THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA GRADUATE COLLEGE

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SIGNED: Trudie Clark McEvoy
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DEDICATION

For Dr. Richard Ruiz

For your unshakeable practice of hope in all your students

For my family,

My parents my sisters, my brothers, my cousins and all family through blood and through love.
In gratitude of your enduring love and support.

I love ya’ll bunches and bunches!

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Abstract

Since it is frequently the case that receptive bilinguals of Spanish are unable to communicate comfortably with their monolingual Spanish speaking loved ones and live in a country where Spanish is a highly marketable skill, students have pressing reasons to be both personally and professionally motivated to master their Heritage language (HL). Receptive bilinguals, as a part of the Heritage Language Learner (HLL) population are unfortunately excluded from both definitions of L2 and HLLs, and understandably frequently discontinue their studies before achieving a minor in their Heritage Language (Beaudrie, 2009; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). While research regarding HLL experience acquiring Spanish in the United States has exploded since the 1990s (Valdés, 2001; Carreira, 2004; Lynch, 2014); more recently, and to a lesser extent, there is a growing body of research regarding HLL motivation (Ducar, 2012; Yanguas, 2010; Oh & Nash, 2014; Husseinalli, 2006; Lee, 2006). There is, unfortunately, a dearth of research regarding the language learner motivation of receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson, 2011; Xie, 2014). The current study seeks to fill this gap in the literature and understand the receptive bilingual experience not just as beginner learners but also as they progress throughout their university studies in a Heritage Language program. Using the L2 Motivational Self System, and more specifically the motivational selves as described by Dörnyei (2009), this study contributes a deeper understanding of how the construction of possible selves serves to create motivation in this particular population at varying points along their learning trajectories. It first describes themes present in the motivational selves of this understudied population as well as societal ideologies that are road blocks that students encounter on their way to successfully creating motivation. These common themes are then analyzed across 5 groups of participants according to the number of courses they have completed.
in the program, from those who have dropped the program after completing a single semester to those who have completed a minor in Spanish. It identifies several factors which trend in particular directions across participant groups, several of which reinforce the previously identified roadblocks. Finally, this study identifies strategies for coping with these roadblocks. It contributes to our understanding of motivation as process, the overlap in motivational orientations, and themes within learning trajectories of receptive bilinguals. As one participant described, “I was never legitimately taught Spanish. It’s almost as though I had been sitting in a math class for years but never actually doing anything [and] one day just being able to take the test from what I had picked up in passing.” This participant’s experience, and other receptive bilingual experiences, are outside of the conventional understandings of HL or L2 labels. Therefore, this research serves to describe the hopes and dreams of this understudied population through an analysis of their motivational selves.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
In the United States, it is more and more common for individuals to grow up developing receptive skills in Spanish but developing productive skills predominantly in English. In fact, from 2010-2015, 5 million Latinos were born in the U.S. versus only 1.9 million immigrated—a stark contrast from the previous two decades when Hispanic population growth was primarily due to new immigrants (Flores, 2017). Likewise, given the restrictive English-only policies that have been enacted, even in areas with high densities of Spanish-speaking communities such as Arizona, many children who speak Spanish at home experience abrupt language shift once they attend school in English. It is not uncommon that, once a child has experienced an English-only school, (s)he refuses to speak in Spanish with parents and/or other community members. Building comprehension skills while losing or never developing productive skills is called receptive bilingualism (Beaudrie, 2009). Given our current immigration and language policy patterns in the United States, it is more and more common for the nation’s language minority students to enter the college classroom as receptive bilinguals.

Many teachers and scholars consider this growing population of students to be a national resource given their linguistic competence, and in many cases, social connections on a global scale (Fishman, 2001). Their skills, cultural connections and desire to revitalize or re-learn their Heritage Language (HL) create a natural, important and useful bridge to nearly all the languages of the world. It is certainly in our best interest to encourage these students to work on the development of their language skills, especially their productive skills in their HL. In the case of Spanish in the United States, and many other languages, this experience would not only be enriching for those individuals but beneficial for the entire country.
Rationale for the Study

The awareness of the benefits and unique needs of receptive bilinguals within language programs, and the general public, however, is unfortunately limited. Receptive bilinguals, despite being a growing population in the United States, and being an important national resource, have received little recognition in the literature or among language educators (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Beaudrie, 2009). With few exceptions, language programs are frequently designed for two types of students (Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). On the one hand, there are programs designed for second language (L2) learners who arrive in the classroom with negligible experience with Spanish. On the other hand, there is also a growing number of programs designed for Heritage Language Learners (HLLs), or individuals who arrive in the classroom speaking Spanish but requiring literacy skills. Receptive bilinguals, in these terms, do not fit either program. They enter HLL or L2 programs with instructors who commonly do not expect them or might not even agree that they should be there. In short, it is frequently the case that, there is no program that is designed specifically for receptive bilinguals nor that has their unique needs in mind.

It is unsurprising then that, despite being highly motivated, these students all too frequently drop out of Spanish programs (Goble, 2016). Frequently, receptive bilinguals are either the grandchildren, relatives, or neighbors of monolingual Spanish speakers, creating a language barrier. In the particular case of the American Southwest, with its proximity to the border with Mexico and the high percentage of Spanish speakers, the ability to speak Spanish is a highly valuable professional skill. In this context, therefore, students have strong reasons to be both personally and professionally motivated to revitalize or re-learn their HL. There is a disconnect between the reality of Spanish as a personally and professionally relevant language
and programmatic preparedness. Unfortunately, programs often struggle for awareness that receptive bilinguals exist, acceptance that they are HLLs, and even acknowledgement that they might be part of the Latino community. Programs, therefore, struggle to meet the needs of this particular population. This difficulty both in terms of awareness and program placement, coupled with real reasons for students to be highly motivated to learn, necessitates a study that examines receptive bilingual motivational experiences. The most important contribution of such inquiry is for the goal of meeting this population’s needs, and for raising awareness of their unique experiences.

Likewise, similar to the lack of awareness within HLL programs, there is a lack of research regarding the needs of receptive bilinguals more specifically. The field of HLLs has been in development since the 1970s and has drastically increased in production during the last two decades (Carreira, 2004; Lynch, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Valdés, 1978). Dating back to Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) study, there is a growing body of literature regarding the specific experience of language learner motivation (Dörnyei, 1990; Noels, 2005; Ushioda, 2011). However, there have only been a handful of studies that focus on the unique experiences, proficiencies and pedagogical needs of receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Beaudrie, 2009; Goble, 2016; Vergara Wilson & Martinez, 2011; Xie, 2014). Even fewer studies have focused on receptive bilingual motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011; Xie, 2014).

This project works to address this gap in the literature in order to better understand the unique needs and motivational development of receptive bilinguals in hopes of furthering knowledge and supporting better programs. More specifically, this study strives to understand the hopes and dreams that receptive bilinguals hold for their own learning and future language
use. It does this through an analysis of receptive bilinguals’ motivational selves (Dörnyei, 2009). These selves will be analyzed through the L2 Motivational Self System, a theoretical frame that describes one’s future selves that a learner envisions and how, in the process of creating that imagining, one is pulled forward in his or her learning (Dörnyei, 2005). All of the participants in the study started as receptive bilinguals at the 100 level in a post-secondary context. Data were collected in a cross-sectional manner from five different cross-sectional student groups, where the first group has dropped the program after the first semester, other groups have continued to increasingly advance levels of instruction, and the last group has achieved a minor in Spanish. These data were then analyzed in three phases in order to understand the unique thematic trends in motivational selves of receptive bilinguals as well as the commonalities that they share with the rest of the HLL population.

The following section will review the relevant areas of literature that pertain to the current study. It will begin by reviewing the dominant definitions and parameters of the HLL population ending in the definition for the current study. It will then review the common terms and definitions for the receptive bilingual population, ending with the definition that will be used for this study. Next, it will review the dominant frames and theoretical understandings of language learning motivation, and then focus on HLL motivation in particular. A description of the theoretical framework of the current study, the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009), follows. A discussion of the methodological trends in language learner and HLL motivational research precedes the concluding discussion of previous research regarding receptive bilingual motivation.
Literature Review

Definitions

Defining HLLs

There is no overwhelming agreement among HLL scholars or practitioners concerning an exact definition of this population. The majority of definitions are, however, centered around two overarching themes—namely, identity and proficiency (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira, 2004; Fishman, 2001). First, identity as a means of defining HLLs has been used to develop a spectrum of definitions related to language learner identity and/or cultural connections of HLLs. There are several scholars who suggest that a cultural or familial connection, regardless of the absence of language proficiency, still qualifies a learner as a HLL (Fishman, 2001; Leeman, 2015; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). Fishman (2001) suggests that a HLL is anyone who is studying a minority language that has a “particular family relevance” (p. 89). This definition is slightly more restrictive than that of Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) who describes some learners as having a heritage motivation despite the absence of experience or even cultural knowledge of the HL. For example, this might be the case of an African American individual who studies Wolof, a minority language spoken in modern day Senegal despite not knowing if his or her ancestors spoke it, might feel, nevertheless, a heritage motivation to reclaim that language. Similarly, Vergara Wilson and Martínez (2011) suggest that a definition of identity, irrespective of proficiency, is best suited for their purposes, a mission to revitalize Spanish, a language that was purposefully eradicated in New Mexico. In their program, they use the following definition:

“Heritage Learners are learners, irrespective of proficiency, whose relationship with language is more complex than foreign language learners as a result of their socialization in their linguistic and cultural setting, their positioning of themselves with respect to that language and the dominant society, their positioning by the dominant society, and their own desire to explore and develop a productive connection with that language. The complexity of such a relationship has significant pedagogical implications, including a profound impact on the learner’s ability to
acquire the language and to choose or decline self-identification as a member of a given ethnic group.” (p. 283)

This definition coincides with Fishman’s (2001) and Van Deusen-Scholl’s (2003) in that it disregards proficiency, but it is different in its acceptance of varying experiences of language socialization and acknowledgement of student self-identification. It likewise makes this New Mexican program an important except in regard to preparedness for receptive bilinguals.

Several scholars have reminded readers to include a learner’s own self-identification label when defining this population (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Leeman, 2015; Lynch, 2014). Leeman (2015) suggests that a HLL’s identity is frequently constructed by institutional factors, such as the presence of a HLL program at one’s school. Lynch (2014) names the difficulty of including student identity as a portion of the definition within a Heritage Program where proficiency might be more useful. Hornberger and Wang (2008), however, advocate that any definition should take into account a student’s thoughts and feelings about his or her own identity, relationship and connection to a given HL.

In contrast to identity driven definitions, several scholars suggest that proficiency, as measured by teachers and institutions, should be our means of defining the HLL population (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Kagan, 2005; Valdés, 2005). There are varying points along the bilingual continuum that scholars would consider a boundary for HLLs. For example, Kagan (2005) suggests that there should be three groups of HLLs: those who have completed high school in their country of origin, those who have reached middle school, and those who came to the United States in elementary school. In this instance, she assumes that all HLLs are immigrants. Similarly, although she has now updated her original definition, in her seminal work, Valdés Fallis (1978) did suggest that HLLs speak a low prestige dialect and arrive in the classroom needing only to acquire the prestige dialect. Despite no longer being accepted in the
field, nor even by the original author, this definition is still worth discussing since it is still held by many practitioners as evidenced by both individual and society language ideologies that pair low prestige dialects and ethnicity (McEvoy, 2017; Urciouli, 2008).

More current definitions, however, include a broader range of individuals who experienced a naturalistic language socialization (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Valdés, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). The National Heritage Language Resource Center (2000) suggests that a “defining distinction between heritage language and foreign language acquisition is that heritage language acquisition begins in the home, as opposed to foreign language acquisition which, at least initially, usually begins in a classroom setting” (UCLA Steering Committee, 2001, The Family, para. 1). Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) as well as Vergara Wilson and Martínez (2011) agree that HL acquisition is naturalistic in nature. There are two distinctions, however, Vergara Wilson and Martínez (2011) suggest that even with familial ties and socialization within the Latino community, language learning may begin in the classroom. In contrast, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) suggest that an individual HLL may be a person who has no genetic or ancestral connection to the language but has, for a variety of possible reasons, grown up with naturalistic language socialization in the HL. This might include an individual raised by a Spanish-speaking nanny or a child of missionaries exposed to the language at a young age. For the purposes of this project, I will follow the example of Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) in defining HLLs as individuals who have had a naturalistic exposure to the HL at a young age. This broad proficiency-based, or perhaps more precisely language-exposure-based definition, encompasses the entire bilingual range and in doing so includes receptive bilinguals.
Defining Receptive Bilinguals

Despite a lack of research regarding the experience of receptive bilinguals, many scholars ascribe to the concept of bilingualism as a continuum (Carreira, 2004; Hornberger, 2004; Valdés, 2001) and acknowledge receptive bilinguals as a part of that continuum (Beaudrie, 2009; Carreira, 2004; Combs, 2014; Fishman 1991; Goble, 2016; Myers-Scotton 2006; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011; Valdés, 1997). There is less agreement about a precise term to use when describing bilinguals closest to the monolingual end of the bilingual continuum. Fishman (1991) suggested that language shift to the dominant language is most frequently a three-generation process where the first generation is dominant in the minority language, the second is comprised of balanced bilinguals, and the third prefers or may exclusively speak the dominant language. Goble (2016) used this three-generation model to discuss the experience of receptive bilinguals simply referring to them as third generation Latinos. Beaudrie (2009), however, criticized the three-generational model for HLL research, suggesting that many receptive bilinguals are not from immigrant families at all (Fishman, 2001). Villa and Rivera-Mills (2009) suggested an alternative contact generation model but this still doesn’t include some receptive bilingual experiences. Especially in the case of studies, like the current study, where participants are recruited from an educational setting that is structured around language proficiency, the concept of receptive bilingual is more accurate than any generational model.

There is some discussion about the precise definition or description of receptive bilinguals or individuals at the end of the bilingual continuum closest to monolinguals. Valdés (1997) suggested varying categories for differing parts of the continuum. Her Type F is most related to the term receptive bilingual, which she described as a speaker who is receptive in his or her rural variety and has no academic skills in English. Carreira (2003) disagreed with Valdés...
Beaudrie (2009) suggested that “Receptive bilingualism involves, as with any type of bilingualism, a continuum of expanding and contracting bilingual abilities that are characterized by stronger receptive rather than productive abilities” (p. 86). Many other scholars agree that receptive bilinguals are a group of individuals who are on one end of the bilingual range closest to monolingualism in the dominant language where they have strong skills in comprehending their HL, but struggle to produce it (Beaudrie, 2009; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011). I will define receptive bilinguals as individuals who are native speakers in the dominant language, in this case English. In addition, receptive bilinguals have had naturalistic exposure to a minority language at a young age, in this case Spanish, having developed a strong capacity to comprehend that language while exhibiting a limited or complete lack of productive capabilities.

Two additional terms that have been used to describe receptive bilinguals are emergent bilinguals and passive bilinguals (Beaudrie, 2009; Chumak- Horbatsch, 2008; De Houwer, 2007). The term passive bilingual, however, emphasizes all of the skills that a participant may not have. Likewise, this suggests that listening, and therefore comprehending, is a passive skill,
which it is not. In contrast, Garcia (2009) coined the term emergent bilingual to appropriately describe the process of learning and changing that all bilinguals, and especially those who are actively studying the language, experience (Combs, 2014). It is an appropriate term in that it does not frame learners in a deficit model. It is also a particularly useful and accurate term for situations where students who have all started as receptive bilinguals in a 100 level are being examined at all levels of study. For the purposes of this study, I will use the term receptive bilingual since it most accurately describes the linguistic proficiency of the participants when they entered the program. I will also occasionally use the term emergent bilingual since it most accurately describes their growth.

Motivation

Language Learner Motivation

There are no models of motivation specific to HLLs, but three general models from L2 research have been applied to the HLL population. In their seminal work regarding language learning motivation, Gardner and Lambert (1959) suggested that motivation was an important factor in student success, and that students who were more orientated to learn in order to connect with the L2 community would be more successful. Gardner’s (1985) Socio-Educational model, which developed from this original study, identified a series of factors related to motivation, and therefore to student language learning success. These factors included: student attitudes, orientations toward learning, parent attitudes and social milieu (although there were several iterations with some changes). All these factors were found to impact motivational intensity and therefore student success. Despite the complexity of the multivariate nature of Gardner’s model, the most commonly used constructs are those concerned with orientations toward learning (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dörnyei, 2009; Ducar, 2012; Gardner, 2004). There are two
orientations in the Socio-Educational Model—namely, the integrative orientation, or the desire to learn a language in order to integrate into that community of speakers, as well as the instrumental orientation, when a student learns a language for a practical reason such as getting a better job (Gardner, 2010).

While Gardner (1985) distinguished between language attitudes and orientations in particular contexts (personal versus work), Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand (2000) created a theory that distinguished between motivation within or external to the task of language learning. She described language learning motivation as either extrinsic (outside of the task) or intrinsic (related to the task). She defined three underlying types of intrinsic orientations toward learning. They are 1) learning for the sake of knowledge, 2) learning for an accomplishment or a sense of mastery, and 3) learning for stimulation or the pleasure of the task itself (Noels, 2001). Additionally, she described three types of extrinsic orientation; they are as follows: 1) external regulation (seeking a reward), 2) introjected regulation (avoiding social consequences), and 3) identified regulation (building social identity).

While many overlaps between these models exist, the best fit for the qualitative nature of the current study, the L2 Motivational Self system. This model is the most recently developed L2 learning model of motivation (Dörnyei, 2005). Related to Noels’ (2005) identified regulation but inspired by Gardner’s (2010) integrative orientation, this model places imagining at the center of the language learning motivational process. Dörnyei (2009) explains that “Language learning is a sustained and often tedious process with lots of temporary ups and downs. … The secret of successful learners was their possession of a superordinate vision that kept them on track” (p. 25). This superordinate vision is divided into two future selves (sometimes referred to as future self-guides): the ideal self and the ought-to self. The ideal self is a vivid image of characteristics
that an individual would like to possess as a future language user. The ought-to self is the characteristics or imaginings of what a person should possess or what others feel an individual should achieve. Finally, L2 learning context is taken into consideration. Dörnyei (2005) suggests that perhaps there are two common routes to successful learning experiences, one fueled by the joy of learning and the other by future aspiration. The current study will focus on the future aspirations of participants.

This study will use the L2 Motivational Self System to understand HLL motivation since it is centered in identity, or the self, is flexible in design, and includes external voices. Indeed, the quantitative nature of the sociocultural and extrinsic versus intrinsic models make applications to a new and understudied population difficult. While it is also used with quantitative data, the L2 Motivational Self System can flex to a particular population’s contexts when qualitative data and analysis are utilized. In fact, within studies regarding HLLs qualitative methods are more common than quantitative (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015). Likewise, identity is considered a fundamental element to learning and motivation for the HLL population (He, 2006; Leeman, 2015; Oh & Nash, 2014; Potowski, 2012). On the journey toward or from a sense of acceptance of ambiguity, learners must contend with their identity in society, within the classroom, and in most cases within their own family. At the same time, the inclusion of the ought-to self, which indirectly considers outside voices within one’s own vision of success, is well suited for a further understanding of the motivational landscape for a group of individuals who have been hearing comments on their Spanish usage for many years. This coordinates well with the well-established reality of language ideologies with which Spanish speakers in the United States must contend with a myriad of outside sources not limited to but including
institutions, family and even textbooks (Ducar, 2008; McEvoy, 2017; Ortega, 1999; Valdés, 2003).

**L2 Motivational Self System**

Along with a general trend in motivation studies, the L2 Motivational Self System takes a process approach when defining motivation, which overlaps with the shift in identity studies to a post-structural perspective (Dörnyei, 2000; Norton, 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Potowski, 2012; Ushioda, 2011). In previous frames, such as the Socio-educational model, motivation is conceptualized as an individual characteristic, or trait, that is stable and can therefore be diagnosed and used to predict language learner success (Gardner, 2010). In contrast, as stated by Dörnyei (2010), “Instead of viewing cognition or motivation as located solely within the individual mind, these phenomena are coming to be viewed as dynamically constructed in discursive interactions between people situated in particular sociocultural contexts” (p. 8). This shift in perspective from a predictable and stable trait to a co-constructed and dynamic process also fundamentally alters the research questions in motivational research from those related to diagnosing individuals to the goal of understanding their motivational experiences, patterns and trajectories. It is, therefore, no surprise that in his original and subsequent studies both alone and with colleagues, Dörnyei & Csizér, (2002) used cross-sectional methods to emphasize both a temporal and a process approach to the dynamic construction of motivation. The current project will likewise use a process approach as well as cross-sectional data collection and analysis.

Although the L2 Motivational Self System includes both a discussion of identity development and the language learning environment, the current student will focus on the development of the possible or motivational selves. More specifically, the ideal and ought-to self. Dörnyei (2009) described the ideal self, stating that it “refers to the representation of the
attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representations of hopes, aspirations or wishes)”, whereas the ought-to self “refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. representation of someone else’s sense of self, duties, obligations or moral responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to one’s own desires or wishes” (p. 13). There has been some concern about the amount of internalization of the ought-to self, or about the question as to when another person’s beliefs are internalized enough to simply be considered part of the ideal self (Boyatzis & Akrivou, 2006). Likewise, Ushioda (2011) has discussed an individual’s autonomy in language learning, where (s)he may choose to accept or reject the narratives of others. For the purpose of this study, the amount of learners’ internalization is less important than their perceptions. If (s)he expresses an external opinion as important, accepted or rejected, so long as it is identified by the individual as from an external source, it will be included in the characteristics of the ought-to self. This dynamic is particularly relevant for college students, the population of the current study, who are so frequently questioning the beliefs of their parents and other individuals from their lives as young adults striving to become more independent adults.

It is important to note that, in the process of defining the self-guides, the content is left to be defined by the individual, and their presence alone is an insufficient predictor of motivation. In other words, unlike an instrumental orientation when a learner wants to learn a language for a practical reason, with the L2 motivational Self System, the same individual may, for a period of time, imagine a future self that is using Spanish at work, but may be simultaneously envisioning themselves as fluent or traveling for vacation. This flexibility is especially pertinent for research on populations that have not yet been thoroughly investigated, such as receptive bilinguals. The L2 Motivational Self System is, therefore, less restrictive and more open to diverse constructions
and changes. In addition, instead of creating a predictive diagnosis, with strictly operationalized constructs of the self-guides, the presence of these self-guides is insufficient to create motivation. Motivation emerges when and if the self-guides are vivid, in harmony with one another, and when or if the individual believes that they are plausible (Dörnyei, 2009). In the current project, shifts within each individual’s self-guides are of interest. Self-guides will be identified, and in addition, factors such as vividness, harmony and perception of plausibility, or lack thereof, will be explored.

**HLL Motivation**

There are two major findings across studies related to HLL motivation research: the overlap of orientations and salience of language learner identity. Many scholars have found that language learner identity is more salient for HLLs than L2 learners (Dressler, 2008; Noels, 2005; Oh and Au, 2005). For example, Noels (2005) found that HLLs were more likely than L2 learners to be motivated by identified regulation, or the desire to build one’s social identity, over pure enjoyment of the task. Other researchers have supported these results that identity is an important portion of HLL motivation when researching HLLs without a comparison population (Berdardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012; Husseiniali, 2006; Kurata, 2015; Lee, 2006). Lee (2006) found that students’ attachment to the heritage culture (HC), or sense of belonging, increased or correlated with student success. Oh and Au (2005) found that identity for HLLs was positively correlated with performance on a standardized test. Finally, in Husseiniali’s (2006) survey results, 75% of respondents reported that they were learning Arabic in order to relate more with their culture.

Likewise, in general, findings in many studies supported the interpretation that the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations cannot be maintained within a trait
psychology perspective of motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dressler, 2008; Ducar, 2012). In other words, the two orientations were not mutually exclusive or distinguishable for HLLs. Carreira and Kagan (2011) conducted a large-scale study of HLLs with the National Heritage Language Resource Center. In this survey, they asked respondents why they were studying their HL. The top three responses across all heritage languages were 1) to learn about their cultural and linguistic roots (59%), 2) to communicate better with family and friends in the United States (57%), and 3) to fulfill a language requirement (53%). A substantial portion of the respondents also indicated that they were studying in order to meet their professional goals (49%); however, among Spanish speakers, a larger portion suggested that they were studying their HL for professional reasons (71%). There is likewise evidence that this is true in particular for receptive bilinguals. Wilson and Ibarra (2015) studied the motivation of beginning HLLs through a survey and semi-structured interviews. Students reported both a desire to study the language in order to communicate with other New Mexican Spanish speakers, and they also reported knowing the instrumental value of Spanish for future job opportunities. It is important to note that, even though none of these studies used the psychometric instrument originally calibrated by Gardner (1985), they do lend evidence to an important overlap in the integrative and instrumental orientations of HLLs (Ducar, 2012).

**HLLs and the L2 Motivational Self System**

Surprisingly, few studies have used Dörnyei’s (2009) L2 Motivational Self System while investigating HLLs (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014). Dörnyei’s (2009) model re-centers motivation in terms of identity construction, although he suggests that it is not meant to replace Gardner’s model. In her study, Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) tracked the development of ought-to and ideal selves of HLLs in New Zealand learning Italian over the course of many
months. She used qualitative interviews to elicit descriptions of ideal and ought-to selves as well as the learning context, which in this case was an L2 classroom. Students reported having found many mismatches in content, cultural frames and expectations between the HLL’s ideal/ought-to selves and curricular content. For example, one student experiences a class which represented Italians as a high-class and fashion-aware people, whereas the HLL in that class was from a working class Italian family. Another student experienced a struggle between the regional dialect she had learned from her parents and the expectations in class that she should know standard Italian. Other students were frustrated that the skills they wanted to attain were not being taught, since their classes assumed they wanted to travel as a tourist in Italy. Kurata (2015) also used the ought-to and ideal self in order to write and administer a survey as well as conduct interviews. She collected data from HLLs of Japanese in Australia but did not distinguish if they were in a L2 or HLL classroom setting. Participants expressed ideal selves that were skills based, career centered, and related to social identities. Participants also expressed ought-to selves related to perceived expectations from both Japanese nationals and immigrants in Australia, including family members. They expressed a desire to avoid being embarrassed or ridiculed by family or other Japanese through realizing ought-to selves centered around grammatical correctness, linguistic politeness, and native-like pronunciation. Similar to Berardi-Wiltshire’s (2012) and Kurata’s (2015) research, the current study explores descriptions of the ideal and ought-to selves of HLLs through qualitative data. Dissimilar to Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) it does not focus on the micro interaction or curricular decisions in the classroom since it focusses on motivational selves. Furthermore, it is different than these two previous studies in that it explores language ideologies as motivational barriers, such as the pressure to have or acquire native-like linguistic production, while focusing on the receptive bilingual population.
Methodological Trends in L2 and HLL Motivation Research

The two largest methodological trends in language learner motivation research are quantitative data and studying L2 learners of English. Qualitative research about HLLs is rare and insufficient. In their review of the literature between 2004 and 2015, Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) found that, in fact, there was a decrease in studies of languages other than English between 2009 and 2015. Initiating the original quantitative trend, Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) seminal work employed a quantitative psychometric test given to students studying French in Canada. In fact, all subsequent dominant models in motivation were originally developed using large scale quantitative methods (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Noels, 2001). These, and other quantitative models that use multiple variable modeling, have been used around the globe and in a variety of contexts (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Gardner, 2010; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000; Oh & Nash, 2014; Yanguas, 2010). That said, despite the continued prominence of quantitative studies, in recent years, there has been a small increase in qualitative studies and a decrease in the use of structural equation modeling within quantitative studies (Boo, Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). The current study is a qualitative study regarding the motivation of receptive bilinguals.

Despite the precedent of longitudinal and cross-sectional data collection from seminal motivational studies, there are only a handful of studies who have used these methods when studying L2 learners and/or HLLs (Boo, Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). Papi and Teimouri (2012) conducted a large-scale cross-sectional data collection of L2 learners of English in Iran. They found that the prominence of the self-guides over time did shift—increasing during secondary school and decreasing at the post-secondary level. With this said, the author is aware of only one study that uses longitudinal methods when studying HLLs and
the Socio-educational framework (Gardner, 2010). Dressler (2008) conducted a comparative study including both L2 learners and HLLs of German in Canada. She found that over time, while both groups experienced a decrease in instrumental orientation, the HLL integrative orientation increased while it decreased in the L2 learners. Of the studies examining HLLs within the L2 Motivational Self System, only Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) used a longitudinal methodology, while conducting research on 5 HLLs of Italian in New Zealand. However, she did not report changes or shifts during this time period as part of her analysis but instead focused on classroom conflicts in the L2 setting. The current study works to understand motivational shifts and contextual factors through a cross-sectional analysis in an understudied population, receptive bilinguals.

Finally, there is a trend within the application of the L2 Motivational Self System to the HLL population of emphasizing either identity development through the possible selves or the language learning environment. More specifically, Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) emphasized the learning environment as part of the L2 Motivational Self System. This was of particular interest for her research context where HLLs were taking courses in and L2 program. In contrast, Xie (2014) focused exclusively on the ideal self as it does or does not statistically overlap with the socio-educational concept of integration orientation. Finally, Kurata (2015) elected to primarily highlight the ideal and ought-to selves through a qualitative lens. Following Kurarta (2015), the current study will focus on the motivational selves or the ideal and ought-to selves as described I qualitative data.

**Receptive Bilinguals and Motivation**

In contrast to Kurata (2015), the current study is not regarding HLLs more generally but instead focuses on receptive bilinguals. This population represents the last stages of minority
language loss, so understanding their motivational experiences may lead us to facilitating language maintenance. Language maintenance is an aspiration concerning speakers of globalized languages such as Spanish as well as speakers of languages with very few native or heritage speakers left. Unfortunately, there is a lack of research on receptive bilingual motivation that would be key to address language maintenance concerns.

There is a very limited amount of research that concentrates on beginning level or receptive bilingual motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011; Xie, 2014). There are only three known studies, in fact, all of which used quantitative methods in the form of a survey. One of these studies added brief follow-up interviews. First, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) collected survey data, and brief follow-up interviews, from a class designed for receptive bilinguals of Spanish in the United States. Vergara Wilson and Martínez (2011) used survey data with participants in a 100-level course regarding their reason for wanting to learn a language. Most recently, Xie (2014) studied Chinese HLLs in the United States and found that the L2 Motivational Self System was a good fit for beginning level. Their findings were that an instrumental rationale was the only salient reason students identified to revitalize or (re)learn their HL. The participants agreed that learning Spanish made them feel closer to their parents, and they also mentioned professionalism as a goal for their language learning. They also reported a general lack of confidence in their language skills and no consistent sentiment about their identities. Their results suggested that participants were highly motivated and described both integrative as well as instrumental orientations. Given that there is a lack of research regarding HLLs, receptive bilinguals as well as cross-sectional qualitative data, this study will work to address this gap in the literature.
It is clear that HLL motivation is a growing field (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Ducar, 2012; Husseinali, 2006; Lee, 2006; Oh & Nash, 2014; Yanguas, 2010). There is, however, a limited amount of research regarding receptive bilingual motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2012; Xie, 2014). Likewise, there is no research known to the author which describes emergent bilinguals who started as receptive bilinguals. This project will address this gap in the literature and build on the findings from previous studies, which suggest that the L2 Motivational Self System is a good fit for receptive bilinguals and that both integrative and instrumental orientations are pertinent to this group. This project will not assume any content in student imaginings but instead will explore themes in the content of imagining motivational selves across all participants and in groups determined by level of persistence in HL courses. As described in more detail below, the overarching goal of the project is to better understand the motivational selves of the participants by exposing common trends, common obstacles, and strategies through which participants imagine and create successful language learning.

The Study

Overview

The current study is written in a three-article format, where each article may be read as an independent piece but also function, along with the other articles and additional chapters, as a cohesive dissertation. To avoid confusion of three articles and an additional introductory and conclusion chapters this dissertation will simply refer to each of the five segments as chapters. The purpose of this three-phased study is to describe and investigate the motivational selves of receptive and emergent bilinguals. Taking a process approach to motivation, it uses the L2 Motivational Self System, or aspects of the ideal and ought-to selves described by participants, through the analysis of interview data (Dörnyei, 2009). In order to understand the trends in
motivational themes within the ideal and ought-to selves, cross-sectional data by group are also described. Through these means, the aspired outcome is to understand the themes and trends within the L2 Motivational Self System that overlap with previous research, such as, integrative and instrumental orientations described by Gardner (2010), as well as those that are unique to this population.

**Researcher Positionality**

Before describing the project in more detail, it is necessary to review my position in relationship to the participants in the current study—namely, learners in a HLL program in the American southwest. In particular, they are learners who began their studies at the 100 level. I taught the 100-level course designed for receptive bilinguals for 3 years, 8 sections in total, before beginning the study. The 100-level course meets 4 times a week for 50 minutes each day and is therefore worth 4 credits, 1 more than the average course. The course is capped at 25 students. This schedule and course cap allows for more contact hours than many other college course settings to build teacher-student rapport. The 100-level course is particularly designed for receptive bilinguals identified through a placement test and subsequent interview. The major course objective is to work on speaking and conversational skills. Participants in the study were recruited from that pool of 8 sections or approximately 200 students. Therefore, at the time of the interview, I had built a rapport with all participants, in some cases over several years. This was a purposeful choice in order to have interviewees who were more comfortable describing their personal thoughts, hopes and dreams, which is much easier after having previously built a rapport with that individual. Additionally, I no longer worked for the University at the time of the interviews, so there was no opportunity for having a student in a later course, and, therefore students would not be worried about consequences for future grades.
Participants

The participants in this project are HLLs of Spanish who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. All participants were formally enrolled and completed the first semester 100-level Spanish course for Heritage speakers. I taught this course for several years before the study began. In total, 25 participants agreed to participate in the study and completed an interview. There were slightly fewer students who are male (10) than female (14), and (1) student who was gender queer. Students came from diverse ethnic backgrounds and expressed diverse racial identities: 17 students identified as either Hispanic or Latinx, 5 students identify as simply Mexican, one as Puerto Rican and 1 as White. One student did not claim a particular background. Students claimed several heritages in addition to these primary identities including White or Caucasian, Norwegian, Chinese, Cuban and African American.

In the following chart, Table 1.1, there is a description of the courses in the program as well as the participant group divisions for the following study which were designed according to two factors which express a student’s persistence in her studies. First, participants were separated according to level of study, that is 100, 200 etc. or the number of courses that they had taken. Secondly, students were divided into groups according to their status in the program, that is if they were continuing in their studies or discontinuing.

Table 1.1 Participant Group Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Course Descriptions</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Group 1: 100 level (dropped)** | Spanish 1 (100 level: language development)  
Oral skills for the HL speaker (for receptive bilinguals). Students develop their oral skills in Spanish, expand their vocabulary and strengthen their listening skills. Students are also introduced to the main linguistic varieties of Spanish and cultural patterns of the Spanish-speaking world, especially those present in the USA | N=7                    |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 2: 200 level (discontinuing)</th>
<th>Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)</th>
<th>N=5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Written and oral skills for the HL speaker: This course builds upon current fluency in spoken language and upon each student’s experience of communicating in Spanish to cultivate proficiency within a broad range of social contexts. Using a variety of written, visual and media resources, students learn and improve grammar skills and apply those skills to group and individual oral presentations, class discussion and written assignments.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish 3 (200 level: language development)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Elementary composition for HL speakers: This course is the first of the composition series. It introduces students to the differences between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA and Latin America.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 3 200 Level (continuing)</th>
<th>Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)</th>
<th>N=4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Written and oral skills for the HL speaker: This course builds upon current fluency in spoken language and upon each student’s experience of communicating in Spanish to cultivate proficiency within a broad range of social contexts. Using a variety of written, visual and media resources, students learn and improve grammar skills and apply those skills to group and individual oral presentations, class discussion and written assignments.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish 3 (200 level: language development)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary composition for HL speakers: This course is the first of the composition series. It introduces students to the differences between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA and Latin America.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 4: 300 level (continuing)</th>
<th>Spanish 4 (300 level: language development)</th>
<th>N=5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate composition I for HL speakers: This course is the second of the composition series. It focuses on developing the</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
students’ oral and written abilities in academic contexts through written essays, stories, poems and summaries

Spanish 5 (300 level: language development)
Intermediate composition II for HL speakers: This course is the last of the composition series. It offers further development of the students’ oral and written discourses. Through an analysis of cultural events that occur in the Hispanic world, students gain practice with various written genres in Spanish. At the end of the course, students write an academic paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 5: Content level and completed a minor</th>
<th>Spanish 6 (300 level: content course)</th>
<th>N=4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonetics for the native speaker: This course introduces the learner to Spanish linguistics, more specifically to the area of phonetics and phonology. Students learn about the differences between oral and written speech and become familiar with dialectal differences around the Hispanic world</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Beaudrie, Ducar & Relaño Pastor, 2009

In all, there were five cross-sections of participants. The Heritage Program at the University where the study took place offers courses at the 100, 200 and 300 level. There is a single course at the 100 level, which is designed for receptive bilinguals. Meeting four days a week, its primary purpose is to encourage oral language production and confidence in this population. There are two courses at the 200 level, which are designed for building literacy among students who speak the language in the community. There are three courses at the 300 level, which are designed to build academic and professional skills in Spanish. The participants in the current study had reached or were currently enrolled in varying levels within the program. The first participant group, or cohort, consisted of students who dropped the program after completing the first semester (or the 100-level course), the second group were students who had discontinued their studies after completing at least 1 course at the 200 level, the third group
included students who were enrolled in the 200 level at the time of the interview and planned to continue, the fourth group included students who were enrolled in a 300-level course, and the fifth group included students who had completed a minor in Spanish. Although it may appear that there is a missing group, there were no known students who had dropped at the 300 level.

**Procedures**

Participants were recruited among students who had completed the 100 level course, at a large university in the American Southwest, which I taught. At the time of the study, I no longer worked for the University in which the students were enrolled, so there was no chance for me to be in a position to give any participants a grade during or after the study. There were two primary recruitment methods: first, I visited upper division courses. Secondly, students were recruited through email to reach the students who were no longer enrolled in the program or were not present the day of in-person classroom recruitment. Of the 25 participants, 5 had taken two courses with me as their instructor. In all, I completed interviews with 25. Informed consent was given through a pre-interview survey. For the analysis presented in Chapter 2, each interview was coded for the ideal, ought-to and feared selves as described by Dörnyei (2009). Students, however, did not report a feared self, so this self was eliminated from analysis, leaving the ideal and ought-to selves. There were three phases of data analysis. In phase 1 the ideal and ought-to selves were separated, each corpus was then analyzed separately. Using Voyant Tools, word frequencies were calculated for each corpus. As Fankhauser, Knappen and Teich (2015) suggest, Voyant Tools (Voyant-tools.org) allow for a myriad of word analyses of texts including word clouds, word frequency, adjacency matching, and more. A thematic analysis was then conducted for each of the ideal and the ought-to selves. In the thematic analysis of the ideal self, several themes were identified including speaking, family, work, and fluency. Additionally, in the ought-
to self, participants reported themes of ought-to identify, ought-to learn, ought-to know and ought-to be fluent. The following research questions were used to guide this analysis.

**Research Questions: Phase 1**

1. What themes are present within the ideal self and ought-to self?
2. Do students who began as receptive bilinguals report the presence of an ought-to self and ideal-self?
3. If so, what are the characteristics of the ought-to self and ideal self of students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals?

In Phase 2, which is presented in chapter 3, the corpus was divided into groups according to their persistence in the program. Each group had between 4 and 7 students. The first group was composed of 7 students who dropped the program after the first semester. The second group included 5 students who made it to the 200 level but subsequently dropped out of the program. The third group consisted of 4 students who were currently in a 200 level course and continuing in the program. The fourth group had 5 students in a 300 level course and were continuing in the program. Finally, the fifth group was composed of 4 students who had completed a minor in Spanish.

This division across groups resulted in an ideal-self corpus and an ought-to self corpus for each group according to their persistence in the program. The corpus for each small group was then analyzed according to the themes identified within the entire population in Phase 1—namely, the themes within the ideal self of family, work, and fluency as well as the themes of learning, knowing, identity and fluency within the ought-to selves. The following research questions were used to guide this second analysis.
Research Questions: Phase 2

1. How do the ideal and ought-to selves vary across groups?

2. What trends exist, if any, between groups in the ideal self in terms of family, work and fluency?

3. What trends exist, if any, between groups within the ought-to selves in terms of identity, fluency, learning and knowing?

4. What trends exist, if any, between the ideal and the ought-to selves?

Finally, in Phase 3 of the analysis, or the analysis for chapter 4 of this dissertation, was conducted. This analysis was in some sense a different means of analyzing group data from Phase 2. It took the originally divided groups from Phase 2 and re-analyzed them without using previous themes. Through these separate analyses of the individual groups, new themes emerged for each separate group and self. The themes that were not present in the responses for at least 40% of participants were eliminated. In this analysis, since each group and type of self were analyzed separately, many themes emerged, and only a few of them were overlapping with the previous analysis.

Research Questions: Phase 3

1. What themes emerge within each group in the ideal and ought-to selves of participants?

2. How do these emergent themes change or shift dynamically between groups?

3. Are there important differences or similarities in thematic trends between groups?

Significance of the Study

This research project seeks to contribute to the field of HLLs and motivation. It works to expand the very limited research on receptive bilinguals and motivation. It builds on the well-established orientations but expands the exploration of imagined selves of HLLs to better
understand this understudied population with the hopes of further supporting receptive and emergent bilingual language learners (Dörnyei, 2009; Gardner, 2010). More specifically, this research works to identify common themes and common struggles in the receptive and emergent bilingual population as they create motivation throughout their formal post-secondary educational experience. Through collecting qualitative data across the groups, the project aims to understand the trends within the varying motivational self-guides that students imagine as they create motivation and achieve academic success. This area of study could inform future support and best pedagogical practices for working with receptive and emergent bilinguals in heritage programs, especially those who speak minoritized and stigmatized languages or varieties such as Spanish in the United States.

**Dissertation Layout**

The body of this dissertation contains three semi-autonomous chapters, which are related but can be read independently as well. All of the chapters are an exploration of the receptive bilingual motivational construction through the lens of the motivational selves (Dörnyei, 2005: 2009). The second chapter analyzes the entire set of 25 interviews of students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals in order to identify themes. The third chapter takes themes identified in Chapter 2 and separates them according their persistence in the program according to two variables, level of study and status in the program resulting in 5 groups. These group begin with students who have just completed their first semester of the program but have dropped the program to students who completed a minor. The fourth chapter then returns to the 5 groups and analyzes each separately to identify themes that may be unique to particular groups. In the concluding chapter, I review the findings and the limitations of the overall project, reassert
its placement in the literature through a discussion section, and reiterate its contributions. Finally, I make suggestions for future areas of research.
CHAPTER 2

Receptive Bilingual Motivational Selves: Imagining success and (en)countering

*ethnicity gatekeeping* and *native speaker normativity*
Introduction

Many individuals born in the U.S. within Spanish speaking environments quickly become dominant in English leaving them with only receptive skills in Spanish. These individuals, or receptive bilinguals, understand the language and have important cultural connections but feel less comfortable speaking in their Heritage Language (HL). Recently their experience has been the rule rather than the exception given that Latinos who are born in the U.S. now vastly outnumber new immigrants (Flores, 2017; De Hower, 2007). Unfortunately, in spite of demographic growth and changing pedagogical needs in the U.S., there is very limited research focused on receptive bilinguals in general, and they are frequently excluded from Spanish courses for Heritage Language Learners (HLLs), given the proficiency restrictions used for placement in many of these courses (Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012). Receptive bilinguals offer an authentic bridge to nearly all the languages and cultures of the world and are therefore regarded as a crucial national resource (Fishman, 2001). As a consequence, there is a need to recognize the societal benefit that the preservation of these connections and linguistic resources offers, a need for better support in language learning programs and most certainly a need for further research.

Receptive bilinguals sit on the edge of intergenerational language loss. English dominance in the U.S. is a powerful social and political force. At the same time, many receptive bilinguals have monolingual grandparents, so that communication with those family members provides an excellent reason for receptive bilinguals to be motivated language learners. Likewise, receptive bilinguals of Spanish know that their Heritage Language (HL) is in great demand within the U.S. work force. There is a growing literature which discusses and investigates motivation for HLLs in general, but there is a limited number of studies that discuss
the motivation of receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). Understanding the unique dynamics of motivation within the population may unlock important resources to bring families together and for students to attain their full professional potentials. This project seeks to address this gap in the literature regarding Spanish Heritage Language Learners in the United States, and in particular receptive bilinguals, by exploring their motivational experiences. Specifically, it uses interview data from 25 university students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. The goal is to understand the trends in their motivational constructions as individuals who have taken a course designed for receptive bilinguals and have otherwise selected to study their Heritage Language in a formal context. In order to organize and make sense of their motivational constructions, as well as the strong support for this frame in the literature, the interviews are analyzed using the L2 Motivational Self System. This research contributes to both the literature regarding HLLs in general, receptive bilinguals in particular as well as literature regarding motivation.

**Heritage Language Learners**

**Defining Heritage Language Learners**

Although this study will focus on one particular subsection of this broader population, those learners who enter the college classroom as receptive bilinguals, the foundations of the research lie within the HLL field. Scholars and teachers have debated the limits and boundaries of the Heritage Language Learner population. There are two major trends in the literature related to defining the HLLs: culture or cultural connection and language proficiency. Polinsky & Kagan (2007) describe the literature as having both narrow and broad definitions of Heritage Language Learners (HLLs). Although she has updated her definition, in her seminal work, Valdés Fallis (1978), originally referred to a very narrow definition of the HLL population as students who
speak Spanish in the home and come to the classroom in order to acquire the prestige variety. Kagan (2005) suggests that there should be three separate categories within the definition of HLLs: those who have finished high school in the country of origin, those who have completed middle school there, and those who came to the U.S. during the elementary school years. Her definition, likewise, suggests that HLLs are both first generation immigrants and have completely acquired their first language (primarily in their host country) but may lack some academic formation in their heritage language. Finally, Hornberger and Wang (2008) suggest that HLLs are individuals who are not able to satisfy their linguistic needs using their heritage or ancestral language. This definition broadens a proficiency-based understanding of HLLs which includes a spectrum from those who have graduated high school in their country of origin to those who may understand but not have productive capabilities—in other words, they are receptive bilinguals. This definition does, however, assume the fusion of ethnic identity with the naturalistic language learning experience. Alternatively, Beaudrie & Ducar (2005), through their study of lower level students, call for a definition that includes naturalistic exposure to the language from a young age but does not assume it is necessarily connected to ethnicity. In other words, it includes students who may not have any familial or ancestral connection to the culture such as children raised by a Spanish speaking nanny or integrated in a Latinx neighborhood.

Fewer scholars have used cultural connections to explicitly define HLLs. The National Heritage Language Resource Center at UCLA in 2000 suggested that “A defining distinction between heritage language and foreign language acquisition is that heritage language acquisition begins in the home, as opposed to foreign language acquisition which, at least initially, usually begins in a classroom setting” (UCLA Steering Committee, 2001, The Family, para. 1). More broadly, Fishman (2001) suggests that HLLs are those who study a language of family relevance.
This may then include individuals who do not have any proficiency but maintain a cultural and/or familial connection to that language. Similarly, Van Deussen-Scholl (2003) suggested that students may have no proficiency, but their language learning may be guided by what she calls a “heritage motivation” (p. 222). The New Mexican Heritage program also includes students who may have very limited proficiency, stating that it is against their programs goals, one of which is language revitalization, to use proficiency as a means of defining HLLs. Carreira (2004) has a detailed definition which includes identity, language and family background warning that linguistic background may determine placement but should not be used to negate identity. Finally, Hornberger & Wang (2008) assert that a student should be able to determine his or her own identity.

For this paper, I will use Beaudrie & Ducar’s (2005) definition of HLLs which includes individuals who have had naturalistic exposure to a culture and/or language during childhood that is distinct from the dominant language in the country where they currently reside. In this sense, I will take the broadest definition including those who have a heritage motivation, and those who are late arrival first generation immigrants while not assuming that language proficiency and ethnicity are one in the same. This spectrum is incredibly diverse but useful in order to understand the diversity of experiences within both the foreign born and US born Latinx populations as they become increasing present in Spanish classrooms across the country.

**Heritage Language Learner Identity**

Research regarding the role of identity in L2 Learning is well established and ongoing (Dörnyei, 2005; Mosckovsky, 2017; Norton, 2014; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), yet identity is particularly salient for HLLs. Many researchers argue that Heritage Language Learning is intrinsically tied to identity. The famous author Gloria Anzaldúa
(1987) reminds readers of the deep connection between language and identity that she experienced as a Chicana who grew up between the United States and México. She writes, “Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language” (p. 81). Likewise, Carreira (2004) describes the language learning process as inevitably a learning from within or outside the community, both inherently identity driven experiences. Stating the case even more clearly, He (2006) asserts that identity is “the centerpiece rather than the background of heritage language development” (p. 7). While for both researchers and users of language, it is impossible to pretend that language doesn’t hold an enormous weight in identity construction for HLLs, Leeman (2015) warns against the assumption that each student is seeking latinidad in particular through the language learning experience. This does not erase the relevance of identity in the language learning process but rather shifts the pathway of identity development from a predictable direction (toward latinidad) to a student driven experience where ambivalence is as much a possibility as any other construction.

There is agreement that the identities of HLLs are highly fluid and socially constructed, which is founded upon understandings of identity in the L2 literature (Coryell, Clark & Pomerantz, 2010; Potowski, 2012; Shin, 2016). Within L2 research, many prominent scholars have taken a poststructural lens and developed crucial concepts to the field’s understanding of language learning identity constructions and development such as investment and symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2011; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Norton, 2014). Likewise, L2 researchers and HLL researchers alike have examined identity creation in action through the use of stance or indexicality, a means of positioning one’s social identity through language use (Bucholtz, 2009; Goble, 2016; Jaffe, 2009; Shenk, 2007).
Many scholars have worked to more fully understand the intricacies of identity development of HLLs. These developments are investigated with theoretical support from post structural theory in applied linguistics as well as from the work of Bakhtin (1981) and Bhabha (1994). Based on our understanding of cultural and theory fluidity within cultural identities in the post structural framework developed by Norton (2014), Potowski (2012) discusses the suggested that markers, such as hair style or tattoos, are used to take a stance or index oneself as a member of a particular group, language is not as easily acquired. Lee (2002) writes that there is a myriad of identity options that HLLs may work towards or against. Given these overwhelming options and societal variants, as well as both internal and social pressures, Bakhtin (1981) suggested that the cultural production of content and language use is dialogic in nature, where Bhabha (1994) suggested culture in between or hybridity. In other words, when applying their theoretical understandings to this discussion, identities are dependent on individual nuance as they are in constant dialogue or socially constructed within broader global or national realities and interpersonal interactions in which individuals and communities frequently create hybridity. For example, Mu & Dooley (2015) acknowledged the important role of socially constructed identities as formed and highly influenced by smaller micro environments of interpersonal relationships particularly with family members. Coryell, Clark & Pomerantz (2010) used the frame of fantasy and metanarrative that have been constructed within student narratives to expose the experiences and construction of “proper” Spanish and becoming the “proper” Latinx both in and outside the classroom. Likewise, Shenk (2007) explored the struggle for authenticity or claiming a Mexican identity through both language and discourse within and between individuals. Shin (2016) suggested that for HLLs macro sociopolitical and historical patterns of oppression impact or are taken on by individuals including internalized racism. In her recent
summation of the literature on HLL identity Leeman (2015) writes, Heritage Language Learner
“Identities are not fixed within the individual but instead are shaped and constrained by the
macro- and micro-level sociohistorical contexts, including societal ideologies, power relations,
and institutional policies.” (p.102)

In the particular case of Spanish HLLs in the U.S., the role of politics, institutional
policies and societal ideologies is paramount to understanding identity formation. Numerous
scholars who speak about identity processes discuss the societal pressure of assimilation and
Likewise, there is long held evidence that U.S. Spanish varieties hold low prestige and many
harbor negative attitudes toward U.S. Spanish speakers (Hill, 2001; Leeman, 2012; Ortega, 1999;
Schmidt, 2002; Zentella, 1997). In particular, HLLs must face the ideological contexts of
nationalism, xenophobia, monolingual bias, standard language bias and native speaker bias
(Cameron, 1995; Gee, 2008; Ortega, 1999; Train, 2007; Valdés et al. 2008; Villa, 2002). There is
evidence of these language ideologies and prejudices both at the societal level and within
institutions and departments (Ortega, 1999; Valdés et. al., 2008). This is not to say that U.S.
Latinx do not produce positive ideologies and have successful language learning experiences, but
the pathways and narratives of those who do maintain motivation and hope in the face of many
negative forces should not be taken for granted.

Language Learner Motivation

Motivational Models

There is no comprehensive or overriding theory of motivation that is specific to HLLs but
there are three dominant models which have been adapted from L2 research and used in HLL
contexts. The first language learning motivational model to be used in HLL research is the socio-
educational model which incorporates attitudes toward the L2 community, integrative and instrumental orientations (reasons for learning), parental engagement, social milieu and in varying iterations, myriad other factors (Gardner, 2010). The contrast between instrumental orientation, or the desire to learn a language for practical purposes, versus integrative orientation, or the desire to learn a language to become associated with speakers of that language, is the most cited portion of the model. Gardner & Lambert (1959) originally argued that students who had an integrative orientation, or desire to learn a language in order to become part of the L2 community, would be more successful. A second model, in contrast, is more strongly based in the field of psychology and relies less on attitudes or contexts. Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand (2000), have investigated intrinsic (related to the activity) and extrinsic (outside of the activity) motivational substrates which are set along a self-determination continuum (personal agency). Noels (2005) found identified regulation (or an extrinsic motivation related to self) to be more pertinent for HLLs than for those who simply enjoyed the task of language learning and perhaps viewed it as an interesting puzzle (or an intrinsic motivation related to the task). The third model is the L2 Motivational Self-System created by Dörnyei (2005; 2009). This model suggests that students are motivated by self-guides, or future visions of themselves that allow them to work through the tedious nature of language learning. Dörnyei (2009) describes an ideal self, (one’s hopes and dreams as a future language user), and an ought-to self (one’s view of external expectations for a future self) as well as the L2 learning environment. In some studies, there has been more emphasis on the L2 learning environment (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012) while others focus more on the motivational self-system, or the future self-guides (Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014). Dörnyei (2005), in fact, suggested that environment and the motivational selves are at two
differing levels and his own research has favored a study of the self-guides over the learning environment. The current study will focus on the motivational selves, the ideal and ought-to self.

L2 Motivational Self System is the most appropriate model for the current study due to its purpose, centrality of identity and inclusion of community connections. This model takes a post-structural or fluid approach to identity which mirrors other finding within L2 and HLLs fields (Coryell, Clark & Pomerantz, 2010; Kramsch, 2011; Norton B. & Toohey, 2011; Norton, 2014; Potowski, 2012; Shin, 2016). Likewise, as Leeman (2015) and Potowski (2012) suggest while it does assume that identity is important, it does not presume the content of that identity, in contrast to, for example, Gardner’s integrative orientation. Furthermore, in contrast to Gardner’s original view of integrative orientation, it does not assume a given trajectory of identity nor does it assume that learner feels, necessarily within or outside the Heritage Culture (HC) or community. This is especially pertinent to the study of motivation construction of receptive bilinguals who are frequently excluded from Heritage Programs and live surrounded by ideologies which pair language production and ethnic background. Finally, in contrast to the exclusively cognitively orientated model or intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, this frame includes, through the ought-to self, the myriad experiences and interactions that receptive bilinguals have had with others and their inevitable assumptions or expectations for their language use through the ought-to self.

L2 Motivational Self System

Dörnyei (2009) is credited with his discussion of motivation selves within his L2 Motivational Self System. Although he suggests that it is not meant to replace other models, it does address some of the criticisms and concerns with the socio-educational model including Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009) posit with integrative orientation and World Englishes where
contact, or even the concept of owner among the L2 community is complex. They also criticize Gardner’s model for its assumption that familial attitudes and encouragement are separate entities from the motivational mind of the student and would like to propose a process approach where motivation, as well as identity construction, is a dynamically co-constructed phenomenon between individuals within a particular context (Dörnyei, 2000; Ushioda, 2009). With this proposal, he moves away from an interest in motivation as a means of predicting language learner success, or an individual difference, toward an exploration of a changing and socially constructed processes which mirrors evolving perceptions of identity construction within language learning and applied linguistics (Norton, 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Potowski, 2012).

Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) originally set out to conduct a large scale longitudinal study of language learner motivation investigating direct contact with L2 speakers, the vitality of the L2 community (perception of wealth and importance of that community), social milieu (a societal perception of the importance of a given language), and linguistic self-confidence. The L2 Motivational Self System emerged from those original concepts and has been used by other researchers to understand and analyze learner motivation (Noels, 2005; Ushioda, 2003; Dörnyei, 2005). Dörnyei (2009) posits that learners are motivated by potential versions of themselves, which he places into two categories, the ideal and ought-to selves. Dörnyei (2009) describes the ideal self, stating that it “refers to the representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representations of hopes, aspirations or wishes)” whereas the ought-to self “refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. representation of someone else’s sense of self, duties, obligations or moral responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to one’s own desires or wishes ”( p. 13). Dörnyei (2005) explains
that “Language learning is a sustained and often tedious process with lots of temporary ups and downs…the secret of successful learners was their possession of a superordinate vision that kept them on track” (p. 25). In this sense, the source of motivation for learning is to reduce the discrepancy between the ideal and ought-to self with one’s current self (Dörnyei, 2005; Higgins, 1987). The L2 Motivational Self System by Dörnyei (2005) includes both the concepts of possible selves, or motivational selves, and in later studies also the language learning context. There is, however, a precedent of focusing primarily on either the possible selves or the learning environment (Kurata, 2015; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012). Following Kurata (2015), this study will focus primarily on the possible selves of the participants. In order for the possible selves to be motivating, there must be a sense of harmony between the ought-to and ideal self (Dörnyei, 2005; Markus & Nurius, 1987). This means that the two self-guides must work in a coordinated effort to create a plausible and exciting ideal self that can pull the learner forward. If the ought to self is too negative in comparison to the ideal self, it becomes more challenging to hold onto the ideal self as a motivating imagined future.

**HLLs and the L2 Motivational Self System**

Surprisingly few studies have used Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System while investigating HLLs (Kurata, 2015; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Xie, 2014). As Dörnyei (2005) suggested, “there may be two potentially successful motivational routes for language learners, either fueled by the positive experiences of their learning reality or by their visions for the future” (107). While studying HLLs there has likewise been either a focus on self-guides, such as Kurata (2015) and Xie (2014) with broad understanding of learning environment or specific understandings of the learning environment such as Berardi-Wiltshire (2012). In following Kurata (2015) and Xie (2014), this study will place a greater emphasis on self-guides and use
broader descriptions for the learning environment. In her study, Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) tracked the development of ought-to and ideal selves of HLLs in New Zealand learning Italian. She used qualitative interviews to elicit descriptions of ideal and ought-to selves as they pertain to the language learner experience in the classroom, which in this case was an L2 setting. Students reported having found many mismatches in content, cultural frames and expectations between the HLL’s ideal/ought-to selves and curricular content. For example, one course represented Italians as a high-class and fashion aware people whereas the Heritage Language Learner in that class was from a working class Italian family. Another student experienced a struggle between the regional dialect she had learned from her parents and the expectations in class that she should know standard Italian. Other students were frustrated that the skills they wanted to attain were not being taught since their classes assumed they wanted to travel as a tourist in Italy. Kurata (2015) also used the framework of the ought-to and ideal self to write and collect a survey as well as conduct interviews. She collected this data from HLLs of Japanese in Australia but didn’t distinguish if they were in an L2 or HLL classroom setting. Participants expressed ideal selves that were skills based, career centered, and related to social identities. They also expressed ought-to selves related to perceived expectations from both Japanese nationals and immigrants in Australia, including family members. They reported a desire to avoid being embarrassed or ridiculed by family or others of Japanese heritage through realizing ought-to selves centered around grammatical correctness, linguistic politeness and native like pronunciation.

Receptive Bilinguals

Defining Receptive Bilinguals

Hornberger (2004) and Valdés (2001) remind readers that the bilingual continuum is a diverse spectrum of varying competencies and linguistics experiences. There has been a myriad
of terms used to describe the portion of the bilingual continuum closest to monolingualism. Carreira (2004) labels HLLs who are on the lowest end of heritage language skills as HLL4 but does not specify receptive versus productive skills. Alternatively, Goble (2016) refers to his lower level participants as third generation. Many receptive bilinguals, however, are third or fourth generation immigrants, but some are not related to immigrants and others may not even be genetically Hispanic. Beaudrie & Ducar (2005) as well as Xie (2014) use the term “beginning level HLLs” to describe students who have access to opportunities to hear Spanish but limited opportunities to produce the language within naturalistic contexts. Alternatively, Beaudrie (2009) and others use the term receptive bilingual. In order to avoid a deficient model of student linguistic and communicative competencies, the present study will use term the receptive bilingual over beginner since it emphasizes what has been a life time of connection with language.

There is agreement within the literature that receptive bilinguals are a group of individuals who have strong skills in comprehending one language, in this case Spanish, but struggle to produce it (Beaudrie, 2009; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011). There is some disagreement over the specific characteristics of their Spanish and English skills. Although she has updated this definition, Valdés (1997) originally referred to those at the lowest end of the bilingual continuum as Type F, or students who are receptive in their rural contact variety. Carreira (2003) updated this categorization saying that mass media shifts within the United States will increase the receptive skills of students for standard Spanish. I disagree with any presupposition that relates an understanding of “receptive bilingual” with any particular language variety of English or Spanish. A student may have excellent academic skills and training in English, as well as come from a family who speaks a prestigious variety of Spanish, and still be a
receptive bilingual. This original definition continues to be important to correct not for the sake of academic literature, since it is no longer promoted by academics, but due to its persistence among practitioners. Beaudrie (2009) suggests that “Receptive bilingualism involves, as with any type of bilingualism, a continuum of expanding and contracting bilingual abilities that are characterized by stronger receptive rather than productive abilities.” (p. 86). At the University of Arizona, where Beaudrie & Ducar (2005) conducted their research, there is a specific class to address the needs of receptive bilinguals, and at the University of New Mexico an entire program is dedicated to serving the revitalization goals of receptive bilingual students (Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). Drawing both from the academic and practical definitions, I therefore define receptive bilinguals as those students who have had naturalistic and prolonged opportunities to develop receptive skills but experience and express a limited or complete lack of language production in their HL. Since this data is cross-sectional in nature, I will refer to individuals who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. If they have continued on to gain productive skills, I refer to them as emergent bilinguals (Combs, 2014; Garcia, 2009).

Receptive Bilinguals and Motivation

Despite the overwhelming dominance of work related to HLLs motivation and identity there have been only a handful of studies regarding receptive bilinguals in particular (Beaudrie, 2009; Lynch, 2014). A few studies do not use the term receptive bilingual but do state that they are studying lower level HLLs, which is nevertheless a less precise approximation of a very similar population. Vergara Wilson & Martínez (2011) conducted a study that was intended to shift the definition away from proficiency and toward cultural connection, but their study overlaps with motivation. They gave a survey to HLLs in a beginner level course and asked them how they identify, in terms of their labels, and their attitudes toward learning. They found that
the most common reason for learning was instrumental in nature. Beaudrie & Ducar (2005) conducted a study using similar methods, but in a course that was designed for receptive bilinguals and with questions more purposefully related to attitude and motivation. Their respondents suggested that they were interested in becoming closer to family member and likewise saw themselves using Spanish in a professional setting. Finally, these participants suggested that they had low self-confidence in their Spanish skills. There is only one known study that has studied HLLs using the L2 Motivational Self System. Xie, (2014) used quantitative research methods to understand and compare the predictive power of orientations (from the Socio-educational model) versus possible selves for lower level HLLs of Chinese in the United States. Findings of this study suggest that the L2 Motivational Self-System can be applied to HLLs of Chinese and suggests further work on other heritages languages. Unlike the work of Xie (2014), who began with quantitative analysis, this project will first unearth the detailed experiences within thick data, in this case interviews. Likewise, the current study will build on the findings of Beaudrie & Ducar (2005) as well as Vergara Wilson & Martinez (2011) in order to better understand the motivational themes in this particular population, based on the L2 Motivational Self System. In short, it will add to the scant literature regarding receptive bilinguals in general and receptive bilingual motivation in particular (Dörnyei, 2009). The analysis of interview data of Spanish HLLs through the L2 Motivational Self-System lens will serve to answer the following research questions.
Research Questions

1. Do students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals report the presence of an ought-to self, and an ideal-self?

2. If so, what are the characteristics of the ought-to self, and ideal self of students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals?

Methodology

Participants

The participants in this study are Heritage Language Learners of Spanish who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. Data were collected from a Heritage Program at a large university in the American Southwest. At the time of the study, all participants had taken the lowest level course in the HLL program designed for receptive bilinguals within the last four years. In total there were 25 participants who participated in the study. There were 14 female participants and 10 male participants as well as one participant who identified as gender queer. Participants claimed a range of ethnic and racial identities including 17 who identified as either Hispanic or Latinx, 5 who identified as simply Mexican, one as Puerto Rican and one as White. One student did not claim a particular label. They also claimed varying heritages in addition to these primary identities including African American, Norwegian, Chinese, Cuban, and White.

Procedures

Participants were recruited by their former 100 level instructor (myself), in order to have sufficient rapport for an in-depth and personal interview, through an email and/or through visits to their upper level course. Through these recruitment methods, 25 participants completed an interview. The interviews were student-guided and therefore covered a range of learning and life experiences with language and identity from childhood memories to future projections in the
language as chosen by the participants. Questions were designed to ascertain their expectations and hopes for the future, their relationship with the community and family members. In these interviews, students were allowed to select language use. Participants in the current study used either English or a mix of both English and Spanish and the interviewer followed their lead. There were three interview questions consistently used to elicit answers regarding the two self-guides. In addition to responding to those questions as they were posed by the interviewer, many students mentioned additional hopes and visions as part of their learning experience even before those specific interview questions were posed.

Once the interviews were transcribed, segments from each interview were extracted which related to participants’ language use in terms of a future vision of self (the ideal self) and other’s expectations for a future self (the ought-to self). Each section identified was analyzed for word frequencies using the online Voyant Tools (voyant-tools.org). According to Fankhauser, Knappen & Teich (2015) Voyant Tools allow for a myriad of word analysis of texts including word clouds, word frequency, adjacency matching and more. The current analysis was only focused on word frequency. Next, the segments of data about the ideal self and the ought-to self were separately analyzed according to common themes. Once themes were identified, quotes were extracted that summarized each theme. Each participant was assigned a participant number, used to create data analysis tables, and a pseudonym, used to identify them when quoting their interview.

**Data Analysis**

**The Ideal Self**

Among the 25 participants in this study, 24 described experiencing an ideal self before and during their studies. As a group of students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals,
their ideal selves had several themes. The most frequent word, as revealed by the analysis using the Voyant program described above, and within the ideal self-sections of the transcripts, was a variant of the word “speak” (28). The other most common content words were, “able” (18), “family” (18), “communicate” (15), “know” (12), “fluent” (10), “grandmother” (6). After coding the data for the ideal self, three themes emerged from within this corpus. The strongest theme was simply, and understandably, that students saw themselves as people finally able to respond to their interlocutors in Spanish. The second and slightly less common theme was that students envisioned themselves responding to a particular family member at home or in larger family gatherings. Only slightly less prevalent was the theme of using Spanish confidently in the work setting. Finally, many students described themselves as fluent speakers in the future.

**Responding in Spanish**

Unsurprisingly, each student who described an ideal self spoke about how excited they were to finally produce Spanish. Many students stopped speaking in Spanish when entering kindergarten and others had never responded with more than a single word to Spanish interactions despite having monolingual family members and living in a highly Spanish-dominant region of the US. In particular, several students described themselves as speaking with “confidence”, or as “conversationalists” who produce Spanish that others could understand in order to “communicate” effectively. Others stated that they wanted to be able to “engage” other speakers and several spoke about their vision to finally be more respectful or helpful to the monolingual speakers in their lives in a variety of contexts. One student in particular explained his desire to be able to respond in Spanish stating:
“…Not necessarily like a total conversationalist but at least be one who can understand and actually respond rather than just say one little syllable like “sí” or “no” to actually feel comfortable talking in Spanish…. But, just to really engage with people…” Anthony (6)

Speaking with Family members

The next most common theme that emerged within the “idea self” data is speaking with family members. Of the 24 participants who described an ideal self the vast majority (16 or 67%) mentioned speaking with both nuclear family members and in particular to extended family. To a larger extent, but not exclusively, they mentioned wanting to address their monolingual family members in their Heritage Language. Grandparents were the most common family members named. They described the feeling of not being able to respond to these family members or wanting to speak better or more comfortably than before. They shared their desire to be able to tell their family the stories of their lives and a desire to reconnect with their deceased loved ones through learning their minority language. One student spoke about her desire to reconnect with her grandmother who had been bilingual in Spanish and English but was losing her English. She stated:

“That was when my grandmother was in her first stages of Alzheimer’s and she was losing her ability to talk in English. So, she would just speak in Spanish for the most part. So, I figured, you know what, I would really like to communicate with her. They lived with us and so we helped take care of them.” Pam (21)

Another student likewise expressed his desire to produce Spanish with his family stating,

“I wanted to be able to communicate better with my grandma my tios and tias and everyone I grew up with listening to but never fulling understanding. Being a better part of that conversation if you will…” Arnold (18)

1 All participants were given both a number and a pseudonym. The numbers align with those found in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2
This strong desire to communicate might be a theme that presents differently with receptive bilinguals given their unique linguistic competence and, in many cases, their close connections with Spanish monolinguals. This theme, for example, was not present in any other study of L2 Motivational Self System among HLLs (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2012; Xie, 2014).

**Speaking Spanish at work**

Several students described a clear vision of themselves effectively using Spanish in the workplace in order to connect and serve the Latinx community and benefit their own career. This data supports the finding of Carreira & Kagan (2011), whose participants from many Heritage Languages expressed both an integrative and an instrumental orientation toward learning their Heritage Language. Of the 24 participants who reported an ideal self, 8 (or 33% percent) described a vision of themselves speaking in Spanish in the professional setting. They described themselves in unique jobs such as a lawyer, museum guide, journalist, non-profit worker, academic, or health care provider where they envision themselves at their best confidently using Spanish at work. Through work-study internships and practicums, many participants had already seen the need and value of Spanish within the work place. This is in part, although not completely, due to the large Hispanic community in their city which is upwards of 40% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). One student in particular who described his vision for himself using Spanish in his future job stated:

“I do want to go to medical school and I hope that I can help Hispanic speaking populations and volunteer at places like the clinic. The doctors who work there now-- all of them need an interpreter-- and I think it would be helpful to have a doctor who already knows the language. I also volunteer at the hospital at the University and I think maybe 5 or 7 nurses know Spanish and everybody else has to lean on them or make a call to one of those translation services.”

Bruce (23)
Another student expressed her vision of being a lawyer and using her Spanish speaking skills to help others. She states:

“When I am an attorney I want to be able to speak to more people so that more people have access to justice… Further down the line I can definitely see myself speaking in Spanish when I’m in law school when I’m doing clinics where you give free legal help to people who need help.” Samantha (10)

As can be seen in these two quotes, students desire hands-on opportunities in a field that is meaningful to them. This student did not see the meaning in learning Spanish until he had practice work experience and saw the community need. More efforts must be made to create this opportunity early on in students’ development (Martínez & Schwartz, 2012; Beaudrie, Ducar & Relaño Pastor, 2009). These opportunities are all too commonly reserved for advanced students, but the real-life experience can also be helpful for students who begin at the receptive bilingual level. They should not be excluded from community engagement or service learning experiences that might instigate their desire to gain Spanish skills for the sake of their work of the community. In fact, it might be easier to construct an ideal self where they learn for the sake of others than imagining a self that is recuperating something that they should already have had.

**Being a fluent speaker**

The final and least common theme is that of students envisioning themselves as fluent speakers of Spanish. Of the 24 participants who described an ideal self, 7 (or 29%) expressed a vision of themselves being fluent. Some qualified this description as “completely fluent”, “100% fluent”, “someone who is fluent” or weaker versions of the phrase. Some others also said that they eventually knew this was not a realistic goal, but that having the goal helped them during their beginning years of study. One such student described his ideal self upon entering his first 100 level course when he stated:
“I definitely did have a solid hope coming into it. I was like, ok, by the end of college I have to be completely fluent. Crank out essays and write them all in Spanish and never go to word reference again. I definitely had those kinds of thoughts and ideas running through my head..., by the end of my college experience I want to be able to be dropped in the middle of Perú and be able to discuss world politics.” Jason (12)

This ideal self is more similar to those reported by Kurata (2015) where the envisioned self was extremely successful and almost seems to have “completed” the learning process, which was certainly this learner’s vision. More research is needed to ascertain whether the problematic concept of fluency can maintain motivation, or whether there are some drawbacks to the unrealistic ideal of a standard closely tied to “native-like” production.

Table 1.1 Ideal Self Themes Per Participant

| Participants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | Percent |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|       |
| Family       | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | -  | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 67%     |
| Work         | x | x |   | x | x |   |   |   |   | -  | x | x |   | x | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 33%     |
| Fluency      |   |   | x | x | x | -  | x | x | x |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 29%     |
| Speak        | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 100%    |

The themes for the ideal selves of the participants in this study overlap with Gardner’s (2010) orientations, given that many students clearly saw themselves as connecting within their families or within their career. At the same time, the following chart confirms the conclusion of Ducar (2012) and others that there is a false belief among researchers that language learners have an orientation that is either instrumental or integrative. Many students have both instrumental and integrative orientations, which supports previous findings (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). As evidenced in Table 1.1, of the students who described an ideal self, 8 (or 33%) of students envisioned themselves engaged with Spanish, realizing their full potential as Spanish speakers both within their families and at work. This may also be an expression of the overlap of
community for HLLs who have a very distinct community positionality than the original L2 learners of the socio-educational model.

Likewise, the strong presence of work as a part of these participants’ possible selves confirms Potowski (2012) and Leeman’s (2015) warning that we, as teachers or researchers, should not assume that familial connection is the only possible vision that students may have for their Spanish learning experiences or outcomes. Once again, this data supports Carreira and Kagan’s (2011) findings. Finally, in this small data set there are no students who have envisioned themselves in the work place who do not also see themselves engaging in Spanish with family members, but there are many who only dreamed of speaking with their families. Further research is needed to know if this connection is consistent across different groups of HLLs.

**Ought-to Self**

Of the 25 participants in this study, 24 described an ought-to self. These participants suggested that they felt they should speak Spanish if they are Hispanic but should not if they do not appear Hispanic. Parents and family members primarily expressed guilt for not teaching children and disappointment, disbelief, and on several occasions criticism toward the participants’ speaking skills. Many students also expressed a sentiment that when they did try to speak in Spanish, those around them either gave up on their attempts or were surprised by or critical of their speaking abilities. A few high frequency words within in this corpus were any derivative of the word “speak” (33) the words “Hispanic” or “Mexican” (13) and “better” or “perfect” or “correct” (8). In general, the ought-to selves were more diverse and more unique per participant than the ideal selves, and participants’ comments about their ought-to selves also tended to be longer and more detailed. Students were more likely to guide the conversation toward or back to reflections regarding others’ opinions or reactions and their own internalized
ought-to selves rather than their ideal selves. Nevertheless, there were four themes that did
emerge from this section. Participants reported an ought-to self that they should speak Spanish
since they are Hispanic, that they should already know Spanish, that they should be fluent in
Spanish, and finally that they should learn Spanish. Even before describing the details of these
four terms, it is important to note that these four themes contradict each other. It was common
for students to describe differing and sometimes even opposing voices within their ought-to self.

Ought-to Speak Fluently

Out of the 24 participants who reported an ought-to self, 11 (or 46%) suggested that they
felt there was an expectation that they should either not speak Spanish or speak it perfectly.
Students reported that Spanish speakers would automatically switch to English hearing that they
were not a “native speaker.” Students reported that both strangers and family members would
either harshly criticize or make fun of their Spanish if they tried to use it. They reported family
and community members laughing, mocking or teasing them about the way that their Spanish
sounds. Others reported that there was a strong expectation of perfection in sound and
grammatical structure of their productions.

Cathrin described feeling pressure at work, since during the holiday season there are
many people who come north from Mexico. She reported that there was a very long line while
she was working as a cashier at a clothing store, so she started checking the Spanish speakers out
to help with the long line. She recalls her experience stating:

“...So, I knew what they wanted so I was trying to mime or trying to get to it. I remember. You
have to ask them. “Do you want this in a bag?” And I said “¿bolsa?” for a bag. And the lady
looked at me and said “Bolsa, ¿que es un bolsa?” [Bag! what is a bag?] and looked all pissed
off rolled her eyes and just walked away... From then on I just used 100% English. She had
mocked me openly to my face...” Cathrin (25)
One student describes the state of people expecting perfection from one’s Spanish to be a feeling the he can’t win if he reverts to English or tries to produce Spanish. He states:

“You’re frowned upon if you can’t speak Spanish and you’re frowned upon if you try to speak it and you don’t sound Hispanic enough” Carla (2)

Another student mentioned ridicule from family and/or strangers for not being able to roll their “r” in particular. One student describes this sentiment saying:

“I mean I know they are jokes and everything else but I’m still learning the ... the same with Spanish speakers, they just automatically just assume...They assume that you speak perfect Spanish. That you can roll your “r” really well and I still can’t do that” Monica (5)

This student described both a sense of hyper- or painful corrections from particular family members and the assumptions of customers that his Spanish should be either native or non-native. These students report experiences of what Villa (2002) describes as the double jeopardy of HLLs where they are criticized both by non-Latinx for not speaking the language and by other Latinx for not speaking standard Spanish. Lynch (2008) describes receptive bilinguals as having features of both L2 and HLLs. Therefore, in this case, receptive bilinguals have a different double jeopardy where they are criticized for not speaking or criticized for the L2-like language features of their language productions such as the absence of the trilled /rr/ in words such as “perro”.

Ought to Identify

The conflation between ethnic identity and language skills was common in “ought-to self” descriptions both in self-evaluation and describing others’ reactions or thoughts. Of the 24 students who reported an ought-to self, 13 (or 54%) reported feeling pressure, assumptions or personal evaluations concerning Spanish use or even fluency as a requirement or at the very least a normative assumption for membership in the Latinx community. Students described feeling
that speaking Spanish was a part of being a member or their family or a person from a border
town. Others described pressure from social groups associated with ethnicity such as baile
foklórico. They reported family and community members laughing, mocking or questioning their
authenticity or legitimacy. Other students reported the opposite reaction if they were light
skinned or had many features associated with “white culture”. Some of these students passed as
white even in their intimate friendships. One participant described the feelings around Spanish
speaking being an assumed or normative part of his Mexican identity while interacting with non-
Mexican friends and other Hispanics.

“So, I would say, [to a non-Hispanic friend] “Oh, I’m Mexican” And they would say “oh so you
automatically know Spanish” and I’d be like “Oh, not really”. I’d be like no “I’m just like you”. …
I’m still learning the language... and the same with Spanish speakers they just automatically
just assume.” Monica (6)

Another student described her difficult and ambivalent relationship with identity since the
assumption is that she should speak in order to feel Mexican. As a person with African American
and Mexican heritage and families she stated that she had a tendency to identify with the African
American part of herself, which also translated into not hanging around Spanish speakers. One of
her grandmothers was upset with her for not learning Spanish and not more proudly proclaiming
a Mexican identity despite having been a very engaged 100-level student. When I asked her if
she thought Spanish was part of her identity she said.

“I feel like it probably should be but I guess no. I don’t think that it is...I feel like it should be
just because it is part of my culture. I don’t know. It’s not... I get mad when people tell me that I
am Mexican so I should know Spanish.” Evalyn (15)

A third participant did not feel that her identity as a Mexican woman was taken seriously
by her family, as evidenced of their refusal to try and engage with her in Spanish despite her
attempts. She is the only sibling in her family to leave home and go to college. She is also the
only one to marry a non-Mexican. Despite leaving and losing her Spanish, she has expressed a
great desire to learn in order to teach her children Spanish. When she tries to speak with her family, however, this is how she recounts their reaction:

“Well if I ask them to speak Spanish with me they take it as a joke or they think that I am trying to prove something... I trying to prove that I am this Mexican woman... Luz (19)

Here, Luz is reacting to the strong conflation between ethnic identity and language that her family holds. McEvoy (2017) called this language requirement for ethnic identity *ethnicity gatekeeping*. This participant has chosen to react to others’ gatekeeping through simply giving up on her connection between her identity and language or ethnicity, or she cultivated a sense of *ambivalence* in order to cope with the unrealistic expectations for a receptive bilingual that she must speak Spanish to be Mexican (Potowski, 2012). She stated that she no longer tries to connect with her family as Mexican and no longer attempts Spanish with the majority of her family members, saying it is negativity she doesn’t need in her life. Instead Luz looks to her connections at work and school to help her move her Spanish skills forward and create opportunities for her child to learn.

**Ought-to Know Spanish**

Of the 24 participants who described an ought-to self, 13 (or 54%) described the expectation that the language should have been learned in childhood. That is, that they should already know it as adolescents. They described family members giving up on their Spanish since they did not learn it as children. They also described a strange paradox between the push to learn English as a child and the expectation that they should have learned Spanish as a child. Along with this assumption or expectation comes the idea that Spanish does not need to be taught or learned but should automatically develop in childhood. For receptive bilinguals, this opinion and expectation for what their Spanish should be is particularly challenging, since in many cases they were not given the opportunity to use their Spanish as a child or were expressly ordered to use
English in school and elsewhere by others. One student calls himself “comically bitter” toward his parents for not requiring him to respond in Spanish. He described his frustration when he stated:

“It is like this weird thing that everybody is like ‘Hey, how come you don’t speak Spanish?’ but nobody was like ‘Hey, do you want to learn?’. They kind of expected it to appear” Luis (24)

Another student described his experience of his family giving up on his Spanish since it was not acquired fully as a child. They did initially expect him to know Spanish but then soon altered their expectations for him. He described this stating:

“I think they have sort of [laughs] lowered their expectations. I think that once they saw I wasn’t fluent at a young age. They were like “awww” [waves hand downward in a dismissive way]” Carl (4)

Again, here the expectation is that language learning must happen in childhood or it is no longer possible. This theme could have devastating effects on the formation and maintenance of an ideal self. Similarly, Norton (2014) discussed the concept of investment, and Dörneyi (2009) described a requirement that the ideal self be plausible. If a language can only be learned in childhood, then it is not very plausible to acquire the language later, and there doesn’t seem to be a likely chance that a student will invest in an impossible dream.

Ought-to Learn Spanish

In stark contrast to the theme of already knowing Spanish there was also a theme that students should learn Spanish. Students described their family members in particular encouraging them to learn Spanish. Of the 24 participants who reported an ought-to self, 16 (or 67%) expressed this aspect within their ought-to selves. These family members asked students if they were working to use Spanish more in their everyday lives. They encouraged, in some cases nearly demanded, that they take Spanish courses at the University. In several cases parents had already forced the participants to take Spanish classes in middle school and high school, where
they became proficient readers and writers before entering college Spanish, even though they were still receptive bilinguals in terms of their speaking. Instead of assuming that Spanish would simply appear or should have already appeared, one participant described her grandfather’s offer to host her and teach her Spanish.

“Cuban Spanish is very distinct from say Colombian Spanish or Venezuelan or just different dialects. So, it did sound a little strange to people on the other side of the family that I didn’t have the Cuban dialect. My grandfather at one point he offered. [Laura] if you come here for the summer and you just speak with the Cuban people in Miami you’ll develop the accent that would be so cool.” Laura (9)

This grandfather offered that his granddaughter could come and live in Miami for the summer in order to learn since he felt so strongly that he would like her to also learn Cuban Spanish. This participant’s family is otherwise relaxed about correction or expectation but generous about teaching and encouraging opportunities to learn. In another case, similar to many others, one mother did not offer to teach her daughter Spanish but did beg her to take classes in order to learn. The participant described this stating:

“... It was my mom constantly saying. If you give me one thing. I don’t even care if you graduate. minor in Spanish because then hopefully you will learn the language. She is a huge reason why I decided to learn the language...” Maddison (11)

Despite the ought-to self being composed of both internalized and non-internalized expectations that the individual learner views to be important, in this case it is clear that this student decided she would, in fact, internalize her mother’s wishes and declare a minor in Spanish. In this case as well there is a precise and plausible goal to reach imbued with hope. This relates to Dörnyei’s (2009) requirement that in order for the possible selves to be motivating, there needs to be a clear means of reaching them. This mother and daughter made a decision that the goal was a minor in Spanish, which has concrete steps and assigned courses.
Table 1.2 Ought-to Self Themes Per Participant

| Participant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | Percent |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Fluency     | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | 46%    |
| Identity    | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | 54%    |
| Learn       | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | 67%    |
| Know        | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | -  |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x |  x | 54%    |

Table 1.2 above demonstrates the overlap of themes for the ought-to self for many participants, and it highlights the finding that the messages participants receive from others regarding their Spanish is contradictory. There are several participants (5) who have both received the message that they should already know Spanish and that they should learn Spanish. These messages also overlap with and parallel the research that has been done on language ideologies, which like the construction of the ought-to self are both created by society and internalized or subverted by individuals. For example, the concept that language learning can only happen in childhood or that Latinx youth should already know Spanish is related to bias against naturalistic bilinguals (Gee, 2008; Ortega, 1999). That bias implies that native language learning bilinguals should “complete” productive capabilities in childhood. Likewise, the expectation that participants should produce Spanish that is like a native speaker is related to the standard language ideology (Davies, 2003; Lippi-Green, 1994). In this case, participants are looked down upon, or flatly rejected as speakers or as learners, since their Spanish has L2 features. This example allows us to see that an L2 identity and language production with L2 characteristics are acceptable for those without Latinx identities, but they are not acceptable for students whose heritage may be mixed or primarily Latinx. This is expressed both in the assumptions that students should already know Spanish and the theme that they should produce...
fluent Spanish (Pomerantz, 2002). I will refer to this cluster of expectations as native speaker normativity. Other scholars have similarly questioned the normativity of the native speaker (Davies, 2003; Kramsch, 1997) This term summarizes the finding that many assume that all language learning within ethnolinguistic communities must follow the patterns of native speakers, i.e. early and complete childhood acquisition. When taken together, this combination of expectations for Latinx participants to follow the native speaker norm is clearly evident within this data set. There are, in fact, 18 participants (or 75%) whose ought-to self includes aspects of native speaker normativity.

**Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications**

Overall the participants in this study demonstrate both an ideal and ought-to self. The trends within the ideal-self include a vision of producing Spanish both with family members and in a professional setting. This overlaps well with the orientations from the socio-educational model and the criticisms that instrumental and integrative orientations are not mutually exclusive (Ducar, 2012; Gardner, 2010). The ought-to selves that students reported included a sentiment that they ought to speak fluent Spanish, that they will have learned Spanish at a young age, and/or that they need to learn Spanish and speak fluently in order to be part of the Latinx community. In sum, there are two important trends in the ought-to selves, namely ethnicity gatekeeping and native speaker normativity. Of the 24 students who reported an ought-to self 13 (or 54%) reported ethnicity gate-keeping as an important portion of their ought-to selves. Likewise, 75% of participants felt the impact within their ought-to selves of native speaker normativity. If it is assumed that language learning must follow the native speaker norm (beginning and reaching fluency in childhood), and that participants cannot be members of their communities without native speaker status, then there is no possibility to realize their ideal self.
of speaking in the HL with families and at work. This also points out a paradox between HLLs and L2 learners. If L2 features such as not-yet-standard accent or grammatical structures are viewed as growth for L2 speakers, but that these same features of language use cannot or should not exist for receptive bilinguals, then there is a strong double standard concerning language learning: one group (L2 learners) is encouraged and the other (HLL or receptive bilinguals) is discouraged, or even dismissed before they begin (Ducar, 2006). This poses a threat to the creation and maintenance of an *ideal self* Dörnyei (2009) or *investment* Norton (2014) for the latter group. In sum, this situation creates a stark disharmony between the ideal selves and ought-to selves for HLLs.

The disharmony created by the presence of conflict between the ideal and ought-to selves, and in this particular case, the presence of *ethnicity gatekeeping* as well as *native speaker normativity*, aligned with Dörnyei’s (2009) recommendations concerning the motivational efficacy of a possible gap between the ideal and ought-to selves which required harmony. Likewise, these findings are similar to those reported by Goble (2016), who found that third generation speakers succumb to language shift because of linguistic insecurities and societal rejection. In this case, however, rather than being third-generation speakers, the participants began as receptive bilinguals, and many have gone on to study upper division Spanish courses so the impact of negative language ideologies cannot be seen as so direct and absolute in this current study. At the time of these interviews, in fact, 48% of these students were currently enrolled in upper division courses, and 16% of them had completed a minor. Ushioda (2009) takes on a broader lens of language learner motivation, suggesting that researchers should be wary of overly simplistic and linear assumptions about motivation. She suggests that, just as is the case for identity in the postructural sense, motivation is under constant co-construction, and
learners may follow many paths. In other words, what is plausible and harmonious to one student or in one particular social, interpersonal or societal experience may not be either plausible or harmonious for another learner or even the same learner in a different context. So, in contrast to Gardner’s (2010) pursuit of predicting success, it has been useful in the current study to understand the obstacles that students commonly face and the specific ideas that reoccur throughout their diverse motivational pathways of language learning without assuming the universality of these relationships. The challenges faced by HLLs should not be taken as a reason to give up on students but rather as a useful insight for better understanding the common barriers that receptive bilinguals of Spanish in the United States face when working toward their language learning or that is, their ideal-selves.

It behooves researchers to look at the intersection of ideology, identity, and teaching practices. The L2 Motivational Self System allows a view of language learning experiences where one does not need to assume that certain ideologies or societal trends have a predictable impact on passive individuals. The post structural model common in L2 identity formation theory allows us to see both the role of the individual and the context differently. In other words, it reinforces the post structural notion that individuals and contexts are in a constant negotiation of meaning, action, and development. This plays out both inside and outside the classroom. The participants who went on to achieve a high level of language study (300 or above) still frequently must contend with negative language ideologies as a part, either internalized or rejected, of their ought-to self. For example, among these students 40% reported experiences of either internalized or external expectations that they should speak fluent Spanish. They did not, however, allow these influences from society to determine the pursuit of their dreams. This has exciting and important implications both for how we might conceptualize motivation within HLLs as well as
means of approaching these students in a classroom setting. Ushioda (2011) suggests that pedagogies which encourage student agency can also allow for students to find their own pathways toward motivational growth and ultimately language learning success. As teachers, we should not give up on receptive bilingual language learning and Spanish academic achievement despite the assumed norms of language shift which would suggest that language loss is complete by the third generation. These students are living proof that even though *ethnicity-gatekeeping* and *native speaker normativity* impact most learners, this need not be a prediction of their failure. This evidence should move us toward our own investment and hope in students who enter our programs as receptive bilinguals.
CHAPTER 3

Why should I learn if you think I should already know Spanish? A Cross-Sectional
Analysis of Receptive Bilingual Motivational Selves
Introduction

The experience of language loss, and especially intergenerational language loss, is an all too common reality for the Spanish speaking community in the United States. Although the story is not universal, many individuals with naturalistic exposure to Spanish in early childhood experience English only educational settings, and quickly shift their language production from Spanish to primarily English. As a result, many in the United States are unable to communicate comfortably with monolingual Spanish speakers despite having been around the language enough to understand it. Frequently, this language use pattern creates an interfamilial language barrier. These individuals can be described as receptive bilinguals, or individuals who comprehend Spanish at a native level but develop only rudimentary, or no, productive skills in their Heritage Language (HL). The pathway to becoming a receptive bilingual in a naturalistic setting is varied but includes never producing Spanish or shifting from Spanish to English as previously described.

Regardless of the route to becoming a receptive bilingual of Spanish, these individuals live in a country where fluency in Spanish is a highly marketable skill and in close proximity to monolingual Spanish speakers, who are frequently but not always family members. Therefore, when they enter the language learning classroom, they have compelling reasons to be both personally and professionally motivated to master their HL (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Receptive bilinguals, as a part of the Heritage Language Learner (HLL) population, or those who begin their language learning in a naturalistic setting at a young age, are unfortunately commonly excluded from HL programs and frequently drop the program before completing a major or minor in Spanish (Beaudrie, 2009). They are therefore an underserved population of language learners. Research suggests that especially lower level and/or receptive bilingual students have
characteristics and needs similar to learners of both the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Heritage Language Acquisition (HLA) traditions (Lynch, 2008). These learners, therefore, have a unique set of motivational experiences as well as educational needs (Valdés, 2005; Hornberger, 2004; Lynch, 2003). In order to understand these students and build programs as well as curricula that better serve them, it is essential to study their specific experiences.

Research regarding the HLLs’ experience acquiring Spanish in the United States has exploded since the 1990s (Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Carreira, 2004; Lynch, 2014; Valdés, 2001). More recently, and to a lesser extent, there is a growing body of research regarding HLL motivation (Berardi-Wilshire, 2012; Ducar, 2012; Husseiniali, 2006; Lee, 2006; Oh & Nash, 2014; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011; Yanguas, 2010). There is, however, a dearth of research regarding the language learner motivation of receptive bilinguals (Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011; Xie, 2014). More specifically, with the shift in conceptualizing language learner motivation from a personal characteristic to a socially constructed phenomenon impacted by contextual factors, the field of HLL motivation lacks research that takes a process approach or uses cross-sectional or longitudinal datasets to understand motivation across time (Dressler, 2008). The current study seeks to fill this gap in the literature.

This study works to understand the contextual factors motivating receptive bilingual acquisition at varying points of study in a Spanish HLL program. More specifically, it explores, through cross-sectional data, the motivational experiences of 25 interviewees who began at the receptive bilingual level. It does so by exploring the participants’ imagined selves, or what they envision when picturing a future successful version of themselves. As a part of motivational selves, these imagined selves are divided into two separate selves, the ideal self, or what one hopes for his or her own future, and the ought-to self, or what the individual feels that others feel
what that individual should become (Dörnyei, 2009). In this framework Dörnyei (2005) also included that L2 language learning experience but admits that it is distinct in many ways and absent from his original study (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). The emphasis of the current study, as is common in the field, will be the motivational selves with only general references to learning trajectories within a HL program (Dörnyei, 2005; Kurata, 2015; Papi & Teimouri, 2012). In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, trends within the receptive bilingual population were identified for the ideal and ought-to selves. When imagining an ideal self in the future, students reported speaking in Spanish with families, at work and being a fluent speaker. Participants also described the expectations of others that they ought to know Spanish, ought to learn Spanish, ought to speak fluently and ought to have a particular identity. The current study will use these previously identified themes to analyze 5 groups of participants beginning with students who have only completed a 100-level course and ending with students who began at the 100 level but have gone on to complete a minor in Spanish. This analysis of participants at varying places within their program of study will contribute to our understandings of trends in receptive bilingual motivational selves as it uses a process approach to motivation.

**Trends in Approaches to Language Learner Motivation**

Research that was generally focused on psychology, one of the foundational fields of language learner motivation, has recently shifted away from trait psychology to a process approach to understanding motivation. From the perspectives of trait psychology, an individual may be understood to have a particular personality trait, which can predict future tendencies and behaviors. Social psychological understandings of personality have added that one’s interaction with the environment, and in fact one’s framing of past experiences, is, at least in part, determined by unpredictable external or contextual factors (Deci & Ryan, 2012). Likewise, in
Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) seminal work, language learner motivation was seen as a culmination of linearly related factors that could be diagnosed and used to predict language learner success. In particular, they suggested that individuals who are more likely to study a language in order to integrate into the L2 community (integrative orientation) will be more successful than individuals who study a language for more practical purposes (instrumental orientation). In other words, if a person expressed the trait of integrative orientation toward language learning, this can predict that individual’s language learning success.

The fundamental Gardnerian pursuit, therefore, has traditionally been to assess who will be a more successful language learner (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). This underlying trend in the literature continues in research models today. Many researchers continue to ask this fundamental question related to the individual differences that will predict or at the very least correlate with student success (Yanguas, 2010). In fact, when the linear or direct relationship between integrative orientation and achievement was questioned by others, Masgoret and Gardner (2003) conducted a meta-analysis finding that the correlation between attitude, orientation, motivation and achievement were upheld and that motivation more strongly correlated with integrative orientation than other factors. More recent studies, however, contradict the conceptualization of integrative orientation as a universal and singular predictor of language learner motivation, especially among HLLs (Ushioda, 2011; Kurata, 2015). For example, Yanguas (2010) found that integrative orientation as well as instrumental orientation, place of schooling and one’s use of Spanish outside of the classroom are all strongly correlated to motivational intensity. Oh and Nash (2014) found that among L2 learners, interest in the foreign language correlated with motivation, whereas parental engagement correlated with motivation for HLLs. Both of these
studies suggest therefore that the correlation may be more complex than the original assertion and that these correlations may not be universal across groups.

In more recent literature, there has been a shift toward understanding motivation not as a personal trait to diagnose individual difference, but instead, or perhaps additionally, as a socially constructed process. This change mirrors the shift in identity studies—from static to fluid—within applied linguistics (Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2011). More specifically, in applied linguistics, a post-structural understanding of identity has become the dominant frame (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Within the field of language learner motivation, Dörnyei (2009) and Ushioda (2011) represent the shift to an understanding of motivation as a socially constructed phenomenon. As stated by Dörnyei (2010, p. 8): “Instead of viewing cognition or motivation as located solely within the individual mind, these phenomena are coming to be viewed as dynamically constructed in discursive interactions between people situated in particular sociocultural contexts.” Therefore, instead of viewing motivation as a trait, it is considered a process that may include an integrative orientation. The structure of creating that orientation, however, instead of being an individual endeavor, is collective and co-constructed, such that each student interacts with her environment in order to create motivation.

Ushioda (2009) gives an illustrative example of this view of motivation with the following vignette. A French student has a French girlfriend and is doing quite well in his class, but then they break up. A year later he is interviewed, and he has improved his standing in his courses since, as he explains, he wants to prove to his former girlfriend that he can do it without her. In this example, it is clear that the background factors of a person having a romantic partner, or a person with positive attitudes to the L2 community, might be correlated to success. The factor of having a romantic partner who speaks the target language is important, and the break-up

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is also important. Of equal importance in the story is what this student tells himself about these events and the means through which he chooses to frame them in a way that increases his motivation. In other words, the reasons that a student begins her studies may not be the same reasons or factors that she maintains that motivation to continue her studies over time. That same individual may create motivation for a period of time using one strategy and then change in order to maintain motivation due to a myriad of factors. Therefore, for language learning motivation research, both those factors that are currently salient at any given moment and those that are emergent over time are of interest. In the current study, themes in motivational self guides will be examined at several places along the pathway to success in order to better understand common themes and perhaps more importantly potential common shifts in motivational selves.

Methodological Trends within Language Learning Motivation Research

The most salient methodological trend among motivational research is a tendency toward quantitative methods. More specifically, researchers who have either used Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) psychometric instrument or those who have followed the precedent of their seminal work have used structural equation models (SEM), a type of statistical modelling, such as factor analysis, that can track and explain multiple causal and/or correlational relationships. These models have been designed to understand a myriad of factors that might have a particular correlational or causational effect either on the amount of motivation a student can be said to have or the predictability as to which students will be more successful language learners. These models have been applied in multiple contexts and have examined innumerable variables all using questionnaires completed by learners in order to collect data (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Gardner, 2010; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000; Oh & Nash, 2014; Yangus, 2010). The SEM model in Gardner’s original work, however, has been simplified in more recent studies
to two variables: instrumental orientation and integrative orientation (Carreira & Kagan, 2011, Lee, 2006; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000; Wilson & Ibarra, 2015). In their review of the literature between 2004 and 2015, Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) found that despite the continued predominance of quantitative studies, in recent years, there has been a small increase in qualitative studies and a decrease in the use of SEM within quantitative studies. In a smaller number of cases, these surveys have collected longitudinal data (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dressler, 2008; Papi & Teimouri; 2002). This demonstrates that there is still scant research that uses qualitative data, and far less that uses both qualitative and longitudinal data. The current study, in order to fill the gap in qualitative and cross-sectional research, uses the collection and analysis of cross-sectional, qualitative data in order to understand the process of motivation, and its patterns, over time.

Trends in Language Learning Motivation Research Findings

Researchers have identified varying factors associated with motivation and created a myriad of substantive frameworks or models through which to better understand it phenomenologically across cultures and within particular groups (Dörnyei, 2009; Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000; Oh & Nash, 2014; Yanguas, 2010). Gardner’s (2010) framework, the Socio-educational model, was designed to understand motivation as a factor in student success. He implemented psychometric testing of students studying French in Canadian dual immersion settings and identified social milieu, attitudes, and orientations as important factors contributing to motivation and therefore to student success (Gardner, 1985). Gardner (1981; 2010) created and shared his instrument entitled the Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which includes the initial factors as well as, in some iterations, learning environment, language learner anxiety and parental engagement.
Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) initial hypothesis suggested that students who have an integrative orientation instead of an instrumental orientation are more successful learners, but this dichotomous presentation of orientations has been questioned (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012). More recently, researchers suggest that there are multiple and perhaps overlapping orientations (Dörnyei, Durow & Zahran, 2004; Noels, 2001). In particular, survey data from Carreira and Kagan (2011) suggest that many learners demonstrate both integrative and instrumental orientations. Likewise, Ushioda & Dörnyei (2009) question the concept of integration that assumes a concrete separation between the first language (L1) and second language (L2) communities as well as the real possibility to interact socially, which does not lend itself to explaining L2 motivation in a globalized world or the context of World Englishes in particular. There is, in fact, a general trend in loosening the original harsh dichotomy between integrative and instrumental orientations both theoretically and based on data (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012; Oh & Nash, 2014; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). Even Gardner (2010) himself eventually stated that the dichotomy had been too rigid. Despite changes and critiques, the concept of integrative orientation continues to be vibrant within the academic literature (Oh & Nash, 2014; Yanguas, 2010; Xie, 2014).

Outside of these dominant frames, there have been other important results regarding language learner identity and mindsets. Noels (2001) suggested that a student who experiences identified regulation, or is motivated by a sense of self, is more likely to have sustained motivation than a person who simply enjoys the task of language learning. Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand (2000) suggested that, for example, a student who is motivated to one day become a fluent speaker is more likely to succeed than a person who approaches language
learning as a puzzle. Yeanger and Dweck (2012), within the general field of psychology, found that a growth mindset—that is, a personal vision of intelligence where skills and intelligence can be gained instead of being innate—impacted both motivation and achievement. This lends validity to motivation as a process where language learning as well as narratives that individuals create are dynamic and co-create imaginings about their possible transformations, or self-guides, as they are referred to in motivational selves (Dörnyei, 2009).

L2 Motivational Self System

The L2 Motivational Self System is a framework created by Dörnyei (2005; 2009) that is simplistic and adaptable in nature, not intended to replace previous models but to work in concert with them. It comes from a large study that included several variables, some of which are a part of the Socio-educational Model (Gardner, 2010), including but not limited to language attitudes and integrative orientation within cross-sectional data. The L2 Motivational Self System includes both the concepts of possible selves, or motivational selves, and in later studies also the language learning context (Dörnyei, 2005). It is more common, however, to emphasize the possible selves more than the learning environment when studying HLLs, as does the current study (Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014). The concept of possible selves is grounded in psychological theory (Dörnyei, 2005; Marcus & Nurius, 1987). As Ushioda (2011) suggests, identity is the defining factor that distinguishes general motivation from language learning motivation. Similar to Gardner’s (2010) concept of integrative orientation, Noel et al.’s (2001) concept of identified regulation and Ushioda’s (2011) work on learner autonomy, the motivational selves places identity at the center of the language learner motivation model. In contrast to the Socio-educational Model, however, the motivational self-system understands motivation as constantly in construction through social processes, not a consistent individual characteristic (Dörnyei, 2009:2000). This coordinates with
the shift toward post-structural understandings of identity within the fields of applied linguistics and SLA taking a process approach (Norton, 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Potowski, 2012). Given its simplicity, flexibility, and its process approach, the L2 Motivational Self System is more adept at explaining the nuances found in qualitative data such as that used in the current study.

Dörnyei (2009) posits that learners are motivated by potential versions of themselves, from possible selves, which he organizes into two categories, the “ought-to self” and the “ideal self.” He suggests that the source of motivation for learning is to reduce the discrepancy between the ideal and ought-to self with one’s actual self (Dörnyei, 2005; Higgins, 1987). It is important to note that these future selves are continually being constructed within social contexts and therefore (re)imagining future social identities and possibilities. When investigating the motivational selves, the individual’s interpretation of social interactions, which creates identity as well as one’s imagined future selves, are of interest. Likewise, since the construction of motivation is constantly in flux, or in the process of being (re)imagined, understanding how this co-construction is interpreted by the individual is as important as how these interpretations and creations of possible selves, or motivational selves, shift over time within a group. This study will examine the trends and characteristics present in the motivational selves of individual learners and observes the shifts within these characteristics across time.

Dörnyei (2009) suggested that many factors must be in play in order for the possible or motivational selves in his model to be used to create motivation. One of these factors is the harmony between the two possible selves during a process by which learners work to reduce the discrepancy between their current self with the ideal and ought-to selves. Several investigators, however, have found that the ideal self is more impactful on motivation than the ought-to self, or
in some instances the ideal self has a tendency to push motivation forward, whereas ought-to selves can even slow or limit the creation of motivation and language learning success (Ivaska, 2017; Peng, 2015). Ivaska (2017), while studying adult language learners of Scandinavian languages, found that the ideal self was positively correlated to effort as well as grades, but the ought-to self was only correlated with effort. Peng (2015) found that the ideal self of Chinese university students was correlated with a reduction in language learning anxiety, whereas the ought-to self is correlated with higher levels of language learning anxiety. Previous studies have investigated the relationships, or more accurately the harmony among the L2 selves, although rarely how this harmony (or disharmony) progresses over time (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015). Unlike the assumption that integrative and instrumental orientations makes regarding a particular pathway and reason for learning, that is toward a personal goal or toward a professional goal, that function to create motivation, the current study will not assume that participants come to their language learning experience with any particular reason to learn. It will not assume that any set of reasons can necessarily be used to create harmony for them, nor that particular reasons or the creation of harmony are necessarily consistent over time. It will, however, explore the possibilities of thematic trends over time and how they manifest at varying points in the program.

Researchers who use motivational selves continue to search for relationships, be they correlational and/or causational, between varying factors and language learner success (Ivaska, 2017; Moskovshy et. al, 2016; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012). Success has been defined in a variety of means. For example, Ivaska (2017) used student grades, and Moskovsky and colleagues (2016) measured achievement through proficiency tests. Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2012) found a positive correlation between L2 self-guides and intended effort. Moskovsky and
colleagues (2016), however, found a disconnect between stated motivation, such as the concept of intended effort, and real actions taken towards language learning. For this reason, and in light of the shift from identifying an individual trait to describing an individual, or individuals, within a process of creating language learner motivation, the current study describes learners’ motivational experiences. It then compares the construction of the L2 self to the length of time the student continues her studies or one’s current place within the program. The focus is thus on persistence, academic engagement, and student retention. These are all more immediate goals of any language program and perhaps more meaningful measures of motivation over time, as they are required for language acquisition and maintenance.

There is one known study that investigates motivational selves of L2 language learners over time. Papi and Teimouri (2012) collected cross-sectional data of English language learners in varying locations throughout Iran. The cross-sections were data from students at three differing levels of study. After comparing these three cross-sections, they found that motivation increased with age, although this increase was different for the ideal and the ought-to selves. The current study also takes a cross-sectional approach to language learning—in the current study, the cross-sections correspond with each increasing level of study within a university level program. Given the findings of Papi and Teimouri (2012), where the impact of the ideal and ought-to selves shifted differently between groups, the current study does not assume that any factor will uniformly impact the differing self-guides. Instead, the goal is to understand the distribution of and changes in previously identified themes as influenced by persistence in the HLL program. The five groups of learners are grouped by persistence as indicated by continuing enrollment in the program. The analysis is accomplished with the understanding that
motivational selves may or may not change in the same way or in any particular relationship or ratio across groups.

**HLLs and Motivation**

Despite a much larger body of research that focuses on L2 learners’ motivation, there are only a handful of studies that include, or focus exclusively on, HLLs. One major finding among these studies is the overlapping nature of integrative and instrumental orientations (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dressler, 2008; Ducar, 2012; Oh & Nash, 2014). Some researchers, such as Oh and Nash (2014), compared HLLs and L2 learners and found that both types of orientations are important to HLLs. Likewise, other researchers who studied motivation without using a previous model have found that students reported feeling called to learn languages both for practical and personal reasons (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Wilson & Ibarra, 2015). For example, in Carreira and Kagan’s (2011) large-scale survey documenting the perceptions of many HLLs, a substantial portion (49%) of the respondents also indicated that they were studying in order to meet their professional goals, whereas 59% reported that they wanted to communicate better with family and friends.

In addition to the importance of integrative and instrumental orientations, studies found that HLLs’ connection to others and the perceptions of expectations were correlated with motivation as well as language learning success (Lee, 2006; Noels, 2005; Oh & Au, 2005; Yanguas, 2010). Lee (2006), when studying HLLs of Korean in the United States, found that students frequently named the societal expectation that they speak Korean along with their desire to speak with family, as reasons to continue their studies. Other researchers found that language use outside of the classroom was a significant predictor of language learner’s success (Noels, 2005; Oh & Au, 2005; Yanguas, 2010). Oh and Nash (2014) found that L2 learners and HLLs
did not vary on the other factors in the Socio-educational model, except parental engagement (Gardner, 2010). This reiterates that the involvement and opinions of others impacts a student’s HL learning experience and is correlated with student success.

According to research using both Gardner’s and Dörnyei’s model, the importance of identity is an essential distinction between HLL and L2 contexts. (Berdardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012; Husselsainali, 2006; Kurata, 2015; Lee, 2000; Oh & Au, 2005; Oh & Nash, 2014). More specifically, this research suggests that identity, in all its aspects, is more important to HLL motivation and success than it is for L2 motivation and success. Husseinali’s (2006) survey results, 75% of respondents reported that they were learning Arabic in order to relate more with their culture. Furthermore, Oh and Au (2005) found that identity for HLLs was positively correlated with performance on a standardized test.

This trend in motivational research mirrors the work related specifically to the field of HL learning more broadly, where identity, both in the trait psychology as well as post-structural models, is considered an essential aspect of the HLL experience. In her study of HLLs of Chinese in the United States, He (2006) for example explains that identity is “the centerpiece rather than the background of heritage language development” (p. 7). Carreira (2004) likewise suggests that there are two major pathways among HLLs as they learn—namely, from within the community or from outside of the community searching for an insider status. Both, however, are grounded in identity. More recent studies have taken a post-structural view of identity within personal narrative and imagined communities, but they nevertheless place identity at the forefront of HL learning (Coryell, Clark & Pomerantz, 2010; Goble, 2016; Potowski, 2012; Shin, 2016). Leeman (2015) writes, HLL “Identities are not fixed within the individual but instead are shaped and constrained by the macro- and micro-level sociohistorical contexts, including societal
ideologies, power relations, and institutional policies” (p. 102). Here, she reminds readers that identity construction is individual, nuanced and socially situated. This project will also take a co-constructed and socially embedded approach to addressing the salient aspect of identity within the learning process for HLLs.

The L2 Motivational Self System an excellent fit for the particular characteristics of HLLs, despite being originally intended for the L2 context. Dörnyei (2009) did not intend for his model to replace other models, least of all the Socio-Educational model (Gardner, 2010). However, he did make some changes that are particularly well suited for HLLs—namely, concepts of possible selves and motivational selves are precisely centered on one’s understanding of future selves and/or identity. As previous research suggests, the role of identity and personal experience is an important factor in motivation and success of HLLs, since unlike L2 learners, HLLs have a lifetime of experience with the language and Spanish speaking communities (Lee, 2006; Noels, 2005; Oh & Au, 2005; Yanguas, 2010). The ought-to self in motivational selves assures the inclusion of societal and familial involvement and expectations for learners. Despite the fact that this tool is particularly well-suited for the HLL context, there is, a dearth of research regarding HLLs that uses motivational selves (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015). This project will work to fill this gap in the research.

There are three known studies that use motivational selves with HLLs (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014). Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) interviewed five HLLs of Italian in New Zealand. She reported that students who came from a self-described lower class Italian background and did not speak a dominant dialect, felt a disconnect between their imagined ideal self and the expectations for their identity or what Italian they should speak in the classroom. Kurata (2015), on the other hand, combined survey and interview data to study Japanese HLLs in
Australia. These learners described ideal selves related to career skills, linguistic skills and social identities. They described the desire to avoid being ridiculed by family members for their Japanese and described ought-to selves regarding grammatical correctness, linguistic politeness and native-like pronunciation. Finally, in a quantitative study, Xie (2014) suggested that motivational selves is a good fit for lower level HLLs of Chinese in the United States, setting a precedent for further research in this area.

There have been some surprising results related to change over time and success in HLL motivation. Oh and Nash (2014) found that the motivational intensity (as measured in the Socio-educational model [Gardner, 2010]) was not correlated with success. Instead of looking to predict success, the present study will describe success as well as motivation in cross-sectional data to better understand the patterns in the motivational selves of HLLs. Dressler (2008), while conducting a study that compared and contrasted the motivational change within HLLs and L2 learners of German in Canada, found that although both groups experienced a decrease in instrumental orientation, the HLLs’ integrative orientation increased whereas it decreased in L2 learners. Given that many other studies found a combination of integrative and instrumental orientations among HLLs, it may still suggest that integrative orientation is more important over time (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011). This might be due to an ill-adapted model misapplied from the L2 to the HLL context or simply the heterogeneity of the HLL population. To reduce some variance and better understand motivation within HLLs, the current study focuses on the most understudied subset of HLLs, receptive bilinguals.

Receptive Bilinguals and Motivation

Before describing receptive bilinguals and motivation, it is important to describe how they fit into the broader group of HLLs. There are two major factors that are used to define
HLLs, language proficiency and to a lesser extent cultural connection (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Fishman, 2001; Hornberger and Wong, 2008; Kagan, 2005; Valdés Fallis, 1978; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). Fishman (2001) takes a broad stance regarding cultural connections, suggesting that HLLs are individuals who study a language that is of familial relevance. In contrast, a few definitions are very restrictive as they use proficiency to mark the distinction between HLLs and other populations. For example, in her seminal work, Valdés Fallis (1978), despite having changed her opinion currently, originally suggested that HLLs come to the classroom looking to acquire the prestige variety since they already are competent speakers at home. Kagan (2005) also assumed that students arrive to the classroom as immigrants having begun their language learning in their host country. Valdés (2005) and others now agree that assumptions regarding an immigrant status or dialect are inappropriate for Spanish speaking community in the United States (Villa, 2002). These second two definitions are inappropriate for a population like United States Latinos where many speakers, especially those of second and third generations, have not fully acquired the language. Despite this change in the literature, it is important to remember that practitioners still maintain definitions that assume students are first generation immigrants and/or speak a particular dialect (McEvoy, 2017).

Other scholars, however, take a stance towards proficiency that is more relevant for HLLs. Hornberger and Wong (2008) suggest that HLLs are learners who are unable to satisfy their linguistics needs when speaking a minority language. This definition fits both the advanced students who began their studies abroad and need to work on bilingual competence, those students looking to acquire academic Spanish, and those who have some exposure but struggle to communicate. Finally, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) suggest that HLLs are students who have had naturalistic exposure to the language at a young age regardless of their ethnic or cultural ties.
This definition is pedagogically useful since many individuals’ linguistic needs—those who, for example, were abroad as children of missionaries or attended bilingual pre-schools—are nearly indistinguishable from 3rd generation Latinos. It is also the definition that is most fitting for a study that explores the motivational experiences of receptive bilinguals. For the purposes of this paper, Beaudrie and Ducar’s (2005) definition will be adopted where a HLL is anyone who has had naturalistic exposure to the HL at a young age regardless of ethnicity or current language proficiency.

Additionally, there has been some discussion in the literature regarding the best term and definition to use when researching receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie, 2009; Combs, 2014; Carreira, 2003; Fishman 1991; Goble, 2016; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011; Valdés, 2001). Fishman (2001) reminds readers that the shift from use of the minority language to monolingualism in the dominant language is generally complete in three generations. With this three-generation model in mind, Goble (2016) studied students referring to them as third generation but without specifying their place on the bilingual continuum. Beaudrie (2009) suggests that the generational model is over simplified. I agree that not all Latinos are immigrants, and not all naturalistic bilinguals who are receptive bilinguals are Latino. There is likewise some discussion around the type of proficiency that students at the lower end of the bilingual range exhibit. Valdés (2001) suggests that students who are receptive bilinguals are also speakers of low prestige or contact varieties of Spanish. Carreira (2003) counters this stating that, with the rise of Spanish social media, more receptive bilinguals will be exposed to standard Spanish. I disagree with the assumption that a student’s proficiency is related to a dialect that he or she speaks. Finally, the terms passive bilingual and emergent bilingual have been used for the receptive bilingual as well (Beaudrie, 2009; Combs, 2014). The term passive bilingual disregards
the receptive skills these learners possess and does not provide an accurate description. García (2009) coined the term emergent bilingual and Combs’ (2014) observations that the term emergent bilingual is hopeful. This is quite fitting for studies that investigate the progress of learners who begin at the receptive level. It does not, however, accurately describe where they started. I will use the terms receptive bilingual and emergent bilingual in this chapter, given the reality that the participants all started as receptive bilinguals but many, as they participate in the study, are emergent bilinguals. It is an unfair assumption that individuals who begin at the receptive bilingual level will become indistinguishable from other HLLs or native speakers. However, not to acknowledge their growth would be equally unfair. For the purposes of this paper, receptive bilinguals are a group of bilinguals who have native skills in the dominant language as well as strong skills in comprehending the minority language, in this case Spanish, but struggle to produce it (Beaudrie, 2009; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011).

There have been a few studies concerning receptive bilinguals that explored the possibilities of motivational selves and the relationship between integrative and instrumental orientations for this particular population (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011; Xie, 2014). Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) found that receptive bilinguals are highly motivated and that they express both integrative and instrumental orientations. Conversely, Vergara Wilson and Martínez (2011) found that receptive bilingual learners, despite having myriad reasons for being motivated, were most motivated by work and professional opportunities. Xie (2014) conducted a quantitative study related to the use either of the Socio-educational or L2 Motivational Self System finding that the system of motivational selves was a good fit for what the author termed lower level HLLs of Chinese. Finally, Goble (2016) found
that negative linguistic ideologies were particularly demotivating for participants who he termed as third generation HLLs.

In short, there is a growing body of research regarding HLL motivation (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Ducar, 2012; Husseinali, 2006; Lee, 2006; Oh & Nash, 2014; Yanguas, 2010). There is, however, a lack of research that addresses receptive bilingual motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Marínez, 2011; Xie, 2014). This paper will work to address this gap, focusing on receptive bilingual motivation. It does so by taking a process approach to motivation, using motivational selves and investigating themes from Chapter 2 within cross-sectional data.

**Methodology**

In order to better understand receptive bilingual motivation within a process approach, this study explores motivational experiences as they vary across groups. More specifically, it analyzes 25 interviews of participants who began their studies in a Spanish for HLLs program as receptive bilinguals. Data were collected from participants who had taken this course at a large university in the American Southwest. In the following chart, Table 1.1, there is a description of the courses in the program as well as the participant group (or cohort) divisions for the following study which were designed according to two factors which express a student's persistence in her studies. First, participants were separated according to level of study, that is 100, 200 etc. or the number of courses that they had taken. Secondly, students were divided into groups according to their status in the program, that is if they were continuing in their studies or discontinuing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Course Descriptions</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Group 1: 100 level (dropped)** | Spanish 1 (100 level: language development)  
Oral skills for the HL speaker (for receptive bilinguals). Students develop their oral skills in Spanish, expand their vocabulary and strengthen their listening skills. Students are also introduced to the main linguistic varieties of Spanish and cultural patterns of the Spanish-speaking world, especially those present in the USA | N=7 |
| **Group 2: 200 level (discontinuing)** | Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)  
Written and oral skills for the HL speaker: This course builds upon current fluency in spoken language and upon each student’s experience of communicating in Spanish to cultivate proficiency within a broad range of social contexts. Using a variety of written, visual and media resources, students learn and improve grammar skills and apply those skills to group and individual oral presentations, class discussion and written assignments

Spanish 3 (200 level: language development)  
Elementary composition for HL speakers: This course is the first of the composition series. It introduces students to the differences between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA | N=5 |
| **Group 3 200 Level (continuing)** | Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)  
Written and oral skills for the HL speaker: This course builds upon current fluency in spoken language and upon each student’s experience of communicating in Spanish to cultivate proficiency within a broad range of social contexts. Using a variety of written, visual and media resources, students learn and improve grammar skills and apply those skills to group and individual oral presentations, class discussion and written assignments

Spanish 3 (200 level: language development)  
Elementary composition for HL speakers: This course is the first of the composition series. It introduces students to the differences between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA | N=4 |
between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA and Latin America.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 4: 300 level (continuing)</th>
<th>Spanish 4 (300 level: language development)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate composition I for HL speakers: This course is the second of the composition series. It focuses on developing the students’ oral and written abilities in academic contexts through written essays, stories, poems and summaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish 5 (300 level: language development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate composition II for HL speakers: This course is the last of the composition series. It offers further development of the students’ oral and written discourses. Through an analysis of cultural events that occur in the Hispanic world, students gain practice with various written genres in Spanish. At the end of the course, students write an academic paper</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Group 5: Content level and completed a minor</th>
<th>Spanish 6 (300 level: content course)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonetics for the native speaker: This course introduces the learner to Spanish linguistics, more specifically to the area of phonetics and phonology. Students learn about the differences between oral and written speech and become familiar with dialectal differences around the Hispanic world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N=5

*N=4

*Adapted from Beaudrie, Ducar & Relaño Pastor, 2009

The first group is composed of students who dropped the program after the first semester. The second group are students who made it to the 200 level but subsequently dropped out of the program. The third group are students who are currently in the 200 level and continuing in the program. The fourth group are students in the 300 level and continuing in the program. Finally, the fifth group are students who have obtained a minor in Spanish. In a previous study of the
entire interview set, I identified several themes in the ideal and ought-to selves of these learners. Students reported an ideal self, or an image of their future successful language learner self, that commonly included speaking in Spanish with family members, using Spanish at work, and becoming a fluent speaker. When describing expectations from others, or their ought-to selves, they reported feeling that they ought to know Spanish, ought to learn Spanish, ought to identify according to their linguistic capabilities and ought to speak it fluently. The current study will explore these same themes in order to understand how they vary across groups. This analysis will use the following questions as research guides.

Research Questions

1. How do the ideal and ought-to selves vary across groups?

2. What trends exist, if any, in the ideal self of this population when groups are compared? Are there trends in terms of family, work and fluency?

3. What trends exist, if any, within the ought-to selves of this population when groups are compared? Are there trends in terms of identity, fluency, learning and/or knowing?

4. What trends exist, if any, between the ideal and the ought-to selves?

Participants

The participants in this study are HLLs of Spanish who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. Participants were eligible for this study by their placement into the first (100 level) Heritage Spanish course designed for receptive bilinguals. All students were formally enrolled and completed the first semester 100-level Spanish course for Heritage speakers. There were more female students (14) than male (10), and (1) student who is gender queer. Of the 25 participants in this study, 17 students identify as either Hispanic or Latinx, 5 students identify as
simply Mexican, one as Puerto Rican and one as White. One student did not claim an ethnic background. Students also claimed several differing heritages in addition to these primary identities including White or Caucasian, Norwegian, Chinese, Cuban and African American.

As can be seen in Table 1.1, the program where the current study was conducted has classes at the 100, 200, and 300 level. It is possible for a student to earn a minor by only taking courses within the Heritage for Spanish speaker’s program. The groups in this study are based on level of study as well as current enrollment status (continuing or dropped). In all, there were five cross-sections of participants. Although it may appear that there is a missing group, there were no known students who had dropped at the 300 level. Each group had between 4 and 7 participants. The first group had 7 participants, the second 5 participants, the third 4 participants, the fourth 5 participants and the fifth had 4 participants.

**Procedures**

The participants were recruited by their former 100-level instructor, myself, through an email and/or through visits to their upper level courses. Participants were recruited within the pool of my previous students in order to have a strengthened and equal rapport among them. Of the 25 participants, 5 had taken two courses with me as their instructor. At the time of the interview, however, I no longer taught courses in the university that students attended. Informed consent was given through a pre-interview survey, and all interviews were conducted and recorded over Google Hangouts during the Spring semester (February through May) of 2017. The interviews were student-guided and therefore covered a range of learning and life experiences with language learning. They were open ended and lasted between 21 minutes and 132 minutes depending on the depth of detail students wished to use to describe their past, current and future experiences with language learning.
Data Coding and Analysis

Interviews were then transcribed and coded by during the months of May-August 2017. They were coded according to motivational selves, or the ideal, and ought-to selves as described by Dörnyei (2009). Further details of the groups across the entire population can be seen in Chapter 2. Themes identified from this previous study were used to code the data of the ideal and ought-to selves—namely, family, work and fluency within their ideal selves. They also reported identity, learning, knowing and fluency as a portion of their ought-to self.

Next, the corpus was placed into the group groupings (or course level in the program that the student had reached). Then, data for each group were separated into a smaller corpus, for example, the ideal self for group 1 (those students who had dropped the program after completing the 100-level course). Each smaller corpus was compared and contrasted with the overall population according to the aforementioned themes identified from the previous study of the entire population—namely, the themes within the ideal self of family, work, and fluency as well as the themes of learning, knowing, identity and fluency within the ought-to self. The percentage of participants who describe a given theme was calculated in order to understand its prevalence in that group.

Results

The data in the following analysis will be presented first according to the respective motivational self and then by theme. First, the themes of the ideal self will be presented including, fluency, work, and family. Secondly, the themes in the ought-to self will be presented including first, ought-to identify and ought-to be fluent separately, then lastly ought-to know and ought-to learn will be presented together. Finally, since fluency is a theme in both the ought-to and ideal selves, the trends in fluency across these two selves is presented. Each theme will be
presented in terms of the percentage of individuals who describe that theme in a given group, which is labeled on the vertical or y-axis of the following figures as “percent of participants”.

The Ideal Self

Figure 2.1: Fluency within the Ideal Self across Groups

When the variable Fluency, or the percentage of students who described themselves as a fluent speaker, is compared across groups, it suggests that it is a salient portion of their ideal self. As displayed in Figure 2.1, despite the percentage of students diminishing between group 3 and group 4, there is a still an upward trend between group 1 and group 5. It is not surprising that these participants name fluency as an ideal, given that the idealization of fluent speakers and/or native speakers is common. In fact, negative language ideologies regarding native speakers have been documented in society, in the classroom and even written in the textbooks for HLLs (Davies, 2003; Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017). It is therefore understandable, given this well-established context, that learners have completely internalized this idealization into their ideal self.

What is less clear is the impact of this theme—namely, why it might be more likely to be present in students in upper division courses if it is damaging? Additionally, the question
remains about how effective it might be to discredit the myth of the native speaker and the negative ideologies associated with different fluencies for students. Would this then help them create healthier visions of an ideal-self that is aspirational, motivational, and not founded in negative ideologies? Since this ideology is so prevalent, this shift could not be accomplished in a single semester and would need to be a programmatic effort. More research is needed to unpack this understandable but worrisome result.

Figure 2.2 Work within the Ideal Self by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>PERCENT OF PARTICIPANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cohort 1</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohort 2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohort 3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohort 4</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohort 5</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of participants who report imagining a successful future version of themselves using Spanish as work is visualized across groups in Figure 2.2. Work trends, although not perfectly, upward as students are more successful throughout their Spanish careers. This theme relates to instrumental orientation, although it should be acknowledged that this study did not use Gardner’s psychometric instrument, and therefore his precise operationalization of his term. Nevertheless, this evidence still contradicts Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) original hypothesis that suggested that more successful students would have an integrative orientation. Conversely, it supports Yanguas’s (2010) study that found that HLL instrumental orientation was correlated to motivational intensity. It also supports Beaudrie and Ducar’s (2005) study suggesting that
receptive bilinguals express both integrative and instrumental orientations. On the other hand, these results counter Dressler’s (2008) study of German HLLs in Canada that found that HLL integrative orientation decreased overtime. In the context of this particular study, the marketable reality of Spanish in the American Southwest, may have influenced these contradicting results. The following figure, Figure 2.3, visualizes the shifts over time of family, work and fluency in order to better compare and contrast their shift, and in particular the relationship of family as compared to other themes.

Figure 2.3 Work, Fluency and Family in the Ideal Self by Group

In Figure 2.3, where the theme family is in a blue solid angular line, work is a curved orange line, and fluency is a dashed angular green line, the significance of family as a factor is clear. There is not a clear trend up or down across groups for the theme family; however, there is a clear trend across all groups that family is the most common means of describing one’s ideal self. This contradicts Vergara Wilson and Martínez’s (2011) findings that work was the most salient reason for wanting to revitalize Spanish for receptive bilingual learners. Whereas fluency and work change within the upper division groups (3, 4, and 5) when students are on track to achieve a minor, family stays consistently high at 60%. This is also evidenced in the overall averages where family is present across all groups on average 66%, whereas work and fluency

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are only present on average within 33% and 30%, respectively, of the participants’ descriptions of their ideal self.

These findings support the initial hypothesis of Gardner and Lambert (1959) as well as Dörnyei’s (2002) choice to focus on integrative orientation as he developed his model. They suggest that integrating, in this case, using the heritage language with family, is an important aspect within the construction of an ideal self for HLLs. At the same time, family may be present but not necessarily a deciding factor in student retention in this particular population as students move through the program. Between required and voluntary courses (in this case between groups 3 and 4), fluency and work increase but family maintains a similar level. This might suggest that the combination is most salient for this period of deciding to continue or discontinue one’s studies. It may also suggest that creating and maintaining a possible self that is fluent and uses Spanish in his or her job may be an important factor in retention of students who are enrolled, but not necessarily for initial enrollment in courses. This finding would support further research which explores internships, service learning or other more practical aspects of course materials (Rabin, 2011; Pereira, 2015). More research is necessary to understand this trend as it relates to level of study.

Finally, these findings support the concept that the two orientations defined by Gardner (2010), instrumental orientation, or the desire to learn a language for practical and integrative orientation, or the desire to learn a language in order to connect with the L2 community. Many scholars have found this overlap to be true for the HLL population (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dressler, 2008; Vergara Wilson & Martínez). Unlike Gardner (2010), who suggested that integrative orientation is more important than instrumental, some HLLs have found the opposite in HLLs, or a higher rate of instrumental orientation in particular for both the
general HLL population of Spanish learners and lower level HLLs of Spanish (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). While these findings confirm the consistent overlap of orientations, or here the themes work and family, while in contradicts the suggestion that work, or instrumental orientation might be more important, especially in the lower levels where there is such a strong preference in this data set for family within the participants ideal self.

The Ought-to Self

In the next section, the themes for the ought-to self will be presented in order to better understand the shifts in the expectations of other for participants.

Figure 3.1: Ought-to Identify by Group

As visualized in Figure 3.1, the theme of “ought-to identify” appears to have no trend across groups, since identity is such a personal phenomenon, perhaps the group does not move in any predictable way. This shift in the trend of identity may still be related to their position in the program. For example, when one enters a group and has yet to establish a sense of belonging, identity is contested and therefore salient. Later, when one becomes aware that they will be soon
leaving a group, identity again becomes contested within one’s sense of community and is once again salient. This would make sense with the data since there was no participant who decided to discontinue their studies at the 300 level, or group 4, where identity is a less common theme. Where identity is 0%. This is of interest since it supports the contextualized theory of identity creation in post-structural theory and the shift in motivational research from motivation as a consistent individual trait to motivation as co-constructed (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Norton, 2014).

Alternatively, these data could be interpreted as evidence that there may be important population differences between groups such that trends are not present. The sample size was too small in the current student to conduct statistical analysis for correlations, but this could be an avenue for future research. Such analyses would allow us to know if these students differ because of their place in the program or whether they are different because there are other factors that separate them. Then again, both of these realities could be true simultaneously, based on individual variation, place in the program, and/or other broader contextual factors.

Figure 3.2: Ought-to be Fluent by Group
As shown in Figure 3.2, there are three major shifts in the idealization of fluency. While group 1 and 2 have similar levels there is a shift upward by 23% between group 2 and 3. The level then remains in group 4. Then the level shifts a second time to group 5 where it 40% lower ending at only 20% of participants. In other words, there appears to be a difference between the relationship with fluency as a means of creating an ideal self between beginner, intermediate and advanced levels of study.

The presence of the theme ought-to be fluent is not surprising since it is a well-established language ideology to idealize native speaker language production (Davies, 2003; Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017; Ortega, 1999; Valdés et. al., 2008). It has also been suggested that particularly for third generation speakers, who are frequently receptive bilinguals, the idealization of native speakers represents a negative language ideology that creates a roadblock toward language learning (Goble, 2016). The results of this study would support the claim that this idealization is negative, in the sense that there is a downward trend for advanced students once they have decided to stay in the program, that is between group 3/4 and 5. More research is needed to understand the complicated and problematic theme of fluency in the ought-to self. Figure 3.3 compares the two variables, ought-to know and ought-to learn within the ought-to self.
Figure 3.3 displays a possible inverse relationship between “Ought-to Know” and “Ought-to Learn” over the 5 groups. In each successive group, the two variables move in opposite directions. They cross at group 3 and are the farthest apart in group 5. It is of interest that these two variables cross in group 3. This is the first group of students who are staying in the program beyond the requirement, in other words, it is a moment that requires an amount of increased motivation to stay. The data suggest that, when the level of “Ought-to Learn” and “Ought-to Know” are equal, students are no longer deciding if they will continue in the program. As much as the process approach searches to understand motivation in context, it still occasionally seeks to ask the fundamental Gardinerian question of who, or what circumstances, might facilitate successful language learning (Ivaska, 2017; Moskovshy et. al., 2016; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012). The finding in this final potential relationship suggests that more research is needed to see if an ought-to self that includes the theme of “ought-to learn” or trends away from the theme of “ought-to know” correlates with language learner success over time. These data support the suggestion that the presence of the variable ought-to learn and ought-to know merit further research. It supports previous research regarding a growth mindset, which has
found that student academic achievement is correlated with a vision of intelligence not as an innate quality, like a native speaker might see language as naturally effortless, but as skills and abilities that can change and be learned (Yeanger & Dweck, 2012). In other words, according to this data the pressure from other to learn a language is helpful toward their motivation and/or persistence in an academic program whereas the pressure that they should know the language has the reverse effect making them less likely to persist in the program. These findings have a logical pedagogical recommendation to recognize what receptive bilinguals do know, celebrate it and encourage them to keep learning.

Since the factor of fluency is the only theme that is present in both the ideal and ought-to selves the following figure (Figure 3.4) compares this theme between selves.

Figure 3.4: Fluency across Ideal and Ought-to Selves

There is also a potential relationship between fluency within the ideal and ought-to selves. There is a possible trend or inverse correlation between fluency in the two selves across groups. That is, fluency in the ought-to self, at least in the upper levels, has a slight downward trend, whereas fluency in the ideal self has a slightly more convincing upward trend. In other words, if others think that one ought to be fluent, that does not seem to correlate with students’ continuing in
their studies once they are in higher levels. However, if individuals idealize fluency for
themselves in the intermediate levels (group 3 and 4), as problematic as that concept is, it does
seem to correlate with decisions to continue one’s studies. These finding support the cross-
sectional data presented by Papi and Teimouri (2012) where the ought-to and ideal selves may
progress independently over time. The inverse nature of the same factor in the ideal and ought-to
selves also supports the findings of scholars who suggest that the ideal self may pull individuals
toward motivation while the ought-to self might be occasionally related to demotivation (Ivaska,
2017; Peng, 2015).

Discussion

Overlapping orientations

The current study supports previous research that suggests that family and work are
important orientations in language learner motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira &
Kagan, 2011; Gardner, 2010). In particular, it suggests that family is an important theme in the
ideal self at all levels of study for receptive bilinguals, which supports Gardner’s (2010) claim
that it is an important factor. At the same time, across groups, the factor of work is increasingly
present, which supports the claim by many that these two constructs are not mutually exclusive
and that integrative orientation, while important, should not be treated as the singular and
universal predictor of language learner success (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan,
2011; Vergara Wilson & Martinez, 2011). Likewise, while the family theme fluctuates across
groups, there is a trend toward an increase of indicators of the work theme across groups among
these learners. This trend is the opposite of Dressler’s (2010) findings where HLLs’
instrumental orientation decreased over time. This has two potential implications: first, that
receptive bilinguals are unique compared to the overall HLL population and/or that when taken
in the context of motivational selves, or connected to identity, the vision of using the HL for work is different. More research is necessary for understanding these differing results (Dörnyei, 2009).

**A process approach to motivation**

The current research suggests that there are some possible trends within the themes of ideal and ought-to selves and therefore supports a process approach to motivation (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). These trends may shift in accordance with patterns due to group differences, or despite individual differences due to the students’ current place within their studies. These findings support a process approach to motivation that suggests it is dynamic and related to context (Ushioda, 2011; Dörnyei, 2009). These results also suggest that there is not a singular factor that can predict language learner success, like that proposed originally by Gardner and Lambert (1959). It is important to note that these trends do not suggest that the individual realities are not also factors, especially integrative motivation, it is simply adding a layer of important variables, that is contextual variables, represented in the ought-to self as well as the group trends. Likewise, as suggested by Dörnyei (2009), the resurgence in this data suggests that motivational selves should not be considered a replacement for the Socio-Educational model but instead a complimentary addition (Garnder, 2010). These additional variables, such as placement within a program, level of study or point on the bilingual spectrum might impact the process of creating and constructing motivation through the co-constructed self-guides within motivational selves and all merit further study.

**Conflicts with fluency**

This study, however, has surprising, conflicting and even problematic results in terms of the theme of fluency in the ideal and ought-to selves. According to the results, fluency might be
used to create harmony, and therefore motivation, when present in the ideal self and absent in the ought-to self. At the same time, the results suggest that the expectation of fluency in the future from others, or in the ought-to self, has the inverse relationship, or is more possibly correlated with lower levels of study. It is currently unclear if fluency is exclusively a negative language ideology or a problematic and uncomfortable means of creating harmony among the self-guides and therefore constructing motivation. Likewise, it remains to be seen if the characteristic of fluency could be replaced with a healthier and more affirming but perhaps equally lofty pursuit.

Placement of receptive bilinguals is unique since they can be intimidated by upper level HLLs who merely lack literacy, but who they would most likely describe as fluent, similar to common reactions of L2 speakers in mixed classrooms. But as HLLs, receptive bilinguals have a life time of experience with culture and language ideologies. These conflicting and problematic results merit further research. Further research in this area should not be related to pedagogical innovations focused on fluency alone (the data in this study suggests that fluency when encouraged or expected by others might be demotivational). Applications of pedagogical innovations should be conducted with caution given that a focus on fluency has the potential to negatively impact students. The possibility of applications of pedagogical innovation that include attention to and support for improvement of a positive sense of self can be considered as an additional focus of pedagogical interventions.

The power of “ought-to know” expectations

When participants described their ought-to selves, there is also an apparent inverse relationship between being expected to know Spanish and being expected to learn Spanish. In other words, when students feel that community or family members assume that language learning can only happen in childhood and that receptive bilinguals should therefore already be
producing Spanish, these students are more likely to discontinue their studies. Conversely, when they perceive that others want them to learn Spanish, they are more likely to continue their studies. This relationship is similar to the concept of growth mindset, where students are more successful if they view intelligent not as innate but as changeable (Yeanger & Dweck, 2012). It is different, however, in that it relates to the perception of others’ expectations. This might suggest that the individual’s perception of negative language ideologies, such as the expectation to know, either in the classroom or the community, may have an important role in the motivational experience and construction of students who begin their studies as receptive bilinguals. There is some limited research that suggests that the impact of negative language ideologies is stronger for students in the third generation (Goble, 2016). The concept of being expected to already speak could be added as potentially demotivating language ideologies related to native speaker normativity, where it is assumed that language learning follows the path of a native speaker and acquisition of a language at a young age. In other words, it is a double standard where L2 learners are encouraged to learn and heritage speakers are expected to know, which leaves no space for growth.

Since receptive bilinguals are so frequently expected to know, and more specifically produce Spanish, this inverse relationship could be an exciting and useful finding for teaching receptive bilinguals. It suggests that teachers should not expect that their students begin their studies at any one place on the bilingual spectrum. This expectation could add to an ought-to self with the “ought-to” theme that relates to low achievement. Instead, the results suggest that instructors should encourage all students to learn. Given that many programs exclude receptive bilinguals, that they are an understudied population and that many practitioners do not include them in their personal definitions of HLLs, these results encourage the field to support and train
teachers to accept receptive bilinguals as new emergent bilinguals and HLLs. It encourages pedagogical habits that accept and celebrate what they bring to the classroom and encourage them to learn. More training is necessary to help teachers work through their assumptions about who HLLs (or in some cases Latinos) are and why they are a valuable asset to the classroom.

Conclusion

Despite being frequently excluded from HL programs, it is clear that receptive bilinguals have compelling reasons to be both personally and professionally motivated to gain speaking skills and otherwise learn more about their language and heritage. They sit in between common assumptions of HLLs, who speak comfortably but do not have literacy skills, and L2 students who come to the classroom without previous knowledge. It is our obligation to meet the needs of all of our students. Besides, why would we not want to move receptive bilinguals along? They already are “native listeners” and miles ahead of their L2 counterparts having had a life time of experiences within the HL community. This research contributes to our understanding of the hopes and dreams (the future possible selves that receptive bilinguals imagine) at varying points along their path of language revitalization in order to better our understanding of their motivations, and therefore better support them as learners and as people. Given their great potential and limited support, there is a great need for continued academic research on their behalf.
CHAPTER 4

Should I believe you if it hurts me?

Cross-sections of Receptive Bilinguals’ Transformation of Fluency Idealizations Toward Self-Selective Internalization
Introduction

Many individuals in the United States have lived their entire lives around Spanish, learning to understand it but not learning to produce it. In other words, they have had a naturalistic exposure to the language and can understand the language, but having been around bilingual speakers, and having attended an English-only school, they have a habit of responding in English. Their needs as learners, however, are frequently overlooked. In the Spanish classroom, these individuals, as receptive bilinguals, frequently inhabit an in-between space as native listeners in terms of their comprehension skills and second language (L2) learners in terms of their speaking skills. Additionally, receptive bilinguals are a resource, a set of individuals who bring a lifetime of linguistic and cultural experience to the classroom and to the broader contexts in which they live. If language programs do not meet the needs of receptive bilinguals, they lose the opportunity to enroll these individuals as students in their classes. More importantly, if these students do not have their needs met, they may feel that they lose a part of themselves (Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011).

In order to better meet the needs of this population, this study investigates receptive bilingual motivation not just in those language courses that they are required to take, but throughout their entire experience in a Heritage Language Learner (HLL) program. This study explores the motivation of emergent bilinguals who came to the classroom as receptive bilinguals, at several points along their studies in a University level program designed for HLLs. Specifically, students are grouped into five groups: 1) those who left the program after the 100 level; 2) those who left after the 200 level; 3) those who have chosen to continue after the 200 level; 4) those who have chosen to continue in the 300 level; and 5) those who have completed a
minor in Spanish. In the current study, the long-term motivational process of each of these groups of individuals will be assessed for trends and themes.

As one participant, whom I will refer to as Luis, described “I was never legitimately taught Spanish. It’s almost as though I had been sitting in a math class for years but never actually doing anything…one day just being able to take the test from what I had picked up in passing.” The experience of Luis and other receptive bilingual experiences are outside of conventional understanding of language and identities. There is a growing literature regarding HLL identity and motivation (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dressler, 2010; Husseinali, 2006; Kurata, 2015; Leeman, 2015; Noels, 2005; Yanguas, 2010). There is, however, a more limited amount of research regarding motivation and identities of receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2012; Xie, 2014).

The current study works to address this gap in the literature and contributes a deeper understanding of how identity and motivation in this particular population might relate to context as it shifts over time. In previous studies (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this dissertation), the roadblocks that students encounter on their way to successfully creating motivation were identified. In the second chapter, two damaging language ideologies were identified, one of which is the native speaker normativity language ideology. This ideology assumes that the normal way to learn a language is to speak it beginning at a young age. Receptive bilinguals fall outside of this norm since many of them, despite excellent receptive skills, do not begin to produce their Heritage Language (HL) until adolescence or even adulthood. They likewise fail to be like a native speaker since, because when they do produce language, it is not characterized as fluent, and is inherently bilingual in nature. Valdés (2003) argues that comparing bilingual competence to a monolingual competence is as ludicrous as using a bilingual standard to measure the merits
of a monolingual. In the third chapter, when the previously identified themes were analyzed across groups, there was a trend toward a correlation between students who reported that others expected they ought to know Spanish versus the students who reported that others thought they ought to learn Spanish. Those who reported that others thought that they ought to know Spanish were more likely to be at higher level of study in the program. In other words, negative language ideologies were a road block to success. In addition, there was a confusing result which suggested that the idealization of a native speaker, or the ideal of fluency trended upward, or correlated with higher levels of study. This is confusing since the idealization of a native speaker frames HLLs and particularly receptive bilinguals at a deficit and has been documented as a source for demotivation by Goble (2016). The current study takes a new approach to this data to understand how students deal with negative language ideologies, such as *native speaker normativity*, and why or how the idealization of fluency can correlate with higher levels of study. It analyzes the data of each group to understand their shifts in motivational construction. The new themes that emerge from these data contribute to our understanding of socially constructed motivation in HLLs and receptive bilingual motivation as well as the means through which differing levels of study, or how far along a student has gotten in a program, related to differing strategies toward negative language ideologies.

**Definitions**

**HLLs**

The two most important measures used to define the HLL population are linguistic proficiency and personal or familial connection to the language. In other words, some scholars delimit the boundaries of the HLL populations through proficiency, or the linguistic connection and the naturalistic socialization experience within a particular community of that HL (Heritage
Language) (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Valdés, 2005), while fewer focus on an individuals’ naturalistic socialization into the Heritage Culture (HC) (Fishman, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Vergara Wilson, 2011). In contrast, the majority of scholars use a proficiency-based definition (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira, 2004; Hornberger, 2004; Kagan & Polisky, 2007; Valdés, 2005).

There has been a shift in understanding among scholars who use a proficiency-based definition. The first scholars in the field originally presumed that students had a working and/or functional bilingual capacity of spoken language and merely came to the classroom in order to acquire the prestige variety and/or writing skills (Valdés Fallis, 1978). Over time, however, most scholars have come to recognize the entire range of bilinguals as part of the HLL population, including the field’s founders (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira, 2004; Hornberger, 2004; Kagan & Polisky, 2007; Valdés, 2005). In other words, even students who may understand but not produce the language are HLLs, just as students who have had been educated in their country of origin and only lack academic formation in their HL. Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) suggested that naturalistic exposure to the language need not include an ethnic connection but may include individuals who have had naturalistic exposure beyond their own genetic relatives. This is the broadest proficiency-based definition of HLLs and will be used for the purposes of this paper. For the present study then, HLLs are defined as individuals with a naturalistic exposure to a minority language at a young age. This definition is intentionally broad since the entire range of bilinguals have distinct needs that should be addressed in the classroom.

Receptive Bilinguals

Nevertheless, the heterogeneity within the HLL population can cause difficulties in data reliability, so this paper will concentrate on the most understudied end of the bilingual spectrum,
receptive bilinguals. Several scholars describe the bilingual population as a continuum or spectrum but do not distinguish receptive bilinguals in particular (Carreira, 2004; Hornberger, 2004; Valdés, 2001). There is agreement within the literature that receptive bilinguals are a group of individuals who are on one end of the bilingual range closest to monolingualism, where they have strong skills in comprehending their HL, but struggle to produce it (Beaudrie, 2009; Sherkina-Leiber, Pérez-Leroux & Johns, 2011). The expectation that individuals who are receptive bilinguals will someday become undistinguishable from other HLLs or native speakers is inappropriate. Since this project is cross-sectional in nature and several students have reached upper division courses, I will refer to them as emergent bilinguals, a term which most accurately described their growth (García, 2009; Combs, 2014).

Despite a growing literature related to attitude and motivation of HLLs generally (Dressler, 2010; Ducar, 2012; Husseinali, 2006; Noels, 2005; Oh & Au, 2005; Yangus, 2010), there is limited research regarding receptive bilinguals particularly (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). This research will work to fill this gap regarding receptive bilinguals and motivation.

Motivation Theoretical Foundations

Trends in language learner motivation theoretical frameworks

There have been three major theoretical trends in studying L2 and HL motivation as well as a handful of studies that do not use a theoretical frame. The first theoretical frame, originally used to study the motivation of students of French in a Canadian dual immersion setting, is the Socio-educational Model (Gardner, 2010). In their original study, Gardner and Lambert (1959) were most interested in understanding why some students, with the same amount of training, had such different results and sought to understand motivation as a potential factor in student academic success. Gardner (1985) created this model using psychometric testing of elementary
students, which eventually identified the factors, social milieu, attitudes, orientations, motivational intensity and, consequently, language learner success (although there are other iterations of the models with additional factors; see Gardner, 2010). In more recent studies, many scholars have focused their attention on the concepts of orientations—namely, instrumental orientation and integrative orientations (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Carreira & Kagan 2011; Husseinali, 2006; Vergara & Wilson, 2011). Instrumental orientation is the desire to learn a language in order to use it for a practical purpose such as for work, whereas integrative orientation is the desire to learn a language in order to more fully interact and participate in the community of speakers of that language (Gardner, 2010).

There have been many studies related to L2 learners using the Socio-educational Model, as well as a few studies that include or focus entirely on HLLs (Dressler, 2008; Oh & Nash, 2014, Yanguas, 2010). There is a larger number of studies that have studied integrative and instrumental orientations and HLLs (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Husseinali, 2006; Lee, 2006; Noels, 2005; Wilson & Ibarra, 2015). Only one of these studies focused on students who are receptive bilinguals (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). As Ducar (2012) observed in her review of the motivational literature, a major finding among these studies is that HLLs do not experience a mutually exclusive orientation towards language learning, but instead many learners express both integrative and instrumental orientations, a finding also corroborated in the more general HLL research of Carreira & Kagan (2011).

Noels (2001) has developed a second theoretical frame that draws upon, but is distinct from, the psychological research on general motivation. Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand (2000) suggested that motivation is either intrinsic and extrinsic and falls along a self-determination continuum. An intrinsic orientation is the enjoyment of a task precisely for the
sake of the activity, such as learning a language for the enjoyment of decoding sentences (Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000). She defines three underlying types of intrinsic orientations toward learning: 1) learning for the sake of knowledge, 2) learning for an accomplishment or a sense of mastery, and 3) learning for stimulation or the pleasure of the task itself (Noels, 2001). Extrinsic orientations, on the other hand, are orientations related to factors outside the task itself (Noels, 2005). She describes three types of extrinsic orientation: 1) external regulation (seeking a reward), 2) introjected regulation (avoiding social consequences), and 3) identified regulation (building social identity). She tested her model in the L2 context and found some empirical support for the self-determination continuum as well as distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic orientations (Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000).

Finally, a third theoretical frame has begun to take shape in very recent years and has just recently been applied to HLLs. Dörnyei (2009) developed the L2 Motivational Self System out of a longitudinal study originally investigating and (re)conceptualizing Gardner’s integrative orientation for English L2 learners in a globalized world and in agreement that individual autonomy is an important factor in motivation (Ushioda, 2011; Ushioda, 2009; Noels, 2005). In their original study, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) collected a large scale longitudinal and cross-sectional dataset investigating direct contact with L2 speakers, the vitality of the L2 community (perception of wealth and importance of that community), social milieu (a general social network of perception of the importance of that language), and linguistic self-confidence. From those original concepts, the L2 Motivational Self System emerged (Dörnyei, 2009).

**The L2 Motivational Self System**

The L2 Motivational Self is the theoretical frame that most accommodates the receptive bilingual population given its connection to identity, inclusion of the community voices and
process approach. As many scholars suggest, there is a long-held connection between HLLs and identity (Carreira, 2004; Coryell, Clark & Pomerantz, 2011; He, 2006; Potowski, 2012). In addition, the motivational research supports the continued salience of identity within motivation in particular. For example, Noels (2005) found that HLLs were more likely to learn their HL because it was related to their self-concept (or identified regulation) than their L2 counterparts. Identities are most salient in any group when they are counter to what is considered normative, and receptive bilinguals are outside the norm for many assumptions and stereotypes related to speaking a language or being Latinx. Likewise, their positionality both within Spanish speakers in the United States, abroad and even in their own families is frequently contested. Additionally, given that these individuals have a lifetime of language experience and identity negotiations, both the negotiations as well as the individual identity should be included. And both are accommodated within the L2 Motivational Self System through the ideal as well as the ought-to selves. Finally, through re-conceptualizing identity away from a predictable path in integrative motivation, this model is well suited for identifying emergent themes in understudied populations such as receptive bilinguals, as much as it coordinates with current research in the HLL field (Leeman, 2015).

Dörnyei (2009) explains that “Language learning is a sustained and often tedious process with lots of temporary ups and downs. …the secret of successful learners was their possession of a superordinate vision that kept them on track” (p. 25). This theory (re)conceptualizes the integrative orientation as it breaks the assumption that integrative orientation is necessarily the primary pursuit into L2 population, making this a less specified and more open construct. It draws from both language learner motivation and psychological research (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Noels, 2003; Ushioda, 2001). Specifically, it draws from the psychological
literature concepts of possible selves and self-discrepancy (Dörnyei, 2009). More specifically, Dörnyei (2009) uses the possible selves of Markus and Nurius (1986) or what one would like to be, ought-to be and is afraid of becoming. He combines this with Higgins, (1987) concept of self-discrepancy where one will work to eliminate the distance between an idealized future and the current self. The combination of both self-guides that are individually created and the self-guide that is dependent on the beliefs of others relate to the previous research on identity (Little & Erickson, 2015). The L2 Motivational Self System includes both motivational selves as well as the L2 learning environment. The current study will, however, focus on the motivational selves from this frame, as has been emphasized in other research (Kurata, 2015). Dörnyei (2009) describes the ideal self, stating that it “refers to the representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representations of hopes, aspirations or wishes)”, whereas the ought-to self “refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. representation of someone else’s sense of self, duties, obligations or moral responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to one’s own desires or wishes” (p. 13). It is precisely these imaginings, be they related to the opinions of others or one’s own imagery for themselves, that this study will explore.

The L2 Motivational Self System disagrees with the assumption in Gardner’s model that motivation is exclusively in the mind of the student and instead takes a process approach where motivation is dynamically constructed between individuals within particular contexts (Dörnyei, 2010; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000; Ushioda, 2011;). Ushioda (2003) describes motivation as a "socially mediated phenomenon" (p. 90). As stated by Dörnyei (2010, p. 8), “Instead of viewing cognition or motivation as located solely within the individual mind, these phenomena are coming to be viewed as dynamically constructed in discursive interactions
between people situated in particular sociocultural contexts.” In other words, these two scholars feel that motivation is a dynamically constructed process between individuals, and they have as a result used longitudinal and cross-sectional methods to understand these dynamic processes. This is particularly fitting with HLLs since they have been living and developing competence and/or self-doubt in their language capacities for a lifetime, and these previous interactions are integrated with their current and future looking identity development and personal narratives as they construct and/or struggle to find motivation.

The L2 Motivational Self System, and in particular the motivational selves, is an excellent fit for the nature of HLLs in general, and receptive bilinguals in particular, given its process approach to motivation, inclusion of community engagement through the ought-to self and its emphasis on identity. As previously discussed, identity is an essential aspect of the HLL experience (Carreira, 2004; He, 2006). Likewise, HLLs, unlike L2 learners, have diverse experiences with Spanish outside of the classroom and throughout their lives with community members, most frequently their own family. The inclusion of family and community voices through the ought-to self is a good fit since HLLs are embedded in a rich linguistic and cultural context of HL. Finally, students who are in higher education are making choices about how to grow and create independence, making it a time when individuality and autonomy are a key component of both personal and academic development alongside their construction of motivation, which makes the process approach appropriate. The L2 Motivational Self System framework is the best fit for receptive bilinguals, though as yet, the literature has not addressed the potential of this framework with this population.
Previous Research

HLL Motivation

The majority of the information related to HLL and receptive bilingual motivation in particular come from frameworks originally applied to L2 learners. There have been a number of studies that commented on orientations and/or used the Socio-cultural model as well as one that applied extrinsic and intrinsic concepts to HLL motivation in particular (Dressler, 2008; Oh & Nash, 2014; Noels, 2005; Yanguas, 2010). Noels (2005) applied her model to the HLLs of Germans in Canada while comparing them to a L2 group. She found that HLLs were more likely to demonstrate identified regulation, a type of extrinsic motivation related to identity. With the exception of Yanguas (2010), studies found that there was an overlap with the integrative and instrumental orientations of HLLs (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Husseinali, 2006 Dressler, 2008; Oh & Nash, 2014). Instead, Yanguas (2010) found that only integrative orientation was related to motivation. Dressler (2008) found that over time, integrative orientation increased for HLLs but their instrumental orientation decreased.

There have been a number of studies that use the L2 Motivational Self System within the L2 context (Ivaska, 2017; Moskovsky et. al. 2016; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Peng, 2015; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2015). There are, however, only a small handful of known studies that address HLL motivation in a diversity of cultural contexts: Chinese Americans, Japanese Australians and Italian New Zealanders (Bereardi-Witshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014;). Kurata (2015) investigated the ideal and ought-to selves of seven HLLs of Japanese in Australia where students reported that work as well as personal goals were an important part of their ideal self, and their ability to express politeness was an important portion of their ought-to self. Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) studied the educational experiences of Italian HLLs in Australia finding that there was a
mismatch between their personal identities and the curricular assumptions that students would someday be tourists in Italy. This study will build upon this qualitative trend that uses in-depth interviews with students regarding their motivational construction in context.

**Receptive Bilingual Motivation**

There have been a number of qualitative and quantitative studies regarding HLL motivation in general (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015; Noels, 2005; Yanguas, 2010) however, just two that focus on receptive bilinguals. Xie (2014) studied Chinese HLLs in the United States. Responses from a quantitative survey revealed that the L2 Motivational Self System was a good fit for the HLL population. In contrast, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) studied both qualitative and quantitative data regarding receptive bilinguals of Spanish without using a particular model. Students reported inconsistent attitudes toward identity but showed high levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and expressed both integrative and instrumental orientations towards language learning. This study will continue to address the gap in the literature regarding receptive bilinguals using L2 Motivational Self System as a framework through the lens of qualitative data.

**Methodological Trends in HLL Motivation**

Despite the longitudinal nature of motivation, there is a limited number of studies that use cross-sectional and/or longitudinal research. More specifically, Dörnyei (2005), in his original study regarding Hungarian English Language Learner motivation, used both longitudinal and cross-sectional data, but few researchers have followed his methodological precedent. There has been one longitudinal study using the Socio-educational Model and another that conducted a large scale longitudinal study of English Language Learners in Iran (Dressler, 2008, Papi & Teimouri, 2012). Dressler (2008) conducted a study including longitudinal qualitative and
quantitative data regarding the motivation of HLLs and L2 learners of German in Canada using the Socio-educational Model (Gardner, 2010). This study included students at all levels of study enrolled in mixed classes of German. She found that over time, while both groups experienced a decrease of instrumental orientation, the HLL integrative orientation increased, while it decreased in second language learners. More recently, Papi and Teimouri (2012) conducted a large scale quantitative study regarding the L2 Motivational Self System in Iran. They found that, although the L2 self-increased throughout high school, all types of motivational substrates decreased in University students, which is logical given a large state entrance exam for University but vague job prospects related to English after entering college. There are, however, no known studies that address the cross-sectional data of receptive bilinguals specifically. This project will work to address this gap in the literature.

**Methodology**

**Participants**

The participants in this study are HLLs of Spanish who began their studies as receptive bilinguals and were enrolled in the first (100-level) Heritage Spanish course designed for that population at a large urban university in the American Southwest. All students were formally enrolled and had completed the first semester 100 level Spanish course for HLLs. Of the 25 participants in this study, 17 students identify as either Hispanic or Latinx, 5 students identify as simply Mexican, one as Puerto Rican and one as White. One student did not claim an ethnic background. In addition to these primary identities, students claimed several differing heritages including White or Caucasian, Norwegian, Chinese, Cuban and African American. There were 14 female participants and 10 male participants as well as one participant who identified as gender queer. In all, there were five cross-sections of participants.
In the following chart, Table 1.1, there is a description of the courses in the program as well as the participant group divisions for the study. The group designations were made according to two factors related to students’ persistence in their studies. First, participants were separated according to level of study, that is 100, 200 etc. or the number of courses that they had taken. Secondly, students were divided into groups according to their status in the program, that is if they were continuing in their studies or discontinuing.

Table 1.1 Student Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Course Descriptions</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Group 1: 100 level (dropped)** | Spanish 1 (100 level: language development)  
Oral skills for the HL speaker (for receptive bilinguals). Students develop their oral skills in Spanish, expand their vocabulary and strengthen their listening skills. Students are also introduced to the main linguistic varieties of Spanish and cultural patterns of the Spanish-speaking world, especially those present in the USA | N=7                    |
| **Group 2: 200 level (discontinuing)** | Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)  
Written and oral skills for the HL speaker: This course builds upon current fluency in spoken language and upon each student’s experience of communicating in Spanish to cultivate proficiency within a broad range of social contexts. Using a variety of written, visual and media resources, students learn and improve grammar skills and apply those skills to group and individual oral presentations, class discussion and written assignments  
Spanish 3 (200 level: language development)  
Elementary composition for HL speakers: This course is the first of the composition series. It introduces students to the differences between the use of Spanish in informal versus professional and academic contexts. Some of the instructional goals are to become aware of dialectal differences in Spanish, develop Spanish literacy skills, including orthography, develop both oral expression and reading comprehension, and foster an appreciation of Hispanic cultures in the USA | N=5                    |
| **Group 3 200 Level (continuing)** | Spanish 2 (200 level: language development)  
N=4                                                                                             |                        |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 4: 300 level (continuing)</th>
<th>Spanish 4 (300 level: language development)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate composition I for HL speakers: This course is the second of the composition series. It focuses on developing the students’ oral and written abilities in academic contexts through written essays, stories, poems and summaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Spanish 5 (300 level: language development)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate composition II for HL speakers: This course is the last of the composition series. It offers further development of the students’ oral and written discourses. Through an analysis of cultural events that occur in the Hispanic world, students gain practice with various written genres in Spanish. At the end of the course, students write an academic paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 5: Content level and completed a minor</td>
<td>Spanish 6 (300 level: content course)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonetics for the native speaker: This course introduces the learner to Spanish linguistics, more specifically to the area of phonetics and phonology. Students learn about the differences between oral and written speech and become familiar with dialectal differences around the Hispanic world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Adapted from Beaudrie, Ducar & Relaño Pastor, 2009

The first group were students who dropped the program after completing the first semester (or the 100-level course). The second had dropped out of the program after completing at least one 200 level course. The third group was enrolled in a 200 level course at the time of the interview and planned on continuing, the fourth was enrolled in a 300-level course, and the fifth were students who had completed their minor in Spanish.

**Procedures**

The participants were recruited by their former 100-level instructor (myself) through an email and/or through visits to their upper-level course, which was purposeful in order to have a better dialogue with students having already built rapport and trust in the classroom. Of the 25 participants, 5 had taken two previous courses with myself as the instructor. At the time of the interview, I no longer taught courses in the Heritage Program at that University, so a conflict of interest in future courses was impossible. Informed consent was given through a pre-interview survey, and all interviews were conducted and recorded over Google Hangouts during the Spring semester (February through May) of 2017. The interviews were student-guided and therefore covered a range of learning and life experiences with language and identity from childhood memories to future projections. These interviews were open ended and lasted between 21 minutes and 132 minutes depending on the depth of detail students wished to use to describe their past, current and future experiences with language and language learning.
Data Analysis

Once the interviews were completed and transcribed, they were coded according to their L2 Motivational Self System—that is, each interview was coded for the ideal and ought-to selves as described by Dörnyei (2009). Next, each corpus was placed into their group groupings (or level of study that the student reached within the program) in order to compare and contrast groups. This created a corpus by group and self, for example, the ideal self in group 3. Each of these smaller groups were analyzed individually. Common themes were identified within each group, without using previously identified themes from chapter 2 and 3 of this dissertation. The themes that were described by fewer than 40% of the participants in a given group were eliminated. Once the themes for the individual group analysis were identified, exemplary quotes were extracted for each theme, and each participant was given a pseudonym in order to use with the exemplary quotes. These remaining themes were then used to compare and contrast across groups. The following research questions guided the data analysis.

Research Questions

1) When the interview set is divided into groupings, what themes are present within each group?

2) Are there important differences or similarities in thematic trends between groups?

3) When groups are analyzed separately, do any of these themes illuminate students’ reactions, strategies and/or autonomy in the face of negative language ideologies?

Results

Ideal Self

Table 1.2 summarizes the themes present within the ideal self when the groups are analyzed individually. Within the five groups, each group demonstrated two emergent themes
that were unique to that group with the exception of the second group where three themes were present in 40% or more of the participants in that group. The theme in group 4 is in bold since it answers research question 3 and relates to a strategy of coping with negative language ideologies, or transformation of fluency idealization. This strategy related to the shift between group 3 and group 4. The following section will describe the themes for each group in further detail using exemplary quotes from participants.

Table 1.2: Ideal Self: Thematic Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Participant %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Limited and/or very specific actions</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vague and lacking in description</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regain cultural and/or familial connection</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vague and lacking in description</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lofty dreams (becoming bilingual, complete fluency, travel, majoring in Spanish)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><strong>Fluency with nebulous end point</strong></td>
<td><strong>80%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Service to others through speaking Spanish</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concrete activities</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As displayed in Table 1.2 several groups displayed unique themes both from one another and those previously identified within this entire population, namely work, family and fluency. The themes of work and fluency were both common among the entire population and found here when groups were analyzed separately. There is also a shift between groups that suggests some qualitative difference between ideal selves and persistence in the program. For example, the ideal selves of Group 1, or those who dropped the program after completing the first semester, were vague and limited in detail. In contrast, the ideal selves described in Group 5, or by individuals who completed a minor, described concrete and detailed actions of their possible selves. This
shift supports the underlying assumptions of Dörnyei’s (2009) L2 Motivational Self System, which suggests that to be motivational, ideal selves need to be vivid and concrete in nature.

Group 1

Participants who had dropped the program after taking a 100-level course reported vague images of an ideal self and, when they did discuss some specificity of this vision, the goals or skills discussed were minimal in nature. For example, Carl stated “just to try and get to be as good as it can be so that I can just communicate with my family better. I don’t have like any specific goal in mind”. Carl discusses some general desire to communicate with family and then restates that there may in fact not really be a particular goal or image that this participant envisioned for himself as an ideal speaker in the future. One participant, Bruce, also began with a very reduced ideal self that is punctuated by vague or non-specific thoughts stating “To be honest it was a requirement. I did want to learn more Spanish and practice more, things like that.” Bruce does say that he wanted to learn and practice, it is a very vague description of his desires at the beginning of the course. Of all the options, his ideal self is just a person who practices. When details of the ideal-self did emerge in this group, it was not related to lofty goals like fluency or bilingualism but instead rudimentary or smaller skills. For example, Isaac stated “…the past tense, I just wanted to be able to communicate in the past with my family. Tell them a story or tell them what I want to do. It’s something I wanted to learn.” This description is much less vague than the other two. It has context and desired interlocutors of this future self; however, it is still a very basic or even reduced linguistic desire to acquire the past tense. Likewise, another student, Tony, stated a small educational related vision “just to be successful in the class.” Husseinali (2006) discussed this within the Gardnerian frame stating that some students who have an instrumental orientation express a passive instrumental orientation, such as
satisfying a requirement or getting a good grade, while others express a more extensive instrumental orientation such as getting a job or earning a pay increase. For example, Tony, would certainly be classified as having passive instrumental orientation. This result is also in line with Dörnyei’s (2009) prediction that an ideal self must be detailed and occupy a part of a personal present reality in order to be motivating. Therefore, the ideal selves of the first group, or those who were the least successful in the program, had exactly the characteristics that Dörnyei (2009) suggested they might. The question remains if, with intervention, students could work to imagine, believe in the plausibility, and sustain a more detailed and concrete ideal self. One important change could be to purposefully create conversations about the ideal self in the classroom and to encourage acceptance of a diversity of ideal selves amongst students.

Group 2

Participants who dropped out of the program after reaching the 200 level are a crucial subsection of students since this group is when the largest dip in retention happens in most language programs, given that most colleges require a 100- or 200-level proficiency in a foreign language. Interestingly, this is the only group that did not have unique themes beyond what might be related to Gardner’s (2010) integrative and instrumental orientations. The two themes that emerged were already analyzed in the overall population in chapter 2 and 3 of this dissertation: regaining connection with one’s culture and/or family and work. For example, Monica suggested that she envisioned herself “regain[ing] that connectedness to the language and the culture that I identify with”. This is important and central in the L2 Motivation Self system but also could be characterized as a relatively vague description. Another participant, Arnold, described his vision of seeing himself as more employable as a bilingual person. He stated “So, I saw value in knowing Spanish and being fluent which would make me more
valuable as a potential hire in the future”. Both of these descriptions, despite being snapshots of their overall descriptions of their ideal selves, are more detailed and personalized than the ideal selves described in the first group. At the same time, they likewise uphold Dörnyei’s (2009) suggestions that an ideal self must be vivid in order to be motivating. While these goals are much higher than learning the past tense or simply practicing, they might still be characterized as lacking some description. In many cases, these students did not stay past the required course, and none of them remained in courses beyond the second semester of study.

### Group 3

There were two unique themes that emerged from the data in group 3 and a third that marks a shift from previous groups. This is interesting given that this is the first group where all students have moved beyond the required courses. This is also the first group to mention the vision of seeing themselves achieving a minor in Spanish. Participants also expressed visions of using Spanish in the future, and that new skills could change their lives far beyond their families or the classroom—namely, traveling and becoming bilingual. For example, Anthony, when describing who he wanted to be in the future states that he wants to be:

> … [someone who] can communicate with any person in any country... I have always wanted to go to Europe and mostly Spain so I’d love to go and see how they talk. I know they have a little accent with the “th” (/θ/) and just be more accepting of different cultures and everything. I would love to go and get to Spain and México and Latin America and actually engage with the people

This student describes in detail a dream of a future self who lives adventures and is able to communicate with the entirety of the Spanish speaking world as he relishes its linguistic and cultural diversity as well as his own abilities to experience and engage with it. Likewise, Albert described in detail his strong desire to become a bilingual speaker stating:

...
... I feel like I am either not bilingual or I am. I don’t really want to be somewhere in the middle. So, the goal is to get to one side and not stay in the gray area... getting to the point where I can say comfortably that I am a bilingual speaker...

Albert’s problematic statement expresses a desire to escape his receptive bilingual identity and to reimage his ideal self. The statement is charged with hope, description, desire and motivation. It is both a lofty vision of fluency, and it is completely rooted in identity. Albert doesn’t want to speak fluently, he wants to be a bilingual speaker. Furthermore, he wants to comfortably express his bilingual identity in order to escape the receptive bilingual space, which he describes as “gray” or “somewhere in the middle”. These two quotes certainly support Dörnyei’s (2009) theory that learners are more likely to be motivated with a vivid image of a future self, since it is the third group where students have decided to take courses beyond the required class. It is at the same time a problematic association, as these students who have just moved beyond the required courses are also those who most cling to the native speaker ideal and therefore to the native speaker normativity language ideology.

Group 4

In the fourth group, or students who are enrolled in 300 level courses and planned to continue their studies in Spanish, reported a sense of seeing their ideal selves and working toward that self despite obstacles and difficulty. Mark sums up this sentiment stating, “I need to get from point A to point B and there are all these road blocks in between but the ending destination is definitely worth the journey.” With the exception of Mark, all of the others in this group, or 80%, express a feeling of having an ideal self with a nebulous endpoint, which they still refer to as fluency in some form. For example, Maddison stated, “I don’t necessarily want to be completely, like I sound like I grew up in Mexico kind of a thing. That’s not my goal. My goal is to just be at a level where I am confident”. Her concept of bilingualism is a stark contrast from
what was just expressed in group 3. Mark, as well as the others, does not fit perfectly within the Dörnyei’s (2009) frame, but he does express the experience of hard work while remembering an image of future confidence. Mark and others may also be on the cusp of expressing a more realistic sense of self now that they have experienced the extended time that linguistic improvement might require.

Group 5

This final group of the dataset fits Dörnyei’s (2009) L2 Motivational Self System description of how motivation is created through a vivid ideal image that is in harmony with the ought-to self. In group 5, the participants who have completed a minor in Spanish, describe vivid and concrete ideal selves with two major themes, a sense of using one’s Spanish to help others and a sense of reconnection or language revitalization. For example, Alba states,

In the future I’m speaking with people in the community. I want to work in the community and because I love it here. I’m from here. I want to stay here. There are a lot of services that are needed for people who don’t speak English. I think it is a good skill for me to have. So, I do envision myself speaking to people in the community and giving them information that they otherwise wouldn’t have ’cause everything is in English.

Her commitment to Spanish is no long related solely to her improvement as a student but also to what she can do with her learning. How she will impact the world and provide services that would otherwise not be possible. Pam also describes helping the larger community as a major part of her ideal self in Spanish, but in her vision, this community is her family and her future children.

But, my main goal and my main priority was so that I could help my mom and help my grandmother because she couldn’t really communicate anymore in English... Because language is such a big part of like someone’s culture. ... I want to be able to pass that along and communicate more easily with that side of my culture and my heritage.

She describes the importance that she places on using Spanish as something beyond success in school. It is also connected to her sense of helping with her grandmother, who is losing her English
as part of her Alzheimer’s, and passing her culture on to her future children. Both of these descriptions are concrete as well as tangible, as Dörnyei (2009) would suggest they must be in order to be motivating to a given learner.

**Ought-to Self**

Table 1.3 summarizes the themes in each group when they are analyzed separately.

Differently than the ideal self, there is one group with a single theme, group 2. There is also a repeated theme that is in bold letter in this table since it related to a strategy that students report using when they encounter negative language ideologies in their ought-to selves. I have termed this strategy *self-selective internalization*. The following section will explain each of the themes from table 1.3 in detail using exemplary quotes from participants.

Table 1.3 Ought-to Self: Thematic Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Participant %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Parents Ought to have taught you</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teasing (you ought to have learned)</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wish you had learned (sadness/guilt/negative emotions)</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>Self-selective internalization</strong></td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gratefulness</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Correction</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Should take class</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Self-selective internalization</strong></td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parental Pride</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of expectation</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group 1**

Within group 1, two themes emerged from the data: a sentiment that others had “given up on” or made fun of their Spanish as well as parental linguistic insecurities or a sentiment that the participants’ parents ought to have taught them Spanish. Every participant in this group expressed a sentiment that others would make fun of their Spanish, and several framed it as
others, including parents and society members having “given-up” on their Spanish either through refusing to use Spanish with them or expressing the sentiment more explicitly. For example, Tony stated,

“Sometimes they have expectations for me but then a lot of people can speak both languages both English and Spanish so they give up on the Spanish right away and go right to English.”

This is a very common linguistic choice, which is frequently unconscious, but several students in this group expressed their experience with this pattern as disheartening, disappointing or even insulting. They likened it with their feelings when being made fun of for their Spanish. This is similar to the finding of Kurata (2015) whose participants also reported working to avoid being made fun of for their Japanese. There is a difference, however, between making fun of someone for how (s)he speaks versus simply choosing to not speak in the HL. Luis explained further that his parents had also chosen to switch back to English with him:

“With my parents, I asked them about it for your interviews in your class. They just said they never wanted to teach me even though both of them are very fluent, but they were like “Oh, I don’t want to teach you anything wrong.”

Luis expressed that his parents, although they might have been alienating their son, especially in relation to his personal linguistic insecurities, were equally insecure themselves. Both the action of not addressing him in Spanish as well as their explicit explanation of their own insecurities sent him a powerful message that he will not be able to speak Spanish with his family, and even if he did, it would be wrong. Farr and Domínguez (2005) also found that parental insecurity led to deciding to not teach their children Spanish so that that they might learn “proper” Spanish in school. The expression of this ought-to self also supports Dörnyei’s (2009) L2 Motivational Self System since in the case of Tony and Luis, their ought-to selves might be disrupting their ability to create and reasonably maintain a strong and possible ideal self.
Group 2

The themes of the second group are similar to those of the first. In group 2, participants expressed an ought-to self where others expressed negative feelings (most commonly guilt) when speaking about their Spanish. In this group, participants expressed generally negative feelings. In fact, 80% of participants expressed the negative feeling from themselves and others in relationship to what their Spanish ought-to be or why their community was disappointed with their Spanish speaking. One student (Monica) described her mother’s sentiment in this regard stating:

“I think that my mom always felt bad that she didn’t speak a lot of Spanish in the house. So, I think that she always wanted me to come out individually and learn it for myself but always ‘cause she had like these guilty feelings.”

Guilt was the most commonly expressed feeling in regard to the ought-to selves in this group. Both parents and students expressed “beating themselves up” and/or feeling guilty since they had not acquired “fully bilingual” skills as a child and youth but were instead receptive bilinguals upon entering college. This finding supports O’Roarke and Ramallo’s (2015) discussion of the common feelings of guilt for not having passed down a minority language, in their case, Galician. Likewise, one participant described others’ expressions of shock and disappointment when students acquired a different variety in the classroom than the Spanish spoken in the community. Jorge expressed the feeling that the variety he had spoken was an improvement, but still distancing when he returned home and spoke with community members, family and friends. When relaying a conversation Jorge had had with a friend from home he stated,

“He was kind of surprised at my Spanish just because of the way that I would speak Spanish but also in that it was too formal and that I needed to not be too formal, so it was kind of very funny to me just ‘cause. It was kind of funny that my Spanish had gone from like sub-par to a little too formal and needs to become a little more relaxed.”
Jorge kindly expressed his friend’s surprise and dismissal of his Spanish, which had improved after taking a 200-level course. He was not upset by this correction and rejection of his Spanish but instead interpreted it as somewhat paradoxical and humorous. While telling the story, he used self-deprecating humor about the fact that, even after learning what was “correct”, he still wasn’t able to speak in a way that allowed for his complete and/or unquestioned acceptance among family or community members. Even after having worked hard to learn more Spanish, now, it was almost “too good”. This result is similar to the finding of Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) and Wilson and Ibarra (2015), whose HLL participants suggested that the disconnect between the dialect in the classroom and the dialect in their community made them feel like outsiders in the classroom. Therefore, Wilson and Ibarra (2015) suggested that we should not assume that students are necessarily coming to the classroom to learn the standard. This group of findings is similar to the results of the present study, and they underscore the importance of keeping students’ own specific goals for language learning as important input for learning objectives in the HLL classroom. Again, in a very similar pattern, this group supports Dörnyei’s (2009) theory that the ought-to self and ideal self must be in harmony with one another, and if the ought-to self does not support a healthy ideal self, the system together does not create motivated students. The relationship among receptive bilinguals, who do not produce the home dialect, and standard language, therefore, is potentially different than other HLLs. As found by Wilson and Ibarra (2015), these students may be more interested in non-standard forms that they never learned. This finding lends itself to suggest that programs meet the dialect preferences of students and teach the non-standard or home dialects, especially in the case of these emergent bilinguals, who never learned to produce these forms in the community (Ducar, 2008).
Group 3

The emergent themes in group 3 represents a shift from the previous two groups. The two emergent themes in group 3 are *self-selective internalization* and parents forcing students to take courses, which is later internalized as gratefulness. For example, Jason describes his family and friends’ reactions to his Spanish and immediately expresses his reaction to that ought-to self. He states:

*Sometimes I feel that there is kind of this expectation that of course your Spanish needs to be perfect. I didn’t notice that as much with my family. I know certain parts, they are very corrective and they are almost punitive with your Spanish.... So, my desires are only influenced by [me] it’s only personal. I don’t really have any expectation from society... or my family. It’s all expectations that I have placed on myself...Language is what you make out of it. I am the sole proprietor in how I want it to go.*

Jason has decided that he will not be internalizing the ought-to self that is presented or expressed to him by society or family members who he describes as punitive toward his Spanish. He has decided to build a personal ideal self and disregard the ought-to self since it is clearly not working for him. He will simply set it aside and own his future language learning and goals. This result coordinates with other researchers who suggest that self-determination and autonomy are important aspects to student motivation (Noels, 2005; Ushioda, 2011).

Another theme expressed by participants in the third group was their experience being forced to take Spanish classes and then, eventually appreciating this choice and deciding to voluntarily take courses later in life. Anthony, for example, describes his experience with his mom’s wishes for his Spanish coupled with her decision to take action on her belief that he should learn Spanish.

*At first my mom made me take a Spanish course in middle school..., she is afraid that I will overall quit. So, that’s why she put me and my brother and sister in Spanish... she says that she doesn’t want the language to die during my generation. Just to keep it alive. It’s like a tradition in the family that’s why. I totally accept that. I would like to teach my kids as well in the future.*
Anthony’s mother is clearly describing her fear that he will quit studying and that the language will be lost. This student, however, does not internalize a sense of fear; instead he internalizes gratitude for her action-oriented reaction to her fear. She placed him, despite his protests at the time, in Spanish courses, and he now has an ought-to self that he should learn Spanish and pass it on to his children as a social norm or tradition within his family, which is important to him. This is in stark contrast to communicating feelings of guilt expressed in group 2. It, likewise, supports Dörnyei’s (2009) theory that if the two possible selves are not in harmony, then they will not create motivation. The trend of self-selective internalization in order to create harmony, even if this means a near destruction of the ought-to self, is an interesting possible trend in the motivational construction of receptive bilinguals.

Group 4

Overall there are three intertwining themes in this group: corrections from others, a sentiment that one ought-to take classes and finally a practice of self-selective internalization. There were very similar themes between group 4 (students enrolled in 300 level and continuing) and the group 3 (participants enrolled in 200 level and continuing). Curiously, there is also a single shared theme between group 2 (students who dropped after the 200 level) and group 4: parents’ wishes that they had taught their children Spanish. However, the frame of this theme is distinct in the two groups. In group 4, parents also express feeling guilt regarding their child’s status as a receptive bilingual upon entering the program; however, this guilt leads to pressure to take classes. For example, Mark states:

“I kind of hated on myself. I was just ‘Oh my goodness, why didn’t I just continue this on through-out the years. It would have been so much easier’... So, I kind of beat myself up over that but after a while it was easier to just ‘cause everything started clicking a little bit faster.. It is also kind of my mom but she is mostly kind of beating herself up over it... She is a little bit disappointed that I didn’t take more of an interest in developing the speaking and cultural learning and all that.. My family definitely was a big part in it. Especially my mom because, like
I said earlier. She would occasionally beat herself up like ‘Why didn’t I teach my kid Spanish earlier in life so he could not be… not necessarily struggling with it right now but it would just be an easier flow and an easier process.” So, her just having my back. Being like ‘hey if you need help, you can talk to me”.

Although Mark expresses his feelings both of guilt and internalized critique for not having learned to produce language more before college, he doesn’t simply express these feelings. He couches them as motivating, stating that this feeling of guilt is also related to his mother’s support of his learning. In other words, in stark contrast to the feelings expressed in group 1, this student is confident that his mother may regret her own and her sons’ actions, but she has not given up on him; in fact, she is more engaged in his process of learning and more willing to help him along the way because of her guilt.

Likewise, the self-selective internalization expressed in this group is slightly different from how it was expressed in group 3. Laura, for example, expresses some of the differing voices in her ought-to self as created by her mother and grandmother, as well as her reaction to them. She states:

“Well with my abuela she wants me to speak Spanish more because whenever I talk to her she says that I am losing my Spanish. She is pretty strict about wanting us to speak Spanish with her. My mom is a little loose because whenever we don’t have English speakers in the house like my stepdad or our friends or family, she wants me to speak in Spanish with her but she is not very like “you need to actually say this in order to pronounce this correctly. Like she is not very strict about it unlike my Abuela. She is strict about how I am supposed to pronounce something how I am supposed to say something. Which is helpful but also irritating.”

For this participant, the mother and grandmother express differing reactions to wanting to speak in Spanish with this participant. The grandmother is much stricter. Laura does not internalize this strictness or corrective nature of her grandmother as criticism or allow it to worsen her linguistic insecurities. Instead, she simply states that it is annoying but also helpful to hear her grandmother’s corrections. Her reaction that her grandmother’s words are annoying allows her to ignore it, at least enough to keep moving forward and not be paralyzed by the criticism. This
finding is opposite to what Goble (2016) found, where individuals were overcome by the ideologies instead of taking an active role. In addition, the themes present in this group both support the theory of the L2 Motivation Self System since it is dynamic and multifaceted action or process centered theory. There are contradictory voices in these ought-to selves, and participants are negotiating a harmonious possible self as they are in dialogue with other members of their social networks and families.

**Group 5**

This is the smallest group (only 4 members) within this study and also has the most contradictory themes. The emergent themes for group 5 are a sense of pride and some lack of expectation or opinions shared by others. For example, Cathrin recounted:

“I can remember my mom when I was in your class and I would be like, “Mom, Spanish only!” I think it was in that first year when she saw me improve very rapidly. I remember she started crying and said “If your grandma was here. She would have loved to have heard you speak Spanish with the amount of fluency that you do”. That was a lot of motivation. It felt really amazing to hear that kind of praise. My family didn’t have any expectation, but it was really reassuring that my grandmother would have loved that.”

Cathrin, along with others, stated that she does not experience an expectation from family members or society. But she does express a feeling of praise for having worked extremely hard at improving her Spanish and receives praise from her mother and even vicariously her deceased grandmother for her improvement. Indeed, praise is likely an understatement when describing the experience of making one’s mother cry with pride and happiness in her loving memory of her own mother. Cathrin received a powerful message of motivation through the absence of direct expectations in her ought-to self. Likewise, Samantha suggested that she never felt pressure or expectations from family members, just support and happiness that she was learning. She stated:

“I never got a sense from my Dad that my Spanish needed to be a certain way...But, no there has never been a real push that I can say that people wanted my Spanish to sound a certain way. They are just happy that I have learned the language.”
This reaction is in stark contrast to those described by Jorge in group 2. Cathrin’s family wanted to support her learning, and when she did learn they were happy that she had. This combination of pride and lack of pressure or particular expectations from family members as well as a willingness to be happy and supportive when students learn is definitely the most different from the beginning level descriptions. The results of the fifth group support and contradict Dörnyei’s (2009) theory since there is an amount of a plausible ideal self, although it could be argued that this is achieved through a near absence of the ought-to self.

Discussion

Chapter 2 and 3 in this study identified the common road blocks in receptive bilingual and emergent bilingual motivation and success in terms of reaching upper divisions courses. This chapter has served to identify two potential strategies for overcoming the common road block, language ideologies. Within the L2 Motivational Self System frame, these two strategies, transformation of fluency idealizations and self-selective internalization, allow for an increased harmony between the ought-to and ideal selves as well as the maintenance of a healthy and motivational ideal. It is clear that students in the current study conceptualize fluency differently in upper-level courses versus those students who have just decided to stay past the required courses. In the upper-division courses, students transform the societal ideology where fluency, as well as native speaker status, is a rigid category as they alter and contest societal assumptions. They transform their fluency dreams into a continuous process with a nebulous end-point by practicing what I call transforming fluency idealization. Likewise, it is clear that students in the intermediate levels decided to avert criticism and rejections from community as well as family members by practicing self-selective internalization. In other words, instead of accepting all
external expectations, they created a boundary whereby only some external expectations were internalized and incorporated into their own hopes and dreams.

Previous research has both acknowledged the ubiquitous nature of negative language ideologies toward HLLs generally as well as their particular impact on receptive bilinguals and emergent bilinguals (Goble, 2016). Negative language ideologies have been well documented in society at large, within Spanish programs, the minds of teachers, and even written into textbooks (Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017; Ortega, 1999; Valdés et al., 2008;). The finding of this study supports the finding that language ideologies are common trends within the everyday experience of HLLs and receptive bilinguals in particular. More specifically, Davies (2003) recognizes the unfortunate and painful idealization of a mythical native speaker. Likewise, McCarthy (2006) notes that despite the common use of the word fluency, even among linguists, it is an understudied and ill-defined term. Finally, Goble (2016) acknowledged that the idealization of native speakers contributed to third generation Latinos (many of whom were receptive bilinguals) discontinuing their studies. The findings of this study, while acknowledging the difficulty in defining fluency and its potentially negative impact on receptive and emergent bilinguals, tell a different story of student autonomy.

The examples of transforming fluency idealization and self-selective internalization support a process approach to motivation and the importance of understanding L2 Motivational Self System in context. The complexity of varying themes, which shift across groups, supports the assertion that motivational themes, ideal selves and identity in emergent bilinguals is multiple and dynamic. Likewise, the power of language ideologies to permeate individual descriptions of self across many groups as well as differing strategies to counteract their impact suggest that the factors that facilitate or diminish motivation as well as success in language learning are far
beyond an individual mindset as originally suggested by Gardner and Lambert (1959). Nor, would it be appropriate to assume Goble’s (2016) vision of contextual influence on individuals where language ideologies have a unidirectional power over students. As Dörnyei (2009) suggests, these data support a process of negotiation between contextual and individual factors where learners are in dialogue and can learn to cope with negative language ideologies. In particular, self-selective internalization and transformational fluency idealization support the important role of learner autonomy and the power of selecting and transforming personal narratives, dreams and aspirations in order to successfully negotiate motivation (Ushioda, 2011).

**Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications**

The results of this study suggest that teachers should be aware that students are necessarily engaged with language ideologies in society, at home, and in the classroom as they work to cope with sometimes conflicting ideologies. Teachers should be a supportive force in the classroom to foster and encourage varying coping strategies. In order to support these strategies, it is important for instructors to be trained to unpack and transform their own language ideologies both before and during their teaching experience. Teacher training should likewise include awareness of both the particular positionality of receptive bilinguals as well as common strategies that are productive for receptive and emergent bilinguals such as the transformation of the fluency idealization and the self-selective internalization while not rigidly assuming that they strategies are universal. In this context then, teachers may, for example, work toward activities where they and their students speak opening about which language ideologies can, or are, detrimental to the plausibility of their dreams as they build self-selective internalization together.

A specific in-class discussion, or projects leading to classroom dialogue, should be incorporated into the classrooms through a critical pedagogical lens. Martínez (2003) suggests
that in order to debunk harmful negative language ideologies in the classroom, it is important to first discuss the hierarchy between dialects or identities and then purposefully describe why the linguistics hierarchy is unfounded. The current research suggests that students should not only speak about dialect difference but also about beginning the learning process at different places. For example, students could learn about a particular myth, such as the ethnicity gatekeeping ideology or the native speaker normativity ideology and find example of this is the media and then analyze why it is, in fact, unfounded. Then, as a class, students could brainstorm how they might react to this in the real world in order to protect themselves from falling into this trap and allowing it to demotivate them. In later courses, students could learn about these strategies and brainstorm how they practice these or other strategies. The process of, for example, self-selective internalization may also be utilized among the rest of the HLL populations but, this would be a great opportunity for students to learn about one another since, the experience of receptive bilinguals and the types of motivation threats that they experience are unique. This activity might be most productive if it is first differentiated and then requires students to come together to share similarities and differences within their personal experiences. These discussions and observations should include community experiences which are integrated into the curriculum as place-based pedagogy. My colleagues and I have created a curriculum designed for receptive bilinguals which includes beginning recontact activities with the community (McEvoy, Holmes & Lemus, forthcoming).

It is essential, therefore, that programs train their instructors at all levels about the receptive bilingual experience, or more broadly the entire bilingual range. It might be more comfortable and less threatening, in fact, to have students begin their exploration of these constructs with either abstract examples or examples from a language that they did not grow up
speaking. This might help them see the construct as a concept before they are forced to see it within their own HLL and personal contexts. For example, there might be a discussion of the arbitrary nature of high and low German or Canadian French before a discussion of “haiga,” since especially those educated in Spanish have a lifetime of standardization practice and ideological training. Finally, the specific experiences of those who begin at a receptive bilingual level should be included in instructor training.

Once again, if programs do not understand the unique needs and motivational experiences of receptive and emergent bilinguals, they may not serve or address the needs of these students who face unique challenges, societal opinions and stereotypes. These create obstacles for them as they work to create and sustain motivation for more learning at higher levels of achievement. At the same time, if we can understand and encourage the patterns of imagining and the personal narratives that successful students have used, it can help us retain students, meet their needs more specifically, and thus serve a group of individuals who so frequently get lost between two identities and two program tracks.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION
Research Questions and Results

This study has worked to create new knowledge regarding receptive and emergent bilingual motivational experiences among heritage language learners (HLLs) of Spanish in the United States. In particular, the goals of the study were to understand what students envisioned when imagining their future successful selves, or their ideal and ought-to selves, as defined by the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). Furthermore, it sought to understand how common themes in the content of these imaginings correlated, shifted or compared between groups of individuals who had reached differing levels of study within a university Spanish Heritage program, across 5 distinct groups. Specifically, the project description and results have been divided into three major articles that investigated: 1) the themes among HLL ought-to and ideal selves in the entire research sample of receptive bilinguals, 2) the trends in those identified themes across groups determined by length of time spent in formal study of Spanish as a heritage language in post-secondary contexts, and 3) the unique themes that emerged in each group when studied individually. The research questions and results of these three articles will be reviewed separately.

Chapter 2: Receptive Bilingual Motivational Self-Systems: Imagining success and encountering ethnicity gatekeeping and native speaker normativity

This chapter focused on the motivational selves of Spanish students who began their studies as receptive bilinguals. It centered around two research questions. First, it sought to examine whether receptive bilinguals reported an ideal and an ought-to self. Secondly, it aimed to identify common themes in the ideal and ought-to selves of this population of HLLs in the hopes of better supporting them as learners.
This initial study found that the 25 participants reported both ideal and ought-to selves. This portion of the larger project likewise identified several themes within the ideal and ought-to selves of this population. Participants reported images of themselves in the future (their ideal self) as being able to communicate with family members, using Spanish at work, speaking Spanish and becoming fluent. Other scholars likewise found that receptive bilinguals were personally and professionally motivated to revitalize Spanish (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). These descriptions are also consistent with the trend in the larger HLL population of being both professionally and personally motivated or more specifically expressing instrumental and integrative orientations (Carreira & Kagan 2011; Dressler, 2008; Ducar, 2012; Husseinali, 2006; Oh & Nash, 2014). In particular, the idealization of fluency is similar to desires expressed by participants in Kurata’s (2015) study of Japanese learners in Australia who reported envisioning native-like pronunciations in their ideal selves.

Participants in the present study also expressed an ought-to self that included an expectation that they should be fluent, should identify in accordance with their race or linguistic production, should know Spanish, and should learn Spanish. In this study, there was a distinction between two themes: on the one hand, participants were expected to learn the language, and on the other hand, there was an opposing theme of others expecting participants to simply know the language in the future (or sometimes now) without any obvious path toward learning. These categories were not perfectly dichotomous, and in fact 20 percent of individuals reported having internalized both messages. This is similar to previous finding that one individual may have both integrative and instrumental orientation (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012). It likewise supports a process approach to motivation whereby individuals are easily placed into categories but may experience a myriad of influences simultaneously (Dörnyei, 2009) Similarly, the trends
in these themes overlap with societal language ideologies which are well documented in the United States society (Hill, 2001; Ortega, 1999; Pomerantz, 2002; Zentella, 1997).

Specifically, there were two overarching language ideologies that emerged from the analysis of the ought-to selves: *ethnicity gatekeeping* and the *native speaker normativity*. Ethnicity gatekeeping is when an individual is denied claim to an ethnicity or membership in a particular ethnic group based on her linguistic abilities or production (for a more detailed explanation see McEvoy, 2017). This denial functions as gatekeeping that originates with others, often family members. *Native speaker normativity* is the assumption that individuals who are from a Heritage community should learn the Heritage Language (HL) at a young age and should produce it fluently or follow the same pattern expected of a native speaker (McEvoy, forthcoming). Again, this assumption often originates in comments from others or from the broader society.

Similar concepts that conflate ethnicity and language production have been identified in the literature as language ideologies and tensions among group members’ creation and negotiations of ethnic authenticity (Leeman, 2012; Shenk, 2007; Urciouli, 2008). The issue of native speaker normativity, where monolinguals and native speakers are privileged, has also been established in the literature as well (Cameron, 1995; Davies, 2003; Gee, 2008; Kramsch, 1997; Ortega, 1999; Train, 2007; Valdés et al. 2003). There is some evidence that the presence of these native speaker norms and other problematic ideologies are particularly difficult road blocks for lower level HLLs (Goble, 2016). The results of this study suggest, however, that participants—given that many of them in this sample did go on to upper division course or achieve a minor in Spanish—may contend with negative language ideologies in their environment but are still able to create motivation and success.
Chapter 3: Why should I learn if you think I should already know Spanish? A Cross-Sectional Analysis of Receptive Bilingual Motivational Selves

This chapter was interested in furthering our knowledge of the dynamic and shifting nature of motivation in receptive bilinguals of Spanish and the relationship between the ideal and ought-to selves. Data were collected from 5 groups of participants, with the groups defined by how many courses their members completed in the program before leaving or finishing their formal study of the HL. The first group of students, dropped the program after completing the first 100 level course. The second group consisted of students who had discontinued their studies after completing at least one course at the 200 level. The third group consists of individuals who were currently enrolled in a 200-level course and continuing. The fourth were students who were enrolled in the 300 level and continuing. Finally, the fifth group were individuals who had completed a minor. Particularly, it sought to understand how the previously identified themes varied across groups and between the ideal and ought-to selves. In other words, it posed questions about what trends exist, if any, among groups in the ideal self in terms of family, work and fluency. It also looked to understand what trends exist, if any, among groups within the ought-to selves in terms of identity, fluency, learning and knowing. Finally, it sought to examine any correspondence among themes and/or relationships of concepts between the ought-to and ideal selves.

This portion of the project found that participants who reported work as a theme within their ideal selves were more likely to be students in upper division classes, suggesting that envisioning one’s self at work might be a topic that motivates this population. This finding confirms those from previous studies which suggest that an instrumental orientation is more salient for HLLs of Spanish in general and receptive bilinguals in particular (Carreira & Kagan,
2011; Vergara Wilson & Martinez, 2011). It is dissimilar, however, to Dressler’s (2008) study of HLLs at many places on the bilingual spectrum, which suggested that both second language (L2) learners’ and HLLs’ instrumental orientation decreased over time, while only HLLs increased in their integrative orientation. Likewise, the theme of fluency in the ideal self also corresponded to higher academic achievement. The ideal of fluency is ill-defined and problematic because it recreates hierarchies between native and non-native speakers, where a native speaker may be so narrowly defined as a speaker of a prestige dialect from a monolingual context (Davies, 2003; Kramsch, 1997; McCarthy, 2006; Villa, 2002). This false idealization of the native speaker creates an impossible standard since, as Kramsch (1997) suggested, students may become competent speakers but never become native speakers. The association in the current data between idealizing fluency with being in a higher level of study, however problematic, was similar to the participants in Kurata’s (2015) study who reported an ideal self where they envisioned themselves as having native-like pronunciation. It is the inverse, however, of Goble’s (2016) findings related to third generation Latinos, many of whom were receptive bilinguals. Participants in Goble’s (2016) study reported the expectation and impossible ideal of native speakers and fluency as a reason to discontinue their studies.

There was an inverse relationship between students whose ought-to selves exhibited an expectation that they should already know Spanish versus should learn Spanish. As might be expected, the theme of learning Spanish correlated with higher academic achievement and retention, whereas the theme of others expecting that a student ought to already know Spanish was correlated with students in lower levels of academic achievement. This is similar to findings regarding a growth mindset, where students who believe that intelligence can be changed or learned are more successful than those who believe in intelligence as an innate characteristic.
This also supports the finding in Goble’s (2016) research that suggests that negative ideologies suppress third generation Latinos’ likelihood to continue in their studies.

Similarly, the theme of fluency appeared to have a trend towards an inverse relationship between the ideal and ought-to selves. Particularly, those participants who had reached a higher level of study were more likely to report a higher level of fluency within their ideal self and a lower level of fluency (in fact none of those who earned a minor) within the ought-to self. Inversely, those who had reached a lower level of achievement were more likely to report a higher level of fluency with their ought-to self and a lower level of fluency within their ideal self. These findings are similar to work done on learning autonomy and language learner motivation (Ushioda, 2011). Individuals who believe they have the power to envision their own future, or those who are free to envision their own fluency, do better than those being forced to conform to a fluency ideal constructed or imagined by others. It also contradicts, or perhaps adds a layer of nuance, to the conclusions of both Goble (2015) and others concerning the role of language ideologies since they suggest that the role of language ideologies is unidirectional, or that learning will inevitably discontinue studies due to language ideologies (Davies, 2003; Kramsch, 1997; McCarthy, 2006; Ortega, 1999). Conversely, this study suggests that the pull of ideologies can move in opposing directions such as the thematic trend of envisioning oneself as fluent in the future. Finally, this finding also coordinates with some L2 research that suggests the ideal self can pull one towards motivation, while the ought-to self may hinder it (Ivaska, 2017; Peng, 2015).
Chapter 4: Should I believe this if it hurts me? Receptive Bilinguals coping with negative language ideologies through Transformation of Fluency Idealizations and Self-selective Internalization

This chapter sought to understand the more precise content of the motivational experiences of each group through the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). In order to understand the dynamic and particular nature of motivation, this portion of the project examined each group separately and conducted a new thematic analysis to more fully understand the differences between groups. Specifically, the goal was to identify themes for each group in terms of the ideal and ought-to self that each participant reported. An additional goal was to understand how these themes changed or compared among groups.

Although professors may help students shift their attitude and gain a higher level of sociolinguistic awareness that might debunk language ideologies, they cannot eliminate these negative ideologies within society or the ought-to selves of students. The results of this study answered some lingering questions from Chapter 3 and provided potential strategies for coping with negative language ideologies. First, one lingering question concerned the confusing trajectory of fluency as a theme in the ideal self. The thematic analysis of individual groups revealed that the theme of fluency shifts over time in its definition between a rigid native speaker ideal to a more nebulous and vague future possibility without a definite end state. Negative language ideologies, such as the expectation that one must be fluent at a young age, or that in order for learning to be legitimate, it must result in native-like competence, have been well documented in the literature (Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017; Ortega, 1999; Valdés et. al., 2008;). Specifically, other scholars have found that the myth of the native speaker as well as the ambiguous but ubiquitous idealization of fluency are problematic (Davies, 2003; McCarthy,
Transformation of fluency idealization, as I term it, or to redefine fluency as less rigid and therefore more plausible, suggests a possible coping strategy for HLLs when faced with the language ideology that idealizes this impossible standard.

Secondly, this research revealed that students who are in the midst of completing their minor (or those in 200 and 300 level courses) were more likely to practice self-selective internalization—pushing aside negative language ideologies promoted by the expectations of others. In fact, students who had received a minor in Spanish did not report negative language ideologies. Given the well-established presence of negative language ideologies in society, it is possible that students who had earned a minor had begun to ignore the portion of their ought-to selves that was painful or counterproductive to the maintenance of a strong ideal self. Given the omnipresence of negative language ideologies in society, these results suggest that the practice of self-selective internalization may be helpful in the intermediate stages of language learning. The process of self-selective internalization, or putting aside negative language ideologies, provides another example or option of how students are working to overcome the obstacles presented by negative societal language ideologies. Dörnyei (2009) suggests that in order for the ideal and ought-to selves to be motivational there needs to be harmony among them as well as a plausible ideal self. The process of self-selective internalization could be an example of a strategy used to (re)create or construct harmony among the selves or increase the perception that the ideal self is plausible.

Results Summary

There is a plethora of literature that catalogues and comments on the national and societal language ideologies in the United States regarding United States Spanish and Heritage varieties as seen as competition to English (González & Melis, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002; Pomerantz, 2002;
Schmidt, 2002; Wiley 2000, Zentella, 1997, to cite a few). Likewise, many scholars have analyzed and criticized the idealization of the native speaker, both in the United States and other linguistic and national contexts (Kramsch, 1997; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Piller, 2002; Valdés, 2003). Studies have additionally examined these language ideologies precisely in the heritage language learning context (Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017; Valdés, 2003; Villa, 2002).

The L2 Motivational Self System framework is flexible enough that, through this lens, the continued salience of language ideologies for HLLs can be connected not only to their language learning experience but also to their construction of, or struggle to build, motivation within a formal language learning program (Dörnyei, 2009).

Two important language ideologies emerged through the analysis of the ideal and ought-to selves in Chapter 2—namely, ethnicity gatekeeping and native speaker normativity. First, in Chapter 2 students reported that they felt that their claims of a Latinx identity were being denied to them by others due to their language abilities (Leeman, 2012; McEvoy, 2017; Shenk, 2007; Urciouli, 2008;). Urciouli (2008) suggests that language and ethnicity naturally laminate onto one another. Shenk (2007) found that Mexican immigrant youth in the United States used their knowledge of Spanish to create and maintain social identities grounded in ethnic authenticity.

More particularly to the case of this study, Carreira (2004) expressed concerns over placing receptive bilingual in L2 track since it disarticulates ethnicity and language. As it was described in this study, this language ideology, language capacity, or more importantly others’ evaluation of one’s linguistic competence, is the gatekeeper to claiming a particular ethnicity. Therefore, the social identity built through Spanish and even the placement of HLLs in L2 programs uses language as a marker of ethnicity and belonging. In this case, of course, it is the participants’
abilities in Spanish that are used as a litmus test to claiming ethnic identity and belonging according to how they create and construct their ideal and ought-to selves.

Secondly, students reported that others thought they should have learned the language at a young age (I referred to this as the knowing expectation) and also thought they should speak the language like a native speaker (i.e. fluently). I have referred to the co-presence of these two themes as native speaker normativity. Similar to ethnicity gatekeeping, the native speaker normativity ideology has been acknowledged or eluded to with similar terms in the literature, such as the valuing of standard Spanish over other varieties of the language (Cameron, 1995; Train, 2007; Valdés, 2003; Villa, 2002). Likewise, other scholars have criticized the fallacy of native speaker privileges, the rigidity of its definition and the curious assumption that all legitimate acquisition mirrors monolingualism (Canagarajah, 2007; Kramsch, 1997; Ortega, 1999). In the data in this project, participants reported feeling that others expected them to have learned Spanish at as young an age as native speakers do. Likewise, they reported that others expected that they should produce language like a (monolingual) native speaker (or be fluent). Certainly, these ideologies could be seen as societal realities that are both unfortunate and untrue. The current project places them within the context of learner’s motivation, and thus their importance for this context is illuminated. If a person may not be accepted in their cultural or even familial contexts because they are not using language in a way identical to a hypothetical/imagined monolingual native speaker, and if that level of fluency, accuracy, and appropriateness must be acquired at a young age to gain native-like competence, then acceptance as well as the potential for language learning are framed as impossible.

By means of the juxtaposition of the results within the fourth chapter to the reality of negative and demotivating language ideologies identified in the first and third chapters, a
strategy emerged. Seeing these groups of students across groups helped to illuminate some themes that were not prevalent among the entire population, and one of these was the strategy of self-selected internalization. The hazy definition of internalization in the ought-to self, which has been used to criticize the L2 Motivational Self System, is actually an advantage in this case. Boyatzis and Akrivou (2006) suggest that the ought-to self is only important in so far as it is internalized into an ideal self. However, the difficulty of distinguishing between which features are sufficiently internalized to be considered an ought-to or ideal self is less relevant than understanding an individual’s reaction to their entire internal and external contexts. That is, participants discussed their own decisions and struggles to sufficiently cast aside the opinions and ideologies that they had observed from others and society. There were, however, some individuals who did work to selectively internalize those external beliefs and opinions that served their own ability to construct motivation. The trend between groups for this strategy was telling. The two groups who expressed the active practice of selective internalization were participants in groups 3 and 4 (or students in the intermediate levels). That said, if selective internalization might be a helpful motivational strategy, then the lack of this practice in group 5 is illogical. It is possible that these participants have not mentioned the process of selective internalization because it is now automatized for them and, therefore, they no longer consciously practice it. This possibility will require further investigation.

The last strategy that was identified among participants in groups 3 and 4, self-selective internalization, as well as the theme “ought-to learn” gives some credence to the theme within a process approach to motivation and motivational theory reflected in the L2 Motivational Self System. It also emphasizes the importance of student autonomy (Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2011). Noels (2005), in fact, built a continuum of self-determination into her motivational
theory, which is similar to the results of self-selective internalization. Ushioda (2011) suggests that, instead of motivating our abstract perspective of what or who students should be, as teachers, we should motivate the person. That is, the trajectory of an individual is just that, individual, and we should allow and encourage that person to find his or her own autonomy to create motivation. The theme of the self-selective internalization is an example of the participants in this study finding and using a common strategy to create motivation despite the presence of negative language ideologies within their communities (i.e. their ought-to selves). When students exercise their own autonomy, they can overcome the common setbacks that HLLs, and in particular receptive bilinguals, face when they engage in language learning. That is, the previous research on self-determination and autonomy within motivational studies, as well as the perspective of motivation as process, allow us to see that both common themes and content are useful to discover, but we should not assume that they are necessarily universal (Noels, 2005; Ushioda, 2011; Dörnyei, 2009).

**Limitations**

Although I took care to assure that the experimental design was sound and the results valid, this study, as all studies, does have some limitations. First and foremost, the sample size is small. A sample size of 25 participants cannot be generalized to the entire population of receptive bilinguals, or even the entire population of receptive Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States. Therefore, the study, although valid, is limited in scope.

The definition of receptive bilinguals, both for theoretical and pedagogical purposes, is somewhat contested (Beaudrie, 2009; Carreira, 2004; Goble, 2016). The current study has included participants who are not from Latino families but who, through bilingual education, neighborhood connections, adoption or other naturalistic exposure at a young age, became
receptive bilinguals (Beaudries & Ducar, 2005). This definition, which is used in the program where these participants studied, is not shared by all researchers or practitioners and may therefore impact the generalizability of the results presented in this study (Carreira, 2004; Goble, 2016). More research is needed to create and promote an accepted model or definition of receptive bilinguals in order to create a body of research which is more readily comparable and to promote the understanding and acceptance of receptive bilingual individuals.

Finally, all of the participants in the current study were former students of mine. This was an intentional choice since rapport had already been established with these students. The rapport made it possible to have more productive and honest conversations during the interview process. The previous contacts between the students and the myself as their instructor also enabled ease of recruitment. No risk of harm to the participants, for example in terms of course grades or the like, was possible, since I no longer worked for the University at the time of the study. That said, this ease of recruitment made the sample size of the study smaller and confined possible participants to the population of students previously enrolled in courses taught by the myself as the investigator. Despite the fact that courses were randomly assigned, and that the instructor had been teaching the courses for three years—creating a larger potential sample size, over 200 students—it could be argued that the sample was constrained by these circumstances.

The current study utilized the L2 Motivational Self System, and in particular the ideal and ought-to selves, to analyze data. As Dörnyei (2009) suggested, the L2 Motivational Self System is not meant to replace other frames. Although this framework was the best fit for the current study, frameworks that have previously been designed for the L2 population have limitations when applied to new groups. This limits the currents studies’ results, while also making the results more readily comparable to other studies using the same frame.
Understandably, the first two studies related to receptive bilingual motivation did not use particular frames (Vergara Wilson and Martínez, 2011; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). Xie (2014) has compared the ideal self with the concept of motivation among receptive bilinguals and Berardi-Wiltshire (2012) included an important aspect, the learning environment. More research is needed to better understand this population as it relates to motivational frames through both careful application of previous frames and creations of frames particular to this population.

**Directions for Future Research**

The current study suggests that the dynamism of motivational development is in some ways universal, but the content or orientations to that developmental learning are not. After re-conceptualizing Gardner’s (2010) integrative orientation to motivation for learning in a globalized society, the idea of more flexible L2 Motivational Self System was developed (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). The motivational selves of this frame have proven to be a useful lens for an understudied population such as receptive bilinguals. That said, there were a number of new trends in the data for this study that have implications concerning the constructs of the ideal and ought-to selves. Each of these emergent themes should be potential directions for future research. More specifically, in Chapter 3, participants frequently suggested that they were expected to already know Spanish and/or expected to learn Spanish. More research is needed to see if this emergent theme is unique to this population, if it is a common self-guide that could be applied to pedagogical practice, or if it should be added to theoretical understandings of motivation more generally. More specifically, there were three themes present in the ideal and ought-to selves that were unique. The role of fluency, as much as it is an expression of negative language ideologies and antiquated vision of categorizing competence, is still a present theme as expressed by the study’s participants. More research is needed, especially longitudinal research,
which is able to distinguish whether the shift between a rigid view of fluency to an ambiguous or more accurate vision of fluency, changes within individuals. If so, investigations about whether that change is motivational or not, depending on differing levels of HLL instruction, could be beneficial. Likewise, an inverse relationship emerged in the data between “ought-to know” and “ought-to learn,” where the theme “ought-to know” decreased with level of study and “ought-to learn” increased with level of study. Again, more research is needed to understand whether this trend is common and occurs across groups, or whether it also occurs more clearly in individual learners.

The current study found a connection between HLL motivation and emergent themes of language ideologies. Given that previous research has documented the strong presence of language ideologies in the United States society toward HLLs, it is no surprise that they impact learning and motivational experience (González & Melis, 2001; Schmidt, 2002; Wiley 2000, Zentella, 1997; Pomerantz, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002). There has also been some research regarding language ideologies and the learning context for HLLs (Ducar, 2009; McEvoy, 2017; Valdés, 2003; Villa, 2002;). Given that students’ motivation and learning outcomes might be impacted by these ideologies, this warrants further research. More specifically to the current study, the presence of language ideologies is clearly supported by the data, but their precise impact on students, and in particular the construction of, or the struggle to construct, motivation, requires more research. It is still unclear if, as suggested by Goble (2016), language ideologies are causing students to leave Heritage programs or if, as suggested in the current research, students also practicing strategies that allow them to set aside negative ideologies and negative ought-to selves that express or reiterate these societal ideologies, in order to continue in their studies.
Previous studies have taken a process approach to motivation in that it is complex, multidimensional, socially mediated and dynamic (Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2011). The current study, by taking a process approach to motivation, has suggested that motivation is multifaceted. The data in this study present evidence that supports the notion that a single individual within a single ideal or ought-to self may have contradictions or internally competing voices. For example, some participants reported both the expectation from others that they already know Spanish as well as the expectation that they should learn Spanish, which were, according to trends in the overall data, opposing forces. Likewise, selected and emergent themes in the data show motivational content shifts among individuals and across cross-sectional groups. This finding demonstrates a construction of motivation over time that is dynamic. That said, the original study that created the framework of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005) used both longitudinal and cross-sectional data. There is therefore a need to conduct further research on receptive bilinguals in a longitudinal research design. In addition, the cross-sections of the current study span an entire program (or 4 years or study). Previous studies have only inspected short-version longitudinal perspectives over a semester or between school programs (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Dressler, 2008; Papi & Teimouri, 2012). Given the findings of the current study, a longitudinal study that lasts the duration of an entire program, or approximately four years, would be productive to furthering our understanding of motivation as a socially mediated dynamic process in order to understand retention rates in HLL programs.

The current study has expanded the body of research that has explored receptive bilinguals in general, and receptive and emergent bilingual motivation in particular (Beaudrie, 2009; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Xie, 2014). The current study supports Xie’s (2014) finding that the L2 Motivational Self System or particularly motivational selves is a good fit for research with
HLLs, despite our differing methodological choices. It also confirms that, like Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) suggest, students enrolled in the receptive bilingual course have both integrative and instrumental orientations. More specifically, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) found that students wanted to reconnect and speak better with their family and in order to get a job. Likewise, their study suggests that students experience both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for learning the language. In contrast, Vergara Wilson & Martínez (2011) suggested that receptive bilinguals were more likely to be motivated to revitalize their heritage language for practical or instrumental reasons. The current study found that both work and family were relevant themes, but that family was consistently more salient than work. More research is needed to understand if there are consistent themes regarding this aspect of motivation within this population or not.

The study likewise has suggested a possible trend between the feeling that one ought to know Spanish and one ought to learn Spanish. Individuals who felt that they ought to know Spanish were more likely to take more classes within the program. Again, more research is necessary to understand the potential consistency and generalizability of this trend among receptive bilinguals, the entire HLL population and L2 learners. Given that Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) as well as the current study have had relatively small sample sizes, more research is needed that clearly defines a receptive bilingual population and includes a larger sample size to test and expand the generalizability of these results. With an increased sample size, results can more directly compare and contrast the receptive bilingual population to the rest of the bilingual range and/or L2 learners in order to distinguish and describe the unique and overlapping needs of the receptive bilingual population within HLLs and L2 learners.
Pedagogical Implications

The salience of identity in the HLL acquisition process is well-accepted within the field (Carreira, 2004; He, 2006; Leeman, 2015; Potowski, 2012). The role of motivation in identity or the role of identity in motivation is less well understood. This project worked to address this gap in the literature. The results of this study suggest that since identity is socially constructed, important aspects of identity and motivational construction for receptive bilinguals are a direct result of the linguistic and social milieus of those individuals. More specifically, the identities of HLLs are contentious and frequently misunderstood, especially in the case of receptive bilinguals and emergent bilinguals who began as receptive bilinguals. Some in these populations report rejection from upper-level learners and even from their own family members. This supports previous findings that identities and authenticities can be negotiated among community members and within interpersonal interactions, including in the classroom (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Shenk, 2007).

Given the resurgence of identity as a recurrent theme in the ought-to selves of the participants in this study, as was also the case in the literature regarding identity and motivation, classroom instruction should take identity into account (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Dörnyei, 2009; Dressler, 2008; Leeman, 2015; Goble, 2016). This suggests that direct and non-judgmental discussion around identities could be beneficial both within the Latino community and among the HLL students themselves. We have outlined such project ideas in our curriculum designed for this population (McEvoy, Holmes & Lemus, forthcoming), and I have referred to some examples in the discussion above. Identity constructs are inherently related to student engagement, motivation and investment. This situation mirrors, but is also distinct from, the L2 experience (Norton, 2001). Likewise, the creation of curricular content could benefit from taking
into account the theoretical implications as well as the findings of the current study. It is important to understand motivational and identity development as a process, not an end state (Dörnyei, 2009; Norton, 2014). Just as it could be damaging to exclude Afro-Latino identities from presentation in the HLL classroom, receptive bilingual identities should be represented within the HLL repertoire with examples, narratives and curricular content. Finally, the inclusion of discussions that directly create space for developing and appropriately adapting and maintaining an ideal self would be beneficial.

The presence of language ideologies within the United States with negative implications against both Hispanics and speakers of United States varieties of Spanish is well documented (Hill, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002; Pomerantz, 2002; Zentella, 1997). There is less research regarding the intersection between language ideologies and motivation (Goble, 2016). As already discussed, the current project has identified two negative language ideologies that students reported within their ought-to selves—namely, *ethnicity gatekeeping* and *native speaker normativity*. Some evidence in the fourth chapter suggests that some students developed strategies to cope with these ideologies and move forward. These strategies were not present in the students who dropped the program after the basic level course. Other studies have warned against the dangers of negative language ideologies in the classroom, from both a student and teacher perspective (Goble, 2016; McEvoy, 2017). The evidence from the current study suggested that the impact of language ideologies within motivational development is a complex set of phenomena and deserving of further study.

The results of this study, along with the well documented nature of negative language ideologies within schools and beyond, suggest that these ideologies should be part of HLL curriculum. Language ideologies should be illuminated and discussed in the classroom (Hill,
There is a growing field of research that has worked to create sociolinguistic awareness in the classroom and debunk negative or constricting ideologies (Correa, 2011; Leeman, 2005; Martínez, 2003). Some scholars suggest that students be guided to understand the power of these ideologies, so that they can make their own decisions in reaction to that ideology (Martínez, 2003). Other scholars suggest that students should generally be taught using critical pedagogy in order to address these negative ideologies (Correa, 2011; Leeman, 2005). The current study suggests that the particularities regarding the complex identities of receptive bilinguals, the sentiment of being intimidated by upper-level HLLs or the difficulty in locating self in L2 or HLL contexts, with feelings of being neither or both, should also be included within the efforts to create sociolinguistic awareness in the HLL classroom. It might be useful to begin this process by acknowledging that language ideologies can be damaging and are interrelated with discrimination. McGregor-Mendoza (2000) has an excellent collection of data regarding attitudes toward speaking Spanish in the educational setting that might be illuminating to students.

Likewise, the current study has identified unique qualities within the receptive bilingual population, thus supporting an effort for more research and attention to the needs of these students within the classroom. Unlike other HLLs, these students exhibit many linguistic features similar to L2 speakers (Beaudrie, 2009; Lynch 2008). However, they clearly still experience the impact of negative language ideologies and the salience of identity, which has been documented throughout the entire HLL population (Hill, 2001; Leeman, 2015). That said, the field of HL education should not ignore their unique needs and place them within HLL programs in order to meet their identity and motivational needs. In addition to this study, there has been some research that has worked to understand the unique needs of receptive bilingual and emergent
bilingual students (Beaudrie, 2009; Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005), but more research is needed. Likewise, in the classroom, a practice of inclusion and assessment can lead to more accurately meeting the needs of HLLs. That is, a student’s linguistic capabilities should not be conflated with his or her identity, cultural knowledge and/or relationship with the HL or culture. This suggests that other HLLs and teachers would benefit from further training and awareness about the receptive bilingual population.

Finally, the students in this study, who started their language studies as receptive bilinguals, demonstrated rich and detailed ought-to selves that included interactions with community and family members. It is, therefore, important to search for pedagogical methods that reconnect, reconcile and incorporate the community within the language learning process. Despite the classroom’s isolations from the community in many respects, students with personal networks and connections, such as receptive bilinguals, cannot study a language without interacting and/or reencountering the community. Yet, as it was previously suggested, the ideologies in the community can be damaging and demotivating, especially for receptive bilinguals (Dressler, 2008; Goble, 2016). In order to address this issue, assisting students in negotiating these identities and needs within the real world could help them continue in their academic studies. To this end, I have created a project with my colleagues to incorporate familial and community connections into the classroom from the beginning of the receptive bilingual experience through place-based pedagogy and experiential learning opportunities (McEvoy, Holmes, Lemus, forthcoming). Other studies have worked more broadly with HLLs in service learning and other community engaged activities in order to aid in the development of sociolinguistic awareness (Leeman, 2011; Parra, 2013; Pereira, 2015). For example, Parra (2013) reports that a student who spoke South American Spanish but was living in New York expanded...
her repertoire to include Caribbean lexical items. As an example, the student expanded her understanding of the word *guagua*, which in several South American varieties means “baby” and in Caribbean dialects means “bus”. This student’s ability to learn and exchange two uncommonly used dialects in the HLL classroom exemplifies the strength of service learning as an important means of meeting student’s needs and overlapping orientations beyond even the teacher’s abilities. Importantly, it allows for salient discussions of linguistic hierarchies in context. These constructs could be adapted to the unique needs of receptive bilinguals. There is, therefore, a need to perhaps include service learning opportunities for the receptive bilingual population.

**Contributions**

This dissertation makes contributions to the field of HLL identification and pedagogy, to our understanding language learner motivation, and to interdisciplinary understandings of motivation and interdisciplinary approaches to topics of interest to applied linguistics generally. The field of HLLs has established that these learners represent the entire bilingual range (Carreira, 2004; Valdés, 2003). At the same time, the majority of programs, and even some scholars, continue to exclude receptive bilinguals within their studies and their classrooms (Kagan, 2005). Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) called for us to meet the needs of receptive bilinguals who have had naturalistic exposure to the Spanish language at a young age, regardless of their ethnic background. Building on this foundation, Beaudrie (2009) continued to work toward assessing the linguistic capabilities and meeting the needs of receptive bilinguals. The current study contributes to this wide gap in the literature regarding the needs, experiences and in particular, motivational development, of this understudied population. It is hoped that the findings of this study will serve to further understandings of HLLs by expanding knowledge about their particular needs and challenges and by continuing to include the entire bilingual
range of HLLs. The results suggest a more nuanced picture than that reported by Goble (2016) since participants demonstrated agency, and useful strategies—namely, transformation of fluency idealization and self-selective internalization in the face of negative language ideologies. Generally, the results were consistent with previous findings that HLLs as well as receptive bilinguals have both instrumental and integrative orientations (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005; Ducar, 2012; Vergara Wilson & Martínez, 2011). However, the findings also suggest that receptive bilinguals may be unique from both the L2 and the general HLL populations in their orientations. Indeed, receptive bilinguals showed an upward trend in instrumental orientation across groups whereas both L2 learners and HLLs in Dressler’s (2008) study demonstrated a decrease over time. Since the current study is cross-sectional and Dressler’s (2010) study was longitudinal, more research is necessary to see whether, with more similar methodologies, this difference in findings would be upheld.

This project likewise contributes to the field of language learner motivation as it expands that research agenda to include a new population and engages a process approach to motivation through the use of cross-sectional data. As scholars have acknowledged, there is a shift between viewing motivation as an individual difference among language learners and seeing it as a socially mediated process (Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2011). In fact, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) originally used cross-sectional data. By using the motivational selves from the L2 Motivational Self System, this project used a process approach to motivational development. In this view, motivational development is a socially mediated phenomenon, and it was viewed as such in order to inform the methodological decision to collect cross-sectional data. More specifically, both the co-existence of integrative and instrumental orientations as well as trends that suggest important contextual factors support motivation as process. In contrast to the view of motivation
as a consistent individual trait defined by either integrative or instrumental tendencies (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), this study showed both shifts between groups and combinations of these two orientations. These findings support previous research that also suggests an overlap in orientations and change over time (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Dressler, 2008; Ducar, 2012; Papi & Teimouri, 2012).

Likewise, the universality of any theory that has been primarily used to study L2 learners of English needs to be re-evaluated and used with caution when applying those concepts and frames to a new population. There has been some precedent for using the L2 Motivational Self System with HLLs (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014), but these projects have not specifically discussed receptive bilinguals of Spanish in the United States using qualitative methodologies. Therefore, this project represents a unique contribution to the generalizability of this system. The data and analysis in this study lead to the conclusion that the frames concerning flexibility and the inclusion of the ought-to self serve to illuminate similarities and unique traits of this population as compared to other previously studied populations. For example, the findings in this study upheld previous studies that suggested that receptive bilinguals have both orientations (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Ducar, 2012). At the same time the findings found possibly unique characteristics of this population, for example the change in orientations over time as compared to L2 learners and other HLLs (Dressler, 2008). Likewise, the strategies identified—transformation of fluency idealization and self-selective internalization—require more research to understand their generalizability or uniqueness given that the results of Chapter 3 in this study as well as other studies suggest that language ideologies play an important role in discontinued studies for receptive bilinguals (Goble, 2016).
Finally, the flexibility of this frame, along with the inclusion of the ought-to self, have revealed important interdisciplinary connections between applied linguistics and motivational studies—namely, through the salience of language ideologies for this population. The results of the current study suggest that language ideologies are intertwined with the motivational development of receptive bilinguals and emergent bilinguals of Spanish in the United States. This is unsurprising, given that negative language ideologies have been documented in society and within the classroom (Ducar, 2009; Hill, 2001; McEvoy, 2017; Valdés et. al. 2003; Villa, 2002). However, the relationship between language learner motivation and language ideologies, particularly for this population, is underexplored. This study therefore adds to our interdisciplinary understandings of these two fields. While most research related to language ideologies pertains to building sociolinguistic awareness in the classroom or understanding language ideologies in society, this study connects the desire of receptive bilinguals to study a language with society’s ideologies about that language and language learning (Hill, 2001; Kramsch, 1997; Ortega, 1999). Furthermore, it suggests an additional layer, as compared to Goble’s (2016) findings: receptive bilinguals build strategies when encountering language ideologies. They have agency and do not just passively succumb to negative ideologies.
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