection to expand their notion of “pedagogy” to include student-teacher relationship-building—if it does not do so already.

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AND PEDAGOGICAL CONTENT KNOWLEDGE

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¹ All participant names are pseudonyms.

On a personal level, words simply cannot express how thankful I am to my parents for all the sacrifices they have made for me. If anyone deserves most of the credit for the type of person and professional I am today, it is them. *Papá, mamá: les agradezco con todo mi corazón por escucharme, apoyarme y no dejar que me dé por vencido. Lo más gratificante de este logro es saber que los hace sentirse orgullosos de mí. Los quiero muchísimo y, con toda sinceridad, no me podrían haber tocado mejores seres humanos como guías en esta vida.*

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Chapter 1. Introduction

According to Valdés (2005), research on *heritage language learners* (HLLs)²—whom she defined as “students who have a family background in which a non-English language is, or was, spoken” (p. 412)—began in the 1970s, following calls from U.S. teachers of Spanish as a foreign language to devote more attention to this language-learner population. Specifically, the concern of these practitioners was (and still is) to distinguish HLLs from their fellow classmates, namely the “English-speaking monolingual students who have traditionally undertaken the study of foreign languages in U.S. schools and colleges” (p. 412).

Interestingly, the emergence of HLLs as a research focus in fields like applied linguistics and language education coincided with major changes in the history and flow of immigration to the United States. In 1965, the U.S. government passed the Hart-Celler Act, which did away with the national-origin quotas that had characterized American immigration law since essentially its inception. The elimination of these quotas—which gave preference to immigrants from Western Europe—shifted immigration patterns dramatically by opening up new avenues for immigration from countries that had, up to that point, been disadvantaged by the quota system. Thus, while the sponsors of the 1965 legislation expected their work to encourage family reunification from Europe; the real, long-term beneficiaries were immigrants from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Martin & Midgley, 2006). Moreover, they helped usher a new era of immigrant languages in the U.S.—one that expanded beyond the original cadre of European mother tongues which characterized immigrants from the 19th and early 20th centuries.

² For the sake of consistency, I use the term *heritage (language) learner* (and its acronym, HLL) throughout this paper to refer to users of a heritage language. While *heritage speaker* (HS) is synonymous and just as common, I prefer HLL because it does not address only one language skill (i.e., speaking). What is more, HLL also conveys that language users are always learning and expanding their linguistic repertoires.

These demographic changes led immigration researchers to wonder if and how the “new” second generation of immigrants in the U.S. (i.e., the children of post-1965 arrivals) would differ from prior second generations. And as early as the 1990s, they found various topics for contrast, including the persistence of bilingualism across generations. For example, rather than mirroring the supposed “straight-line” assimilation patterns previously exhibited by the second generation (Alba & Nee, 1999), Portes and Zhou (1993) found clear evidence of what they called *selective acculturation*, whereby the children of some post-1965 immigrants opted to retain certain aspects of their parents’ cultures—both in addition to and instead of the so-called ‘mainstream’ practices. One such case was that of second-generation Cubans, many of whom not only learned Spanish from their parents but also sought opportunities to develop their proficiency in the language. This “new” second-generation, then, consisted in part of HLLs, and it thus makes sense that the initial calls for research on HLLs as students of language occurred in the decade when these children of immigrants were in school, particularly at the middle and secondary levels (i.e., the 1970s).³

Since the first appearances of heritage languages (HLs) in the literature four decades ago, studies of HLLs and HL education have proliferated, with a major boom occurring in the 1990s. Over the years, this body of research has explored multiple dimensions of HL maintenance and development, looking for what makes HLLs a veritable and unique population for research. As the literature review in the next chapter will reveal, the still-growing empirical and theoretical work on HLLs has diverged onto many streams: Some scholars have focused on the factors that help and hinder HL maintenance for younger HLLs (e.g., Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Kim & Pyun,

³ I would be remiss, however, if I did not mention that domestic issues in the U.S. were just as relevant to the study of HLs and HLLs. As Baker and Wright (2017) have shown, the political climate of the 1960s—particularly the Civil Rights Movement and its landmark legislation of 1964—influenced American attitudes toward L2 teaching and bilingual education. Thus, the subsequent interest in HLs and HLLs reflects the ethos of the Civil Rights insofar as it relates to notions of educational equity. What is more, immigration scholars (e.g., Alba et al., 2011) have *also* highlighted the influence that the U.S. Civil Rights Movement had on immigration law.

2014), while others have asked “successful” (i.e., highly proficient) adult HLLs to think back on their HL learning (e.g., Tse, 2001a, 2001b). Some research, meanwhile, has centered around the teachers of HLs and their experiences as practitioners (e.g., Feuerverger, 1997), while other work has sought the opinions of mainstream educators about HL maintenance and its place in public schooling (e.g., J. S. Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Research on HLLs has even run the methodological gamut, with authors using a breadth of quantitative (e.g., Kim & Pyun, 2014; Quiroz et al., 2010) and qualitative (e.g., Abdi, 2011; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011) approaches to inquiry. And there is also an influential body of work that focuses chiefly on both defining and refining our conceptual understandings of what HLs are and who count as their legitimate users (e.g., Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014; Valdés, 2005).

The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to continue on the tradition of research on HLLs by calling attention to a subgroup within this learner population that warrants attention: *heritage language learners who become language teachers*. Just as research on HL education continues to be driven by the (contested) assumption that HLLs are distinct from both monolingual users as well as foreign-language learners of their HLs (e.g., Montrul, 2008; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014), I contend that the *HLL-turned-language-teacher* is also a different sort of L2 teacher. To be more precise, I argue that the life experiences of said teachers (i.e., their lives as *learners* of their HLs) influence their current practice in that their *pedagogical content knowledge* (Shulman, 1987)⁴ may include the ways—often informal—in which they maintained and developed their HLs. In the remainder of this report, then, I detail the various streams of scholarly literature have

⁴ The concept of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) will be explained more thoroughly in section 2.3 below. For reference, however, I include Shulman’s (1987) canonical definition of it: a “special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding” (p. 8). To put it more concretely, then, PCK is the knowledge that differentiates a ‘content specialist’ (e.g., a historian) from a ‘pedagogue’ (e.g., a history teacher).

influenced my conceptualization of this phenomenon, my choices in the design of this study, my findings for both individual participants and across cases, and the implications stemming from this dissertation for both scholarship and practice.

1.1. Research Questions

As this research study has evolved, so has my understanding of the questions that guide it. I began with a single, overarching question to describe this study: *How do the life experiences of HLLs-turned-language-teachers (especially any aspects of their lives that have contributed to their HL maintenance) influence or permeate their pedagogy?* However, upon further reflection, I found that this broad question contains three more concrete questions within it, each demanding different methods of data collection and analysis. Hence, the research questions guiding this dissertation study are:

1. How do the focal HLL-turned-language-teachers in this study describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?
2. What kinds of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) are evident in the practice of these HLLs-turned-language-teachers?
3. How do these HLL-turned-language-teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?

These three questions provide different “pieces of the puzzle” that is the HLL-turned-language-teacher. The first two explore facets that I hypothesize to be related: their experiences with HL maintenance and development and their PCK (as evidenced in their classrooms and schools). The third and final question, on the other hand, delves into the relationship between these two domains, looking for underlying links in the patterns I perceive through observation and analysis of data. As I show in later chapters, these questions influence the literature I use to

understand my focus of inquiry and the methods I have determined to study it. Yet before turning to these matters, it is imperative to define some of the terms that are foundational to the research study I propose here.

1.2. Key Terms and Operationalizations

In this section I briefly sketch some of the major constructs that relate to the literature on HLLs and HL education that are also pertinent to the HLL-turned-language-teacher. These concepts, though seminal, are also far from uniform in terms of their use in scholarly work. Thus, the first three subsections below elucidate the bevy of definitions and usages that exist in the literature for these key terms, while the final subsection specifies the ways I will be defining these concepts in this study (i.e., my *operational* definitions). Finally, while the subsections below will aim to be as comprehensive as possible for each term, they should be taken as illustrative rather than definitive, as they may unwittingly omit certain authors and pieces.

1.2.1. Heritage Language Learner (HLL)

Despite having been the focus of research for over four decades by now—or perhaps due to this precise fact—a variety of definitions exist for the term *heritage language learner*, all to varying degrees of overlap. Even one of the most cited academics in heritage-language studies, Guadalupe Valdés, has offered both broad and narrow definitions of HLL. In its broadest sense, HLLs are “members of linguistic minorities who are concerned about the study, maintenance, and revitalization of their minority languages” (Valdés, 2005, p. 411). Yet from a narrower point of view, HLLs are students who were “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speak or merely understand the language, and who are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (Valdés, 2000, p. 1). Thus, Valdés’s (2000) narrow definition of HLL

reflects the perspectives of foreign-language educators in the U.S., whose concern is that HLLs have learning needs that distinguish them from the other L2 learners in their classrooms.

Valdés is not the only scholar to attempt to define HLLs, however. Carreira (2004), for instance, defined this learner population as “students whose identity and/or linguistic needs differ from those of second language learners by virtue of having a family background in the heritage language (HL) or culture (HC)” (p. 1). Similarly, Fishman (2001) identified HLLs not only as users of languages other than English (LOTEs), but specifically as those for whom these LOTEs “have a particular family relevance” (p. 81). Hence, a common thread in various definitions of HLL is that of a familial or community connection to the HL that goes back across generations to distant times and homelands—though Wiley (2014) is keen to caution that such a conception of “heritage” may place too much emphasis on the past and not enough on the future. Still, this link to the past is essential to understanding HLLs, since it underscores the fact that the foundation of this learner group is the nature of their contact with the HL, not their proficiency in it.

In addition, some scholars have highlighted HLLs’ more “informal” history of language learning as a factor that unites this fairly diverse learner population. As the definitions by Valdés (2000), Carreira (2004), and Fishman (2001) above show (or at least imply), the main loci of HL exposure for HLLs are their homes and communities, rather than formal education—as is often the case for L2 learners taking classes at the secondary and post-secondary levels. In fact, both Pascual y Cabo and Rothman (2012) and Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014) point out that a common—though not absolute—pattern among HLLs is that they are raised monolingual in their HL and only become bilinguals in the heritage and societal languages in their early school years.⁵ It is during these formative years that schools introduce the core subject areas (i.e.,

⁵ Though many HLLs retain at least some level of *functional bilingualism* (Baker & Wright, 2017) in both the heritage and societal languages; for many, the pattern is that their majority-language proficiency surpasses their HL

language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies), and, through their teaching, they also introduce the *de facto* (if not official) language of formal education in that society.

Yet the fact that HLLs are often not formally educated in their HLs does not necessarily imply that they have never received formal *instruction* in their HLs: In some HL communities in the U.S. (especially those of East Asian languages), there exists a long-standing tradition of what are called *Saturday schools*, or “community based, non-profit organisations” (Liu, 2006, p. 238) that teach HLs and their cultures after school or during the weekends. In a similar vein, many world-language departments at the K-16 level offer courses and tracks for HLLs (often termed “for native speakers;” see Peyton, 2008, for an overview of Spanish HL education in the U.S.). Still, even though HLLs in “Saturday schools” and “native speaker” courses receive formal instruction *on* and *about* their HL, it is difficult to claim that they are formally educated in their HL when most—if not all—of their remaining coursework occurs in the majority language (cf. Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012, p. 455).⁶

Finally, some scholars have used sociological work on immigrant generational cohorts to further define the notion of HLL (e.g., Proctor et al., 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b). That is, most of these researchers have attempted to identify HLLs by the immigrant generation that they belong to, almost uniformly agreeing that HLLs are part of the second generation (i.e., the “native”-born children of the foreign-born). However, even though this criterion is useful for the purposes of

proficiency (Tse, 2001a, 2001b), whereas the HL remains somewhat stagnant. This pattern has led to scholars like Silvina Montrul to propose the concept of an *incomplete acquisition* of the HL (see Montrul, 2008), though there has also been pushback to this notion from other HL scholars (e.g., Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012).

⁶ An interesting “gray-area” case for the HLL criterion of “(in)formal schooling” would be the children of Cuban refugees in the U.S. As Baker and Wright (2017) have noted, the earliest waves of Cuban exiles had the expectation to return to their homeland soon. Thus, they set up (Spanish-English) dual-language schools for their children, with the hopes of maintaining their HL. Second-generation Cubans, then, learned much of their Spanish through formal schooling—unlike other HLLs. However, if we were to apply Pascual y Cabo and Rothman’s (2012) definition of *formally educated* as one for whom “all subjects are taught in the majority language” (p. 455), then these second-generation Cubans would be considered veritable HLLs of Spanish precisely due to their bilingual schooling.

participant selection, it may be at odds with other common definitions of HLL. For example, potential HLLs may have been born abroad but received no formal education (or a negligible amount of it) in their mother tongues prior to immigrating. Hence, some studies have also included what Portes and Rumbaut (2014) call Generation 1.5 (i.e., born in another country but arrived before adolescence) in their definitions of HLL (e.g., Joo, 2009). Overall, then, these attempts to match HLLs to an immigrant generation further highlight the fact that, despite certain levels of agreement across definitions, the concept of HLL remains—at least in some respects—“ill defined and ... sensitive to a variety of interpretations within social, political, regional, and national contexts” (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 212).

1.2.2. Types of Heritage Languages

As the previous section has shown, HLLs are “not a homogeneous group” (Bowles, 2011, p. 33), and this heterogeneity is due in part to the fact that their HLs themselves are also not a homogeneous lot. In fact, Fishman (2001) distinguished between three major different types of HLs: *immigrant*, *colonial*, and *indigenous*. This taxonomy has gained currency among scholars of heritage-language studies, with the Center for Applied Linguistics (2016) even making use of it to explain what an HL is on one of its websites:

Heritage languages can include immigrant languages, spoken by immigrants arriving in the United States (e.g., Spanish); indigenous languages, spoken by peoples who are native to the Americas (e.g., Navajo); and colonial languages, of the various European groups that first colonized what is now the United States (e.g., French and German).

It is worth pointing out that Fishman’s (2001) classification is time- and context-dependent, for the same language may have been both a colonial and an immigrant HL at different moments in

history (e.g., Spanish in the U.S. Southwest). Thus, this typology hinges on “the historical and social conditions of other languages relative to English” (Kelleher, 2010, p. 2).

Despite parallels among these three types of HLs—such as the very real threat of HL loss in their communities (see section 1.2.3 below)—some distinctions between indigenous HLs and the other two types deserve some emphasis here: First, indigenous languages in the U.S. receive protection from the legal system, whereas immigrant languages do not (Haynes, 2010). What is more, colonial and immigrant HLs are often majority languages in other countries, which means that their maintenance is not linked to a program of language revitalization—as is the case with indigenous HLs (Hinton, 2001). Finally, HL education has been susceptible to issues of linguistic prescriptivism (Callahan, 2010) and deficit thinking (Faltis, 2013), yet these trends have not been quite as prevalent in the teaching of indigenous languages (Henze & Davis, 1999). Due to these contrasts, then, the research reviewed below will focus only on colonial and immigrant HLs.

1.2.3. Heritage-Language Maintenance and Loss

Efforts—both formal and informal—to teach and learn HLs often derive from a concern over the phenomenon of *language shift*, whereby both individuals and communities, spurred by language contact and socio-political forces, gradually move from using their heritage language to the standard or majority language (Portes & Hao, 1998). In the context of HLs, this shift tends to be *intergenerational* (or *cross-generational*), so that each subsequent generation is less proficient in the HL than the previous one, until one generation becomes fully monolingual in the majority language (see Alba et al., 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). In fact, a variety of studies on this question support the existence of a “three-generation” pattern in the United States, with the U.S.-born children of immigrants being bilingual to some extent and their grandchildren being English

monolinguals predominantly (Alba et al., 2002; López, 1999; Lutz, 2006; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Nevertheless, the broader trend of intergenerational language shift should not be confused with the related (but smaller-scale) phenomena of HL *maintenance* and *loss*. Since language shift occurs both individually and communally, specific HLLs may exhibit trajectories that differ from what their larger communities are experiencing (Hernandez-Chavez, 1993). In other words, the fact that an immigrant or minority group is shifting from its HL to the majority language across generations does not necessarily mean that *all* HLLs in that group are losing proficiency in their HL. As a matter of fact, some HLLs may be improving their HL skills through implicit learning and/or explicit instruction. Hence, both HL loss and maintenance can co-occur within the same HL group often and to varying degrees.

1.2.4. Operationalization of Terms

Given the varied and sometimes competing definitions of the terms outlined above, I now specify how I will be using these terms for the remainder of this paper and in my research. First, I define *heritage language* (HL) as one that is neither the majority nor the societal language of a country or region (i.e., not used for education or governmental purposes; cf. Valdés, 2005). That said, though, I do not include indigenous languages in my research (or in the reviews of literature below) due to the different legal and social motives that underlie their teaching and learning (see section 1.2.2 above and Haynes, 2010).

In addition, I define *heritage language learner* (HLL) similarly to Valdés (2000), whose definition of the term focuses more on the life experiences of these multilinguals (i.e., their link to the HL is based on the households and communities where they were raised) and hence allows for a wider range of linguistic proficiencies. Furthermore, I include in my operationalization of

HLL that members of this learner population are not educated formally⁷ in their HL (Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012). As a result, I do not limit my definition of HLL to exclusively second- or third-generation immigrants, but rather, I allow for the inclusion of members of Generations 1.75 and even 1.5⁸ (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004)—provided that they received no formal education (or a negligible amount of it) in their HLs.⁹ While this broader definition might seem less cohesive, it is also more pragmatic in terms of participant selection, since it allows me to cast a wider net during my search. Furthermore, a broader definition of HLL is responsive to current conversations in bilingualism studies (and other fields), which find that simultaneous and early sequential bilinguals share similarities in their trajectories as language learners—including, perhaps most crucially, concerns over language maintenance and loss (Baker & Wright, 2017).

1.3. Background: Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States

Though it did not happen intentionally, all three of my focal cases for this study are HLLs of Spanish who immigrated to the United States (see Chapter 3 for more on participants and their selection). Hence, the state of Spanish as a heritage language in the U.S. is essential background knowledge for this dissertation, and thus I must discuss it in this section before proceeding with other considerations pertaining to this research study.

While Spanish has been present in the territory that is now the U.S. since the days of the Spanish conquest (i.e., the 1500s), the study of “Spanish as a heritage language” (SHL) in the

⁷ Again, I define *formally educated* as someone for whom “all subjects are taught in the majority language” (Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012, p. 455). Please see section 1.2.1 above for an explanation of how “formal education” (as defined here) is not the same as “formal instruction.”

⁸ As defined by Rubén Rumbaut and colleagues, these generational cohorts refer to immigrants who arrived in their new home countries during their early, or formative, years. Generation 1.75 refers to those who arrived as young children (up to 5 years of age), while Generation 1.5 arrived before or during their early teen years.

⁹ Such a criterion is still slightly problematic, since it can be difficult to discern just how much—or little—formal education in the HL is enough to (dis)qualify someone as an HLL.

U.S. is far newer—consolidating as a field, according to Beaudrie and Fairclough (2012), in the 1990s. That said, the concerns that brought scholars together to form this new field of study had been around since the 1970s, as an increasing number of U.S.-born and -raised Latinx students looked to the Spanish-language departments at their universities with the desire to develop the languages used in their homes (Valdés, 2005). The early presence of Spanish teachers in (proto-)discussions of “heritage” languages, as well as the language’s status as the second most spoken language in the U.S. (Burton, 2018), contributed to Spanish’s dominance in HL studies and made it a crucial force in the development of theories and pedagogies pertaining to HLLs in the U.S.

At around the same time as Spanish instructors were beginning to grapple with HLLs in their classrooms, linguists were also turning their attention to Spanish-speaking bilinguals in the U.S. (e.g., Aguirre, 1978; Poplack, 1980; Sánchez, 1986). However, whereas linguists treated the Spanish in their empirical studies as legitimate linguistic variants (Rivera-Mills, 2012), language educators saw it as a malady—and there was an immediate need for methods that would “help undo the damage that had been done at home” (Valdés, 2005, p. 412). Such deficit perspectives came under scrutiny starting in the 1980s, as scholars took stock of the negative impact that these messages had on students’ self-confidence and progress; and over time, pedagogical interest in Spanish as an HL began to focus more on developing (rather than criticizing) the linguistic skills of HLLs (Carreira, 2012). That said, some contemporary critics of the field would argue that SHL continues to perpetuate a discourse of remediation and standardization, albeit in terms that are more palatable to present-day educational sensibilities (e.g., Faltis, 2013).

An issue where these perspectives have come into conflict is that of SHL textbooks and teaching materials. According to Carreira (2012), early materials for Spanish HLLs conveyed a “normative perspective” whose focus was “eradicating nonstandard features” (p. 224). While

some might argue that these deficit orientations have given way to an emphasis on HL identity formation and global-market competitiveness (Carreira, 2012), more critical and raciolinguistic explorations have continued to find references to the elimination of “*barbarismos*” (an archaic term for *linguistic borrowings*) in textbooks and materials intended for use with HLLs of Spanish (Zimmerman, 2019). Furthermore, even if the textbooks were completely devoid of such deficit stances, it would not mean that teachers will be, too. Studies about HLLs of Spanish have found that teachers themselves may also institute and perpetuate standard-language discourses in their classrooms, which in turn become spaces where the linguistic assets of HLLs are ignored or, in the worst of cases, disparaged (e.g., Abdi, 2009, 2011). A potential solution to this issue might be the recruitment of U.S.-born and -raised HLLs and bilinguals as language teachers, since they can identify with the skills and needs of their HLL students. At present, though, there is a “lack of representation of heritage speakers in the SHL teacher pool” (Gironzetti & Belpoliti, 2021, p. 1208). Hence, though it is true that SHL as a field has steadily distanced itself from the deficit perspectives that pervaded its formative years, the work is not yet finished in this regard.

A final key consideration in discussions about Spanish as an HL in the United States is the instructional model that best suits the needs of HLLs. Whereas other HL communities must rely on extracurricular models like the “Saturday school” for their HL education (e.g., Jia, 2009; Liu, 2006), Spanish benefits from the fact that it has been the most popular world-language class offering in the U.S. K-16 system since the 1990s (Fishman, 2001). The common availability of Spanish classes in schools and colleges throughout the U.S. would seemingly imply that Spanish HLLs can easily maintain and develop their HLs through formal instruction, yet the picture is not as straightforward. Debates about the specific learning needs of Spanish HLLs have expanded to include the question of whether these learners are better served in separate HL tracks, or if they

should be in mixed classrooms with L2 learners of Spanish (e.g., Carreira & Chik, 2018). While this question continues to be tested empirically in classrooms, though, Valdés (2017) has added a new concern for SHL education in the U.S.: *curricularization*. Put succinctly, treating language “as if it were an ordinary academic subject” (p. 89) will make any instructional approach that is used with HLLs susceptible to ideologies of language, race, class, and identity, which will in turn hinder the cause of HL maintenance. Thus, even as new conversations emerge for SHL education in the U.S., the dilemmas and concerns of several decades ago also persist.

1.4. Aims and Significance of the Study

As stated earlier, the chief aim of this research study is to call attention to a portion of the HLL population that has (to my knowledge) been overlooked in the literature: the *HLL-turned-language-teacher*. Barring a few exceptions (e.g., Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015; Leeman et al., 2011), the understanding of HLL-turned-language-teachers presented in the literature is incipient at best (as shown in section 2.2 below). And even less is known about the relationship between these teachers’ HL-maintenance experiences and their PCK—in part due to the focus of the L2 PCK literature on aspects of language like grammar and pragmatics (see section 2.3). Hence, a second aim of this study is to help expand the notion of PCK in the literature by giving evidence of the links between PCK and HL maintenance for this group of language teachers—links that future research might find, albeit in different forms, among other teachers. Taken together, then, the two aims of this research study point to an overarching purpose: addressing key gaps in the bodies of literature on HL education and PCK.

It is also important to note that this study’s focus on a novel population is consistent with the canon of HLL research, which has fixated on how HLLs stand apart from other L2 learners—especially those from monolingual backgrounds—for much of its history (see Valdés, 1981, for

an early example). Moreover, as Cho (2014) pointed out, “very few studies have examined how HL teachers position themselves and how they reflect on their HL teaching practice” (pp. 182-183)—a call that research on HLLs-turned-language-teachers would not just answer but also elaborate by investigating a group of teachers whose positioning (i.e., as HLLs) directly relates to what they teach. Educational research has responded to similar questions at a broader level: e.g., whether teachers’ prior experiences as students in the No Child Left Behind era influence their pedagogy (Brown, 2010). Thus, scholarship on HLLs-turned-language-teachers is in many ways reflective of the evolution of the lines of research that inform it, all of which seek greater analytical nuance.

A similar point can be made about scholarship on the PCK of language teachers, as well as the significance of this study to this field of inquiry. As I explain in greater detail in section 2.3 below, academic explorations of the PCK of L2 teachers have tended to focus on the domain of grammar (e.g., S. Andrews, 2006; Sanchez & Borg, 2014). However, L2 PCK research has expanded in recent years to include other aspects of the linguistic system such as pragmatics (e.g., van Compernelle & Henery, 2015). Moreover, conceptual PCK literature has made calls for issues of identity and life history to play a role in our understanding of the concept (e.g., Vélez-Rendón, 2002). Hence, once again, this proposed study fits nicely with the evolution of the scholarship on PCK that informs it.

Finally (but by no means less importantly), research on HLLs-turned-language-teachers could help add nuance to the bridge linking both sides of HL education (teaching and learning), for it would highlight the usefulness of L2 learning that often happens outside the classroom not just as a learning tool for learners but also as a pedagogical asset for practitioners. Such a framing of HL acquisition is significant for the field of HL education—which has at times been

accused of depicting HLLs as users of an “impure, illegitimate, and uncouth” (Faltis, 2013, p. 15) linguistic variety—in that it would show what HLLs can achieve as learners and how they, as teachers, can support their own students’ HL maintenance, thereby fighting against pervasive deficit discourse (Valencia, 2010) about these learners. Such findings could then also speak to broader fields such as teacher education, since no aspect or level of education is free from harmful discourses about culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students (Baker & Wright, 2017; Nieto, 2010). By shedding light on how HLLs-turned-language-teachers—who are CLD individuals themselves—draw upon their backgrounds and identities to shape their PCK, this study leads to findings that are relevant to future practitioners’ efforts to meet the needs of their CLD students.

1.5. Organization of the Report

In the remainder of this report, then, I will accomplish several things: First, I will review the most relevant bodies of literature that inform my empirical research about HLLs-turned-language-teachers (i.e., this study), as guided by the questions listed in section 1.1. Then, I will outline the specific methods of data collection and analysis that I used to answer my research questions. Then, I will report the findings that derived from my analysis of data. And finally, I will outline the contributions this study makes to scholarship and practice, as well as important considerations for the future. Each of these goals will be addressed in a separate chapter.

To be more precise, Chapter 2 of this report will describe my literature review and the theoretical framework for this proposed study. The review will consist of four major sections: In the first section, I will examine the data and findings of empirical work on the phenomena of HL maintenance and loss (see section 1.2.3), which informed my collection and analysis of data on the HL-maintenance experiences of HLL-turned-language-teachers. Meanwhile, the review’s

second section will cover empirical work that has placed the spotlight on the *teachers* of HLs. This scholarly work is a model of sorts for my study, since it has also made connections between the life experiences of teachers of language and their practice.

In the third section of the review, I will explore a sampling of conceptual and empirical work that has applied the construct of *pedagogical content knowledge* (PCK: Shulman, 1987) to L2 pedagogy. My contention is that, for HLLs-turned-language-teachers, their life experiences learning, maintaining, and developing their HLs serve as a form of PCK they use—consciously or not—when teaching their students, especially those who are also multilinguals. Because no research (to my knowledge) has investigated this specific assertion in contexts specific to HLLs like HL education, this section also draws from analogous work in world-language education and ESOL. Lastly, in the review’s final section, I discuss the major methodological approaches used by scholars in the literature that informs my study on HLLs-turned-language-teachers. This part of the review guided my own methodological decisions, helping me to not only select the most sensible approach but also to recognize the strengths and shortcomings of this method.

Following the literature review, I will discuss both its limitations and its relevance to my proposed study (see sections 2.5 and 2.6, respectively). Then, to close the second chapter, I will describe the theoretical framework that guided my dissertation study (section 2.7). As will be shown below, my theoretical framework is informed by the findings of my literature review as well as my own scholarly tendencies. Taken as a whole, then, the second chapter of this report will show how prior scholarship has impacted my understanding of the HLL-turned-language-teacher and the study I conducted.

Chapter 3, meanwhile, will discuss the methodological approach I took to investigate this topic. This chapter begins with my rationale for selecting the qualitative multiple-case study for

this study over other research methodologies, followed by a broader description of the case study method (sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively). After these justifications, I turn my attention to the design of this research study (section 3.3): Topics in this section include participant selection and biographies, site access, data collection, data management, and data analysis. For each of these considerations, I discuss not just my specific actions but also my reasoning for these choices. Then, this chapter discusses how my identities and roles as a researcher (i.e., my positionality) affect my relationship to both this research topic and the study's design (section 3.4). Finally, I describe how my study dealt with issues of rigor and trustworthiness that are very common in qualitative research (section 3.5), before closing with a quick summary statement of this study.

In Chapter 4, my focus will be on reporting the most important findings that I derived from my analysis of the data I collected. To facilitate understanding of the various patterns and themes that emerged from my analysis, I have organized the chapter into three major sections—each corresponding to one of the study's research questions (RQs). Moreover, because my RQs build on one another, I will follow the order in which the questions appear in section 1.1 above: Thus, section 4.1 will explore my three focal participants' experiences with HL maintenance and development, as related by them in biographical interviews (RQ1). Then, section 4.2. will cover the most salient aspects of my participants' PCK, per my direct observations of their teaching, as well as my conversations with these teachers and some of their colleagues (RQ2). And finally, section 4.3 will bring the previous two sections by highlighting connections between the focal teachers' HL-maintenance experiences and their PCK (RQ3).

Because this is a multiple-case study, it involves data analysis at both the individual- and multiple-case levels (see section 3.3.6 for more information). Hence, the three major sections of Chapter 4 will be subdivided accordingly: Findings for each case (i.e., focal participant) will be

detailed first and individually, followed by fourth subsection reporting patterns and themes that were evident across multiple cases. To avoid any potential bias, individual (or “within-case”) subsections will be organized alphabetically by first name. Lastly, and in recognition of the complex structure of study, the fourth chapter will close with a very brief summary of findings (section 4.4) at the most general level.

Closing this dissertation report is Chapter 5, in which I will address the contributions, implications, and future considerations stemming from this research study. First, I will cover the contributions that this study makes to the bodies of scholarship that are relevant to it. As seen in the literature review (Chapter 2), this dissertation draws its key constructs from two major bodies of scholarly work: research on heritage languages and research on PCK (and, by extension, on its parent field of teacher education). Hence, I will address contributions to each of these scholarly sides in two separate sections (5.1 and 5.2, respectively). Then, section 5.3 will cover how this study can inform the work of teachers and other practitioners in educational settings. Finally, the chapter (and dissertation) ends with a discussion of the limitations that affected this study, along with the future research directions implicated by this study (section 5.4).

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This literature review is comprised of four parts, each informing empirical research on HLL-turned-language-teachers in its own way: (1) HL maintenance and development, (2) the teachers of HLs, (3) PCK in L2 teaching, and (4) the methodologies used in studies that investigate these topics. At the end of this review, I discuss limitations of this literature review, followed by a summary of the four streams of literature above converge to guide my proposed study of HLL-turned-language-teachers, especially in terms of its theoretical framework.

2.1. Review of Literature on Heritage-Language Maintenance and Development

The literature that has investigated the ways in which HLLs maintain and develop their heritage languages has looked at two major foci: the *factors/variables* behind these processes and the *effects* of these variables. Regarding factors, scholars have used two approaches: (1) *in-the-moment* measurement and observation of HL-related practices and (2) *retrospective* interviews where successful HLLs look back on their own HL maintenance and development. Meanwhile, effect-focused studies have looked at outcomes *intra-* and *cross-*linguistically. It is important to note that while the sections below address all of these topics, the empirical work reviewed there are a representative—rather than exhaustive—sampling of a much larger body of literature (i.e., studies on HL maintenance and development).

2.1.1. Heritage-Language Maintenance and Development in the Moment

To borrow terminology from the field of linguistics, a substantial body of literature (both quantitative and qualitative) analyzes HL maintenance and development *synchronically*. That is, these studies looked at how (generally young) HLLs maintained their various HLs right as it was happening, either via direct observation or through statistical analysis of behaviors and linguistic proficiency. Overall, studies in this category explored HL maintenance and development across

various contexts, including the home, the community, and even broader factors like the internet and society at large. While interesting parallels emerge between the quantitative and qualitative analyses, the still-growing and diffuse character of this literature only allows for tentative links.

2.1.1.1. Home and Family Factors. Unsurprisingly, the largest portion of this literature focused on the home, echoing definitions of HLL that emphasize their “less formal” history of HL learning and maintenance (e.g., Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012). The quantitative vein of this research, for one, found multiple variables that associate significantly with HL learning. These correlations, however, did not exhibit much uniformity, since rarely did the same variable reach significance in more than one study. Still, a tentative pattern in this group of studies is that a time-on-task principle applies to HL maintenance and development at home: Simply put, time spent using the majority language takes time away from HL maintenance and vice versa.

Among the studies that found significant variables related to HLLs’ home environments, a study by D. Zhang and Koda (2011) illustrated the importance of *HL print input* in developing vocabulary skills: For the 36 Chinese HLL third-graders in their sample, “children who worked more on their Chinese schoolwork¹⁰, either independently or with help from their parents/siblings, tended to have a higher level of CHL [Chinese as a heritage language] word knowledge” (p. 14). In a similar vein, Kim and Pyun (2014) analyzed the personal essays of 56 young (grades 4-12) and college-aged Korean HLLs in the U.S. Using these essays’ scores as a proxy for HL literacy levels, the authors found that these scores correlated positively with *home Korean language use* and *focused Korean language practice*. Thus, as both studies demonstrate, exposure to the HL at home—be it through written schoolwork or oral use and practice—has a vital role in maintaining and developing the HLs of young, immigrant HLLs.

¹⁰ This refers to schoolwork from their “Saturday school” (i.e., community-based HL school) classes.

Even further, other users of the HL—parents or otherwise—also have an essential role in ensuring HL maintenance among young HLLs, as studies by Schwartz (2008) and Quiroz et al. (2010) elucidate. Looking at the enactment of family language policy in Russian-HL households in Israel ($n = 70$), Schwartz (2008) found that parents' *explicit teaching of HL literacy* correlated positively with their young children's lexical knowledge of Russian (i.e., of vocabulary, semantic categories, antonyms, and word descriptions). Similarly, Quiroz and her colleagues (2010) found multiple home variables to correlate with the HL vocabulary growth of 50 Spanish HLLs in the U.S. (ages 4-5), according to the Spanish Woodcock Johnson Test. Nonetheless, the most salient factor in their analysis was the *frequency of reading to the child by adults other than the parents*, since it correlated not just with the HL but also with English. Thus, parents and other HL users at home can contribute in various significant ways to HL maintenance.

Qualitative studies of HL maintenance and development provide further evidence of the quantitative patterns above—even if at a much smaller scale. For instance, Hashimoto and Lee's (2011) multi-case study investigated the home literacy environments of three Japanese-American families with young HLLs (ages 3-15). Through the lens of Sociocultural Theory (Barton, 2007; Bloome & Green, 1992; Green & Dixon, 1996), the researchers found that "HL-literacy practices and use of HL texts were different in each family, reflecting their personal contexts and needs" (p. 180). For one of the young HLLs in this study, the chief purpose of Japanese literacy was to read *manga* for pleasure, while for another HLL it was to communicate in writing with a parent who worked long hours (via an informal shared journal). Though these purposes accounted for only a small part of these children's daily use of language (English or Japanese), parents found their authenticity to make them far more successful in promoting HL maintenance than the use of old-fashioned Japanese coursebooks, which were irrelevant to their kids' lives and needs.

Working with adults, meanwhile, Callahan's (2010) interview study of Spanish HLLs (ages 19-62, $n = 22$) documented more examples of resistance to language shift and HL loss at home. For instance, these older HLLs claimed that they helped maintain their Spanish through translation and language brokering, helping parents and other loved ones with written forms in English, and, in a few cases, creative writing. Routine though they might seem, these practices in the HL served as the basis for plans of future HL maintenance and development, since "most [participants] aspired either to polish their skills or acquire more skills in written Spanish to attain their creative objectives" (p. 13). Thus, and despite any limitations produced by language shift, these adult HLLs still had great confidence in their ability to continue developing their HL and adding more skills to their linguistic repertoires.

That said, though, the pressure of the majority language is strong, particularly in contexts where ideologies link learning the majority language with a national identity (cf. Jiménez, 2017). In fact, this pattern was evident in both quantitative and qualitative studies. On the quantitative side, Duursma et al. (2007) utilized regression analysis to identify the chief predictors of HL vocabulary development among 96 Latino (i.e., Spanish HLL) fifth graders. However, despite measuring 18 different variables related to parents, siblings, and the home, the only statistically significant HL literacy predictor was *siblings' preference for English*. Moreover, this association was negative, meaning that "students who used more English when speaking with their siblings scored lower on the measure of Spanish" (p. 181). Similarly, Kim and Pyun (2014) found that HL (i.e., Korean) literacy levels associated negatively with *years of schooling in the U.S.*, *years of U.S. stay*, and *home English language use*; while Schwartz (2008) found that the enactment of *bilingual home language practices* correlated negatively with HLLs' Russian lexical knowledge. Thus, the overall quantitative trend appears to be that the more the majority language was used at

home by those cohabitating with HLLs, the lower the HLLs' heritage-language outcomes could be—a reality that arguably relates to the aforementioned principle of time-on-task.

Qualitative studies confirmed and shed light on these findings, with participants—both parents and HLLs—sharing a common concern over the possibility of HL loss. All three families in Hashimoto and Lee (2011), for instance, found it challenging to further encourage children to maintain their HLs without affording them authentic opportunities to use said languages beyond the household (e.g., peers who also spoke Japanese). Yet, as the Continuum of Biliteracy Model (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) predicts, a lack of authentic contexts of HL use can and will push younger learners towards the majority language. Furthermore, decades of research in second language acquisition agrees that a lack of authentic communicative purposes and contexts hinders development of any additional language—heritage or not (Ortega, 2009; Saville-Troike & Barto, 2017). Hence, Hashimoto and Lee's (2011) findings, while encouraging for early HL development (see above), did not fully eliminate the possibility of HL loss in the future.

Consistent with this concern over language shift and HL loss, Joo (2009) did a case study of four female Korean HLLs attending middle school in the U.S., focusing particularly on their engagement in home literacy practices in both English and Korean. Using data from home visits, classroom observations, literacy activity sheets, and participant interviews, the author found an overarching theme of intergenerational HL loss despite the best efforts all involved. That is, the four HLL participants (and their parents) all saw HL maintenance as a key aspect of their Korean ethnic identity and sought to engage in reading and writing practices that aided in the process of HL literacy development, such as reading for pleasure and attending HL community school. Yet despite this strong belief that they “should be able to speak Korean because they were Korean” (p. 92), the girls ultimately enacted literacy practices in English more than in their HL, further

illustrating the process of language shift and the appeal of the majority language for adolescents, particularly in a context like the U.S. where ideologies support a shift towards English.

2.1.1.2. Community, Classroom, and Other Factors. Since language learning of any sort does not happen in a vacuum, studies have explored other variables —beyond the household and the nuclear family—that can support HL maintenance. At the most macro level of analysis, Oriyama (2011) investigated the influence of society, community, and school in the HL literacy skills of Japanese HLLs (grades 2-4) living in Sydney, Australia. Broadly speaking, the author found that “lack of ... support from the wider society, the local community, and a mainstream school separately and together undermine the development and maintenance of Japanese literacy in a minority context” (p. 673). Yet still, data showed that factors like formal schooling (e.g., a Japanese school) could also counteract the deleterious effects of the wider sociocultural context. Thus, Oriyama’s study simultaneously provides hope for HL instruction and poses a sobering reminder that HLLs often /swim against the current” of the majority language.

Related to the idea of HL instruction, a typical community-level solution for the issue of HL loss is the establishment of extracurricular HL schools (often known as “Saturday schools”). Yet still, the findings from Jia’s (2009) ethnography of the Lu Xun Chinese Heritage Language School only provide mixed evidence for the effect of these classes on HL maintenance. In her exploration of three classrooms, the author found that the types of HL literacy practices in which HLLs engaged is closely related to the instructor’s teaching style: One teacher ran her classroom in a teacher-centered way that emphasized calligraphy, while the other two teachers employed a student-centered approach that encouraged collaboration and discussion. Neither pedagogical style was without its pitfalls, though; for students found the calligraphy-based class to be boring, while parents from the other groups “complained about their children relying too much on *pinyin*

for reading tasks” (p. 72). Hence, the type of instruction HLLs received in Saturday school not only affected their engagement with the HL, but it also led to mixed patterns of HL maintenance.

Meanwhile, Cuza et al. (2017) and Kremin et al. (2016) were more optimistic about the impact of HL instruction on HL development. Specifically, Cuza et al. (2017) studied the HL literacy outcomes of 66 young Spanish HLLs (grades K-4) after their participation in an after-school *Spanish HL intervention program* run by a university. The research team found that HLLs showed significant gains in HL vocabulary growth, word reading fluency, and word reading accuracy—thus hinting at the likely benefits of formal HL learning. For their part, Kremin et al. (2016) measured Spanish HLLs’ ($n = 38$, ages 6 to 13) phonological awareness, syntactic competence, and vocabulary—finding that the first two variables accounted for a significant amount of the variance in HLLs’ Spanish word reading scores ($p < .001$). Though this study did not occur in a formal context, about half of the sample attended Spanish classes, thus suggesting that “early and systematic biliteracy exposure at home and through afterschool programs can influence children’s sound-to-print associations even in the context of language-specific (monolingual) reading instruction” (p. 192).

Yet in lieu of explicit language instruction, social media can support HL maintenance and development, too, as J. S. Lee (2006) found in her study of the “electronic” literacy practices of two young-adult Korean HLL sisters: Jendy (age 23) and Lizzy (age 19). The author examined how these HLLs kept weblogs in their HL on a social media site named Cyworld. What is more, she explored the connections between the use of—often “nonstandard”—written Korean in this website and HL development, finding that both sisters felt free to write on these blogs because “you don’t have to admit that you’re wrong” (p. 102) if you make mistakes. This ability to save face encouraged these adult HLLs to continue practicing their HL publicly (i.e., on the internet),

which they believed to contribute not only to their HL maintenance but even to improvement in their written, oral, and aural HL (i.e., Korean) skills.

Positive findings notwithstanding, though, Proctor et al.'s (2010) longitudinal study is another reminder of the influence of language shift. While these researchers found that, for the Spanish HLLs in their sample ($n = 101$, followed in grades 2-5), the school's chosen *language of literacy instruction* (i.e., English-only, Spanish-only, bilingual) had a significant effect on HL development; instruction in Spanish seemed to be operating under the law of diminishing returns. That is, the data revealed that "the bilingual and Spanish-instructed students were in fact losing ground over time" (p. 87) when compared to the monolingual norming sample of the passage comprehension assessment. To make sense of this pattern of gradual HL loss, the researchers inferred that the instrumental value of Spanish instruction (i.e., as a conduit for English learning) could have lowered the quality of the Spanish skills that these pupils were taught, which in turn decreased their interest in HL learning for its own sake. Absent an intrinsic motivation to keep their heritage language, then, these young HLLs shifted to English (the societal language) despite consistently receiving formal instruction in Spanish.

2.1.2. Heritage-Language Maintenance and Development in Retrospect

Not all research on HL maintenance and development was synchronic, as four articles—three qualitative and one quantitative—examined the issue *diachronically* (i.e., historically) by eliciting information from their participants about their engagement with HL literacy throughout their lives (Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016). Given the retrospective nature of this scholarly work, adult HLLs were the only participants; however, these HLLs used as wide a variety of HLs as those in the synchronic literature. Even further, the home and

community contexts of HL use also made appearances in this historic research (but no participant mentioned online literacy like in J. S. Lee, 2006).

When discussing the maintenance and development of HLs over one's lifetime, the work of Lucy Tse stands out as a prime exponent. Part of a larger study on language shift, Tse (2001a) documented the home practices and environments of ten HLLs of various languages when they were growing up. These data, Tse hoped, "contribute to our understanding of how HL literacy can be fostered, thereby providing insight into how language shift in the US may be stemmed" (p. 257). Much like the synchronic literature, the author argued that practices such as language brokering and reading for pleasure were perceived as important to HL maintenance in hindsight by HLLs. Yet unlike the HL literature from the previous section (except Joo, 2009), Tse greatly underscored "the role played by community organisations, most notably religious organisations in HL communities, in using the language for communication and worship" and "as sources of HL print for the home" (p. 265). Thus, in terms of second language acquisition, both the home and the community serve as primary sources of linguistic input for the HLLs in this study, not just in the moment but also in retrospect.

Similar themes also emerged in Tse's (2001b) study, which contained the same ten HLL subjects but presented a wider array of data. More importantly, though, this study added a new relevant factor to the analysis: *language vitality* (or "the status and prestige of a language as seen from an individual's perspective," p. 686). This aspect related to three variables that emphasized the sociocultural aspects of HL maintenance and development: (a) a supportive HL peer group, (b) formal institutions that valued HL literacy, and (c) parents who encouraged HL development. Together, these factors combined with the home environment to help promote and foster the high levels of HL maintenance that Tse's (2001b) participants had successfully achieved.

Unsurprisingly, Callahan's (2010) article echoed many of Tse's (2001a, 2001b) findings: For one, Callahan also found religion to have an influence on the use of written Spanish by the HLLs in her study. In addition, many of Callahan's participants expressed a desire to pass their HL onto their children, just as their parents had done for them by encouraging them to learn and develop their HLs. The inconvenience of intergenerational language shift loomed large among these HLLs, however, for they worried that their lower levels of HL literacy (compared to their parents') would not be enough to ensure successful transfer to their children. Still, they had this conviction because HL literacy served as "a way to maintain or re-establish a connection to one's culture and personal heritage" (p. 8)—a finding that echoed Joo's (2009) study.

Finally, H. (S.) Zhang (2016) conducted a novel, quantitative, retrospective study, using language background questionnaires to determine the impact of early HL input on the later HL reading skills of 73 college-aged Chinese HLLs.¹¹ Looking at three principal outcomes (Chinese print-vocabulary knowledge, lexical inferencing ability, and reading comprehension), the author found that different factors predicted the later development of different reading subskills. For example, later print-vocabulary knowledge and lexical inferencing were predicted by early oral language input at home and print input in Saturday schools. Likewise, "print input at home [in the HL] yielded a unique proportion of variance in later [HL] reading ability" (p. 445) for these Chinese HLLs. Hence, this study not only provides further retrospective insight into factors that help HL maintenance, but it also points out said factors' possible longitudinal effects.

¹¹ Because H. (S.) Zhang (2016) recruited his participants from study-abroad programs in China (Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou), he did not specify in what country these HLLs grew up. It is possible, then, that these HLLs all came from different countries, although the author did clarify that, for all participants, "their instructional language starting from elementary school was English" (p. 441).

2.1.3. *The Cross-Linguistic Effects of HL Maintenance and Development*

Whether synchronically or diachronically, the literature reviewed in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 above assumed a pattern of *intralinguistic* effects in HL maintenance and development. In other words, the (common-sense) assumption in this work is that practices and factors in one's HL (e.g., HL reading and writing, home use of the HL) help maintain said language, while those in other languages may not (e.g., use of the majority language at home or in school). However, a small but growing body of empirical literature is also exploring the possibility of cross-linguistic effects in HL maintenance and development, whereby the heritage and majority languages affect each other's learning and development.

Remarkably, this subset of the literature—comprised of both quantitative and qualitative studies—was the least linguistically diverse one, since all three pieces focused on Spanish HLLs in the U.S., where the societal language is English. On the quantitative side, Kremin et al. (2016) explored how “native-level exposure to written Spanish, at home and/or in afterschool programs, impact young bilinguals' literacy in English, their primary language of reading instruction” (p. 192). For this question, they used Spanish phonological awareness as the independent variable, hypothesizing that the linguistic distance between the heritage and majority languages would set the pattern. That is, since Spanish has a more transparent orthography than English (i.e., greater sound-letter correspondence), the authors predicted that phonological awareness to be a stronger contributor to English literacy for the young (ages 6-13) Spanish HLLs in their study ($n = 37$) than for English monolinguals ($n = 33$). And overall, the data supported these predictions, thus highlighting the potential cross-linguistic impact of HL maintenance/development and giving statistical evidence for the notion of *linguistic interdependence* (Cummins, 1979), which posits that gains in one language (here the HL) can have an effect in another language.

Meanwhile, the two qualitative studies discussing this same issue do so from the related construct of *language transfer*. Martinez (2007), for one, used text analysis to test whether the writing of 13 college Spanish HLLs exhibited traits of *backwards biliteracy* (O. García, 2002); i.e., the non-targetlike transfer of mechanical, structural, and discursive features of the majority language onto writing in the HL. Specifically, Martinez studied one common feature in Spanish HLL writing: “the overuse of overt subject pronouns” (p. 33); and he found backwards biliteracy to not be as clear-cut as presented in previous literature. In fact, when his participants wrote for a prompt that he presented as an ungraded free-write, they had a lower incidence of overt subject pronouns (closer to standard Spanish) than when they had to write on the same prompt for a class grade. Thus, the author argued that “mode and tenor configurations exert pressures on the writer to adopt a ‘rigid template’ of writing that strives to fit into the rhetorical traditions that have been inculcated over years of schooling in English” (p. 38).

Interestingly, many of Callahan’s (2010) adult HLL interviewees corroborated this notion when describing their current practices as HL writers. Much like foreign-language students, a few of the HLLs in her study admitted to having to translate their ideas from English to Spanish when they needed to write in their HL. Most of those who engaged in this practice, though, saw it as an obstacle and “expressed a desire to be able to think directly in Spanish without having to filter an utterance through English” (p. 59). Moreover, some of Callahan’s informants also wrote “by ear,” meaning that they made use of their knowledge of Spanish’s “shallow” orthography to decipher the spelling of a word they had heard. While no one in this study claimed to use English spellings for words in Spanish (e.g., spelling *de* ‘of’ as *the*), Ofelia García’s (2002) framework of backwards biliteracy still predicts HLLs to write “by ear,” applying formal knowledge from the majority language—or any other language they have acquired through schooling.

2.1.4. Summary and Implications

In sum, whether synchronically or diachronically, the empirical literature describing HL maintenance and development showcased similar contexts of HL use that are conducive to these phenomena: the home and the community (i.e., religion and HL schools). These findings were independent of the HL, for they were evidenced among HLLs of Spanish, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, among others. Furthermore, a handful of empirical studies also demonstrated that the impact of HL maintenance and development may extend beyond the HL and onto the acquisition of other languages, as well as vice versa. Still, this last finding is tentative at best, for the work covering the cross-linguistic effects of HL maintenance and development has focused solely on HLLs of Spanish in a majority-English country (the U.S.).

Taken together, then, these studies of HL maintenance and development—though not an exhaustive set—paint an initial picture of the HLL-turned-language-teacher’s background. Thus, their findings inform this dissertation by providing an important reminder that factors of interest to my study can relate to HLLs’ homes, communities, schools, churches, and society at large. And the people who may have left a mark in my participants’ learning and maintenance of their own HLs likely extend beyond their parents and teachers to include siblings, friends, and even religious figures. Even further, HLs are neither maintained nor developed in a vacuum, and so factors and outcomes related to participants’ other languages may be relevant to understanding their life experiences, too. In sum, all these factors are worth asking about during retrospective interviews with HLLs who now teach language.

2.2. Review of Literature on the Teachers of Heritage Languages

Having reviewed many of possible ways in which HLL-turned-language-teachers might have maintained and developed their HLs, I now turn to the issues that could affect their praxis.

Since there are no prior empirical studies of HLL-turned-language-teachers, though, I focus on HL teachers at large, for this group provides a close analog to my research population of interest. Three major themes were especially salient during my exploration of this literature. They were: (1) issues regarding the *legitimacy* of their subject of teaching (i.e., HLs) as well as themselves as educators; (2) issues pertaining their *pedagogical* preparation and resources in the classroom; and (3) issues concerning how the personal histories and experiences (i.e., *identities*) of HLLs impact the practice of HL teachers. Though small in number ($n = 10$), this literature corresponds to a period of time covering almost 20 years. Thus, it reflects not just the amount of time that heritage languages (named as such) have been in the eye of researchers (Valdés, 2005), but also the limited attention that teachers of these languages have received so far (Cho, 2014).

2.2.1. Issues of Legitimacy: The Place of Heritage-Language Teachers and Teaching

In a survey study of practicing teachers in California, J. S. Lee and Oxelson (2006) found that all participant teachers believed in the importance of maintaining students' HLs throughout their lives. However, only those teachers who had either bilingual backgrounds or preparation in ESOL/bilingual education believed HL maintenance to be part of their (and the school system's) job. Put otherwise, while all agreed on HL maintenance being a worthy cause, only a section of teachers saw it as having a legitimate place in public education.

Interestingly, similar themes came up in this body of literature, as HL teachers described time and again not only questioning the proper place of HL education—i.e., in the school system, the home, or the community—but also their own credentials as language teachers. Both of these issues are related to one another, however: Except for cases where educational institutions offer “Native/Heritage Speaker” courses, HL education is very often extracurricular and the purview of volunteers or individuals who take it as a second job (Liu, 2006). Hence, it is difficult for the

beneficiaries of HL education themselves—and more so for society at large—to see the teaching and teachers of HLs as legitimate parts of schooling.

Feuerverger (1997) was one of the first scholars (if not the first) to shed light on this issue of legitimacy. In her multiple case study of the narratives of HL teachers in Toronto, Canada, the author found that—despite official support for it—HL education held a “marginal position” (p. 42) in the educational system, particularly those classes that were not integrated into the school day. Yet even in “integrated” settings, HL teachers still reported feeling a “lack of belonging in their schools” (p. 46), since many of them were “floaters,” i.e., they did not have a classroom but rather taught in whatever classrooms were available each period. As one Salvadoran HL teacher put it, “heritage language teachers are treated like second class citizens in schools,” which can be “destructive for the morale of the teachers and the students” (p. 50). Indeed, both practitioners and pupils were sensitive to these undertones of inferiority and (at best) outsider status related to HL education, which served to question the legitimacy of the endeavor.

Thus, it is not surprising that the HL teachers in this body of literature reported feeling as though parents—while supportive—did not take HL classes seriously or see them as integral to their children’s academic development. For example, the three Chinese HL teachers interviewed by Wu et al. (2011) discussed how parents would essentially (but also inadvertently) delegitimize HL teaching and learning by telling their kids to “just have fun” at Chinese school and that “they could fall asleep when they were tired” in Chinese class (p. 54). Similarly, the four Korean HL teachers in S. Lee and Bang’s (2010) case study recounted how certain parents had pulled their kids out of their Korean preschool in New York, out of concern that HL learning would interfere with their children’s English development. While they took it personally at first, the HL teachers ultimately understood that such decisions were “layered with issues of parents’ aspirations for

their children, the political nature of schooling in the United States, and the power status of Korean and English in the American society, among other things” (p. 391). Even so, these telling examples of parental ambivalence towards HL education illustrated the questionable legitimacy that the endeavor of HL maintenance had in the eyes of society at large.

Lastly, the literature on HL teachers showed that it was not only the educational contexts that was dubious in the eyes of stakeholders, so did the teachers themselves. As stated earlier, the teachers of HLs (especially those in contexts outside of formal education) did not often have the credentials of schoolteachers, and in many cases only engaged with HL education as volunteer or secondary work. In fact, of the 92 Chinese HL teachers in California surveyed by Liu (2006), the most common reported profession was ‘housewife’ ($n = 12$), with ‘teacher’ coming in second ($n = 10$). Other articles reflected similar employment patterns among HL teachers, where teaching was a secondary job for many of them; and while some did have backgrounds in teaching, it was not necessarily in *language* teaching (cf. Jia, 2009; S. Lee & Bang, 2010; Wu et al., 2011). As a matter of fact, one of Feuerverger’s (1997) participants explained that s/he was only working as an HL teacher while “‘wait[ing] for something more substantial”” (p. 46), thus highlighting the transitory nature of the work (for some) and the inherent difficulty in developing an identity as a “legitimate” teacher in such a context.

One of the more poignant cases in the literature of the struggle to achieve legitimacy as HL teacher is that of Narinder in Creese et al.’s (2014) ethnography. A recent arrival in the UK, Narinder had been working as teaching assistant at a Panjabi HL school for six months at the time of the study. Her lead teacher, Hema, was a veteran of 16 years at that school and was well-respected by students. These same students, however, were not as kind to Narinder (at least just yet): While they accepted Hema’s positioning of Narinder as an “ideal” or “model” native

speaker of Panjabi—particularly with regards to pronunciation—they were not as willing to legitimize her as a teacher. In fact, presenting Narinder as an authentic speaker of Panjabi may have also been detrimental, for it framed her as an outsider in the classroom (and the country, for that matter). As Creese and colleagues put it: “Too much Panjabi and not enough English from the new teacher means that the students position her as illegitimate in their classroom” (p. 946). Thus, Narinder unsurprisingly had doubts about her legitimacy as an HL teacher, even recoiling on an occasion when Hema asked her to stay in charge of their classroom.

In summary, then, while much of the prior literature on HLLs (i.e., from their perspective as students) had focused on their criticisms of HL education and its effectiveness (e.g., Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001b), the literature on HL teachers presents the other side of the coin. That is, these articles show that teachers themselves are cognizant of the challenges inherent in their work and wonder if their efforts are in fact legitimate to the society at large.

2.2.2. Issues of Pedagogy: Teachers of Heritage Languages in the Classroom

Related to the topic of legitimacy, a second theme in the body of literature about teachers of HLs was that of issues that impacted their pedagogy. To be more specific, the teachers from these articles (who were not HLLs themselves) expressed their lack of formal pedagogical know-how and of chances to expand the knowledge base they had already built through experience. In addition, issues of teacher/student cultural mismatch (between pedagogical and learning styles) and the inadequacy of HL-teaching materials came to the fore in these works, as teachers showed awareness that their instructional techniques had the potential to be more effective.

Regarding the issue of pedagogical preparation, HL teachers often mentioned that they wished they could have more opportunities to refine their (at times limited) *pedagogical content knowledge* (Shulman, 1987). For instance, the teachers in Feuerverger’s (1997) study called for

the “professionalization” of HL teaching through certification and concomitant teacher training. In a similar vein, the three Korean HL teachers in S. Lee and Bang’s (2010) study and over half the Chinese HL teachers who responded to Liu’s (2006) survey expressed interest in pursuing official teaching credentials; but on both studies, they also had reservations about their English posing a hindrance to this effort. As immigrants and L2 learners of English, these HL teachers doubted that they spoke English well enough to do the necessary college coursework for teacher certification. Hence, the goal seemed far-fetched to many of them.

What is more, in cases where the teaching contexts allowed for opportunities to develop as an HL teacher, these were few and informal. The Chinese HL teachers in Wu et al.’s (2011) piece, for instance, explained that, while they were willing to go to workshops and conferences, very few of these were local, meaning that they had to travel to Houston or Dallas to access these opportunities. Hence, “their opportunities to develop their professional identity were decreased” (p. 52) by mostly geographic and financial factors. Likewise, the HL teachers from S. Lee and Bang’s (2010) case study reported scarce professional development options, and in lieu of them, they became more reliant on informal classroom observations for these insights. That is, they re-framed the peer observation “from being a rather anxiety-raising, tense event to one that fosters self-reflection” (p. 392). By doing so, these HL teachers came up with a resourceful solution to the lack of HL-teacher training that often came up in the literature.

In some cases, though, the issue was not a lack of pedagogical content knowledge on the part of HL teachers, but rather a mismatch between their knowledge-base and the expectations in their new teaching context (i.e., country). In other words, since HL schools often sought faculty with recent, up-to-date knowledge of the HL (cf. Narinder in Creese et al., 2014), many of these teachers brought with them pedagogical ideas from their native countries that were not consonant

with education in their new countries. Such was the case of Ms. Young (from Jia, 2009), whose teacher-centered approach to teaching literacy was unpopular and ineffective with young HLLs of Chinese, for she considered calligraphy to be “the mirror of a person’s education level and personality” (p. 66). Thus, Ms. Young based her teaching mainly on mechanical drills and text recitation, activities that the students saw as burdensome. Nevertheless, her teaching style was popular with parents, “whose own learning mainly took place under the influence of traditional teaching theories and practices in China” (p. 70).

Other scholars also found examples of HL teachers whose approaches to the classroom were at odds with mainstream pedagogy. One of the teachers in Feuerverger’s (1997) study, for instance, expressed concern that some HL teachers were not teaching “Canadian-style” (p. 50). Similarly, while the Chinese HL teachers in Wu et al. (2011) eschewed traditional, authoritative teaching styles, the Confucian view of teachers as “authority figures who transmit knowledge and expect students to be attentive listeners” (p. 56) was still slightly present at their HL school and in their instructional style. Even the case of Narinder (from Creese et al., 2014) exemplified this sort of cultural mismatch, as she expected students to be quiet and not chew gum in class—things that were out of step with current pedagogy in the UK and that her lead teacher Hema did not enforce due to the informal nature of their HL community school.

In all these cases, a training model such as the one described by Potowski (2003) might have been of help. Observing that “few foreign-language teacher training programs include coursework on teaching Spanish to native speakers” (p. 303), Potowski’s team at the University of Illinois at Chicago collaborated with Chicago Public Schools to create a training program for practicing high-school Spanish teachers. This model included three graduate-level courses that addressed many of the pedagogical issues listed above: The course on literature and culture, for

instance, provided teachers with relevant content knowledge for their curricula. In addition, the course on sociolinguistics exposed HL teachers to the linguistic realities of HLLs in the U.S., thus forcing them to confront issues of prescriptivism in HL education. Finally, the course about HL teaching methods covered the formal pedagogical knowledge (e.g., teaching activities, lesson structures, assessments) that teachers in other studies said they lacked. Also, through in-class activities and research projects, Potowski's teachers developed materials that were pedagogically appropriate for Spanish HLLs, which in turn increased their effectiveness as HL educators.

Yet for all the good that Potowski's (2003) program (or one like it) could do to tackle the pedagogical issues raised by HL teachers in the extant literature, one of them is beyond its reach: the lack of appropriate teaching materials for teaching HLLs. In multiple studies (Feuerverger, 1997; S. Lee & Bang, 2010; Liu, 2006; Wu et al., 2011), HL teachers complained about having to use teaching materials from their native countries that were designed for first-language (L1) learners, not HLLs. For instance, Miss S, one of Wu et al.'s (2011) focal teachers, noted that the materials used at her HL school focus not on conversation but on print literacy, even though her HLL students need just as much—if not more—of both. Similarly, Mina and Soo (from S. Lee & Bang, 2010) discussed how their HL teaching materials often included content that translated awkwardly into English, forcing them to spend their already-limited class time explaining these matters rather than moving forward with their lessons.

Overall, then, the extant literature on HL teachers highlighted a broad range of issues of pedagogy and practice that interfered with these instructors' abilities to teach HLs effectively. Such issues ran the gamut from the unavailability and scarcity of certain resources to the cultural mismatch and inadequacy of other resources. While treated as a separate section on this paper, it is possible to see how these pedagogical matters could have played into the issues of legitimacy

that emerged in the prior section: If HLLs perceived the pedagogy in their HL classes as *boring*, *lacking*, *ineffective*, or *culturally irrelevant* (to name a few), they also would most likely view the endeavor of HL education as *illegitimate* versus their other schooling experiences. Hence, both issues were intimately related, as reflected by their co-occurrence in multiple articles.

2.2.3. Issues of Identity: The Personal and the Professional Intersect

Finally, the third set of issues that appeared in the HL-teacher literature concerned the matter of identity (for a review of the literature on the HLL identity, see Leeman, 2015). What is more, these articles focused not only on teachers of heritage languages (Cho, 2014) but also on HLLs who became HL teachers themselves (Leeman et al., 2011; Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015). While this subset of the HL-teacher literature is still relatively recent, its findings are worthy of note in what they reveal about the likely impact of the process of identity development on the multifaceted task of HL teaching.

To address the findings from these three sources, then, it might be best to begin with the one at the earliest developmental point of the HL-teacher identity: Cho (2014), which examined the experiences of a class of five HL preservice teachers at the undergraduate level. Led by the researcher, this HL-teacher preparation program “urged students to challenge the dichotomous assumptions, beliefs and practices embedded in their learning and teaching contexts” (p. 184). In addition, the author encouraged these preservice HL teachers to share their own stories as a way to examine their practice critically, which in turn raised many of the issues of practice described in the previous section. For instance, Kyungmi (a Korean teacher) described developing empathy for linguistic minorities in the U.S. (i.e., her HLL students), and Jisun became more reflexive on the tensions between her original teacher-centered approach—which she adopted in Korea—and her students’ pedagogical expectations. Ultimately, then, Cho’s class led to the transformation of

these budding HL teachers into more critically-aware beings, whose identities—the “intersection of the personal and the professional” (p. 191)—gave them a better grasp of their career.

The work of Leeman and colleagues (2011) echoed many of Cho’s (2014) observations, though the former also worked on bringing together two different identities in their participants: the *HL teacher* and the *activist*. Specifically, they did so by creating and running an after-school program for Spanish HLLs at a nearby elementary school, in which the HL teachers were also HLLs themselves, but at the college level. In their analysis of the qualitative data generated by these HLLs-turned-teachers (i.e., interviews and blog posts), Leeman et al. (2011) found that, at first, these college students “reported feeling unsure of themselves as teachers,” but in hindsight, they all “uniformly expressed that teaching helped solidify their own knowledge of language and culture, and increased their confidence” (p. 489). Thus, these findings resonate with the issues of legitimacy discussed earlier, albeit these HLL teacher-activists achieved what other HL teachers in the literature could not: getting over their misgivings about their legitimacy as educators.

Not all of Leeman et al.’s (2011) findings were equally as positive, though. In fact, they found one major challenge to their program in the pervasiveness of dominant ideologies about HLLs and so-called “native” speakers. Put otherwise, even though the facilitators wanted their HLL teacher-activists to renounce unfounded standard language ideologies (cf. Gee, 2015), such was not the case for all participants. For that matter, in her final reflection blog post, one of the HLL college students celebrated the fact that teaching in the after-school HLL program helped her practice her grammar and speak Spanish like a “native speaker.” Thus, this HLL (as well as others) still espoused an “ideological hierarchy which positions native speakers as linguistically superior to, and more authentic than, HL speakers” (Leeman et al., 2011, p. 491). And as we saw

in the case of Narinder above (Creese et al., 2014), such ideologies might be quite detrimental to the work of HL education if left unquestioned by teachers and teacher educators.

Lastly, the article by Aquino-Sterling et al. (2015) also dealt with the combination of two roles, since the three Spanish HLLs in her study worked as *teacher-caregivers* in a multilingual (English, Spanish, Baby Sign Language) infant-toddler program. Much like the other articles in this review, the authors characterized the work by these HLL teacher-caregivers as taking place within the context of a “site of struggle” in their identity development. Relating their life stories, these three teachers—Lydia, Berónica, and Paloma—recalled feeling pushed by larger societal forces to reject their identities as HLLs of Spanish, particularly in their childhood. In the cases of Lydia and Paloma, the two HLLs were able to reconnect with their HL before starting to work in the multilingual program as teacher-caregivers. However, for Berónica, societal pressures led to HL loss, which affected her work as teacher-caregiver: Even though she was (re-)learning much of her HL, Berónica still felt “marginalized by her inability to fully participate in what was going on” (p. 9) whenever Spanish took over as the majority language (i.e., the language of power) at the childcare. Hence, by virtue of their work as teacher-caregivers, these three HLLs also got to navigate their identities “as hybrid, changing subjects” (p. 12) in a multilingual world, which in turn further illustrated the diverse and contrasting ways in which issues of identity can impact the work of teaching HLs both to HLLs *and* as an HLL.

2.2.4. Summary and Implications

In conclusion, the ten studies reviewed here shed light on the trials and tribulations of HL teachers as they carry out the work of heritage-language maintenance. Over time, the teachers of HLs have gone from being on “the edges of the map” (Feuerverger, 1997) to finding a variety of “sites of struggle” in their work (Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015). While not an exhaustive list, this

review pointed to three major types of issues that scholars have depicted as commonplace in the professional lives of HL teachers: (1) the legitimacy of their efforts, (2) the pedagogical pitfalls they might encounter in practice, and (3) the relationship of HLLs' identities to their practice—especially in cases where the teachers were also HLLs themselves. These issues resurface with notable frequency in the scholarship, perhaps hinting at their universality among HL teachers.

Yet for all its consistency, this stream of literature also presents potential aspects where the narrative of the HLL-turned-language-teacher diverges from the findings above. For instance, the issues of legitimacy and pedagogy may apply to HLLs-turned-language-teachers, though in a context-dependent manner: HLLs-turned-language-teachers in a formal school setting (e.g., as world-language teachers of a “native speakers” course) may have a stronger professional identity than those working in a community-based “Saturday school,” given the teacher-preparation and certification requirements that school systems have.¹² Yet a formal setting does not guarantee that students, parents, colleagues, or even the HL teachers themselves will see HL education as a legitimate educational endeavor (cf. J. S. Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Likewise, teachers of certain languages may be able to find books and materials designed for heritage or ‘native’ speakers,¹³ while said texts are not available for other languages. Hence, a study on HLLs-turned-language-teachers must take these issues into consideration, even if they do not surface for all participants.

Furthermore, the HLL-turned-language-teacher may yield different findings from the extant literature in terms of the issues of identity discussed above. While their potential struggles with dominant ideologies and hybrid identities may still resemble those of the volunteer teachers

¹² This issue of professional identity—along with other issues of legitimacy and pedagogy—most likely works in the same way for *all* HL teachers, not just those who also happen to be HLLs of the language they teach.

¹³ Textbooks for HLLs are already available in languages such as Spanish (e.g., Alonso-Lyrintzis & Zaslow, 2003; Carreira & Geoffrion-Vinci, 2007; Roca, 2012), Mandarin Chinese (e.g., Q. He et al, 2006), and Russian (e.g., Kagan et al., 2002).

in Leeman et al. (2011) and the teacher-caregivers in Aquino-Sterling et al. (2015), HLLs-turned-language-teachers also have different duties and professional backgrounds as instructors of record—a contrast that could result in different identity-related patterns. More importantly, though, HLLs-turned-language-teachers' backgrounds as heritage learners can make it easier for them to identify with their own HLL students, thus equipping them to deal with the concerns expressed by the preservice HL teachers in Cho's (2014) piece. Hence, it is again imperative for empirical work on HLLs-turned-language-teachers to address and explore issues of identity in participants' praxis.

2.3. Review of Literature on Pedagogical Content Knowledge in the L2 Classroom

As mentioned in section 2.2.4 above, a key difference between the HL teachers described in the literature and the HLL-turned-language-teacher is that the latter may be teaching in the K-12 system, as part of a world-languages department. In this respect, then, HLL-turned-language-teachers are likely to possess knowledge-bases resembling those of other L2 teachers, given their formal training and certification. Hence, in this section, I will review some of the key literature, both conceptual and empirical, on the *pedagogical content knowledge* (PCK: Shulman, 1987) of the L2 teacher. In doing so, I account for possible similarities between the HLL-turned-language-teacher and fellow L2 educators, particularly in how they view and approach their instructional areas and classrooms (Shulman, 1987). Yet also, I aim to highlight a significant omission in this body of literature: That HLL-turned HL-teachers' understanding of their subject area (language) goes beyond what they learned in their teacher-education programs; it is also influenced by their life experiences, identities, and histories of informal L2 learning.

2.3.1. *Conceptual Literature: Pedagogical Content Knowledge, Defined*

When Lee Shulman (1987) first posited the construct of PCK, he defined it as a “special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding” (p. 8). More precisely, it was the intersection of teachers’ knowledge of *pedagogy* (i.e., how to teach) and *content* (i.e., their subject area) put in practice. Hence, PCK comprises not simply generalities about teaching, but rather “an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues, are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instruction” (p. 8).

Extending this conversation to L2 teaching in particular, Freeman and Johnson (1998) added a further nuance by distinguishing between L2 teachers’ knowledge of *content* (i.e., in the enactment of a specific lesson) and *subject-matter* (i.e., the discipline at large), with the former acting as a parallel to Shulman’s (1987) PCK. Much like PCK, Freeman and Johnson’s (1998) notion of *content knowledge* goes beyond speaking the L2 and knowing how to teach, instead focusing on teachers’ ability to put these two knowledge-bases together in the classroom context. In her later work, Johnson (2009, 2015, 2016) has continued to ascertain this parallel with PCK, even treating the two terms as synonymous and positing that both present L2 teachers “as users and creators of knowledge that constitutes the activity of L2 teaching” (Johnson, 2009, p. 22).

Over the years, scholars in the field of L2 teacher education have worked to expand the construct of PCK to make it more applicable to the realities of second-language education. As Johnson (2009) remarked, “it is not surprising that most of this research has focused on teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge of grammar” (p. 22), especially given the ‘linguistic’ nature of this endeavor. For example, Stephen Andrews (2001) has proposed the construct of *teacher’s language awareness* (TLA)—or, to quote Thornbury (1997), “the knowledge that teachers have

of the underlying systems of the language that enables them to teach effectively” (p. x)—as a part of L2 teachers’ PCK that directly impinges upon their ability to provide timely, accurate, and helpful grammar explanations. Bigelow and Ranney (2010) have done the same with their equivalent construct of *knowledge about language* (KAL), arguing that a major hurdle for L2 teachers is to “develop metalinguistic explanations that they can use with students,” since they often “acquire their grammatical systems without direct instruction for the most part” (p. 223). In sum, then, a portion of the PCK literature has found that grammatical knowledge, while a key component of L2 pedagogy, is not all there is to effective L2 teaching.

In addition, educational scholars have focused their inquiry on the identification of “core” or “high-leverage” practices (Forzani, 2014), which researchers and practitioners of L2 education often describe as *high-leverage teaching practices* (HLTPs: e.g., Davin & Troyan, 2015; Glisan & Donato, 2017; Hlas & Hlas, 2012; Troyan et al., 2013). As defined by Hlas and Hlas (2012), HLTPs are comprised of “a core set of teaching practices that, when executed proficiently by accomplished novice teachers, are said to promote higher gains in student learning over other teaching practices” (p. S76). A major goal of research on HLTPs, then, is to produce frameworks and approaches to language teaching that incorporate these effective pedagogical practices and make them a regular part of the formal preparation of L2 teachers (e.g., Glisan & Donato, 2017; Troyan et al., 2013). In this way, scholarship on HLTPs is pertinent to the literature on PCK—despite rarely citing this concept explicitly—because HLTPs reflect the specialized knowledge of L2 teachers (including HLLs-turned-language-teachers) that Shulman (1987) believed to differentiate them from other specialists of language.

Further expansion and refinement of the definition of PCK in L2 education has originated from less “traditional” contexts of L2 instruction. For instance, Beaudrie (2009) summarized the

PCK of the field of Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) as including “theories of bilingualism, languages in contact, Spanish sociolinguistics, as well as knowledge of the varieties of United States Spanish and the cultures of Spanish populations,” all of which, according to her, are “unlikely to be included in traditional foreign language methods courses” (p. 94). In a similar vein, Aquino-Sterling and Rodríguez-Valls (2016) have argued that the PCK of L2 teachers in bilingual and dual-language contexts is comprised of not just a general proficiency in the L2 but also a discipline-specific proficiency in the L2 that allows teachers to both use *and* teach the language of their content area. Finally, in recognition of the growing ubiquity of L2 learners in the educational system (e.g., English learners in K-12 education), Bunch (2013) proposed that every mainstream teacher should also understand how L2s are taught and learned. However, what they need “is not pedagogical content knowledge about language as might be expected of second language teachers, but rather *pedagogical language knowledge* that is integrally tied to the teaching of the core subject area(s) for which they are responsible” (p. 299). Taken together, then, these versions of PCK in L2 teaching show that, as our understanding of who L2 teachers are expands, so does our definition of PCK, thus illustrating the dynamic and context-dependent nature of Shulman’s (1987) original construct (cf. Johnson, 2016, p. 126).

Lastly, some scholars have pointed out the omission of issues of identity and life history in the literature on the PCK of the L2 teacher. Crandall (2000), for instance, in pushing for the greater prominence of narrative and reflection in L2 teacher cognition research, posited the case of the “non-native speaker” (NNS) L2 teacher, who “can provide a good model for [students by] anticipating problems and sharing strategies they have used in their own language learning” (p. 43). Paraphrasing Wing (1993), Vélez-Rendón (2002) further expands on the relevance of the L2 teacher’s life experiences by arguing that “each teacher’s pedagogical structure is unique and

is the result of the amalgamation of his or her learning biography as a language student and a pedagogy student” (p. 462). These scholars, then, suggest that research and L2 teacher education should pay more attention to the L2-learner biographies and identities of L2 teachers, since they help account for at least some of their pedagogical practices (a point of parallel with the HLL-turned-language-teacher, as explored in section 2.3.3 below).

2.3.2. Empirical Literature: Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Practice

On the empirical side of the L2 PCK literature, research has both confirmed and extended the conceptual trends discussed in the previous section. For instance, a fair share of the empirical PCK literature in L2 classrooms still focuses on teachers’ knowledge of L2 grammar. Stephen Andrews (2006), for one, examined the TLA of EFL teachers in Hong Kong who had been in a prior study of his (Andrews, 1999), almost a decade after data collection. Overall, he found that while the language awareness of his subjects (as measured by grammar test scores) had not changed much, their cognition about grammar pedagogy had in fact evolved and sometimes even become more sophisticated. Bigelow and Ranney (2005), meanwhile, explored the other side of the coin: pre-service ESL teachers’ lack of incorporation of explicit grammar points into their lesson plan assignments. In this study, the authors found that their students still exhibited some reticence in their inclusion of grammar-focused lesson objectives in their lesson plans, despite being required to take a grammar course that also discussed issues of pedagogy. Taken together, then, these two studies seem to pose disparate findings, yet a common thread runs through them: that PCK and knowledge of L2 grammar—though related—do not equate in practice.

Complementing this finding, some empirical work on L2 PCK has explored not teachers’ knowledge or awareness of L2 grammar but rather their *explanations* of L2 grammar to pupils. One seminal piece in this body of work, for example, is Johnston and Goettsch’s (2000) study,

which focused on four experienced university ESL teachers. With regards to PCK, the authors found that these teachers' explanations of grammar were "pedagogical content knowledge par excellence," since they represented "a clear example of what it means to 'apply' knowledge of language" (p. 449). Moreover, Johnston and Goettsch also found that their subjects' PCK was also intertwined with their *knowledge of learners*, so that their assumptions about their students and how they learn had an impact on their pedagogical choices, including their explanations of grammar. Following this line of work, Sanchez and Borg (2014) had remarkably similar findings from their multiple-case study of two high-school EFL teachers in Argentina: Not only did their participants demonstrate their PCK in their explanations of English grammar, but this PCK was closely related to their knowledge of their teaching context, which included their students as well as other concerns like time constraints and curricular needs. Hence, when put into practice, the PCK of L2 teachers assumes the dynamic and context-dependent character posited by Shulman (1987), going beyond grammar knowledge and assimilating the realities of the classroom.

It is important to note, however, that not all research on L2 PCK has focused solely on grammar. For example, van Compernelle and Henery (2015) investigated the teaching of L2 pragmatics in their study of a French teacher's growing familiarity with the method of concept-based pragmatics instruction (CBPI).¹⁴ Echoing the findings from the studies above, they found that an understanding of this pragmatics-based L2 teaching method only partially translated into effective PCK in the classroom; rather, a reflective approach to teaching and constant mentoring from a more experienced educator were the factors that led to a successful internalization of the method. Similarly, in their collective case study of four Greek TESOL reading teachers in a test-

¹⁴ Curiously, the pragmatic issue taught by van Compernelle and Henery's (2015) focal teacher was still also a grammar point: the use of formal (*vous*) and informal (*tu*) pronouns in French. This issue, then, echoes the work of grammar pedagogy scholars like Larsen-Freeman (2014), who argue that use (i.e., pragmatics) is inextricable from form (i.e., grammar in the traditional sense); and thus, the teaching of one implies the teaching of the other.

preparation class, Irvine-Niakaris and Kiely (2014) found that their participants reaffirmed the basic lesson structure of *pre-*, *during-*, and *post-*reading. However, true to the PCK framework, the teachers enacted their understanding of this reading-lesson structure in different manners, in accordance to classroom factors. Thus, while these two studies applied the PCK construct to L2 domains other than grammar (i.e., pragmatics, reading), similar trends emerged regarding the evolving and context-dependent nature of this construct.

As mentioned in section 2.3.1 above, the study of newer, less “traditional” contexts of L2 teaching has led to an expansion of what comprises PCK for L2 teachers, and empirical studies in these contexts provide concrete evidence of said conceptual development. Ellison (2006), for instance, confirmed one of Beaudrie’s (2009) suggestions of what would be PCK specific to the SHL context in her study of HL teachers’ *cultural awareness knowledge*. Focusing on two SNS teachers (one an NS and one an NNS of Spanish), Ellison (2006) found that teachers of “native speakers” (HL) classes “must understand the students’ culture in order to teach them effectively” (p. 133). This cultural knowledge is just as essential for practitioners with no direct cultural ties to Spanish as it is for those who come from different Spanish-speaking cultures as their HLLs, since it allows them to enact their PCK in culturally-responsive ways by showing an appreciation for their students’ cultures. Furthermore, Ellison found that her focal teachers’ involvement with their HLLs’ communities was another key to their successful practice, thus hinting at the “strong relationship between interpersonal knowledge and pedagogical-content knowledge” (p. 139).

Additional empirical studies of PCK in less “traditional” L2 contexts have come from the field of teacher education, and they have also pushed to expand the construct further. In bilingual education, for one, Aquino-Sterling (2016) has examined the notion of what he calls *pedagogical Spanish*, or a mix of two interrelated discursive domains: “the *academic-pedagogical* (teaching

content-area knowledge in Spanish) and the *professional* (communicating with students, parents, colleagues, administrators, and the greater bilingual school community)” (p. 51). Reflecting on his experience teaching a “Foundations of Biliteracy” course in Spanish, Aquino-Sterling found evidence that it was not enough for prospective bilingual educators to be proficient in Spanish to succeed in their training. Rather, they should also develop their pedagogical Spanish (a form of Language for Special Purposes), so that they have what it takes to perform their job duties. This conclusion echoes Galguera’s (2011), whose empirical research of his work as a TESOL teacher educator led him to the opinion that “rather than preparing teachers to teach English-Language Learners, we focus our efforts to develop the Pedagogical Language Knowledge of teachers” (p. 201). Taken together, then, these two studies stress points of potential expansion and refinement of the construct of PCK, recognizing that the needs and responsibilities of L2 teachers extend far beyond the transmission of L2 knowledge to their learners.

A final set of empirical studies of PCK worth mentioning is the growing (yet still limited) amount of research that has explored the relationship of identity to PCK. Although a few studies have explored this issue with an interest in *teacher* or *professional identity* (e.g., Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Watzke, 2007), here I will focus on studies of social identity, for these I find to be of more relevance to research on the HLL-turned-language-teacher. Interestingly (but also unsurprisingly, in light of this review), the earliest study I found addressing this issue (Reeves, 2009) focused on grammar: Adopting a sociocultural approach to L2 teacher education (Johnson, 2006), however, Reeves (2009) investigated not teachers’ knowledge of L2 grammar but rather the importance of teachers’ biographies to their *linguistic knowledge* for ESOL teaching (i.e., as part of their PCK). Focusing on two teacher candidates (Sean and Rita) during their practicum placements, Reeves remarked that “being L1 speakers of English did not provide them with the knowledge about

language that they needed for ESOL teaching” (p. 120). As a matter of fact, these pre-service teachers’ life experiences with language learning (especially L1 learning) often caused confusion in their praxis: Sean lacked a sophisticated-enough understanding of his L1 grammar to give his ELLs explanations that were not—by his own admission—confusing or incorrect, whereas Rita sometimes misguidedly based her expectations for her ELLs on her children’s L1 acquisition. In response to these findings, then, Reeves recommended that the field of TESOL teacher education should become *biographically responsive*, making coursework meaningful by “build[ing] from teacher candidates’ biographies as language learners and be[ing] embedded within their current (or future) task of ESOL teaching” (p. 122).

On a related note, Vélez-Rendón’s (2010) case study of a prospective Spanish teacher in the U.S. raised analogous points regarding identity and PCK. Interested in “how multiple social identities shape the perceptions people have of themselves and affect their growth as teachers” (p. 639), the researcher followed Marcos, whose student-teaching experience served to reinforce (rather than challenge) native-speaker and gender ideologies in him, often to the detriment of his PCK. In other words, Marcos came to believe that his being a male, native speaker of Spanish gave him a certain level of credibility with his students that ultimately kept him from developing a critical eye on his own praxis. Hence, instances of his own classroom mismanagement and his lack of lesson preparation (especially with regards to grammar instruction) often went unnoticed and unchallenged by him, stunting the possibility of growth for his PCK. In light of this striking finding, Vélez-Rendón concluded that part of the blame lies in the field of L2 teacher education, which “continues to operate from a traditional perspective favoring mechanistic and transmissive models that overlook the social nature of learning and the powerful role of language in society” (p. 645). Instead, the field should push its prospective teachers to be reflective and critical.

Finally, Motha et al. (2012) addressed the intersection of identity and pedagogy (though not explicitly PCK) in their narrative study of their experiences as *non-native English-speaking teachers*, or NNESTs. Emerging from the assumption that “identity always serves as pedagogy, whether by design or inadvertently” (p. 17), Motha and colleagues applied Morgan’s (2004) concept of *identity-as-pedagogy* to frame and comprehend their own narratives. Altogether, Motha et al.’s (2012) experiences shed light on the different ways that teachers read and deploy their embodied identities, whether to fight ideologies, reinforce them, or support their students’ L2 learning. Much like the two previous studies, Motha et al. close their article with a call for the field of TESOL to enhance the effectiveness of its teacher-preparation coursework by making strong connections between course content and the lives of prospective teachers. In so doing, a major paradigm will also shift, as TESOL practitioners will begin to value “knowledge spawned in the context of their own lives” (p. 23) over that passed from others.

2.3.3. Summary and Implications

In sum, the literature on the PCK of the L2 teacher—both conceptual and empirical—seems to converge around two main themes: (1) the fact that L2 PCK goes beyond knowledge about L2 grammar, and (2) the context-dependent nature of PCK in the L2 classroom. As the studies in this review hopefully show, such themes emerged independently of the setting of L2 instruction; since the literature above occurred in ESL, EFL, TESOL, world-language, HL, and bilingual/dual immersion programs. Taken together, then, these sources illustrate the way that PCK helps “distinguish the understanding of the content specialist from that of the pedagogue” (Shulman, 1987, p. 8), or rather, the knowledge of the L2 teacher from that of the linguist or the grammarian. For, in addition to their linguistic competencies, L2 teachers must consider various other contextual factors as they enact their PCK in the classroom.

One area of the L2 PCK where there seems to be an important gap, however, corresponds to the relationship between PCK and L2 teachers' identities and life experiences. The conceptual side of this literature is particularly scant, but the empirical studies on this topic have highlighted critical avenues for expansion of PCK as a concept. As this research suggests, L2 teachers' life experiences and identities can impact the ways they present their content (e.g., explain issues of L2 grammar), plan their lessons, and manage their classrooms. Moreover, research on this topic heeds a uniform call for the field of L2 teacher education to become, as Reeves (2009) called it, *biographically responsive* by infusing its preparation of prospective teachers with connections to their histories as learners—especially as learners of their L1s.

Hence, a critical implication from the PCK literature is that a focus on the HLL-turned-language-teacher is not only justified but it would also add further nuance to this underexplored area of L2 PCK research. For one, the PCK of the HLL-turned-language-teacher could resemble that of the teachers in Reeves (2009) and Vélez-Rendón (2010), since much of their knowledge of their HL comes from their naturalistic acquisition of it. Thus, HLLs-turned-language-teachers may also experience difficulties with aspects of their job that require them to formalize this linguistic knowledge. Nevertheless, the stories are not completely parallel, for HLLs have also had a long history of having their native speaker status denied (Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2016) and their HL varieties devalued and marginalized in L2 classrooms and teaching materials (Faltis, 2013). In this respect, then, HLLs-turned-language-teachers may share commonalities with the NNESTs in Motha et al.'s (2012) study. Consequently, research into this aspect of the HLL-turned-language-teacher's pedagogy necessitates further empirical exploration.

2.4. Review of the Major Methodological Approaches in This Review

In this final section of the literature review, I briefly discuss the various methodological approaches that have been used consistently to research matters related to the HLL-turned-language-teacher. Specifically, I focus here on the empirical studies from the first two streams of literature covered in this review (i.e., HL maintenance/development and HL teachers), since these subjects are closest in nature to (proposed) research on HLLs-turned-language-teachers. Therefore, the points covered here can help inform the methods-related decisions made by scholars who wish to carry out research on HLLs-turned-language-teachers. The two major sections of this review are *qualitative* and *quantitative* research, each subdivided into its most common approaches. Note that, so as to not be repetitive, the sections below will not focus so much on the studies' findings but rather on their approaches to data collection and analysis.

2.4.1. Qualitative Research

As seen in sections 2.1 and 2.2 above, qualitative studies have looked at both the learners and the teachers of HLs, describing—as befits the naturalistic tradition (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007)—the mechanisms that underlie the maintenance and instruction of these languages. The most common method in these bodies of literature was the case study, for the majority of these pieces focused on a small selection of informants. However, more than one of the reviewed studies also utilized the ethnographic and interview methods, and thus the sections below will expand on all three of these methodologies.

2.4.1.1. Case Study. Expert Robert Yin (2009) defined the *case study* as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). Even further, case studies—while not uniform in terms of design and implementation—tend

to share certain features, such as a reliance on multiple tools of data collection, an emphasis on the triangulation of diverse forms of data, and an interest in how the particular (i.e., a case or group of cases) relates to processes of theory refinement and generation (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). To paraphrase Flyvbjerg (2001) on this third trait, the case study has a bias toward the falsification—not verification, as often misconstrued—of researchers’ preconceived notions and hunches by highlighting how specific cases often do not fit the extant theories.

The features mentioned above were all present in the case studies I reviewed on heritage-language maintenance/development and heritage-language teachers. Nonetheless, an interesting pattern also emerged: the clear majority of these were *multiple* (rather than single) case studies, exploring not just the individual characteristics of a number of cases, but also the similarities and differences between them. Exploring the relationship between the home literacy environment and HL maintenance, for example, Hashimoto and Lee (2011) conducted a multi-case study of three Japanese-American families with young HLLs (ages 3-15). In line with the case-study approach, the researchers sought multiple data sources, including interviews with the families, home visits, and analysis of written artifacts (i.e., data source triangulation). In addition, the authors worked on their qualitative codes together and constantly checked each other’s analysis (i.e., *investigator triangulation*: Stake, 1995), which in turn led to more nuanced and fine-tuned findings.

Similarly, Joo (2009) also carried out a multiple-case study of four female Korean HLLs attending middle school in the United States and their English and Korean (HL) literacy practices at home. Again, the benefit of multiple data sources surfaced in this case study, for the authors utilized data from home visits, classroom observations, literacy activity sheets,¹⁵ and participant

¹⁵ In lieu of being at their homes all the time (which was unfeasible), Joo (2009) had her participant HLLs fill out biweekly literacy activity sheets, in which they detailed the number of books they read in that two-week period, other literacy practices they did at home, and the languages in which they enacted these practices.

interviews in their analysis. But just as importantly, this research exemplified the multiple-case design that both Yin (2009) and Merriam (1998) advocate, for it included a thorough exploration of each case, followed by an analysis of cross-case patterns.

On the HL-teacher side, two case studies stand out as examples of this approach: Aquino-Sterling et al. (2015) and Wu et al. (2011). As stated earlier, the former study (Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015), was an exploration of ethnolinguistic identity among HL teacher-caregivers, though one focused on ethnolinguistic identity and the other, on professional identity. Because of their focus on three specific caregivers who also were HLLs of Spanish, the authors argued that they conducted a multiple-case study—since they “viewed each teacher as an individual case study” (p. 4) while simultaneously looking for points of comparison and contrast (Yin, 2009). Notably, though, Aquino-Sterling and colleagues (2015) did not follow the advice of case study experts in one important respect: They did not rely on multiple sources of data; rather, they only conducted interviews with their participants. Hence, their piece could also be considered an interview study (see section 2.4.1.3 below), were it not that the authors themselves labeled it a case study.

Wu et al.’s (2011) multi-case study of three teachers at a Chinese as a Heritage Language (CHL) school in Texas, on the other hand, did utilize multiple data sources—even if unevenly, to an extent. The researchers relied chiefly on interviews with the teachers for their insights into the professional identities of these practitioners. However, teaching artifacts and researcher journals were also part of their analysis when relevant. Even further, participant selection hinged on what the authors called “information-rich” cases, a sampling procedure introduced by Patton (1990) that has long been a part of the case study tradition. Lastly, Wu et al. (2011) focused not just on analyzing each case individually, but also on “cross-case analysis” (p. 50), which resonated with the case study approach proposed by Merriam (1998), whom they cited.

To finish this section on the case study method, I must mention an example of the single-case study that came up during my searches: Abdi (2011). Examining the influence of language ideologies and positioning in HL education, Abdi focused on Pat, an adolescent Spanish HLL in a Spanish as a Heritage Language (SHL) class in Vancouver. To be more precise, Pat was a half-Honduran HLL whom Abdi chose from a wider participant pool¹⁶ “because her lack of displayed oral proficiency affected the way in which she was viewed in terms of her heritage” (p. 170). As expected, the author observed that Pat’s teacher and classmates equated “being Hispanic” with *speaking* Spanish, an ideology that dismissed Pat’s other linguistic assets (e.g., her literacy and grammatical skills) and positioned her somewhat negatively in the SHL classroom, limiting her opportunities for HL development. Thus, this study shed light on the importance of *purposeful sampling* in case study research, for Abdi selected Pat due to the traits that make her an *extreme* or *deviant* case (Patton, 1990; Flyvbjerg, 2001) within her classroom community. Had the author utilized a large-scale research design, Pat’s experiences and insights might have been “lost in the shuffle” (or, worse yet, discarded as outliers). But because Abdi (2011) intentionally focused on a unique case, we now have a more nuanced view of HLLs and HL education.

Taken together, these examples of case-study research in heritage-language scholarship exhibit a great amount of consistency in terms of their reliance on a multiplicity of data sources and their use of different forms of triangulation. Furthermore, the examples above demonstrate a tentative preference for multiple-case studies in the HL field, although single-case studies might also serve to shed light on exceptional or divergent cases (e.g., Abdi, 2011). Lastly, I should note that the five case studies reviewed in this section are only a sampling of all the HL-related pieces that I found to use this method: In earlier sections, I reviewed a few other case studies about the

¹⁶ As Abdi (2011) clarified, this larger pool consisted of the 11 Spanish HLLs in Pat’s SHL class, which she investigated as a collective case study for her master’s thesis (Abdi, 2009).

topics of HL maintenance and development (Joo, 2009; J. S. Lee, 2006;) and the teachers of HLs (Feuerverger, 1997); but given their similarities with the examples reviewed here,¹⁷ I decided not to describe them in this section so as to avoid further repetition.

2.4.1.2. Ethnography. Two of the studies I reviewed earlier (Creese et al., 2014; Jia, 2009) described themselves as *ethnographies*, an approach that Creswell (2007) describes as “study[ing] the meaning of the behavior, the language, and the interaction among members of the culture-sharing group” (pp. 68-69). In fact, “concern with the cultural context is what sets this type of study apart from other types of qualitative research” (Merriam, 1998, p. 14). Hence, it is perhaps unsurprising that the two ethnographies that surfaced during my reviews of HL-related literature were about HL teachers, since they each took place in the context of an HL school. As Merriam (1998) has explained, educational ethnographies oftentimes focus on the culture of a school community, and these two studies were by no means exceptions to this statement.

Much like with case studies, these two ethnographies relied on the collection and analysis of multiple sources of data, yet where this tradition differs—as stated above—is on the focus on culture that these pieces have, which surfaces in their findings. Creese et al. (2014), for one, was a linguistic ethnography¹⁸ of a Panjabi complementary (i.e., HL) school in Birmingham, UK; and it involved four separate sorts of data: “observational field notes; audio recordings of interactions between participants; semi-structured interviews; and field documents, including teaching materials and photographs” (p. 942). Focusing on Hema, the lead teacher of the Saturday class, and her assistant, Narinder (also a recent arrival to the UK), these data helped the research team better understand the culture this HL school. Particularly, they found that this HL school—like

¹⁷ Most notably the fact that they are all multiple-case studies.

¹⁸ Citing Hymes (1980) and others, Creese et al. (2014) describe the linguistic ethnographic approach they used as “combining discourse analysis with ethnography” (p. 941).

many other organizations—was rife with linguistic ideologies. Consciously and unconsciously, HL teachers and students at this school reinforced shared notions of who counts as the “ideal” native speaker of Panjabi (i.e., recent arrivals, with their less “polluted” dialect) and who is the “legitimate” teacher in the classroom (i.e., Hema, but not Narinder).

Similarly, Jia (2009) also conducted an ethnographic study of an HL school, but her main interest was in how both teachers and parents at the Lu Xun Chinese Heritage Language School approached literacy instruction. Using a language socialization lens (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and a range of data sources that included 50 hours of classroom observations and 20 formal and informal interviews, the author found a divided culture in the Lu Xun school community: Two contrasting approaches to Chinese literacy coexisted in that setting, since students and some of their teachers preferred a student-centered approach to teaching literacy, while parents and other teachers preferred a more traditional, teacher-centered approach. Yet regardless of the teaching style, teachers and parents in this HL school converged on one issue: that adults serve as “bearers of culture and sources of knowledge” (p. 72) for HLLs. Thus, literacy instruction in these CHL classrooms reinforced traditional Chinese cultural values, such as obedience to parents, respect for the elderly, and hard work.

2.4.1.3. Interview Study. One final qualitative approach that appeared in more than one HL study (Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b) was a general *interview* approach, which Merriam (1998) would call a *basic* or *generic* qualitative study. Plainly stated, studies of this sort “simply seek to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, or the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved” (p. 11). Consequently, they differ from case studies and ethnographies—which sometimes rely heavily, if not exclusively (e.g., Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015), on interview data—in that they do not push the scholar to describe and understand a case (as the embodiment

of a phenomenon) or the culture of a group. Rather, these studies—all of which I also reviewed in section 2.1.2—retrospectively examine the phenomena of HL maintenance and development for its own sake, with the interviews serving as mere data points in this analysis.

Tse's (2001a, 2001b) articles, for instance, featured the interview method as a means to figure out why certain adult HLLs are able to maintain their HLs successfully into adulthood, thereby shedding light on specific ways in which the broader phenomenon of language shift can be curtailed in the U.S. Following Patton (1987), Tse (2001a, 2001b) described her participants as “extreme” or “deviant” cases, yet it would be difficult to call this piece a multiple-case study: The focus is not on each of Tse's ten HLL interviewees as a case of successful HL maintenance that requires both individual and cross-case analysis. Rather, their responses to the researcher's semi-structured interview questions get pooled together, and together, they paint a consistent (but also complex) picture of HL maintenance despite the pressure of language shift.

In a similar vein, Callahan (2010) also explored HL maintenance and development in a retrospective fashion, though she focused specifically on adult, U.S.-born Latinos (i.e., HLLs of Spanish) and the linguistic skill of writing. Callahan's data, then, derive solely from interviews with 22 informants, each lasting between 30 and 45 minutes. Again, the interview responses are a means to the ultimate goal of illustrating successful HL maintenance across one's lifespan, but there is no attempt on the part of the researcher to understand each informant in depth. In fact, the individual backgrounds of these informants are seldom mentioned (as they tend to be in case studies), unless they help provide context for their quoted responses. Moreover, even though the research question was about writing, Callahan neither collected nor analyzed any written samples from her informants, instead gaining insight from self-reports of their experiences and HL skills. Hence, this work is best defined as a generic interview study than as part of a specific approach.

2.4.1.4. Other Qualitative Approaches. In short, the three qualitative approaches discussed above (i.e., case study, ethnography, and interview) were only the most represented ones in the HL literature I reviewed, in that more than one study featured them. However, they were not the only methods featured in these bodies of literature: Martinez (2007), for example, carried out a fine-grained *analysis of texts* written by college-aged HLLs of Spanish; while Cho (2014) aligned with the *narrative-inquiry* tradition for her investigation of a class of preservice HL teachers. Leeman et al. (2011), for their part, used the label of *action research* for their study of HLL teacher-activists; and S. Lee and Bang (2010) explored the notion of “teacher lore” in a Korean HL school via *group interviews* and teaching observations—without explicitly describing their inquiry as a case study. All in all, then, these studies illustrate the diversity of the qualitative tradition and the various lenses within it that can be employed to analyze similar phenomena.

2.4.2. Quantitative Research

Whereas the broad purpose of qualitative research is to explore the processes behind the making of meaning, quantitative research, according to Eisner (1981), “aims at the production of ideas that will enable us to anticipate the future, if not to control it” (p. 8). Whether quantitative scholars would universally agree with Eisner’s (1981) statement is up for debate; but one of the two primary traditions of quantitative research (*inferential statistics*) does concern itself with the testing of predictions and generalizations, while the other one (*descriptive statistics*) quantifies variables and describes their relationship to one another (Healey, 2011). The sections below are organized per these two quantitative traditions, starting with the descriptive studies of HLLs and HL teachers, and closing with the inferential ones.¹⁹

¹⁹ While there is great variety within these two broader categories of statistical research (e.g., regression, ANOVA, chi-square), I decided to keep my review of quantitative methods simple due to my elementary knowledge of this tradition (as a qualitative researcher). In other words, I did not want to misrepresent or miscategorize any studies

2.4.2.1. Descriptive Statistics. For Remler and Van Ryzin (2011), the chief aim of descriptive statistics is “to paint an accurate picture of the way the world is” (p. 15) through the quantification of a single variable or of the relationship between two or more variables. In the HL literature, descriptive research has mostly taken on the form of *survey studies*, in which a group of subjects responded to questions from the researchers using Likert-type scales. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the two survey studies I discuss here (J. S. Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Liu, 2006) centered around teachers and their attitudes towards and opinions about aspects of their practice.

Liu (2006), for instance, gathered data from 92 teachers in various Chinese HL schools across Southern California. Among the topics covered in her questionnaire, Liu asked these HL teachers about their educational and professional backgrounds, their views on teaching materials and methods, and their predictions about the future of CHL education. Although most of survey items were either numerical (i.e., Likert-type) or easily quantifiable (yes/no questions), a handful of open-ended questions also appeared in the survey. These qualitative items, however, were still quantified, since the common themes in them were reported as percentages. (For the findings of this study, please see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 above.)

The empirical study by J. S. Lee and Oxelson (2006) also surveyed a group of teachers in California ($n = 69$); however, these were not HL teachers but rather teachers in K-12 mainstream schools. The researchers’ focus was on the attitudes that mainstream educators had towards HL teaching and maintenance (see the findings in section 2.2.1), and to explore this issue, they used a survey of 46 items—35 of which had Likert-type scales. Unlike Liu (2006), however, J. S. Lee and Oxelson (2006) did not solely report the survey statistics; instead, they found a remarkable comparison between teachers with and without bilingual education or ESOL training, and they

simply because I am not well-versed with them. At the same time, though, I also did not want to ignore this research tradition, for it has been particularly fruitful in the study of HL maintenance and development.

tested its statistical significance with t tests (thus entering the realm of inferential statistics). In addition, these researchers added a qualitative component to their inquiry: They interviewed a part of their sample ($n = 10$) to confirm and expand on the findings from their questionnaire.

Together, then, these two empirical studies show the power of the survey method to tease out broader patterns in larger and medium-sized groups, which can be confirmed and examined later through smaller-scale, qualitative designs. What is more, the J. S. Lee and Oxelson (2006) study also illustrates the tight relationship between descriptive and inferential statistics, since the description of patterns found across variables (e.g., a comparison of teachers with two different qualifications) can lead to testing the significance of these associations—an inferential step. In fact, such is the case of the articles in the next section, which report all the descriptive statistics (e.g., correlations of variables) that are necessary to carry out inferential tests.

2.4.2.2. Inferential Statistics. On the inferential side of statistical work, the chief aim is “to generalize to a population” (Healey, 2011, p. 8) by analyzing data from a carefully selected, representative sample of informants. Inferential statistics is comprised of a range of methods, from the simpler, bivariate t and z tests (of statistical significance) to the more complex analysis of variance (ANOVA) and regression models. Since inferential methods are more sophisticated than their descriptive counterparts, in this section I will keep my descriptions brief, so as to avoid distorting the scholarly work of the researchers listed below.

In the HL literature, scholars have used inferential statistics to explore the predictors of HL maintenance and development, particularly in the field of literacy. A number of studies, for example, looked for predictors of HL maintenance in the home literacy environment, and they used inferential statistics to determine the statistical significance of the associations they found. Where these studies often differed, however, was in how they defined HL literacy development:

D. Zhang and Koda (2011), Schwartz (2008), Duursma et al. (2007), and Quiroz et al. (2010), for one, all used measures of vocabulary knowledge as proxies for HL literacy. H. (S.) Zhang (2016) also used vocabulary knowledge as a measure of HL literacy, but he did so along with two more variables: lexical inferencing ability and passage comprehension. Lastly, Kim and Pyun (2014) analyzed and scored writing samples from Korean HLLs to gauge their participants' HL literacy. Yet for all the diversity in these studies' dependent variables, there was tremendous analytical uniformity among them, for all but one of these pieces²⁰ employed regression analysis to find the home variables that contribute the most to HL literacy (and thus also to HL maintenance).

A similar pattern emerged in the HL-maintenance literature focused on classroom factors, albeit with a slight twist: Whereas the home literacy research typically relied on a single variable (or a small set of them) as a proxy for literacy (e.g., word knowledge), the literature investigating the educational predictors of HL maintenance and development (Cuza et al., 2017; Kremin et al., 2016; Oriyama, 2011; Proctor et al., 2010) often used a battery of tests to measure literacy in the HL—and in English, in the case of Kremin et al. (2016)—as well as its potential predictors. Due to the large number of dependent and independent variables in these studies, then, all but one of them²¹ reported using regression models (multiple and stepwise) to determine the key predictors of HL maintenance in their contexts. Hence, the inferential studies of HL maintenance show the diverse ways in which scholars can operationalize HL maintenance, should they wish to quantify it, observe it in person, or even ask about it in interviews.

²⁰ The lone exception (D. Zhang & Koda, 2011) only utilized correlational analysis (Pearson's *r*) to determine the associations between home literacy environment and HL maintenance. In addition, Kim and Pyun (2014) used a variety of inferential tests: regression models, correlational analysis, and ANOVAs.

²¹ The lone exception in this subset of literature (Cuza et al., 2017) used multivariate ANOVA (or MANOVA) as its main method of inferential statistics. This method was pertinent because Cuza and colleagues measured literacy (the dependent variable) in multiple ways.

2.4.3. Summary and Implications

All in all, the bodies of HL literature reviewed in this comprehensive paper (i.e., on HL maintenance/development and on the teachers of HLs) exhibit a slight preference for the case study approach. For, even though a larger number of studies used inferential statistics, these were exclusively investigations of HL maintenance. The case study, meanwhile, featured prominently on both streams of literature: HL maintenance and HL teachers. Hence, this methodology seems like a sensible choice for a study on HLLs-turned-language-teachers, a topic that combines our extant knowledge of how HLLs maintain their heritage languages and the issues they might face if they have to teach a language-related subject. Also, the case study approach contains many features that would be valuable for researching this population—as exemplified by the studies in section 2.4.1.1 above—such as a reliance on multiple data sources, an emphasis on triangulation, a view towards theory refinement and generation (through so-called “extreme” cases), and the existence of a multiple-case design that encourages both within- and cross-case analyses.

Still, because no research method is perfect, the other approaches reviewed here can also help inform research on HLLs-turned-language-teachers. For example, the ethnographies I discussed above serve as a reminder of the importance of culture in the processes of teaching and learning an HL; and Creese et al.’s (2014) linguistic ethnography, in particular, serves as a model for how to incorporate discourse analysis into approaches that rely on the analysis of multiple sources of data (like the case study). Similarly, the retrospective interview studies by Callahan (2010) and Tse (2001a, 2001b) also serve as a model for how scholars can examine the past life experiences of HLLs-turned-language-teachers, especially in lieu of direct observation. Finally, the quantitative studies, both descriptive and inferential, push researchers to think carefully—and even creatively—about all the ways they can operationalize notions such as HL maintenance and

the factors that impact it. All told, then, while the case study option may be a strong one for the study of HLLs-turned-language-teachers, it will only be strengthened if the researcher learns from and harnesses the advantages of other methods into his or her work.

2.5. Limitations of the Literature Review

Having reviewed the bodies of literature above, I must now indicate some limitations of this review, so that it is not interpreted to claim anything beyond its scope. Critical among these limitations is the use of the terms *heritage language* and *heritage language learner* themselves, or rather, the constraints imposed by these terms—especially as it regards sections 2.1 and 2.2. First, and as explained in chapter 1, HLLs are “not a homogeneous group” (Bowles, 2011, p. 33), and for this reason HLLs can fall under other categories of L2 learners and users. For instance, though HLLs are generally not foreign-born, they typically do belong to immigrant households. Thus, studies about topics like the home literacy practices or environments of immigrant families often include HLLs in their samples, which is why a literature review by Dixon and Wu (2012) on this matter covered various studies that I reviewed in section 2.1. Even so, the overlap was not complete, in part because many of the studies in Dixon and Wu’s review either did not explicitly use the term “heritage language” or did not describe their samples enough that I could ascertain their findings to pertain exclusively to HLLs and not to other populations.

Still, it would be a mistake to suggest that studies about “Chinese immigrant parents” (Li, 2004), “Mexican immigrant mothers” (Miano, 2011), or even “Hispanic families with preschool children” (Perry et al., 2008) do not capture the learning experiences of HLLs, at least partially. In fact, it might be safer to argue the opposite, and that, for this reason, the review in section 2.1 might ignore relevant patterns about HLLs’ life experiences. That said, though, I argue back that the opposite approach could cast a net so wide that findings that are not directly applicable to

HLLs could find their way into my report. Hence, keeping the scope of this review narrow (i.e., limited only to explicit mentions of HLLs) is a necessary compromise, since it helps add some level of consistency to a body of literature that is already very heterogeneous.

A similar issue emerges when examining the literature on *HL teachers* (i.e., section 2.2): It most likely does not represent the experiences of all individuals who teach a heritage language. And in fact, this part of the review does skew heavily towards the experiences of teachers in HL schools and similar extracurricular activities²², even though many HL teachers also work in K-12 settings, teaching world-language courses for “native speakers” (e.g., Ellison, 2006). Moreover, since not all schools and universities have the resources to offer HL tracks for every L2 in their curricula, HLLs often have to study their HLs in courses designed for foreign-language learners. The teachers of these classes, whose professional experiences appear in the literature (including that in section 2.3, for example), are also veritable teachers of HLs. However, researchers do not always mention the presence of HLLs in these courses, or they do so just briefly—not enough to discern whether the HLLs are in some way germane to the findings. Thus, so as to not cast a net so wide that it expands too far beyond HL education, I also limited the scope of section 2.2.

Importantly, it is the narrow scope of sections 2.1 and 2.2 of this review that produces an additional avenue for critique: the possible incongruence—or rather, the mismatch of scopes—between these sections and section 2.3 (i.e., on the PCK of L2 teachers). Whereas the first two sections of the review are purposefully limited in scope, the third one casts a very wide net that includes all L2 teachers (ESL, EFL, ESOL, FL, HL, immersion, etc.). This discrepancy, though, stems from the literature, since I was only able to find two sources that discussed PCK in relation to the teaching of HLs (Beaudrie, 2009; Ellison, 2006)—and of the sources Beaudrie (2009) cites

²² The main exception would be the HL teacher-caregivers in Aquino-Sterling et al. (2015), although their job duties are very different from those of HL teachers in K-12 schools.

as depicting “the knowledge considered essential for teachers of Spanish as a heritage language” (p. 94), none of them (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; I. García & Blanco, 2000; Potowski & Carreira, 2004; Webb & Miller, 2000) refer to PCK explicitly, making them difficult to find via targeted searches. This limitation, then, points in the direction of a gap in the PCK literature that this dissertation study begins to address.

A final limitation of this review pertains to the fact that the methodological review (i.e., section 2.4) only covers studies from sections 2.1 and 2.2. The reasoning behind this choice was that these sections of the review remained focused on HLLs and HL education, whereas section 2.3 (the PCK of L2 teachers) cast a wider net—implying that the former two sections are more directly relevant to my proposed study. However, it is a point well taken that section 2.3 should have been included in the review of methods due to the important role PCK plays in my study’s framework. That being said, though, such an inclusion would not have changed anything in the overall methodological patterns I described, since the majority of L2 PCK scholars in this review identified their work as case studies (e.g., Ellison, 2006; Irvine-Niakaris & Kiely, 2014; Reeves, 2009; Sanchez & Borg, 2014; van Compernelle & Henery, 2015; Vélez-Rendón, 2010).²³ Thus, while the addition of the PCK literature to the methods review would not have been unwarranted, it was also not completely necessary in hindsight.

2.6. Relevance of the Review to This Dissertation

In summary, the review above has provided an overview of the three major streams of scholarly work that would inform an empirical study of HLLs-turned-language-teachers and how their life experiences relate to the PCK they enact in their L2 classrooms. In brief, the literature

²³ Some studies have used quantitative methods to investigate the PCK of L2 teachers (König et al., 2017; Mullock, 2006). However, I did not review these because they only assessed teachers’ perceptions of what comprises PCK rather than how they put it into practice (per the wording in guiding question #3).

reviewed above highlights the multiple themes at the crux of the HLL-turned-language-teacher, chief among which are the notions of identity and life history. Also, it points towards the case study being a viable approach for investigating this topic, as I explain at the end.

On the whole, identity seems to be a common catalyst of both successful HL maintenance as well as a later desire to overcome HL attrition (Joo, 2009; Tse, 2001a, 2001b), meaning that it can also play an important role in HLLs-turned-language-teachers' successful HL development and even their choice of a career where they support the growth of fellow HLLs. Furthermore, the literature on HL teachers also indicated how identity was a relevant topic for those who were both preparing to teach HLs (Cho, 2014) and teaching them as volunteers and early-childhood caregivers (Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015; Leeman et al., 2011), which implies that this topic is relevant for practicing HLL-turned-language-teachers. Lastly, the concept of identity is emergent in work on L2 pedagogy, with certain researchers even linking it to Shulman's (1987) construct of PCK in their research of ESOL and world-language teachers (e.g., Motha et al., 2012; Reeves, 2009; Vélez-Rendón, 2010), a finding that again raises the potential relevance of identity to the praxis of HLLs-turned-language-teachers.

In addition, this literature review sheds light on tentative links between HLLs-turned-language-teachers' life experiences and the (unique) kinds of knowledge that comprise their PCK. HLLs in the literature, for example, often spoke about the crucial roles of their homes and communities in their HL maintenance (e.g., Callahan, 2010; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Tse, 2011a, 2001b; D. Zhang & Koda, 2011), and their experiences in these contexts are essential elements of their HL knowledge and even their ideas of how HLLs best maintain their HLs. As L2 practitioners, then, HLLs-turned-language-teachers are equipped with experiential knowledge that is not just relevant to their classrooms, but also likely distinct from that of other teachers,

who sometimes struggle to identify with the lives and preferences of their HLL pupils (Creese et al., 2014; Jia, 2009; Wu et al., 2011). As Ellison (2006) posited in her study, cultural awareness knowledge—including knowledge of and involvement in the students’ communities—is an integral part of the PCK of successful L2 teachers, be they native speakers of the language they teach or not. This review has shown that HLLs-turned-language-teachers possess this knowledge already and perhaps even use it in their pedagogy; the question that remains (and that the study would explore) is *how*.

To investigate this research area, a sensible research approach is necessary; and section 2.4 of this review seems to point towards the *case study* as such a selection. Though not without its limitations (e.g., in the generalizability of its findings from such a small sample), the method appeared to be popular among scholars in all three streams of the literature reviewed here: There were multiple insightful case studies of HLLs and their HL maintenance (e.g., Joo, 2009), of HL teachers and the challenges they faced (e.g., Wu et al., 2011), and of L2 teachers enacting and reflecting on their PCK (e.g., Sanchez & Borg, 2014). More importantly, however, the case study approach also has characteristics that make it suitable for an in-depth exploration of the HLL-turned-language-teacher, such as its reliance on multiple data sources and a known tradition of elucidating unique and information-rich cases (Patton, 1990). Moreover, the methodological flexibility of the case study allows it to incorporate elements from other research traditions that have been employed in the literature (e.g., ethnographies, surveys), so as to enhance the study’s quality and validity. In this manner, then, I hope that my proposed case study of the HLL-turned-language-teacher not only addresses this current gap in the scholarship—which is significant to research on HL education, L2 pedagogy and teacher education, and the construct of PCK—but that it does so in a complete, insightful, and reliable way.

2.7. Theoretical Framework

To close this chapter—and in light of the literature reviewed above—I will describe the theoretical framework that informs my dissertation. According to Merriam (1998), “all aspects of [a] study are affected by its theoretical framework” (p. 47), from the phrasing of the research questions to the analysis and discussion of research findings. Hence, this section’s placement is intentional, highlighting its role as a link between my literature review and my research methods.

As a scholar of heritage languages and the fields that are pertinent to them (e.g., applied linguistics, language education, second language acquisition), I identify most closely with the tenets of Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory (SCT), which views learning and social interaction as synonymous (Vygotsky, 1978). In SCT, language is one of the main semiotic tools that learners use to mediate their interactions with the world around them—including its various objects (both tangible and symbolic), other people, and even themselves. It is through these interactions that learning occurs, not just of all types of skills and content, but also of language itself (see Lantolf et al., 2015; Moll, 2013; Swain & Deters, 2007). Arguing for a more sociocultural understanding of heritage languages, then, A. W. He (2010) argues that HL learning

takes place through the learner’s interactions with multiple participants including language instructors, parents, grandparents, siblings, and peers, each of whom positions the learner in unique speech and social roles, and each of whose reactions and responses to the learner helps to shape the path of his or her language development. (p. 77)

This SCT conception of HL learning is evident in this study, not only in my view of heritage languages as archetypal sites of learning through social interaction (cf. A. W. He, 2010), but also in my choice of a multiple-case design: With HL development and maintenance being shaped by

the particularities of each HLL's life history, the phenomenon of the HLL-turned-language-teacher can only be understood through a plurality of cases.

In addition to my Vygotskian view of the L2 learning process, I also acknowledge that a range of macro and micro factors influence my understanding of HLLs-turned-language-teachers and their PCK; and I group these as the second part of my theoretical framework, under the umbrella term of *sociocultural factors* (Díaz-Rico, 2018). One such factor is *identity*, which scholars have shown not only to have a crucial role in the acquisition of languages, but also to be in complex and multifaceted relationships with macro-level discourses of power, race, ethnicity, and culture, among others (e.g., Flores et al., 2015; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Moreover, the topic of identity permeates this literature review, appearing in all three of the major bodies of literature that inform my study—from the way it intertwines with the process of HL maintenance in section 2.1, to the influence it exerts on the practice of the HL teachers in section 2.2, to the calls for its greater incorporation into PCK research in section 2.3. Thus, the constant presence of identity in this chapter typifies the overarching role of sociocultural factors in my theoretical framework, helping shape my view of the HLL-turned-language-teacher.

Similarly, the construct of *ideology*, particularly as it pertains to language learning and education, is another sociocultural factor of pertinence to the HLL-turned HL-teacher. For Gee (2015), all beliefs about the world are ideological to some extent, but they can be detrimental to others when they “are based on tacit theories (ones not much consciously considered) and/or non-primary theories (ones not based on a real search for evidence from diverse sources)” (p. 22). Over the years, scholars have critiqued the insidiousness of such ideologies in language education, particularly devoting attention to deficit discourses (e.g., Dudley-Marling & Lucas, 2009; Edelsky et al., 1983; Flores et al., 2015) and standard language ideologies (e.g., Flores &

Rosa, 2015; Lippi-Green, 2011); and HL education has not been impervious to such critiques: At a broader level, critics have pointed out the ways HL teachers and teaching materials (as well as members of the HL community) position the language varieties of HLLs as being inferior to the “standard” form of the language (Faltis, 2013), and empirical research has both showed concrete evidence of this ideological stance (e.g., Callahan, 2010) and shed light on how ideologies about HLLs are created in the microcosm of the language classroom (e.g., Abdi, 2011). For this reason, the sociocultural factor of ideology is essential to this study, since I foresee ideologies as having impacted the lives of my participants, including their processes of HL learning and maintenance, their decisions to become language teachers, and even their current practice.

A third and final major component of my theoretical framework for this proposed study is the concept of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). This concept, reviewed more thoroughly in section 2.3, is the most overt part of my theoretical framework, for it is referred to explicitly in my second and third research questions. Hence, PCK helps shape the design of this study at all levels (i.e., data collection and analysis), for it explains not just *what* I am looking for in my data, but also *how* I will be looking at it during analysis. While studies have explored the life histories and identities of L2 teachers and their relevance to their pedagogy, only a handful of them (e.g., Reeves, 2009; Vélez-Rendón, 2010) have conceptualized such facets as part of Shulman’s (1987) distinction between the content specialist and the educator. Thus, my interest in HLLs-turned-language-teachers’ life histories, though exploratory in nature, is geared towards a more specific analytical goal: to gather and interpret evidence that their experiences with HL maintenance can elucidate at least certain aspects of their PCK in ways that may be unique to this group.

Furthermore, the notion of PCK frames the potential contribution of this proposed study. As I stated earlier, my hope for this study is that it can help expand the definition of PCK in the

field of L2 pedagogy, where—as the review above shows—the focus has been on more formal aspects of teachers’ knowledge about language (Bigelow & Ranney, 2005, 2010) like grammar, vocabulary, and pragmatics. My focus on PCK, then, determines the scholarly conversation that this proposed study engages with most directly²⁴, especially in terms of the empirical work that it compares against. Consequently, decisions about the data I feature, the ways I analyze them, and the discussion of my insights will hinge (at least partially) on the PCK literature that I wish to both respond to and expand through this study.

In sum, the three parts of my theoretical framework guide this proposed study in different ways. The first two major concepts described above (SCT and sociocultural factors) shape and inform my understanding of the life experiences of HLLs-turned-language-teachers and what they do in their teaching. On the other hand, PCK plays a much more specific role, as it helps determine the aspect of my phenomenon of interest that this dissertation will investigate. As someone who has been near-sighted for over two-thirds of his life, I cannot help but to make an analogy between my theoretical framework and my own eyesight: the PCK of the HLL-turned-language-teacher is the stimulus that my eyes will be focused on for the purposes of this dissertation, while SCT and the sociocultural factors are like my eyeglasses, not only focusing my sight, but also determining its periphery (i.e., what falls beyond the scope of my analysis).

Figure 2.1 below illustrates the relationship described above visually. Note that the HLL-turned-language-teacher (the phenomenon of interest) appears inside an oval to differentiate it from the three components of my theoretical framework, which appear inside rectangles. Also, SCT and sociocultural factors appear inside the same rectangle because they both represent a broader perspective of the language learning process that acknowledges the crucial role of

²⁴ That being said, though, this is hopefully not the only conversation (i.e., literature) that this study contributes to, even if less directly.

culture and social interaction (Saville-Troike & Barto, 2017). However, they are divided by a dashed line to indicate their relative autonomy. In other words, SCT and sociocultural factors intertwine and often overlap in research (hence the dashed line, rather than a solid one), but they have also been addressed separately by scholars in relevant fields.²⁵

Finally, and despite not being described as part of this theoretical framework, the aspect of *experiences with HL maintenance/development* (section 2.1) appears in Figure 2.1 in a second rectangle inside the HLL-turned HL-teacher, with an arrow pointed towards PCK. This rectangle and arrow are also dashed to indicate their tentative nature, since a major goal of this study was to ascertain their place in the framework. As I describe the study's design in the next chapter, my hope is that the relationship between all these components becomes apparent.

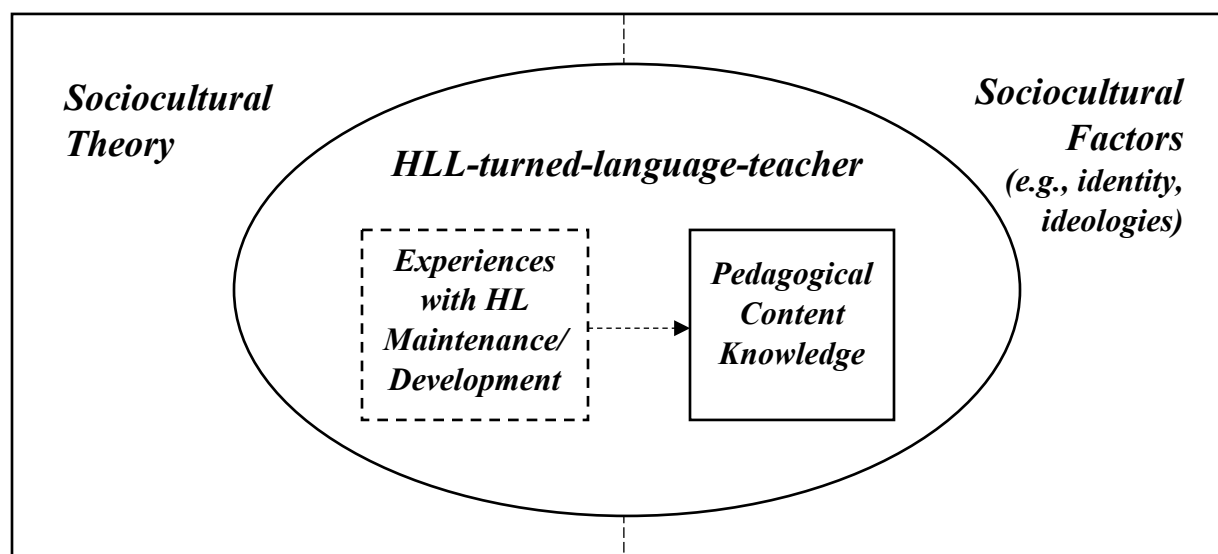


Figure 2.1. Theoretical framework

²⁵ To be more precise about this “relative autonomy,” my point is that SCT and sociocultural factors are closely related but not one and the same. For example, not all research on sociocultural factors that informs this study is rooted in SCT (e.g., Oriyama, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014).

Chapter 3. Methods

In this chapter, I explain the methodological choices for this dissertation: a *multiple-case study of HLLs who are currently teaching language as their subject-matter*. To start this chapter, I present my rationale for selecting the qualitative case study as my primary method of inquiry, followed by a brief and general description of the case study approach. Finally, the remaining sections will detail various aspects of the design of this multiple-case study; such as the selection of participants, the different types of data that I collected, and the ways in which I analyzed said data in a rigorous and trustworthy manner.

Before proceeding to these sections, though, I will first restate my research questions, which I originally presented in section 1.1 above:

1. How do the focal HLLs-turned-language-teachers in this study describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?
2. What kinds of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) are evident in the practice of these HLLs-turned-language-teachers?
3. How do these HLLs-turned-language-teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?

As explained in section 1.4 above, these questions guided my inquiry into a group of teachers (and HLLs) who have been neglected in the literature so far. Furthermore, the answers to these questions may help expand and refine the current concept of PCK in L2 teacher education and other related fields, which will in turn improve the ways that we prepare teachers—particularly those of CLD backgrounds—to meet the needs of language learners and CLD students.

3.1. Methodological Rationale

As explained in sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.6 of the literature review above, the case study approach has been used fruitfully in prior research related to language teachers. This scholarly work has certainly influenced my methodological choices for this dissertation study, setting a precedent that I cannot ignore. Nevertheless, so as to not belabor the point, this section will focus instead on epistemological reasons why the case study is the more sensible approach for this study. Specifically, I concentrate on three key features of case study research posited by a variety of experts: (1) *reliance on multiple data sources*, (2) *emphasis on a thorough analysis of the case(s)*, and (3) *relevance to theory-building and refinement*. These three aspects represent my own thought process and priorities; they are not an exhaustive list of arguments for the case study method that exist in the literature.

Regarding the first of these traits, most (if not all) expert case study researchers agree that a good case study incorporates *multiple sources of data*, not only in terms of the participants but also of the modes of inquiry. Merriam (1998), for instance, presents three major qualitative data sources (i.e., interviews, observations, and documents) and posits that “in qualitative case studies ... all three means of data collection are frequently used” (p. 134). Similarly, Yin (2009) lists six common sources of evidence for case studies: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. Moreover, he argues that “no single source has a complete advantage over all the others ... and a good case study will therefore want to use as many sources as possible” (p. 101). Even Stake (1995), whose approach to case study research is less directive, extols the use of data source triangulation, whereby researchers “see if the phenomenon or case remains the same at other times, in other spaces, or as persons interact differently” (p. 112). In fact, the relevance of triangulation for dealing with issues of validity is

one of a handful of topics on which these three experts converge perfectly, for Merriam (1998) and Yin (2009) raise the same point in their respective books.

This aspect of case study research, then, benefits my study by pushing me to consider how seemingly disparate pieces of evidence help paint a fuller picture of the same phenomenon. Moreover, an emphasis on multiple data sources forces me to explore various perspectives that could inform my answer to the research questions (i.e., to pursue a wide array of informants for each case). As Goetz and LeCompte (1984) describe it, “data collection should be sufficiently comprehensive to address all facets of the research question and to provide alternative sources of information for confirmation, refinement, or elimination of preliminary findings obtained from a single data source” (p. 240). The case study facilitates (if not secures) such an approach to my research topic, thus ensuring that I portray the phenomenon without ignoring potential sources of insight but rather seeking them out systematically.

The second strength of the case study method—its emphasis on a *deep, thorough analysis of the case*—builds on the notion of seeking multiple sources of data but extends it to the process of “making sense of all this” (Stake, 1995, p. 71) known as *analysis*. According to Yin (2009), a high-quality analysis implies “attending to *all* the evidence collected, displaying and presenting the evidence separate from any interpretation, and considering alternative interpretations” (p. 126). In other words, a high-quality analysis for Yin is thorough in its coverage of the “terrain” of the case (i.e., its data sources, narratives, and rival explanations). Meanwhile, Merriam (1998) points out that qualitative case studies can address different levels of analysis, starting from basic description and ending with the deeper, more complex matter of theory development. Thus, these two case study experts urge novice researchers to “do justice to their data” (Goetz & LeCompte,

1984, p. 242) by pursuing analytic depth and breadth (i.e., thoroughness) in how they treat the complexities of their cases and phenomena.

Regarding this study, then, the implication is that the multiple-case study design points toward a deep, thorough exploration of my participants. In fact, both Merriam (1998) and Yin (2009) propose that multiple-case studies should include two phases of analysis: *within-case* and *cross-case*. Doing so forces scholars to explore each individual case meticulously before looking at the larger phenomenon through the cross-cutting patterns evidenced in the data. Moreover, this approach is consistent with Stake's (1995) notion of *naturalistic generalizations*, since only a detailed analysis of the case can help readers generalize "naturalistically," or "through personal engagement in life's affairs or by vicarious experience so well constructed that the person feels as if it happened to themselves" (p. 85). Hence, by following these experts' advice on the issue of analytical depth, this dissertation study contributes a more careful picture of not just my HLL-turned-language-teacher participants, but also of the phenomenon they exemplify.

The third and final advantage of case study research that I will discuss here relates to its ability to "talk back" to theory, be it by helping refine extant theories or pointing out the need to generate new ones. As case study experts warn, novice researchers should come to expect the criticism that "case study seems a poor basis for generalization" (Stake, 1995, p. 7). However, such a critique often stems from a misconception of what the case study method entails (Becker, 1990; Flyvbjerg, 2001). For Stake (1995), "the real business of case study is particularization, not generalization" (p. 8); that is, our focus should be on understanding the uniqueness of a case instead of trying to generalize our findings to the entire population to which our cases belong. Such is my aim with this multiple-case study of HLLs who become language teachers: to learn

more about the particularities of this phenomenon and therefore “contribute to the cumulative development of knowledge” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 86) on HLLs and HL education.

Nevertheless, other case study experts push back against Stake’s (1995) assertion about the “real business” of case study.²⁶ Yin (2009), for one, supports *analytic generalization*, “in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study” (p. 38). What is more, he suggests to novice scholars to “aim toward analytic generalization in doing case studies” (p. 39), clearly opposing Stake’s (1995) point.²⁷ Adding to this discussion, Flyvbjerg (2001) posits that the case study method has a greater bias toward the falsification—not verification, as usually misconstrued—of researchers’ preconceived notions and hunches. In other words, case study researchers actively pursue data that disconfirm their initial hypotheses, not just to strengthen their analyses but also to reach new insights that can generate new theories or refine extant ones. Again, such is my purpose with this dissertation, for it could produce new understandings about HLLs-turned-language-teachers that may, in turn, change how we think of HLLs and the endeavor of HL maintenance.

In sum, these three features of case study research—along with precedents from prior case studies on related topics—support my choice of this approach for the methodology of this dissertation. Again, though, this is not an exhaustive list; instead, it lists what I consider to be three of the strongest arguments in the literature for selecting the qualitative case study as my methodology for this study. Therefore, additional reasons will surface in subsequent sections of

²⁶ I must also point out here that Stake (1995) does not reject that case studies have a role in generalizing to theory, either. In fact, he points out that cases can help readers make “petite generalizations” about the phenomenon of interest and modify “grand generalizations” about the world (i.e., theories). Still, unlike Yin (2009), Stake (1995) is clear that generalizations (grand or petite) are a byproduct of the method, not its major aim.

²⁷ Again, I would be remiss to not mention that one of the key constructs in Stake’s (1995) approach is *naturalistic generalization*. Thus, it would be unfair for me to paint Stake as “anti-generalization.” However, this form of generalization refers to the *reader* generalizing to his or her own experience, not the researcher generalizing to social theories (i.e., the focus of this paragraph).

this chapter, where I describe the design of this study in greater detail and provide justification for my choices as needed.

3.2. The Case Study Method

Definitions of the case study as a research method or approach abound. Stake (1995), for example, defines the case study as “the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. xi); while Creswell (2007) defines it as “the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e., a setting, a context)” (p. 73). Using more concrete terms, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define the case study as “a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event” (p. 59). Yet perhaps one of the most renowned definitions of the case study method is that of Yin (2009), who describes it as an approach to inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (p. 18)

Expanding on these descriptions, Merriam (1998) proposes three characteristics of the case study that further define it as a methodology. For her, case studies are (1) *particularistic* (i.e., focused on a specific phenomenon or instance of it), (2) *descriptive* (i.e., producing a rich, “thick” description of the phenomenon), and (3) *heuristic* (i.e., leading to the discovery of new meaning or confirmation of what is known). These features of the case study underscore the types of questions that are best suited for the method, which, according to Yin (2009), are *how* and *why* questions—along with exploratory *what* questions, which are answerable by all methods of inquiry (including case studies). This study fits the seminal features posited by both Merriam (1998) and Yin (2009); for not only do I produce a thick description of a specific phenomenon

(i.e., the *HLL-turned-language-teacher*) that will hopefully lead to new insights, but I also have three research questions that ask the *what* (exploratory) and *how* of this phenomenon.

Plethora of definitions notwithstanding, case study experts do come to an agreement on various aspects of the method. I described three of these key aspects (i.e., a reliance on multiple sources of data, an emphasis on a thorough analysis of the case, and a relevance to the generation and refinement of theory) in section 3.1 above, where I also explain how these traits inform this proposed study. However, I must mention here a fourth source of agreement among researchers in the case-study tradition: the *boundedness of the case*. Put plainly, a case is bounded when “I can ‘fence in’ what I am going to study” (Merriam, 1998, p. 27); and if a researcher cannot put such boundaries around the phenomenon of interest, then it is not a case. In this proposed study, then, each of my participant teachers is a case, bounded not just by the features that make them ‘HLLs-turned-language-teachers’ but also by their individuality (i.e., the fact that each of them is a different person, representative of the phenomenon in their own way).

Importantly, this notion of boundedness should not lead to the misstep of “seeing case study research as synonymous with single-subject design” (Barone, 2011, pp. 7-8). In fact, case studies can be of varying levels of complexity in their design, ranging from *single-* to *multiple-case* and from *holistic* to *embedded* (Yin, 2009; but also see Barone, 2011; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Merriam, 1998, for similar typologies). Following Yin’s (2009) typology, reproduced in Figure 3.1 below, this proposed study would be a *holistic, multiple-case study*, since it explores a plurality of cases of the same phenomenon without focusing on multiple subunits of analysis. The strength of such a design, according to Yin, is that it allows for the possibility of replication (direct or theoretical), thereby providing a more robust set of insights into the phenomenon of interest than a single-case design. As a matter of fact, Yin recommends phases of both “within-

case” and “cross-case” analysis (as I did in this study), thus addressing Wolcott’s (1994) critique that an emphasis on comparison can lead to loss in detail of the individual cases.

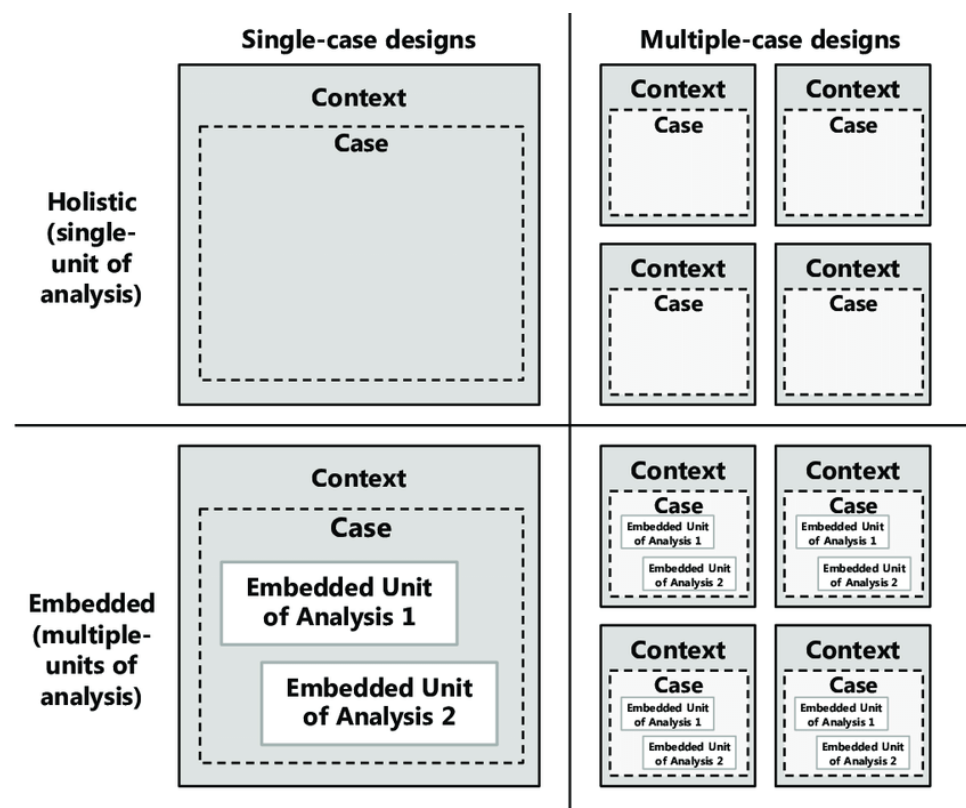


Figure 3.1. Basic types of case study designs (Yin, 2009)

Finally, it must be mentioned that calling the case study a “research method” does not preclude the researcher from resorting to other methods in the collection and analysis of data. On the contrary, Merriam (1998) proposes five different analytic approaches to the case study, all of which originate from other qualitative research methodologies: *ethnographic analysis*, *narrative analysis*, *phenomenological analysis*, *content analysis*, and the *constant comparative method* (or *grounded theory*). This methodological versatility is what allows case studies to rely on multiple sources of data, and it is even more apparent in the various empirical exemplars that I reviewed in section 2.4.1.1 above. For instance, Wu et al. (2011) used the constant comparative method to analyze their transcripts, while Hashimoto and Lee (2011) used the ethnographic tool of *domain analysis* (Spradley, 1980) with their data. Even further, the data from Abdi’s (2011) article came

from a larger ethnography, rather than a single-case study designed as such. In line with the case study's seemingly eclectic methodological approach, then, this study also uses tools from other qualitative paradigms that I am familiar with (e.g., discourse analysis, ethnography), in order to present the most thorough and accurate “thick” description of my cases.

3.3. Research Design

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will detail the key aspects of the design of this dissertation study, including participant selection, site access, data collection methods, and data analysis. Because, by its very nature, qualitative research is “emergent and flexible, responsive to changing conditions of the study in progress” (Merriam, 1998, p. 8; see also Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lareau, 2000; Kvale, 1996); multiple aspects of this study changed over time, in response to the circumstances I encountered in the field. Hence, the subsections below address not only what I ultimately did in my fieldwork, but also what my original plans were and why I had to change them (when applicable).

3.3.1. Participant Selection

Because this research project is a holistic, multiple-case study (Yin, 2009) where each individual teacher serves as a case, the selection of participants was a crucial step in this study's design. As noted in multiple earlier sections, my focal participants were HLLs-turned-language-teachers, meaning that they have HL backgrounds and currently teach *language* as their content area. Hence, I selected my participants according to a type of purposeful sampling that Patton (1990) calls *operational construct sampling*, where “one samples for study real-world examples (i.e., *operational* examples) of the constructs in which one is interested” (p. 178). In this type of sampling, “the sample becomes, by definition, representative of the phenomenon of interest” (p. 177), which was precisely the case with my focal participants, who embodied the phenomenon.

Given the sampling procedure, then, it was essential for me to operationalize the criteria I posited for identifying a potential participant as an “HLL-turned-language-teacher.” In short, a teacher was eligible for this proposed study if (1) they had a “heritage language” background and (2) the subject they taught when data collection took place was language-related (e.g., language arts, ESOL, world language). Following my operationalization of the terms “heritage language” and “heritage language learner” in section 1.2.4 above, I was very open about who counted as an HLL, including both second-generation immigrants and members of Generations 1.5 and 1.75 (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Rumbaut, 2004) who had little or no formal education in any country where their HL was the societal language (cf. Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). For practicality, I considered foreign-born participants who entered the U.S. educational system in elementary school—with a slight preference for those who started in the early elementary grades (1-3)—to guarantee that most of their schooling (i.e., instruction and assessment) was not in their HL.

In addition to operational construct sampling, I relied on “*snowball*” *sampling* to help me identify participants from “people who know people who know people who know what cases are information-rich” (Patton, 1990, p. 182). For this study, I asked multiple people who knew about my research to connect me with anyone they knew who might be a good fit for participation; and as I got in touch with potential participants, I also asked *them* to refer me to others who might be good candidates for participation. As I put my study in motion, I ensured that any potential new participants fit my criteria above by emailing them briefly about their HL-learning circumstances and histories of schooling. This step was a “check” of sorts on the snowball approach, so that any issues regarding the eligibility of participants emerged prior to data collection.

As for the desired number of participants, I did not have a set “magic” number in mind, since there is no definitive answer to this question (Merriam, 1998). That said, I aimed to recruit about four (4) participants for this study, since I found this sample size to be manageable for the intense levels of data collection used in the method. Furthermore, this number followed Yin’s (2009) advice that multiple-case designs are preferable over single-case designs, since a plurality of cases allows for direct *replication* of findings. In addition, I hoped that this sample size would account for the possibility of participant attrition: Given that replication logic applies even with a minimum of two participants (Yin, 2009), the strength of my analysis would not suffer even if I lost a couple of participants along the way.

Over the course of this study, a total of four (4) participants joined this study officially (i.e., they signed consent forms). However, only three (3) participants completed the project: Cecilia, Jackie, and Jerónimo (pseudonyms)—each of whom will be described thoroughly in the next subsection. The fourth participant, Verónica (pseudonym), completed her Biographical Interview in November 2020; however, her participation in the study had to be discontinued after I was unable to gain access to her classroom for observations.²⁸ The other three participants I either knew personally (Cecilia and Jackie) or were recommended to me by colleagues from my university (Jerónimo). Each of them joined the study at a different point: Jerónimo in November 2020, Cecilia in April 2021, and Jackie in October 2021.

²⁸ As a matter of fact, I was denied access to Verónica’s classroom twice. First in late 2020, when she was teaching at a Spanish heritage-language or “Saturday” school in the D.C. area, after the program’s director explained to me that as a private institution, they did not want the intrusion of outsiders. Then, in late 2021, I found out that Verónica was studying to get her certification as a world-language teacher of Spanish, and that her first (elementary-level) teaching internship was in the same school district as the other participants. Again, though, I was unable to secure site access when I was told that her mentor teacher did not approve my entering her classroom for observations. Because Verónica’s next (secondary-level) internship was in a different school district—where I did not have permission to conduct research—I decided to end her participation in this dissertation study after the second failed attempt to access her teaching site.

As will be described below, all three of these teachers were HLLs of Spanish and taught in the same school district (Northeast County Schools). That said, there was variation to their profiles—thus allowing me to “maximize what we can learn” (Stake, 1995, p. 4) from this case study, at least in some respects. For example, they each taught in different contexts and content areas (i.e., kindergarten at a Spanish one-way immersion elementary school for Cecilia, English language arts at a high school for English learners for Jackie, and Spanish for native speakers at a high school for English learners for Jerónimo). Thus, while my participant selection procedures did not guarantee the “maximum variation” that other types of purposeful sampling do (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990), they still allowed for enough diversity that the study presented an illustrative depiction of the phenomenon of the HLL-turned-language-teacher.

3.3.2. *Participants*

Before continuing to discuss aspects of the study’s design, I want to provide descriptions of the participants in this study, so as to give useful context for the remainder of this chapter as well as the findings in Chapter 4. First, I present the three focal participants, or the HLLs-turned-language-teachers at the center of this case study. Then, I present three additional participants, who were the teachers and administrators whom the focal teachers recommended to give further insight about their pedagogy. Because this study (and particularly its first research question) is so focused on the life experiences of the focal participants, I should note that the descriptions in this section are intentionally succinct—i.e., giving enough information to make sense of the data in Chapter 4 without spoiling any of the findings.

3.3.2.1. Focal Participants. For the purposes of this dissertation, “focal participants” were those who completed the following parts of the research design: the *biographical interview*,

the *teaching observations*, and the *end-of-study interview* (see section 3.3.4 for more details). To avoid any bias, I present the three focal participants in alphabetical order by first name.

3.3.2.1.1. Cecilia. Born in a rural village of El Salvador named San Miguel, Cecilia moved to the Washington, D.C., area at the age of nine (1989). As the second youngest of four siblings (two older sisters and a younger brother), she recalled constantly using Spanish at home, since it was the easiest way to communicate with her parents and older sisters. In addition, upon entering the D.C. public school system (4th grade), Cecilia was put in the ESOL program, where most of her fellow newcomer students were also Spanish speakers. While Cecilia's family changed homes when she was in the 6th grade, they remained in D.C., and so she never changed school districts after while in the United States.

Shortly after graduating high school, Cecilia got married (at the age of 19) and—with the encouragement of her parents—went to college in D.C. with the goal of joining the medical field. After college, she worked as a nurse at a hospital in D.C. for a few years, where she was valued as a bilingual who could interpret with Spanish-speaking patients. As the next step of her career, Cecilia was about to start a Doctor in Physical Therapy (DPT) program, but her third pregnancy caused her to change plans. Instead, she took a hiatus from nursing and, as a way to obtain extra income, she became a co-teacher at a private charter school in D.C. Two years later, the school offered her a lead teaching position in pre-K, which she held for 9 years.

In 2006, Cecilia moved to Northeast County in Maryland, and thus she also applied to teach in its public school district. Because of her years of teaching experience, she was offered position teaching kindergarten in one of the district's elementary schools. However, in order to obtain her teaching certification, she also had to take 26 credits of education courses during her first two years as a full-time teacher. In 2020, Cecilia decided to become certified in ESOL, and

she did so through a program run as part of a partnership between her school district and a major local university. It was through this program that I met Cecilia, as I taught the first course in her certification program (“Second Language Acquisition”) in the summer of 2020.

After taking my class, Cecilia sought a change in her teaching context, transferring to teach at a Spanish-English dual-language school in the Prince George’s (PG) school district, where she hoped to work with more Spanish-speaking and newcomer students. However, low enrollment numbers at this school forced a change of plans: As the most recent arrival into the staff, Cecilia was offered to option to transfer to an elementary school with a Spanish one-way immersion program, which was in urgent need of a kindergarten teacher. Despite having no prior experience with immersion methods, Cecilia took this position and joined the Spanish immersion program at Watson Elementary School in the 2020-2021 school year. At the time of this study, she was on her second year at this school, still teaching kindergarten.

3.3.2.1.2. Jackie. Moving to the U.S. from Guatemala at six years old (1992), Jackie is the youngest arrival of the three focal participants in this study. For Jackie and her family, home was Northeast County, Maryland, though they moved a bit around the county before settling in a house in the city of Brentwood when Jackie was about eight years old. As the youngest of four siblings (with a disparity of almost 10 years with her oldest siblings), Jackie’s situation was like Cecilia’s, where Spanish provided the easiest way for her to communicate with everyone in the household. That said, a few years after arriving in the United States, Jackie’s older siblings began to marry and leave the house, eventually only leaving her parents and her in the family home. Still, the language of Jackie’s home continued to be Spanish until she moved out as an adult.

One aspect of Jackie’s story that is unlike that of other focal participants is her father’s job, which is the reason why the family moved to the U.S. Jackie’s father had been recruited by

a Christian parish in Miami, FL, to lead their Hispanic ministry. However, plans fell through at the last minute, and a new opportunity arose at another church in Washington, DC (also leading a Hispanic congregation). This situation meant that the only context in Jackie's life where Spanish was not a dominant presence was school, although she did mention that her social circle included many U.S.-born Latinx friends all the way through high school.

After graduating high school, Jackie went to college hoping to become a journalist. She first took general-education courses at a local community college, before transferring to one of the major research universities in the area. The timing was unfortunate, though, as Jackie learned that the journalism school was not accepting transfers that year. Choosing not to wait an extra year, Jackie chose to major in English, instead (the "next closest thing," as she put it). During her senior year, Jackie landed an internship with the National Latina Leadership Institute, where she focused on preparing professional-development sessions for Latina leaders and helped with grant-writing. While this organization hired Jackie immediately after graduation, they had to let her go five months later due to low funding.

In search of a new job, Jackie applied to the resident teacher program in Northeast County Public Schools (NECPS), which was seeking English and math majors to teach in their secondary schools. In the meantime, she substituted at a couple of elementary schools in the area, until getting her certification and a teaching position at a middle school in NECPS. This job was not a healthy environment for Jackie, and she confessed that she was ready to quit teaching when she was recommended for a job at Multicultural High School—a fairly new school for English learners and immigrants in the same county. Jackie has been teaching 9th- and 10th-grade English language arts (ELA) at this school since 2018, and she reports being much happier working at this school than at her previous one.

Following the school's motto that "all MHS teachers are ESOL teachers," Jackie decided to get certified in ESOL through the same program as Cecilia (and in the same cohort, for that matter). Thus, it was also in the summer of 2020 that I met Jackie, as a student in my Second Language Acquisition class. Though she has stayed in her content area (ELA) since finishing the program's coursework, Jackie has continued to be interested in the field of ESOL. Currently, she plans on applying to a Master's program in TESOL that serves as a continuation of the certificate program she completed last year.

3.3.2.1.3. *Jerónimo.* The third and final focal participant in this study is Jerónimo, who was born in Colombia and moved to the U.S. at the age of 8 (1998). Unlike Cecilia and Jackie, though, Jerónimo did not move directly into D.C. or Maryland. Rather, he first moved to New Jersey with his mother, and he lived in that state until graduating from college. Though he now has four younger sisters (two in Colombia and two in the U.S.), at the time of his migration, Jerónimo was an only child. His initial retention of Spanish, then, was chiefly tied to keeping family communication in the same language they had been using in their native country. In addition, it certainly helped that Jerónimo and his mom first moved to Elizabeth, NJ, a city with a sizable Colombian population. In fact, Jerónimo recalls always using Spanish in his childhood home, not just with his mom and other adult relatives but also with his U.S.-born cousins.

Adolescence was a time of many changes for Jerónimo. For his family, it meant two new arrivals: the birth of his younger sister and his grandmother (who spoke no English) moving in, both when he was 13. Around the same time, Jerónimo and his family moved to a new home in Linden, NJ, a city that he described as being very diverse (if also less Colombian than Elizabeth). And on the educational front, this is also the age when Jerónimo exited out of ESL services in school. With these and other tensions all at play, it is perhaps unsurprising that middle and high

school were a time of identity negotiation for Jerónimo, since English began to extend its reach in his life. It was no longer just the language he used in school and with some school friends; it also started to seep into some of his favorite leisure activities, such as reading for pleasure and listening to music (e.g., heavy metal, nu metal, hip-hop).

After graduating from high school, Jerónimo went on to college. Like Jackie, he did his first two years at a community college and then transferred to a major public research university in the area, where he majored in anthropology. As will be discussed more thoroughly in section 4.1.3, this academic interest reawakened Jerónimo's pride in his HL, as he became curious about the cultural and literary products of Latin America. After finishing his college studies in 2013, Jerónimo joined AmeriCorps—an organization that connects Americans with a vast network of service programs and opportunities across the country—which sent him to Maryland to work with a Central American advocacy organization named CASA de Maryland, where he taught a citizenship class despite, ironically, not being a citizen yet.

When Jerónimo's year of service with AmeriCorps ended, he decided to stay with CASA and continue working with them on a variety of community initiatives. One of these initiatives was a partnership with Multicultural High School (where Jackie also teaches), which involved Jerónimo teaching a civic engagement course to some of its students. Seeing his passion and natural chemistry with these young people, Mr. Starr (then the assistant principal at MHS) asked Jerónimo if he would be interested in joining MHS as a full-time teacher. Jerónimo took up the offer and did the county's teaching fellows program, which provided him with a fast, alternative path to teacher certification—since Jerónimo had no formal training in education.

Jerónimo officially joined the ranks at MHS in the fall of 2018, and he has worked there ever since as their Spanish teacher. His main responsibility at MHS is teaching the Spanish for

Native Speakers class, which is the course I observed for this study. Jerónimo’s hope is to also teach AP Spanish in the future, but as of this study, he had not had the chance yet. In addition to his teaching duties, Jerónimo is one of the school’s soccer coaches and its yearbook sponsor.

3.3.2.2. Additional Participants. While this study had me come into contact with a variety of people in my participants’ teaching contexts (e.g., principals, students), I consider “additional participants” to be people who engaged directly with me in the *colleague interview* portion of the study. Note that the order in which the additional participants appear corresponds to that of the focal participants (i.e., Cecilia’s colleague appears first, since Cecilia was the first focal participant I described).

3.3.2.2.1. Ms. Esquivel. When asked to recommend a colleague or administrator—past or present—who knew her teaching style directly, Cecilia’s choice was Ms. Esquivel, a fellow teacher at Watson ES. Born and raised in Puerto Rico, Ms. Esquivel was a teacher in the island before moving to the U.S. to continue her career. At the time of the study, she was part of the school’s leadership team and in charge of their Spanish literacy interventions. When she first met Cecilia, though, Ms. Esquivel was covering the kindergarten class until a full-time teacher was hired. After Cecilia’s arrival at Watson (fall 2020), Ms. Esquivel co-taught the kindergarten class with her for a short time and helped with her transition to lead teacher in this new school context. Since then, the two teachers have continued to work together through Ms. Esquivel’s capacity as literacy intervention coach, and the latter also checks in on Cecilia to see if she needs any help, though less often now.

3.3.2.2.2. Mr. Starr. For her colleague interview, Jackie recommended Mr. Starr, who had been the assistant principal at Multicultural HS until the end of the 2020-2021 academic year. Though they have not worked together since then, Jackie felt he would be a good person

for me to talk to, since he had observed her teaching multiple times throughout his tenure at MHS. In addition, as a former ELA teacher himself, Mr. Starr directly supervised the ELA department at MHS, thus working with Jackie more closely than with teachers in departments not under his supervision. For this same reason, he also worked with Jackie in designing and implementing the curriculum for what eventually became the class I observed: English 10 Honors. At present, Mr. Starr lives in New York City and is assistant principal at a school there.

3.3.2.2.3. Mr. Sullivan. Jerónimo’s suggestion for the colleague interview was his current assistant principal at MHS, Mr. Sullivan. Prior to taking the assistant principal position during the 2021-2022 school year, Mr. Sullivan was an instructional coach at MHS (shared with another school in the county); and it is in this capacity that he first worked with Jerónimo. As instructional coach, Mr. Sullivan observed his teaching multiple times and debriefed with him about his observations. In addition, teachers at MHS form “professional learning communities” (PLCs) at the school, where they get together and discuss problems of practice among peers. These groups are typically organized by content area, but the smaller departments (e.g., world languages, PE) comprise a single PLC by the name of “Essentials department.” As part of the school’s leadership team, Mr. Sullivan has worked closely with the Essentials PLC, giving him further insight into Jerónimo’s pedagogy.

3.3.3. Site Access and Research Context

As Lareau (2000) showed in the Appendix to her influential *Home Advantage*, gaining (and maintaining) access to a research site is a complicated and laborious matter in educational research, since it involves a vast array of gatekeepers that is perhaps not as common in historical or document research. My experiences with site selection in this study certainly fell in line with Lareau’s statement on the complexity of the endeavor, in part because site selection was wholly

dependent on my participants—rather than on me carefully crafting a relationship with a site that I considered to be the best match for my study.

As the first step to gaining access to my participants' teaching contexts, I obtained IRB approval for my research study with the University of Maryland, College Park, in June 2020 (see Appendix A). Then, after recruiting Jerónimo, I received for approval to conduct research from Northeast County Public Schools (NECPS) in December 2020 (see Appendix B). Due to losing contact with Jerónimo after his Biographical Interview, however, I was unable to conduct any research activities at the school sites in the 2020-2021 school year. Thus, I applied to renew my research study approvals with both UMD and NECPS for the 2021-2022 school years (see Appendices C and D, respectively). At this point, Cecilia and Jackie had joined this study (April 2021), and Jerónimo would rejoin it a few months later (November 2021).

Once NECPS renewed my permission to conduct research at its schools in October 2021, I contacted the principals at Watson ES (Cecilia) and Multicultural HS (Jackie and Jerónimo) to receive their permission to observe in their schools (as required by the school district). In my correspondence with these principals, I explained the specific research activities I would need to undertake at their schools, since I had made some modifications to my study in order to help ease the burden for the participating focal teachers and to account for disruptions brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic (more information in section 3.3.4). I also offered principals the option to request additional modifications to the study as they saw fit for their school contexts, a courtesy that helped “[lay] the groundwork for good rapport with those with whom you will be spending time” as a researcher (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 85). I received signed permission to carry out observations at MHS in early November 2021, and at Watson later that same month.

Due to how different schools adapted to the conditions of the pandemic, access to each school site was qualitatively different. Classes at MHS were fully in person at the start of my fieldwork, and so the school allowed me to do observations in person. Meanwhile, Watson ES was doing hybrid classes, where many students were back to in-person instruction, but parents could opt out and have their kids attend class virtually. In addition, visitors were not allowed in the school building at the time, so my observations with Cecilia were always via Zoom.

With regards to the broader context of this research project, this study took place in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. The schools where the focal teachers work are not located in D.C. itself, though, but rather in a county that is adjacent to the nation's capital. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2018), the demographic composition of NECPS was 62% African American, 18% Latinx, 13% Caucasian, and 7% other ethnic/racial groups. About 35% of the county's students (ages 5 and over) are identified as speaking English and at least one other language at home. Mirroring trends in the rest of the metropolitan D.C. area, Spanish is the most commonly spoken language other than English (LOTE) in NECPS (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.), though other LOTEs such as Amharic and Chinese also have sizable representation in this region.

In recent years, the population of English learners (ELs) in the NECPS district has grown substantially: In 2021, about 21% of its student population was identified as ELs (Maryland State Department of Education, 2021), quadruple the size of this same demographic in the year 2000 (Montoya-Ávila, 2017). The schools where the focal participants work illustrate some of their school district's responses to this shifting linguistic landscape, with MHS (Jackie and Jerónimo's school) helping cater to the needs of newcomer ELs in the county and WES (Cecilia's school) taking advantage of the growing linguistic diversity in the region to provide Spanish immersion

education to this majority-African American district. Moreover, this current situation stands in stark contrast to what two of the participants (Cecilia and Jackie) experienced while growing up in the metropolitan D.C. area: With a much smaller multilingual population back then, schools in the D.C. region rarely offered Spanish immersion programs like Cecilia's, and—from what both teachers stated in their interviews—their ESOL programs were far less geared towards additive bilingualism and HL maintenance than in the present day.

3.3.4. Data Collection

The nature of the case study method (and qualitative research in general, for that matter) implies that the researcher must have careful plans for the collection of the multiple sources of data that inform this type of study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). While scholars such as Stake (1995) may argue that “there is no particular moment when data gathering begins” (p. 49), the following sections will detail the sources of data that I collected after focal participants signed consent forms and agreed to meet for their Biographical Interviews. Table 3.1 below provides an overview of the different data sources I collected and their link to this study's research questions, all of which will be expanded below.

RQ	Data Collection Methods Addressing the RQ	Resulting Data Sources for Analysis
RQ1. How do the focal HLL-turned-language-teachers in this study describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?	Biographical interviews with participant teachers at the outset of the study.	Interview recordings (video) Interview transcripts Researcher notes/memos
	End-of-study interviews with participant teachers.	Interview recordings (video) Interview transcripts Researcher notes/memos
	Gathering of relevant documents and artifacts.	Documents shared by participant during/after interviews

Table 3.1. Connection Between Research Questions and Data Collection

RQ	Data Collection Methods Addressing the RQ	Resulting Data Sources for Analysis
RQ2. What kinds of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) are evident in the practice of these HLL-turned-language-teachers?	Periodical observations of teaching.	Researcher fieldnotes/memos
	Gathering of relevant documents and artifacts used during the observed lessons.	Teachers' lesson plans/syllabi Copies of handouts and other teaching materials Pictures of student work and the classroom environment
	Interview(s) with department chair and/or colleagues.	Interview recordings (video) Interview transcripts Researcher notes/memos
RQ3. How do these HLL-turned-language-teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?	Periodical observations of teaching.	Researcher fieldnotes/memos
	Gathering of relevant documents and artifacts used during the observed lessons.	Teachers' lesson plans and/or syllabi Copies of handouts and other teaching materials Pictures of student work and the classroom environment
	End-of-study interviews with participant teachers.	Interview recordings (video) Interview transcripts Researcher notes/memos

Table 3.1. Connection Between Research Questions and Data Collection (cont.)

3.3.4.1. Interviews. As seen in Table 3.1 above, I utilized interviews to help answer all three of my research questions. My reliance on this data source was consistent with not just the advice of qualitative-research experts (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) but also those in the case study approach, all of whom recommend this data collection technique (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). In addition, my desire to include interview data in this study resonated well with Stake's (1995) point that "each interviewee is expected to have had unique experiences, special stories to tell" (p. 65). This expectation was especially essential to my topic of interest, given that I sought to ascertain the role of my participants' "special stories" in their PCK.

For this reason, data collection for this study began with a round of in-depth *biographical interviews* with my participants as soon as they joined the study (November 2020–October 2021). The goal of these interviews was to get a better sense of how the HLLs-turned-language-teachers in my study developed and maintained their HLs (RQ1), which I would then eventually connect to their PCK (RQ3). As Merriam (1998) argues, interviews are needed “when we are interested in past events that are impossible to replicate” (p. 72). Hence, these biographical interviews were crucial for me to obtain the information I needed for RQ1. My approach to these interviews was *semi-structured*, as this format assumes that “individual respondents define the world in unique ways” (Merriam, 1998, p. 74). Still, I prepared a detailed interview protocol to set the structure in motion (see Appendix E); and as data emerged, I also added follow-up questions and modified the content, focus, and order of my protocol in response to the participants’ data. Questions for these biographical interviews derived in part from the literature that has explored the topic of HL maintenance in retrospect (Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016).

A second type of interviews I conducted was with informants who were able to “provide observations ... that the researchers cannot see for themselves” (p. 67), such as the focal teachers’ *colleagues* and *administrators*. For these interviews, I asked teachers to recommend a colleague or supervisor who knew their teaching firsthand—whether they had observed them often or co-taught with them. My expectation was that these individuals could offer me data—both new and confirmatory—about my focal teachers’ pedagogy (and more specifically, their PCK). These interviews, then, were most pertinent to RQ2 and RQ3; and they occurred in February 2022, after teaching observations (see section 3.3.4.2 below) had finished for all focal participants. At this point, I had already accumulated a fair amount of data and was starting to notice patterns that I could corroborate with these informants. As I will explain more thoroughly in section 3.5, the

information gathered from these interviews allowed for data triangulation. The questionnaire for these Colleague Interviews can be found in Appendix F.²⁹

A third and final type of interview I did in this project was an *end-of-study interview* with each of my focal participants. These interviews took place in March 2022, shortly after the last Colleague Interviews, and they allowed me to further explore and corroborate emerging themes with my participants (i.e., member checking). Also, they were a time for me to ask clarifying questions about things I witnessed during my observations or quotes I got from our interviews, while they were still relatively fresh in our minds. These interviews were guided by a protocol that was finalized shortly before them. This protocol contained some standard questions for all participants; but because I used these interviews for member-checking and clarification purposes, many of the questions I asked were also personalized to each interviewee (see Appendix G). As shown in Table 3.1, end-of-study interviews are particularly relevant to RQ2 and RQ3.³⁰

My original preference for all interviews was that they would take place in person, so that I could directly observe shifts in body language and demeanor—paralinguistic aspects that would be informative to me as a researcher but also difficult to see via remote communication, even if it involved video technology (Norris, 2004). However, given the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews ended up occurring remotely via Zoom. Despite my initial reservations,

²⁹ Colleague Interviews were just one of two interview types that I wanted to use for the purposes of triangulation. I had also requested and obtained permission from the school district to conduct *student focus groups* at around the same time. The goal would have been to obtain student perspectives for the focal teachers' pedagogies, even if these were not worded in pedagogical or "PCK" terms. With the challenges that emerged from the COVID-19 pandemic, however, I eventually eliminated plans to carry out these interviews, as I made it a priority for the study to cause as little disruption to school contexts as possible.

³⁰ A fourth type of interviews that I ultimately did not use was what I had called *post observation debriefs*. These interviews were supposed to take place directly after my weekly observations of the participants' teaching, and their main goal was to help me gain a better understanding of my participants' practices and PCK in the moment. These interviews were supposed to be *unstructured*, as recommended by Merriam (1998) recommends when they happen "in conjunction with participant observation" (p. 75). That said, in recognition of the extra burdens and stressors teachers had with the pandemic, and in an effort to make the study as least onerous for participants as possible, I decided to drop these interviews from the list of research activities before fieldwork even began.

I eventually embraced virtual interviews, as the Zoom platform included useful features such as cloud recording, automatic transcription in English, and the option to rewatch video recordings with automatic transcript scrolling (an extremely useful feature when editing excerpts). Knowing that I would have rough transcripts and video recordings readily available after each interview helped me be a more receptive and involved interviewer, as I was less worried about taking notes verbatim and could thus focus more on the conversational aspect of interviewing (Kvale, 1996), as well as on following up on relevant statements and asking for clarification (Stake, 1995).

All but one of the interviews took place in English, while Ms. Esquivel's happened in Spanish per her request. That said, interviewees were never instructed to answer in a specific language; and even though I did tell them I would ask questions in English because my protocol was written in that language, they were still free to respond in the language(s) they felt most comfortable. Hence, some of Jerónimo's and Cecilia's interviews contained instances of trans-linguaging (see García, 2009). Regarding their length, Biographical Interviews lasted around 2 hours per participant, as these involved lengthy and thorough conversations about decades worth of life experiences. Colleague and End-of-Study Interviews, meanwhile, only lasted between 45 and 60 minutes per participant. Fulfilling my promise to the principal at MHS, I made sure that these interviews did not happen during instructional time. Rather, they all occurred after school or (if teachers themselves offered) during planning periods.

3.3.4.2. Observations. A second major data source for this study was observations of my participants when they taught—virtually or in person. The need for observational data is a given for Yin (2009), since case studies “should take place in the natural setting of the ‘case’” (p. 109) to allow for the direct watching of relevant behaviors and contexts. Similarly, Merriam (1998) contends that “observation is the best technique when an activity, event, or situation can

be observed firsthand” (p. 96). Thus, the chief purpose of observations for this study was to give an account of the most tangible aspect of RQ2 and RQ3: the focal participants’ PCK in action.

For this study, I conducted periodic teaching observations between November 2021 and January 2022. My initial plan was to observe participants six to eight times on a weekly basis; however, in an effort to lessen the burden on teachers, I reduced the number of observations to a maximum of five. As I explain below, for each teacher, I selected a class or period I wished to observe and limited my observations to that specific group. Thus, even though I attempted to schedule observations every week, this was not possible due to a variety of reasons: holidays, teachers’ days off, scheduling conflicts, student assemblies, and close contacts with COVID-19 cases, among others. Prior to commencing teaching observations, I asked my participants to make it very clear to their students that I was there to observe their teacher and not them.

Jackie was the first focal teacher to start and finish her observation cycle, and I was in her class five (5) times between November 9 and December 15, 2021. Upon Jackie’s suggestion (and due to my own schedule constraints at the time), I observed her second period class on “B” days, which was her Honors English 10. While I told Jackie that I would be happy to observe any of her classes, she later explained to me that she thought this would be the class where I would see the most “teaching” in a traditional sense. Moreover, I believe there may have been an element of personal pride in her choice, too, as Jackie designed the curriculum for this course a few years ago, with some guidance from Mr. Starr (see section 3.3.2.2.2). As she would later put it to me, she “loved” teaching this class. Jackie’s Honors English 10 group was relatively small, even for MHS standards, as there were only eight students in it. During my time there, Jackie’s class had just started a new unit centered around the book *Speak* by Laurie Halse Anderson (1999), and they were also using the book to illustrate a variety of literary devices, like contrasts and

contradictions and internal vs. external conflicts. Since MHS was entirely back to in-person instruction at the time, I was also able to observe Jackie's teaching in person.

The second focal teacher to begin and end observations was Cecilia, whom I observed five times between December 9, 2021, and January 11, 2022. In her case, I asked to observe her Spanish language arts period, which she taught every day between 9:30 am and 10:45 am, since I felt this class would be the best option for me to observe her PCK as it pertains to language (her HL, for that matter). Like MHS, Watson ES was back to in-person instruction, but the school was also allowing some students to attend virtually, per their parents' request. Thus, during my first three observations, Cecilia was back in her classroom, but she was doing "hybrid" teaching, with four (4) virtual students and an additional number of in-person students I could not see. I was able to connect to these sessions through the same Zoom link as Cecilia's students.

On December 20, 2022, however, Cecilia's school district announced a temporary return to virtual instruction through mid-January, due to a rising number of COVID cases in the district and local region. Thus, while I continued to observe Cecilia remotely (twice in January), her class was now entirely virtual, with all 15 of her kindergartners logging in through Zoom. Other than that major change, all the lessons I observed from Cecilia were similar in terms of content, each involving her usual morning routines as well as work with Spanish syllables, vocabulary instruction, and reading time—again, among other things. Despite the virtual setting, Cecilia's students were very lively and eager to impress her, likely in part because of their very young age, but also because of how much they appreciated her as a teacher.

Finally, Jerónimo was the last focal teacher to start and complete his observation cycle,³¹ which took place between December 7, 2021, and January 12, 2022. In order to align Jerónimo's

³¹ Curiously, Jerónimo was one of the first focal teachers to join this study, as I recruited him in late 2020. We were able to conduct his Biographical Interview in November of that year, but after that, we fell out of touch. While he

first two observation days with Jackie’s last—since they both taught at MHS—I suggested that I observe his third-period class on “B” days. Fortuitously, he taught “Spanish for Native Speakers” (SNS) during that period, which I felt would be an excellent place to get a nuanced picture of his PCK as a language teacher, since he would be teaching his HL to fellow “native speakers” like him. Jerónimo’s SNS class was a popular offering at NHS, which I saw firsthand when his room was at maximum capacity during third period (25 students). During my first two observations of Jerónimo’s teaching (December 2021), his class was well into a unit on identity (“*La identidad*”). However, due to the timing of my arrival, I only got to see independent-practice activities for this unit, namely the tail-end of a set of presentations on Latin American traditions and preparation for the unit’s “mastery project”: a biographical presentation on an assigned Hispanic figure (from a list including the likes of Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez, Puerto Rican nationalist Lolita Lebrón, and Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara, among many others).

For the very same reason as Cecilia above, Jerónimo also had to switch temporarily from in-person to virtual instruction; and due to this mandatory instructional change, I had to do my last two observations of his teaching (January 2022) via Zoom. In addition, Jerónimo explained to me that the MHS administration had taken the decision to halt the introduction of new content during these temporary virtual-instruction weeks, since many of their students found it difficult to participate in remote learning due to connectivity issues and a lack of suitable places to focus on their classwork. Hence, the last two classes I observed from Jerónimo were noticeably shorter (about 50 minutes instead of the usual 90) and consisted chiefly of a “meditation” exercise (see section 4.2.3) and some grammar review activities on the popular website, Kahoot.

never officially withdrew from the study, I considered him as such. However, when Jackie joined the study the following year, I reached out to Jerónimo again to gauge his interest in rejoining his study—since I would already be at his school for a few weeks observing Jackie. Much to my delight, he agreed to resume his participation in December 2021, upon his return from a trip outside the country.

As can be seen in my protocol (Appendix I), I took notes of three major details during observations: (1) a running record of teacher and student actions during class, time coded every five minutes; (2) any preliminary evidence of my participants' PCK during the observed lesson; and (3) any connections to participants' experiences with HL maintenance/development that are evident to me during the observation. While the first aspect of my observation fieldnotes is self-evident, I shall explain the latter two in greater detail: For "evidence of PCK," I took note of connections between the lesson-in-action and the L2 PCK literature, including—but not limited to—explanations of grammar and pragmatics, high-leverage teaching practices, lesson structures, and cultural awareness knowledge (see section 2.3). Meanwhile, "connections to life experiences with HL" referred to aspects of my participants' experiences with HL maintenance that seemed relevant to their teaching practices and/or observed PCK. The notes for these two columns were kept at the same level as notes of the specific event(s) that triggered such connections, serving as a visual reinforcement of the relationship between the three columns of my fieldnotes.

In terms of my presence in the classrooms I observed, my position was characteristically that of *complete observer*, where "the researcher is ... hidden from the group" (Gold, as cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 101). This pattern was due in part to my own introverted nature, but it also had to do with the observation format: For observations via Zoom, the teachers and I agreed that I should probably keep my camera off, so that I would not distract or inhibit students even more than they already might have been in the virtual setting. That said, I also typically aimed to make my presence as unobtrusive as possible during in-person observations, and so my propensity was to find a corner where I would not be in anybody's way and simply stay there.

In relation to being "unobtrusive," my habit for in-person observations was to take notes by hand (in a composition book) rather than on my laptop. And after every observation, I would

find some time at home to flesh out my fieldnotes and type them up in my observation protocol (Appendix H). At the end of each fieldnote there was also space for me to write a *memo* where I described emerging patterns and phenomena to pay attention to in later observations, as well as methodological issues to keep in mind for the future (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Emerson et al., 1995). While my intent was to complete all fieldnotes and analysis memos in the same day as the observation, this was honestly not always possible. For virtual observations, meanwhile, I typed my notes directly onto a digital copy of my observation protocol, making sure to keep my microphone muted to remain inconspicuous during instruction.

Finally, I had requested permission from the school district to video-record observations to further support my fieldnotes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). However, I ended up abandoning this plan, as I realized that it would make the process even more onerous for the focal teachers, who would have needed to worry about consent forms, the placement of video cameras, and the like, in what was already a very hectic and stressful year for all involved. As I expound in section 5.4, the lack of video-recorded data is a limitation for this study, as it would certainly have helped me have more precise evidence of PCK, but it was also not an insurmountable obstacle for analysis.

3.3.4.3. Documents. According to Merriam (1998), *document* serves as an “umbrella term to refer to a wide range of written, visual, and physical material relevant to the study at hand” (p. 112). Documents can be of different kinds (e.g., public, personal), but the ones that I collected fell chiefly under Merriam’s classifications of *artifacts* and *researcher-generated documents*. The former refers to physical materials that the researcher collects from the context of the study; while the latter refers to anything created by the investigator during the course of the investigation, including photographs. In the context of this dissertation, then, the documents

I gathered were mostly class artifacts like lesson presentation slides; as well as photographs of the classroom spaces I observed in person (i.e., researcher-generated documents).

As explained in Table 3.1 above, documents were most relevant to RQ2 and RQ3, since they helped me develop a more complete understanding of my participants' PCK. A benefit of collecting documents is their "stability" and "nonreactive nature," which makes them less biased than other data sources, since their existence is "unaffected by the research process" (Merriam, 1998, p. 126). Even so, researchers have also noted limitations to using documents in qualitative case studies, with Yin (2009) even claiming that "physical artifacts have less potential relevance in the most typical kind of case study" (p. 113). While I do not share Yin's critique, I do agree with Merriam (1998) that it is important for researchers to be mindful of the fragmentary nature of documents and their potential incompatibility with the study or its theoretical framework.

For this reason, my approach to collecting documents for this study was *systematic*, as Merriam (1998) advocates. I began the study with a fairly clear idea of the sorts of documents that I wished to collect; and so I did not pursue any other sources outside the two document types described earlier (i.e., artifacts and researcher-generated documents). That is not to say that I was not open to collecting other documents suggested by my participants, for, as Stake (1995) claims, "by showing interest in various documents, the researcher enlists a number of actors and colleagues in the watch for useful documents" (p. 68). However, they did not offer me any other documents aside from the lesson materials I requested.

3.3.5. Data Management

Data management began almost simultaneously with data collection. In other words, as soon as I collected my first piece of information, I looked for the best ways to store, organize, and sift through my data. Case study and qualitative experts recommend that researchers manage

their data properly, with Stake (1995) suggesting a “data storage system” (p. 55) and Yin (2009) a “case study database” (p. 118). Merriam (1998) echoes their call, adding that data management consists of three phases: *data preparation*, *data identification*, and *data manipulation*, each one of which will be discussed further in this section—alongside *data storage*.

In terms of data preparation, all handwritten data was digitized using word processing software (e.g., Microsoft Word). Fieldnotes were typed up as expediently as possible, using the observation protocol from Appendix H. Interviews were transcribed automatically by Zoom (via a feature powered by *Otter.ai*); and upon cross-checking them with my typed interview notes, I “cleaned up” relevant segments from these transcripts that could serve as potential excerpts for this dissertation report. Because I was aware of the imperfect quality of automatic transcriptions, no segment from the Zoom transcripts made it onto this report without getting some “polishing” from me first. Video recordings of interviews were digitized automatically by Zoom. Finally, regarding documents and artifacts, they were digitized as pictures taken with my phone, if they were not in digital form already.

After transferring data to digital formats, I stored them in both a cloud folder and in my computer. Furthermore, I made sure to create backups of them in my external hard drive, in case I had computer issues. I have a folder specially devoted to data collection for my dissertation, and I created multiple layers of folders to help organize data in ways that made them easier to locate and retrieve (i.e., data identification). For example, I made sure that each piece of data was labeled in such a way that I could easily tell its contents, date, and featured participant(s). I also made sure to protect the identities of my participants by using pseudonyms in these labels and throughout the data, keeping a list of pseudonyms that was encrypted and protected by password.

All data were entered into a data log spreadsheet that is encrypted and password-protected. Any physical versions of data are kept under lock and key in my home office.

Finally, for the purposes of data manipulation, I relied on the key features of software designed for qualitative research. According to Merriam (1998), data manipulation refers to the process by which pieces of data are “searched for, sorted, retrieved, and rearranged” (p. 167). All these actions can be performed by qualitative software such as *NVivo* and *Dedoose*, which allow for not just the creation of analytical codes, but also the sorting and searching of data according to these codes. Moreover, text-based data (e.g., Word documents, PDFs that have gone through OCR) logged into qualitative software can be searched by keywords and key phrases. Thus, while the main use of these programs is the data analysis, they also help with data management.

Table 3.2 summarizes the process of data management for this study.

Data Source	Data Preparation	Data Storage	Data Identification	Data Manipulation
Observation fieldnotes	Handwritten notes and memos were typed up in the observation protocol using a word processor.	Typed fieldnotes were entered into the data log and saved in a folder on my laptop. Physical notes were kept in my home office.	Typed fieldnotes were saved in their corresponding folder and labeled by their date and participants.	Qualitative software was used to search for, sort, and retrieve data in typed fieldnotes.
Interview transcripts	Zoom (powered by Otter.ai) transcribed video recordings automatically. Relevant segments were cross-checked with notes and “cleaned up” prior to inclusion in the written report.	Interview transcripts were entered into the data log and saved in a folder on my laptop.	Interview transcripts were saved in their corresponding folder and labeled by their date and participants.	Qualitative software was used to search for, sort, and retrieve data in interview transcripts.

Table 3.2. Data Management Measures (cf. Merriam, 1998)

Data Source	Data Preparation	Data Storage	Data Identification	Data Manipulation
Video recordings	Video recordings were digitized automatically by Zoom.	Video recordings were entered into the data log and saved in a folder on my laptop.	Video recordings were saved in their corresponding folder and labeled by their date and participants.	Qualitative software was used to search for, sort, and retrieve video recordings. Codes/ labels were added for searchability.
Documents and artifacts	Physical documents and artifacts were digitized as photographs. Other documents were already in digital form (e.g., lesson slides, materials).	Documents and artifacts were entered into the data log and saved in a folder on my laptop.	Documents and artifacts were saved in their corresponding folder and labeled by their date and participants.	Qualitative software was used to search for, sort, and retrieve documents and artifacts. Codes/ labels were added for searchability.

Table 3.2. Data Management Measures (cf. Merriam, 1998) (cont.)

3.3.6. Data Analysis

Just as he argues for data collection, Stake (1995) contends that “there is no particular moment when data analysis begins” (p. 71). Merriam (1998) echoes this sentiment to an extent, claiming that data collection and analysis are a “simultaneous” (p. 151) process that is “recursive and dynamic” (p. 155). These assertions held true for my approach to data analysis in this study, especially if we define analysis concretely as “working with the data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them and searching for patterns” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 159). All these analytical tasks occurred as soon as I began collecting data and ruminated about my “first impressions” of what I just heard or witnessed. In addition, the writing of analytical memos provided a built-in opportunity for analysis during data collection, since my observation protocol includes a place to write an analytical memo.

Still, analyzing data became my sole focus after the final round of interviews in March 2022, at which point I was free from the responsibilities of intensive fieldwork and able to look

at my phenomenon of interest with some distance (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). At this point I was most engrossed in sifting through different sources of data; selecting important moments for closer inspection; and writing memos about methodology, theory, and interpretation. At this point I was also most involved in the process of qualitative *coding*, or “assigning some sort of shorthand designation to various aspects of your data so you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data” (Merriam, 1998, p. 164). Some of the codes I used were predetermined by me (e.g., *grammatical knowledge* for PCK, *supportive families* for HL maintenance), while other codes emerged from the data (e.g., *translanguaging* and *caring pedagogies* for PCK; *older siblings leaving the family home* for HL maintenance). As I accumulated codes, relationships between them emerged, ultimately helping me find *categories* or *themes* that could speak back to theory (Merriam, 1998). While I do not claim that this case study can generalize to theory, I agree with Flyvbjerg (2001) and Yin (2009) that it can lead to theory refinement by providing evidence that can be compared against existing theories and concepts, chiefly PCK and HL maintenance.

In addition to the general qualitative approach to data analysis described above, my study also consisted of two stages: *within-case* and *cross-case*. Both Merriam (1998) and Yin (2009) recommend this two-tiered approach as a stronger analytic design for multiple-case studies, with the latter arguing that it leads to more robust findings. Thus, I first treated each case as though it were a separate study (Yin, 2009), each one having its own set of codes and categories. Then, in the cross-case analysis stage, I worked “to bring abstractions across cases” (Merriam, 1998, p. 195), which also resulted in its own codes and categories, as well as new understandings of some of the codes and categories from within-case analysis. As will be seen in Table 3.3 (at the end of this section) and in Chapter 4, these two stages of analysis applied to my three RQs, though the answers that spoke most powerfully to theory inevitably emerged from cross-case analysis.

The analytic process described here reflects my overall approach, which is a combination of the *ethnographic* and *constant comparative* strategies (Merriam, 1998). While this study is not an ethnography, since it is not an exploration of the culture of a group (Creswell, 2007), it is ethnographic in that it brought together multiple sources of data and condensed them in order to produce thick descriptions of my participants (Merriam, 1998). Likewise, while my study did not set out to generate a grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), it relied on multiple techniques from this approach, such as an openness to novel insights from the data and iterative rounds of category comparison. Lastly, since much of the data from this study is linguistic in nature (e.g., interview transcripts), my analysis of excerpts was also influenced by approaches to *discourse analysis* I am most familiar with, particularly Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 2003) and Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (Mercer, 2004). As stated in section 3.2, this methodological “versatility” is a hallmark of the case study method, and it stems from its reliance on a variety of data sources to answer its research questions. For an overview of the data analysis plans for this study, especially as they relate to my research questions, please see Table 3.3 below.

RQ	Procedures for Within-Case Analysis	Procedures for Cross-Case Analysis
RQ1. How do the focal HLLs-turned-language-teachers in this study describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?	- Coding of biographical interview data (and other pertinent data from interviews and observations). - Comparison of codes and generation of categories (iterative process). - Description of major categories for each case and generation of connections to theoretical framework and previous literature.	- Review of codes and categories from all cases. - Aggregation of codes and categories, followed by identification of cross-cutting patterns in HL maintenance. - Description of cross-cutting patterns and generation of connections to theoretical framework and previous literature on HL maintenance.

Table 3.3. Connection Between Research Questions and Data Analysis Plans

RQ	Procedures for Within-Case Analysis	Procedures for Cross-Case Analysis
RQ2. What kinds of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) are evident in the practice of these HLLs-turned-language-teachers?	- Coding of observational data and relevant artifacts. - Comparison of codes and generation of categories (iterative process). - Description of major categories for each case and generation of connections to empirical and conceptual literature on PCK.	- Review of codes and categories from all cases. - Aggregation of codes and categories, followed by identification of cross-cutting patterns in participants' enactment of PCK in their classrooms. - Description of cross-cutting patterns and generation of connections to empirical and conceptual literature on PCK.
RQ3. How do these HLLs-turned-language-teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?	- Review of codes and categories related to HL maintenance and PCK. - Search for coincidences in HL and PCK codes for each case (iterative process). - Description of major patterns and generation of hypotheses about the relationship between life experiences and PCK for each case.	- Review of hypotheses on the relationship between life experiences and PCK for all three cases. - Identification of cross-cutting patterns in the hypotheses on the relationship between life experiences and PCK. - Description of cross-cutting patterns and suggestions for theory refinement.

Table 3.3. Connection Between Research Questions and Data Analysis Plans (cont.)

3.4. Statement of Researcher Positionality

As Stake (1995) puts it so succinctly, “qualitative case study is highly personal research” (p. 135): Not only does this method often feature people as its foci—as in this dissertation—but it also involves a kind of interpretation that is impossible to detach from the scholar’s personal perspectives (Stake, 1995). In fact, as Milner (2007) posits, attempts to make qualitative research more “objective” by excluding or minimizing the researcher’s racialized and cultural identities may lead to unseen and unforeseen issues that may ultimately do more harm than good to people of color. Hence, in this section, I discuss my positionality—or “an individual’s world view and

the position they adopt about a research task and its social and political context” (Holmes, 2020, p. 1)—in order to lay bare my subjectivities and their potential impact over this study.

As a bilingual Latino immigrant in the United States, I share a number of identities with the focal participants in this study: Just like Jerónimo, Cecilia, and Jackie, I was born in a Latin American country (Peru, in my case); and because of our countries of birth, the four of us have used the Spanish language to communicate and make meaning all our lives. Furthermore, all four of us immigrated to the U.S. when we were young, though my arrival in this country was slightly later (at the age of 13) and through a different location (the suburbs of Atlanta). Therefore, we all grew up as both immigrants and children of immigrants, learning to navigate the terrain of a new country while also helping guide many of our loved ones through that same terrain. Lastly, I, like the three focal participants in this study, am a language teacher and have taught both Spanish and English. That being said, though, while my teaching experience was not in P-12 like that of my participants, I, too, have a professional identity that is intimately bound to my linguistic identity.

Having all these points of convergence with my focal participants can be a double-edged sword in terms of my role as a researcher. On the one hand, they are some of the main catalysts of this dissertation study: Independent of my internal debates about whether I “fit” the common definitions of “heritage language learner,” HLLs-turned-language-teachers are not just a group of people who are “interesting” to me. They are people with whom I identify closely along multiple fronts: as a bilingual, as an immigrant, and as an educator. My motivation to learn more about how their lives and pedagogies intersect is more than academic; it is personal. And perhaps it is because of this personal investment that I gravitated towards a research approach (the qualitative case study) that prioritizes depicting the stories and experiences of cases in great detail—stories and experiences that I relate to rather closely.

Furthermore, my proximity to this research topic arguably makes me more sensitive to insights and nuances that a more “distant” researcher may not notice with ease. When collecting and analyzing data for this dissertation, I found that I often picked up on things that Jerónimo, Cecilia, and Jackie left unsaid. I was able to “read between the lines,” and this ability allowed me to develop further rapport with my participants by showing them that I could see things from their perspectives. This is not to say that a researcher from a very different background could not be able to identify ideas that are implied and concealed within shared cultural experiences; but they may need additional data and sources to make such connections. Given the logistical and temporal constraints imposed on my study by real-world situations (i.e., the COVID pandemic), my sense of identification with the HLL-turned-language-teacher helped expedite my process and made it more efficient and efficacious.

Nevertheless, there is also a strong probability that my proximity to this dissertation topic hindered as much as helped. For one, it could give me a false sense of confidence in my analysis, in that I might focus so much on my similarities with my focal participants that I disregard key differences that could lead to a conflicting or divergent interpretation of data. After all, I did not grow up in the same places as my participants, nor did I immigrate at the same age as them. In addition, because I identified so strongly with my participants, I often shared about my own life and experiences during our interviews. While I believe that doing so helped build rapport with these educators, I also worry about unintended consequences like leading participants in a certain direction or stifling their voices. Having a personal connection with the topic and participants is useful and illuminating, but there is also always a risk that it may backfire.

Concerns about the impact of positionality on the role of the researcher are unavoidable, since our identities are inextricable parts of us. It is my hope, then, that by acknowledging my

subjectivities, not only did I proceed more carefully and thoroughly in my analysis, but readers will also take my positionality into account when engaging with my findings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). This positionality statement is a first step in adding trustworthiness to this report and pushing me towards taking a more rigorous approach to research in order to protect the integrity of my findings. Other methodological choices further support this endeavor, and I turn to those in the following section of this chapter.

3.5. Standards of Rigor and Trustworthiness

In this final section of the chapter, I discuss how I upheld standards of methodological rigor and trustworthiness in this dissertation study. Discussions of these standards in qualitative research have involved such terms as *validity*, *reliability*, and *quality*, which I discuss below.

While scholars have debated whether validity is a construct that can be applied directly to qualitative research (Anfara et al., 2002), discussions of validity have generally centered around the notion of *triangulation*, or “using multiple investigators, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings” (Merriam, 1998, p. 204). Both Stake (1995) and Yin (2009) encourage the use of triangulation to enhance the validity of case studies, with the latter claiming that the “use of multiple sources of evidence” (p. 42) is an essential tactic for increasing validity. In this study, then, I triangulated data by not only collecting multiple types of evidence, but also by constructing my answers to each research question using different kinds of evidence (see Table 3.1). Moreover, I relied on a variety of strategies (e.g., constant comparison, discourse analysis) to analyze my data, which further enhanced the validity of my findings. Due to the individual nature of the dissertation, I was unable to triangulate across multiple researchers, but even the sharing of findings and data with peers, my advisor, and in scholarly conferences was a way to confirm patterns that emerged from the data.

In addition to triangulation, Yin (2009) also advocates “hav[ing] the case study report reviewed by key informants” (p. 42) as a tactic for increasing the validity of a case study. Other scholars (e.g., Anfara et al., 2002; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995) echo this advice, referring to this process as *member checking*. However, they do not advocate waiting until after finishing the full case-study report to member check; instead, they recommend sharing pieces of data and drafts of the analysis sections along the way. Due to time constraints and fast-approaching deadlines, I was only able to member check during the end-of-study interviews (see section 3.3.4.1). That said, this lone exercise was truly invaluable, for it gave the focal participants the opportunity to add nuance to both my impressions and those of their colleagues. Prior to submitting the final version of this dissertation, I will offer the focal teachers a final opportunity to member check by reading at least the findings sections about them. This will enhance the validity of my findings by allowing participants one last chance to correct any errors or misperceptions they find.

Regarding *reliability*, qualitative researchers have also questioned the applicability of the “traditional,” quantitative definition of the term: “the extent to which studies can be replicated” (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 211). Rather, the qualitative understanding of reliability revolves around the “fit between what [researchers] record as data and what actually occurs in the setting under study” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 40). To increase the reliability of qualitative studies, then, scholars (e.g., Merriam, 1998) suggest the use of multiple data sources (i.e., triangulation), which this study does (as explained above). Moreover, Yin (2009) argues for the use of protocols and a case study database to further boost reliability, both of which can be made public through an “audit trail” in the report (Anfara et al., 2002). Thus, my data management plans (see section 3.3.5 above) and interview and observation protocols (Appendices E-I) served to increase the reader’s trust that my “results are consistent with the data collected” (Merriam, 1998, p. 206).

In addition, Yin (2009) mentions that “the goal of reliability is to minimize the errors and biases in a study” (p. 45). While the tactics described above help reduce errors and biases to an extent, they do not necessarily address another common source of bias: the researcher. As Stake (1995) states, rather succinctly, “qualitative research is subjective” (p. 45); and this subjectivity is not a failure that we should eliminate, but rather a facet of our scholarly work that we need to acknowledge and understand (cf. Milner, 2007; Peshkin, 2000). For this reason, reports of my findings recognize points where certain aspects of my personal background (e.g., bilingualism, immigrant status, former profession as a Spanish teacher) could have affected my data collection and analysis. This tactic does not fully eliminate bias from my report (if it is even possible), but it at least makes such biases apparent for the reader, who can then proceed with caution.

Finally, in terms of *quality*, Yin (2009) proposes four principles that ensure a high-quality analysis in social studies research: (1) paying attention to “all the evidence;” (2) addressing “all major rival interpretations;” (3) ensuring that the analysis deals with “the most important aspect” of the case; and (4) using one’s own “prior, expert knowledge” (pp. 160-161). I did my best to keep the first three of these recommendations in mind during data collection and analysis, for I concur with Yin that they can improve the quality of my analysis. As for the fourth suggestion, I have described much of the “expert knowledge” that will inform me in the literature review and theoretical framework sections of this report (see Chapter 2). Thus, while I will also keep this advice in mind throughout this study, I believe I have fostered favorable conditions for it through my review of relevant conceptual and empirical literature.

3.6. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has described various aspects pertaining to the design of this multiple-case study of HLL-turned-language-teachers, from my rationale for choosing the case

study approach to the finer details of data collection, management, and analysis. Writing this chapter has made me conscious of the decision-making that characterizes studies like this one, which in turn prepared me better for the inevitable twists and turns of qualitative research. Now, I turn to the findings that derived from my systematic and principled collection and analysis of data—the subject of Chapter 4 of this report.

Chapter 4: Findings

In this chapter I present the findings from this dissertation study, which result from my thematic analysis of the data I gathered from the three focal HLL-turned-language-teachers. This chapter is organized into three major sections, each one addressing one of the study's research questions: First, I detail the focal teachers' experiences with heritage-language (HL) maintenance and development, with data derived chiefly from the biographical interviews (RQ1). Second, I describe the focal teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (PCK), as evidenced in interview data—from both the teachers and their colleagues—as well as my own direct observations of their teaching (RQ2). Finally, I explore the apparent connections between focal teachers' life experiences with HL maintenance and their PCK (RQ3).

In addition, and following experts' recommendations for analyzing multiple-case studies (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009), each of the major sections described above is organized in the same manner: Each case (i.e., focal teacher) is first discussed individually and in depth, thus ensuring a proper understanding of their particularities. Then, I detail themes that were evident from more than one focal teacher, accounting not just for potential reasons why they surface across cases but also for why not all the focal teachers fit these patterns.

As will be seen in the sections below, this two-tiered approach to the multiple-case study provides for nuanced understandings about the HLL-turned-language-teacher and their PCK. Though diverse, their experiences still resonate with major themes from the literature on HL maintenance, highlighting the importance of home and community factors in curtailing HL loss. Likewise, these focal teachers' pedagogies overlap on multiple fronts, such as a development of strong bonds with students and an embrace of additive multilingual practices; but the ways they enact these pedagogical notions are influenced by the constraints and affordances related to their

teaching contexts, content areas, and other similar factors. Hence, while there are salient links between the teachers' HL maintenance experiences and PCK, a look across all three cases is also a reminder that, even with the clear presence of parallels between them, HLLs-turned-language-teachers are not a monolith—much like HLLs themselves.

4.1. RQ1. How Do the Focal HLLs-Turned-Language-Teachers in This Study Describe Their Experiences with HL Maintenance and Development?

As mentioned above and in Chapter 3, discussion of participants' experiences with HL maintenance and development took place chiefly during the Biographical Interview, which was the first research activity for all participants. That said, I also used the End-of-Study Interviews to ask follow-up and clarification questions pertaining to discussion points from the Biographical ones. Thus, data appearing in this section may also come from the final interviews. Findings for the individual focal cases is presented in alphabetical order by first name.

4.1.1. *Cecilia*

Having moved from the village of San Miguel in El Salvador to the United States capital of Washington, DC, at the age of 9, Cecilia portrayed her childhood as a time of changes—some gradual, others sudden. For instance, while her home landscape changed radically from rural to urban, Cecilia's linguistic environment remained Spanish-centered. Because her parents and her sisters were also developing their English skills (with her younger brother being the only one she described as a “fluent” English speaker at the time), Spanish was able to maintain its place as the language of Cecilia's home during her childhood: not only did the household members use it, but it was also the language emanating from their television and radio.

Furthermore, church was also an HL affair for Cecilia and her family, as users of Spanish had a heavy presence in their congregation. Hence, religious services served as another context of exposure to Spanish for Cecilia, which resonates with the HL-maintenance experiences often

found in the literature (e.g., Tse, 2001a, 2001b; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016; see also section 2.1). Yet the church's influence in Cecilia's story was a bit more complex, as she also credits her religious community for teaching her English as a child:

Cecilia: And then the church we attended were Hispanic as well, it was a Hispanic church community. So whenever we had events for church, it was mostly Spanish. However, when I attended Sunday school, that's when the change came that I had friends that were in Sunday school that were born here. So I feel that I was exposed to English more through Sunday school, outside the school setting.
(Biographical Interview, April 21, 2021)

In helping her become acquainted with American-born Hispanic peers, then, church was more than a place for Cecilia to help maintain her HL; it was also a context of exposure to English and its role as the societal language of her new home country.

In addition, Cecilia also seemed to indicate that her childhood was the time during which she first became privy to the notions of linguistic hierarchy that are prevalent in the U.S. When asked how she felt back then about being a user of Spanish in the United States, she responded:

Cecilia: At that age, I feel that it wasn't as valued as it is now. Because back in the days I feel like, you know- Now I know that we're minorities and everything, but I feel that we're valued with having a different language. And back then I didn't. I felt that speaking English was the best thing, more than Spanish. And even though I did value it, because it was my language. But I wanted to master English more than Spanish, yeah. So I don't think I felt that I wasn't, um... How you call it. *No era una lengua muy reconocida* [it wasn't a highly regarded language] in my school setting. My language was not acknowledged in my school setting, that's what I feel.
(Biographical Interview, April 21, 2021)

Much like many adult HLLs looking at their HL maintenance in hindsight (e.g., Tse, 2001b; see also section 2.1.2), Cecilia now realizes that her desire as a child was to learn English and be part of the so-called mainstream. Furthermore, this desire was supported by linguistic ideologies in society, as well as what she now sees as the educational system's lack of acknowledgment and

valuing of her HL. These perspectives likely contributed to Cecilia's arguably *subtractive* wish to learn English "more than anything," even though her home and community environments contained a variety of factors that foster HL maintenance and additive bilingualism.

As an adolescent, then, Cecilia reported that English began to 'encroach' into Spanish's territory in her linguistic repertoire. With their financial situation improving a bit, Cecilia and her family moved to a bigger house. Thus, while the language of conversations in their home continued to be Spanish, there was now a TV set in Cecilia's brother's bedroom, which allowed for far more constant exposure to English through shows and movies. Even further, Cecilia described her new neighborhood as "less diverse," particularly in linguistic terms. Hence, her new middle school had a smaller proportion of ESOL students than her elementary school, which in a way "forced" Cecilia to use English in school even more than in the past.

It was in high school that Cecilia felt as though her HL was valued. Now attending a school with a more heavily Hispanic population, Cecilia explained how a more diverse staff and multicultural school-sponsored activities helped her feel "a little special" for having an HL:

Cecilia: In high school, I felt that there was there was more diversity in the staff population. And, in which they organized more activities that would acknowledge my culture and my language. [...] So we would have more teachers, that maybe they were not Hispanic, but they were fluent in Spanish, and they promoted a lot of activities like, not only clubs but also programs, you know. "Oh, let's do these for Hispanic heritage month." I felt that that was very good, so that's when I started like, you know, I felt a little special because I didn't speak another English. But before that, I felt that it was hushed, you know. Especially in middle school, I felt that I didn't have a lot of opportunities to express my first language.
(Biographical Interview, April 21, 2021)

As Cecilia describes in the excerpt above, factors such as her high school's demographics and attitude towards multilingualism and multiculturalism contributed to a renewed sense of pride in her HL. While this pride did not lead Cecilia to take Spanish language and/or literature courses

afterwards (she took French as an elective all the way up to college), it did give her the mindset that her Spanish could be a valuable asset in the future, if she maintained it. Thus, when working as a nurse in the DC area, she took up the challenge to interpret for her colleagues who could not speak Spanish with their patients. In fact, she even recounted attempting to gain certification as an interpreter, though she failed her test due to a specific medical term she did was unfamiliar with: *tos ferina* (whooping cough or pertussis).

After leaving nursing to become a teacher, Cecilia's HL maintenance became more passive and limited to her home environments, since she worked mainly in mainstream schools and classrooms. That said, now that she is teaching in a Spanish one-way immersion school, Cecilia does mention having to become more active about her HL maintenance and development. Though her misgivings and successes as an HLL-turned-language-teacher will be discussed more in depth in section 4.3.1 below, it is worth noting that the notion of a supportive community is once again prevalent in Cecilia's story. This time, however, it is not Cecilia's home and church that praise her HL skills, but rather the administrators and fellow educators in her school.

4.1.2. Jackie

In Jackie's case, one almost gets the feeling that her HL maintenance was a given, due to certain factors in her life story. As the youngest member of her family when they moved to the U.S. from Guatemala, Jackie has been exposed to English for a greater proportion of her life than any of her siblings or parents. And while one could expect such a context to result in HL attrition (e.g., Guglani, 2016; Portes & Hao, 1998; Tse, 2001a, 2001b), other parts of Jackie's home life countered this potential language loss. For instance, the older ages at which her siblings arrived in the U.S. (i.e., mid-teens) made the maintenance of Spanish a more crucial endeavor for Jackie,

as she needed the language in order to communicate with her siblings—who, as ‘later’ bilinguals, developed their English at a slower rate than Jackie did (Baker & Wright, 2017).

Additionally, Jackie’s parents further tilted the scale in favor of HL maintenance, as the father’s job made Spanish a far more constant presence in her life:

Jackie: In terms of my parents, yes, still strictly Spanish. Like I said, to this day it’s 100% Spanish with them. The only time I hear them speak English is my dad, when he has to make calls to Pepco or something. But other than that, it’s 100% TV in Spanish. I still was heavily involved in the Church, so the weekends were still spent with youth group and church, and things like that. I was out of the House more, which probably makes it seem like I used less Spanish. But in my home, it was still all Spanish all the time. (Biographical Interview, October 29, 2021)

As stated above, Jackie recalled only ever hearing her father speak English when he needed to run errands. Otherwise, home and family life could proceed in Spanish in their household. Even as Jackie’s siblings moved out of the family home to form their own families, and Jackie’s social life started to involve more English speakers, Spanish continued to be the expected language of communication at home with her parents (and it still is). Once the “family language policy” was set in favor of the HL and—most importantly—was followed through (cf. Schwartz, 2008), it became harder for outside factors to erode it from Jackie’s repertoire.

Timing also played a crucial role in Jackie’s HL maintenance and development, as her adolescence coincided with a moment when music in Spanish, particularly *reggaeton*, achieved mainstream success in the U.S. (mid-2000s). Thus, while some adolescent HLLs experience a desire to blend in and become part of the English ‘mainstream’ (Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b), Jackie came to appreciate how knowing Spanish meant she was “in the know” about the lyrics of hugely popular songs by the likes of Daddy Yankee:

Jackie: And high school was that reggaeton era. Spanish music was big and so like, “We’re Latino! The culture!” You know, all that stuff. So even though most of my friends were U.S.-born Latinos, they kind of started

getting more into the culture: Daddy Yankee was big, Tego Calderón... All that music that was becoming more popular which was in Spanish, that was kind of making us, even myself, like, “Oh wow it’s so cool to know this other language. It’s so cool that this music is hot right now, and we know exactly what they’re saying.” And so, then that kind of made us, socially—because that’s where I did most of my time—it kind of made us want to speak Spanish more. So, we would hang out with the Spanish teacher at our high school and, you know, talk. But, yeah, it was more of the social, like slang, kind of thing. Songs, you know, not formal Spanish. (Biographical Interview, October 29, 2021)

To borrow Tse’s (2001a) construct and terminology, the mainstream popularity of reggaeton during Jackie’s adolescence increased the *language vitality* of Spanish for her. Albeit at a social rather than academic register, this music turned Jackie’s social circle into a community of peers that supported each other’s engagement with the HL and its culture. Hence, the sheer timing of Jackie’s teenage years contributed to her HL maintenance.

Finally, a factor in Jackie’s HL maintenance and development that I would be remiss not to mention are her periodic trips to Guatemala to visit family. Every summer, Jackie’s parents would have her visit their hometown of Mixco and stay there with family for about three months. While many parents see this practice as a way to facilitate HL maintenance (e.g., Cho, 2015), a possible downside is that some HLLs might feel self-conscious about their HL skills when they are surrounded by relatives who use this language with greater proficiency (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). In Jackie’s case, she found that her relatives in Guatemala did single out her HL skills whenever she returned, but such attitudes were only temporary:

Jackie: At the beginning it was like, “Oh my gosh, you speak so funny! You have an accent! You sound American!” But then, I guess you just remember it, so maybe like a couple weeks, a month, after being there, it was just normal. I was picking up the slang. I would talk to them regularly, and maybe they just stopped because I was there for a while. But all my friends from the neighborhood and my cousins, they were fine with it. (Biographical Interview, October 29, 2021)

Once the ‘exotic’ nature of Jackie’s accent wore off and she began to ‘blend in’ linguistically by using local slang, her trips to Guatemala became fertile ground for HL development. However, these visits unfortunately stopped around the time Jackie became an adult, as her grandparents both passed away within three years, thus leaving her without a major reason to visit the country. Similar to some adult HLLs in the literature (e.g., Callahan, 2010), the onset of adulthood meant a period of HL attrition for Jackie, as other concerns such as college and work limited the time and contexts where she could use her HL. As will be seen later in this chapter, though, working at Multicultural HS created a need for Jackie to renew her engagement with her HL.

4.1.3. *Jerónimo*

Jerónimo’s story of HL maintenance and development in many ways fits the classic ‘progression’ that has been found in prior scholarly work about adult HLLs (e.g., Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b): maintenance of the HL at home during childhood, followed by a distancing from the HL in adolescence, followed by a renewed interest in the HL and its culture as an adult. Where Jerónimo’s story adds some nuance, though, is that these stages—particularly the moment of HL distancing—always contained forces that pulled him in opposite directions, often leading to seemingly contradictory perspectives in him.

For example, when describing his childhood after moving to the U.S., Jerónimo listed a variety of factors that facilitated his HL maintenance, such as a supportive family, a community of co-ethnics in the area, constant exposure to the HL in print and media, and a legitimate need to use the language at home (e.g., Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; D. Zhang & Koda, 2011). In the excerpt below, for instance, Jerónimo described how supported he felt in his home environment when it came to maintaining and using his HL as a child:

Jerónimo: Like, man, I had to adapt really quickly to a language that wasn’t my own! And so much of what I appreciated about growing up in a very caring

home was that like no one really- they weren't, like, strict on me with Spanish. So, even though I spoke Spanish all the time. It wasn't like *me regañaban* [they would scold me] if I said something wrong. I don't know, I think my mom has always been pretty, pretty chill...
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

As Jerónimo put it, his mother was not intense or critical about his Spanish, so that even if there were mistakes in his production, she would let them slide, thus giving him the support he needed to maintain and develop his HL. However, what was striking about this anecdote is that it was directly preceded by a statement about the pressure Jerónimo was under to adapt quickly to a new language—English. Though Jerónimo does not say it explicitly, one might wonder whether his mom decided to be “chill” about Spanish in recognition of a factor that would pull her son in the opposite direction of HL maintenance: the dominance of English in the educational system.

In a similar vein, Jerónimo's adolescent years also contained various factors pulling him in opposite directions, although at this point in his life, HL attrition appeared to be winning. In line with literature on adolescent HLLs (e.g., Joo, 2009; Callahan, 2010), Jerónimo spent these years trying to figure out who he was and how he related to U.S. society. As he put it:

Jerónimo: I think if you were to walk into my house in high school. Obviously, I think my language development changed dramatically, and I think that you would hear a lot of me trying to separate myself from Spanish. In middle school and high school, I didn't want to listen to Latino music, and I became incredibly involved in, like, *alternativo*, just like an alternate culture. Just listening to Metallica, and heavy metal, and skateboarding, and making music. That for me made me feel seen, whereas being one more Latino in a school, didn't make me feel seen or recognized. [...] And so I think I had a bit of resentment. [...] Growing up. I think there was a big tension. And I think that happened with my family as well. Because my mom would see me like listening to Linkin Park or Eminem, right? *Marshall Mathers LP*, I listened to that album, day-in, day-out. And my family HATED it, because they didn't understand it, because it was different, because it wasn't in Spanish. But to me it just was like, “This is my thing. And this is how I'm going to claim who I am in this new space.”
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

In trying to negotiate his identity in relation to the world outside his home, Jerónimo began to reject cultural elements he associated with his HL of Spanish in favor of an ‘alternative’ culture that centered around music (rock and hip hop) and skateboarding. More strikingly, though, is the negative reaction he perceived from his family: whereas during his childhood they had been nothing but supportive of his linguistic development, letting him find his own way through the Spanish language; in his adolescence, they did not just disapprove of his cultural choices, they “hated” them because they were not in the language they hoped they would be (i.e., Spanish).

Interestingly, this shift in his family’s support for his choices—linguistic or otherwise—is underscored by Jerónimo describing how, in adolescence, his mom was willing to provide an explicit correction (Ellis, 2009) if he made a mistake or error with Spanish:

- Andrés:** So compared to your childhood, would you say that adolescence was a time where you continued learning or developing your Spanish?
- Jerónimo:** I think so. I mean, I think that there were always times where, um, again my mom was always very chill. And she’d hear me say something and it’s not like she would let things pass. She’d be like, “*oh, así no se dice eso, se dice de esta manera*” [oh, that’s not how you say that, you say it like this]. And I’d be, like, okay, and we would go on.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

In discussing this excerpt, it is important to note that Jerónimo does not say that his mom started to correct him when he became an adolescent. Yet the fact that this information did not come up until we talked about his adolescence is quite telling—especially in the context of disapproval and tension described in the excerpt before this one.

Still, Jerónimo reported feeling supported in his HL maintenance from additional people in his life—well beyond any family and friends in New Jersey. In fact, he described how having periodic visits to Colombia (into adolescence) was not just helpful in terms of practice, but also a boost in his self-confidence regarding his HL skills:

Jerónimo: You know, I visited Colombia a lot. I think since I moved here. I went back every year or every other year. And I think that was important for me. Especially because I wanted to not lose my language. Like, in the midst of all this I'm telling you about my music and trying to find myself, there was still something I was so deeply proud, still, of being Colombian and of my Spanish. Especially because I would speak and people would say that I still had a very thick Colombian accent. And so I'd be like, "oh, okay, great. I must be doing something right, then." So I'm pretty sure that was something that I was very conscious about, like, "Oh, my accent. How do other people perceive my Spanish?"
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

As mentioned earlier in Jackie's case, HLLs may worry about how their HL skills compare to their relatives' L1 skills when visiting them abroad, and they may also be exposed to comments about their proficiency or "American" accents (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Jerónimo, though, only remembered getting support from his relatives and other acquaintances in Colombia, who even complimented his "thick Colombian accent." Thus, while his identity development appeared to be in a moment of distancing from the cultural markers of his HL, the support of Jerónimo's community beyond the home pulled him back in the opposite direction (i.e., to maintain his HL and thus his connection to the community that was so supportive of him). Arguably, then, his successful HL maintenance into adulthood resulted from the interaction of these opposing forces.

One context that did not help in this regard, however, was Jerónimo's schooling. As reported often in the literature, U.S. educational contexts often facilitate subtractive bilingualism and hence also HL attrition across time and generations (e.g., Baker & Wright, 2017; Fishman, 2001). Jerónimo's experience corroborated this pattern:

Andrés: Did you take Spanish as a foreign language classes in middle school [or high school]?
Jerónimo: Actually, my high school didn't let me.
Andrés: Really? How come?
Jerónimo: Because I was a native speaker, and they didn't have a heritage or native speaker class. So I took French *((laughs))*. I think they asked me to take French, and I think my counselor was just like, "You should just take French." And I think that I was like, "Okay, I'll take French." But yeah, it

wasn't like anyone pushed me, like, "Hey, man, you're a native speaker, but you should take this AP Spanish Language class." I never really had that adult to, like, show me, and at that time, I was like, "Eh, I already speak Spanish. Why do I have to take a Spanish class?" Which is a mentality many of my students come into my class with, and it's like, "Nope, doesn't work that way."
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

While for many HLLs the lack of HL support from P-12 education comes in the form of there being no language class offerings at their schools (hence the existence of "Saturday schools" in immigrant communities from China and Korea, among others: e.g., S. Lee & Bang, 2011; Liu, 2006), the problem in Jerónimo's case was that his school did not have a class or track geared specifically towards students with an HL background. Thus, he was actively dissuaded from taking any courses related to his HL and instead pushed towards other L2s. The argument could be made, of course, that Jerónimo was better off not taking courses that were not designed for his specific needs as an HLL (see Carreira, 2004). However, as will be discussed in section 4.3.3., a source of self-consciousness for Jerónimo—and, in fact, for many HLLs like him—is his lack of formal knowledge of Spanish (e.g., grammar), which L2 Spanish courses may have still provided him—even if they had been created with monolingual learners of Spanish in mind.

Still, it is worth noting that Jerónimo himself believe that as a user of Spanish, he did not need to study his HL formally. Moreover, research on the HL-maintenance experiences of adult HLLs (Tse, 2001a, 2001b) has found that, for many of them, taking language classes on their HLs was a negative experience—particularly when they had teachers (or curricula) with deficit views of HLLs' linguistic repertoires. Hence, it cannot be assumed that Jerónimo would have been better off had he taken Spanish classes in high school; in fact, doing so might have further distanced him from his HL, if his classroom experiences had been poor (cf. Abdi, 2011). Either way, his case illustrates the lack of HL-maintenance support that many HLLs experience in their

schooling, as well as how the surrounding ideologies and beliefs about language can impact the important educational decisions that pertain to HL maintenance (J. S. Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

Finally, and like other HLLs in the literature (e.g., Callahan, 2010), Jerónimo's interest in learning more about his HL resurged in college. However, it did not come from taking Spanish courses, but rather from anthropology courses, where Jerónimo learned about more political violence in Latin America and, by extension, about the region's history and culture:

Jerónimo: All my classes were in English, but I was a social-cultural Anthropology major, and most of the classes that I was taking were around violence or political violence. And a lot of it was around revolutions in Latin America, which was awesome. And again, there was this class called "The Theory of Power." But so much of it was around what is happening in my own country, which was, for me, very powerful.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

This interest in Latin American culture and history inspired Jerónimo to take a Latin American literature class in college, but it was in English. Still, getting this sort of exposure to works that had been written originally in his HL was enough to pique his interest in their Spanish versions; and he eventually read some of their original versions, starting with a work by his compatriot, Gabriel García Márquez:

Jerónimo: I read *100 Years of Solitude* before I graduated college, and then I read it again in Spanish. So I read it in English and in Spanish in the same year. I just fell in love with the output of creativity that came from this one person that was Colombian. I was like, "Yo, what other dope Colombian stuff exists? Where has that been in my life?" And it just sparked a lot of interest for me.

Andrés: Did you find that reading *100 Years of Solitude* first in English and then in Spanish help[ed] you understand it in Spanish better?

Jerónimo: Oh yeah! It's so difficult to read in Spanish. Something I tried to do with that book is that I tried to read it out loud. So I recorded the first chapter of *100 Years of Solitude*, as it were, like an audio book. I just recorded myself reading it, because I find—with a book like that, that has so much complex words, that I've never seen or don't recognize—I just get lost because I want to stop every time I see a word: define it, circle it, and then go back and read. And it's just such a tenuous process in Spanish. But I

think reading it in English helped me contextualize some of the things that I may have not understood right away [in Spanish].
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

As Jerónimo mentioned above, reading these complex literary works in his HL acquainted him with brand new vocabulary in his HL. Hence, adulthood was not just a time when he maintained his HL, but also a time when he developed it further, through the intentional use of language learning strategies and multilingual supports (Celic & Selzer, 2013). As discussed in Chapter 3, Jerónimo’s professional endeavors after college—including his current position at Multicultural HS—continued to involve constant contact with the Spanish language and with the surrounding Hispanic community. It is perhaps due to this confluence of factors that Jerónimo described adulthood as the time when things “really kicked off” (Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020) for him in terms of learning his HL.

4.1.4. Cross-Case Analysis

Looking at all three of the focal HLLs-turned-HL-teachers in this study, some patterns related to HL maintenance and development emerged, particularly in relation to the *support* they received from their families and communities and the constant *availability of HL input*—written or spoken—in their surroundings. These factors interacted in complex ways that at times pushed and pulled these HLLs in different directions, but they ultimately facilitated the maintenance of their Spanish into adulthood.

In terms of support, all three participants reported having families and social circles that encouraged their HL use and maintenance. For all three of these teachers, for instance, the HL was not just a choice but rather a necessity in order to maintain communication with their closest relatives—be it with their parents or, in the case of Cecilia and Jackie, with their older siblings who had spent more of their lives as Spanish monolinguals. Perhaps because of this necessity,

none of the focal teachers in this study reported feeling like their parents or siblings criticized their Spanish or tried to steer them towards English monolingualism. In fact, they arguably did the opposite by setting (de facto) home language policies (Schwartz, 2008) that established the HL as “the language of the home.”

Even further, family support for HL maintenance came from as far as the participants’ home countries, as their relatives also encouraged their use of Spanish whenever they visited. Jerónimo, for example, reported having very positive experiences while visiting relatives in Colombia, where they would typically compliment his Colombian accent. Jackie, meanwhile, did report some awkwardness at first, where Guatemalan relatives and friends would point out her “American” accent; but as she spent more time in the country—as she would stay there for the whole summer—those comments would go away, and she would essentially blend in as a Spanish speaker. What both of these cases³² illustrate, then, is that these HLLs felt supported by relatives from outside their homes, in situations that could otherwise have instead fed into their own self-consciousness about their HL skills (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016).

In addition, the focal teachers reported feeling supported in their HL maintenance at the community level. All three, for example, mentioned living at least for some time in areas with sizable Hispanic populations, which made the language useful for socialization (cf. Tse, 2001a, 2001b). In fact, they all said they had some friends from Spanish-speaking homes—both U.S.- and foreign-born—with whom they could relate in terms of their upbringing and the process of navigating a bilingual world. These social connections to their HL also existed through religion, as both Jackie and Cecilia described having to use Spanish constantly at church. Even Jerónimo, who did not report growing up part of a particular religion, mentioned church in his Biographical

³² This pattern only holds for Jackie and Jerónimo, as, for legal reasons, Cecilia was unable to travel to El Salvador during her childhood.

Interview when he stated that he lived next to a church with an active Hispanic ministry—thus highlighting the prominent place of organized religion in immigrant community-building (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), as well as in HL maintenance (Tse, 2001a, 2001b; Callahan, 2010).

Taken together, then, the stories of Cecilia, Jackie, and Jerónimo echoed the findings of prior research on successful HL maintenance into adulthood. In particular, all three exemplified Lucy Tse's (2001b) concept of *language vitality*, or “the status or prestige of a language as seen from an individual's perspective [and] as shaped by a host of social, political, cultural, and psychological influences” (p. 686). Put briefly, having supportive families and peer groups, as well as community institutions (e.g., churches) that valued these teachers' HLs, “elevated” the profile of Spanish in these teachers' minds, which in turn made them see its use and maintenance as worthy endeavors. Thus, while these language-vitality factors did not shield participants from moments of distancing and stagnation with their HLs—particularly in adolescence and early adulthood, when concerns about school and work pulled them away from their communities—their past influence made it easier for them to reconnect with their HLs later in their lives, under the appropriate (typically professional) circumstances.

Conspicuous for its absence as a supportive institution, though, was the school, for none of the focal teachers described their educational experiences as facilitating their HL maintenance. The only teacher who mentioned any school factors in her interviews was Cecilia, but even in that case, it was in the form of somewhat superficial shows of support for diversity, like having a school-wide “Multicultural Day”—which Cecilia, rather tellingly, described as an improvement from her prior experiences in American elementary and middle schools. That is not to say, though, that these HLLs' schools or educators actively discouraged them from maintaining their

HLS.³³ But their experiences do resonate with J. S. Lee and Oxelson's (2006) findings that U.S. educators may not take an active role in HL maintenance despite support it, in principle, as a desirable outcome for their students. Furthermore, these teachers' biographical data illustrates the fact that the U.S. educational system is not set up to support additive bilingualism (Baker & Wright, 2017), thus making HL maintenance something that, for many HLLs (including Cecilia, Jackie, and Jerónimo), happens *in spite of* their schooling experiences.

Lastly, my cross-case analysis of all three focal participants shows the importance of having constant oral and written exposure to the HL, thus echoing research on the maintenance of HL literacy (e.g., D. Zhang & Koda, 2011; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016). Every single one of the HLLs-turned-language-teachers I interviewed described their homes growing up as places where I would see and hear Spanish. Whether it was through newspapers and religious texts in Spanish, or books their parents brought from their countries of birth, *HL print input* (H. [S.] Zhang, 2016) was readily available for these teachers in their youth. In addition, spoken Spanish surrounded these participants not just outside their homes, but also in them, as they all recalled having the family TVs and radios set to the local Spanish stations. While such a pattern is not unexpected, given how supportive these HLLs' homes and communities were, it is still important to highlight it, since input is a crucial element in language acquisition and development (Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Saville-Troike & Barto, 2017). What is more, this high level of exposure to the HL should not be taken for granted, especially due to the "non-societal" character of HLS (Valdés, 2005), which can make the availability of such input a bigger challenge for some families.

³³ But it is worth remembering that Jerónimo's counselor did tell him to study French instead of Spanish.

4.2. RQ2. What Kinds of Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) Are Evident in the Practice of These HLLs-Turned-Language-Teachers?

To answer this question, I observed the three focal participants' teaching four or five times between November 2021 and January 2022. Thus, the data in this section derive mainly from my observation fieldnotes, though they are also informed by my conversations with these HLLs-turned-language teachers—be it formally in their end-of-study interviews or informally during any downtime before, after, or (sometimes) during the observed class period. In addition, interviews with these teachers' colleagues/administrators shed more light on their PCK, and so data in this section also come from their interviews. Just as with RQ1, participants' individual findings appear in alphabetical order by first name.

4.2.1. Cecilia

Throughout my five (5) observations of Cecilia's Spanish language arts instruction (Dec. 2021-Jan. 2022), I saw a variety of pedagogical practices and beliefs that comprise her PCK. One major hallmark of Cecilia's teaching, for instance, was her consistent use of *routines*, particularly in the first half of the class period. Without fail, every Spanish language arts (SLA) session that I observed included activities such as singing along to a song titled “*Hola ¿qué tal?*” (“Hi, How Are You?”), from an educational YouTube channel named *Super Simple Español*, and selecting a “*meteorólogo*” (weatherperson) to describe the day's weather from a list of Spanish adjectives on the slide (e.g., *soleado*, *nublado*).

Other routines in Cecilia's Spanish language arts (SLA) class included choosing a student at random (using an online roulette) to read the day's date from a calendar on screen and reading las “*reglas del salón*” (class rules) in Spanish. Furthermore, it was not just the actions that could be routinized in this class, but also the language itself. During roll call—another class routine—Cecilia's students almost always answered in one of three ways: “*¡Feliz [day of the week]!*”

(“Happy [day of the week]!”), “*Buenos días!*” (“Good morning!”), or “*Hola, ¿cómo estás?*” (“Hi, how are you?”). For all three responses Cecilia would respond in kind, but for the third option, she would also ask the student how they were, which typically elicited the phrase “*Bien, ¡gracias!*” (“Fine, thank you!”) as a response.

While Cecilia did not explicitly require students to respond only with these phrases (at least when I observed her), the routinized nature of this language became especially salient when communication breakdowns occurred. For instance, during a class period where Cecilia had both in-person and virtual students, the following illustrative episode occurred:

1. **Cecilia:** ((*continuing roll call*)) Stephen. ¿Dónde está Stephen?
[Stephen. Where is Stephen?]
 2. **Stephen:** ((*on Zoom*)) Hola, ¿cómo estás?
[Hi! How are you?]
 3. ((*Cecilia looks away from the camera and towards a student off screen calling for her*))
 4. **Cecilia:** ((*to student in classroom:*)) ¿Necesitas ayuda?
[Do you need help?]
 5. **Stephen:** ((*on Zoom*)) ¡Muy bien, gracias!
[I’m doing) very well, thanks!]
- (Observation Fieldnotes, December 10, 2021)

As seen in the excerpt above, the student, whom I gave the pseudonym “Stephen,” expected to have Cecilia ask him how he was during her turn on line 4. Thus, even though she was directing her question to another student off screen, Stephen gave an appropriate response to the question he expected to get (line 5). Certainly, his young age and the fact that he is still learning how to communicate in Spanish also contribute to how this brief episode unfolded; however, it is likely no coincidence that this interaction occurred in the context of an activity that is repeated every day, which further underscores the routinized character of the language in these tasks.

Irrespective of these communication breakdowns, though, Cecilia saw the use of these routines as an indispensable part of her teaching (and thus also of her PCK). More specifically, she considered them to be part of the *scaffolding* (Wood et al., 1977) that her students need to

make sense of the L2 input they receive from her. Moreover, Cecilia argued that routines were a developmentally appropriate technique for her students' age group, as kindergarteners benefit particularly from repetition in their learning:

Cecilia: The routines, um, I think that it's very important that kindergarteners and early learners have repetition. And so the morning routines I pretty much stick to them, and I try to change them a little bit so they don't get bored. For example, if we're doing the attendance call, if you notice that sometimes I told them, "So today, the prompt is... And this is the way you're going to respond." And I make sure that they utilize their Spanish language, even by just- You know I'm not gonna say, "oh, say '*presente*' [present]." I gave them options: "So today you're free to use this type of greeting. Sometimes, now that they're using more full sentences, I might ask them, "you're going to respond by telling what is your favorite color, what is your favorite food." So I can put in MORE than just "*presente*," "*presente*," "*presente*." ((laughs)) It's the same routine, but I try to change it a little bit so they can still be engaged.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

Interestingly, and adding nuance to my observations, Cecilia also described how she adds some variety to her routines in order to avoid the possibility that her students will grow bored of doing the same activity every day. Thus, in this excerpt, Cecilia gives evidence of how her knowledge and understanding of how to best teach language has pushed her to reconcile two aspects of the language process that can sometimes be at odds: the effectiveness of routines and repetition as scaffolding (e.g., Kanagy, 1999) and the need to lower students' *affective filters* (Krashen, 1982) to facilitate the acquisition of L2 input.

Another aspect of Cecilia's PCK that became evident through my observations was her embrace of *translanguaging* (García, 2009)—or, as she called them in her final interview, "L1 supports"—in her classroom. Though she aimed to maximize the amount of time she used the target language (Spanish) in class, it was common to hear Cecilia use her students' L1 (English) for a variety of reasons (cf. Benjamin, 1996, Martin-Beltrán et al., 2018). In some cases, she used English to translate questions during reading time: "*¿Qué crees que está pasando?* What do you

think is happening in the story?” (Observation Fieldnotes, January 7, 2022). In others, she used it to encourage students to self-regulate (Vygotsky, 1978) when they have a problem:

Cecilia: You gotta try to find it by yourself. That’s part of being independent. *Si no puedes, te ayudo* [If you can’t find it, I’ll help you]. But you gotta try first. (Observation Fieldnotes, December 9, 2021).

And in some cases, there did not seem to be a specific reason for using English; it just flowed naturally in Cecilia’s speech, as in this response to her students eagerly shouting out words that start with the letter S: “*Escuché a Cindy* [I heard Cindy]. Can I now hear another friend?” (Observation Fieldnotes, December 16, 2021). In short, English was a constant—though not dominant—part of Cecilia’s classroom, and she had no qualms about deploying it whenever it was necessary or helpful.

That being said, what is particularly striking is the context in which Cecilia used these L1 supports. As she told me in our end-of-study interview, the Spanish immersion program in which Cecilia teaches asks instructors to only use the target language during L2 blocks. However, she was resistant to follow this practice completely, since she felt that her students sometimes needed the L1 to support their learning; and she as the teacher also needed it to check for understanding:

Cecilia: So I think that's an area that I'm still developing as an immersion teacher, because the rule is that you know, Spanish, is all that you use. But I feel, Mr. García, that they do need those language supports in their L1. And even though, like I said, I'm ASKED that I will solely use Spanish, I feel that I need to use those language supports to check for understanding. Because if I'm just going *como un robot, en español y los niños no* [like a robot, in Spanish, and the kids don't]- The kids are not learning! And I don't have a sense of their learning, because, you know, they might not know what I'm saying; it's very hard for me to tap for that, you know, “are they understanding me?” Checking for understanding. And that's my purpose, for using those language support, just to check for understanding. (End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

Furthermore, Cecilia mentioned that between my last observations in January and the time of our interview (March), her use of L1 supports had decreased over time, in part because her students

could now produce more vocabulary and structures in Spanish. In fact, whereas in prior weeks, Cecilia would have been the one to translate for a student who was not understanding her instructions; she described how now it was her students themselves who now acted as translators and supported each other's learning (e.g., "she's telling you to close the door"). Still, it is worth noting that even in this example, it is not that L1 use has been exiled from Cecilia's classroom; rather, it seems to be that her students are learning to embrace translanguaging as an acceptable, valid, and useful behavior in the Spanish classroom—much like their teacher.

4.2.2. Jackie

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I observed Jackie five (5) times between November and December of 2021, in an almost weekly basis, while she taught her Honors English 10 class at MHS. During these observations, various elements of her PCK were made evident for me, but I found two of them particularly striking: her *use of Spanish as a pedagogical resource* and her ability to *connect with students to form bonds of trust and mutual respect*.

Regarding her use of Spanish in class, Jackie had no qualms about leveraging her HL—which was also her students' L1—as a tool to access content. Even though she was teaching "English" class, I heard Spanish constantly in all my observations of Jackie's teaching, not just from her students, but also from her. In fact, during my first observation (November 10, 2021), students were preparing to read the book *Speak* by Laurie Halsted Anderson (1999), and they used Spanish just as much as English to build background for it. For about an hour, Jackie led her students through a discussion of a variety of issues that are relevant to young people their age, such as parties, drugs, and peer pressure; and students freely contributed to the discussion in the language—or in some cases, languages—they felt found most comfortable.

Contrary to fears that allowing use of the L1 (Spanish) will discourage students from using their target language or L2 (English), Jackie's embrace of *translanguaging* (García, 2009) as a pedagogical resource actually resulted in students supporting and encouraging each other to use English. One example occurred in my first observation, when a student named Paula called out her classmate Gustavo (both pseudonyms) for not having used English all class:

As Jackie asked for volunteers to share their perspectives on the prompt, "Parents don't understand teens' problems," Paula exclaimed: "Not Gustavo, because he don't wanna talk in English! You know how to do it." Jackie then offered Gustavo help, if he needed it: "You can do it. Try! We'll help you." And despite being put on the spot by his classmate, Gustavo did indeed use English for his response to not just this prompt but a few others. (Observation Fieldnotes, November 10, 2021)

While the episode above could have gone either way, depending on Gustavo's reaction to being challenged publicly, the fact that it resulted in his engagement with the target language sheds light on the kind of supportive learning community that Jackie created in her classroom—and that has also been nourished in Multicultural High. Students knew each other well and felt free and safe to use their linguistic repertoires as they preferred, as well as to try to persuade others to achieve their fullest potential (like Paula and Jackie did with Gustavo).

Another similar multilingual behavior that I observed in Jackie's classroom more closely resembled *language brokering* (Baker & Wright, 2017), and it involved her acting as interpreter whenever a student expressed an idea in Spanish during a class activity. This "live translation" was so common in Jackie's classroom, that at times it happened in what were ostensibly private interactions with her students, such as in the excerpt below:

1. **Jorge:** *Estoy confundido, miss.* [Teacher, I'm confused.]
 2. **Jackie:** You have a dilemma?
- (Observation Fieldnotes, November 16, 2021)

As seen above, Jorge simply calls Jackie for help by explaining to her that he's confused about something. However, instead of responding directly with a phrase like, "Sure, what do you

need?,” Jackie answers with what appears to be a more “academic English” version of Jorge’s statement. Yet unlike in other cases of translation, where the entire class can potentially benefit from hearing the English version uttered by Jackie; here, the only parties privy to this interaction were Jackie, Jorge, and me. Hence, while the chief objective of Jackie’s translator role in class is to give students English models of what they want to say, this behavior seems to have become so emmeshed in her pedagogy that it occasionally functions as her instinctive response to students’ utterances in Spanish.

When Jackie and I discussed the use of translanguaging and translation in her pedagogy, her reasoning emphasized the importance of facilitating students’ access to content through the use of their whole linguistic repertoire (García, 2009) and not just their target language:

Jackie: I want them to learn the content. I think my goal, as the English Honors class, is for them to be able to enjoy literature. And I think you can do- I mean, you CAN, but it takes much longer, if you are always trying to make it into your second language [...]. Whereas, we never read anything in Spanish. Everything we read was in English, so they kind of got the language from there. But it was easier for them to analyze it in their brain and verbalize it in Spanish. And that was okay for me, because I really just wanted them to be able to, like you said: tackle the content, learn to appreciate literature, learn to read slowly, annotate, analyze, and talk about it. Even if you’re not talking about it in English, you still are getting those concepts that I want you to teach content-wise.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 14, 2022)

Put otherwise, if her students successfully understood the ideas and concepts that the curriculum states they should learn, the language in which this learning took place did not matter to Jackie. Furthermore, this issue is also one of pragmatism for her: while students could attempt to access this content solely through their L2 (English), doing so would be far more onerous for them and a waste of time that could be used to achieve further learning. Though there are voices in the field—particularly in world language education—that disagree with Jackie’s perspectives (e.g.,

Glisan & Donato, 2017), her views resonate with those of experts in the field of assessment who call for holistic rather than fractional views of learners (Celic & Seltzer, 2013; Mahoney, 2017).

In addition to her use of translanguaging as a pedagogical resource, another element of Jackie's PCK that became evident in my observations was, as put by her former vice principal, Mr. Starr, her "incredible way of connecting with her students" (Colleague Interview, February 9, 2022). More importantly, though, these connections were genuine, and they made Jackie a trusted and respected teacher among her students. In building these strong relationships, Jackie became not only a teacher that students could count on, but also one for whom they make an earnest effort in class.

My first awareness of Jackie's power to connect with her students happened during the first teaching observation. I was a few minutes late to it, and as I hurriedly apologized my way into her classroom, Jackie told me not to worry, since she typically reserved the first 10 minutes of class for students to "decompress." Though I missed it that day, I got to see exactly what she meant in the next four observations: Each time, class would begin with time for students to talk (or vent) about whatever they wanted with Jackie. Topics ranged from homework in other classes, to the difference between ESOL and English language arts, to a student describing how she quit her job that weekend. One particularly memorable interaction of this sort, though, took place during my fourth observation:

Karla (pseudonym) took advantage of the brief silence, looked at Jackie, and said, "*Miss, necesito un consejo*" [Miss/teacher, I need some advice]. Then, she proceeded to tell her teacher and classmates—as well as me, still kind of a stranger—about issues she had been having with her mother recently: feeling that her mom did not listen or pay attention to her, and that she did not have any adult she could talk to about her problems. After listening quietly, Jackie tried to reassure Karla that there *were* adults at MHS (e.g., their guidance counselors) who would listen and support her: "There are people here to help you, like Mrs. [XXXX]. I'm here, too, if you want to talk."
(Observation Fieldnotes, December 7, 2021)

The excerpt above was not the only time I heard Jackie offer to lend an ear to students if they needed it, as these appeared in multiple class sessions I observed (e.g., “If you feel like you need help, you can talk to me;” Observation Fieldnotes, November 10, 2021). These words seemed to register as more than mere courtesies with students, and in the time I was at MHS, I saw students ask Jackie for help with all sorts of questions—even some that were completely unrelated to her or her classes. Students trusted and respected Jackie; they knew that she was in their corner.

This careful (and caring) approach to relationship-building did not go unnoticed by her supervisors. Expanding on his quote a couple of paragraphs before, Mr. Starr described Jackie’s ability to bond with her students in this way:

Mr. Starr: She has an incredible way of connecting with her students, and that is evident from day one. I think part of that comes from the fact that she looks like them and speaks their language and understands their culture. [...] Culturally relevant pedagogy, I think Jackie lives that and breathes that in her classroom in terms of knowing the various traumas and lived experiences that our students bring in on a day-to-day basis. And so, if step one is truly knowing and being able to relate to her students, step two is then being able to leverage that relationship to get gains in the classroom. To get growth. To see instruction. To move the needle in terms of what students are able to know and do and master.
(Colleague Interview, February 9, 2022)

For Mr. Starr, when Jackie builds rapport with her students, it is not just a social endeavor; it is also a pedagogical one. It reflects the kind of teacher she is and how she understands both her work and her students’ needs. It identifies her as a “culturally relevant” language educator (e.g., Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Paris, 2012) who genuinely wants to connect with her students and learn about them (Kidwell & Pentón Herrera, 2019). And while Mr. Starr did not explicitly mention how Jackie starts all her lessons (i.e., by giving her students time to talk about whatever they felt like), I found that routine to be especially symbolic of Jackie’s strong, sincere

commitment to relationship-building: yes, she will make sure to cover the lesson's language and content objectives, but she wants to listen to her students first.

In her end-of-study interview, Jackie explained to me how Multicultural HS was a major influence in her current teaching approach, as administrators were clear in their expectations that teachers needed to prioritize build connections with their students:

- Jackie:** So our first summer here, he [the previous principal] was like, “The first month is just community-building. Don’t even get into curriculum or content. That first month of school should always just be building community, making sure the students feel a connection with you and with each other.” And that’s such a huge difference from what I was hearing back in my middle school, where it’s just like: “You’re not on pace! Get on track! Why are you behind two weeks than what the county says you should be at?” So, we didn’t really have that time to do that community building, which makes a huge difference, now that I see it.
- Andrés:** Mmm, yes, all the support from the administration, right?
- Jackie:** Yeah, and they gave us PDs, like, “This is what you do. Here are some games you can play with them.” Or over the summer, we played those games together, and we built community within the staff. And that’s why our staff is so connected as well. And that’s just like, “You see how you feel. You feel comfortable with your colleagues, and you feel comfortable coming into the building. This is how we want our students to feel.”
(End-of-Study Interview, March 14, 2022)

Compared to the middle school where she taught before, Jackie felt that the administrators at MHS genuinely cared about student-teacher relationships, and, perhaps even more importantly, followed through on this message by giving teachers the resources and time they needed to enact the school's vision. Instead of getting chastised for falling behind in the curriculum, Jackie was encouraged to put the curriculum aside for a month so she could build a strong community with her students. And clearly, this message resonated with Jackie, who—well after the first month—continued to put aside the curriculum for 10 minutes each day, so she could further strengthen her connections with students.

That being said, though, the fact that a teacher dedicates time to connecting with their students does not in and of itself guarantee that these connections will actually thrive. On this front, Jackie agreed with Mr. Starr that sharing a background with her students greatly facilitated her success in developing strong bonds with them. As she put it:

Jackie: I think they [students] connect with me just because I am Latina, as well. As most of them [are]. And so they have that connection. I CAN talk to them. I have the same culture as them. They can share things with me that I can relate to, and I can share things with them that they relate to me. So I think that also has changed my relationship with my students.
(Biographical Interview, October 29, 2021)

Still, Jackie was aware that despite sharing many cultural and identity markers with her students, her students' life stories also differed greatly from hers, particularly in terms of their immigration journeys. Thus, when I asked Jackie how she tried to connect with students when such points of divergence arose, she extolled the power of listening:

Andrés: I'm curious as to how you have dealt with moments where you're like, "Ooh, see, I can get it up to this point, but then this part of your experience is very different from what I've experienced." How do you address those issues, if and when they come up?

Jackie: Just listening to them, you know, letting them share their stories. The biggest thing that came to my mind, is just basically the immigrant journey. The way here. I got on a plane, with a visa, and I flew here, and that's it. That was my journey, whereas most of my students- Like, I was just talking to one student who was feeling nervous, because his cousin is making the journey here. And then he was sharing his journey: "Oh yeah it took me 40 days, and I had one pair of shoes. And I got detained when I crossed the border, and I was in the facility for like two months. And then they sent me to Denver to go to another facility for another couple weeks, until they could finally fly me to meet my mom." So it's like, I don't understand any of that. I've never had that experience. But I just let them talk. Just listening to them, I think, is the most important part of dealing with young people. They want to talk to you, and they just need someone to listen to them, sometimes.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 14, 2022)

As Jackie explained above, what many students ultimately want is a sympathetic ear, even if it comes from someone without firsthand knowledge of their experiences. That is not to say, of

course, that having shared backgrounds does not help foster trust and rapport between teachers and students (cf. Karimi & Mofidi, 2019; Lasky, 2005). But as Jackie's example illustrates, it is just as crucial to take the time to listen to one's students and learn about them, so that they know they can count on their teacher's support both before and after the bell rings.

4.2.3. *Jerónimo*

For Jerónimo, my four (4) observations (December 2021-January 2022) of his Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) class at MHS uncovered two especially salient elements of his PCK: a *caring* approach to pedagogy and a focus on *nurturing his students' identities* through language learning. Regarding the former, Jerónimo described coming across the pedagogical concept of “caring” (see Noddings, 1984) through the work of scholars like Jeff Duncan-Andrade (e.g., 2006) and Angela Valenzuela (e.g., 1999), both of which he read in his own time:

Jerónimo: I think I got a lot of pedagogical training on my own, because I got a lot into Critical Race Theory. And I was reading about the intersection between Critical Race Theory and education, especially there's this one person named Angela Valenzuela, who has written so much about this. And man, just reading about the concept of authentic caring versus aesthetic caring. That, to me was very important. Um, there's someone named Jeff Duncan-Andrade, [...] he's written so much about pedagogy and about caring and about love—and, like, all these things that don't seem to have anything to do with teaching but have everything to do with understanding another human being. And I think that fueled my teaching more than any formal course I had to take to teach.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

The excerpt above should not be taken to mean that Jerónimo did not take any formal courses about pedagogy; in fact, he alluded to taking such courses for his teaching certificate. That said, the pedagogical concepts that resonated with him the most appear to be those he found through independent reading and exploration.³⁴ Moreover, these concepts appeal to a more humanizing

³⁴ It should also not be ignored that these are not “fringe” or “alternative” concepts: As the citations indicate, they have appeared in peer-reviewed publications from the field of education.

side of pedagogy, which, according to Jerónimo, may not seem to relate directly to “teaching,” but which are essential in forming strong interpersonal relationships with students.

This authentic interest in developing strong bonds with students was in full display for me as early as my first observation of Jerónimo’s teaching. During this session, the last group of oral presentations about traditions in Latin American countries (as chosen by the students) took place, and they elicited a very strong negative reaction from Jerónimo:

Around 11:30 am, a group of about 5 or 6 students did their oral presentations on Latin American traditions, with [Jerónimo] using an online “roulette” tool to determine who would go next. The presentations varied in quality, but most of them involved students reading text directly off their slides and adding very little else. Jerónimo seemed visibly annoyed by students’ performance, and he let them know about it after the last one, as a warning for the unit’s mastery project, which is a larger oral presentation. “*Yo sé que ustedes están copiando información del internet*” [I know you’re all copying and pasting information from the internet], he said; and on top of that, they just read that information off their slides without any other commentary, which Jerónimo described as “*una falta de respeto*” [a disrespect] to the audience. “*Si les es difícil presentar en español,*” he kept going, “*imaginense en inglés*” [if it’s already difficult to present in Spanish, imagine what it’s like in English], thereby reminding students that this presentation was an opportunity to practice skills that would be useful in other classes—and yet they wasted it. (Observation Fieldnotes, December 7, 2021)

What was most powerful about this episode, though, is that shortly after Jerónimo’s ‘talking-to’ (which lasted about 5 minutes), one of the students broke the class-wide silence by saying to one of her classmates: “*Tiene razón*” [he’s right]. In short, the excerpt above illustrated Jerónimo’s caring pedagogy by emphasizing his high academic expectations for students, which in this case led him to scold them for presenting subpar work and thus not living up to their full potential. Moreover, one can also appreciate the strong bonds that Jerónimo had developed with at least some of his students. Not only did one student agree that he had a right to scold the class over their presentations, but also, no one objected to what she said or accused her of “kissing up” to the teacher. Instead, many students appeared to work harder on their next presentations, and they sought Jerónimo’s help throughout the class period.

Aside from being indicative of Jerónimo's caring approach to pedagogy, the episode above also resonates with discussions in educational research of teachers being *warm demanders* (e.g., Irvine & Frasier, 1998; Kleinfeld, 1975; Safir, 2019). In this approach, teachers push their students toward success by combining a sincere confidence in their pupils' abilities with a stern communication style, when needed. As Bondy and Ross (2008) put it, "When students know that you believe in them, they will interpret even harsh-sounding comments as statements of care from someone with their best interests at heart" (p.). While in the absence of student interviews, it is impossible to know how every pupil in Jerónimo's class interpreted his scolding, at least one student seemed to process it as a statement of genuine care, and she felt strongly enough about it to declare it to the rest of the class. Like other students of "warm demanders," Jerónimo's class did not take his tirade personally, since they knew it came from a good place.

Another aspect of Jerónimo's teaching that became salient through my observations was his use of daily "meditation" exercises at the start of every class, which related to both his caring pedagogy as well as his goal to nurture his students' identities and cultures through his Spanish for Native Speakers class. "Meditation" in Jerónimo's class did not necessarily look or sound like the stereotypical exercise of sitting in total silence while breathing in and out in a deliberate pace. Instead, these exercises were opportunities for students to read a prompt (or process some kind of visual stimulus) and respond to it in writing and—if they wished to volunteer—orally. Taken from the work of educator and educational researcher, Dr. César Cruz, Jerónimo described his approach to meditation as such:

Jerónimo: I don't remember exactly the research and what it said, but it divided any sort of approach to teaching into four quadrants. And the first quadrant is always a meditation, and the idea is to summon up any sort of knowledge that you might already know. So that when you begin to actually make any attempt of connecting to content, you are making a connection to content

with knowledge that you already have. And it makes the approach to learning easier. I mean, the building blocks are already there.

[...]

And I brought this to teaching [from prior work in community organizing], and I thought, “Why not instead of jumping straight into class?” Which I just can’t do, also; it’s hard for me to just be, like, “All right, open to page...” Because we’re still sort of in this buffer zone; we just came from another class. I mean, it could be third period and you’ve been in class since 7:50. And you had cereal for breakfast, or one pancake...

[...]

Why not start class with something that’s a lot more approachable and make that a starting point to then talk about the thing? [...] It’s like, you’re calming them down, and then, okay, boom we get back into it again.

(End-of-Study Interview, March 3, 2022)

As explained by Jerónimo, meditation for him can serve as a way to build background ahead of the main lesson, which is a common technique across multiple approaches to teaching language and language learners (e.g., Echevarría et al., 2017; Glisan & Donato, 2017). However, its utility is also to help ease students into the lesson—particularly in the context of the long, arduous days they have in school, going from class to class for seven or eight hours straight. In this sense, this exercise also shows Jerónimo’s ‘authentic care’ for his students’ mental and psychological well-being, as he recognizes that throwing students straight into a new lesson with little time for (re-) adjustment is not beneficial to their psyche—or their learning, for that matter.

Nevertheless, Jerónimo’s meditations are not always background-building activities, as he acknowledged that sometimes the connection was not apparent, while at others, they mostly resulted in fun banter with students. As put by Mr. Sullivan, Jerónimo’s assistant principal:

Mr. Sullivan: One of the best things I think he does is what he calls these “meditations” at the beginning of every class. And I remember when he started doing them his first year, I was like, “Meditation? Wait, what are they doing? Are they meditating?” But really, it’s just like a warm-up of sorts, but he’s trying to get them to produce. He wants them to answer. He wants them to talk. He wants them to write. Which is great! He wants them to engage with the content, or the topic, or the question. And it might be relevant to what they’re learning about; it might NOT be relevant to what they’re learning about.

(Colleague Interview, February 10, 2022)

In this excerpt, Mr. Sullivan associates Jerónimo's meditations to the classic pedagogical concept of the warm-up. However, he also corroborates Jerónimo's assertion that these exercises do not always seem to relate directly to the day's lesson. Rather, they are opportunities for students to engage in critical thinking and to produce language in a lower-stakes setting. Hence, the topics of "meditation" varied widely: During my observations, for instance, Jerónimo had his students "meditate" about what the secret to happiness is ("*¿Cuál es el secreto de la felicidad?*") and how fast-food companies are using celebrities and influencers (e.g., BTS, Charli D'Amerilo) to sell their products to younger audiences. In a similar vein, Mr. Sullivan reported seeing the following topics for meditation:

Mr. Sullivan: I remember, a few months ago, I was just walking by and I saw this really cool map on his board, and they were talking about the amount of liquor stores in Northeast County. And they were all mapped out, and he was trying to have them see: "Look at where all these liquor stores are, and then let's look at some other data. Let's look at poverty rates. Let's look at what grocery stores are, Let's look at where crime rates are." And those correlations are very, very strong...

[...]

But yeah, I mean, it's just connecting content to the students, connecting it to their lives. Like today, I went in there and they were talking about the dominance of Spanish this Spain culture.

(Colleague Interview, February 10, 2022)

As Bartolomé (2008) defines it, caring (or *cariño*) is a form of love "that is authentic, based on respect, and focused on providing students with both an academically rigorous and a liberatory education" (p. 3). Therefore, while Jerónimo's meditations may not always build background for his upcoming lesson, they still provide his students with rigorous thought exercises that are also liberatory in nature—in that they push them to think critically about life and the world, as well as to challenge assumptions they may take for granted. In this sense, then, this routine technique is reflective of the prominent place that caring pedagogies hold in his PCK.

Furthermore, another aspect of Jerónimo's PCK that is evident in his use of meditation exercises is his commitment to nurturing his students' cultures and identities through his classes. As I mentioned earlier, meditation in this classroom did not look or sound like the stereotype we may have of "meditation." And this is particularly true of how the sounds one would hear while Jerónimo's students meditated: Rather than silence or soothing sounds from nature, the first time I observed Jerónimo, he played some *cumbia* songs to help students ponder about the meditation prompt. In other observations, he played contemporary pop music—the kind that his students and other teens might listen to regularly. When I asked him about the 'unusual' musical choices he made for meditation, Jerónimo explained:

- Jerónimo:** The music started with me, making the choice of what we're listening to. If it's December, it's always cumbia, I think. I think students were taking that very seriously, like, "we need cumbia. ¡Cumbia navideña!" [cumbia for the Christmas season]. And so I think that's what we tried. Now, what I've done the past like two or three weeks, I'll just say, "*tíremen un género*" [throw a genre at me], and I'll just ask for any sort of music genre. And we try to play music like that. And if it's too- Like today, where someone's like, "Jon Z." And I'm like, "I can't think of any Jon Z song that doesn't have a bad word. So no, can't put that on..."
- Andrés:** So now I'm just curious, as someone who's into music: What are some of those memorable or "out there" requests you've gotten when you let them pick the music?
- Jerónimo:** Mägo de Oz [a Celtic-inspired metal band from Spain]
- Andrés:** Okay, who asked for that?
- Jerónimo:** A lot of kids asked for Mägo de Oz, a lot of kids. If it was one, it'd be fine. But you know, I think it's just something in Central America, I don't know, something in the water. The kids love Mägo de Oz.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 3, 2022)

As explained in the excerpt above, Jerónimo acknowledged and nurtured his students' cultures and identities through the music he played during the daily meditation exercises. By continuing to play cumbia in December, for instance, he was responding to the deep cultural connection that exists between the genre and the Christmas season among his Salvadoran students (Alas, 2020). Likewise, by asking for his students' input in selecting the artists and genres to play, he allowed

them to express their own customs and listening habits, some of which greatly differed from his (e.g., Mägo de Oz).

Interestingly, Jerónimo reported that students oftentimes requested music that came from Colombia, like *vallenato*. In describing these moments, Jerónimo seemed genuinely touched and flattered that his students would pick music that was so specific to his culture. That said, given the kind of relationship he had with his students, it is no surprise that Jerónimo's students would want to have more exposure to his culture: They saw that he authentically cared for their lives and backgrounds, and so it was only fair to respond in kind to his effort.

4.2.4. Cross-Case Analysis

Despite teaching different age groups (i.e., kindergarten vs. high school) and content areas (i.e., Spanish immersion literacy vs. ELA vs. Spanish for Native Speakers), there was a remarkable degree of consistency in the aspects of PCK that became salient for the HLLs-turned-HL teachers in this study. For example, all three teachers—but particularly those working with high schoolers—employed pedagogical practices that allowed them to create strong connections with their students. As a matter of fact, Jerónimo and Jackie did so in essentially the same way: by intentionally devoting class time to listening to what their students had to say, be it about a specific “meditation” prompt (Jerónimo) or by simply allowing students to “decompress” and talk about whatever they wanted. These techniques seemingly impacted their bonds with their students positively, as students realized that these teachers genuinely cared about them and their well-being. Hence, students respected both Jackie and Jerónimo, which they, in turn, leveraged to push their pupils towards engaging with more rigorous academic content and language.

Perhaps because she did not share her students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, Cecilia did not manage to form the same kinds of bonds with her kindergartners. But this does

not to say that she did not try. Whenever possible, Cecilia incorporated some aspects of her own life and culture in her lessons. For instance, when reading a book about an alligator visiting the North Pole for the first time, Cecilia briefly stopped reading to tell her students—in both English and Spanish—about the first time she ever saw snow. When I asked her about this moment in her end-of-study interview, Cecilia elaborated on her choice:

- Cecilia:** It was important for them to know that not everyone has experienced this type of weather, and that includes your teacher. And then, you know, “OK, it’s normal for you. You’ve seen it. You’ve played with it. There’s so many things that you can connect with the snow, but there’s so many places in our world that have never seen snow.” So that was my point. But, for example, when I see other things that I can relate to this, or maybe some students might be unfamiliar, like, for example... Do you remember whe we read the story “Papaya,” and a lot of them were saying, “I’ve never heard ‘papaya’!” I don’t know if you remember that story.
- Andrés:** I remember the story. I don’t remember them saying that they’ve never heard “papaya,” but I remember the story.
- Cecilia:** First of all, they found that word to be funny. *((laughs))* And then, when I explained to them what a papaya was, and I told them, “Oh, you know, in my country, I grew up eating papaya.” So I think that making connections and making others think about, “Okay, so my life experiences are not the same as others” [is important].
(End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

Per the excerpt above, then, Cecilia also built bonds with her students by sharing elements from her life story in class, even if it meant “pausing the curriculum” (Martin-Beltrán et al., 2020) for a short while. It is important to clarify, though, that this sharing was not an attempt by Cecilia to impose her own voice over her students’. Rather, it was a way to help students make connections and expose them to different cultural perspectives, so they would understand that people’s lives and experiences are diverse in nature. Moreover, it was a reaction to things she heard from her students, which implied that she actively and genuinely listened to them. It may have looked a bit different from how Jerónimo and Jackie did it, but Cecilia’s approach was just as consistent

with the culturally relevant (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 2014) and caring (e.g., Valenzuela, 1999) pedagogies that her fellow participants embraced.

A second part of these teachers' PCK that was particularly evident in my observations was their embrace of translanguaging in their classrooms. Once again, two of the teachers—Cecilia and Jackie—had clearer evidence of translanguaging as a pedagogical resource, whether it was as “L1 supports” (Cecilia) or as live translation and language brokering (Jackie). Even further, both of these teachers translanguaged in contexts where it may have been considered taboo or unexpected to do so: Jackie did it in her “Honors English 10” class, where perhaps most people would expect English to dominate due to the name of the content area (“English language arts”). Meanwhile, Cecilia did it in a one-way Spanish immersion program, where the curriculum explicitly asks teachers to use the target language (Spanish) most, if not all, of the time. Both of these educators justified their pedagogical moves in basically the same way: their main goal was for students to access the content, and for this reason, the language of instruction could be fluid.

Though I did not report it in section 4.2.3 above, Jerónimo also provided ample evidence of translanguaging in the class periods I observed. That said, his use of this multilingual practice was more naturalistic, in the sense that it happened spontaneously and effortlessly in regular conversation. For example, even though Spanish dominated in Jerónimo's class—which makes sense, since it is his shared L1 with his students—it was fairly common to hear him code-switch between Spanish and English, both inter- and intra-sententially (see Riegelhaupt, 2000), when talking to his students. Taken together, then, the three focal teachers in this study exemplified the range of natural multilingual practices that scholars like García (2011) and Lewis et al. (2012) include under the umbrella of “translanguaging.” Their approaches to it may have looked very

different at face value, but it is in their diversity and consistent occurrence across multilingual contexts that they best reflect the construct.

Finally, an element that was conspicuously absent from these language teachers' PCK was grammar (as well as other formal aspects of language like orthography). This finding makes sense for Jackie, since she reported that at her school, the ESOL teacher typically covered these aspects of language. However, for Jerónimo and Cecilia as world-language teachers, grammar and spelling did fall under their purview; and, given their curricula, teaching them is part of their regular work. Granted, it is very much possible that I simply did not see any grammar-focused³⁵ lessons due to timing, as they may have covered this content on days where I was not present.³⁶ Nevertheless, given that the bulk of attention in the L2 PCK literature has focused on the teaching of grammar and other formal aspects of language (Johnson, 2009; see also section 2.3 above), their absence from my observations is all the more noteworthy. I will discuss potential explanations for this 'underrepresentation' throughout section 4.3 below

4.3. RQ3. How Do These HLLs-Turned-Language-Teachers' Experiences with HL Maintenance and Development Relate to Their PCK as L2 Teachers?

In this third and final major section of the findings, I discuss the apparent connections between the focal teachers' PCK (as described in section 4.2 above) and their life histories and experiences with HL maintenance (section 4.1). While many of these connections are derived from my own analytical fieldnotes and memos, I also discussed some of my impressions with participants and their colleagues in the later interviews for this study. Hence, this section will

³⁵ Cecilia did address spelling often, albeit as part of her teaching of Spanish syllables to her kindergarteners.

³⁶ In addition, and as I mentioned in Chapter 3, my last two observations of Jerónimo were virtual, as his school district decided to stop in-person instruction for a few weeks in December and January due to COVID outbreaks in schools throughout the county. Because of this change, Multicultural HS asked teachers not to cover any new material during virtual-instruction days, since many students had a difficult time even connecting to the internet from their homes. Hence, while I did see Jerónimo review some grammar with students through a Kahoot game, I never had the chance to see how he incorporated new grammar points into his lessons.

present corroborating data from the end-of-study and colleague interviews. As always, the focal participants are presented in alphabetical order by first name.

4.3.1. Cecilia

Looking at Cecilia's PCK through the lens of her HL-maintenance experiences, some striking connections become apparent. For instance, despite the fact that she does not share an ethnolinguistic background with the students at Watson ES's Spanish immersion program, Cecilia still identifies with them as L2 learners; and most likely for this reason, she justifies elements of her pedagogy through her own experiences with language learning and maintenance. Regarding her use of routines and other L2 scaffolding techniques such as visuals and body movements; Cecilia referred to a desire to give her students the kind of support she did not receive when she was an ESOL student in the 1990s.

Cecilia: I've seen a big progress. You know, another thing that I would think about is making sure that the students have a welcoming environment—that everyone is heard. And I do that by making sure that the routines allow space for that. That students are taking turns and I hear everyone. And I think that when you're learning a language, sometimes that's very hard. As an ESOL student, I felt that I did not have the confidence, and I feel that my teachers maybe did not help me overcome that and feel confident to talk in front of everyone. I feel that my students in my class, they feel that they can talk. They can have conversations freely and I think that's very important in our classroom culture.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

In a similar vein, when explaining her reasoning for using L1 supports despite the immersion curriculum's insistence in only using the target language (Spanish), Cecilia once again related her decision to her own experiences:

Cecilia: I think that that's something that I guess, everyone is still developing. However, we have teachers that are newcomers to the country, and I think that it's easier for them [to only use Spanish]. But for me, I would feel lost if I would be a newcomer and I'm not bilingual. And I feel that my bilingualism affects my teaching [in that sense].
(End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

As Ms. Esquivel (Cecilia's colleague) confirmed in her interview, Cecilia is in many ways a very orthodox teacher who prefers to follow the curriculum closely in order to do her job well: "*Le gusta hacer su trabajo bien y le gusta seguir las sugerencias*" [she likes to do her job well and follow the (curriculum's) suggestions]. Thus, for Cecilia to go against curricular requirements, she must feel very strongly about the usefulness of L1 supports in the L2 learning process.

Again, even though Cecilia's students have different L2 learning experiences from hers—since they are learning a minoritized, rather than societal, language as their L2—she still uses her own life history as a lens to understand theirs. Even further, it is reasonable to expect that, in her over 15 years of experience as an early childhood educator, Cecilia would have met students whose successes and struggles supported her pedagogical choices above. Thus, it is telling that, even in the face of all that student data she must have, her initial reaction was to rationalize her PCK by alluding to how *she* learned and how *she* would feel in the presence or absence of a particular pedagogical support or technique.

While the connections above pertain to her English learning, it is important to note that Cecilia's history with her HL of Spanish also plays a role in her PCK as a Spanish immersion teacher, albeit as a source of tension and self-consciousness. To be more precise, Cecilia felt a certain ambivalence about her ability to teach her HL in a formal setting, when she had learned it informally throughout her life. For this reason (as well as her lack of familiarity with immersion methods), Cecilia was initially hesitant to take the position at Watson ES. And even after starting to work at this new school, she expressed her misgivings to her colleague, Ms. Esquivel:

Ms. Esquivel: Si supieras que, al principio, yo creo que hasta un poco asustada estaba, porque llega al punto que ella me dice que dominaba un poco más el inglés. Obviamente, pues, como ella llegó a una edad que quizás [...] dominaba más el inglés en el punto de escribirlo —el académico, el de la escuela. [...] Pero me decía al principio, “ay, Esquivel, tengo dudas de lo que escribo; no quiero cometer un error”. Entonces, impacta su enseñanza

porque quiere que los niños de ella aprendan con esa efectividad. O sea, que lo que aprendan, lo aprendan bien. Que no aprendan con errores.

[If I told you that, at first, I think she was even a little scared, because there's a point where she tells me that she knew English better. Obviously, because she arrived at an age where perhaps [...] she was more dominant in her written English—academic English, the one used in school. [...] But she would tell me at first, “Oh, Esquivel, I’m not sure about what I write; I don’t want to make a mistake.” So I think this affects her teaching because she wants her kids to learn just as effectively. In other words, that whatever they learn, they learn it well. That they learn it without errors.] (Colleague Interview, February 17, 2022)

As seen in the excerpt above, then, Cecilia expressed worries about her written Spanish to her colleague, as she felt that her experiences with HL maintenance had perhaps left her with some gaps that might affect her work as a Spanish immersion teacher. Yet it is interesting to note that Ms. Esquivel still saw Cecilia’s life experiences as an HLL as having a positive impact on her teaching: just as Cecilia put in the effort to ensure that she taught her students correctly, so would her students emulate her work ethic in their own learning.

Still, Ms. Esquivel’s interpretation was not necessarily shared by Cecilia, who continued to express concerns about her formal HL knowledge (e.g., spelling, punctuation) in her end-of-study interview. In fact, when I asked her to elaborate on why she said she would have never expected to teach at a Spanish one-way immersion school, she responded as follows:

Cecilia: Because of my lack of confidence with the grammar rules of Spanish, and, you know, I don’t have formal education [in Spanish]. So I think that’s why. And I think, even if you would ask me, ‘would you go and teach at a Spanish immersion middle school?’ I think I would be a little hesitant. (End-of-Study Interview, March 8, 2022)

Despite expressing greater confidence in her ability to teach her kindergarten class at Watson ES, Cecilia still harbors concerns about her formal Spanish. As a matter of fact, she would hesitate—though, importantly, not outright refuse—to teach at an immersion middle school, since Spanish instruction at that level likely focuses more on grammar. In a sense, then, Cecilia’s views can be

seen as the confluence of two major currents: deficit ideologies pertaining to HLLs' formal HL knowledge (e.g., Abdi, 2011; Faltis, 2013) and the prominence of grammar in our conceptions of the knowledge that L2 teachers need for their work (Johnson, 2009). Even when Cecilia brings other important assets to the conversation, the fact that she cannot see past her lack of a formal education in Spanish illustrates the continued pervasiveness of these traditional ideologies.

4.3.2. Jackie

Just as with Cecilia, salient connections emerge when we look at Jackie's PCK with her HL-maintenance experiences in mind. For one, it makes perfect sense for a teacher who grew up bilingual most of her life to be so embracing of translanguaging in her English language arts classroom. After all, it is a natural behavior for multilinguals to engage the different elements of their full linguistic repertoires as they best suit the interactional context (Flores, 2020; García, 2009). However, what was particularly striking in my observations of Jackie was how easily (and almost unconsciously) she transitioned into the role of translator or language broker (Baker & Wright, 2017) during these bilingual interactions.

When I asked Jackie if she had had to perform the role of language broker in the past, she confirmed that she did and briefly recounted some experiences from her childhood:

Jackie: I mean, going to the doctor with my parents. I was the youngest one, so my siblings came sort of at an older age and they got married fairly young. So my oldest sister, she came here when she was 16, and then she got married at 19. So, she really wasn't with my parents that much. So I was the one that was this with my parents, most of the time. [...] Even just going to return something at the store. Having to go to the counter, it's like, "Oh, we have to return this shirt or this dress." Sometimes even parent-teacher conferences, where it was like, "Oh yeah, she says this or that." I mean, don't we all have to do that?
(End-of-Study Interview, March 14, 2022)

In an interesting parallel, just as Jackie's age discrepancy with her sisters made it easier for her to maintain her HL (see section 4.1.2), it also made her the most obvious candidate in her family to

play the part of language broker. Thus, given all her experience with this role (starting at an early age), doing live translations for her students must have felt very natural for Jackie. Furthermore, it is perhaps no mere coincidence that this was how translanguaging manifested for Jackie when I observed her—especially because she is an English teacher: Had Jackie been a Spanish teacher, perhaps she would have engaged her linguistic repertoire differently, in a way that would most resemble how she normally used her HL at home and in her community.

While Jackie did not speak on the statement above during any of our interviews, she did find other connections between the translanguaging aspect of her PCK and her experiences as an HLL. For example, when elaborating on why she is so open to students using their L1 in her class, Jackie referred back to her experiences growing up:

Jackie: I guess it's just giving them that ability to speak in both in Spanish and English, since the majority of them are [bilingual]. I didn't have that growing up in school, like elementary. And then I remember saying, as I was growing older, [that] I felt like I was losing my Spanish because I didn't have too much of that.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 14, 2022)

In this excerpt, Jackie's rationale for allowing students to use their L1 in her classes illustrates the personal nature of this pedagogical choice: It is not just a matter of comfort or convenience; it is a matter of giving her students something she wished she had in her educational experience. Moreover, as an HLL in the U.S., Jackie has a firsthand perspective on how the various systems in this country contribute to patterns of HL loss and subtractive bilingualism (Alba et al., 2002; Baker & Wright, 2017; Fishman, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014)—a perspective that an English monolingual teacher or a foreign-born and educated one likely would not have. Hence, given her direct awareness of how her teachers' educational choices affected her HL maintenance (cf. Lee & Oxelson, 2006), Jackie's incorporation of translanguaging into her PCK might reflect a desire to fight against (or at least not contribute to) the erosion of immigrant languages in the U.S.

Curiously, Jackie did not make the same kind of connections when discussing her ability to connect with her students at MHS. Nonetheless, Mr. Starr did, as can be seen in the excerpt below, in which he explains how Jackie's HLL background enhances her understanding of her students and builds rapport with them:

Mr. Starr: You know, so often language learners do not have teachers who look like them and sound like them. And for our students to have a teacher who intimately understands, not just their linguistic struggles and challenges, but also what they're going through on a day-to-day basis in their neighborhood, in their homes, like socially and culturally and with their families. And, you know, not being able to attend a practice or an after school studying session because they're getting ready for their *quince* [15th birthday party]. Jackie intimately understands the academic journey, the social-emotional journey, the familial journey that our students are on. And there's no replacement for that.
(Colleague Interview, February 9, 2022)

Though Mr. Starr is only speaking about students at MHS ("our students") in this excerpt, his comments also resonate with the historical reality of a Latinx teacher shortage in the United States, particularly in areas where the Latinx student population is growing dramatically (Irizarry & Donaldson, 2012). In this context, then, Jackie's students are among the fortunate few to have a teacher who is Latina. However, Jackie's contribution to their educational experience extends beyond her ethnic identification; it again relates to her ability to give her students something that she did not have growing up: a teacher with intimate knowledge of the linguistic, cultural, social-emotional, and academic realities of being an immigrant ESOL student in U.S. public schools.

4.3.3. Jerónimo

Much like with his fellow HLLs-turned-language-teachers, links between Jerónimo's HL-maintenance experiences and his PCK emerged rather strikingly in his SNS class. For one, his embrace of *caring pedagogy* (e.g., Duncan-Andrade, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999) and emphasis on connecting with his students related closely to desire to provide students with high expectations

but also support and respect for their language-learning (and maintenance) struggles. In other words, even though he was the ‘Spanish teacher,’ Jerónimo saw his main role not as a linguistic authority, but as a figure that encourages students to move forward and embrace their identities:

Jerónimo: I think some students have said that I am intense in class, that I have incredibly high expectations [for them]. But, BUT, it’s all love. Really what it is, is [that] I’m not here to judge anyone for their Spanish level. I think our relationship should be about not being afraid to take risks and improving, like, not necessarily the mechan- I mean, yes, we can become better writers and things like this, but I think I just want them to become more comfortable with who they are.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

In a sense, Jerónimo’s perceived role evoked the same part that his mother and his community played in his own HL maintenance (cf. Tse, 2001a, 2001b; see also section 2.1): not a judge or a critic, but someone who tells you what you said or did wrong with your growth and improvement sincerely in mind.

Furthermore, and similar to the other two focal teachers, Jerónimo linked his pedagogical perspectives and choices to the role his educational experiences played—or not—in his own HL maintenance. That is, he unambiguously expressed his desire to give his students something that he felt he lacked in his own education—namely, a teacher with whom they could identify:

Jerónimo: Being a young male Latino teacher, I know that was very important for me growing up, when I finally got to college and saw someone like me. So, I think that’s something I make very clear, like, “Yo, I never had anyone that looked like me.” And so that’s one of the main reasons why I’m a teacher now, because it’s like, “Yo, why not be here? Why not talk about who we are? Why not talk about where we come from? Why not learn about our history?” And I think that’s a hook that students really care about [...] So yeah, I think I value personal relationships with students, first and foremost. And I know that I wouldn’t be an effective teacher, I wouldn’t be a good teacher, if I didn’t prioritize, the relationship part.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

As seen in the excerpt above, Jerónimo judged the quality of his pedagogy by his ability to form close-knit personal relationships with his students, again, echoing the tenets of caring pedagogy, but also highlighting the fact that this type of support was absent from his own schooling.

Furthermore, this type of connection was not lost to Jerónimo's assistant principal, who also presented his ability to connect with students as a major factor that differentiated him from other teachers with whom he has worked over the years:

Mr. Sullivan: He shares his interests, and I think that's what helps build relationships with his students. So that they trust him and know he's got their best interests at heart. [...] When you look and sound like your students it doesn't always guarantee that they're going to respect you, but it makes the opening a lot easier. Because I've seen various teachers over the years and [have] seen a lot of Latino teachers just be mean and jerks. And the kids hate them, right? So just because you're Latino, it doesn't guarantee that kids are going to like you, when you teach at a mostly Latino school. But it can, at least at the beginning, kind of lower that anxiety threshold. (Colleague Interview, February 10, 2022)

As Mr. Sullivan put it in the excerpt above, it was not just Jerónimo's identity and background that allowed him to connect so effectively with students, as a shared identity does not by itself guarantee relatability. Rather, what made Jerónimo such an effective educator was his genuine interest in his students, as well as his willingness to share and leverage whatever connections he found in the interest of fostering a relationship of care (and high expectations) with his pupils.

Additionally—and similarly to Cecilia's case—the relative absence of the formal aspects of language (e.g., grammar, orthography) from Jerónimo's teaching (at least from what I was able to observe) may also connect to his own experiences as an HLL of Spanish. As mentioned in section 4.1.3 above, was very confident about his HL oral skills, with relatives in Colombia even complimenting his thick accent. However, as he also disclosed to me during one of his interviews, Jerónimo harbored self-doubts about his written Spanish and worried about how his Colombian relatives might perceive him if he misspelled Spanish words:

Jerónimo: I know that there were times when—especially in senior year when I was on Facebook—I would connect with family members from Colombian and I’d be afraid to chat with them because I didn’t have control of the Spanish. And I would be like, “Are they gonna just make fun of me for misspelling things or not? Like *haga*, does that have an H? Like what do I do here?” So, I think that I started to become conscious of that.
(Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020)

Moreover, and as I also mentioned earlier, Jerónimo also reported not being allowed to take any Spanish courses at his school because there were no classes geared specifically for HLLs. Hence, even though Spanish classes for “foreign-language” learners may have at least exposed Jerónimo to some of the orthographic and grammatical knowledge he was self-conscious about, these L2 classes were not made available to him (see additional discussion in section 4.1.3).

It is important to mention, also, that these insecurities did not stay behind in adolescence for Jerónimo. As a matter of fact, I saw them surface during my fourth and final observation of his teaching, in which he played a review game with his students on Kahoot (a popular website for making free “clicker-style” quizzes and games). In this activity, Jerónimo had students pick the correct words to fill in the blanks of sentences, and the options included many commonly misspelled words in Spanish: *vaya* (subjunctive form of the verb ‘to go’) and *valla* (‘fence’), *ahí* (‘there’), *ay* (‘oh’) and *hay* (‘there is’), and the like. Students had a mixed performance in this game—with some questions being answered incorrectly by the majority—but by the same token, some students did excellent, getting scores of 13/15 and even 15/15. Upon seeing these results, Jerónimo congratulated those students and said “*yo no me hubiera sacado 15 de 15*” [I wouldn’t have gotten 15/15] (Observation Fieldnotes, January 12, 2022). While it could be argued that this was chiefly a way to compliment and encourage his students, it is striking that Jerónimo would openly cast doubt over his formal HL skills. Again, this is not an uncommon perspective among

HLLs (cf. Callahan, 2010; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016), but it is still somewhat unexpected to hear it from a Spanish teacher while in his professional capacity as subject-matter expert.

When I asked Jerónimo about his feelings related to the teaching of Spanish grammar and the kind of part that it plays in his teaching, he described it in contradictory terms:

Jerónimo: I think it is a job that can be a little cumbersome because it applies differently to so many different students. Like, not everybody is at a level where you can teach grammar in the same way. And it'll go way over some kids' heads, and sometimes it's the right level. And I struggle... in really knowing how to toe that line.
I like it because, again, teaching Spanish grammar is teaching ME Spanish grammar before I can teach grammar to somebody else. Because my Spanish grammar, just like my English grammar, is... yeah... I know how I would do it. I know how to read and write it; I don't know how to explain it. I didn't really care about that stuff in my education; I cared about other things. And so, I don't have that language already frontloaded where I can just be like, [...] "Jerónimo, let's teach a class on grammar!" Okay, I have no idea. I would sit on my computer for hours, trying to figure out where to start... I don't know.
(End-of-Study Interview, March 3, 2022)

After describing it as a slightly “cumbersome” part of the job, due to the need to differentiate instruction across students (cf. Echevarría et al., 2017), Jerónimo explained how he actually does “like” teaching Spanish grammar because it helps scaffold (Wood et al., 1976) his own learning process. Nonetheless, he then followed this statement with a description of how he might sit for hours without knowing how to plan a grammar lesson, since that kind of formal learning is not how he learned his HL. Hence, this excerpt encapsulates the ambivalence that grammar teaching seemed to hold for Jerónimo, not just professionally but also personally as an HLL. Again, the excerpt above does not mean that he avoided this part of his work—in fact, he also mentioned in this interview that he had applied to a master's program at the University of Salamanca, where they “beat you to death about grammar and history” (End-of-Study Interview, March 3, 2022). But in the context of his HL-maintenance experiences, it does illuminate significant connections

between Jerónimo's life as an HLL of Spanish in the United States and his PCK as a teacher of language (in this case, his own HL).

4.3.4. Cross-Case Analysis

As with the first two RQs in this study, the third RQ also highlighted a notable degree of constancy among all three focal HLLs-turned-language teachers. In short, connections between their PCKs and HL-maintenance experiences emerged throughout this investigation; and while they may have looked differently for each teacher, they also converged over multiple points.

For example, all three educators indicated a desire to give their students something that their educational experiences had lacked. For Cecilia and Jackie, this mindset resulted in their embrace of translanguaging practices in their classrooms (García, 2009): Cecilia drew from her experiences as an ESOL student to decide that her Spanish immersion students needed L1 (i.e., English) supports; while Jackie allowed her students to use their Spanish to access content in her ELA classes, partly to keep them from feeling they were “losing [their] Spanish” the same way she did growing up. For Jerónimo, on the other hand, his motivation was to be a teacher with whom his students could identify, since he did not have this type of “role model” in school. In addition, he described his role in terms that resonated with the same kind of supportive home and community he had while growing up: That is, he was not there to judge his students' Spanish, but rather, he was there to help them embrace their assets and use that acceptance as a launching point for language learning and academic progress. Even further, all three teachers' actions in this regard resonate with the work of scholars like April Baker-Bell (2020) on *linguistic justice*, in which she critiques “how traditional approaches to language education do not account for the emotional harm or consequences these approaches have on Black students' sense of self and identity” (p. 8). Though working with mostly Latinx (rather than Black) students, Jackie, Cecilia,

and Jerónimo also seemed intent on obtaining justice for their pupils by challenging the harm of certain language education methods and societal views.

Perhaps in acknowledgment of the major role that their supportive communities played in these teachers' early HL maintenance and development, their pedagogical choices also seemed to inculcate a strong sense of community among their learners. Jackie was the only one to use the term "community" explicitly, as she recounted how her former principal encouraged MHS staff to focus the first month of the academic year on "community-building." And having taken his words to heart, it is not surprising that her Honors English 10 class exhibited strong communal bonds—with students supporting their classmates' English learning and not being afraid to call out a peer who was not holding up their end of the bargain. Similarly, Cecilia reported that, as her kindergartners acquired more Spanish vocabulary and structures, they became more likely to translate for their peers in order to help them understand what the teacher was saying in Spanish. Even in Jerónimo's class, I often saw students collaborating informally on projects and helping each other address the teacher's feedback for improvement. While none of the educators referred to concepts like *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), such structures did seem to have developed in their classrooms—albeit in different degrees—for students were able to relate along the lines of a particular concern or endeavor (i.e., learning language and content) and collectively learned how to improve their performance through interaction.

Finally, an aspect of these teachers' PCK that was glaringly absent from my observations was the teaching of grammar and other formal aspects of language. For Jackie, this absence was logical, as teaching English grammar was the prerogative of the ESOL teacher at her school. For Jerónimo and Cecilia, on the other hand, this absence likely spoke to tensions and beliefs that stemmed from their HL learning experiences. In other words, these teachers' own ambivalence

over their formal HL skills (cf. Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016) led to trepidation when they had to teach grammar and spelling in their HLs. That is not to say, however, that these teachers ran from this element of their work; in fact, they boldly applied to these jobs *despite* harboring some level of self-consciousness about their Spanish grammar and spelling. However, what became evident from examining these teachers' PCK through the lens of their HL-maintenance experiences is that the place where these HLLs may have been most likely to obtain formal knowledge about their HL (i.e., school) did not provide them resources to support this process directly. Thus, we may wonder if, much like the educators surveyed for J. S. Lee and Oxelson's (2006) study, these participants' teachers also did not think they had an active role to play in helping their HLL and bilingual students maintain their heritage and home languages.

4.4. Summary of Findings

In summary, this chapter has presented findings that support the existence of connections between the PCK and life experiences of the HLLs-turned-language-teachers in this study. In relation to the first RQ, participants' HL-maintenance experiences both corroborated and added nuance to factors from the literature that have commonly been found to stave off HL loss, such as supportive families and communities and a constant availability of oral and written HL input. As for the second RQ, these teachers seemed to embrace pedagogies that allowed them to form strong connections with their students (e.g., translanguaging, pedagogies of care), which in turn helped them create classroom environments that foster additive bilingualism among their pupils. When putting both of these questions together (RQ3), then, the parallels became salient: These teachers tried to play supportive roles in their students' linguistic maintenance and development, attempting to compensate, perhaps, for the elements that their own P-12 educational experiences lacked. In doing so, they also fostered a strong sense of community in their classrooms, which

further aided the development of their students' multilingual repertoires. At the same time, though, there were still tensions for those who taught their HL (i.e., Spanish), particularly as it pertained their self-consciousness about their formal HL skills. Whether these findings can be extrapolated to other teachers who fit my participants' profiles is up for debate, and it is one of the topics I will address in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Implications

In exploring the possible relationship between the HL-maintenance experiences of HLLs-turned language teachers and their PCK, this multiple-case study has found some emerging links that hold for its three focal teachers. In this chapter, then, I address how these findings speak and contribute to the scholarly literature that informs this research, followed by the implications that this research has for practitioners. Finally, I close the chapter with limitations that this study had and the avenues for future studies that this study has pointed to.

5.1. Contributions to Scholarship on Heritage Language Learners and Maintenance

As a project that emerged in great part from unresolved questions about HL maintenance in adulthood, the findings from this study certainly speak back to scholarship on HL education. For one, these findings stress the need to continue teasing out the nuances of the different factors that combat HL loss. Even when certain variables are already well-represented in the literature, my conversations with Cecilia, Jackie, and Jerónimo showed me that there is still much more to explore about these factors that the HL researchers may already take for granted. For instance, research has reported that the presence and language choices of siblings can help steer children's HLs in one direction or another: If the siblings prefer to use English over the HL, then HL loss becomes a legitimate risk, and vice versa (Duursma et al., 2007). Likewise, HL researchers will likely not challenge the notion that exposure to HL print is predictive of the development of HL literacy skills among HLLs (e.g., D. Zhang & Koda, 2011; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016). At this point, enough studies have found these patterns and cemented them to the field's knowledge base.

That said, findings from this study show that these variables are neither monolithic nor impervious to change over time. Both Cecilia and Jackie had multiple siblings, for example, yet their position among the youngest of their families meant that, as their siblings left to form their

own families, they eventually were left alone with their parents in the family home. Thus, one might argue that, in the long run, it was their parents' language choices that exerted the strongest influences over Cecilia and Jackie's HL maintenance, not their siblings'. Similarly, Jerónimo was an only child when he moved to the U.S., and so in his case, the relative with the biggest influence over his HL maintenance, was his mother, followed by his cousins. Furthermore, the birth of younger siblings did not affect Jerónimo's HL maintenance much, nor did his language choices seem to have an impact over his younger sister (who lived with him). As he reported in one of his interviews, his younger sister refuses to speak Spanish; and she kept this mindset even while living with Jerónimo and witnessing his HL maintenance firsthand. As these cases show, then, the presence of siblings is moderated by the age gap between them, so that even if they do share living spaces for some time, their influence over one another diminishes.

As for the predictive role of HL print input over HL maintenance, the three focal cases in this study show that, indeed, having constant exposure to the HL in print (and orally) fosters its maintenance and the development of HL literacy skills. However, this pattern did not prevent Cecilia and Jerónimo from feeling self-conscious about their spelling in Spanish—even though, in theory, this would be a literacy skill promoted by exposure to HL print input. Again, then, the question is whether there is more nuance to this pattern: It is possible, for instance, that exposure to HL print facilitates recall of vocabulary and spelling (particularly for assessments in the short run), but in and of itself, it may not be enough to promote HLLs' overall confidence in their HL orthographic skills. If so, then it would be useful for both HLLs and their teachers to know what other variables or factors might help HLLs feel more confident about writing in their HLs.

The biographical interview format I used (Appendix B) seems like it could help scholars tease out nuances in these HL maintenance factors. By having HLLs respond to the same types

of questions in different stages of their lives (i.e., childhood, adolescence, and adulthood), the interview format pushed participants to discuss their experiences with greater nuance. Hence, instead of simply reporting using their HL with their parents and siblings, participants were able to reflect on the dynamic nature of their choices and thus reported on how changes in their lives also affected (at least some of) the factors related to their HL maintenance. Because so many of the HL-maintenance variables that are prominent in the scholarship have emerged from “in-the-moment” studies with young HLLs (see section 2.1.1.1), it is not altogether surprising that their discussion does not typically address their dynamism and sensitivity to change across contexts. However, if we want a more accurate account of the influence of these factors—and maybe more importantly, of the limits of their influence—we need to increase the use of research tools that foreground the unique experiences and stories of our subjects (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Furthermore, this study emphasizes the conceptual significance of adult HLLs to our understanding of the “HLL experience.” In our search for pedagogical practices that cater to the real-time needs of HLLs in our classrooms (Carreira, 2004; Valdés, 2001, 2005), the field of HL studies has to some extent defined the HLL as a younger-skewing, P-16 population that one can encounter in the classroom. Arguably, even the term “heritage language learner” conjures up images of students in formal educational settings. Yet as this study and the prior literature on adult HLLs (Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016) have shown, HLLs in adulthood are just as important to the HLL “puzzle” as those who are currently students in P-16 settings. It is through adult HLLs that we can grasp the long-lasting impact of the factors that facilitate and hinder HL maintenance. In other words, we can see how they affect not only the choices that students make in their learning contexts; but also how these decisions interact with

later decisions about jobs, identities, community involvement, and even raising a family. Hence, to truly understand the HLL, scholarship must aim to understand who they become over time.

5.2. Contributions to Scholarship on PCK and Language Teacher Education

With regards to research on PCK and language teacher education, this study calls for the expansion of the construct of PCK, particularly as it relates to language teaching. As I discussed in section 2.3 above, scholars have found that the PCK of language teachers has been typically defined in terms of their grammatical knowledge of the language they teach (e.g., Johnson, 2009; Johnston & Goettsch, 2000). Moreover, calls to incorporate aspects of teachers' identities and lives into the construct of PCK have also been common in recent years (e.g., Motha et al., 2012; Reeves, 2009; Vélez-Rendón, 2002, 2010). This dissertation study, then, echoes and amplifies these calls for expansion, as the HL-maintenance experiences of the focal participating teachers have had a clear impact in their conceptions of how to best convey their subject-matters to their students (i.e., their PCK).

In addition, findings from this study seem to indicate that, for the purposes of research on PCK, scholars should maintain their analytical focus on the shared nature of the connections to PCK, since differences in the specific details of teachers' lives and pedagogies might obscure points of convergence across subjects—at least at first glance. As the three focal cases in this study have shown, the same connection might be supported by data points that look superficially different. For instance, translanguaging in Cecilia's classroom (i.e., L1 supports) looked different from that in Jackie's classroom (i.e., translation), yet these two outwardly different instantiations of the same phenomenon stemmed from the same motivation: a desire to "right pedagogical wrongs" from their educational experiences. Also, Jerónimo expressed the same desire to give students what he felt he lacked in his P-12 schooling: a teacher they can relate to.

Yet still, the aspect of his PCK that was most affected by this motive was his embrace of caring pedagogies (Noddings, 1984; Valenzuela, 1999). That is not to say that translanguaging was absent from Jerónimo's classroom, but he did not relate it explicitly to his experiences with HL maintenance.

When I first embarked on this study, I naively hoped that all my participants exhibited the same pedagogical behaviors in relation to the exact same life experiences. However, as soon as the first set of interviews, my data sent me a sobering reminder me that life is messy; and so are the patterns that emerge through this messiness. Hence, scholarly work on the PCK of language teachers cannot ignore the connections that are shared across multiple cases, even if the concrete behaviors they related to are not as similar on the surface. Even further, the appearance of mixed patterns is not necessarily a hindrance for the development of the construct of PCK, but rather an opportunity to further refine or add nuance to it. For example, the fact that Jackie did not exhibit the same kind of ambivalence about grammar (and teaching grammar) that Cecilia and Jerónimo did, is not—in my analysis—evidence that contradicts the relationship between the PCK and HL maintenance experiences of HLLs-turned-language-teachers. Instead, this finding sheds light on how other contextual variables, such as the teacher's content area, may also affect the qualities of teachers' PCK. In a way, then, Jackie acted as a “counter-case” (Yin, 2009) that gave further weight to the similar connections found in the other two cases.

Speaking to teacher education research more broadly, findings from this study point to a need to continue exploring the variety of possible teacher identities and experiences that could impact their pedagogy—a pursuit that should be concomitant with the expansion and refinement of the concept of PCK. That is, as we try to understand the dimensions and nuances of language teachers' PCK, we must also expand our catalog of teacher experiences across different settings,

times, and individuals. The HLL-turned-language-teacher is but one “operational construct” (Patton, 1990) of its kind, and findings from this study have provided data that can be leveraged as resources to improve the preparation of language teachers and teachers with multilingual backgrounds. For instance, knowledge of how teachers’ PCK and HL-maintenance experiences intersected in this study can help teacher educators (and teacher education researchers) recognize similar connections and patterns among the pre-service teachers they work with, and incorporate them into their work. Hence, these novice teachers will have the benefit of realizing, early on in their careers, that their life histories add nuance to their pedagogical knowledge and choices.

Similarly, in-service teachers would stand to benefit from insights from this study and potential future studies of its kind. For example, expert scholars could make sure to include some of the connections described in Chapter 4 in professional development sessions targeted to practicing teachers. In-service teachers with heritage or multilingual backgrounds will certainly benefit from knowing that their experiences with maintaining their heritage or home language could be more relevant to their pedagogy than they initially thought—an insight that Cecilia herself shared during her end-of-study interview. Additionally, discussions generated by this topic may serve as a starting point for professional-development conversations about other teacher profiles that could exhibit similar kinds of connections between life and pedagogy. These conversations could, in turn, further inform teacher education research, giving it “leads” for the educator experiences that would be worth exploring through systematic inquiry.

5.3. Implications for Practice

Findings from this study can also help inform the work of educators, including (but not limited to) those who have HL backgrounds. While I did not expect participants to come up with their own ideas for connections between their histories with HL maintenance and their pedagogy,

a few of them did. For instance, Cecilia and Jackie were the ones who linked their pedagogical choices today to what they felt they lacked from their teachers in the past—as this information did not emerge during their biographical interviews. Certainly, these participants had discussed their educational experiences at length, and Cecilia had indeed alluded to having some feelings of dissatisfaction with some of the ESOL instruction she had received. However, because the biographical interviews were focused on their HL maintenance, conversations about their K-16 schooling did not get deep into the specifics of their teachers' methods. Thus, connections of this sort emerged not from my questions, but from these educators reflecting further about their life experiences through their participation in this study.

By the same token, then, teachers could intentionally engage in similar reflections so as to gain a deeper understanding of their pedagogical choices and how their experiences with HL maintenance may have affected them. Further, this “reflective” approach does not necessarily have to be limited to language teachers—or to HL maintenance, for that matter. Even if the focal teachers in this study were all language teachers, they represented different subject-matters (i.e., ELA and Spanish) and teaching contexts. Thus, it may also be beneficial for teachers from other content areas (e.g., social studies, art, physical education) to engage in this sort of reflection. A motto in Multicultural HS (Jackie and Jerónimo's school) is that “all MHS teachers are language teachers,” meaning that, by virtue of teaching English learners, they teach *language*, independent of their main content area. And this sentiment is echoed by popular pedagogical models such as *sheltered English immersion* (e.g., Echevarría et al., 2017) and *content-based instruction* (e.g., Snow & Brinton, 2017). Furthermore, classic concepts such as Lortie's (1973) *apprenticeship of observation* illustrate that teachers' past experiences can, in fact, affect their pedagogy in very direct ways—such as, per Lortie's book, teaching the way one was taught. Hence, while the data

from this study support the use of this reflective practice with teachers whose profiles are similar to my participants', it would not be unwarranted to extend its use to other teaching contexts.

This reflection could also lead to action, as teachers may then decide to make changes or additions to their PCK on the basis of their new awareness. They may also become more resolute or intentional about parts of their PCK, now that they have a fuller understanding of why certain pedagogical elements resonated with them. Such was Cecilia's case, as she told me during her end-of-study interview that she would continue to provide L1 supports to her students when she felt they needed them—even if her curriculum and program insisted on teachers using the target language (Spanish) 100% of the time. As Loughran (2002) warned, "the danger for reflection is that if practice is limited to understanding it backwards, then forward practice may remain uninformed" (p. 42). Thus, reflections on biographical connections to PCK must be accompanied by informed decision-making about the future; otherwise, the exercise is of limited impact.

Related to the notion of informed, reflective practice, findings from this study also shed light on the pervasive role of ideology in teaching and learning, as well as the need for educators to acknowledge ideological stances in their work. All focal HLLs-turned-HL-teachers exhibited this acknowledgment in their reflections, as early as their biographical interviews: Jerónimo and Jackie spoke of the influence—both positive and negative—that others' comments on their HL skills and accents had on their HL maintenance efforts (cf. Abdi, 2011; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016). Meanwhile, Cecilia commented on wanting to "master English more than Spanish" as a youth, relating it to her perception that her HL was not valued as much by society at the time (cf. Lippi-Green, 2011). Looking back as adults (and educators), then, study participants simply could not ignore the connections between ideology and HL maintenance in their life histories. It is likely that other teachers who engage sincerely in this same type of biographical reflection, when given

the opportunity to articulate such connections, will also become more aware of how ubiquitous ideology is in the life experiences of multilinguals and language learners.

Furthermore, and much like the focal teachers in this study, educators who reflect on the role of ideology in their past experiences will also become conscious of the ideological stances that are reflected—or needed—in their PCK. Jerónimo and Jackie’s insistence in not wanting their students to feel judged for their language, for example, implicates an ideological stance that is essential for their message to succeed: i.e., that their students should ignore society’s *standard language ideologies* (Gee, 2015; Lippi-Green, 2011), no matter how powerful they may appear to be outside school walls. Similarly, both Cecilia and Jackie seemed to appeal to some of Ruiz’s (1984) *orientations to language* in explaining their embrace of translanguaging as a pedagogical element in their classrooms: For Cecilia, the L1 is a crucial *resource* for L2 learning, and so she refused to withhold this helpful tool from her students like her ESOL teachers did with her—no matter what her program’s curriculum said. On the other hand, Jackie recounted how a learning in a monolingual (i.e., English-only) environment contributed to a sense that, at times, she was losing her HL, and she did not want her students to feel the same way in her classroom. For her, language—or rather, bilingualism—is a *right* her students have, and thus she would not deny it from them through her teaching. Hence, these educators’ reflections on their HL maintenance made them more acutely aware of the ideological stances in their pedagogical choices, and this will likely be the case for other teachers who engage in the same thought exercises.

Finally, the expanded conception of PCK that findings for this study call for means that teachers would also benefit from expanding their own notions of what “pedagogy” means, if they wish to apply insights from their own biographical reflections. A particularly telling excerpt in this regard is Jerónimo’s description of caring pedagogy as involving “all these things that don’t

seem to have anything to do with teaching but have everything to do with understanding another human being” (Biographical Interview, November 4, 2020). While his commitment to building strong relationships with students is evidence that, for Jerónimo, “all these things” have *much* to do with teaching, many teachers may actually have such a mindset. Nevertheless, the fact that all the focal participants in this study alluded to the relevance of building strong relationships with students implies that it is an important part of their PCK as language teachers—and this is a perspective that is supported by seminal research on culturally sustaining (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 2014) and caring (e.g., Valenzuela, 1999) pedagogies. Even further, this social-emotional aspect of teaching had strong connections to participants’ HL maintenance experiences. Hence, if PCK is expanded as a concept to include life experiences and identity—as this dissertation supports—then educators must also broaden their concept of pedagogy as described above.

5.4. Study Limitations and Future Directions for Research

To close this dissertation report, I will review considerations for future research on the topic of the HLL-turned-language-teacher, basing them both in terms of this study’s limitations and its findings. Starting with the limitations, this study unfolded between the years 2020 and 2022, during which the (still ongoing) COVID-19 pandemic forced major changes in our lives and in how students at all levels were educated. Thus, and as mentioned in Chapter 3, I had to make modifications to this study in order to make it more practicable for these uncertain times, yet, if possible, future studies should still aim to include these original elements in their designs.

One such change was the elimination of student interviews. Despite getting permission from the school district to conduct these interviews, I felt as though trying to do them would put too much of an additional burden on participating teachers—especially if I only obtained access to students during school hours, in which case they might miss important instructional time for

my research project. Moreover, with the looming threat of COVID outbreaks and subsequent disruptions to instruction, even their most careful planning may have been derailed. That said, future research on this or any related topic should aim to include student perspectives, if they are made available to scholars: With the prominence of student-teacher relationships in my findings, it would have been not just interesting but also elucidating to know how students felt about these matters. In short, they may have provided different (but not necessarily contradictory) views of why their bonds with teachers like Jackie, Jerónimo, and Cecilia³⁷ were so important. If one-on-one interviews could be too intimidating for some students, future studies could instead try focus groups with students (see Oweugbuzie et al., 2003), so as to gather a variety of viewpoints while also lowering the anxiety for students who are shy.

COVID-related concerns also affected the observation schedule for this study. As stated in Chapter 3, my original intent was to conduct six to eight weekly observations with each focal participant, followed by quick 15-minute debriefs. However, to make the study less of a drain on teachers even-more-hectic schedules, I eliminated the post-observation debriefs and reduced the number of observations to a maximum of five. While this move was very appropriate in terms of making the study feasible and expedient—despite the unfolding health crisis—I would be remiss if I did not say that more observations would have been useful for obtaining more relevant data, especially about the teachers' PCK (RQ2). The colleague and end-of-study interviews did help me fill some gaps, but they did not address all my blind spots (e.g., not being able to see the focal teachers cover grammar topics in their classes). In the future, then, related research on language

³⁷ Because of the young age of Cecilia's students (i.e., 5-6 years old), interviews may still not have been feasible. In their stead, I had considered doing focus groups with parents—though these arguably would have been even less possible in the middle of a pandemic.

teachers' PCK should aim for more observations per participant, in order to have enough chances to observe the case and phenomenon of interest in their "natural setting" (Yin, 2009, p. 109).³⁸

Related to the issue above, I had originally decided to video-record all lessons; however, I ultimately decided not to do it because of additional concerns and constraints brought forth by the pandemic. More specifically, observations took place in a variety of contexts, from in-person to hybrid to virtual (as explained in Chapter 3), and so trying to obtain comparable video of these three very different modes of instruction would have been a logistical feat. Furthermore, the issue of recording virtual instruction raised questions for me about keeping the privacy of non-participants and about logistics—especially since I would not be hosting these Zoom sessions. Also, my pitch to participants' principals was that I would be as least burdensome and disruptive as possible, and so I chose to forgo the videorecording component of observations. That being said, though, scholars who research this topic in the future should indeed try to obtain video of observed lessons as a complement to their fieldnotes and as memory aids (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Moreover, given the relevance of translanguaging in my data and findings, it would have been extremely helpful to have video (or even audio) recorded data that I could transcribe to furnish illustrative examples of this practice.³⁹ The fact that I completed this study shows that video recordings were not essential, but I can admit that they certainly would have helped.

Another consideration that is somewhat of a limitation, but that also points towards gaps that future research should address, is the fact that all my participants were HLLs of Spanish. I did not specifically target Hispanic teachers for this study, nor did I imply anything of the sort in

³⁸ An alternative to having more cases may also be to have a more *intense* observation schedule, where, for instance, the researcher observed an entire week or unit of lessons. Such a pace would make it less possible that I simply happened to "miss" grammar instruction days due to the timing of my observations.

³⁹ Or also, having video cameras around the room might have freed me to be a bit more focused in my fieldnotes. Since I would know that I could rely on video data for other moments, I could choose to concentrate on specific moments (especially those far away from the camera) and make sure I transcribed them verbatim in my notes.

my recruitment. Nonetheless, all the teachers I was able to recruit (including the one who had to drop from the study) came from Hispanic families. With Spanish being arguably overrepresented in U.S.-centric HL scholarship (Cushing-Leubner, 2019), it would certainly be interesting to see data from HLLs of other languages. In particular, future studies would do well to look at teachers who are HLLs of languages like Mandarin Chinese and Korean, as they would be able to provide insightful connections to literature I reviewed on “Saturday schools” (e.g., Jia, 2009; Wu et al., 2011). Moreover, targeting these HLs would allow scholars to explore new ideological ground, such as the notion of the “American-born Chinese” (ABC) and how the ideas about this group of students can impact their HL maintenance (e.g., Yu, 2015). This is not to say, though, that this study has “closed the book” on HLLs-turned-language-teachers with Hispanic backgrounds, but additional research on Spanish HLLs should be concomitant with inquiry into other HLs.

In a similar vein, this study points to the need for greater knowledge about adult HLLs, particularly about their struggles and successes with HL maintenance after they leave the P-16 classroom. The literature base on this group of HLLs is still very small, with my search of the literature only uncovering four studies (i.e., Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b; H. [S.] Zhang, 2016). As the findings from this study suggest, however, retrospective looks at HL maintenance and loss can help advance our understanding of these phenomena by revealing nuances that may not be as evident when looking at younger HLLs synchronically (i.e., in the moment). What is more, this underexplored HLL group—and particularly those members who became teachers—can highlight reasons why HLLs might gravitate towards or avoid the teaching profession, and even language teaching, in particular. As recent work by Gironzetti and Belpoliti (2021) has found, only a scant minority of teachers of Spanish as a heritage language identify as HLLs of Spanish themselves. And given the deficit ideologies that permeate HL education (as discussed

in Chapter 2), this situation is likely also the case for other languages. The authors recommend the implementation of programs that can foster interest in the language teaching profession; yet for such programs to be successful, they must also counter the common deterrents among HLLs in an effective manner. Thus, future research on adult HLLs can be of great value to the field by highlighting the factors that often discourage this group of multilinguals from becoming L2 teachers themselves.

Lastly, this dissertation points to the need to carry out more longitudinal research on HL maintenance and loss. As the three focal cases in this study showed, the factors that facilitate and hinder HL maintenance are dynamic, not static. In other words, their influence may change over time, both in quality and quantity (e.g., Cecilia and Jackie's older siblings leaving the house to get married, thus reducing their influence over these teachers' use of Spanish at home). While retrospective research can help uncover some of these shifts, qualitative longitudinal studies can provide additional insights, since they would involve observing these changes directly as they are happening (see Neale, 2020; Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005, for more methodological concerns). It would, of course, be a logistical challenge to carry out this sort of study, given the various threats to participant retention (Ahern & Le Brocque, 2005); however, the insights and nuances we will derive from these studies are definitely worth the effort.

Limitations and research gaps notwithstanding, this dissertation has investigated a teacher population that has heretofore been underrepresented in the literature: the HLL-turned-language-teacher. The three focal cases featured in this report demonstrated how teachers with this type of linguistic background share some commonalities in terms of their PCK, despite each having their own life histories with shared traits as well as idiosyncrasies. Moreover, findings from this study contribute to conversations in fields like heritage language studies and teacher education, calling

for the expansion and increased nuance of constructs like pedagogical content knowledge and HL maintenance. Also, these findings show that biographical experiences can help elucidate the pedagogical choices that teachers make—whether these involve the embrace of specific teaching approaches or the rejection of curricular requirements, both in response to their experiences as language learners. Hopefully, this dissertation is only a step in a continued path to learning more about the HLL-turned-language-teacher through scholarly inquiry, and future researchers can use this study—with its successes and limitations—to motivate their thinking about new and exciting investigations into the connections between identity and pedagogy.

Appendices

Appendix A. IRB Application for the University of Maryland, College Park (2020)



Institutional Review Board

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INITIAL APPLICATION PART 2

1. Abstract:

Title: The HLL-Turned-Language-Teacher: Exploring the Relationship Between Heritage-Language Maintenance and Pedagogical Content Knowledge

For over four decades now, the fields of applied linguistics and foreign language education (among others) have investigated ‘heritage languages,’ the “nonsocietal or nonmajority languages” (Valdés, 2005, p. 411) typically used in the homes and communities of immigrants and their descendants. Though still growing and diversifying, heritage language research has tended to focus on how users of heritage languages—also known as ‘heritage language learners’ (HLLs)—differ from other learners of foreign languages, and how teachers can best adapt their instruction to their needs.

With so much literature focusing on either HLLs as learners or their teachers, this study aims to bring together these topics in a novel way. Specifically, this multiple-case study will center around adult HLLs who are currently working as teachers of their own heritage languages, and it aims to explore whether there is a relationship between their life experiences and their pedagogical content knowledge. Data collection will include teaching observations, interviews with these HLL-turned-language-teachers and other relevant parties, and the gathering of relevant teaching artifacts and documents.

All participants will be assured that this research is completely voluntary. I will protect participants by maintaining confidentiality and assigning each participant a pseudonym that will be used instead of any identifying names. The data will be saved on a password-protected computer and/or kept under lock and key in the principal investigator’s home office. All participants will be encouraged to ask the researcher questions throughout the study and will be informed that they may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

2. Subject Selection:

- a. **Recruitment:** Participants will be recruited mainly by word of mouth and the “snowball” technique (i.e., by asking colleagues and recruited participants to put me in contact with potential participants). Current participants include University of Maryland students who are also working as foreign-language teachers. If by the start of the summer of 2020 I

still need participants, I will recruit in local online teacher groups, and the flyer/post will be amended to this IRB package.

- b. **Eligibility Criteria:** Participants are eligible for this study if they are heritage speakers of the language they are currently teaching. Participants' "HLL" status will be decided by two criteria: (1) they were born in the U.S. or moved to the U.S. during their elementary-school years; and (2) the language of their education was not the one used in their homes/communities. Recruited teachers will be preferably working in the K-12 grades, but I may also consider university instructors and teachers in extracurricular community-language schools, if need be. I have no restrictions or preferences regarding the heritage languages that my participants will speak/teach.
- c. **Rationale:** The criteria stated above are fairly open, which reflects the fact that this topic (or phenomenon of interest) has not been researched in the extant literature—thus indicating that there are no specific gaps (in this topic) that need to be addressed yet. My criteria for determining whether potential participants are HLLs is derived from how other heritage-language scholars have defined HLLs in the past (e.g., Fishman, 2001; Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Valdés, 2005).
- d. **Enrollment Numbers:** 2-4
- e. **Rationale for Enrollment Numbers:** As this will be a case study, my goal is to keep the sample size small and manageable, so that I may instead focus on collecting and analyzing data in depth for each of my cases. The minimum of two participants is to allow for more robust findings than a single-case study (Yin, 2009).

3. Procedures:

Data collection will include observations of teaching; interviews with the focal teachers, their students and their colleagues (see protocols in SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS); and the gathering of relevant documents and artifacts related to the lesson. All interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Detailed fieldnotes will be written for each teaching observation, which will also be video-recorded (if permitted by the school district).

Teaching observations (1-2 hours each) will occur on a weekly basis with each focal participant, and by the end of the semester, there will be between 6 and 8 observations per participant. The researcher will make it clear to students that his main interest is in observing their teacher, not them, though he may find some student-teacher interactions worthy of note. The researcher will act more like an observer than a participant, but he will offer help to the teacher and students when needed. Notes will be taken by hand to minimize the amount of distraction caused by the researcher's presence. If permission is granted to video-record lessons, consent and assent will be sought from students and their parents. All efforts will be made to protect the confidentiality of all involved.

Four kinds of interviews will take place in this project: (1) A biographical interview with the focal teachers, at the outset of the project (45-60 min.); (2) weekly post-observation debriefs (15-20 min.); (3) interviews with other relevant parties who might provide additional insight about the focal teachers, such as their students and supervisors (45-60 min.); and (4) an end-of-study interview with the focal teachers at the end of the data collection process (45-60 min.). All interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Pseudonyms will be used for all participants, and all identifiable data will be removed.

All interviews and observations will take place in the participants' own schools and/or classrooms, unless the guidelines and policies in place at the time continue to require social distancing—in which case these data collection methods will occur virtually (e.g., via Zoom, Google Meet, etc.). The biographical interviews, meanwhile, may occur at a place that is convenient to both the researcher and participant, since they will take place during the summer. Again, however, if social distancing and self-quarantine measures are still in effect (or if it is more convenient for the participant), these interviews may also happen virtually.

Participants will be encouraged to review their interview transcripts and to make any additions, corrections, and/or deletions (via email).

All participants will be encouraged to ask the researcher questions throughout the study and will be informed that they may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

4. Risks:

There are no known risks associated with participating in this study.

5. Benefits:

There are no direct economic or professional benefits associated with participating in this study.

However, the teachers in this study may benefit from engaging in a reflective process about their teaching practices and the life experiences that may be relevant to them. They may also benefit from the extra help that the researcher can provide during his observations of teaching. This research is also an important opportunity for teachers and university researchers to work together to improve educational opportunities for all second language learners. Participants may find they enjoy participating, too.

Finally, the findings from this study may help to improve teacher education and future educational opportunities for language learners in schools around the world.

6. Confidentiality:

Each participant will be assigned a pseudonym. The pseudonym will be used in all data collected in the study and original names will be deleted. All data (fieldnotes, transcripts, audio/video files) will be saved on a password-protected computer and any hard copies will be kept under lock and key in the PI's home office. All recordings will be kept confidential and will be viewed/heard in their entirety only by the researcher. Some selected recorded clips may be used at professional educational conferences (any identifying information will be edited out). All data (including audio/video files) will be destroyed ten years after the completion of the study. Manuscripts submitted for publication will not identify individuals by name or location.

7. Consent Process:

Participants will be informed of the purpose and design of the study prior to beginning the study, and informed consent forms (see SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS). will be

distributed when they express interest in participating in the study. There will be no deceptive information. Consent forms for the focal participating teachers will be in English, while consent and assent forms for other parties who may be involved in aspects of this research (e.g., students, department chairs) will be translated to Spanish and other languages on an as-needed basis (and depending on available resource).

I will meet with principals and teachers and give them a recruitment/explanation letter (SUPPORTING DOCUMENT) at a time of their convenience. After informed consent is obtained for the teachers and permission is granted to video-record observations of teaching, I will send home student consent forms (with a cover letter, see SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS) for parents to sign and return to school. Students who are minors will also receive an assent form to indicate their own willingness to help with this research study (see SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS). All consent and assent forms will be collected in an envelope to protect participant privacy. All participants will receive a copy of the consent form for their records.

The duration and timing of the study, as well as the mechanisms to ensure participant confidentiality will be outlined in the consent form. The informed consent form will specifically state what is expected of subjects who decide to participate in the study and informs participants they can withdraw from the study at any time. The form also lists the names and contact information for the researcher (address, phone number, e-mail). Any subsequent questions or concerns relating to the form, its content, or the study, may be directed to the researcher. If permission to video-record participants' teaching is given, all efforts will be made to protect the identities of those who declined to participate or did not provide consent yet (e.g., using software to blur faces, pointing the camera away from nonparticipants).

All participants will be assured that this research is completely voluntary during recruitment and throughout the study.

8. Conflict of Interest:

No conflict of interest.

9. HIPAA Compliance:

Not applicable.

10. Research Outside of the United States:

Not applicable.

11. Research Involving Prisoners:

Not applicable.

12. SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

Your Initial Application must include a **completed Initial Application Part 1 (On-Line Document)**, the information required in items 1-11 above, and all relevant supporting documents including: consent forms, letters sent to recruit participants, questionnaires

completed by participants, and any other material that will be presented, viewed or read to human subject participants.

The consent forms in your approved IRBNet PACKAGE must be used. When creating or editing your consent form, please provide the most recent IRBNet package number at the bottom, right corner of the consent form. This ensures you are using the most “up-to-date” version of the form.

To find your IRBNet package number, go to the MY PROJECTS tab and click on the title of your project. In the PROJECT OVERVIEW page, your IRBNet package number will be listed at the top, next to your project title.

Appendix B. Proposal Summary for NECPS Research and Evaluation Office (2020)

The HLL-Turned-Language-Teacher: Exploring the Relationship Between Heritage-Language Maintenance and Pedagogical Content Knowledge

Andrés A. García

Problem Statement

For decades, fields such as applied linguistics and language education have investigated *heritage languages* (HLs), or the nonsocietal or nonmajority languages used in the homes and communities of immigrants and their descendants (Valdés, 2005). Though still growing, research on HLs has usually focused on the users of these languages—or *heritage language learners* (HLLs)—as students in classroom contexts (e.g., Abdi, 2011; Cuza et al., 2017; Liu, 2006). In addition, much research has been devoted to ascertaining the factors that potentially contribute to the maintenance and loss of HLs, both among younger learners (e.g., Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Quiroz et al., 2010; Schwartz, 2008) and through the retrospections of seemingly successful adult HLLs (e.g., Callahan, 2010; Tse, 2001a, 2001b; Zhang, 2016).

Little research, however, has focused on other roles that HLLs may fulfill in instructional settings. For example, as bilinguals and legitimate users of their heritage languages (Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014), many HLLs are qualified to teach their own heritage languages in schools and other educational institutions. Yet still, very few studies about HL teaching have included teachers who themselves identify as HLLs among their participants (see Aquino-Sterling et al., 2015; Leeman et al., 2011, for notable exceptions). This research gap becomes more glaring in the context of a growing call for research on the influence of the *identities* and *life experiences* of second language (L2) teachers on their pedagogy (e.g., Motha et al., 2012; Reeves, 2009; Vélez-Rendón, 2002, 2010).

Research Purpose

This proposed study helps address the gap described above by focusing on adult HLLs who are currently practicing as teachers of their own HLs. My aim is to discern the relationship between these teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and their *pedagogical content knowledge* (PCK), or the specialized knowledge used by teachers to convey their subject-matter effectively (Beaudrie, 2009; Johnson, 2009, 2015, 2016; Shulman, 1987). Specifically, the study will address the following research questions:

1. How do the focal HLLs-turned-language-teachers describe their experiences with HL maintenance and development?
2. What kinds of PCK are evident in the practice of these HLLs-turned-language-teachers?
3. How do these HLLs-turned-language-teachers' experiences with HL maintenance and development relate to their PCK as L2 teachers?

Methods/Procedures

This investigation will be a qualitative multiple-case study (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009) of up to four (4) teachers (from various school districts and educational institutions) who identify as HLLs of the languages they teach. More specifically, prospective participants of

this study must fit the following criteria: (a) They were born in the United States or immigrated to this country in elementary school; (b) their P-16 schooling experiences in the content areas were not in their HLs (cf. Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012); and (c) they are teaching their HLs at the time of data collection. Given the potentially limited availability of educators who fit the two criteria listed above, no additional selection criteria will be employed for this project (e.g., teaching context, language of instruction).

Three main sources of data will be collected for this project: (a) observations of teaching; (b) interviews with the focal teachers, their students and their colleagues; and (c) the gathering of relevant documents and artifacts related to lessons. All interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Detailed fieldnotes will be written for each teaching observation, which will also be video recorded, if permitted.

Teaching observations (1-2 hours each) will occur on a weekly basis with each focal participant, and by the end of the project, there will be between six (6) and eight (8) observations per participant. The researcher will make it clear to students that his main interest is in observing their teacher, not them, though he may find some student-teacher interactions noteworthy. The researcher will act more like an observer than a participant, but he will offer help to the teacher and students when needed. Notes will be taken by hand to minimize the amount of distraction caused by the researcher's presence. If permission is granted to video-record lessons, assent and consent will be sought from students and their parents. Any students who decline to participate (or whose parents do not give consent for their participation) will be removed from the recording by either physically pointing cameras away from them (for in-person observations) or digitally removing their image from virtual meetings (e.g., turning off their video, blurring their faces). Every effort will be made to protect the confidentiality of all parties involved.

Four kinds of interviews will take place in this project: (a) A biographical interview with the focal teachers at the outset of the project (45-60 min.); (b) weekly post-observation debriefs with the focal teachers (15-20 min.); (c) interviews with other relevant parties who can provide additional insights about the focal teachers, such as their students and supervisors (45-60 min.); and (d) an end-of-study interview with the focal teachers at the end of the data collection process (45-60 min.). All interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Pseudonyms will be used for all participants, and all identifiable data will be removed.

All interviews and observations will take place in the participants' own schools and/or classrooms, unless the guidelines and policies in place at the time continue to require social distancing—in which case these data collection methods will occur virtually (e.g., via Zoom, Google Meet, etc.). The biographical interviews, meanwhile, may occur at a place that is convenient to both the researcher and participant, though if social distancing and self-quarantine measures are still in effect—or if it is more convenient for the participant—these interviews may also take place virtually.

Data analysis will be guided by the core principles and standards of qualitative research and case study methodology (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). Analysis will begin at the same time as data collection, though a period of intensive data analysis will take place after data has been collected for all participants. Analysis will be influenced by a combination of analytic strategies/approaches (i.e., ethnographic, constant comparison, discourse analysis) as best suit my research questions and data (Merriam, 1998). Also, data analysis will occur in two different phases in order to generate a more robust set of findings: *within-case* and *cross-case* analysis (Yin, 2009). All the steps outlined above will allow for multiple kinds of *triangulation* in the research process, thus ensuring greater trustworthiness, rigor, and quality.

Benefits to NECPS

While experts heed caution with regards to the generalizability of findings derived from case studies, many also concur that case studies can speak back to theory in order to refine it—or at least to point out aspects of it that require further inquiry (Becker, 1990; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Yin, 2009). In helping address the research gaps described earlier, this study can contribute to the refinement and revision of various concepts related to applied linguistics, language education, and teacher training that are overdue for an update. In particular, this case study will hopefully contribute to discussion of how the identities and life experiences of language teachers may be leveraged as resources to enhance the education of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students. Furthermore, I expect that my findings will also uncover insights about the ways in which ideologies permeate (detrimentally) the lives and educational trajectories of HLLs—and by extension other multilingual and immigrant students (cf. Abdi, 2011; Faltis, 2013).

Admittedly, the benefits sketched above are general in nature, but it is my hope that they lead to new knowledge that can be put into practice at the classroom level, including in NECPS. In my past four years of experience teaching courses for UMD's post-baccalaureate certificate (PBC) program in TESOL, I have found that NECPS teachers are truly hungry for information that they can bring back to their schools and classrooms to improve the education of their CLD students. My hope, then, is that insights from this case study will help not just my participants but also other teachers in similar contexts through publications, conference presentations, and professional development sessions. In fact, given my own positive experiences with NECPS educators, I would gladly offer to lead PD sessions for the county that share practical insights from my findings and help teachers discover new ways to extend the knowledge I generated to their pedagogy and contexts.

Appendix C. IRB Continuing Review Application for the University of Maryland, College Park (2021)



Institutional Review Board

1204 Marie Mount Hall • 7814 Regents Drive • College Park, MD 20742 • 301-405-4212 • irb@umd.edu

CONTINUING REVIEW APPLICATION

Please complete this form in its entirety. Please DO NOT copy and paste information from your initial application OR a previous continuing review application.

1. PARTICIPANT ENROLLMENT

The number of participants currently approved for this protocol can be found in Section 2 of your Initial Application, or in a recent Amendment, if an increase in enrollment was requested.

- a. **IRB Approved - Number of Participants:** 6-8 focal participants, 25-50 total participants.

Please provide the total number of participants enrolled during the last approval period in the table below.

PARTICIPANTS ENROLLED IN LAST APPROVAL PERIOD:		
Adults	Children/Adolescents	TOTAL:
4	0	4

Please provide the total number of participants enrolled to date in the table below.

TOTAL PARTICIPANTS ENROLLED TO DATE:		
Adults	Children/Adolescents	TOTAL:
4	0	4

- b. **Will the protocol remain open to participant enrollment? If enrollment will remain open, a copy of the CONSENT FORM(S) must be included with your application.**

☒ Yes ☐ No

- c. **Were there any participant withdrawals?**

☒ Yes ☐ No

If YES, please explain.

The director of the program where one of my recruited participants teaches denied access for the teaching observations, thus leading to her removal from the sample.

2. SUMMARY

- a. Please provide a brief summary regarding the progress of the project. Please indicate if any additional risks have been identified. If YES, please explain.**

Over the course of the first year of the study, I have carried out over 360 minutes of Biographical Interviews with focal participants. Preliminary findings from these data support prior findings on adult heritage language learners, as the focal teachers in this study also credited their supportive families and communities for the maintenance of their heritage languages into adulthood. Perhaps because of this, when describing their pedagogy, participants generally foregrounded their desire to be “role models” for students with similar linguistic backgrounds. However, they rarely delved into the more formal aspects of language teaching and learning (e.g., grammar), even though these are also part of their pedagogy.

The goals for the upcoming approval period, then, will be to conduct teaching observations and additional interviews to further illuminate the patterns that began to emerge in the Biographical Interviews. Also, I hope to recruit 1-2 more participants over the summer, to make up for the participant whose teaching I was not allowed to observe. The projected completion date for data collection is the fall of 2021 (i.e., November 2021), though hopefully earlier if I can collect the data I need during the summer.

No research activities occurred in person during the past year of the study, and they will not take place in person until the University’s Research Restrictions have been lifted or individual project approval is granted (via the submission and approval of a resuming human subject research plan).

No additional risks have been identified for this research study. The only issue encountered so far relates to the impact of the pandemic, which added to the stress and work of educators and thus made communication with participants very difficult to maintain. Thus, despite receiving permission to do research from the school district, it was basically impossible to schedule teaching observations and finish data collection within the allotted year.

- b. Have there been any changes and/or [deviations](#) to the protocol that were not reviewed and approved by the IRB?**

☒ Yes ☐ No

If YES, please explain when the change and/or [deviation](#) occurred and why it was not reported at the time of the occurrence.

One slight deviation from procedure came from the fact that while I secured approval from the Northeast County Public Schools (NECPS) to conduct my research this academic year (2020-2021), I forgot to submit their letter of approval to IRB through IRBNet. I am including the letter as part of this continuing review package instead.

- c. Were there any [adverse events](#) and/or [unanticipated problems](#) that occurred during the currently approved IRB protocol that were not previously reported?**

☐ Yes ☒ No

If YES, please provide an explanation of the [adverse event](#) and/or [unanticipated problem](#). Please explain when the event occurred and why it went unreported.

[Click here to enter text.](#)

- d. If you marked YES to question 2b and/or 2c above, please provide a Corrective Action Plan to address how those occurrences will be avoided and promptly reported in the future.

As I mentioned above, I have included the letter of approval I received from NECPS to this Continuing Review package as a way to correct my error of not submitting an amendment when I was supposed to. In addition, I will make sure to submit any future approval letters from NECPS (i.e., extending my permission to conduct research) or other school districts/educational institutions (i.e., for new participants who work in other districts or institutions) in due time.

3. SPECIFIC CHANGES

Investigators are not permitted to request changes beyond personnel and enrollment when submitting a Continuing Review. All additional changes must be requested through the submission of an [Amendment](#) application, in a separate submission package.

- a. Is an increase in enrollment being requested?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If YES, please explain.

[Click here to enter text.](#)

- b. Are any personnel changes being requested at this time?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If YES, please explain.

[Click here to enter text.](#)

REQUIRED SIGNATURES:

By electronically signing this Continuing Review in IRBNet, the Principal Investigator certifies that the research has been conducted in accordance with the IRB-approved protocol.

Appendix D. Renewal Application Status Report for NECPS Research and Evaluation Office (2020)

Status Report

Principal Investigator: Andrés A. García

Application Number: RE-2021-031

Need for Extension:

The reason for this extension request is that I was unable to collect all the data I wanted to collect during the 2020-2021 academic year. I was delayed by health reasons in the early part of 2021; and when I was finally able to resume data collection, pandemic-related changes made it almost impossible to establish and maintain communication with my focal participants (i.e., teachers) and their principals so as to schedule research activities involving their school contexts. Thus, despite a few attempts on my part to resume data collection throughout the rest of the school year, the project basically came to a halt (and I chose to not put too much pressure on my participants given the circumstances of the pandemic).

Research Activities Completed the Previous Year:

The main research activity that was completed with all but one of the participants I recruited last year was the initial Biographical Interview. These interviews lasted for about two (2) hours and provided data on the focal teachers' backgrounds and life experiences related to their heritage/home/native languages. In addition, participants answered some questions about their career paths, as well as some general questions about their pedagogical perspectives.

Research Plans for the Current Year:

For this current academic year, the plan is essentially to finish data collection. For the focal teacher participants, this will mean observing their teaching (in person or virtually, if need be) between six (6) and eight (8) times, engaging in short post-observation debriefs with me (15-20 minutes each), and participating in an end-of-study interview (45-60 minutes). All these research activities will hopefully take place before the end of 2021 (i.e., by December at the latest), though it is possible that the end-of-study interviews may happen in January for some.

Furthermore, between the teaching observations and end-of-study interview, I will conduct interviews with other members of the focal teachers' school communities who can give further insights about their pedagogy, such as their students and a colleague/supervisor (e.g., a department chair, a co-teacher, a mentor teacher). Like the end-of-study interviews, the student and colleague/supervisor interviews will only occur once (45-60 minutes). If multiple students are willing to be interviewed about a focal teacher—with parental consent, of course—they will be interviewed in small groups.

Finally, for the participant who was unable to complete her Biographical Interview last year, she will need to have this interview done prior to any observation of her teaching, at a time and place that is most convenient for her (including virtually). Data collection tools for all these research activities (i.e., interview and observation protocols) are included with this renewal application for illustration.

Participant recruitment will remain open for this project in the event that I meet any other NECPS teachers who are interested in joining my study (hence the inclusion of my recruitment materials in this application). That said, I will not be seeking new participants as actively as I was last year.

Significant Changes to Research Design, Scope, or Methods:

No major changes to the design, scope, or methods of this research project (as stated in last year's application) are anticipated at this moment. Due to the evolving nature of the COVID pandemic, I am aware of the possibility that my research methods may need to switch from in-person to virtual, and I will discuss the logistics of this potential issue with my focal participants prior to observations. That said, these modifications should not change the nature of the study or its general scope.

Likewise, I may alter the design of my study slightly depending on the logistics of the school contexts I plan to access (and requests from principals, if any). For example, one of my focal participants teaches kindergarten; and due to her students' young ages, we are considering not doing the student interviews for her. Instead, I may ask for additional colleagues/supervisors to interview about her pedagogy. Concerns of this sort may lead to changes in my research project, but again, I do not anticipate them to be major in nature.

Appendix E. Interview Protocol -- Biographical Interviews

N.B.: Questions in sections #2-#4 will be selected depending on how the interview unfolds, so I may jump around questions at times. Time constraints (e.g., the availability of my participants) might also result in jumping around or skipping questions, since my chief objective will be to cover childhood, adolescence, and adulthood in this interview.

1. General Questions:

- a. Remind me a little about yourself: What languages do you speak? Where did you learn these languages? How long have you been speaking them?
- b. Tell me a little more about your background: How is it that [*language*] came to be the language of your home?

2. Questions About Childhood (PreK-5):

- a. Give me a tour of your childhood home(s): Where was it? What was it like? Who would have been there in any given day? What was your childhood bedroom like?
- b. If I had walked into your childhood home, would I have heard or read [*language*] at any point? Where? When? How? For what reasons? Who would've been speaking or reading this language?
- c. How often would you say that you used [*language*] as a child? Do you have a sense of in which contexts you would've used [*language*]?
- d. Tell me more about the community where you lived. Was it a place where you could use [*language*] often (or at all)? Explain.
- e. Who would you say "taught" you [*language*] as a child? How did they do it?
- f. Do you have any particularly vivid or striking memories related to [*language*] as a child? Why do they stick out so much for you?
- g. How did you feel as a child about speaking/reading/using a language other than English in the United States? Why?

3. Questions About Adolescence (middle and high school):

- a. Did you go through any major life changes in adolescence (e.g., moving, parents separating, arrival of new siblings)? Did this affect the way [*language*] was used in your family home? [If you moved, give me a tour of your home and bedroom as an adolescent.]
- b. If I had walked into your home while you were an adolescent, would I have heard or read [*language*] at any point? Would it have been the same as when you were a child? Why do you think this is?
- c. How often would you say that you used [*language*] as an adolescent? Do you have a sense of in which contexts you would've used [*language*]?
- d. Compared to your childhood, would you say that adolescence was a time in which you continued learning [*language*] (i.e., developing it)? Why or why not?
- e. I know that schools often begin to offer foreign-language courses in middle school. Did you take [*language*] as a foreign language in middle school? What about high school?
 - i. If so, tell me more about your teachers. If not, who would you say "taught" you [*language*] as an adolescent, and how did they do it?

- f. Do you have any particularly vivid or striking memories related to [*language*] as an adolescent? Why do they stick out so much for you?
- g. How did you feel as an adolescent about speaking/reading/using a language other than English in the United States? Why?

4. Questions About Adulthood (college-present):

- a. Did you go through any major life changes as an adult (e.g., moving to college, family issues)? Did this affect the way [*language*] was used in your daily life?
- b. If I walk into your home now, as an adult, would I hear or read [*language*] at any point? Would it have been the same as when you were a child and/or adolescent? Why do you think this is?
- c. How often would you say that you use [*language*] as an adult? Do you have a sense of in which contexts you used [*language*] nowadays?
- d. Compared to prior stages in your life, would you say that adulthood is a time in which you have continued learning [*language*] (i.e., developing it)? Why or why not?
- e. Did you study [*language*] in college? Why did you make that decision? Tell me about your teachers in college, too, if you took a course. If not, who would you say “taught” you [*language*] as an adult, and how did they do it?
- f. How did you end up as a teacher of [*language*]? Was this always your plan? Do you think child or adolescent you would be surprised by your career choice? Why or why not?
- g. Do you have any particularly vivid or striking memories related to [*language*] as an adult? Why do they stick out so much for you?
- h. How do you feel as an adult about speaking/reading/using a language other than English in the United States? Why?

5. Thank you for entertaining these questions! Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix F: Interview Protocol -- Colleagues and/or Supervisors

1. Tell me more about your professional relationship with [*participant*]. In what capacity do the two of you work together (e.g., peer, supervisory)? How long have you two worked together?
2. How would you describe [*participant*] as a language teacher? Explain why.
3. Have you been able to observe any of [*participant*]'s lessons? How would you describe them? What would you say is his/her teaching style?
4. What do you know about [*participant*]'s background as a speaker of [*language*]? How would you say his/her background comes into play in his/her teaching? How about in other aspects of his work (e.g., relationship with students, collegiality)?
5. If I asked you to tell me something that makes [*participant*] different from other language teachers you have worked with in the past, what would you say?
6. Anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix G: Interview Protocol -- End-of-Study Interviews

1. Now that you have been participating in this study for a semester, can you tell me a little about your overall experience? What did you expect? Was it what you were expecting?
2. We began the study by talking about your experiences with learning your heritage language at home and other venues. Have you gained any new insights about your own history as a heritage language learner in the past four months I have been here? Tell me more about them.
3. What about your practice? Have you gained any new insights about yourself as a language teacher in the past four months? Elaborate.
4. Have you noticed any interesting connections between your teaching and your own life history as a heritage language learner that you'd like to share?
5. Questions about specific moments from the observations I want to discuss.
6. Questions about specific quotes from the interviews I want to discuss.
7. Do you have any questions or suggestions for me?

G.1. Specific Questions for Cecilia

5. Questions about specific moments from the observations I want to discuss.
 - a. I noticed that in your classes you try to use Spanish exclusively, but from time to time you will slip into English. Is this something that the program recommends and/or discourages? Why do you think you do it (or why do you need to)? Do you have a sense of whether the other teachers in your program do this, too?
 - b. Tell me more about the specific practices and routines you do in class (e.g., the meteorologist, the song of the day). Are these things you *have* to do as part of your program's curriculum, or are they your own innovations?
 - c. During one of the observations, your students were very eager to talk about snow and having snowball fights. And you took some time to describe your own reaction the first time you saw snow here in the States. Why did you think it was important to make such a connection to your own life? Do you do this often? Can you think of other examples where you've done this in the past? (If needed, probe about the fact that she doesn't share much of a background with her current students—at least from what I saw.)
 - d. How do you feel about the teaching of language/grammar in your program? Is this something you're comfortable with? Is there anything about it that still makes you uncomfortable?
6. Questions about specific quotes from the interviews I want to discuss.
 - a. One of the (many) complementary things your colleague said was that it was very easy to help you transition into the program because of your background and familiarity with the U.S. school system (as both a student and a teacher). What is YOUR perspective of your transition? Did your prior background make it as smooth as she described it to me? What was easy? What was difficult (which she perhaps didn't realize)?

- b. What about in terms of your collaboration with the other teachers in your program? Do you find that you share a background (life, language, culture, etc.) with them? Did this make things easier for you? Was it the source of tension in any way?
- c. In that interview I also asked you if child or adolescent you would be surprised at your career choice (i.e., teacher), and you said that you never expected you'd be a teacher. But what about as a "Spanish immersion" teacher (and a successful one at that!)? Is this a move that would surprise an earlier version of you—even you as a teacher at a mainstream school? Why or why not?

G.2. Specific Questions for Jackie

- 5. Questions about specific moments from the observations I want to discuss.
 - a. Tell me a little more about *language brokering* and the role it played (if any) when you were growing up. Did you find yourself having to serve as translator for your parents? Why do you think this was (not) the case?
 - b. In your class, students freely used English and Spanish to tackle content (I once said to someone that I'd "never heard that much Spanish being used in an 'English' class). Why is this important to you? What are the benefits and/or drawbacks? Is this something you've always done?
 - c. You had an amazing rapport with your students, and they clearly looked up to you and respected you. You also never seemed to look down on them and were genuinely invested in them. Has this always been the case for you? If so, why do you think this is? If not, what changed?
 - d. I don't think I saw a lot of explicit teaching of language/grammar in your lessons (more about literary devices). Is this due to the level of the course (honors)? If so, how do you typically teach these formal aspects of language in your other classes?
- 6. Questions about specific quotes from the interviews I want to discuss.
 - a. Talking to Mr. Starr, he was especially complimentary of your "deep and fundamental understanding of what social emotional learning is," and he pointed it out as something that makes you stand out from other teachers. What is your reaction to this impression of his? Does it resonate with how you see your own teaching? How so?
 - b. In your original interview, you discussed how, looking back on it, you weren't super satisfied with your teaching experiences prior to MHS. Do you think that, back then, you knew that you'd thrive at a school like MHS? What made/makes the difference in your current teaching context?
 - c. You have a journalism background, so it makes sense you'd teach ELA. But did you ever consider teaching Spanish, bilingual ed., or other subject matters? Why or why not?
 - d. Do you think that your background (linguistic, ethnic, etc.) in any way influences your relationship with the subject matter you teach? In other words, how do you

think “Ms. Aranda’s” ELA class might be different from, say, “Ms. Parker’s” or “Mr. Smith’s,” if at all (and assuming these other teachers have different backgrounds from yours)?

G.3. Specific Questions for Jerónimo

5. Questions about specific moments from the observations I want to discuss.
 - a. First observation: you scolded your class about the quality of their presentations, and it felt somewhat familial. In fact, one of the students said right after, “tiene razón.” Why do you think this was the reaction? (Tease out what he thinks this means for his relationship with students and why. Does identity have anything to do with it?)
 - b. About simply reading off the slide: “Eso no es enseñar; eso no es aprender.” What is it, then? Why did them doing this elicit such a strong reaction from you?
 - c. How did the presentations go? (I was supposed to observe them but missed them.)
 - d. I noticed you tend to incorporate little cultural elements to your handling of the classroom (e.g., “he dicho... caso cerrado!”). Where did you get the idea (or did it emerge naturally)? Why do you think it works? Other examples?
 - e. The only times I saw you cover topics of grammar, orthography, etc., were as review during online learning. How do you feel about teaching this content? What do you do well and what could you improve? Is it an essential or major part of your teaching? Why or why not?
6. Questions about specific quotes from the interviews I want to discuss.
 - a. Mr. Sullivan brought up your practice of starting class with meditation exercises: Where did you get the idea from? Why do you choose the music you choose for these exercises (e.g., cumbia, pop, hip-hop)?
 - b. Both Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Starr mentioned that you serve as a model of sorts for the **Latino male** students at IHSLP (Sullivan: “can connect with ‘artsy’ kids and ‘machista/futbolista’ kids.” Starr: “there’s another pathway to ‘machismo’”). How do you feel about their impressions? Are they on point, or do they misunderstand anything?

Appendix H: Observation Protocol

Date:
Start time-End time: (XX total minutes)
Observer:
Video/audio recording file (if any):
Location:
Teacher:
Students (how many?):
Description of the room/space:
Other people present:

OBSERVATIONAL NOTES Time stamp every 5 mins e.g., ((05:00))	EVIDENCE OF PCK (preliminary, only note as necessary)	CONNECTIONS TO LIFE EXPERIENCES WITH HL (only note as necessary)
- Take notes on teacher and student actions chronologically. Capture quotes as verbatim as possible. - Use rough notes during observation to fill in after observation. - Use comment bubbles for additional theoretical, methodological, or practical notes.	- Take notes on connections to the PCK literature that are evident in specific teacher actions. - Keep notes in this column parallel to (i.e., at the same level as) the observational notes that inspired them.	- Take notes on connections to information from participants' biographical interviews that is in some way relevant to specific teacher actions or decisions for the observed lesson. - Keep notes in this column parallel to (i.e., at the same level as) the observational notes that inspired them.

ANALYSIS MEMO:

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