

What is different for heritage speakers studying abroad, and why does it matter?

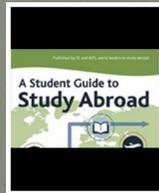
Kim Potowski, University of Illinois at Chicago
 Wenhao Diao, University of Arizona
 Rachel Shively, Illinois State University

Organization

- Introduction 8:45-8:55
- Kim Potowski 8:55-9:10
- Wenhao Diao 9:10-9:25
- Rachel Shively 9:25-9:40
- Discussion 9:40-10:00

Introduction

Nevadomski Berdan, Goodman & Taylor



Introduction

Number	Of U.S. study abroad students
78%	White
8%	Asian American (approximate U.S. postsecondary enrollment)
5%	African American (who are 14% of all college students)
7%	Latino (who are 13% of all college students)

Barriers

- Fear of racism
- Worries about delayed graduation
- Few role models -- either family or faculty -- who have traveled abroad.
- Cost
- Permission from parents
- Undocumented status

Most administrators agree that increasing racial and ethnic diversity in study abroad will require an effort to persuade students that going abroad is both **possible and necessary**. Groups such as Diversity Abroad, MIUSA and NAFSA Special Interest Group provide support.

- Ideally, students can enrich their cultural understanding through a period of study in a country where the heritage language is the principal language of society.
- Research on L2 students has shown that study abroad leads to strong levels of **language learning**. Students also develop a better understanding of themselves and of their **culture**, and improve their ability to evaluate and understand elements of their own and other cultures in a more unbiased manner.
- At least one study showed that 96% of students who studied abroad claim increased self-confidence, 97% feel more mature, and 98% understand their own values more clearly (Dwyer & Peters, 2004).

- In spite of these advantages, the small percentage of U.S. postsecondary students overall who study abroad is sobering; according to the Association of International Educators, only 1% of U.S. college students study abroad.
- With the increase in the number of heritage learners enrolling in language courses, there may eventually be more heritage learners seeking opportunities to study abroad. In fact, according to Lee and Shin (2008) at the University of California Education Abroad Program, 75% of the 252 applications for 2005- 2006 came from heritage speakers.

Although there are no reliable data about how many U.S. college students study abroad for heritage motivations, some estimates:

- *15-20% in the Council on International Educational Exchange's (CIEE's) Hanoi program
- *20-25% at the American University in Cairo
- *80% at South Korea's Yonsei University

Heritage education abroad is on the rise and is worthy of attention (Rubin, 2004, p. 28)

- There are several programs designed specifically for heritage speakers in Mexico, Spain, and Russia; to our knowledge, no one has yet compiled a database of study-abroad programs specifically designed for heritage speakers.
- These students often face distinct challenges both before, during, and after their experiences abroad, confronting issues of identity that make them feel "foreign" in the United States but "American" in their family's motherland (31).

Research on study abroad with heritage speakers is in its infancy

Carrasco and Riegelhaupt (2003) analyzed the experiences of Mexican host families who housed U.S.-raised Mexican Americans. Most families expected native-like social and linguistic behavior from their U.S. Latino students, and in cases in which this did not occur, it resulted in students' "identity crisis as the result of a language and culture clash with their [Mexican] host families." The authors found that it was beneficial to provide sociohistorical, cultural, and sociolinguistic knowledge to the HLLs and, above all, to the host families.

Finding more positive results, Gorman (2011) worked with 23 New Mexican students in Nicaragua on a program specifically designed for heritage speakers. Students were particularly praised for interacting more with their host families—whom they described as very familiar to them—than did the Anglo students. Some students developed interesting insights about global sociopolitical realities after being referred to as "gringos" by locals (echoing the observations of Rubin, 2004).

Menendez and Isabelli (2011) studied the experiences of eight HLLs studying in Spain. All participants observed having a higher self-confidence in their native language abilities post-study abroad, and they showed the greatest improvements in their vocabulary, closely followed by their cultural awareness.

In a study comparing 10 Russian HLLs to 75 L2 students studying in St. Petersburg, Russia, Davidson and Lekic (2013):

HLLs demonstrated a slightly stronger level of pre-program listening proficiency than their L2 counterparts on the Russian government Test of Russian as a Foreign Language, fully 70% of HLLs achieved Level 4 proficiency by the end of the program, while L2 participants typically registered gains from Level 2 pre-program to Level 31 post-program.

Examining further all students who were "high gainers", the authors found that HLLs reported devoting on average three more hours per week to academic reading than L2 students (probably due to differences in their courses).

By comparison, the L2 students in the same proficiency range were more likely to invest discretionary time in conversations with the host family and in following local TV and radio.

Overall

Heritage learners studying in countries where their HL is spoken experience unique realities, as do “heritage seekers” including African American students studying in African nations and Jewish students studying in Israel (for interesting portraits of such learners, see Rubin, 2004). More research is needed in this area (but see the references in Comp, 2008; Davidson & Lelic, 2013).

Considerations

- Linguistic: Speakers of stigmatized varieties; little metalinguistic knowledge. VERY important to have instructors who are *sociolinguistically aware*.
- Affective: Familial connection to the language; split or double identity

Chicago Latinos studying abroad in Oaxaca, Mexico



- Three different groups of Chicago-raised heritage Spanish speakers on a 4-week summer study abroad program in Oaxaca, Mexico.
- Important component: Guided conversations between these working-class public university students and their counterparts in Oaxaca, all of whom are studying to become English teachers and some of whom are speakers of indigenous Mexican languages. Their exchanges about bilingualism, minoritization of their non-societally-dominant language, and immigration revealed shared socioeconomic precariousness.

Weekly written reflections

- Some specific questions, others more open-ended
- Three examples from Week 1

Roxy

“Being the youngest of four, I always felt disconnected from my parents. My parents migrated to the United States in 1980 and had my older siblings shortly after that. My brothers and sister helped my parents overcome many language barriers they faced. They served as translators everywhere they went. I never got the opportunity to do that with my parents. I feel that is one of the fundamental reasons why growing up I distanced myself from the Spanish language. It wasn’t necessary for me to speak it fluently since my older siblings were always there. When I started going to school, I would spend about 13 hours there due to the extracurricular activities that I was involved with. It was then that my English fully exceeded more than my Spanish and I did not mind it.

"Now that I'm older I have realized that it's become harder for me to have a steady conversation in Spanish with my parents. There are many words I do not understand, a lot of slang I'm not familiar with and I have a hard time explaining my English thoughts. I have realized that it is a necessity, not only to have a better relationship with my family but in the future career I hope to one day obtain. I believed coming to Oaxaca would be a great way to improve my Spanish ways."

"My first week here has been overwhelming. When we drove from the airport to the homestays I felt a little weird. I wasn't use to having a full conversation with a stranger in Spanish. At home I was able to do hand gestures to explain what I'm trying to say, say it in English or I would simply just google it and my parents one way or another understood me (at least that's what they made it seem). But this time I was all on my own and must I say I was a bit worried. But so far I've had great short conversations with my host family. Although I do notice that I stutter a lot."

Mario

- The WiFi is weak at home
- I've actually learned when and how to utilize accent marks in phrases. Professor Patricia is a very relax and patient person, she is also very resourceful when it comes searching for activities to do in Oaxaca. For the most part, Professor Patricia is able to understand our Spanish, and corrects our mistakes. For example I said, "Lo que me garro la atencion..." and Professor Patricia corrected me the proper way is saying "lo que me llamo la atencion". Therefore, Professor Patricia is knowledgeable of the material that she teaches.
- The Saturday that past, Guadalupe invited me to hang out with her and her family after I had taken a nap. We shared stories based on our families, our experience with different liquors, and my experience in Chicago. I believe that the family understand me considering that everyone told me that I have good Spanish. I'm looking forward for the next three weeks.

Caro

"When I first arrived in Oaxaca, the sounds and smells immediately reminded me of my grandparents house in Fresnillo, Zacatecas, in the northern part of Mexico. I instantly felt at home. My host mom greeted me with open arms and was very excited to see me."

The first week I explored various parts of Oaxaca and noticed just how beautiful this place is. Everywhere you turn there are huge mountains looking back at you, the colors of buildings and just all around you are very welcoming. The first week we started our classes and my professor is great, she really takes her time in talking to you, helps you understand the material and tells you where the best tortas are!

The first weekend we went to Monte Albán, and it was just breathtaking. To see these enormous structures and to get a glimpse of how life was back then, from an ancient civilization related to mine, is truly and incredible experience. From the moment I got here I felt at home, my host family and everyone I have came across so far, all have been really friendly and generous.

Feeling 'Mexican' in the U.S., they are positioned socially and linguistically as 'gringo/American' in Mexico. Heritage speakers' hybridity is a tremendous source of knowledge and strength that they can be encouraged to recognize, develop, and appreciate during study abroad.



Themes

- Connections to local people and history
- Communicate more fluently with their own families in Chicago
- Instructors (and families) who do not humiliate them for their variety of Spanish
- "Gringo"

Between the Standard and the Non-standard: Transnational Chinese Speakers in China

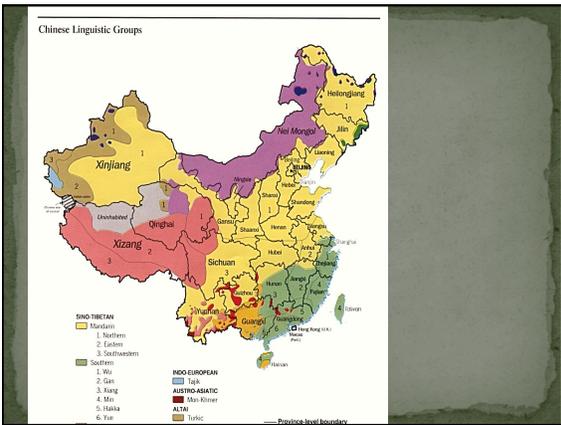
Wenhao Diao, Ph.D.
The University of Arizona
CIEE Conference, November 9, 2018
Barcelona, Spain

Study abroad and learners of transnational languages

- Study abroad in applied linguistics: educational sojourns in a **foreign country** where **the target language** is spoken
- Problems with this definition:
 - The assumption that the destination country is the center of the language;
 - Heritage language learners: Study “abroad” in ancestral “homeland”? (Zhuo-Schmidt, 2016)
- Transnational languages:
 - A language that may be spoken in many countries and communities, including diasporas in the U.S. (such as Mandarin Chinese) (Duff, 2013)

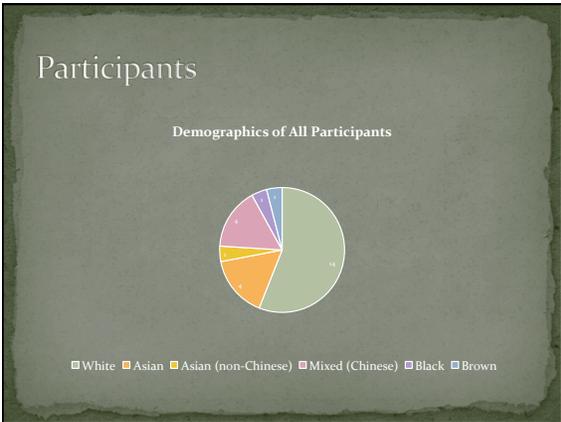
Mandarin as a Transnational Language

- Sociolinguistic complexity within China
 - Standard Mandarin: Beijing-based Northern Mandarin
- Transnational Mandarin
 - Overseas Chinese communities speak southern accented Mandarin (e.g., Taiwan Mandarin) (e.g., Zhang, 2005)
 - Major sources of Chinese immigration to overseas: Guangdong (Cantonese-speaking) → Shanghai (Shanghainese-speaking) → Fujian (since 1990s) (various Min varieties) (Liang & Morooka, 2004)



Research Questions

- 1) How do speakers of transnational Mandarin become aware of the culturally embedded concept of standard Mandarin?
- 2) How do they negotiate their existing non-standard accent and (re)interpret the meanings associated with the accent while in China?



Focal cases: Profiles

	Melissa	Hasan
Ethnicity	Chinese	Middle Eastern
Study abroad time	Summer, 2016	Summer, 2016
Age	20	20
Ties with transnational Mandarin	Parents immigrated to the U.S. from the Lucky City in the Fujian Province.	Primary care taker from birth to the age of 14 was a nanny originally from Sichuan, China, who spoke little English.
Living placement	Chinese roommate	Chinese roommate
Reason for the living placement	Because the host family is like “living with my parents.”	To “hang out with people my age” and to have a “big brother” and “a best friend.”
Formal	Western Chinese	College (over)

Data sources

Interviews with students.	• 30 minutes each. Two interviews. (21 hrs)
Interviews with Chinese hosts.	• 1 hour each. (21 hrs)
Audio recordings	• 4-6 recordings. (Total = approx. 40 hrs)
Background surveys	• Previous experience (21 students)
Linguistic questionnaires	• Pre and post for students.
Field visits	• Site visits and participant observation
Social media	• WeChat postings

Corpus from focal participants' recordings

Speaker	Recording length (min)	Chinese characters	English words
Melissa/Roommate	126.3	20819	3095
Hasan/Roommate	159.9	28237	4220

Retroflex/Dental Merger in Shanghai Mandarin

- A phonemic distinction between dental and retroflex sibilant initials in *Putonghua*, but not shared across Chinese varieties (Xiong, 2001).
- Retroflex pronounced as dental in southern-accented Mandarin (Chen, 1999)
- Often considered the most salient/stereotypical feature of southern-accented Mandarin (Starr, 2017)

	Mandarin	Shanghainese
Dental 资	zi	zi
Retroflex 知	zhi	zi
Dental 丝	si	si
Retroflex 师	shi	si
Dental 聪	cong	cong
Retroflex 冲	chong	cong

Use and frequency of dental/retroflex merger

Total retroflex		
syllables	1430	2481
Standard		
retroflex	1160	801
retroflex Standard		

“I don't want to have the Lucky City accent.”

- “I don't really want to have like the Lucky City accent cuz I feel like oh that just sounds weird I- I like the- [WD: why not?] Cuz I don't know like the-, cuz it's not like standard, I feel like. Cuz everyone wants to try, everyone wants to, **everyone wants to try to be like the standard.** Like the Beijing accent or something cuz it just sounds more professional. Like, like it just sounds professional. I don't know. Like my parents are always like, “oh they just sound so nice.” Cuz you watch like the CCTV for like [Chinese] New Years. I just stand and watch. **And my mom was just, “Don't they sound so nice?”** Like it sounds good. I guess like **just like normal Chinese.**” (Pre-interview)

Dental/Retroflex merger = “error”

- “I remember me in (inaudible) like the first like week like school, she [the teacher] is like, “OK. **SAN and SHAN.** Like the letter three and the mountain. I'm just like- we spend like a whole hour with that and also **SI and SHI.** So we spend like a whole hour like me practicing and just saying those words to the point I'm just like they just sound odd to say.” (Pre-interview)
- “But apparently my teacher from here when I was doing my like oral like exam um presentations whatever I'm doing. They like, 'you have to work on pronouncing.' You're like- For example **like there is um zh versus z. Like zh, roll your tongue, and z you just don't do anything. And it's hard for me cuz I'm like it just it just sounds the same.** Like regardless whichever way I'm saying it, and they are like, **'no no no. Can you hear?'** I'm just like, 'No, it sounds the same.’” (Pre-interview)

Hypercorrection

- Pronouncing dental as retroflex (instead of retroflex -- > dental): 107 instances
- Error correction took place with hypercorrection

1. JN: Tomorrow the test do you need to write or you need to speak
 2. MLS: Em it's vocabulary eh because we have twenty-something shengchi (words)
 3. and then [the students]
 4. JN: [(correction with dental) shengci (words)]
 5. MLS: shengchi (words)
 6. JN: ci (words)
 7. MLS: ci (words)
 8. JN: yeah ((laughing))
 9. MLS: Twenty-something [ci (words)] ((laughing))
 10. JN: [ci (words)]
 11. MLS: uh my teacher [says]
 12. JN: [ci] c- i- ci (Words. Words- words.)
 13. MLS: my teacher says my c and ch=
 14. JN: =right

Hasan: My accent is my identity.

- Hasan: So Chinese people they love me. They think I am- cuz my Chinese is awesome. They're like, oh this is my first foreign friend. And I say, **don't call my foreigner. I'm a 华侨 ("overseas Chinese")**. So if you ask my Chinese level, I would compare to most 华侨, Chinese Americans. [...] So usually when people ask me, like, how did your Chinese get so good? I say, 我是美国华侨. ("I am a Chinese American.")
- WD: How do they respond?
- Hasan: They're like, oh he's so exotic. He must be mixed. He's so sexy. **Maybe he's like a fourth Chinese.** (Pre-interview)

Retroflex/dental merger = error

- WD: What do they [your teachers] want you to change?
- Hasan: **Change that z, c, s, zh, ch, sh.** And hu. It's your day you came. Hu, fu. Hu is for Hunan, *huzi* (beard). Right? But sometimes, you understand that. But sometimes I have to change, so you can understand you [*sic*: me]. (Pre-interview)

Hasan's response to correction: Resist

1. HU: This way it's [lazy] () right?
 2. HSN: [lazy?] Not lazy. I don't want to forget.
 3. HU: But=
 4. HSN: =I don't want to change
 5. HU: Um. Why don't you want to change.
 6. HSN: Because it's my habit.
 7. HU: Um- it's saying, habits simply- don't need to be changed?
 8. HSN: Because if I speak very clear Putonghua, that nanny also doesn't understand.
 9. But she thinks she can speak Putonghua.
 10. HU: But you learn Mandarin simply in order to speak with your- nanny=
 11. HSN: =Yes.
 12. HU: Ah?
 13. HSN: What?!!
 14. HU: You you learn Mandarin,
 15. ((switch to English)) you learn Chinese just for talk with your aunt?
 16. HSN: Not just that. I think it's a culture () A habit.

1. HSN: The doctor didn't know China has many () different pronunciations.
 2. HU: Um.
 3. HSN: Ah [That] was one- that was Cantonese not Putonghua.
 4. HU: ((in English) accent)
 5. HU: Um.
 6. HSN: Ah=
 7. HU: =So that time there was a problem.
 8. HSN: No oh no. Twice were Taiwan oh no twice were Taiwanese.
 9. Twice were (a city in Fujian) people. Once was a Guangdong person.
 10. but he didn't speak Putonghua.
 11. HU: um.
 12. HSN: ((laughing)) No North yet.
 13. HU: No Northerners.
 14. HSN: No.

Discussion/Implication

- Rethinking heritage learners (Flores & Rosa, 2015)
 - The two focal students do not share one ethnic identity or one common experience with Mandarin;
 - But they share an experience with transnational Mandarin and one non-standard linguistic feature (dental/retroflex merger);
 - "Multilingual turn of SLA" (Ortega, 2013): Learning an L2 might be learning a different accent
- Rethinking study abroad and language teaching
 - Not the only opportunity for learners to be immersed in the target language;
 - Multiple layers of sociolinguistic information: accents = identity.
 - Study abroad: redefining, reimagining, and refashioning such identities, especially for heritage speakers.

Pedagogical Implications

- Working with heritage speakers abroad
 - A multilingual approach to language teaching: Learners as multilinguals rather than monolinguals
 - A critical awareness of standard language ideologies
 - A critical pedagogy

Thanks!谢谢!

- Questions? Comments?
- Please contact: wdiao@email.arizona.edu
- Please see: **Diao, W. (2017).** Between the standard and non-standard: Accent and identity among transnational Mandarin speakers studying abroad in China. *System*, 71, 87-101.

Pragmatics instruction for Spanish heritage speakers studying abroad

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What is pragmatic competence?

- **Pragmatics:** the study of "how-to-say-what-to-whom-when" (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013, p. 68)
- **Pragmatic competence:** "the ability to communicate your intended message with all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your interlocutor as it was intended" (Fraser, 2010, p. 15).
 - Speech acts
 - Politeness expressions
 - Conversational implicature
 - Interactional resources
 - Humor
 - Register / style

Why is pragmatic competence important?

- A mismatch in pragmatic norms can lead to:
 - Miscommunication
 - Lack of success in achieving communicative goals
 - Being unable to present oneself in desired ways
 - Difficulties in the building and maintenance of relationships.

Developing pragmatic competence during study abroad

- Study abroad: in principle, students can interact in a variety of settings and link language use to context.
- Many (L2) students improve pragmatic competence abroad.
- How do students learn pragmatics?
 - Participation in everyday activities in a variety of settings
 - Some pragmatic features can be learned readily through exposure alone, but others are resistant.
 - Instruction can accelerate and enhance the learning of pragmatics.

Pérez Vidal & Shively
(forthcoming)

Heritage speakers and pragmatics

- Diverse group
- Heritage speakers may have different needs than L2 learners with regard to pragmatics instruction (Barros & Bachelor, 2018; Showstack, 2016)
- May have more advanced pragmatic competence than L2 learners, particularly in familiar, everyday settings.
- Pragmatic practices may be hybridized, with influences from all languages spoken (Pinto & Raschio, 2007)

Pragmatic variation in Spanish

- Studying abroad, SHS may be faced with different pragmatic norms than those of their home community.
- Pragmatic appropriateness varies greatly in the Spanish-speaking world.
 - The diminutive makes a request more polite in Mexico, but less so in Spain (Curcó, 1998)
 - In service encounter requests, directness is expected in Spain, but may be rude in Ecuador (Placencia, 2005).
- If SHS speak a non-standard, contact, or different variety of Spanish, they may face negative attitudes toward their dialect from local people (Peace et al., 2016; Riegelhaupt & Carrasco, 2000).

Why teach pragmatics for SHS?

- Given that some aspects of pragmatics can be difficult to learn through exposure alone, pragmatics instruction can:
 - Offer a broader view on pragmatic norms than students' individual everyday experiences
 - Provide insights into the meanings that linguistic forms have in the target culture
 - Complement opportunities for out-of-class interaction and accelerate learning
 - Raise awareness about pragmatic variation across Spanish-speaking regions
 - Empower SHS to make and articulate their pragmatic choices

learning goals for SHS in study abroad?

- Raise awareness about pragmatic variation in the Spanish-speaking world
- Develop the ability to notice and analyze the ways that language varies across contexts
- Empower SHS to choose the pragmatic norms they want to follow and articulate their chosen practices
- Expand the domains of pragmatic competence beyond the home and community

How and when can pragmatics be taught?

- Face-to-face pragmatics instruction before and/or during study abroad
- Self-access/online materials before and/or during study abroad

Resources

- Pragmatics and Discourse at Indiana University: <https://pragmatics.indiana.edu/>
- Dancing with Words: Strategies for learning pragmatics in Spanish: http://carla.hmn.edu/speechact/sp_pragmatical_home.html
- Pragmatics wiki: <http://www.pragmatics.pbworks.com>
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Discussion

