Heritage Language Anxiety in Canadian Post-Secondary Heritage Speakers of Spanish

by

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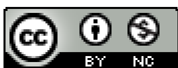

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Abstract

Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) refers to when anxiety and discomfort regularly occur in an individual during the use of a heritage language (HL). This can arise in post-secondary HL classrooms since learners who mainly acquired their HL in informal settings may find it nerve-wracking to later receive formal instruction in the HL (Torres et al., 2020). There is currently no tool consistently used across studies that is designed to measure classroom HLA, and previous research tends to use scales intended for foreign language learners. These may not be the most appropriate instruments for investigating HLA because they do not consider the academic or social contexts that can shape heritage learners' anxieties (Jee, 2020; Tallon, 2009). Furthermore, much of the research on Spanish as a Canadian HL is ongoing; contributing to this area of study is valuable for understanding Heritage Spanish and its speakers in Canada, but also for developing conceptualizations of HLA and HLs that are generalizable to more contexts.

The current study addresses these issues by presenting data about HLA in 11 Canadian post-secondary heritage learners of Spanish (e.g., anxieties about grammar, speaking, etc.). I remotely administered questionnaires ($N = 11$) and semi-structured interviews ($n = 7$) inquiring about participants' backgrounds and their experiences as heritage learners. Key findings from descriptive statistics and a content analysis indicate that HLA in these speakers does relate to factors that current scales may not recognize, such as writing in the HL or external expectations of HL proficiency. In particular, learners experienced HLA if they felt that their existing knowledge of Spanish was not accepted by others. Participants also discussed social factors such as: the association of Spanish with identity; monolingual language standards; and low access to a Spanish-speaking community while growing up. Based on these findings, I present a preliminary Spanish Classroom HLA Scale alongside the implications for both researchers and practitioners.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Heritage languages (HLs) are minority languages spoken by individuals who live in a society where the HL is not the dominant language (Kupisch & Rothman, 2016). These individuals are *heritage speakers* (HSs) since they naturalistically acquired the HL at home as part of their ethnic and/or cultural heritage (Boon & Polinsky, 2015). The HL of focus in this thesis is Spanish as an immigrant minority language in Canada, where the majority language is usually English or French.

HLs tend to be acquired as an L1 (first language), while majority languages can be acquired as an L1, a child L2 (second language), or an adult L2. The participants in the present study are HSs who grew up speaking both an HL and a majority language (much like the HSs typically studied in HL classrooms). In other words, these are HSs who acquired the HL and majority language simultaneously (2L1 acquisition) or in close succession. HSs are different from individuals who have a connection to a language through their heritage but who do not acquire that language until they choose to later in life, as an adult L2 (Kupisch & Rothman, 2016).

HL proficiency will also vary from speaker to speaker more than proficiency in the majority language, meaning that HSs are a heterogeneous group with different strengths and experiences. Hence, HSs do not necessarily share linguistic skill levels because of how variable their exposure to the HL can be. Exposure affects the nature of HL input as well as the number of opportunities to use the HL. Input can vary in quantity (frequency) and quality, such as the variety of different interlocutors and contexts (Gollan et al., 2015; Kupisch & Rothman, 2016). For instance, input from a range of situations involving the HL could facilitate exposure to various registers and levels of formality.

Because many HSs receive less frequent and/or less varied input in the HL compared to what monolingual speakers tend to receive, heritage grammars often show differences from monolingual grammars. Some well-studied morphosyntactic variation in Heritage Spanish has shown differences among speakers when contrasting the preterite and imperfect; when forming embedded questions; by preferring the inclusion of overt pronouns in constructions that allow null subjects; and by approaching gender and number agreement as one process rather than two separate processes (Benmamoun et al., 2013; Cuza & Frank, 2011; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). At the phonological/phonetic level, Spanish HSs may 'sound' more like monolinguals than L2 learners, but their Spanish pronunciation can still reflect a 'heritage accent' compared to monolingual speech. For example, this can come from differences in voice onset time, the rate of spirantization, or in the pronunciation of lateral approximants (Knightly et al., 2003; Polinsky, 2018).

Another common characteristic of HSs is variability in reading and writing skills. Some HSs are able to acquire foundational Spanish literacy skills during childhood while others may not have the same opportunities until later in life. This is because Spanish literacy skills are taught in formal education settings, and (in Canada) not all HSs will have the option to take Spanish classes at school until adolescence. As well, literacy skills might not necessarily be taught at home or in the community (such as in after-school/Saturday programs), where speaking and listening are most frequent, and other skills may not be as relevant for HSs during acquisition or childhood. Regardless, HSs tend to seek formal instruction in the HL during post-secondary studies, particularly if the opportunity to do so occurs alongside an interest in the HL or their heritage (Li & Duff, 2018). This is because post-secondary students, especially if they are young adults, are often exploring their identities and academic interests, redefining who they are or

where they belong. However, due to the diversity in HL proficiency and the experiences of HSs, (re-)learning Spanish in a post-secondary classroom can lead to anxiety about using the language. This is because HL learners begin to use Spanish consistently in a new setting, with new people, and for different purposes (e.g., academic reading or writing) (Torres et al., 2020). This anxiety may also be related to insecurities about one's Spanish skills that originate outside the classroom (Tseng, 2021).

These factors are relevant for the current thesis, which presents a sequential explanatory mixed-methods investigation into the Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) that Canadian heritage learners may encounter in post-secondary Spanish classrooms. This study adopted a 'person-in-context' approach (Ushioda, 2009) since it collected qualitative survey and interview data while recognizing that HLA and HSs are dynamic and couched within many external systems (for instance, Spanish language ideologies that favour monolingual proficiency). This study also implemented a primarily deductive approach to qualitative data analysis by coding data according to factors related to HLA that are already well-established in the literature. The collection of quantitative survey data served to understand more about each participant's background in addition to supporting the interpretation of their qualitative data.

1.1 Thesis Goals

This thesis was motivated by two goals: the first was to improve the understanding of HLA and Heritage Spanish in the Canadian context because research on these topics has largely been conducted outside of Canada (Guardado, 2018b; Prada et al., 2020). Studying HLA in a new context is important for developing more general representations of HLA and the broader HS experience. This also has implications for HL pedagogy.

The second goal was to address the use of instruments for measuring L2 anxiety in HLA research, mainly by acknowledging that the nature of language anxiety varies depending on whether the language is an additional language or an HL (or even a majority language) (Sevinç & Backus, 2019). This has implications for HLA measurement as Chapter 2 identifies the need for an HLA scale that can be used by researchers and instructors to measure HLA and to capture the potential factors involved. As such, this thesis presents a critique of the tools previously used to measure HLA while highlighting the importance of instruments that are appropriate for their populations of study. The collection and subsequent analysis of data then leads to the design of a preliminary Spanish Classroom Heritage Language Anxiety Scale. This offers a first step towards an instrument that is more appropriate for post-secondary heritage learners of Spanish (at least in Canada) in comparison to other scales that are used to measure HLA.

1.2 Positionality

Part of my motivation to conduct this study comes from being an HS of Spanish. I have been a heritage learner of Spanish in L2 classrooms in the United States, in L1 (Mexican) classrooms, and in a Canadian post-secondary heritage-track classroom. Notably, many of my classmates in the heritage-track course mentioned feeling negatively about their Spanish skills, in class and in their own lives. Many were also hesitant or overwhelmed during certain activities, such as grammar-heavy lessons or writing tasks. In fact, one peer dropped the course altogether because they felt that their Spanish skills were not high enough. Furthermore, there was a dissonance between the course content and our own heritage communities because our textbook was created for heritage learners in the US. This suggested that the course materials were not as contextually relevant as they could have been.

Overall, many of my assumptions about HSs, HLA, and the HL classroom come from these experiences and observations. My background is not necessarily shared with other Spanish HSs in Canada due to how heterogenous HSs and their linguistic skills are. My identification with this group thus affects my perspective as a researcher and how I view and interpret the data in the current study. In order to authentically relate the contributions of the HL learners in this study as much as possible, I remain aware of my assumptions and that there is no singular way to be an HS or HL learner.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The common description that characterizes a heritage speaker (HS) is that they naturalistically acquired their heritage language (HL) at home. Consequently, HSs are socialised into the HL very early in life, usually building personal and cultural connections to the language from birth. However, the simultaneous (or close sequential) acquisition of a majority language often yields asymmetric bilingualism as the majority language eventually becomes the dominant language for HSs. Because of the frequent use of majority language(s) in various spheres of life, such as school, HSs may have similar proficiencies across skills in a majority language (listening, reading, speaking, and writing). Meanwhile, due to the restricted use of the HL at home or in certain situations, HSs tend to have higher proficiencies in HL listening and speaking skills than in other areas of the HL (Boon & Polinsky, 2015).

Dewaele et al.'s (2020) research with adult Spanish HSs in Texas exemplifies how diverse the linguistic characteristics of HSs can be and how this heterogeneity is linked with the languages they spoke at home during childhood. The authors investigated whether these HSs grew up in homes that mostly spoke Spanish, English, or both, and tested the correlations with certain linguistic or personal factors. The factors most relevant to this thesis were: self-rated oral proficiency in Spanish and English; self-reported anxiety in each language; and cultural orientation. It should be noted that anxiety was measured for each language with 4 items that appear to be adapted from the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ; see Section 2.3.1). These items probed how anxious participants were when speaking English or Spanish with friends, family members, strangers, and teachers (hence encompassing informal and formal environments).

The researchers found that speakers who grew up speaking Spanish at home reported significantly higher oral Spanish proficiency than speakers who grew up speaking both English

and Spanish or primarily English at home. Interestingly, the speakers who grew up in either Spanish-speaking or bilingual homes reported feeling significantly less anxious when speaking Spanish than those from English-speaking homes. Regarding cultural orientation, speakers from Spanish-speaking homes reported a significantly stronger Latino orientation than the other two speaker groups. They also reported a significantly weaker Anglo-American orientation than the other groups. More on the connections between language, anxiety, and identity will be discussed throughout this chapter, but for now, these differences show how HL use and exposure during childhood may be associated with how adult HSs feel about the language later in life.

Such variability in HS backgrounds means that conceptualizing the terms *heritage languages* and *heritage speakers* is not always straightforward. Moreover, there has been a debate with respect to whether heritage grammars should be discussed as ‘incomplete’ or ‘differential’ grammars and whether the term ‘incomplete’ and related discourse contributes to ideas of ‘deficient’ grammars (Bayram et al., 2019; Domínguez et al., 2019). Domínguez et al. argued for the theoretical merit of the term when discussing heritage grammars and acquisition, in which ‘incompleteness’ grants a specificity that is lost with the use of ‘differential’, which refers to heritage grammars as grammars in their own right. ‘Incomplete’ comes from the view that the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and bilingualism are concerned with the grammatical representations inside a speaker’s mind, such that these representations are what is considered ‘underdeveloped’ when discussing heritage grammars in comparison to monolingual grammars. The authors asserted that heritage speakers themselves are not what is incomplete, nor that all heritage grammars show incompleteness, but rather that some aspects of heritage grammars can be incomplete. Domínguez et al. did recognize that researchers must ultimately communicate findings to heritage speakers and other stakeholders in a positive manner to avoid

misinterpretations—however, it is Bayram et al. who emphasised that similar care should be taken when discussing heritage grammars within the field.

Bayram et al. also argued that while heritage grammars can be different from monolingual or homeland grammars, they are still functional, systematic, and coherent: they are ‘differential’ grammars, not ‘incomplete’ ones. The authors further argued that ‘incomplete’, even when used technically or in good faith, carries a value judgment reflected in discourse that problematizes heritage grammars. This ‘deficiency’ discourse is certainly seen outside academia as Heritage Spanish is often stigmatized in HL communities and judged against monolingual language standards and ideologies (Tseng, 2021). HSs tend to be made of aware of these judgements when expressed by family, peers, and teachers (Sevinç & Backus, 2019). HSs are also made aware of specific mistakes or codeswitching (‘Spanglish’) when these acts are subject to criticism or commentary (Torres & Turner, 2017).

Kupisch and Rothman (2016) had also called into question the necessity of referring to heritage grammars as ‘incomplete’ grammars. They argued that while not all heritage grammars will be different from monolingual grammars (thus ‘converging’ with monolingual grammars), there also remains the issue of how research reinforces monolingual language as the default by using monolingual speakers as controls in HL grammar research. Kupisch and Rothman also mentioned that HL grammars are heterogenous because divergence from monolingual language can happen for any number of reasons. Input during acquisition, as already discussed in Section 1, will vary greatly depending on contextual factors, such as the settings in which the HL is used. The authors wrote that an HS being “less monolingual-like…is more a reflection of not having had the same opportunity to be convergent” (p. 14).

Therefore, referring to heritage grammars as 'incomplete' aligns too easily with the popular discourse that stakeholders such as HL learners are conscious of, especially if they are not familiar with the academic field and context of the term's technical usage. As discussed throughout this thesis, this kind of dialogue towards Heritage Spanish can shape heritage learner anxieties by destabilizing senses of identity, HL community membership, or linguistic competence (knowledge of a language's grammar and usage). Moreover, if anxiety impacts performance (production and use of the language), HSs could interpret the results as evidence for their perceived shortcomings, akin to a self-fulfilling prophecy (Sevinç & Backus, 2019).

2.1 Spanish as a Canadian Heritage Language

Spanish is a quickly growing immigrant language in Canada, with much of the immigration from the last 50 years coming from Hispanic Latin American countries (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017). Although Spanish speakers certainly resided in Canada before the 1900s, one of the first waves of Hispanic immigration began in the 1930s due to the Spanish Civil War (Hoffman, 2004). The 1960s saw another influx of immigrants from Spain, but Guardado (2018b) placed the first major wave of Hispanic immigration in the 1970s, following the Chilean coup in 1973. He also isolated a second wave in the 1980s as people arrived from areas in Central America such as El Salvador. This growth was maintained during the 1990s and continues today as Spanish-speaking people arrive from the Caribbean, Central America, and South America (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017).

This fits Duff and Becker-Zayas' (2017) observation of the 1971 Canadian census, in which Spanish was not yet one of the top ten spoken languages—later, in 2011, it was the third most-widely spoken non-official language. The ongoing establishment of Canadian Spanish-speaking communities also contrasts with many of the contexts studied in the US, mainly because most

(86%) of the people in 2021 who reported speaking Spanish at home were first-generation speakers (Statistics Canada, 2022). Meanwhile, some southern communities (from Florida to California) have notably long histories compared to those in Canada and other parts of the US (Lynch, 2018). For example, Mexican Spanish in the southwestern US did not begin as an 'immigrant' language to a majority-English speaking environment; it had been a systematically established majority language that originated from the colonisation of Indigenous land and peoples beginning in the early 1500s (Williamson, 2009). The status of Spanish would later change for communities affected by events such as the 1848 Mexican Cession of land, and Spanish was eventually replaced by English as a majority language, its public and official use later discouraged by state language policies (Castañeda, 2007; Showstack, 2018).

In Canada, Hispanic communities share the fact that they have many first-generation HSs as well as that these communities continue to grow. However, larger cities (e.g., Toronto, Montreal) do have a higher number of speakers compared to other areas (e.g., Halifax) (Statistics Canada, 2022). Regarding the HSs most relevant to this study, Canada recorded 317,365 individuals in 2021 who spoke Spanish at home (alone or more often than other languages[1]). These individuals represented 0.86% of the population at the time, an increase from 0.74% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017, 2022). In 2021, 14% of those speakers were identified as second-generation immigrants or higher (Statistics Canada, 2022). This is the most recent estimate of the number of HSs who would have grown up in Canada with Spanish as a minority language. This is also an underestimate since HSs who immigrated to Canada at a very young age are grouped with first-generation immigrants in census data. The Canadian census defines first-generation immigrants as an individual born outside of Canada, while second-generation immigrants are individuals

[1] This does underestimate the number of heritage speakers with exposure to Spanish at home since Spanish may still be used, but less often than another language (as perceived by the individual).

born in Canada to at least one first-generation parent. A child of second-generation immigrants is then considered third-generation.

Overall, research on HSs of Spanish in Canada has been evolving as researchers have worked with refugees, families, youth, and educational settings (Guardado, 2010; Guardado, 2018b). These studies have captured snapshots of the Spanish HS experience across provinces, albeit concentrated in Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec. This has included classroom-based research at the post-secondary level, which is the context of the current thesis. One relevant example of such research is Loureiro-Rodriguez's (2013) exploration of meaningful writing activities for Spanish HSs in a class mixed with L2 learners at the University of Manitoba, which was received positively by HL and L2 learners alike.

Another example is Campanaro's (2013) thesis on the perceptions of HL and L2 learners and their teachers in a mixed Spanish class at the University of Alberta. Campanaro found that the learners and teachers held mostly positive perceptions about the class and each other, with the less positive perceptions being intimidation felt by L2 learners with respect to HL learners during oral tasks. HL learners did report some complaints about the class, such as feeling impatient with the 'slow' pace of a lesson, but matters of identity and stigma towards Heritage Spanish were not mentioned. These findings contrast with similar studies from the US that reported fewer positive findings when studying L2 and HL Spanish learners who share classrooms. Some of these findings have involved feelings of intimidation, insecurity, or a lack of camaraderie between both L2 and HL learners, as well as issues with balancing L2 and HL learners' needs within one curriculum (Carreira & Chik, 2018; Prada et al., 2020). As mentioned, Campanaro did not observe these negative findings except for L2 learners feeling intimidated during oral tasks.

Campanaro took this dissimilarity to be a sign of learners and teachers being open to diversity, a quality that she considered to be facilitated by Canada's and Alberta's policies towards encouraging multilingualism and L2 education. However, Duff and Becker-Zayas (2017) have pointed out that these policies tend to prioritize support for official language education over funding for the teaching and maintenance of immigrant or Indigenous languages. Similarly, the existence of these policies does not necessarily explain why teachers and L2 learners would be so accepting of Spanish HSs, because Duff and Becker-Zayas further claimed that support for minority languages has recently been met with public and political skepticism after supposedly strong financial and political backing from the government during the 1970s up to the 1990s.

2.2 Language Anxiety

Language anxiety is a fear response that language learners and knowers can experience during the use of a specific language. This involves physiological arousal of the sympathetic nervous system, also known as 'flight-freeze-or-fight' mode (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015). This arousal is what causes the typical sensation of anxiety, such as increased heart rate, shakiness, or sweating. However, anxiety is not just physiological—it is an emotion, or the particular experience of 'feeling' anxiety. Emotions are responses to events and consist of physiological responses, subjective feelings, and external influences (e.g., from the situation or other people) (Izard, 1993). Emotions are thus dynamic as they can depend on the circumstances that elicit them as well as how individuals react to an emotional response. With respect to language anxiety as an emotion, 'feeling' anxious can involve experiencing negative cognitions (thoughts and thought patterns), physiological arousal, uncomfortable emotions (e.g., embarrassment), and/or displaying avoidant behaviours (e.g., removing oneself from situations requiring the language)

(Xiao & Wong, 2014). This negative nature is what the term *anxiety* refers to in this thesis. Feeling 'anxious' but with positive affect or outcomes has been referred to as *facilitative anxiety*, but also *flow* or even competitiveness (Bailey, 1983; Horwitz, 2017). Physiological arousal can be positive or negative for language learners, but *anxiety* in this study simply refers to when this arousal is debilitative, following MacIntyre's (2017) choice of terminology. Experiencing some arousal can facilitate performance by maintaining attention on the task, but too much can impede task performance through distraction and pulling cognitive resources away from the task (Dewaele, 2013; Hancock & Ganey, 2003). In fact, attention and working memory are two cognitive components of the language learning process that may hinder task performance if subject to debilitative levels of arousal (Adelman & Estes, 2013; Dewaele, 2013; Gotoh et al., 2010). Overall, when anxiety affects a learner's attention and thoughts, this can negatively impact their linguistic performance, willingness to communicate, and overall experience with the language or the language-learning process (Horwitz, 2017; MacIntyre & Gardiner, 1994; Yashima, 2022). Of course, the relationship between arousal and task performance is more complex than this. While arousal can have a debilitative effect, it also depends on an individual's tolerance of physiological stress, although that is beyond the scope of this thesis (Hancock & Warm, 1989).

Anxiety itself may manifest as a 'state' response to a single event (e.g., answering a question in a language class), a 'situational' response to a reoccurring situation/event (e.g., answering any question in a language class), or as a more stable, dispositional 'trait' (e.g., social anxiety) (Dewaele et al., 2008; Shiota & Kalat, 2017). In the case of language anxiety, this begins as a state response to a specific event involving the target language without considering how often that event occurred in the past or whether it will happen again in the future (Dewaele, 2013). If

the language user repeatedly experiences anxiety with similar events over time, they can begin to associate negative outcomes and emotions with the language, a certain task, or the language-learning environment (Dewaele et al., 2008). Thus, when a learner generalizes anxiety from one occurrence to other occurrences, then the anxiety is situational. At that point, even the prospect of using the language can be enough to instigate anxiety before any attempt has been made. However, the level and nature of anxiety can change, as even situational anxiety may not endure permanently; for example, it can wane over time spent in class or with higher proficiency (Jin et al., 2020; Sevinç & Backus, 2019). As well, anxiety can potentially be mitigated (or at least not amplified) in classrooms by facilitating language enjoyment (e.g., Jin et al., 2020; Dewaele & Dewaele, 2020).

When discussing causes and consequences of language anxieties, much of the research is correlational, with exceptions such as MacIntyre and Gardner's (1994) work on the negative impact of L2 anxiety on cognitive processing. Accounting for these correlations often depends on interpretations and inferences that are based on data triangulation, such as by collecting and analysing qualitative data (Boudreau et al., 2018). As discussed further in Section 2.4, qualitative data can be valuable because it sheds light into some of the introspection that occurs in learners during an anxious experience, or how they may anticipate and react to it. By studying qualitative data, language anxiety research has increasingly recognised that anxiety is a dynamic, non-linear phenomenon that can also be self-sustaining (Gkonou, et al., 2017; Sevinç & Backus, 2019). This complexity is compounded by the fact that anxiety is positioned within a larger array of individual psychological factors, such as a willingness to communicate in the target language (Horwitz, 2017; Yashima, 2022). Similarly, anxiety finds itself interacting with cultural, social, and interpersonal factors that are external to the learner (Gkonou, 2017).

One potential feature of a language learner's anxiety is the fear of negative evaluations, either from the self or from others (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015). Such a source of anxiety implicates the awareness of a set of standards against which to evaluate linguistic competence and performance, whether they be the user's own expectations or those set by others, cultures, or societies. This also explains how learners who report feeling anxious also report feeling (self-) evaluative emotions such as embarrassment, shame, or self-consciousness (Sevinç & Backus, 2019; Teimouri et al., 2019). This is another way in which anxiety is not just a physiological or emotional phenomenon, but also a cognitive one. Feeling afraid, tense, or agitated can prompt worried thoughts that can feed the anxiety in a vicious cycle (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015). These thoughts might be concerned with saving face, self-deprecation, or even apprehension about the presence of anxiety itself. These emotions may be distressing on their own, but if they distract a learner from their engagement and performance in the language or their learning, this can maintain or exacerbate the anxiety. Likewise, sometimes a mistake or a negative thought are what initiate anxious thoughts and feelings, instead of the other way around. As MacIntyre (2017, p. 27) wrote, "anxiety is both a cause and consequence of performance."

With that in mind, the focus of this thesis is specifically on language anxiety in HL learners (HLA), in which use of the HL provokes negative, distracting thoughts, physiological symptoms, and/or avoidant behaviours (Prada et al., 2020; Xiao & Wong, 2014). While research in the recent past has begun studying HLA as its own concept, much more is known about L2 anxiety, including Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA).

FLA is typically referenced when examining HLA despite its focus on the foreign language/L2 context. This is because many studies of HLA often use a scale called the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (see Section 2.3). FLA was originally described as anxiety

that foreign language learners had about learning and performing tasks in a target language (Horwitz et al., 1986). Like any language anxiety, FLA is situation-specific and can also occur at any proficiency level. It is influenced by numerous demographic and personality variables, such as self-esteem or intrinsic motivation level (Marcos-Llinás & Garau, 2009). Most importantly, FLA is differentiated from other anxiety in other languages or other tasks (Horwitz et al., 1986). This means that anxiety can appear for only one target language or task in that language, and it does not require or implicate the presence of other anxieties such as general trait anxiety, Test Anxiety, or Communication Apprehension (Horwitz, 2017).

With respect to Communication Apprehension (CA), could that also be a relevant anxiety to reference for HLA? CA is an anxiety directed towards one's 'primary' language and similarly related to one's willingness to communicate (Horwitz, 2017; McCroskey, 1984), which I interpret to mean anxiety in one's dominant language. For the HSs under study, this would refer to anxiety experienced for English and/or French, depending on the majority language(s) of where an HS lives. Hence, CA does not apply to the post-secondary HL learners discussed in this thesis because it is concerned with anxiety in a dominant language. L2 anxiety appears to be more similar to HLA than CA because L2s and HLs are non-dominant languages for the post-secondary learners who seek instruction.

In recent years, the field's conceptualization of FLA has changed since Horwitz et al. (1986) argued for the distinction of FLA from other performance anxieties, such as Test Anxiety. The authors had defined it as a "complex set of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process" (p. 128). Although FLA was specifically concerned with the foreign language classroom, Teimouri et al. (2019) acknowledged that the field now mainly refers to *L2 anxiety*, a

more general term for anxiety related to the use of an L2, whether it be in the foreign language context or a majority language context. Thus, this change in terminology reflects that language anxiety is approached and discussed similarly across various L2 contexts.

Horwitz (2017) also made this change in terminology by choosing to discuss and review recent work in the field of 'L2 anxiety' rather than 'FLA'. Hence, to align with how the field has chosen to refer to these concepts, in this thesis I use the term *L2 anxiety* to reflect anxiety towards an L2 and *language anxiety* for research and theoretical knowledge about anxiety during the use of any language. The purpose of reviewing research from these areas is to provide an understanding of how HLA is distinct yet related to other language anxieties, particularly since HLA studies tend to reference L2 anxiety. For example, language anxieties are all broadly shaped by cognitions and perceptions, which can impact language performance. However, the sources of anxiety, the types of cognitions and perceptions, and the effects on performance will differ based on the context of the language and the learner.

Variation in the expression and effects of anxiety between learners is often due to learners' own perceptions, whether of the language, the learning environment, themselves, and so on. For example, L2 anxiety can influence how learners evaluate their own L2 proficiency levels (or vice versa) (Teimouri et al., 2019). Anxious learners tend to underestimate their own competence in the L2 in comparison to less anxious learners[2], and this anxiety has been negatively correlated with in-class achievement (MacIntyre et al., 1997).

MacIntyre et al.'s (1997) work on L2 anxiety was based on self-efficacy, as put forward by Bandura (1988), primarily focusing on the connections between perceived competence, perceived control, and task success. Low perceptions of competence and control allegedly lead to

[2] Reading was the only skill for which learners did not show a significant underestimation of their perceived competence in MacIntyre et al.'s (1997) study.

less effort given to a task or goal, leading to less success, which further maintains the low self-perceived competence and apprehensive cognitions that feed the anxiety. MacIntyre et al. also suggested that since anxious learners are less likely to speak the L2, this provides less new evidence in the form of input with which they can re-evaluate themselves and their progress.

Eysenck (1979) also wrote about the role of self-perceptions and cognitions in anxious situations. According to Eysenck, these situations can prompt self-evaluative thoughts that influence success on a task, especially tasks that are demanding for the individual. Anxious language learners might have their attention diverted by “their perceived inadequacies, the potential for failure, and the consequences of that imagined failure,” which weakens their concentration on the actual task (MacIntyre et al., 1997, p. 269). Note the word ‘imagined’—anxious thoughts may not be restricted to memories of past events, but outcomes that the anxious learner envisions to be possible or even inevitable due to their low perceived competence. This means that the anxious learner begins to allocate cognitive resources to attend to or cope with these distracting thoughts, taking away their attention and concentration from the task. This connects with how MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) previously found that anxiety interfered with L2 learners’ abilities to attend to (oral) input, process that input, and produce (oral) output in their L2.

Since language anxiety is connected to self-perceptions and self-evaluations, Rubio-Alcalá (2017) has also posited that anxiety is related to self-esteem. Self-esteem is a form of self-appraisal, which involves evaluations with respect to one’s identity, belonging, and competence. According to Rubio-Alcalá, learners can struggle with finding a sense of belonging in the L2 classroom or environment, or they can encounter interpersonal conflict with peers. This is similar

to HLA, as summarized in Section 2.2.1, although HLA that is related to these issues can also be found chronically with close relationships, such as family.

On a related note, much of the L2 anxiety field has been shifting to view the language learner as a 'person-in-context' (Ushioda, 2009). This approach takes into account the complex and fluctuating patterns within learners as well as their current circumstances and personal backgrounds (Gkonou, 2017). Gkonou stated that the learner's 'context' comprises the external factors that can influence learner variables (i.e., language anxiety). Work by Dewaele and colleagues (e.g., Dewaele et al., 2008; Dewaele, 2013; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014) has also illustrated how many learner variables can be related to language anxiety, including language history, gender, socialisation into the language, network of interlocutors, and frequency of language use. Most importantly, the relationship between the learner and their context is dynamic, as both entities shape each other just as they react to each other. Section 2.2.1 demonstrates the importance of this idea.

2.2.1 *Heritage Language Anxiety*

In light of the field's understanding of language anxiety, where does Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) fit in? Put simply, this is a language anxiety related to the circumstances and backgrounds that characterize HLs. It is anxiety directed towards the HL or situations involving the HL, which are distinct from anxieties for dominant L1s, the learning of L2s/L*n*s, and so on. Thus, I consider HLA to be a concept not to be conflated with L2 or dominant L1 anxiety due to the contextual differences between HL and non-HL learners, especially foreign language learners.

Not all HSs will experience HLA, but those that do may have their linguistic performance adversely affected. In fact, like other language anxieties, HLA has been found to correlate with

lower grades, lower in-class performance, negative self-perceptions of proficiency, avoidance of situations involving the HL, and a lower willingness to communicate in the HL (Jee, 2016; Jee, 2020; Tallon, 2009; Torres et al., 2020). Furthermore, this research has confirmed that HLA is linked to adverse outcomes for the HL learner, which may further propagate anxiety. HL learners may also be emotionally affected in ways that permeate to and from the classroom, particularly when anxieties are related to identity, family, and belonging. For instance, learning about orthography could make texting family members feel more nerve-wracking when trying to remember the accent rules from class. In the other direction, anxiety rooted in feeling ashamed of one's pronunciation around strangers might set up a learner to feel anxious about speaking in class. Hence, the emotions that psycho-social anxieties provoke can potentially transfer over to HLA in the classroom (Prada et al., 2020).

Moving forward, it is necessary to recognize that much of the previous research on Spanish HLA (and Heritage Spanish in general) has been conducted in the United States with Hispanic communities that have histories, sizes, and immigration patterns distinct from their Canadian counterparts, as recounted in Section 1 (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017; Guardado, 2018b). However, these studies remain useful for identifying the anxieties that HL Spanish learners in Canada might encounter.

HLA may manifest during language use if a speaker's production is different from another HS's or from monolingual production. As already introduced in Chapter 1 and in the beginning of this chapter, HS grammars often show differentiation from monolingual grammars due to variable exposure to Spanish input. For instance, Montrul (2009) demonstrated how some HSs do not use the subjunctive in oral elicitation tasks like monolingual Spanish speakers—many HSs would use indicative morphology instead of subjunctive morphology. An example is when

an HS said *Espero que…eventualmente* ***puedo*** *ir a otros países con este trabajo* (indicative) instead of *Espero que… eventualmente* ***pueda*** *ir a otros países con este trabajo* (subjunctive) ('I hope that…eventually **I can** visit other countries with this job') (p. 259).

For some HSs this divergence means that they are mainly receptive bilinguals with stronger listening skills, such that engaging with speaking, writing, and reading skills in class can be potentially nerve-wracking. As well, recall that some HSs may feel anxious about learning and using certain grammar points or literacy skills if they have not previously received explicit instruction in these areas. For instance, they could feel anxious about showing differences in how they use the subjunctive in verbs or mark gender and number agreement (Montrul, 2009; Montrul et al., 2008). Another example is that HSs might assign the incorrect gender to a word but make the correct agreements, such as saying ***la*** *mapa amarill****a*** instead of ***el*** *mapa amarill****o*** ('the yellow map') (Montrul et al., 2008, p. 532). An HS might also correctly mark agreement in one word but not another, such as with *un****a*** *vela encendid****o*** instead of *un****a*** *vela encendid****a*** ('a lit candle') (Montrul et al., 2008, p. 533).

Classroom activities and dynamics shaped by curricula can also provoke anxiety due to the use of academic register and the standard HL variety (Coryell & Clark, 2009; Torres & Turner, 2017). For example, standard varieties of Spanish are taught to HL and L2 learners alike (e.g., Standard European or Latin American Spanish), although HL learners may already speak a non-standard variety (e.g., a rural dialect, a regional vernacular) and might not be aware of all the differences it has with the standard variety before joining the class. Issues with monolingual language ideologies and the stigmatization of non-standard varieties may also be present (even if latent) in the curriculum, in teachers, or within learners' backgrounds (Guardado, 2018b; Li & Duff, 2018). Similarly, Spanish for academic purposes is a register that is less prevalent in HSs'

lives due to the primary use of non-academic vernaculars in daily life. Being expected to navigate a new, academic register based on familiarity with a non-academic one would naturally be intimidating if HSs did not take Spanish classes before the post-secondary level. This does not mean that learning the standard variety or academic register is without value; they allow learners to expand their linguistic repertoires, as many intend to do by enrolling in an HL course at the post-secondary level (Coryell & Clark, 2009; Li & Duff, 2018). However, like many aspects of knowing and learning languages, there will be many external forces at play that can shape anxiety as learners wish to exercise their skills and acquire new ones. Instructors who are not aware that academic registers might be unfamiliar to HL learners could instigate HLA by assuming that these learners already have academic Spanish skills in their linguistic repertoires.

As mentioned, HLA may appear for certain language skills, specifically with respect to four communicative domains: writing, reading, speaking, and listening. The specific areas that see the most anxiety will depend on the HL and the learner. Across the HLA literature, anxious post-secondary heritage learners of Spanish appear to mostly feel anxious about writing, reading, and speaking. Speaking anxiety might involve worries about pronunciation or about producing morphological errors (such as in gender assignment) or lexical errors (such as anglicisms or false cognates) (Carreira, 2000; Torres et al., 2020; Tseng, 2021).

The anxiety experienced with writing or reading, especially at the post-secondary level, often has to do with learners having fewer literacy skills and/or less metalinguistic knowledge of the HL (Prada et al., 2020; Torres et al., 2020). This is because literacy skills and metalinguistic knowledge are acquired and practiced during explicit instruction, which depends on regular instruction in a classroom or from family/community members. Writing may also be uncomfortable because it is both a productive skill and a literacy skill (Loureiro-Rodriguez,

2013). Listening, on the other hand, tends to be the strongest skill for heritage learners, probably because it is a receptive skill that may be more automatic for HSs due to their experience with naturalistic acquisition and input. However, much like for other domains, learners can still feel anxious if listening tasks contain unfamiliar elements (Tallon, 2006). These elements could be abstract topics and vocabulary, complex syntactic structures, and other features of academic and formal registers that might differ from the Spanish an HS uses at home or locally (Lynch, 2008).

Torres and Turner (2017) found that Spanish HL learners reported feeling most anxious about their orthography, pronunciation, conjugations, and vocabulary. It is worth noting that orthography requires learners to know Spanish stress rules in order to recognise when accents are written. Additionally, learners must memorize some sound-to-grapheme connections. For example, they must learn when to use <z> and <c> when these graphemes represent the same sound (/s/ or /θ/), such as in words like *alcanzar* 'to reach' that change when conjugated (e.g., in the subjunctive: *alcancen* 'they reach'). Learning this can certainly be taxing since learners are made aware of errors in class when being corrected or graded, and family or community members might also comment on these errors.

Orthographic errors can also occur because heritage learners with little or no literacy training typically write how they speak, which additionally creates opportunities for lexical, morphosyntactic, and semantic writing errors, such as with vocabulary, word choice, and complex sentence structure (Torres et al., 2020). This divergence from what is expected in Standard Spanish and academic register may contribute to anxiety because the learner already has a primary framework of Spanish knowledge: the Spanish that they grew up with and were socialised into. In this way, the familiar becomes unfamiliar.

HLA can likewise stem from the pressure created by assumptions that teachers and peers may have about an HS's linguistic 'mastery' (Felix, 2009; Prada et al., 2020). These assumptions can also provoke anxiety due to parallel social pressures outside the classroom, perhaps from family members who expect HSs to use the HL with monolingual-like production and knowledge. This can further make learners anxious if managing unmet expectations destabilizes their sense of identity. They may begin to question their 'legitimacy' of belonging to the ethnic/cultural communities with which they identify (Jee, 2020; Li & Duff, 2018). Learners' own perceptions of their teachers and peers are also important, by shaping whether they feel that their learning environment is supportive, collaborative, and respectful (Campanaro, 2013).

2.3 Current Issues with HLA Measurement

Quantitative studies of HLA have shared similar instruments with studies on L2 anxiety, facilitating the comparison of results. However, this means that much of the research done on HLA makes use of scales that were created for foreign and L2 learners. One common scale used in HLA research is the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz et al., 1986). This scale is also applicable for purposes other than research; Horwitz (2017) highlighted how teacher use of the FLCAS can help educators improve the classroom experience by understanding the anxiety profile of a class and facilitating student discussions related to anxiety.

Other HLA studies have also used skill-specific scales to derive more fine-grained understandings of HLA during reading, writing, speaking, and/or listening. What they all have in common with the FLCAS is that they were originally designed for use in foreign language/L2 classrooms. The focus on measuring anxiety with respect to the classroom is indeed relevant to HLA, but these instruments do not recognize that heritage learners often face pressures that non-heritage learners do not. HL learners may hold themselves to their family's or community's

expectations about how much of the HL and culture they 'should' already know, and thus worry about their social group memberships and ethnic identity (Jee, 2020; Torres & Turner, 2017).

While L2 anxiety and HLA both share features such as learners' negative expectations of performance, self-appraisals, avoidance of the language, and discomfort (Horwitz et al., 1986), it is not the same as HLA. The manifestations and effects may be similar in these ways, but they are rooted in different contexts and learner backgrounds. The HL is something heritage learners acquired at home and may continue to use in daily life, unlike a foreign language that is predominantly, if not exclusively, learned and used in a classroom or academic context (Prada et al., 2020). As such, anxiety may manifest in similar ways across language learners, but the underlying causes will vary based on learners' language backgrounds and experiences with learning or using the language. For instance, anxiety stemming from causes related to identity and heritage would be different from anxiety arising from classroom-specific causes.

Thus, the FLCAS and similar scales are not able to recognise that HSs have different affective and linguistic needs than L2 learners, as well as differences in contexts for language use (Carreira & Chik, 2018; Tallon, 2009). Simply adopting these L2-oriented scales into studies on HLA may not be the most appropriate way to quantitatively measure and understand HLA and the factors involved, particularly if there is no qualitative data to guide the interpretation of scale data.

In a similar vein, there is Communication Apprehension (CA) to consider. Recall that CA can capture anxiety for L1 use outside the classroom, albeit as a primary/dominant language (Dewaele et al., 2008; Horwitz, 2017). Of course, this excludes L1s that are minority and/or non-dominant languages, which is the case of HSs despite them being considered native speakers of the HL (Kupisch & Rothman, 2016). Taking this context into account is relevant because HLs

are often connected to notions of cultural belonging and identity in ways that do not necessarily apply to L1 speakers of a majority language. For instance, members of Hispanic Latino communities in the US who do not speak Spanish like monolinguals (or at all) may be seen by other community members as 'less' Latino (Tseng, 2021). This social evaluation may apply to multiple areas of language use, such as writing and other domains (Torres et al., 2020), which are not necessarily the concern of CA as the concept tends to be focused on (public) speaking (Horwitz, 2017). Simply measuring HLA as one would measure CA continues to risk glossing over the influence of such social factors as well as the fact that HLs are minority languages and not the dominant language of the HL learners that are typically studied.

As such, there is no scale specific to HLA that is commonly used across studies. Individual studies have made their own efforts by adapting their own scale (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018), adding items to the FLCAS that are specific to heritage learners (e.g., Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014), or by creating a language-specific anxiety scale (Luo, 2014).

The following sub-sections will review the scales that have been used to measure HLA. This is intended to highlight what these scales offer and what they lack with respect to Spanish HLA research. Overall, these scales have been validated for their specific context as they have been tested with samples of learners (often foreign learners) and yielded acceptable internal consistency coefficients (Cheng et al., 1999; Horwitz et al., 1986; Luo, 2014; Saito et al., 1999; Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018; Tallon, 2006). They offer a variety of ways to measure language anxiety depending on the setting, learner type, and language skill(s) of focus. The items within each instrument do target situational anxiety and not trait anxiety, which is crucial in order to not conflate the two—clearly, these are scales asking about anxiety specifically experienced in anticipation of or during use of the target language or the language classroom. However, the

main weakness is that none of these scales were created for measuring Spanish HLA in the classroom, although they have been used for this purpose and with other HLs despite being created for L2 learners. While this facilitates making comparisons between L2 and HL learner groups as well as between HLs, there remains no common measure for other research exclusively seeking to understand (Spanish) HLA in the classroom. This is also because scales for specific HLs do not necessarily generalize from one HL to another. Luo's (2014) scale, for example, can be administered to Chinese HL learners, but cannot be administered with Spanish HL learners the same way. This is because it contains items that refer to features of Chinese not applicable to Spanish (i.e., tones, characters). A more generalized scale would then gloss over anxiety relevant to language-specific features. Aside from linguistic differences, HLs do not necessarily generalize to other HLs because of potential differences in historical contexts, social context, and vitality (e.g., language maintenance, community size and distribution). For example, Mandarin HL learners in the Greater Toronto Area may share some similarities with Spanish HL learners in the same area, but the nature of anxiety in these HLs may differ due to linguistic differences as well as the sizes of these HL communities (Statistics Canada, 2022).

Furthermore, the scales (except for Luo's, 2014) mainly target language anxiety within one communicative domain, such as speaking. Similarly, they may contain items about language anxiety in general, or have items focusing on social situations (e.g., the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire, Section 2.3.1) or classroom settings (e.g., the FLCAS, Section 2.3.3), but rarely both. What is missing, even with all these scales together, is a tool that can be used to measure HLA in learners that reflects how HLA experienced in the classroom relates to social, psychological, and emotional factors from beyond the classroom (e.g., socially dictated expectations, threatened belonging to HL community, etc.). Having a tool that reflects this

knowledge can measure HLA in a way that contributes a comprehensive understanding of a learner's HLA. This is not just for researching how to mitigate anxiety or plan a lesson, but this also serves to build more generalizable theoretical models of HLA that are able consider the relationships between a myriad of factors.

2.3.1 *The Adapted Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ)*

The Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) originally contains a question related to how anxious a speaker feels when speaking to different people in different situations for each of their languages (i.e., their L1, L2…). Sevinç and Dewaele (2018; Appendix A.I) adapted this question into a scale to solely inquire about self-reported anxiety in the HL and majority language of their participants (which were Turkish and Dutch, respectively). The adaptation makes clear that the language of focus in the scale is the speaker's HL, not just an L1 as in the original BEQ question. In this way, the scale was adapted with the intention of being used with HSs.

The scale contains nine items rated on a 5-point Likert scale that can be used for different languages by simply changing the name of the target language. As such, it has been used for other HLA research, such as Jee's (2020) work with Korean in Australia. Adaptability is one of its strengths; according to Sevinç and Dewaele (2018), the HLA set of items for this scale had an adequate internal consistency, and this was replicated by Jee (2020). This is promising since the scale is easily able to substitute different HLs and different regions. Other strengths are that this scale differentiates the anxiety experienced between interlocutors, even differentiating between familial relationships. It is also able to differentiate the social settings within which speakers could report experiencing anxiety. This allows for more precision when describing when and

with whom HSs experience HLA in their daily lives. For example, see items 5 and 6, which differentiate between HLA experienced in two settings:

Item 5: *Speaking Turkish with Turkish friends in Turkey.*

Item 6: *Speaking Turkish with Turkish friends in the Netherlands.*

While it is an appropriate heritage-specific scale that is indeed valuable for certain research questions, the scale by itself is not sufficient for building a comprehensive understanding of HLA because the scope of the scale is restricted to speaking. Adapting the scale for other communicative domains, such as listening or writing, would involve more than just substituting a few words. If the goal of the researcher or teacher is to understand HLA beyond speaking, then the scale cannot do so in its established form.

Additionally, this scale only captures HLA reported for social situations pertaining to informal, everyday contexts and it does not probe about HLA in academic contexts. While the scale does well in being able to measure HLA in daily life, as it was created to do, this does mean that HLA related to formal instruction needs to be measured with another tool or an adaptation of the BEQ if researchers and teachers seek to understand HLA in this setting.

Finally, the scale measures self-reported HLA during certain situations with certain people, but it cannot determine the causal connections that contribute to reported anxiety level. In other words, this scale provides information about when and with whom HLA appears, but how the anxiety manifests as well as why is not addressed. In fact, Sevinç and Backus (2019) used qualitative data to address those questions. For researchers or teachers seeking to better understand HLA in HL learners and how it can be mitigated, this scale alone is not sufficient.

2.3.2 *The Chinese Language Learning Anxiety Scale (CLLAS)*

This 16-item scale by Luo (2014; Appendix A.II) was created to measure HLA alongside L2 anxiety in the Chinese classroom (Standard Mandarin is what Luo meant by *Chinese*). It measures language anxiety for Chinese HL and L2 learners with a 5-point Likert scale for items based on the qualitative findings from focus groups conducted with these learners (Luo, 2014). As a result, it has a more general scope towards language anxiety as both HL and L2 learners were included in the scale's creation and application. As well, some of the items measure anxiety related to activities applicable to Chinese (e.g., writing characters) so that the scale is reflective of the learning process. While these items could be altered to relate to Spanish (e.g., spelling, accents) such modifications may require more than substituting a few words. However, this exemplifies how the scale is tailored to its intended population (L2 and HL learners of Chinese). This is a strength of the scale but of course a weakness with respect to whether it can be adapted exclusively for Spanish HL learners since the scale was also informed by data from L2 learners.

The CLLAS also has advantages because of its brevity and because its structure includes anxiety for all communicative domains (four items each for speaking, reading, writing, and listening). This sets it apart from the other scales reviewed here, and it is why I include it in this review even though it has not been adapted for Spanish HLA before. Nonetheless, the CLLAS is limited in terms of potentially being adapted for heritage Spanish learners, as already mentioned. The items themselves are general enough to apply to both HL and L2 learners (e.g., Item 1), and half of them also apply to HLA in any setting (e.g., Item 7):

Item 1: *When I'm reading Chinese, I get so confused I can't remember what I'm reading.*

Item 7: *I get nervous when all the Chinese tones sound the same to me.*

However, the tool still lacks items that could only apply to HL learners. Adding heritage-specific items could make this scale able to account for anxiety within the external, socially embedded facets of the HL while still considering classroom factors and HLA in general, as the CLLAS is able to do. This would help tap into the extent to which a learner's anxiety is tied to or maintained by factors beyond the classroom. For example, items could ask about anxiety related to family/community expectations, language ideology, identity, and so on.

2.3.3 *The Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS)*

The FLCAS put forward by Horwitz et al. (1986) has commonly been the scale used by researchers for measuring both foreign L2 anxiety and HLA in the classroom. This is especially convenient when studies wish to compare language anxiety scores across non-heritage and heritage samples within the same study and even across studies. The scale itself contains 33 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale that inquire about learner perceptions of and experiences with the target language, which can be substituted with another language name. The version of the FLCAS that I will reference when providing examples is the one that Tallon (2006) administered to L2 and HL learners of Spanish (Appendix A.III).

The focus of the FLCAS is on the classroom setting, with two items about testing situations. Ten items are specifically about speaking and two items are about listening, with the rest of the items (21) pertaining to the foreign language classroom in general or avoidance of the classroom. An example of a 'general' classroom item is item 1 in Tallon's version: *I don't worry about making mistakes in my Spanish class*. It does not refer to mistakes in speaking or another skill, but rather mistakes that can be made at any point in class. However, it is clear that when it comes to communicative domains, the FLCAS is mostly about speaking, as reflected in these examples:

Item 5: *I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in my Spanish class.*

Item 14: *I feel very self-conscious about speaking Spanish in front of other students.*

Despite its regular use in L2 anxiety and HLA research, several criticisms have been raised about the FLCAS. The main issue is that this scale was created for foreign language learners and developed with EFL learners. Tallon (2006; 2009) first questioned the suitability of the FLCAS with respect to Spanish HLA; how appropriate is this scale for learners who were socialised into the language when it was designed for learners with little to no engagement with the language outside the classroom? This sentiment was echoed again by Prada et al. (2020), who also used the FLCAS (albeit a shortened version) in their study. They called for further investigation into how HLA and related emotions interact and develop across contexts, such as the classroom, the learner's background, or everyday situations.

This does not mean that the FLCAS has been entirely inappropriate for HLA research—HLA studies that made use of the FLCAS (e.g., Jee, 2016; Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014) reported satisfactory internal consistency coefficients for the scale when applied to HL learners. Internal consistency refers to the internal reliability of an instrument, or the extent to which an instrument measures a construct in a way that yields consistent interpretations each time the construct is measured with that instrument (Norris & Ortega, 2003). A reliability coefficient evaluates reliability by estimating how much of an observed score or outcome of the instrument is due to the construct under study and how much is due to error (such as error within the tool or from the environment). Hence, 'satisfactory' internal consistency of the FLCAS across studies indicates that this scale has been able to measure HLA in a way that yields consistent interpretations of HLA in participants each time it is used.

However, some items could certainly be improved or removed to make the scale more relevant for HL learners and their context, especially when analysing individual items. Doing so

would allow for the interpretation of items to understand an individual's anxiety profile more fully, in addition to the analysis of an overall score. For example, see item 21: *I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak another language.* This seems to equate the learning of Spanish with the learning of additional languages later in life, for which the learner would possess limited previous knowledge or knowledge predominantly acquired in a classroom setting. A better item would be compatible with the fact that (post-secondary) HL learners already have Spanish grammars since the HL has a function in their lives, past and present. An example of how item 21 could be re-written is: *I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules I have to learn in Spanish class.*

A promising solution to the lack of items for HL learners is from Tallon (2006), who created seven heritage-centred items as a 'preliminary HLA scale' (Appendix A.IV) to be integrated into the FLCAS for improving its relevancy to HL learners. This allowed him to compare FLCAS scores with those of an L2 learner sample while also deriving a score for the heritage items that could be interpreted within the heritage sample. Most of the items are related to speaking, but overall, they are able to tap into anxiety related to self-perceptions, identity, and language ideologies. One representative item is Item 7: *I feel anxious when I talk with someone who speaks better Spanish than I do or who speaks "real" Spanish.*

Tallon was not the only researcher to question the relevance of the FLCAS to HLA and seek a solution. Luo (2014) supplied her own critique of the FLCAS when investigating anxiety in L2 learners and HL learners of Chinese. For her research, she decided to create a scale intended to include both learner groups instead of administering the FLCAS. While her research was about Chinese, her critique does illuminate some shortcomings that are relevant for this discussion about measuring Spanish HLA.

One argument to note is that the FLCAS does not reference certain aspects of a target language that can contribute to learner anxieties (Luo, 2014). As already described, items in the FLCAS were originally phrased with “the foreign language” functioning as a blank to be filled with the target language name. As such, the items were made to apply to any language. In Luo’s case, this meant that FLCAS could not ask about anxiety related to learning Chinese specifically, such as reading and writing new characters or learning the tones. For Spanish HLA, this means that the FLCAS does not capture anxiety around orthography, not to mention any literacy skills.

Luo also argued that some items are redundant. Upon reviewing the items, two stand out:

Item 8: *I would not be nervous speaking Spanish with native speakers.*

Item 33: *I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of Spanish.*

Item 8 is about how it would feel to speak with native speakers while item 33 seems to be about both active and passive participation (speaking and listening, or perhaps even messaging). They are referring to the same idea: the use of Spanish around native speakers, although item 8 is solely about speaking. Another issue is that HSs may feel anxious around some ‘native’ speakers but less so with others (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018). A learner who feels anxious around native speaking classmates, but not around native speaking family, might respond to this item the same way as a learner who feels the opposite. The item’s score would be the same, but the administrator of the scale will not know the extent to which the anxiety is situated in the classroom. This would be important for researchers to know if they want to focus on classroom HLA, but it would also be valuable for teachers attempting to mitigate that anxiety.

Another tricky item is item 24: *I am usually at ease during tests in my Spanish class.* This is asking about anxiety for Spanish tests but does not distinguish this from Test Anxiety, which is anxiety about failing testing situations (Horwitz et al., 1986). Similarly, because there are few

items about skill-based anxiety, this item does not distinguish between tests on reading or listening comprehension, writing, or speech. If there were more of a balance between skill-based anxieties in the FLCAS, perhaps this would not stand out as much. However, having this item be able to distinguish anxiety about Spanish tests from Test Anxiety would improve the relevancy to language anxiety. For instance, it could be phrased similarly to item 3: *I feel more tense and nervous in my Spanish class than in my other classes.*

Another criticism of the FLCAS is that, for a scale that is supposed to measure L2 classroom anxiety, there is no balance of items for the four communicative domains taught in classrooms. As described, skill-related items are mainly about speaking, with only two for listening. Reading and writing make no appearance, which is why researchers may opt for skill-specific scales to investigate anxiety in these areas (see Section 2.3.4). Considering that literacy skills are often vulnerable to HLA or sources of it, the sole use of the FLCAS will capture a limited understanding of both the level and nature of HLA in a learner.

Finally, Luo postulated that an ideal scale is one that represents all relevant facets of a construct, stating that not doing so risks the scale underrepresenting the construct or lacking relevancy to it. Her review of the literature confirmed that, as a construct, language anxiety encompasses all communicative domains: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Hence, her scale's structure and items were intended to fully represent this conceptualization by including a balance of items representing each skill area (in contrast with the FLCAS). Likewise, a comprehensive HLA scale would also have these four skill areas.

Teimouri et al. (2019) contributed an additional criticism with respect to the length of the FLCAS and whether it can be reduced for greater ease of administration and analysis. There does exist a shortened, eight-item version of the FLCAS that Prada et al. (2020) administered to both

HL and L2 Spanish learners. This shortened version was from Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014), who isolated those eight scale items for their research on anxiety and enjoyment in language learners (Appendix A.V). Whittling down the scale was therefore at the discretion of the authors and their research questions, not necessarily for the purpose of condensing the FLCAS (the items were chosen because they referenced physical symptoms, nervousness, and lack of confidence).

The use of Tallon's (2006) set of heritage items combined with the full FLCAS would not solve matters about length (the merged scale yields a total of 40 items). Nonetheless, it would incorporate some of the out-of-classroom factors that can influence the nature of classroom HLA. This is what Xiao and Wong (2014) elected to do when measuring anxiety in HL and L2 Chinese learners as they administered the full FLCAS merged with the preliminary HLA scale. Perhaps the total length of the merged scale could be improved for HLA measurement by integrating the heritage items with a shortened FLCAS. Regardless, this would not benefit researchers seeking to understand anxieties rooted in other skills (e.g., writing) unless the scale is structured more like Luo's (2014), with sub-sections.

Of course, length could also depend on the purpose of administration—teachers may not attend to the same items that researchers might, and vice versa. The FLCAS does not have sub-sections that allow for the selection of certain types of items; teachers and researchers would both administer the full scale unless they select individual items based on the purpose of using the scale, much like how Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) isolated items for their own study. Thus, a feasible HLA scale would be one that is applicable as well as adaptable to both research and instructional purposes. This could be in the form of sub-sections so that these can be removed or chosen in similar ways across studies if the full scale is not to be administered. For example, this is similar to how Luo's is structured (each communicative domain forms a sub-

section with four items) in addition to one that Prada et al. (2020) used to measure Trait Anxiety and Situational Anxiety: the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS) (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). The DASS has a sub-section for each concept so that researchers can measure one or two or all, depending on the purpose. In this case, Prada and colleagues simply administered the items designated to the Stress and Anxiety sub-sections.

2.3.4 ***Scales Specific to a Communicative Domain: the SLWAT, FLLAS, and FLRAS***

Studies measuring HLA, such as Tallon (2006), Xiao and Wong (2014), and Jee (2016), have used the FLCAS alongside skill-specific anxiety scales. Those that have been used for Spanish HLA are the Second Language Writing Apprehension Test (SLWAT) (Cheng et al., 1999), the Foreign Language Listening Anxiety Scale (FLLAS) (Kim, 2000), and the Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Scale (FLRAS) (Saito et al., 1999). All three scales use five-point Likert scales, and it is Tallon's Spanish versions of these tools that are included as appendices and examples. Because the skill-focused items of the FLCAS are primarily about speaking, these cited HLA studies did not adopt a separate "Speaking Anxiety" scale. This means that they kept the other items about listening and general language use when computing the overall score, except for Xiao and Wong (2014). These researchers administered Tallon's extended FLCAS for HL learners but also isolated the FLCAS items that specifically refer to speaking activities. By doing so, they created an ad-hoc 12-item speaking anxiety scale from those eight FLCAS items and four of the speaking-focused items from Tallon's heritage items.

The FLRAS (Appendix A.VI) is a 20-item scale that collects self-report data about anxiety during reading tasks as well as perceptions of reading difficulties (Saito et al., 1999). The creators tested this scale with foreign learners of Spanish, Russian, and Japanese. Although it has

been used in classroom learning environments, the items can apply to reading in the target language in general.

The SLWAT (Appendix A.VII) was adapted by Cheng et al. (1999) from the Writing Apprehension Test (Daly & Miller, 1975) and contains 29 items for the L2/foreign language learner. Cheng et al. created the SLWAT by recognizing that the FLCAS cannot measure L2 writing anxiety, and that this warranted a tool to measure it. The SLWAT asks about L2 writing anxiety in general, writing anxiety in the L2 classroom, and learner perceptions of writing tasks. It was tested with EFL learners living in Taiwan. Likewise, the FLLAS (Kim, 2000; Appendix A.VIII) is a 33-item scale that mainly asks about L2 listening anxiety in general, although it does have items pertinent to the classroom as well as learner perceptions of listening tasks. It was first validated with a sample of Korean EFL students.

One advantage of these three scales is that they can address skill-specific anxieties in general, especially the FLRAS. The SLWAT and the FLLAS also have items that only apply to the classroom context or testing context, respectively exemplified by these two items:

SLWAT Item 11: *Taking a Spanish composition course is a very frightening thought.*

FLLAS Item 11: *During Spanish listening tests, I get nervous and confused when I don't understand every word.*

The general scope of the FLRAS is useful for encompassing more than just the classroom environment, although without specific items to differentiate, this does obscure any nuances between reading in the classroom or academic texts versus reading for other purposes. One item that could interestingly apply to the cultural HL context is item 8: *Hispanic cultures and ideas seem very foreign to me.* This item can capture perceived cultural distance, which is relevant because wanting to feel closer to one's culture or family is often a reason for HL learners to seek

formal instruction, as already discussed. Feeling culturally distant from family or the HL community can certainly contribute to HLA through feelings of being an inadequate knower of the HL or member of the HL community.

However, much like the FLCAS, these three instruments were created to measure anxiety in the foreign/L2 language context. Considering the socio-emotional backgrounds of HL learners, certain items could be added or substituted to understand the sources of anxiety that might overlap outside the classroom. The SLWAT has items that already hint at this:

Item 9: *I have no fear of my Spanish writing being evaluated by the teacher*.

Item 15: *I have no fear of my Spanish writing being evaluated by people other than the teacher.*

These items acknowledge the fact that learners can experience language anxiety differently depending on the interlocutor or, rather, the potential evaluator. More HLA-conscious items, for example, would perhaps refer to fearing evaluation by Spanish-speakers who they feel close to or who they don't know very well, whether they be family, friends, or community members. This would avoid the need for items for each possible interlocutor (e.g., mother v. grandfather).

On the other hand, items like item 10 in the FLLAS do not align well with the HL literature: *I feel uncomfortable in class when listening to Spanish without the written text.* Since HL learners tend to be strongest at listening, it is unlikely that such an item would have been written for an HLA scale informed by the literature. This item seems more suited to foreign learners, who begin acquiring listening and reading skills at a similar pace, at least relative to HSs. Additionally, Tallon's (2006) results for the FLLAS found that only 13% of heritage learners reported "fairly high" or "very high" listening anxiety compared to 37% of non-heritage (L2) learners. Despite this, no inferential statistics were conducted for this result, and scores for item 10 are not provided.

However, including items about listening anxiety are still beneficial since HLA can certainly appear during listening task. This is reflected by the HL learners who did report feeling anxious during listening tasks in Tallon (2006) in addition to Luo's (2014) scale structure, as already reviewed. Even if an HL learner does not usually experience listening anxiety, items focused on this skill may function to illuminate which areas seem resistant to anxiety for a learner.

The use of skill-focused scales undoubtedly allows for more specificity in understanding language anxiety when administered together or alongside a more general scale. However, using all these scales together in addition to the FLCAS can be lengthy if they are not the only questions research participants would answer. Tallon (2006) did consider this when removing items from the SLWAT and FLLAS to reduce them to 20-item scales (although he did not explain how he decided to remove which items). The FLCAS, however, remained intact and Tallon incorporated the seven heritage-centred items described in the previous section. While there may not have been a perfect balance of skill-specific items, there were still 100 items. Perhaps an instrument like Luo's (2014), which has four items for each skill, is better suited for studies that wish to examine HLA across all domains (like this thesis).

2.3.5 *Scale Review Summary*

Several instruments have been used to measure HLA, but few were intended for HL learners. Sevinç and Dewaele's (2018) adaptation of the BEQ appears to be sufficient for measuring HLA in daily life, although only for speaking. For HLA in the classroom, a language-specific scale modeled after the structure of the CLLAS (Luo, 2014) would be an appropriate approach because the CLLAS measures anxiety with respect to the four language skills. An adaptation of the CLLAS itself may not be the best for a Spanish HLA scale since scores for the CLLAS

amalgamate the HL and L2 experience. This has a risk of obscuring the nuances that distinguish anxiety about an HL from anxiety about an L2.

Since the data in this thesis will be used to outline a preliminary HLA scale, a simple approach to measuring HLA without excessive length would be to organize the scale like the CLLAS while also including heritage-centred items similar to Tallon's (2006). Doing so would reflect how the literature suggests that anxiety originating from outside the classroom can colour anxiety in class. For example, three of the items in Tallon's set refer to how anxiety can be tied to learner conceptualizations of ethnic identity and language use:

Item 2: *I feel bad that I have a Hispanic last name but do not understand or speak Spanish.*

Item 4: *I feel bad that I don't speak Spanish because people expect me to know it anyway.*

Item 7: *I feel anxious when I talk with someone who speaks better Spanish than I do or who speaks "real" Spanish.*

In sum, a scale that can acknowledge both the academic and socio-emotional foundations of HLA would serve to better appreciate the nature of learners' anxiety as well as research into which factors can be addressed by the instructor or curriculum (such as skill-based anxieties). Having a (Spanish) HLA scale for use in different studies would also sustain the ability to compare results across samples.

2.4 Self-Concepts, and the Subjectivity of (HL) Anxiety

Although the previous section has been about the quantitative measurement of HLA, there is something to be said about how HLA, as an anxiety, remains a subjective experience. One way to approach this discussion is through the idea of *self-concepts* (Sussman, 2000). Self-concepts are mental representations of how people perceive themselves in addition to what they know and believe about themselves. Self-concepts are multifaceted conceptualizations and will vary in

stability and structure between (and within) individuals. These representations include the roles that individuals fulfill in their lives and relationships; their intrinsic goals, expectations, and values; and their self-image and self-esteem (Şimşek & Dörnyei, 2017; Sussman, 2000). They also guide behaviour by acting as a framework for how people navigate and interact with their environment. Crucially, these conceptualizations of the self are dynamic and malleable as they are influenced by life events (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Self-concepts can act as self-schemas, or 'templates' about the self that can be used to process and interpret these events (Sussman, 2000).

The self-schemas that are relevant to HSs and their engagement with an HL will include knowledge of past experiences with the HL, what they know about themselves (such as traits and characteristics), and their knowledge and beliefs about how they fit in as members to the social groups relevant to the HL (e.g., ethnic, linguistic, racial groups). For instance, HSs may believe that engagement with the HL has led to anxiety or negative outcomes in the past and know they prefer to avoid using the HL as a way to elude that negativity.

The content and structure of these schemas and self-concepts can therefore guide how HSs behave or react to situations related to the HL—such as the post-secondary HL classroom. This is why I include a discussion about self-concepts, because these are shaped by the perceptions learners have about their experiences and of themselves. This is another way in which my approach to this research is the 'person-in-context' (Ushioda, 2009), because anxiety is couched within a learner and their interactions with their environment. Perception is what shapes many of the other subjective elements of anxiety, such as what learners believe to be the cause of anxiety, how they think it impacts them, and how they *feel* it. Many of the items in the scales reviewed in Section 2.3 tap into these perceptions because they are valuable for understanding anxiety.

Since self-concepts and HLA can overlap with respect to notions of the self as a knower and learner of Spanish, it seems relevant to include personal narratives into this discussion, in addition to data collection. According to Dörnyei and Ryan (2015), one way that individuals process and understand their life experiences is through ongoing, internal narratives. These dynamic narratives are how individuals attempt to make sense of the world around them and assign meanings to life events; thus, narratives reveal how experiences are perceived, communicated, and internalized (if at all). Narratives can guide how identity is constructed and how individuals organize their life experiences and sense of self (Kubota et al., 2022; Sussman, 2000). This concept has been applied by Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) to the learner's understanding of the L2 learning process through the *L2 narrative self*. This refers to the portions of a learner's internal narrative that focus on the subjective interpretations of events related to the target language, the learning process, and who they are as a (language) learner. For a 'HS narrative self', I assume that it would also involve the matter of who HSs think they are as knowers and users of the HL before they even step into the post-secondary HL classroom.

Therefore, subjective aspects of the self can relate to HLA based on how HSs perceive themselves and interpret life experiences, including learning experiences. For example, feeling obligated to meet expectations about high proficiency in all language skills could spur anxiety in a heritage learner who is writing an essay in Spanish for the first time. Reminders of these expectations can persist by way of events that are interpreted as anxiety-provoking and integrated as such into a learner's personal narrative; these events could involve noticing errors marked on a writing test, having a 'non-native' accent be pointed out, or not recognizing words in a book. This is why the data collection materials in this study incorporate questions about particular aspects of the Spanish-knowing self: the expectations, goals, values, and self-images

as related to Spanish. For instance, an interview question is '*What kind of Spanish speaker do you want to be?',* to elicit participants' notions of how they want to use and know Spanish.

This connection of self-concepts to anxiety is based on Higgins' (1987) *self-discrepancy theory*, although this is originally a theory about motivation. Higgins posited that motivation is generated from the conflict between an individual's *actual* self and their *ideal* and *ought* selves. This conflict is uncomfortable, so the individual is motivated to reduce that psychological discomfort by bringing their actual, current self closer to the versions of themselves that they aspire to be or feel obligated to be. To situate this theory within the field of SLA, there is the *L2 motivational self* (Dörnyei, 2005). I broadly apply this theory to this thesis for the purposes of approaching HLA from a learner-centred, 'person-in-context' perspective that considers the self-images of learners as well as the influence of families and/or communities on those images.

The L2 motivational self is an adaptation of Higgins' theory as another motivational system for the language learner. Other motivational systems commonly found in SLA and Applied Linguistics are the intrinsic-extrinsic motivation model and the integrative-instrumental motivation model (Dörnyei, 2009). These can be united with the theory of an L2 motivational self since these types of motivation could be found within learners' actual and possible self-concepts[3]. These are 'possible' selves relative to the 'actual' self, which houses the self-knowledge one has at the present time as well as knowledge about how other people currently see them (Dörnyei, 2009; Higgins, 1987). This self-knowledge may be subconscious or within the learner's awareness; Higgins suggested that an awareness of self-discrepancy may not be necessary for it to fuel motivation, although individuals are often already conscious of at least some of the content of their ideal and ought selves.

[3] See Dörnyei (2009) for a discussion on the issues of reconciling theories of motivation and self-concepts.

Dörnyei (2009) emphasised two possible selves that are relevant to the L2 learner: the *ideal* L2 self and the *ought-to* L2 self. Following Higgins (1987), one's ideal self characterises who they aspire to be, while the ought-to L2 self reflects who one thinks they should be, based on the characteristics and responsibilities that are expected by others or the individual. Dörnyei argued that these concepts act as guides for a language learner's future self, in that they comprise part of a learner's motivational system by promoting behaviours that will bring the learner's actual self-closer to these possible self-concepts. However, this is only the case if the learner thinks that these versions are realistic and attainable (Rubio-Alcalá, 2017). Another way these self-concepts contribute to the learner's motivational system is self-discrepancy—learners will want to reduce the psychological distance between their current (actual) self and L2 ideal/ought-to selves.

As previously assumed, HSs will have self-concepts related to their HL and cultural heritage. HL learners will then have motivations and goals related to an *ideal* Spanish-knowing self, the internal representation embodying the (linguistic) behaviours, skills, and knowledge that they desire to have as Spanish speakers. Similarly, external expectations can inform an *ought-to* Spanish-knowing self, a concept containing features of how a Spanish speaker 'ought-to' act and what they 'ought-to' know. It is an understanding of the standards found in an HL learner's environment, which can come from a learner's teacher, peers, their family, or their ethnic community, for instance. (Dörnyei, 2009). Not all of these external stipulations for what 'ought' to be are internalized, but those that are may also be found in the ideal self (Rubio-Alcalá, 2017).

External standards may also come from socially constructed archetypes of Spanish speakers that are fashioned by Hispanic communities (both diasporic and homeland communities) as well as majority language communities (Rosa, 2019; Tseng, 2021). Such an archetypal Spanish speaker would fulfill all the 'oughts', perhaps satisfying prescriptive language attitudes about

competence and ‘proper’ Spanish, while balancing acculturation into the majority language and culture. Prescriptive attitudes may reflect judgemental views of code-switching (‘Spanglish’), which vernaculars are considered prestigious, expectations of monolingual-like performance, and so on (Torres & Turner, 2017; Tseng, 2021).

This would not be the first time that Dörnyei’s theory is extended to HL learners. For example, Xie (2014) explored this theory with post-secondary HL and L2 learners of Chinese, although she maintained the ‘L2 self’ label for the self-concepts of HL learners. Her research showed that this theory can certainly be applied to HL learners to understand their motivational system as well as their perspectives towards the HL and the learning process. By using (L2) self-concepts to approach the study, Xie illuminated some of the differences between HL and L2 learners in terms of motivation and perceptions of Chinese. Most relevant was the finding that many HL learners were enrolled in the class not just to learn but also to ‘invest’ in the development of their identities. Moreover, family played a critical role in moulding the perceptions and expectations of HL learners as well as the content of their possible HL selves.

Therefore, self-discrepancy theory and the L2 motivational self are theories that can be used to approach HLA by proposing the existence of ‘HL-knowing’ or ‘HS’ selves like there are for an L2. These theories reflect the mutability of the self with respect to the influence of context, life events, and interpersonal relationships. They can also explain how some anxieties can be linked to personal or non-academic contexts yet persist in the classroom. Moreover, while these theories may be applied to an L2 or HL self during a given time period, the subjective nature of identity means that self-concepts can change over the lifespan (McEntee-Atalianis, 2019).

Although these theories are focused on motivation, they do explain how psychological discomfort can be related to identity and internal or external expectations. This is because

identity, attitudes, and motivation are socially constructed and negotiated within the individual and through interpersonal contact. What's more, the components that comprise one's self-concept will change "over time and space…possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in the individual," (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 5). For example, ethnic identity does not necessarily shift from one group to another as if it is all or nothing; rather, identification with a group at any given time can be viewed as a point on a continuum.

Due to the subjective nature of anxiety and the psycho-social systems it connects to, I believe that considering self-concepts related to language is a valuable discussion in HL research. Incorporating this epistemological, qualitative perspective to HL learners' self-knowledge will support an understanding of HLA that is nuanced, personal, and emphasises the relevance of the learner's context. This not only contributes to the field's understanding of Canadian HSs, but also contributes data that can be used to make more deliberate, informed decisions about instruments being administered for (Spanish) HLA measurement. In this thesis, identity will be a component to be integrated into the discussion of HLA measurement and scale development.

2.5 Objectives and Research Questions

In this chapter I have identified the need for a measurement tool for (Spanish) HLA in addition to outlining how the Heritage Spanish speaker and learner experience in Canada is still in the process of being understood. Hence, the objectives of this thesis are to:

1. Better understand the anxieties and experiences of Spanish HL learners in Canada.
2. Contribute to the development of a Spanish HLA scale for future research and classroom use.

I address these issues by posing two guiding research questions:

1. What are the reasons for and manifestations of HLA in Canadian post-secondary learners of Spanish?
2. How can identifying these inform the development of an HLA-specific instrument?

Chapter 3: Method

The present study adopts both a quantitative and deductive, qualitative approach (Vaismoradi, 2013). This type of research design is useful for applying previous findings about Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) to the current data. As well, this approach is appropriate for the early stages of scale development since the research findings can contribute to what is included in the content of a scale and how items are organized (Luo, 2014). When paired with findings from the existing literature, this method can not only be used to compare the anxieties previously found for Canadian heritage speakers (HSs) of Spanish, but it can also ensure that a new Spanish HLA scale can more appropriately represent the anxieties that HSs may have, including those that are based in identity or social factors (Tallon, 2009). Qualitative data also lends itself to detailed and rich information and description, such that the data will simultaneously contribute to outlining the state of HSs of Spanish in Canada, and of HLA in this group. As such, including a qualitative method allows participants to build and present personal narratives since experiences with HLA (and language anxieties in general) are subjective and nuanced (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Although only quantitative data can determine statistically significant correlational or causal relationships, the main method of this study allows participants to provide what they *perceive* to be the causes and consequences of their HLA. The subjectivity of anxiety and the role of individual perception is therefore best studied through a mixed-methods approach. Within the variation in experiences that can be found amongst participants, the findings of past research suggest that there are common patterns with respect to the sources and manifestations of HLA. Observing any overlapping experiences from these HSs is vital for the field's understanding of this topic, even coming from a small sample. This is also important data to collect when the research relates to subjective perceptions of the *self*, such as self-perceived

proficiency (which learners tend to judge accurately in comparison to more standard measures of proficiency, although anxious learners might underestimate their proficiency; Luque et al., 2022; MacIntyre et al., 1997). Exploring these nuances can further inform the development of an instrument meant to measure HLA in research or heritage language (HL) classroom contexts.

3.1 Participants

This study received ethics approval (Appendix B) or an acknowledgement of ethics approval from all institutions from which students were actively recruited. A call for participants was circulated within departments that offer programs or courses in Spanish, Latin American Studies, and Linguistics at several universities in six provinces across Canada. The call was also circulated within Latin American and/or Spanish-language student organizations, and it encouraged readers to share it if they knew someone who might be interested in participating. Potential participants contacted the researcher directly for screening according to these criteria:

- Born in Canada or arrived at age 5 or younger; and
- Grew up (in Canada) speaking Spanish at home with at least one Spanish-speaking guardian; and
- At least one Spanish-speaking guardian arrived from a Spanish- speaking country and/or grew up speaking Spanish at home; and
- Has been or is currently enrolled in at least one Spanish class at a Canadian university or college.

If eligible, participants provided consent before receiving a link to an online questionnaire, for which they were compensated with a digital gift card. At the end of the questionnaire, participants indicated whether they were willing to be contacted about being interviewed. This

allowed for fewer interviews than questionnaires to be administered since interviews already elicit ample amounts of data for analysis. I also did not know how many questionnaire responses I would receive, so I initially prioritized which participants to invite based on the following selection criteria intended to balance different backgrounds:

- Type of Spanish class(es) taken: Classes intended for heritage speakers or classes intended for all speaker backgrounds (e.g., L2)
- Number of Spanish classes taken: 1, 2, 3 or more
- Region: A balance (where possible) of different provinces and territories where participants grew up or attend university/college.
- Variety/Dialect of Spanish: Avoiding where possible the over-representation of one or two varieties.
- Previous Spanish exposure: Primarily at home, or a consistent mix of exposure at home and in the community (e.g., annual Spanish camps, regular community functions, etc.)
- Gender: A balance (as much as possible) of different genders.

Regardless, there were few enough responses that I ultimately invited all participants who had indicated their interest in an interview for additional compensation.

Participants were recruited from across Canada rather than a specific region to ensure a sufficient sample size as well as a varied sample for data collection. Based on the census data previously summarized, few eligible and willing participants were expected to be available in a single city or province, despite major cities having higher numbers of heritage speakers (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017). Further, the study aims to illustrate what experiences HSs across Canada may have in common, while also being able to consider the differences in participants' experiences and how these can best be captured by an HLA scale. These may differ because the

characteristics of communities for the same HL may vary, even within a single region. This might be because of variation in how HSs are spread out, or because the HL itself can be spoken in multiple countries or by multiple groups (e.g., there can be HSs with families from Spain, Paraguay, and/or the Dominican Republic; and there are HSs who belong to Indigenous and/or *afrodescendiente* communities.). By recording the Canadian provinces in which an HS has lived, their ethnic identifications, and where they enrolled in post-secondary Spanish classes, the data can attempt to illustrate differences in HS experiences so as not to favour one context.

I (the researcher) had a similar background as the participants, mainly as an HS of Spanish in Canada. This facilitated establishing a sense of connection to participants during the study so they could be candid and express themselves as naturally as possible. For instance, participants were able to answer in English, Spanish, or both at any time during data collection.

3.1.1 *Sample*

A total of 11 participants responded to the questionnaire, with a completion rate of 100% (all participants who clicked to begin the questionnaire also reached the end). Eight of these participants expressed their willingness to be interviewed and all were invited to do so; seven participants accepted. Overall, participants identified origins from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America (from both parents, except for one participant with a non-Hispanic parent). Participants were taking or had taken Spanish courses at nine post-secondary institutions, with four of these situated in Ontario, another four in Quebec, and one in Alberta. At the time of the study, participants were currently enrolled or had just been enrolled in six of the nine institutions where they attended a Spanish class.

As well, nine participants identified themselves as women, one participant as non-binary, and one as a man. Most participants' ages ranged from 19 to 29, excluding one participant who

preferred not to disclose their age. The average age was 22.3, and the median was 21. Of the seven participants that also contributed interview data, the average age was 22.7 and there were five women, one man, and one non-binary person. Further demographic statistics and language history for the sample are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 in Section 3.3.2.

3.2 Data Collection Materials

To create this study's data collection materials, I reviewed the HLA literature to examine what prior research had found for the characteristics of HLA, possible causes, and potential impacts on the HS as both a learner and language user. While the focus was on Spanish HLA, I also consulted more general studies on HLA, bilingualism in HSs of Spanish, and language anxiety, which are reviewed in Chapter 2. I specifically looked at which instruments, questions, and frameworks had been used in these past studies and integrated this knowledge into the design of the questionnaire, interview prompts, and a coding scheme used to analyse qualitative data. The questionnaire and interview prompts also contain items that relate to specific emotions such as embarrassment or enjoyment in order to acknowledge how other affective experiences may relate to how learners perceive events (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014).

3.2.1 *Questionnaire*

Participants filled out a questionnaire with a total of 38 questions that was divided into five sections (see Appendix C.I). It took approximately 20 minutes for participants to complete. It asked about their demographic backgrounds, such as age, gender, ethnic identification, and language history. It also inquired about participants' experiences with Spanish while growing up and in the post-secondary classroom, including their anxieties in these contexts. This was mainly achieved with close-ended questions, which were multiple choice unless participants had to

supply an individual answer (such as age). The multiple-choice questions involved ratings using mostly 5-point Likert scales, with the exception of ratings of agreement (out of 7) and ratings of anxiety level (out of 6). The differences between 5, 6, or 7 points in the scales were meant to capture nuances in ratings or to maintain consistency with similar scales used in past studies; agreement scales are typically 5 points, such as in the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986), and ratings of anxiety level for each linguistic skill were on the same 6-point scale as proficiency ('Very High' to 'Very Low' anxiety levels). Additionally, the close-ended questions were followed by open-ended questions to allow participants to elaborate on their ratings if they desired. Additional short answer questions also inquired about participants' experiences with Spanish in both general and specific settings (such as school or their community).

This questionnaire was informed by the literature, the research questions, and the study objectives. In terms of referencing the literature, I reviewed the structure and content of previous surveys on language anxiety or bilingualism. I consulted Beaudrie (2009), Birdsong et al. (2012), Dewaele and Pavlenko (2001-2003), Luo (2014), Prada et al. (2020), Sevniç and Dewaele (2018), and Tallon (2006; 2009). These guided my choices with respect to individual items within the current questionnaire, especially for word choices since participants may use other words to describe anxiety, such as feeling 'bad', 'uncomfortable', 'uneasy', or 'stressed'. Additionally, I took note of factors relevant to HLA that I could include. For example, Tallon's (2006) set of heritage items includes an item about external expectations:

Item 4: *I feel bad that I don't speak Spanish because people expect me to know it anyway.*

This idea about anxiety and external expectations of Spanish proficiency is also reflected in other literature, as reviewed in Chapter 2. Thus, this factor was included in the current questionnaire as:

Question V.3, item j: *I feel bad that my Spanish isn't as strong as people expect.*

A more direct adaptation to note is Questions 5 and 6 in Section III, which were modified from the BEQ (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), an instrument introduced in Section 2.3.1. This was to collect data about code-switching behaviour with different people or situations. Similarly, Question 5 in Section V was adapted from Sevniç and Dewaele's (2018) own version of the BEQ (also discussed in Section 2.3.1) by following its manner of distinguishing anxiety by relationships and settings. Incorporating this type of question structure served to understand when and with whom participants report HLA, including within the classroom environment.

As well, items *h* and *i* in Section III, Question 4 are from Birdsong et al. (2012). Incorporating these items contributes to understanding HLA in respondents as it may relate to a sense of community and HS identity through one's perceived or desired skill level:

Item h: *It's important to me to use Spanish like a native speaker.*

Item i: *I want others to think I am a native speaker of Spanish.*

3.2.2 *Semi-Structured Interview Schedule*

I prepared a schedule for semi-structured interviews with possible prompts or questions that allowed participants to discuss the topics in the questionnaire in more detail (see Appendix C.II). The creation and selection of questions was also guided by the research questions and objectives. This was partially done by reviewing the contents of the questionnaire and incorporating items that would give participants the opportunity to expand on their answers. Other questions were informed by the findings from previous research in the Heritage Spanish and HLA literature, such as notions of ethnic identity or anxiety specific to communicative domains (e.g., Section 2.2.1). Questions related to the literature on ideal and ought-to self-concepts (reviewed in Section

2.4) were also included since the format of an interview would allow participants to reflect upon and discuss these more abstract concepts.

The interviews functioned to support the understanding of potential factors related to HLA as perceived by HL learners. The intention was to elicit more in-depth narratives about participants' anxieties, backgrounds, and language use as HL learners of Spanish in Canada. Such rich data strengthens the transferability of this project by allowing this thesis to provide ample description of its participants. This refers to the extent to which the study's findings can be 'transferred' or applied to another qualitative sample or context, such as a classroom cohort (Huang, 2021).

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

Data collection took place for approximately 5 weeks, beginning in early September of 2022 and concluding in mid-October.

3.3.1 *Pilot Study*

One participant supplied pilot data for the questionnaire and interview in order to identify any ambiguities or issues in the main procedure for data collection (none were observed). Their interview transcript was later used to pilot and refine the qualitative coding scheme (Section 3.4.2). Later, the pilot data also served to train a university colleague who acted as a second coder for this project. She was introduced to the topic of HLA, the purpose of the study, and the coding procedure, before going on to code 30% of the open-ended survey questions and interviews. After this initial round of coding, I refined the scheme where necessary, such as by writing descriptions for each code.

3.3.2 *Main Study*

Participants asynchronously completed the online questionnaire through SurveyMonkey (Momentive, 2022). At the end, participants indicated whether they would be willing to be interviewed to discuss their experiences in more depth. The questionnaire was administered in English although participants were given the option of providing answers in Spanish or both languages. All participants answered in English except for one. Their individual responses were exported as PDFs, where I made notes and highlighted sections to identify topics to discuss in an interview or to record my initial impressions of the data.

If willing, participants attended a one-on-one interview with the researcher over Zoom (Zoom Video Communications, 2022). Participants discussed topics prepared in the interview schedule in addition to elaborating on the areas I had highlighted in their questionnaire responses. Participants had the option to answer in English, Spanish, or both at any time, although the interviews started in English. If participants switched to Spanish, then I also switched to Spanish to preserve the flow of the conversation. Overall, participants answered in either English or Spanish, but would sometimes code-switch briefly when quoting someone or giving an example.

The interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed by the researcher for data analysis (and translated into English, where necessary). A Spanish-speaking colleague from UVic acted as a transcription checker to verify that all of the audio recordings were correctly transcribed and that translations from Spanish into English preserved the original meaning. Since only the content of participants' speech was relevant for analysis, transcripts follow standard spelling and punctuation alongside the protocol in Table 1 for consistency (Tagliamonte, 2006):

Table 1

Transcription Protocol

Representation	Meaning
…	Audible pauses, trailing off
-	False starts, self-corrections, interruptions
CAPS	Emphasis
()	Noises: e.g., (laughs); incomprehensible speech: (inc.), (?)
italics	Code-switch/use of another language
[]	English translation, when preceded by Spanish; De-identified information, e.g., "When I went to [name of high school]…"

Any Spanish in the transcripts was translated into English since the second coder did not know Spanish. However, the colleague who verified the transcriptions' accuracy was proficient in Spanish and able to also verify the translations, which improves the validity of the data.

During this data collection, I continued to keep notes of impressions that I gleaned from the data as I reviewed questionnaire responses or concluded an interview. This helped to organize information for reference while I prepared for interviews or analysed and interpreted the data. This notetaking also helped to account for personal biases that influenced what information seemed salient to me and what might have been overlooked upon first glance.

Finally, during analysis, participants received a document with demographic data and quotations as they might appear in this thesis from their questionnaire submission or interview transcript. Participants were thus able to view selected quotations and I was able to ask for clarifications of their quotes or participant profile if needed. This member check of the data served to strengthen the credibility of the subsequent findings, which is the extent to which the findings are considered accurate representations of participants' experiences (Huang, 2021).

In terms of the demographic profiles and language backgrounds of the participants in the main study, this information is aggregated in Table 2:

Table 2

Survey and Interview Data: Sample Demographics and Language Background (N = 11)

Place of Birth	63.6% born in Canada 36.4% born in a Spanish-speaking country, but arrived in Canada between ages 1 to 5 (Median age = 4.5, Mode = 5)
Provinces lived in before adulthood	Ontario: 63.6% Quebec: 36.4% Alberta: 9.1%
Age of onset of acquisition: Spanish	Range = 0 – 3 $\bar{x}$ = 0.27 Mdn = 0 Mode = 0
Age of onset of acquisition: Majority language	Range = 0 – 5 $\bar{x}$ = 2 Mdn = 1 Mode = 0
Varieties of Spanish spoken (as identified by participants)	From North and Central America: Mexican (*n* = 3), Guatemalan (*n* = 2), Salvadoran From the Caribbean: Cuban, Dominican From South America: Colombian (*n* = 4; including *Cachaco* and *Valluno* dialects), Peruvian (*n* = 2), Argentinian, Ecuadorian, Venezuelan
Ethnic and cultural identifications* *Participants could select multiple identities	100% identify as Latino or Latinx 81.8% identify with the culture(s) of their heritage 54.5% identify with Canadian culture 54.5% identify as Hispanic 9.1% identify as Afro-Latino

Average self-rated use of Spanish before adulthood	From 0 (Never used Spanish) to 4 (Always used Spanish): Range = 1.55 – 2.89 $\bar{x}$ = 2.26 Mdn = 2.3 *SD* = 0.4
Average self-rated exposure to Spanish literacy at home before adulthood	From 0 (Never) to 4 (Weekly): Range = 0.5 – 4 $\bar{x}$ = 2.5 Mdn = 2.5 *SD* = 1.24
Overall self-rated global Spanish proficiency (current)	From 1 (Very Low) to 5 (Very High): Range = 3.75 – 4.75 $\bar{x}$ = 4.14 Mdn = 4 *SD* = 0.3

In terms of the seven participants who also attended interviews, five were born in Canada while the other two arrived at age 5, and most grew up in Ontario (two participants grew up in Quebec and Alberta). Other aspects of the interview sample profile remain similar to that of the main sample, except that a higher proportion of the sub-sample (71.4%) reported identifying with a Canadian identity, with only two participants solely identifying with non-Canadian identities. Additionally, the average exposure to Spanish literacy at home before adulthood was slightly higher in this sub-sample with a score of 3 (compared to the broader sample's score of 2.5). This corresponds to reading or writing in Spanish an average of at least once a month.

Table 3 presents additional descriptive statistics that illustrate the context of participants with respect to their exposure to formal instruction in Spanish:

Table 3

Survey Data: Exposure of Sample to Formal Spanish Instruction (N = 11)

Spanish instruction before adulthood	45.5% had no Spanish instruction outside the home 27.3% had taken at least one class in high school 27.3% had 1-2 years of weekly programs
Province of post-sec. instruction	54.5% in Ontario, 36.4% in Quebec, 9.1% in Alberta
Past and present post-sec. Spanish class types	72.7% had taken an L2 Spanish course 36.4% had taken a Heritage Spanish course 9.1% had taken a Spanish Literature course
Past and present post-sec. Spanish class levels (non-HL)	45.5% had taken an Intermediate class, 18.2% an Introductory class, and 18.2% an Advanced class
Number of post-sec. Spanish classes taken and/or currently taking	Range = 1 – 4, $\bar{x}$ = 1.64, Mdn = 1, Mode = 1 *Number of semesters:* Range = 0.5 – 6, $\bar{x}$ = 2.38, Mdn = 2, Mode = 2

Once again, the interview sample (n = 7) had a very similar profile as the main sample in terms of experiences with formal Spanish instruction. However, there was an equal number of participants who had only learned Spanish at home as those who had experienced Spanish instruction in high school. Only one participant had attended an after-school program. Finally, four out of the seven participants had taken a heritage-track Spanish class, with the rest having taken or were currently taking introductory or intermediate-level courses.

3.4 Data Analysis

All questionnaire responses were exported into an Excel spreadsheet, while individual responses were exported as PDFs for notation and highlighting. I also extracted each participants' responses to the short answer items into a separate document for qualitative coding

in NVivo 12 (QSR International, 2020). Interview transcripts were created in a Word document, with all lines numbered in preparation for analysis.

Close-ended survey questions were analysed quantitatively in Excel to generate descriptive statistics that represent the profile of the current sample with respect to demographics and language background. Other descriptive statistics, such as means, came from Likert scale ratings, which were ratings of agreement or self-rated proficiency and anxiety level. By way of understanding participants' backgrounds with Spanish, the quantitative data also assisted with the interpretation of the qualitative data for each participant and the overall sample.

Meanwhile, the qualitative data from open-ended questions and interviews underwent a deductive content analysis, in which the data was coded according to predetermined codes and categories (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). This is instead of an inductive analysis that derives codes from the data itself. However, the current content analysis was ultimately 'abductive', or a combination of deductive and inductive analyses since the coding scheme was refined according to responses emergent in the pilot and study data (Graneheim et al., 2017). Thus, the deductive nature of coding made it possible to systematically identify patterns as well as the connections between them within an existing framework. The inductive aspects of coding served to revise the coding scheme to best reflect the content in the data. Additionally, a randomly selected 30% of the data was coded by a second coder. The scheme and coding process are described in detail in Section 3.4.2.

3.4.1 *Quantitative Data: Descriptive Statistics*

Close-ended questionnaire responses (except for current age) were coded into nominal or ordinal data if not already collected as such in the questionnaire. For example, Likert scales collected ordinal data by having participants select items by label, such as 'Strongly Agree' or

'Disagree'. However, these were all written with a corresponding number in mind so that a number with a higher value corresponds to the label or categorical value that is 'more' or a higher amount of what was being measured (e.g., 'always' using Spanish with grandparents growing up corresponded to a score of 4 out of 4). This way, the Likert scale data could be analysed like numeric data (such as age) by calculating means, medians, and/or modes.

Finally, questions where participants had to supply an answer without a fixed set of options were coded as shown in Table 4 when analysed in cross-tabulations:

Table 4

Close-Ended Survey Question Coding

Variable	Codes
Age arrived in Canada	0 = Born in Canada <6 = Age 5 or younger (before Grade 1)
Age of onset of acquisition: Majority language	0 = Birth <3 = age 2 or younger 3 – 5
Prior instruction in Spanish	H = Home only EC = Extra-curricular (Saturday/after-school program) HS = High school
Amount of post-secondary Spanish instruction	1 = One class lasting at least one semester 2 = One or two classes totalling two semesters 3+ = Two or more classes totalling at least three semesters
Type of post-secondary Spanish instruction	L2= Foreign language (mixed) course HL= Heritage-track course SP = Specialized course (e.g., literature, linguistics)
Level of post-secondary Spanish instruction	BEG = Introductory/Beginner INT = Intermediate ADV = Advanced HER = Heritage-specific

In terms of the quantitative data, there are efforts to improve its quality as it is primarily intended to support the interpretation of the qualitative data. To enhance the internal validity of the quantitative data, the questionnaire triangulates data by including different question types for measuring anxiety. As well, the data is triangulated by sourcing and analysing qualitative data. This strengthens the quality of the inferences made from the data (Huang, 2021). This also connects to the reliability of the quantitative data, which is strengthened by conducting correlational analyses between the three types of questions querying the different facets of HLA. Although not all correlations were statistically significant, the values themselves indicate moderate to strong correlational strength.

For the external validity (generalizability) of this study, the measurement tools are based on existing methods of investigating anxiety, and language background and attitudes. While the sample size is small for quantitative data collection, the generalizability of the data is enhanced by the sampling method, which yielded HSs who represented a variety of institutions, classrooms, and cultural backgrounds.

Finally, the objectivity of the quantitative data is strengthened by including detailed descriptions of recruitment, data collection, and analysis/interpretation, which support the transparency and replicability of the study (all data collection materials and coding schemes are attached in Appendix C). This transparency includes descriptions of how I used notetaking when reviewing each questionnaire submission as a means of preparing for the semi-structured interviews while also noting any biases in how I was approaching the data.

3.4.2 *Qualitative Data: Content Analysis*

I elected to approach qualitative data through a content analysis due to its use in similar studies in HLA (e.g., Prada et al., 2020). I also chose a mainly deductive approach rather than an

inductive one because the literature already provides existing frameworks and findings with which to code. Thus, the current research builds upon existing work and was able to anticipate some of the codes found in the data. I selected this approach instead of Grounded Theory, which similar studies have used (e.g., Torres & Turner, 2017; Sevinç & Backus, 2019). Grounded Theory involves assigning codes to the data as they emerge during analysis—the codes are not prepared or organized in advance. Hence, this generates a theory that is 'grounded' within the data being analysed. Such an approach would have been better suited if there were little research on HLA to reference and if a higher level of interpretation were needed to extract themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

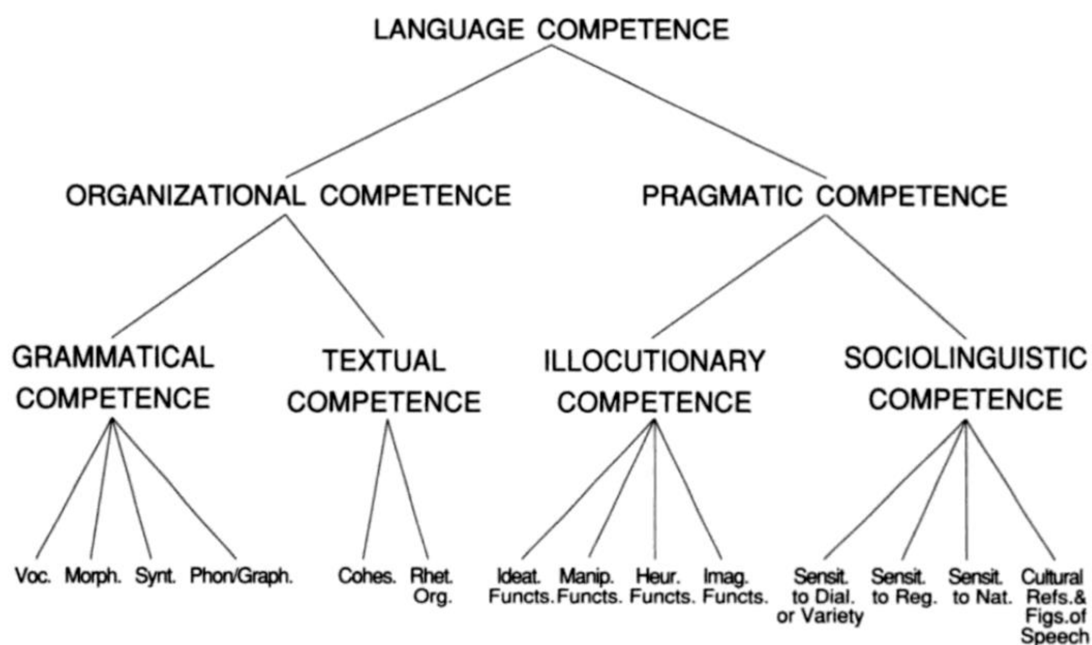
The short version of the final coding scheme lists all codes found in the data and their hierarchy (Appendix C.III) while a longer version includes descriptions and examples for each code (Appendix C.IV). The scheme categorized codes based on how they related to HLA, such as being a potential source of anxiety. Further organization of the scheme was based on the literature review of language anxiety, HLA, and Heritage Spanish summarized in Chapter 2. For example, the factors involved in the broader category of 'Causes of HLA' were separated into the sub-categories 'linguistic', 'cognitive', 'socio-emotional' and 'classroom-specific', similar to the frameworks used by MacIntyre (2017) and Sevniç and Backus (2019). The codes within each sub-category were similarly based on the literature in addition to my own experience with HSs of Spanish. One thing to note is the inclusion of codes capturing references to intrinsic and extrinsic motives in learners but not integrative or instrumental motives, although both types of motivation models can be combined (e.g., an instrumental motive can be intrinsic or extrinsic). Since this thesis is more concerned with anxiety related to internal and external learner factors, using the intrinsic and extrinsic model it can distinguish between anxiety related to motives based on

individual interest or external pressures (Dörnyei, 2005). The integrative and instrumental nature of learners' motives remains relevant, but these motives are more directly elicited from participants in the questionnaire (Question IV.1, Appendix C.I)

Another framework that shaped the coding scheme is one that originated from the field of SLA: Bachman's (1990) model of communicative competence. Communicative competence is the knowledge that language knowers and learners can acquire about a language and communication. Hence, referencing this model offered a way to organize the linguistically based anxieties that HL learners may experience. For instance, two types of knowledge are *language competence* and *strategic competence*. The way that Bachman categorized the various competencies within these two groups helped organize the 'linguistic' portion of the present coding hierarchy. This is how the codes 'grammatical' and 'pragmatic' were created, named after two competencies that are categorized under *language competence* (Figure 1):

Figure 1

Components of Linguistic Competence (Bachman, 1990, p. 87)



Other aspects of his model are included but further re-organized to accommodate the HL and HLA literature. For example, responses that relate to Spanish variation fall into a separate ‘variety’ code. Meanwhile, Bachman’s model conceptualizes the knowledge of variation as part of *sociolinguistic competence*, which is a component of *pragmatic competence*. This adaptation was made since registers, dialects, and sociolinguistic variation in Spanish can be notable points of contention in L2 and HL Spanish classrooms if teachers devalue this knowledge (Beaudrie, 2018). If this factor appears in the study data, then it is useful to code this individually rather than encapsulate it within the code ‘pragmatic’. As seen in the results, this is indeed a factor that participants would specifically mention.

Additionally, the knowledge and use of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies (*strategic competence*) is separate but related to *language competence*. These communication strategies were captured into the code ‘self-perceived competence’. Strategies such as miming, borrowing, and paraphrasing (Archibald & Libben, 1995) appear in the coding scheme as examples of the learner being aware of their proficiency in Spanish and how they navigate any obstacles in communication. For example, they may be aware of borrowing vocabulary from English because they do not know a word in Spanish. Hence, mentions of such strategies fall under the code ‘self-perceived competence’ because learners who are aware of these strategic behaviours or have them pointed out by others may use this information to evaluate their own competence (Torres & Turner, 2017).

Overall, these adaptations facilitated the analysis of codes by grouping them in a way that is based on what has already been observed in the HLA literature. This enables the present study to address its research questions while building upon previous knowledge.

In terms of the coding procedure, the short answers from the questionnaire and the interview transcripts were manually analysed line-by-line in NVivo by assigning codes from the premeditated coding scheme. Codes in NVivo are called 'nodes' and they are assigned to 'coding references', which are coded segments of text, also called 'meaning units' (Huang, 2019). These 'units', in this case, were words, clauses, or sentences that expressed an aspect of participants' experiences with HLA, such that the unit was then assigned a code that described what it is about. Coding sometimes extended to the next line if needed to code the relevant segment in its entirety (Chenail, 2012). Some lines also contained multiple codes if distinct or interrelated sources of anxiety (or its impacts) were referenced close together. Additionally, each coded segment of text received only one code, if possible, to later facilitate the interpretation of the results for code frequencies and of the contexts in which codes appear. The selection of codes to assign depended on which code(s) best reflected each reference. This was based on the context of both the line and the participant's overall narrative in the interview (if applicable) and their questionnaire data. Although this was sometimes straight-forward, some responses were ambiguous to code (see Section 3.4.3 for an example). Finally, any additional factors relevant to HLA that emerged from the data were added to the coding scheme and applied to the data from other participants if applicable. Codes that were never assigned to the data were ultimately removed from the final coding scheme. Figure 2 demonstrates the structure of the final coding hierarchy in NVivo for the 33 codes applied to the qualitative data (see also Appendix C.III for the frequencies of each one).

Figure 2

Example of Node Structure for Coding Interview and Open-Ended Question Data

- Causes of HLA
  - Classroom-specific
  - Cognitive
  - Linguistic
    - Corrections
    - Frequency Spanish use
    - Grammatical
    - Listening
    - Pragmatic
    - Reading
    - Speaking
    - Variety
    - Writing
  - Socio-emotional
- Consequences of HLA
  - Classroom-specific consequences
  - Cognitive consequences
  - Linguistic consequences
  - Socio-emotional consequences
    - Alienation
    - Discomfort

Interview and questionnaire files were also each assigned to a case in NVivo, in which 'cases' represent individual participants and can be used to auto-code the data to distinguish between data sourced from interviews and the survey. Thus, related questionnaire and interview files were linked to their respective case/participant. Each case contained 'case classifications', which in this study denote demographic and other quantitative data from the questionnaire responses. This was prepared in Excel and then uploaded to NVivo. For example, gender was a case classification in which the value assigned to each case was the gender that participants indicated in the questionnaire. Another example is age of arrival, which was coded as in Table 4. In addition to the variables in Table 4, each case also had classifications for participants' answers for self-perceived proficiency and some Likert Scale data.

Creating these case classifications served to expand on the types of queries I could conduct with the data once it was coded, such as creating cross-tabulations. I would also be able to filter and view the coded data by selecting a certain variable. Before querying the data in this way, I prepared a document with the queries that I intended to run based on my observations during data collection or coding. While conducting the queries, I recorded the findings and summarized any broader findings or patterns that arose. I also made note of my initial interpretations of these findings, potential implications, and observed limitations.

Another way to analyse the data was by using data visualization tools such as comparison diagrams and hierarchy charts. These allowed me to visualize the distribution of the data by participant or by data source (interview or questionnaire). Comparison diagrams were useful for viewing which codes appeared in one or both types of data sources, and hierarchy charts were useful for visualizing the distribution of codes across the data or for each participant.

Thus, the use of NVivo systematized the coding process and later facilitated engagement with data through the visualization of codes and their distribution in the data. The systematicity of this procedure, with the help of NVivo, makes possible the transparency of the coding process, which strengthens the rigour and credibility of this study (Huang, 2021; Maher et al., 2018). As well, this strengthens the study's dependability (its consistency over time or across researchers) since a systematic coding procedure in this case can improve interrater reliability by making decision-making about coding less subjective and more procedural.

I coded 100% of the data while the second coder[4] independently coded a randomly selected subset of 30% of the questionnaire data and 30% of the interview transcripts. The second coder did this in a Word document as an alternative to NVivo because the coding process of NVivo

[4] The same coder that had already been trained with some of the pilot data.

could be mimicked in Word by highlighting a specific section of text to comment upon and assigning a code to that section by writing the code in the comment box. This was copied exactly as highlighted and coded by my colleague into NVivo to be compared with my own coding.

For this round of coding, a coding comparison query in NVivo calculated the level of inter-coder agreement by character. This yielded an overall kappa coefficient of 0.26, which indicates minimal agreement or agreement that is largely by chance (Belur et al., 2021). To resolve these disagreements, the second coder and I met to discuss them and the overall process of coding. Upon reviewing the differences in coding, the second coder and I established that most disagreements arose from how we were highlighting and selecting data to code. A few disagreements did come from which codes we did assign as well as what could be considered an example of anxiety. An example is in a response from P11's interview about anxiety for reading and writing. We disagreed on how to code the phrase "…[My family] specifically tell[s] me what my mistakes are." The second coder had coded it as *Seeking belonging* because she interpreted the response as anxiety about being judged by family members, while I considered it a reference to anxiety about being aware of making mistakes, so I had coded it as *self-perceived competence* even though the mistakes are being pointed out by someone else. We had also noted that we were unconvinced that either one was an adequate code. Upon expressing our disagreement, the second coder and I decided to assign a new code instead: *Corrections*. We believed it to be a better descriptor for this response and others like it since the participant makes explicit reference to the act of being corrected.

We also added keywords to a list above the coding scheme that provided examples of words that tend to occur when participants discuss anxiety (for example, feeling 'lost'; see Appendix C.IV). Further, we included descriptions for each code in the scheme to reduce uncertainty when

assigning codes to the data. For the other issues, we made explicit the boundaries we would use when highlighting data to code. For example, if coding a reference spanning multiple words, we made sure to begin a selection at the beginning of the clause containing the relevant words.

Together, we coded again: we went through the subset of data question by question and individually decided whether we would code anything, and, if so, what we would select to code, as well as which code we would assign. Then we shared our decisions. Any disagreements were immediately discussed, and at this point these mainly had to do with which codes to assign based on how we interpreted the text and our familiarity with the coding scheme. Most disagreements were resolved, but a few remained as we could not agree on the same interpretation. We further refined the coding scheme as some references were difficult to categorize and thus subject to this type of disagreement.

Going through this process with the second coder made me aware of the potential ambiguities of the coding scheme and ensured that I consider more carefully whether a code is an appropriate descriptor for a coding reference. If not, then it could be refined to better account for the data or noted in NVivo with an 'ambiguous' code to be discussed with my supervisor. Thus, this method functioned to improve the way I coded the rest of the data, in a manner that is more transparent and replicable than if I were the only researcher making these decisions. In this way, the procedure reflects the cyclical nature of qualitative coding (Huang, 2019). The data was reviewed multiple times by me as well as my second coder at different stages, such as after meeting with my supervisor. These cycles served to refine the coding scheme and its organization, such as by removing, adding, or combining codes.

When meeting with my supervisor, we discussed each example that the second coder and I had identified as ambiguous in order to solicit another perspective about which interpretations

were more appropriate. Ultimately, this additional discussion helped to determine which codes were the better fit for each example based on reviewing the context of the example and the participant's overall profile. This informed my approach going forward as I reviewed each participant's questionnaire responses before coding their data, and I would continue to reference them if needed while coding as well as the overall narrative during the interview.

After discussing the ambiguous references once again with the second coder, the final interrater reliability score was at a satisfactory level: $K = 0.94$. However, the kappa coefficients for each code ranged from 0.41 to 1. While agreement was generally strong and unlikely to be due to chance (29 out of 33 codes saw scores of 0.9 or higher), two codes had scores below the acceptable threshold for scores, 0.8. I examined these codes, and each had one or two instances of units coded in a complete disagreement with the second coder due to differing interpretations of the text. These disagreements involved a small percentage (3.66%) of the random data subset.

After coding, I examined which codes had been assigned, as well as how often and in which contexts. This allowed me to see which factors of HLA appeared and how they were discussed by participants. I also considered whether the organization of the coding structure could be revised to better reflect how codes appear to be organized in the data. This served to inform the potential structure of a preliminary HLA scale (Section 5.3.1). Furthermore, instead of inferring the frequency of a code as a primary indicator of importance, I mainly viewed frequency as indicative of which factors of anxiety were most accessible to participants while discussing their experiences, or at least those they were willing to recount (Vaismoradi, 2013). Frequency may not necessarily indicate importance because what is important or frequent for each participant will differ based on which experiences they have had and how they communicate them in the

study. Thus, one or a few participants might account for the presence a code that later seems to appear frequently in the sample's overall results.

To interpret which factors seemed the most important for HLA in these participants, I did consider the frequency of codes within the sample, but mainly in conjunction with the frequency of codes within each participant. As well, I read the content of each coding reference and made notes about which factors related to anxiety seemed especially impactful or distressing for participants, based on how participants communicated the reference that had been coded[5]. I also considered the broader context provided by the rest of participants' narratives and data (Vaismoradi, 2013). Finally, I made note of responses that related to participants' general experiences as HSs or HL learners in Canada, rather than to HLA. The purpose of this was to later reference these responses and what they indicated about participants' contexts and how they may support the interpretation of the quantitative data.

3.4.3 *A Note on Ambiguity and Coding*

When discerning between multiple codes for a segment of text (or 'meaning unit'), I chose the code that best represented the segment, if possible. However, sometimes this decision was not clear cut, especially when coding with the second coder. As mentioned in Section 3.4.2, most disagreements stemming from ambiguities were resolved through discussion or refining the coding scheme; others were discussed with my supervisor as a third party. For transparency, I include a brief example of what ambiguity may look like. Consider the following line from P01's interview about anxiety and their internal expectations of proficiency: "…it's always been, like, very…yes, very, very internal, and, like, <u>self-criticism around my Spanish</u>."

[5] For instance, when P04 used two expletives while describing a negative experience, I inferred that this encounter had been particularly nerve-wracking for her.

The ambiguous segment is underlined. One way to code it is to include it in the reference for the code *internal expectations*, which already codes the first half of the sentence. This is because the ambiguous segment concludes P01's discussion about the expectations they have for their Spanish, and there must be something (an expectation, a criterion) for P01 to measure their Spanish against if any criticism is to be made. Another possible code is *self-perceived competence* because self-criticism requires the perception and judgement of one's own knowledge.

I chose to code this remark as *self-perceived competence* because it seems to go beyond the internal expectations upon which P01's self-criticism is based, revealing another facet of their anxiety. This segment is also about their perceptions of their Spanish skills, and since they had already described their internal expectations, *self-perceived competence* seems to represent an additional part of the anxiety behind P01's self-criticism.

3.5 *Preliminary Spanish HLA Scale Development*

After data analysis, I developed a preliminary Spanish HLA scale for use in the classroom context. During its creation (see Section 5.3), I considered the findings of the current study as well as the strengths and limitations of the HLA/L2 Anxiety scales reviewed in Section 2.3.

Two colleagues reviewed the preliminary scale—one from the Linguistics department who is an HS (of Tamil) familiar with topics in HL pedagogy and has experience teaching HL learners. The other colleague is a Spanish HS and has taken an HL Spanish class before. This provides a preliminary level of validity for the scale since it has been adjusted based on the perceptions of colleagues who are acquainted with these topics, either academically or personally. The Linguistics colleague thought that the items account for a wide variety of factors relevant to HLA and the HL classroom. Similarly, the other colleague thought the scale did well in

reflecting anxieties she has experienced as an HL learner and HS. When both colleagues simulated completing the scale, the majority of items elicited an immediate answer from them.

However, one colleague found that two of the items in the writing section were redundant and confusing to answer; the other pointed out any items that did not have one clear interpretation. All items that received feedback were re-written in consultation with each colleague. For example, the second item under Listening was originally written "I feel lost when I'm listening to my classmates speak in my Spanish class," but a colleague was unsure whether that could mean English or Spanish. To resolve this, the item specifies "speak Spanish" and the scale instructions emphasize that all items have to do with Spanish. The preliminary scale is presented in Section 5.3.1.

Chapter 4: Results

The following sections summarize the quantitative and qualitative results of this study. As mentioned in Chapter 3, 11 participants submitted questionnaire responses and a subset of seven participants subsequently completed semi-structured interviews. Participants answered an average of 34.2 questions in the questionnaire, and the average number of questions answered in interviews was 24.3.

Overall, the results indicate that while the sample reported moderately low levels of Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA), the anxiety described by participants appears to thrive in situations that accentuate fears about writing, prescriptive grammar, external expectations, and negative judgements (including one's own). The personal, almost 'private' nature of Spanish in participants' lives also had the potential to shape their HLA, especially if the register and varieties of Spanish that they already knew felt irrelevant or antagonized in the classroom.

4.1 Quantitative Results

To support the interpretation of the qualitative data and to further illuminate the contexts of the current profile, the current section presents key findings about this study's sample from the quantitative questionnaire data. Overall, participants reported using Spanish more often with family members than with speakers outside the home. Their self-rated proficiency in Spanish is generally high, and participants indicated feeling positively about knowing and learning Spanish. They also displayed multiple intrinsic motivations for maintaining their heritage language skills. The self-rated anxiety levels appear to be low to moderate in this sample, depending on whether anxiety was rated with respect to a specific skill or context (see Section 4.1.3). As well, participants vary with respect to their individual scores as some contexts or situations are more nerve-wracking. For example, some participants rated their anxiety about using Spanish around

family or friends higher than anxiety about using Spanish in class. Meanwhile, other individuals responded in the opposite pattern or rated these contexts similarly. These individual variations are described by participants in the qualitative data and are thus summarized in Section 4.2.

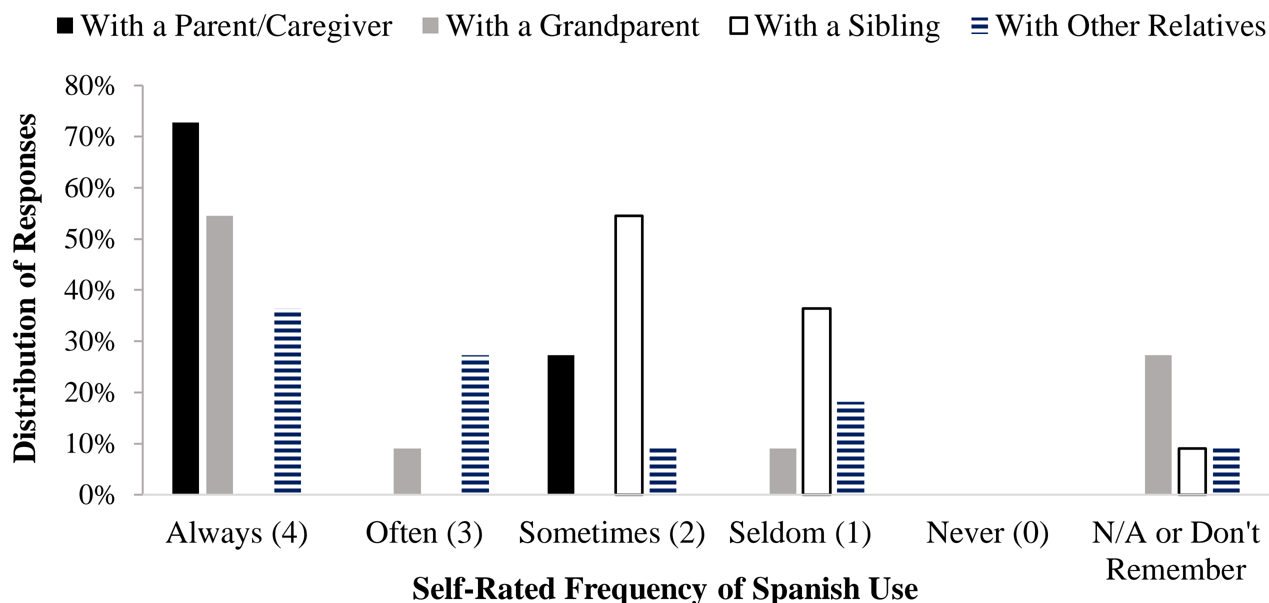
4.1.1 *Spanish Use and Self-Rated Proficiency*

As already established in the profile in Table 2, the questionnaire sample (on average) reported using Spanish 'sometimes' in their daily life until the end of high school. When calculating the sums of responses for Spanish use across different contexts during this period, totals ranged from 17-29 (the highest possible total being 44, for using Spanish 'always'). The median was 23 (SD = 3.52).

Regarding the reported frequency of Spanish use in certain contexts, participants indicated higher frequencies of Spanish use within their homes and families, with less frequent Spanish use outside the home and in the community. The frequency of Spanish use with family is visualized in Figure 3. Here, participants reported frequent Spanish use ('always' or 'often') with their parents/caregivers during childhood and adolescence, as well as with grandparents and other relatives if applicable, since not all participants had contact with grandparents or extended family. With their siblings, Spanish use was less constant, with the most common frequency of use being 'sometimes'.

Figure 3

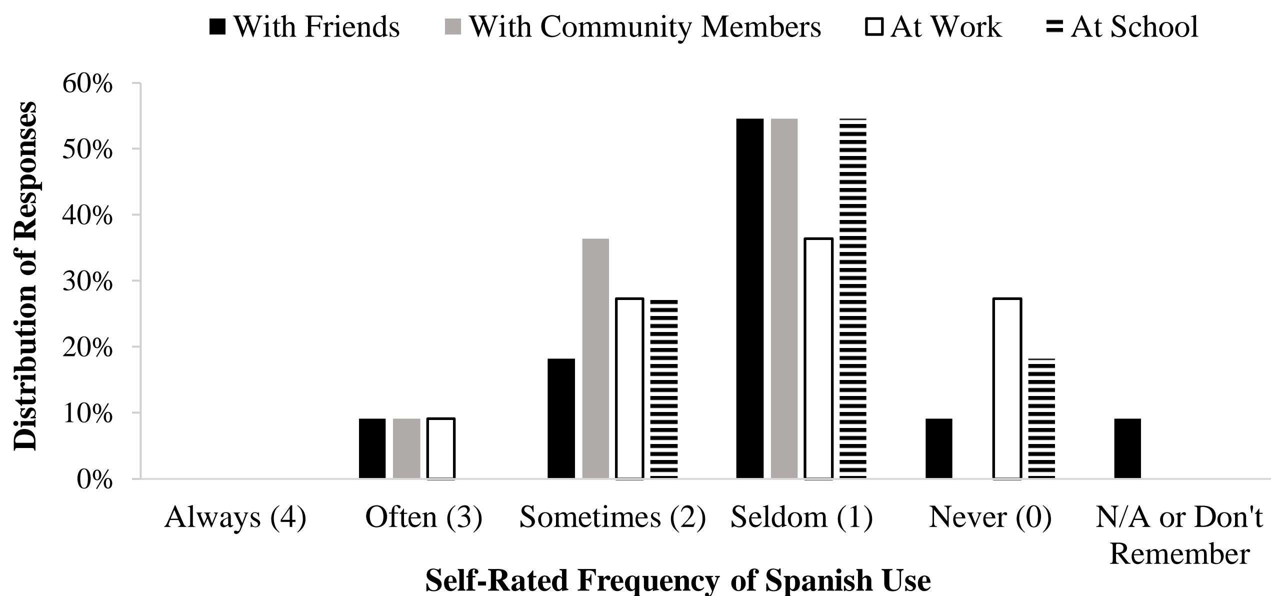
Survey Data: Frequency of Spanish Use at Home or With Family Until the End of High School (N = 11)



On the other hand, Figure 4 visualizes the frequency of participants' Spanish use in contexts outside the home or family during the same period. Most participants indicated that they seldom used Spanish in these contexts. In stark contrast with Figure 3, the current graph illustrates how few participants used Spanish 'often' in at least one context outside their home or family:

Figure 4

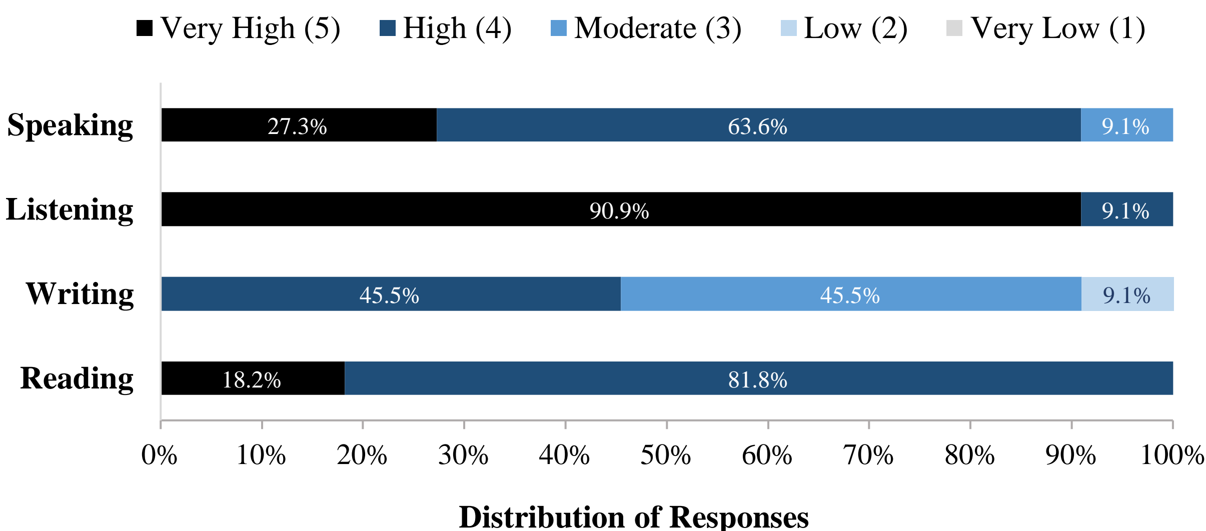
Survey Data: Frequency of Spanish Use Outside the Home Until the End of High School (N = 11)



Moving on to current self-rated proficiency, the results indicate a high level of proficiency. The overall proficiency is an average of 4.14 (Mdn = 4, *SD* = 0.30), in which a score of 4 represents a 'high' rating. When adding the proficiency scores for each participant (with 20 being the highest possible score), individual scores ranged from 15-19 with a median of 16 (*SD* = 1.12). The distribution of proficiency ratings by skill is shown in Figure 5:

Figure 5

Survey Data: Self-Rated Spanish Proficiency (Current) by Communicative Skill (N = 11)



The average scores for each skill are similar with the exception of listening and writing. Listening received ratings of 'very high' proficiency from all but one participant, while writing received noticeably lower ratings, which yielded an average score of 3.36 (Mdn = 3, *SD* = 0.67).

4.1.2 *Attitudes towards Spanish*

The results for questions regarding participant attitudes towards Spanish indicate that participants hold a favourable view towards Spanish as well as an inclination to maintain and expand their Spanish skills. Using a Likert scale from 1 ('Strongly Disagree') to 7 ('Strongly Agree'), the mean of average scores across all question items was 6.03, thus indicating a more favourable attitude since it is close to 7 (Mdn = 6.29, *SD* = 0.76). Only one participant had an average score that was below two standard deviations ($\bar{x}$ = 4.07). Table 5 summarizes the responses to items of note, including the two statements (6 and 7) with the lowest average values. These items were reverse coded, such that agreement with the statement corresponds to a lower numerical value due to how the phrasing is 'negative'. For example, item 7 in Table 5 has the

lowest average due to 63.7% participants agreeing that their Spanish “is not as good as other types of Spanish,” which involves an unfavourable view towards their own Spanish.

Item 6 shows a more distributed pattern as it introduces the notion of a ‘Hispanic’ community, referring to a community of Spanish-speakers or people of Spanish-speaking heritage. The statement in this item is a contentious matter within Hispanic communities in North America (e.g., Tseng, 2021, and my own observations as a member of this broader community): Can someone be a part of a ‘Hispanic’ community if they do not speak Spanish?

When interpreting this result, a high numerical value for this item indicates an inclination towards Spanish as a requisite for community membership, but a low one does not necessarily mean that Spanish is viewed unfavourably. Rather, it may reflect participants’ awareness of the diversity in heritage speakers’ knowledge of Spanish and of individuals who grew up with a connection to one or more Hispanic cultures, but who did not have the opportunity to learn Spanish. It does not mean that Spanish is not important in general, but that it may not be important for community membership. As such, 63.7% of participants agreed at least somewhat that is essential to speak Spanish to be a member of the Hispanic community.

Table 5

Selected Responses from the Attitudes Section of the Questionnaire (N = 11)

Item	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Not Sure (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	$\bar{x}$	*Mdn*	*SD*
1. Knowing Spanish is an important part of who I am.	81.8%	9.1%	9.1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6.73	7	0.65
2. It's important to me to use Spanish like a native speaker.	63.6%	18.2%	9.1%	0%	0%	9.1%	0%	6.18	7	1.54
3. I want others to think I am a native speaker of Spanish.	54.5%	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%	0%	18.2%	0%	5.55	7	2.02
4. I feel like I belong to the Spanish-speaking community.	45.5%	36.4%	0%	0%	18.2%	0%	0%	5.91	7	1.51
5. I want to belong to the Spanish-speaking community.	63.6%	27.3%	0%	0%	9.1%	0%	0%	6.36	7	1.21
6. It is not essential to speak Spanish if you are a member of the Hispanic community. *	18.2%	9.1%	0%	9.1%	9.1%	18.2%	36.4%	4.82	5	2.44
7. The Spanish I speak is not as good as other types of Spanish, such as the Spanish spoken on the news. *	27.3%	36.4%	0%	0%	9.1%	18.2%	9.1%	3.18	3	2.32

* Reverse-coded when calculating descriptive statistics (i.e., 'Strongly Agree' is coded as 1, 'Agree' as 2…)
Mdn = median, *SD* = standard deviation

With respect to participants' motivations for enrolling in post-secondary Spanish classes, Table 6 summarizes their responses (they selected all that applied or wrote a different option). The most frequently selected motivation is an instrumental one, in that the learning of Spanish is anticipated to grant professional benefits. However, other instrumental motivations were selected less often, such that the most frequently reported motivations in general are integrative. For at least half of participants, learning Spanish in the post-secondary context offers them psycho-social benefits: increased access to one's heritage culture(s), engagement with social relationships, the nurturing of familial connections.

Table 6

Survey Data: Participants' Motivations for Taking Post-Secondary Spanish Courses (N = 11)

Motive	% of Participants
To improve my Spanish skills for my current or future job(s)	81.8
To feel closer to my culture	63.6
To feel closer to other Spanish speakers	63.6
To better communicate with my family	54.5
To read Spanish-language media	45.5
To listen to and watch Spanish-language media	36.4
To fulfill an elective requirement	27.3
To fulfill a language or core program requirement	27.3
To better communicate with my friends	27.3
To improve my grade point average	18.2
To learn Spanish grammar/rules	9.1

Finally, in terms of non-Spanish-specific anxiety, the sample reported an overall low level of non-Spanish anxiety. However, 45.5% of participants did rate feeling 'a little anxious' in

general, in both their non-Spanish classes and their daily life, although few participants (three) rated any anxiety higher than that. As well, only three participants reported feeling more than 'a little anxious' in social situations, and four reported some testing/evaluation anxiety for non-Spanish tests or public-speaking—only one participant reported feeling 'extremely anxious' in these contexts.

4.1.3 *Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety: Ratings by Skill*

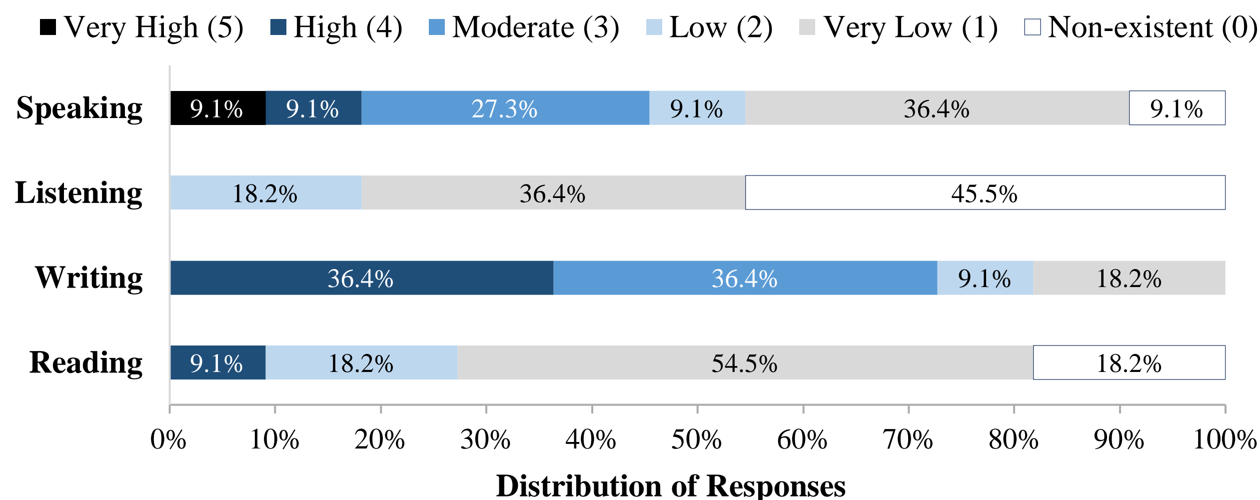
The responses to three types of questions are summarized in the following sections (4.1.3, 4.1.4, and 4.1.5) in order to present the ways in which different scales may measure self-rated HLA, both in a post-secondary Spanish class or in daily life.

In the current section, Figures 6 and 7 present the results for self-rated anxiety by communicative skill (Questions V.1 and V.2 in the survey). This follows the same scale as for their ratings of self-perceived proficiency: 'Very High' represents a value of (5), and the maximum possible composite score is 20.

With respect to anxiety in Spanish class (Figure 6), this sample reported low anxiety as the averages of ratings yielded a mean of 1.77 (Mdn = 1.75, *SD* = 0.74), although two participants did have an average score of 3 (a 'moderate' level of anxiety). When adding the scores across skills, the range of composite scores for participants was 4-12, with a median of 7 (*SD* = 2.95).

Figure 6

Survey Data: Self-Rated Spanish Anxiety in Class (N = 11)

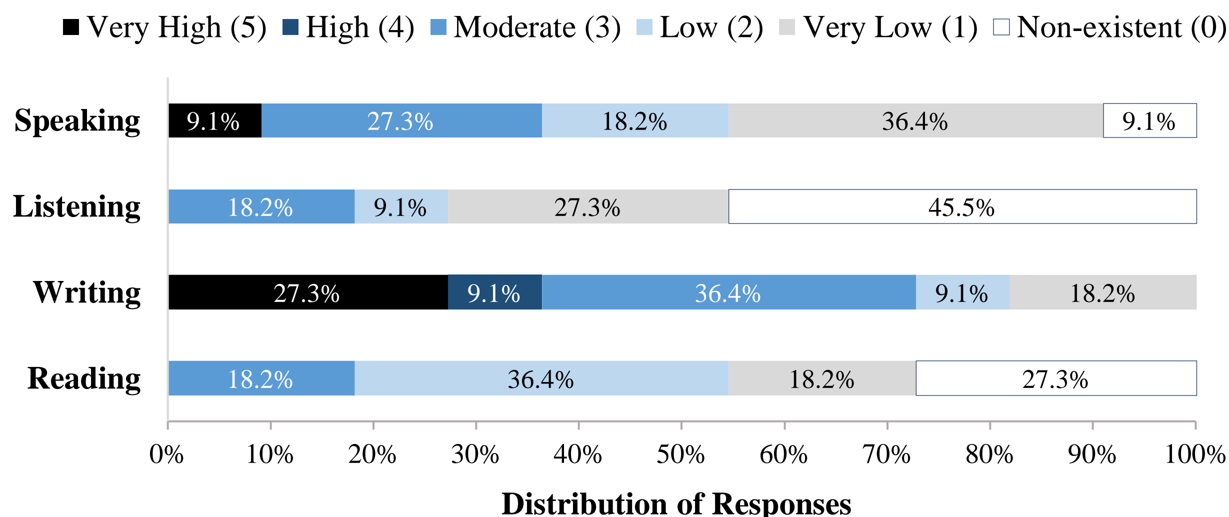


As seen in the graph, anxiety about listening in Spanish class has the lowest ratings across skills: the average listening anxiety in this sample was 0.73 (Mdn = 1, *SD* = 0.79). Meanwhile, anxiety levels were rated highest for writing in Spanish class as the sample's average anxiety level for writing is a score of 2.91 (Mdn = 3, *SD* = 1.14). This is a pattern that is opposite to that of self-rated writing proficiency, which had the *lowest* proficiency ratings compared to other skills. Another result to note is that the ratings for anxiety about speaking in Spanish class are distributed and appears to vary across individuals. As seen in Section 4.2, the qualitative code 'speaking' was the most frequently discussed code as participants had various experiences with anxiety and speaking in Spanish.

In comparison, the data in Figure 7 shows the distribution of responses for self-rated anxiety with family and/or close friends. The average anxiety rated by participants overall remains low as the mean of the averages was 1.91 (Mdn = 1.75, *SD* = 0.96), with one participant well above that mean with an average score of 4. When adding the scores across skills, the range of composite scores for participants was 4-16, with a median composite score of 7 (*SD* = 3.85).

Figure 7

Survey Data: Self-Rated Spanish Anxiety with Family and/or Close Friends (N = 11)



The distribution of responses shares a similar pattern with the responses for anxiety in Spanish class. However, now there are instances of participants selecting the 'Very High' anxiety level option for writing ($\bar{x}$ = 3.18, Mdn = 3, *SD* = 1.47). The pattern for speaking continues to vary across individuals, and anxiety about listening remains the lowest rated ($\bar{x}$ = 1, Mdn = 1, *SD* = 1.18).

4.1.4 *Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety: Ratings by Context*

To move beyond skills, how did participants rate their anxiety levels according to context rather than skill? This question type (Question V.5) follows the scale used by Sevinç and Dewaele (2018), which now involves items that each represent a different context of heritage language (HL) use. The range of possible ratings is from 0 to 4. In line with Sevinç and Dewaele's approach to data collected with this scale, I will present average scores only.

Overall, this sample had low anxiety with the averages of scores yielding a mean of 1.08 (Mdn = 1, *SD* = 0.82), which corresponds with feeling 'a little anxious'. Table 7 summarizes

eight of the responses submitted for ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ contexts, in this case HLA with family and in Spanish class.

Table 7

Survey Data: Participants’ Self-Rated Spanish Anxiety Level by Context

Using Spanish…	Extremely anxious (4)	Very anxious (3)	Anxious (2)	A little anxious (1)	Not at all anxious (0)	N/A	$\bar{x}$	*Mdn*	*SD*
With parents/caregivers	0%	0%	9.1%	9.1%	81.8%	0%	0.27	0	0.65
With grandparents	0%	9.1%	0%	9.1%	45.5%	36.4%	0.57	0	1.13
With siblings	0%	0%	0%	0%	90.9%	9.1%	0	0	0
With other relatives	18.2%	0%	18.2%	18.2%	45.5%	0%	1.27	1	1.56
With teachers	0%	18.2%	9.1%	54.6%	18.2%	0%	1.27	1	1.01
With other heritage learners	9.1%	0%	18.2%	18.2%	45.5%	9.1%	1	0.5	1.33
With L2 learners	0%	0%	18.2%	9.1%	63.6%	9.1%	0.5	0	0.85
For assignments or tests	27.3%	18.2%	18.2%	27.3%	9.1%	0%	2.27	2	1.42

One of the patterns to note in the distribution of responses includes the visibly lower levels of anxiety reported for Spanish used with parents and siblings. When applicable, Spanish use with grandparents is also not anxiety-inducing for most participants. On the other hand, Spanish use with other relatives sees more instances of reported anxiety. The average anxiety level that participants reported for Spanish use with family members was 0.538 (Mdn = 0, *SD* = 1.09). In fact, five participants rated no anxiety at all in these situations. Meanwhile, all participants rated

at least ‘a little’ anxiety across classroom contexts; the average anxiety level for Spanish use in these situations was 1.29 (Mdn = 1, *SD* = 1.31).

Most participants (81.9%) rated at least some anxiety about using Spanish with their teachers. As well, the distribution of anxiety ratings for interacting with heritage and L2 learners are similar, except for one participant (P04) who indicated feeling ‘extremely anxious’ using Spanish with other heritage learners (based on Section 4.2, this is likely connected to her anxiety about the expectations of HS peers and coworkers). Finally, anxiety reported for Spanish assignments or tests was spread out and contributed to at least some anxiety for all participants except one.

4.1.5 *Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety: Level of Agreement with Statements about HLA*

The third type of question probing HLA was the one modeled after Tallon’s (2006) version of the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986; see Question V.3 in the survey). Participants rated their agreement with certain statements from 1 ‘Strongly Disagree’ to 7 ‘Strongly Agree’, in which the higher the value, the higher the HLA. Once again, this sample appears to have a generally low level of anxiety since participants’ average ratings across all items yielded a mean rating of 3.86 (Mdn = 4, *SD* = 1.25). Adding each participant’s ratings produced composite scores ranging from 23-74 (in which 84 is the highest possible score). The average score was 45.82 (Mdn = 48, *SD* = 14.62). The most relevant examples for the qualitative results are summarized in Table 8:

Table 8
Survey Data: Distribution of Responses to Eight of the Statements about HLA

Item	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Not Sure (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	N/A	$\bar{x}$	*Mdn*	*SD*
1. I feel/felt at ease when using Spanish in class. *	18.2%	18.2%	36.4%	0.0%	27.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3	3	1.48
2. I feel/felt self-conscious about my Spanish skills in class.	9.1%	18.2%	27.3%	0.0%	18.2%	18.2%	9.1%	0.0%	4.09	5	1.97
3. I feel at ease using Spanish at home and/or with friends. *	36.4%	36.4%	9.1%	9.1%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.27	2	1.56
4. I feel self-conscious about my Spanish skills around family and/or friends.	18.2%	18.2%	18.2%	0.0%	18.2%	18.2%	9.1%	0.0%	4.27	5	2.15
5. I feel bad that my Spanish isn't as strong as people expect.	27.3%	18.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	45.5%	9.1%	0.0%	4	2	2.53
6. I feel intimidated whenever I have to do something entirely in Spanish.	18.2%	9.1%	36.4%	9.1%	0.0%	27.3%	0.0%	0.0%	4.55	5	1.86
7. I feel embarrassed when someone treats me like a Spanish 'expert'.	0.0%	18.2%	9.1%	0.0%	18.2%	18.2%	27.3%	9.1%	3	2.5	2

* Reverse-coded when calculating descriptive statistics (i.e., 'Strongly Agree' is 1, 'Agree' is 2…)
Mdn = median, *SD* = standard deviation

One pattern to note is that the sample reported feeling similarly at ease or self-conscious about using Spanish at home/with friends as they did (or do) in class (items 1 and 3; 2 and 4 in Table 8). Within the same contexts, feelings of ease and self-consciousness seem to co-exist for several participants. For item 1, 72.8% of the sample agreed at least somewhat that they feel at ease using Spanish in their Spanish class while 54.6% similarly agreed about self-conscious about their Spanish skills in class. A comparable pattern is found for items 3 and 4, where 81.9% of participants at least somewhat agreed that they feel at ease using Spanish at home and/or with friends, while 54.6% agreed about feeling self-conscious about their Spanish skills around family and/or friends. Individual responses indicate that five participants did rate their self-consciousness and uneasiness the same or similarly across both contexts. However, three participants did report feeling less self-conscious/uneasy in class while three others reported feeling *more* self-conscious/uneasy in class.

Interestingly, item 5 seems to be divisive within this sample as 45.5% of participants agreed that they feel concerned about subverting external expectations, while 54.5% indicated that they do not. However, item 6 demonstrates some insecurity in this sample about one's Spanish level as 63.7% of participants agreed at least somewhat that they feel daunted by the exclusive use of Spanish.

With respect to analysing participants' level of agreement by context, all of the items in this question can be grouped into the four contexts seen in Table 9:

Table 9

Survey Data: Sample's Agreement with HLA Statements by Context (N = 11)

Average anxiety…	$\bar{x}$	*Mdn*	*SD*
in class	3.55	3.67	1.35
with family/friends	3.27	3.5	1.68
in public	4.82	5	1.71
in general	3.92	3.4	1.76

The means of average scores across contexts are similar except for items about using Spanish in public (e.g., items *f* and *g* in Question V.3, Appendix C.I). The mean and median scores for these items are visibly higher than the others, and closest to the 'Agree' range of the scale.

4.1.6 *Summary of Anxiety Scores by Participant*

The following table summarizes the average responses for each participant to the three questions about self-rated anxiety. The shaded cells contain values greater than one standard deviation from the median. Note that participant P04 has consistently high scores while participant P10 contributed the lowest scores.

In most cases, participants' ratings are consistent across question types, although participants like P06 provided some ratings on the lower half of a scale while in another question their rating is in the upper half of the scale. In this case, her highest score is in the scale where she rated her level of agreement with statements about anxiety. This is likely because this question type did not ask for direct ratings of 'anxiety' but for ratings of agreement with statements that used 'anxiety' alongside terms that evoking the expressions of anxiety (e.g., uneasiness).

Table 10

Survey Data: Participants' Average Responses for Self-Rated Anxiety by Question Type (N = 11)

Participant	Average anxiety ratings by…			
	Skills (in class) *out of 0-5*	Skills (with family/friends) *out of 0- 5*	Context *out of 0-4*	Agreement *out of 1-7*
P12	1.75	1.75	0.57	3.58
P11	1.75	2.5	1.82	4.75
P10	0.5	0.5	0.57	1.92
P09	1.5	2.5	1.08	4
P08	1	1	0.14	4
P07	2	2	1.07	2.67
P06	1.75	1.75	1.15	5
P05	3	1	1	4.42
P04	3	4	3.15	6.17
P03	1.5	1.5	0.38	2.25
P01	1.75	2.5	0.92	3.67
Sample	1.77	1.91	1.08	3.86
Mdn	1.75	1.75	1	4
SD	0.74	0.96	0.82	1.25

4.1.7 *Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety: Analysing Question Types*

The three types of questions about HLA had participants rate their anxiety levels by skill (e.g., speaking), by context (e.g., with a parent), and by how much they agree with a statement (e.g., feeling self-conscious in class). The results from these questions have revealed an overall low level of anxiety in the sample while also highlighting exceptions according to the affordances of each question, such as higher anxiety ratings for writing or higher anxiety ratings for Spanish use around teachers or for assessments. Despite the similarities in overall ratings, did the average scores for each question type correlate with each other?

According to the results of Spearman rank-order[6] correlation tests for each combination of pairs, the average ratings of anxiety by context are correlated with anxiety ratings by skill and by agreement with statements (see Table 11). The factors at play when it comes to each participants' average anxiety levels in different tasks or situations is explored in the Section 4.2.

Table 11

Results of Spearman Rank-Order Correlations for Self-Rated Anxiety Question Types (N = 11)

Average anxiety rating by…	Context	Skill
Skill	$p = 0.043$* $r^2 = 0.379$ $r = 0.616$	—
Agreement	$p = 0.012$* $r^2 = 0.521$ $r = 0.722$	$p = 0.211$ $r^2 = 0.168$ $r = 0.409$

* $p < 0.05$

As seen in Table 11, the correlation strength, or effect size, is moderate to strong across response types; two *r* coefficients are higher than 0.6 (Plonsky & Oswald, 2014). The relationship between the average anxiety ratings by context and by agreement is the strongest, as 52% of the variance of one set of responses can be accounted for by the other ($r^2 = 0.521$). Meanwhile, the anxiety ratings by skill and by context only account for 38% of the variance in each other ($r^2 = 0.379$) despite having a strong correlation. The relationship between the average responses of anxiety rated by skill and by agreement it is the weakest with a moderate-strength correlation, and one set of responses accounts for only 17% of the variance in the other ($r^2 = 0.168$). It is also the only relationship to not reach statistical significance.

[6] Spearman correlations are most appropriate in this case because the data being correlated is ordinal. Additionally, it is best suited for small sample sizes as a non-parametric test (Gravetter et al., 2018).

Regarding statistical significance, it is important to acknowledge here that the quantitative results come from a small sample size ($N = 11$). This means that these results may be subject to a higher risk of sampling error (Plonsky, 2013). Results from this sample may then reach statistical significance because the data is representing a large effect, or because it overestimates the magnitude of a small effect. Hence, when viewing these results, r and r^2 are the most useful statistics for describing the relationships between the average scores of different question types.

Finally, one relationship to note is between items about HLA in class versus outside of class (at home, in public, abroad, etc.). The question about anxiety ratings by skill only differentiated between the classroom and family/friends, but the other two question types include items about additional contexts, such as using Spanish with strangers or abroad. Table 12 summarizes the results of Spearman Rank-Order correlations conducted with the average responses of items about class and items about extracurricular settings for each question type.

Table 12

Results of Spearman Rank-Order Correlations between the Average Ratings of HLA in Class and Outside of Class, Per Survey Question Type (N = 11)

Anxiety rated by…	*p*-value	r^2 value	*r* coefficient
Agreement	0.103	0.268	0.517
Skill	0.165	0.202	0.449
Context	0.590	0.034	0.183

The r coefficients indicate that the correlations between in-class and out-of-class situations are weak to moderate in strength, and none of the correlations are statistically significant. The r^2 values reveal that little of the variance in the responses for each environment is accounted for by the other, regardless of question type. This is most notable for the question about rating anxiety

level by context, where only 3.4% of the variance in the ratings of HLA in the classroom can be explained by the HLA ratings for situations outside of class (and vice versa, $r^2 = 0.034$). The strongest correlation is for the responses in the agreement question type, and 27% of the variance of anxiety ratings for in-class and outside-class situations can be predicted by each other ($r^2 = 0.268$). As will be revealed in Section 4.2, participants did report subjective differences in the causes of their anxiety in the classroom compared to at home or in their communities.

4.2 Qualitative Results

The average number of answered open-ended survey questions was 6.36 for the 11 participants, and the average number of questions answered in the seven follow-up interviews was 24.3. The qualitative data consisted of 36,370 words in total from interviews and the open-ended questions, with an average of 131.1 words for each questionnaire. The interviews were, on average, 32 minutes long, with transcriptions yielding an average of 4,990 words.

A total of 360 references related to HLA were coded in the qualitative data, and there were 33 unique codes across eight sub-categories belonging to two main categories (Causes of HLA and Consequences of HLA). Originally, there were 37 codes but four were removed during coding. As well, two codes were renamed, one code was added, and one code was integrated into another. See Figure 2 or Appendix C.II to visualize the organization of the final coding scheme.

The majority of coding references have to do with the sources of HLA perceived by participants. It is for this reason that the bulk of this section will deal with the plenitude of data found for the perceived causes of HLA in this sample.

4.2.1 *Perceived Causes of HLA*

Participants provided abundant data pertaining to their causes of HLA, and this will be the focus for the rest of the thesis. Recall that the methodology elicited *perceived* causes of anxiety because perceptions have a role in shaping anxiety as well as in how individuals conceptualize themselves and their lived experiences (see Chapter 2). Language learners can certainly be aware of which situations or tasks make them anxious; if a heritage learner perceives writing in Spanish to be anxiety-inducing, then that is indeed part of their experience (e.g., Torres et al., 2020). The results are presented by examining codes that are frequently referenced or that contain key findings. This is done in a somewhat linear fashion by treating codes as 'lenses' from which to approach the results. However, it is crucial to remember that the causes of HLA are interrelated, and they appear to be rarely limited to one isolated cause. This is evident in how the results of some codes relate to the results of others. For this reason, it is important to move towards an integrated model of HLA, in which the many connections between possible variables are conceptualized to better comprehend the nature of HLA.

Regarding the distribution of coding references for attributed causes, Figure 8 presents the number of coding references that each participant contributed and the percentage of each contribution towards the total number of codes. Because the prompts in the questionnaire and interview schedule were open-ended, the number of references that each participant made to Spanish anxiety varies between individuals. Unsurprisingly, the participants who did not participate in interviews (P06, P12, P07, P10) have the fewest coding references since only their open-ended questionnaire responses could be coded. In fact, P10 did not write about any anxiety. Meanwhile, more than half (59%) of the coding references come from three participants.

Figure 8

Interview and Survey Data: Coding References (N = 334) for Causes of HLA for Each Participant

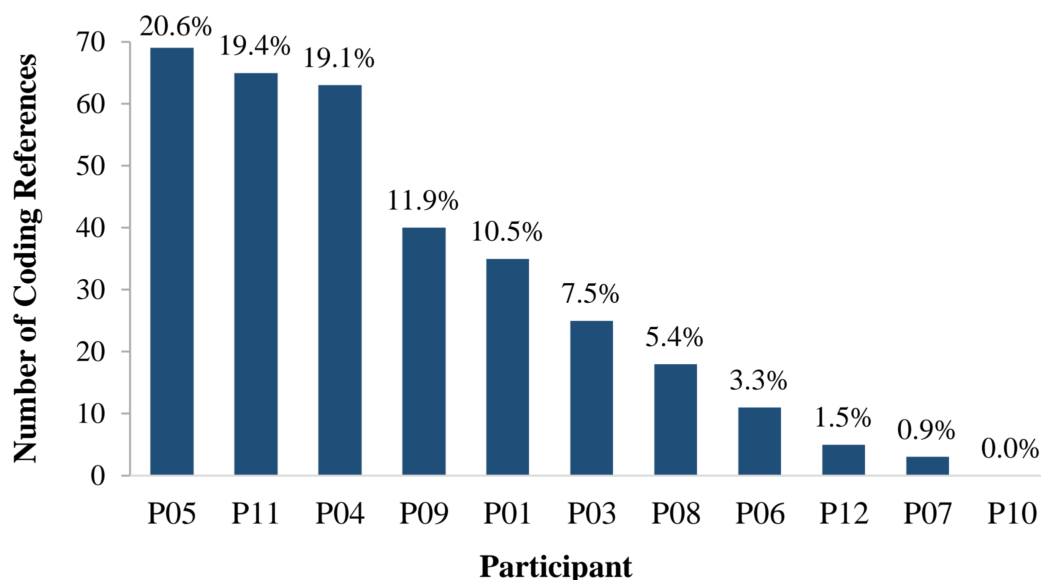
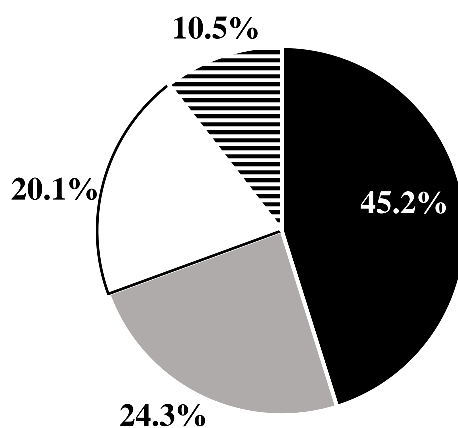


Figure 9 depicts how the four sub-categories of codes are distributed for the causes of HLA. Linguistic factors occupy a substantial portion of the data, accounting for almost half of the coding references. Almost a quarter of references pertain to socio-emotional factors, followed by cognitive factors and then classroom-specific factors. Frequency can indicate how accessible a factor is for a participant as well as its relevance across questions in the questionnaire or interview. However, it does not necessarily equate to the magnitude or importance of a factor—indeed, some classroom-specific factors provide examples that will be critical for the discussion in Section 5.4 on the pedagogical implications of these results.

Figure 9

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Coding References (N =334) for Causes of HLA by Sub-Category



A more detailed examination of the distribution is provided in Table 13. The distributions for each sub-category broken down by participant can be found in Appendix D. The distributions are as expected based on Figure 9, although P05 contributed almost 50% of all the classroom-specific coding references. She had discussed feeling especially anxious about several aspects of a previous Spanish class.

Table 13

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Causing Factors of HLA By Code (N = 334)

Sub-Category: Code	*n*	% of Codes for Causes
Linguistic: Speaking	33	9.9
Linguistic: Writing	33	9.9
Linguistic: Grammatical	31	9.3
Cognitive: Self-perceived competence	24	7.2
Socio-emotional: External expectations	24	7.2
Cognitive: Internal expectations	22	6.6
Linguistic: Pragmatic	19	5.7
Socio-emotional: Seeking belonging	18	5.4
Linguistic: Variety	16	4.8
Socio-emotional: Negative emotions	13	3.9
Classroom-specific: Assessment	12	3.6
Socio-emotional: Othering	11	3.3
Socio-emotional: Others' attitudes towards Spanish	10	3
Linguistic: Corrections	9	2.7
Classroom-specific: Curriculum	8	2.4
Cognitive: Attitudes towards Spanish	7	2.1
Cognitive: Self-efficacy beliefs	7	2.1
Classroom-specific: Instructor factors	6	1.8
Socio-emotional: Indexing identity	5	1.5
Classroom-specific: Assumed expertise	4	1.2
Cognitive: Extrinsic motivation	4	1.2
Linguistic: Listening	4	1.2
Classroom-specific: Course difficulty	3	0.9
Cognitive: Intrinsic motivation	3	0.9
Linguistic: Frequency of Spanish use	3	0.9
Linguistic: Reading	3	0.9
Classroom-specific: Previous academic instruction	2	0.6

Many references were discussed in terms of anxiety outside of class because some anxieties did not persist in the classroom and were in fact diminished in that setting. This is made evident by observing when participants talked about when they did or do not experience HLA, as seen in Section 4.2.3. Whereas most participants had at least a few pre-existing anxieties prior to participating in post-secondary Spanish courses, only some reported experiencing new anxieties

as a result of classroom instruction. In fact, there were no cases of participants reporting little to no HLA in daily life and leaving a class with newfound anxieties. Rather, the classroom had the potential to amplify (or attenuate) existing anxieties in the advent of learning of new Spanish skills (e.g., writing, academic register) or using Spanish in a new setting with unfamiliar people.

A look into the distribution of each code reveals that two linguistic skills are the factors that participants referenced the most often: *speaking* and *writing* (which are also production skills). The coding references for these two codes differ in that references about speaking are found in discussions of anxiety for both inside and outside the Spanish classroom, while writing anxiety is primarily discussed within the classroom context. As well, writing anxiety was mainly mentioned with respect to the act of writing or of planning writing, while the references to speaking anxiety often related to other codes that had been coded nearby.

4.2.1.a Speaking. The codes that appeared frequently alongside the *speaking* code include *indexing identity*, *self-perceived competence*, and *internal* or *external expectations*. These codes sometimes collaborate to illustrate the nature of the anxiety being recounted by participants. While many of these anxieties are discussed in terms of situations outside of the classroom, they can certainly impact what a learner is worried about before they begin a post-secondary Spanish class or shape their interactions with teachers or fellow heritage learners. For example, before starting their first Spanish course, P01 feared that their fluency would be “atrocious” because they had perceived their own Spanish to be that way. This impacted how they approached the course, although this fear fortunately dissipated as P01 gained confidence during their Spanish classes (see Part A in Section 4.2.3).

To begin exploring individual codes, *indexing identity* has to do with anxiety revolving around which identity is being communicated through the way an HS’s Spanish is produced and

how much English is used alongside it. For the participants who encounter anxieties grounded in their identity or the 'performance' of a certain ethnic or cultural identity, anxiety of this nature is not often seen with close relationships (friends or family).

Three participants (P04, P05, and P09) repeatedly talked about what Spanish means for their identities. They are anxious about having to negotiate or justify their identity when other people, such as strangers or distant relatives, make assumptions about what someone sounds like in Spanish if they are Latin American or from a specific region. When the participants do not produce the expected accent or dialect (e.g., not sounding 'Guatemalan' enough), anxiety can then come from facing the initial reaction of surprise or confusion from their interlocutor. P05 wrote of sometimes having to prove her "Latin-ness" by speaking Spanish, which suggests being placed into a position where the external confirmation of this identity hinges on her ability to speak Spanish. In such situations, it can be nerve-wracking to not be able to easily express one's identity and to have to re-negotiate the expectations of other Spanish speakers.

Self-perceptions also connect with another factor of HLA: *external expectations*, as discussed by four participants who also reflect on their *internal expectations* alongside four more participants. The common thread here is the socially learned expectation of monolingual Spanish proficiency, mainly from individuals who do not know the circumstances of the HS and assume that their Spanish is "perfect" and "fully fluent". On a related note, three participants discussed these expectations as *assumed expertise* in the classroom setting. This involves instructors and/or classmates assuming a high level of Spanish proficiency or in-class performance due to learners' heritage and language background.

There are also expectations that are not always communicated by other people (relatives, teachers, acquaintances, etc.) such that participants feel pressured to speak Spanish like a

monolingual, even if the people they are speaking with have never commented on their Spanish. "I just feel like maybe they expect it to be better," summarized P05 in her interview.

One participant, P09, did cite anxiety caused by expectations communicated directly by her parents, mostly feeling pressure early on in childhood to engage with and practice her Spanish as much as possible. When visiting relatives in her countries of heritage, her parents made it clear that she should be able to speak to those relatives in Spanish. This pressure currently persists for P09 as she reported feeling more anxious about speaking with family than in the post-secondary Spanish classroom. The reason for this distinction is that the expectations of teachers and peers in her heritage-track classroom are more achievable than that of her family members. Additionally, P09 feels that the classroom is a dedicated space to take risks and to work on meeting the expectations of the course, because that is what she signed up for. Meanwhile, she feels that her home should be a space where she does not need to constantly be expending the effort to meet her family's (higher) expectations of proficiency. The anxiety that can arises for P09 in this situation also relates to facing *corrections*, as discussed further in Section 4.2.1.c (Grammatical Factors).

Internal expectations can similarly cause anxiety when participants fail or worry about failing to meet them. These were also mentioned by more participants than *external expectations*. Once again, these HSs regularly judge their Spanish and often expect themselves to be better, no matter their level or background. They believe that they should know more Spanish or speak it perfectly because of their cultural background. Some expectations apply to different situations: P12 expected herself to achieve higher grades in her Spanish class; P05 expects herself to be able to conduct and disseminate her current research project in Spanish; and both P08 and P04 prefer to avoid code-switching into English/French as much as possible. However, this personal

expectation of Spanish-only speech does not cause anxiety for P08 as it does for P04 (the reason why is found in Section 4.2.3.b). Regardless, for P04, anxiety caused by internal expectations can also link to negative emotions as she wrote in the questionnaire: "I am ashamed I am not 100% fluent."

These expectations can also relate to *self-perceived competence* as HSs judge their Spanish against them*:* In her interview, P04 reported feeling anxious about having to manage her co-workers' expectations when they ask, "'Why aren't you speaking to me in Spanish?'" because they assume her background with Spanish is like theirs. However, she attributed her self-perceived level of speaking proficiency as an additional cause of discomfort when interacting with co-workers who are also second-generation heritage speakers: "I'm not comfortable speaking with them in Spanish because I know my level is not the same as them."

Speaking provides frequent opportunities for these learners to evaluate their own proficiency due to regularly speaking and listening to Spanish in their daily lives. For example, speaking Spanish in participants was sometimes due to the perception of their Spanish not being 'good' enough grammatically, such as perceiving flaws in their pronunciation, vocabulary, or verbal conjugations. One participant (P01) highlighted their general awareness of a "lacuna" between their ability to express themselves in English and Spanish, and this perceived gap is a source of discomfort. This ranges from feeling 'behind' when talking to peers who know all the current slang to feeling unable to participate in academic or political discussions in Spanish. In their words (interview): "[It's] an effect of having conversations, knowing that I can have them better in English."

4.2.1.b Writing. In the case of *writing*, this is a skill in which participants may reveal some of their perceived limitations. Some participants thought that this is because of the novelty of

academic writing or of writing regularly, and two learners had become aware that writing in Spanish takes longer for them than in their dominant language. For P01 (questionnaire), their writing skills became a salient indicator by which they perceived their proficiency in Spanish: "When I look at my Spanish writing, I feel a really immediate gap between my listening/reading/speaking and writing." In the interview, P01 explained that although they perceive this 'gap', they are not always sure exactly what it is about their writing that appears to fall short, just that it does not seem to "flow."

The act of writing, rather than the actual content being written, was also a commonly recounted cause of anxiety, especially in the classroom as writing in daily life is usually restricted to texting for most participants. A main area of concern for the participants who reported anxiety caused by writing was orthography, specifically Spanish accent rules and spelling. Making the appropriate conjugations was also a concern for one participant. P11 provides an example in her interview of how anxiety about writing comes with exertion and thus impacts her relationships with extended family:

> It's harder for me to keep in contact with them when I come back [to Canada] because…it's so much work to text in Spanish, I don't want to put in that effort. It's more slow…I want it to be easier, but of course it can't be easier unless I know more.

Writing strategies was another area in class where some participants felt lacking in knowledge when they confronted writing longer passages and structuring essays in Spanish for the first time. Thus, anxiety around writing was reported for both daily life and the Spanish classroom, but it appears to be felt the most in the classroom context as learners encounter rules and an academic style of writing with which they had little to no previous experience.

This lack of previous exposure to academic Spanish was also cited by participants as a reason for anxiety about writing. Even participants who had attended after-school or high school Spanish classes reported that these classes were not always useful nor appropriate to their needs because they were catered to students without any previous knowledge of Spanish. P09, who briefly attended an after-school Spanish class as a child, realised this upon entering her post-secondary heritage-track class (interview): “I don’t know how I would have expected to know [how to write in Spanish], because I never learned it.”

4.2.1.c Grammatical Factors. Next is the code about *grammatical* factors, which includes any aspect of Spanish grammar. Some elements that participants particularly worry about fall under morphosyntax, such as inflectional morphology (conjugations) and agreement with grammatical gender. At the lexical level, remembering the grammatical gender of individual words was also cited to be problematic. In class, the application of this kind of metalinguistic knowledge was especially troublesome for P05 since cloze questions often appeared in class.

In terms of phonetic or phonological aspects of grammar, participants did mention anxiety about having a ‘proper’ accent or pronunciation, which has been explored in 4.2.1.a with respect to how anxiety about speaking connects to concerns about identity. The dominance of English/French was also discussed, such as not rolling one’s *r*s (P11). As well, the dominance of one’s majority language in terms of vocabulary is a common concern across the sample as participants are aware of things they can express in English/French but not in Spanish. Specifically, not knowing current slang (e.g., from a specific region, slang used by peers) or academic terminology (e.g., subject-specific vocabulary, connective words/phrases for writing) can cause anxiety when an HS must pause to think, code-switch, or realise that they cannot understand what has been said or written.

Similarly, this seems connected to why many participants reported feeling at least some intimidation when they must do something entirely in Spanish (recall Table 8). Since all participants reported at least some amount of code-switching, being in a situation where they cannot use all of their linguistic resources may be nerve-wracking. Based on the results in 4.2.1.a about self-perceived competence and expectations of monolingual-like proficiency, tasks requiring the exclusive use of Spanish may also yield anxieties about being English dominant or not reflecting a monolingual-like grammar.

Being corrected about one's grammar can also induce anxiety, and three participants have certainly felt the effects. For example, P04 felt anxious in one of her past Spanish courses because the teacher corrected her in a negative, almost angry way when P04 would use vocabulary from her own regional varieties of Spanish.

For two participants, corrections from family members appear to be the most nerve-wracking, despite the good intentions behind them. The HL classroom is perceived by P09 and P11 to be the appropriate place for being taught and corrected, especially because their peers are learning, too. Meanwhile, using Spanish at home/with family is perceived as a place that should be free of evaluation, where P09 and P11 would like to use Spanish without inhibition. Being corrected carries some vulnerability no matter the setting, but for P09, being corrected by family is part of how her parents have always been "diligent" about exposing P09 and her sibling to Spanish where possible. This has communicated to P09 (interview) the importance her parents place on knowing Spanish, so while she understands "the bigger picture" and that the corrections at home are coming from a caring place, "if I want to have a conversation with [my father], I don't want him to be correcting me, I just want to speak." Similarly, P11 worries about her Spanish

grammar in terms of writing and reading around family members, because when they correct her, she feels like she has fallen short of their *external expectations* (interview):

> My parents are very intent on the fact that they don't want me to go back to their country and not be able to communicate with anyone there, and the fact that I have, like, no [Spanish-speaking] relatives here in Canada…they were very intent on the fact, 'Oh, you can't go there and not speak the language because then you'll have no relationship with any of them.'

4.2.1.d Pragmatic Factors and Variety. Under the *pragmatic* code, participants that referenced this discussed anxiety with respect to learning a new formal or academic register in the classroom. This sometimes involved the *othering* of Spanish in the classroom, such that it no longer felt like a familiar language. This can happen when encountering grammatical knowledge that an HL learner has never noticed or used before. As P11 put it in her interview: "I don't know what I don't know."

Anxiety about learning a register is also linked to the codes *instructor factors* and *curriculum*, and the results for this trifecta parallel those of the *variety* code when it is also examined. All factors worked together to form a perfect storm of anxiety for some participants, especially two of them (P04 and P05).

For register, what consistently caused anxiety in the classroom was the instructor's approach to managing heritage learners' 'informal' knowledge. However, some participants were especially prone to anxiety if dialectal variation was a factor as well. In almost all classes where participants wrote or talked about feeling anxious about learning a formal register, one variety was being taught: Standard Peninsular Spanish. In other words, Standard Peninsular Spanish was positioned as formal, academic Spanish. The issue that this poses for curricula that do this is what it communicates to learners about variation. They may propagate and confirm pre-existing

ideas that participants may have about prestige, as seen with P09, who had associated formality with variety even before beginning her class. She believed her Mexican Spanish to be inherently informal and Peninsular Spanish as more formal. However, because her current class focuses on teaching formal Latin American Spanish (which is not specific to a certain region) rather than formal Peninsular Spanish, her initial association was not confirmed.

Participants' experiences with classes that do teach one variety (Standard Peninsular Spanish) ranged from a mild disagreement with this aspect of the curriculum to anxiety that fuelled a strong dislike of the class. On one end, P06 did not express feeling anxious about this, but rather a feeling of disconnection. She expressed a desire to have been taught by someone who was aware of Latin American varieties of Spanish and that the curriculum had considered teaching Spanish for different purposes or contexts.

Participants P04 and P05 related their stories as they faced a similar situation but with the presence of discomfort and anxiety. As mentioned, P04 had experiences with an instructor who was unpleasantly prescriptive and who constantly regarded P04's knowledge of varieties other than Peninsular Spanish as incorrect. P05, on the other hand, had an understanding instructor but found friction with the curriculum as the Spanish that she believed to be 'correct' was problematized by the teaching of Peninsular Spanish. It was difficult for her to learn how to speak and write more formally as she was also learning about a new variety of Spanish. To her, the course implied that there is only one way to speak Spanish formally (interview): "It also made me feel like my Spanish was…almost as if it wasn't legitimate." That also confirmed her initial worries that her Spanish was not 'good enough'. This allowed her anxiety to persist throughout the course (interview):

> Even though I had to learn [Spanish] formally, it's not the way I talk, it's not the way I'm used to speaking, so it didn't really help…and because there's a formal way of speaking, any informal way is just somehow not good.

The lack of acknowledgement in class of other varieties of Spanish further contributed to feelings of detachment since P05 had expected the course to help her reconnect to the language and associated cultures. She wrote in the questionnaire: "What made me most uncomfortable was learning Spanish the way it is used in Spain. I wanted to feel closer to the Latino/Latinx community."

4.2.1.e Assessment. This classroom-specific factor yielded some striking results related to HLA at the intersection of instruction and identity. Assignments and in-class evaluations were often reported by participants to be nerve-wracking if *writing* was involved as well as doubting one's ability to do well on the assessment based on *self-perceived competence*. The act of being evaluated, however, could also cause anxiety because of how intimate Spanish is for some participants—it is the language they associate with home or certain relationships. The survey results about where participants used Spanish while growing up (in Section 4.1.1) support this result because of how few learners grew up using Spanish with people outside their family or friend groups. For participants like P05 and P09, not growing up with frequent access to a Spanish-speaking community seems to have made Spanish a personal, almost private language that is less associated with the public sphere.

P05 described how the close association of Spanish with her personal life made assessments in her Spanish class quite jarring, especially because of how the class taught formal Peninsular Spanish. Not only was her own knowledge of Spanish not considered relevant to the course, but for her it felt like something very personal was being assessed and found to be inadequate. "It

was just odd for me to be evaluated on something that's part of my culture," she recalled in her interview. "Spanish will always be something that I associate with my family or with home, they're personal things…"

Participants also reported specific *negative emotions* that fuelled their worries related to evaluation in class. These included intimidation, low confidence, self-consciousness, and embarrassment:

Everyone had a bit of- of fear…even me.

- P01 (interview)

When it comes to writing at that high academic kind of [level]- I feel way less confident.

- P03 (interview)

I was always self-conscious during…that time.

- P03 (interview)

I find it embarrassing to write, to do assignments in Spanish.

- P11 (interview)

These emotions were not unique to the classroom as some participants reported similar feelings in their daily life, such as embarrassment about speaking with an English accent.

4.2.1.f Seeking Belonging. Unsurprisingly, wanting to feel closer to one's cultures and ethnic community is a recurrent motivator for participants, as already seen in this section and in Table 6. The results presented here are found in the code *seeking belonging*, which coded feelings of cultural disconnection as well as any preoccupations participants have about being accepted by perceived ingroup members (e.g., fellow HSs, family, or monolingual Spanish speakers).

This relates to the results presented for *external expectations*, as many participants are worried about how they would be perceived and judged by other ingroup members. Participants

were specifically concerned about not being ‘enough’ (i.e., ‘Latino enough’, ‘Guatemalan enough’) as well as ‘too’ English-dominant or culturally Canadian. They were also worried about what other people were thinking about their Spanish: what kinds of judgments were they making about the participant or their family? Did they feel deceived or let down?

Concerns about belonging were also reported in the HL classroom by one participant, but this was not related to their HLA. P01 had recalled how it was challenging for them to connect with other heritage learners in class, but because they had pre-established friend groups.

4.2.1.g Attitudes. Finally, the results for the two codes about *attitudes towards Spanish* (from either participants or other people) further confirm that Spanish is valued by participants and their social environment. For example (P11, interview): “My parents do not usually allow me to speak English because they are afraid that I’m going to lose that language.”

This quote portrays an emblematic attitude found throughout the data in this code: that the use and maintenance of Spanish is important and prized by its speakers, at least those surrounding this sample. For participants, Spanish is incredibly important for feeling grounded and connected to a local or wider community:

> It would feel weird if I ever forgot Spanish, like, I would feel bad. Just because…my grandparents spoke Spanish, and my parents speak Spanish, and to not be able to speak to them in their mother tongue feels like betrayal. It just feels like I’m forgetting them, and it’s like I’m not- I don’t know, like, I assimilated too much. And so much that I forget who I am and where I came from. So, I hope never to forget Spanish, ever. [It] keeps me rooted…it just makes you see the bigger picture.
>
> - P08 (interview)

> Spanish gives me access to a part of me that no other language can reach. I sense that it genuinely makes a significant part of who I am that would be unrecognizable were I to lose it.
>
> - P01 (questionnaire)

Spanish is an additional way to access culture, family, and community, and helps establish a sense of belonging. Hence, some participants reported worrying about not being able to maintain their Spanish or to align with these attitudes; perceiving a threat to the vitality of their language skills is then grounds for the appearance of HLA. One such threat may be code-switching.

Although not all participants felt anxious or displeased about code-switching, the ones that did reflected attitudes that align with monolingual ideologies that discourage this behaviour. P04, for instance, wishes that she did not "have to" switch as often because she interprets that as a sign of lower proficiency. For P11, this depends. Although her family emphasizes the use and transmission of Spanish as well as a preference for a Spanish-only policy at home, code-switching does not always instigate anxious feelings. P11 explained that she speaks "a lot of Spanglish," but only seems to be uncomfortable with that if she is interacting with monolingual speakers in a Spanish-speaking country.

Anxiety rooted in attitudes also seems related to matters of *seeking belonging* and *indexing identity*, as participants associated Spanish with cultural and ethnic community membership. This was sometimes reflected in other people's attitudes, which likewise linked Spanish or a dialect with a national or Latin American identity. In her interview, P04 described some of the comments and questions she has fielded from strangers and family members alike. They centre around her needing to speak Spanish because of her ethnicity and cultural heritage: "'It's your culture, your pride, how can you NOT know it?'"

Finally, the data also reveals participants' awareness of not demonstrating a monolingual knowledge of Spanish. More broadly, this reflects an ideology of 'proper' or standard monolingual Spanish. The linguistic- and cognitive-based anxieties reported by participants are ultimately founded in comparing their Spanish skills against a monolingual standard. This can be made salient when facing constant corrections.

Even so, participants expressed a sense of relief about being able to use Spanish in any capacity. They are cognizant of the situation of many HSs who did not have an opportunity to maintain their Spanish during childhood as well as individuals who did not have a chance to acquire Spanish as an HL in the first place. As seen in item 6 in Table 5, not knowing Spanish may threat to one's cultural membership, and it seems that half of this study's sample would associate the loss of Spanish with the loss of membership to the Hispanic community. Thus, within the attitudes expressed in the data, these participants find reprieve in meeting at least some ideological standards with the Spanish that they do have. However, this may lead to anxiety if their Spanish skills are deemed to be in a precarious state, or if challenging the expectations of other people calls their identity into question, as already discussed.

4.2.2 *Consequences of HLA*

Although not examined as deeply, there were 26 references to the potential impacts of HLA. As seen in Figure 10 and Table 14, most of the reported impacts are socio-emotional in nature (50% of coding references in this sub-category), followed by cognitive consequences (38.5% of coding references):

Figure 10

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Coding References (N =26) for Consequences of HLA by Sub-Category

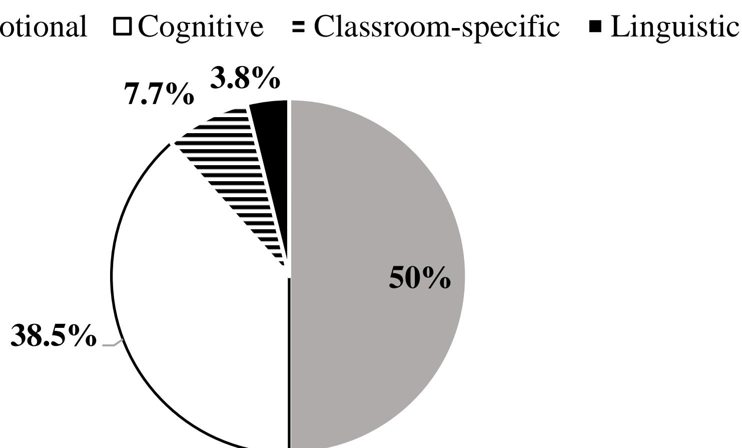


Table 14

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Consequences of HLA by Code (N = 26)

Code	*n*	% of Total Codes
Socio-emotional: Discomfort	11	42.3
Cognitive: Overload	7	26.9
Cognitive: Negative self-perceptions	3	11.5
Classroom-specific: Disliking class	2	7.7
Socio-emotional: Alienation	2	7.7
Linguistic: Anxiety-induced errors	1	3.8

4.2.2.a Socio-Emotional Consequences. The most frequently mentioned impact of HLA was feeling uncomfortable with a situation or with Spanish because of the anxiety. This was mentioned by six participants. For some participants this included the avoidance of Spanish or a particular task. For example, P03 recalled that she would avoid writing in Spanish unless absolutely necessary. P04, on the other hand, mentioned that on some days she is simply not in the mood to deal with the anxiety that using Spanish can entail, and thus avoids speaking it. This

general inhibition was also mirrored by P01, who felt that the kinds of conversations they could contribute to in Spanish class were shallower than they would have liked because of their discomfort with being put in the spotlight in order to participate.

Finally, recall P11's plight with texting relatives as part of her writing anxiety. For her, writing requires additional effort, which can feel uncomfortable and prompt a lower willingness to communicate in that manner. This connects to *alienation*, which encompasses feelings of disconnection to Spanish and related social relationships and identities. In this case, P11's writing anxiety also has consequences for the extent to which she can connect with her relatives living outside of Canada.

4.2.2.b Cognitive Consequences. *Overload* captured comments from two participants about racing thoughts or drawing a blank because of worrying about one's Spanish. For P04, this involves overthinking or 'getting into her head'. For P09, anxiety during speaking or writing sometimes spurs a cascade of thoughts about retrieving a word or blanking on what it could be.

Negative self-perceptions were referenced less often but are related to *self-perceived competence*. In this case, negative self-perceptions are seen as a result of HLA instead of its attributed cause or foundation. Anxiety for two participants led them to perceive themselves negatively in anticipation of using Spanish in the immediate future. For instance, P11's worries about writing sometimes lead her to see her writing as "terrible" or "horrible" in anticipation of her parents reading a composition she has written for class.

4.2.2.c Other Consequences. The remaining two codes were coded for P01 and P04. *Disliking class* was a consequence of P04's anxiety in the Spanish class where she had

discouraging experiences with the instructor who did not tolerate varieties of Spanish that were not Peninsular Spanish. This event has been described in Section 4.2.1.d.

Finally, *anxiety-induced errors* was coded when P09 mentioned that her capabilities are not able to be fully displayed if she is caught off guard. If she suddenly needs to speak Spanish with a stranger, then her speech does not "flow" as effortlessly as it does with someone she does not usually feel anxious around, such as her mother.

4.2.3 *When HLA is Absent*

Other findings related to participants' contexts and experiences do not necessarily have to do with HLA. In fact, all participants shared instances of a lack of anxiety in the classroom or in other situations where there is the potential for anxious feelings.

4.2.3.a Positive Experiences in Class. The post-secondary Spanish courses that participants had taken or were currently taking at the time of data collection often yielded positive experiences. As summarized in the results, there were indeed participants (three) who reported feeling the least anxious about Spanish (or certain tasks in Spanish) in class than outside class. As well, several anxieties did not persist for three participants who had also expressed starting their classes with pre-existing concerns, such as about their proficiency. Factors that cultivated positive in-class experiences included one's mindset and the learning environment.

A specific mindset or approach that four participants mentioned was embracing the challenge of using or learning Spanish. Regardless of whether participants felt anxious or not about their Spanish in a certain situation, they would not avoid using Spanish if they enjoyed being out of their comfort zone. Similarly, liking the challenge of their Spanish classes and taking the opportunity to push oneself helped participants to purposefully engage with Spanish in their

classes or on their own. This notion of ‘creating opportunities’, even aside from enrolling in a Spanish class, was important for participants like P03, as an example. For her, it was simple (interview): “I wanted to speak Spanish, so I did it.” Although speaking is not an area where she experiences much anxiety, this approach helped her grow more comfortable with being uncomfortable in other areas, such as writing. Although she still feels anxious about writing in Spanish, especially in an academic manner, embracing the challenge allows her to not shy away from situations that involve writing. Being comfortable with taking risks appears to have had a protective role in mitigating or coping with anxiety.

Another factor that diminished anxious feelings is a positive learning environment in the Spanish classroom, specifically whether learners perceived it to be an area free of personal judgment. For example, P01 experienced a low level of anxiety in their heritage-track Spanish class because they enjoyed it greatly. The most rewarding aspects for them were the balance and integration of cultural topics and the acknowledgement of sociolinguistic variation in Spanish. P01 felt that their Spanish was welcome and that they could achieve their own goals for enrolling in that class, which were to learn more about academic Spanish and grammar as well as to practice their Spanish in general. Additionally, the expectations of the course felt achievable.

Likewise, although P04 had a negative experience in one class, her classes have since been taught by instructors who are mindful of variation in Spanish and excited to engage with heritage students’ backgrounds. As such, the anxiety that P04 felt about attending the Spanish class that taught Standard Peninsular Spanish does not apply in these other learning environments. In fact, she enjoys her current classes very much as she feels comfortable in them while also feeling more confident and connected to her heritage cultures. She described those other Spanish classes as inclusive and non-judgmental spaces (although she did still feel anxious sometimes).

Finally, most participants (10) reported having positive experiences in at least one of their classes, such that any anxiety was temporary or intermittent, not constant. Participants who enjoyed their classes mentioned that they were fun, comfortable, and exciting. The exception would be participants such as P04, P05, or P06, who all experienced anxiety that appeared to be more constant in at least one class, as described in previous sections.

4.2.3.b Acceptance. Many participants mentioned accepting their current level of Spanish in certain contexts or tasks. In these cases, participants can perceive their proficiency or be aware of internal/external expectations without experiencing anxiety across situations. P03 and P08 in particular discuss times when they have felt no anxiety when speaking with strangers because they have been 'forgiven' by their interlocutors once they explain their background or make the effort to use Spanish. These participants do not fear being judged negatively (at least, judgments with social repercussions) in these situations. However, the term 'forgiveness' implies that a transgression has been made in the form of non-monolingual Spanish which is then 'accepted' by the HS and their interlocutors.

Another area that relates to anxiety in others but less-so in P08 was identity. Much like the other participants, P08's Spanish-speaking identity is an important part of his life and sense of self. However, his lack of insecurities about Spanish and its connection to identity are connected to how he accepts his Spanish because it still allows him to communicate with other speakers, from relatives to strangers. With close friends or family (questionnaire), "I'm not really anxious, given I know I make mistakes and that they'll still understand." He is secure about who he is as an HS of Spanish and enjoys constructing this identity on his own terms, as seen in 4.2.3.c.

4.2.3.c Uniqueness. For most participants, part of growing up with Spanish as a home language involved low access to a Hispanic community. By knowing few other Spanish-speakers or people of Latin American descent, some participants brought up feeling 'unique' within their broader social environments. This 'uniqueness' and feelings of disconnection appear to be two sides of the same coin; the former is not necessarily a source of anxiety while the latter was sometimes found to be a source of HLA (as seen in Section 4.2.1). In her questionnaire, P11's words on the matter encapsulate the overarching idea expressed by participants in this study: "I feel like I have something unique in this Canadian culture."

This distinctiveness is mostly an awareness of how few Spanish-speakers or people of Latin American descent there are in participant's neighbourhoods and regions. All the interviewed participants discussed growing up in environments where there was limited access to other Spanish speakers. If there was access, then the community was small. Some participants mentioned that they did not feel like they belonged to a Hispanic community while growing up, or of feeling like their family was one of the only Spanish speakers in their area. This is still a reality for some. For example, P08 specifically referenced feeling the risk of fully assimilating to English Canadian culture due to his perception of there being "not too many of us" in Canada or his community.

However, for P08, this idea of 'uniqueness' presents a welcome opportunity to freely explore his identity and personality:

> [Being a Spanish speaker in Canada] means I'm sort of unique (laughs)…I don't have to fit within, like, a mold of 'Latino person' because I'm one of the only ones, at least where I live, so you have real freedom to choose what you want. Here, you get to sort of choose how you want your identity to be portrayed…it's the ability to play around with what it means to be a Spanish speaker in Canada.
>
> - P08 (interview)

4.2.3.d Spanish and its Colonial Roots. A final result to report is about the colonial legacy of Spanish in the Americas. This may not have been directly involved with HLA itself, but it intersects with how HSs may conceptualize their identity as well as their motivations for receiving instruction in Spanish later in life. Two participants considered this issue relevant to their broader experiences, not just their post-secondary Spanish courses (although their respective courses did not necessarily address this issue). In particular, P01 discussed how they continue to grapple with what it means to want to maintain their Spanish skills or to identify as 'Latino'. They currently live in a society where this pan-regional language and identity are the minority, but in many regions of Latin America, Spanish is part of a dominant, hegemonic culture that imbues assimilatory pressures and marginalizes other languages and cultures, such as Indigenous ones (Williamson, 2009). Spanish, as a language, allows HSs to build new bonds with family, a community, a heritage; yet the reason that *Spanish* is the language to be maintained (and that *Latino* is an identity to be navigated) comes from a colonial inheritance:

> Somehow, one has a feeling of resentment against Spanish because of its connection to colonization, right? Like, the idea of it being very possible that in another world we would be speaking a completely different language, one that is not a European language, so for me it's sometimes hard to say, 'I'm proud to be a Spanish speaker,' 'I'm proud to be Latino,' because in a lot of ways, for me, it's like a celebration of colonialism.
>
> \- P01 (interview)

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study has uncovered many findings about the nature of Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) and experiences with post-secondary Spanish instruction for 11 past or current heritage learners in Canada. These findings are based on the perspectives of these participants and are influenced by the characteristics of this sample, some of which are consistent with heritage speakers (HSs) in previous studies.

One characteristic is that this sample reported a generally high (self-rated) proficiency level in Spanish, but writing was the lowest self-rated skill. Self-rated proficiency tends to be an accurate indicator of proficiency (Luque et al., 2022; MacIntyre et al., 1997), although self-rated proficiency for linguistic skills in an L1 may be more accurate for reading than for other skills (Marian et al., 2007). Additionally, both L2 and heritage language (HL) anxiety can negatively correlate with self-rated L2/HL proficiency levels (Jee, 2020; MacIntyre et al., 1997). This is because anxious learners may underestimate their target language proficiency while less anxious learners may overestimate theirs. Hence, the perceptions of proficiency are relevant to this study.

Regardless, the pattern of lower Spanish writing proficiency ratings is consistent with past studies (e.g., Torres et al., 2020) as HSs tend not to write as much as they speak or listen to Spanish in their daily lives. If they do write, it is unlikely be at an academic level. As such, the unfamiliarity with formal language and the conventions found in Spanish academic writing can be challenging for post-secondary heritage learners who have little to no prior exposure to Spanish in formal settings (Boon & Polinsky, 2015; Torres et al., 2020).

Another main characteristic of this sample is that participants grew up and live with a small Spanish speech community, or limited access to one. This is based on participants rating their Spanish use during childhood and adolescence to be most frequent for family members, except

siblings. Their Spanish use with siblings may have been lower because their siblings were also growing up as HSs in a similar environment, with English or French as a dominant language. As well, all participants were first or second-generation HSs, and those who were interviewed mentioned that their family members immigrated to Canada as adults, with Spanish as their dominant language, while other relatives usually continue to live in Spanish-speaking countries. However, if participants had other relatives of a similar generation (such as cousins) who also grew up as HSs of Spanish, then this might have lowered the frequency of how often participants reported using Spanish with extended family, but that is not clear.

The small size of Spanish-speaking communities has also been referenced by post-secondary HL learners in Winnipeg, in terms of the lack of frequent exposure to Spanish and other Spanish-speakers while growing up in Canada (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2013). While this may be a common experience for Spanish HSs in Canada, this may be changing for future generations as more Spanish speakers immigrate to Canada every year (Statistics Canada, 2022). In comparison to HSs from areas with larger Spanish-speaking communities, HS anxieties can certainly overlap even if HSs are exposed to Spanish in public more often than HSs from smaller or more scattered communities. Worries in common may be about a lack of previous academic exposure to Spanish, writing, belonging, or being judged for one's proficiency (Brock Gonzalez, 2020; Torres et al., 2020; Prada et al., 2020). However, one difference that may be because of the size of the Spanish-speaking community is in learners' motives for taking a Spanish course. In one study of high school Spanish HL learners near the Texas-Mexico border (Cherry, 2011), integrative motives such as communicating with others or feeling connected to one's culture were some of the most frequent reasons for taking Spanish, after job prospects as the most frequent motive (just like the learners in this study). However, the proportion of participants who

selected integrative motives as reasons for taking Spanish classes was lower than the proportion of learners who did in the current study. This could be because learners living with more exposure to Spanish within the community may already feel connected to their culture or a sense of belonging.

Regardless of the infrequent access most participants had to a Spanish-speaking community, they still reflected socially learned Spanish language ideologies, such as that of monolingual norms and standard speech (which Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2013, had also noted in her study). Many participants in the current sample considered their knowledge of Spanish to be an advantage or valuable resource in their lives, but they also measured this knowledge against standards of 'proper' or 'correct' Spanish and associated the language with a Hispanic or Latin American identity. This is similar to other Spanish HSs in past research (e.g., Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2013; Tseng, 2021), although no participants reported being stigmatized for using Spanish nor pressured to speak English. This is in contrast with the findings for many American HSs who find both their English and Spanish subject to criticism, potentially labelled as 'semilinguals' or 'limited bilinguals' in the past (Rosa, 2019; Tseng, 2021; Valdes, 2006).

A third characteristic to discuss is that most of the sample expressed a desire to be part of the Spanish-speaking community, which is an integrative motivation to learn more Spanish. They also associated Spanish with community membership, such that attrition or loss would threaten that ingroup membership. Not only is Spanish important for these participants, but almost all of them think it is also important that they speak Spanish like a 'native' speaker. Slightly fewer respondents wanted other people to perceive them as 'native' speaker, so one's individual perception of using Spanish like a monolingual speaker seems to be most important for this sample This aligns with the idea of 'deficit' identities, as Tseng (2021) found in her own study

with Spanish HSs in Washington, D.C. That is, participants' identities and notions of ingroup membership (the ingroup being the Hispanic/Spanish-speaking community) have the potential to be 'deficient', such as by perceiving attrition or being aware of not speaking Spanish in a certain way (in this case, like a monolingual speaker). Participants reflected this discourse if they said that their Spanish is not as good as it could or should be, while also feeling relieved since it could be 'worse' in the form of lower proficiency or not knowing much Spanish at all. Similar to Tseng's study, even if participants disagreed with ('native'-like) knowledge of Spanish being a condition for 'Latino' identity, participants generally referred to these broader social standards alongside their own expectations when appraising themselves.

From the questionnaire, an instrumental motive (learning Spanish for job prospects) was the most frequently selected reason for this sample to enrol in post-secondary Spanish courses. Valuing the HL for its potential professional benefits can also be found in Spanish HL learners living in the US (Bowles, 2018; Cherry, 2011) and in post-secondary Spanish HL learners in Winnipeg (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2013) and Alberta (Campanaro, 2013). Thus, it is perhaps a characteristic of post-secondary (Spanish) HL learners in North America.

The next most frequently selected motives in the questionnaire were largely integrative. Participants indicated that they had enrolled in Spanish courses because of wanting to communicate with family and to connect to the Hispanic community while learning new language skills and prescriptive grammar. In other words, learners were motivated to expand their knowledge but also to nurture personal connections and their sense of belonging to their local or broader Hispanic communities. This is unsurprising as family and community are well-documented motives in the literature (e.g., Torres & Turner, 2017); these motives were also found in Loureiro-Rodriguez's (2013) and Campanaro's (2013) Canadian post-secondary HL

learners. The desire to communicate with family also aligns with Guardado's (2008) work with families in Vancouver. The parents in his study did not reference job prospects as a motive to enrol their children in a Spanish camp, and the most important motive was that their children be able to communicate with family members. The learners in this study share this motive, and a few (three) also mentioned that this was their own parents' motives for using Spanish with them during childhood. This emphasis on learning Spanish skills to maintain relationships is consistent with the broader idea developed by Fishman (1997). According to his work, language has a symbiotic relationship with cultural and ethnic identities for ethnolinguistic minorities since language is often used to as a sign or marker to indicate (or 'index') one's cultural affiliation. Thus, cultural and ethnic identities can become tightly associated with an HL as language begins to symbolize the intergenerational transmission of culture and its 'uniqueness' (Fishman, 1997; Guardado, 2008).

Finally, before discussing Spanish HLA, the non-Spanish-specific anxiety that the current sample reported appears to be on par with the American College Health Association's (2022) report on the well-being of Canadian post-secondary students. Across Canada, 70.8% of post-secondary students (mainly undergraduates, like most of the participants in this study) reported feeling anxious at some point within the last 12 months. The current sample, albeit small, seems similar as 63.6% of participants reported feeling at least 'a little anxious' in general[7]. Overall, the general anxiety that participants reported is consistent with the anxiety levels of Canadian post-secondary students.

[7] At most, 18.2% of the sample felt 'anxious'.

5.1 HLA: Novelty, Expectations, and Perceptions

The first guiding research question of this thesis is: *What are the reasons for and manifestations of HLA in Canadian post-secondary learners of Spanish?* As seen in the results, there is ample data about the sources of anxiety in this sample. The causes of HLA appear to have certain threads in common: the lack of experience with a situation or task in Spanish; internal or external expectations; and perceptions (one's own or expressed by others) of competence or identity. The manifestations of HLA will be discussed in Section 5.1.3.

As already mentioned, this sample rated their writing proficiency the lowest of all the communicative skills, but also reported the most anxiety about writing in Spanish. This may be because of novelty of writing, especially in a formal register rather than a less formal one. Specifically, participants had mentioned concerns about writing accent marks and spelling in general. For academic writing, they were additionally worried about learning the logical connectors used in Spanish writing and how to structure their arguments (the latter might be anxiety about not having the language skills for critical thinking in Spanish) (Torres et al., 2020). This is similar to the challenges with academic writing that first-generation students may face when transitioning from high school to post-secondary school (Wahleithner, 2020), although only two participants reported feeling 'anxious' about their non-Spanish university courses.

Furthermore, some participants rated their Spanish writing anxiety highest with family and friends than for in-class situations. This is probably related to why participants found writing in an academic setting to be a novelty: they likely did not write often in Spanish before enrolling in their classes, such that they write more in class than they would at home. For example, they may only write text messages in Spanish outside class, and in class they may write a range of genres for different purposes (e.g., discussion posts, journal entries, quiz responses, etc.). A lack of

experience is what participants referenced in the results as they realised that there were things they simply did not know about writing in Spanish, such as when to write accent marks.

Moving on, the common vein for when participants feel the most anxious is when situations involve evaluation or expectations that are too high or not realistic based on the HS's background. For example, the sample felt anxious about using Spanish with extended family and other relatives, which is relevant since the qualitative data suggests that these relatives' expectations are often based on monolingual norms. They may also not know the participant and their circumstances very well. Thus, anxious participants feel worried about not meeting those expectations. They also appear to fear being invalidated as Spanish speakers if those expectations have consequences for how their identity is perceived (and validated) by others.

Meanwhile, testing situations saw the most reported anxiety in class; there is that aspect of evaluation and a fear of not meeting internal or external expectations. However, this is also likely due to four participants reporting at least some general test anxiety. Nine participants also felt at least 'a little anxious' with teachers, which could be explained by associating teachers with evaluation or perhaps seeing them as authorities on the Spanish language and wanting to meet their expectations. For example, P05 assumed that her teacher had certain expectations and worried about disappointing him, even if she did not think he had expressed any expectations beyond those of the L2 course. There is also the more extreme experience that P04 had with one of her first Spanish teachers; she felt anxious specifically because that teacher negatively judged her knowledge of Spanish and corrected her harshly because she did not know Standard Peninsular Spanish.

On the other hand, classroom situations involving HL and L2 peers alike saw low levels of anxiety in this sample. This aligns with Campanaro's (2013) study in Alberta as HL learners in

post-secondary L2 courses did not necessarily experience anxiety in those classes, including when interacting with L2 classmates. This is probably because being judged by classmates is less of a concern for these participants since they are learners, too. However, all participants reported high proficiency, and four mentioned that thought they had similar or stronger Spanish proficiency compared to their classmates. If learners perceive themselves to have a lower proficiency compared to their peers, or that they ‘stand out’ in class, then this could change (Prada et al., 2020). For example, P01 felt like they stood out in their L2 Spanish literature course because they were one of the few students who consistently participated in class. Despite feeling capable of participating and sharing their ideas, this kind of attention from their classmates began to make P01 feel self-conscious about their Spanish being heard and judged.

Other participants explained that they were not anxious with classmates because they felt a sense of solidarity with them, citing the fact that everyone was in the class to learn and grow their language skills. If in a class with other HL learners, participants often discussed how they felt validated as they established camaraderie because of their similar language backgrounds (also seen in Prada et al., 2020).

Regarding self-consciousness in class, participant’s individual responses indicate that many did rate their self-consciousness and uneasiness the same or similarly between the classroom and contexts outside the classroom. However, three participants did report feeling less self-conscious/uneasy in class while three others reported feeling more self-conscious/uneasy.

For the participants who reported feeling more self-conscious and uneasy in class than with family/friends, the qualitative results offer some explanation. It appears that the novelty introduced by the learning environment is a common reason for this difference since all three participants described anxiety upon the introduction of prescriptive grammar or tasks in Spanish

that they had little experience with. For instance, P03 became anxious about academic writing, and both P05 and P06 felt uncomfortable when learning an unfamiliar variety (Standard Peninsular Spanish) in addition to a formal register. Additionally, P06 reported feeling most at ease with using Spanish in close relationships, but worried about navigating grammar and register when speaking with strangers—joining a Spanish class thus involved using Spanish with and around new people in a new environment. Further, her class seemed to focus on metalinguistic knowledge of Spanish grammar, which she was anxious about prior to the course.

For two of the participants who felt less self-conscious in Spanish class, it is unclear whether this is because of the nature of their classroom or home environments, or because of differences in personality. For the third participant (P11), her qualitative results illuminate why she feels more at ease in class; in part, this difference seems to be based on her perceptions of others' expectations. She attributes feeling more comfortable in class to the fact that her family's expectations of her Spanish skills are higher than those of her Spanish teacher and classmates. This was described in Section 4.2.1.c and further supports the common thread of these HL learners fearing appraisal or judgement based on the mismatched expectations of others.

5.1.1 *Expectations, Perceptions, and Self-Concepts*

The role of expectations (whether they are internal or external) for HLA in these participants can be discussed with respect to self-concepts. Recall from Section 2.4 the idea that individuals conceptualize the world in many ways, one of which includes conceptualizing the self, in this case as a language learner (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). For the present discussion, I assume that the heritage learners in this study possess mental concepts that house knowledge and beliefs about their *actual* HL/Spanish-speaking self, as well as concepts for their *ideal* HL self (the characteristics they aspire to have or exhibit) and *ought-to* HL self (the characteristics they think

they should have or exhibit, including standards expressed by other people) (Dörnyei, 2009). In general, participants seem to have most in common the content for what would be their ought-to selves, since that is where socially learned expectations and ideologies may be stored. For example, their ought-to selves seem to emphasize monolingual-like 'native' proficiency as well as the association of Spanish with being Latin American or a specific identity. However, it is not clear from the surveys and interviews whether this association bridges the Spanish-speaking self with other identity-based self-concepts, or whether the Spanish-speaking self is actually a facet of the latter, such that language is integrated into identity self-concepts rather than separate.

In line with Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009) and Higgins' (1987) *self-discrepancy theory* (introduced in Section 2.4), psychological discomfort can arise when an individual perceives a gap between their actual self and their ideal or ought-to selves. Hence, the perceived gaps between the actual self and ideal or ought-to selves offers an account for how HLA may arise in participants. For the current study, both internal and external expectations seem to follow this idea of anxiety in the face of perceived discrepancies. For example, the external expectations of Spanish proficiency that HL learners are exposed to can come from individuals (such as family members) or expressions of broader ideologies (such as monolingual standards, even if not explicitly communicated). For instance, family members' expectations can shape the content that HL learners may then include in their ought-to self-concepts (Xie, 2014). In this study, participants remembered times when family members expressed what they thought their Spanish 'should' be: Spanish that allows HSs to effortlessly communicate with monolingual relatives.

Similar to the HSs in Tseng (2021), anxiety from comparing one's Spanish to monolingual standards appears to be reinforced by interactions with family members and other Spanish

speakers. Repeated exposure to those expectations might then facilitate their internalization, in which they would also form part of an ideal self-concept (Rubio-Alcalá, 2017).

Further, the survey results indicate that around half of participants felt uncomfortable about their Spanish not meeting other people's expectations. Since these participants tended to attribute their expectations to themselves, it is likely that their internal expectations primarily shape the content of their ought-to or ideal selves, and thus their insecurities. For instance, participants such as P08 avoid or dislike code-switching with their dominant language because that is their personal preference, not necessarily because it is the preference of others. Participants such as P11 may then feel anxious when they need to use English because that behaviour is not what they ideally *want* it to be, and perhaps because it is also not what they think their behaviour in Spanish *ought to* be.

Because identity and self-concepts can change (McEntee-Atalianis, 2019; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009), it might then be possible that the content in an ought-to HL self can shift. Perhaps this could happen if HSs are exposed to more realistic attitudes or expectations about their HL (a social/external change), or maybe if HSs individually reconceptualize what proficiency and skills they feel obligated to have in Spanish. The process of how this would happen in HSs like the ones in this study is open for speculation, but future research could investigate whether heritage learners who adjust their expectations of proficiency also reconceptualize their ideal and/or ought-to HL self. As well, if an HS 'accepts' themselves and their HL use so that they are not anxious about the HL, does this mean that there are little to no discrepancies between the actual self and possible selves? Or is one possible HL self (i.e., the ideal self) given more importance than another, such that a discrepancy with one HL self is more anxiety-provoking than a discrepancy with another?

Although ideal and ought-to selves may overlap, a learner such as P04 might be more anxious from the gap between her actual and ought-to self than her ideal self, which appears to ultimately desire a level of communicative ability that is more achievable than monolingual-like proficiency (which she and others believe she 'should' have). A factor that would explain how participants become aware of the gaps between concepts is self-perceived competence, which would contribute to how participants conceptualize their actual HL selves. Self-perception involves assessing one's current skills or noticing errors, and anxiety seems to arise when one's competence is found wanting, thus implying an evaluation against one's own standards or others'. Indeed, participants frequently made references to anxiety caused by self-perceived competence and how they judged that perception.

5.1.2 *Summary of the Causes of HLA*

In sum, formal language and tasks that are unfamiliar to learners can be intimidating, which is often the case in a post-secondary Spanish course that introduces HL learners to new grammatical knowledge and literacy skills. This novelty or lack of experience with certain aspects of Spanish also relates to how most participants had infrequent experience with Spanish speech communities while growing up. In this way, Spanish is a 'private' language for them, or at least one not often used within the public sphere, and to comment on their Spanish is to comment on them as an individual or even their family. This is how being corrected or evaluated for one's dialect or register can also feel like an appraisal of oneself, one's family, or one's identity. A similar phenomenon was reported by Hidalgo (1993, as cited in Valdes, 2006) with respect to American HL learners who faced corrections for morphosyntactic features of their non-standard varieties of Spanish in a heritage-track class. Because corrections imply that a mistake has been made, some learners' felt shame or confusion since the features being corrected

were also features used by close relatives. Being corrected was viewed as a criticism of one's 'authentic' way of speaking and its legitimacy—similar to how P05 felt when learning Standard Peninsular Spanish, a variety that felt very distant and even irrelevant to her life.

HLA was often connected to identity and belonging due to the association of Spanish with one's family and heritage, and this existed before participants began their Spanish courses. Similar to L2 anxiety, there can be frustration and anxiety in the inability to express oneself 'authentically' during the production of a target language (Horwitz, 2017). In this case, HLA seems to appear if an HS is unable to express their background and identities based on their Spanish production, which can mean having to justify these identities to other people or to re-negotiate their expectations in order to feel validated.

Self-perceived competence or other situations involving evaluation (in class or from other people) are likely nerve-wracking not just for the element of appraisal, but also because of that connection of Spanish to learners' identities and personal histories. This can be further worrying if participants perceive their Spanish to be at risk of attrition, since many expressed their hopes to maintain their Spanish. This is because participants largely associated language with community membership while also expressing the desire to belong to the broader Spanish-speaking community and to maintain familial relationships. They viewed the loss of Spanish negatively by feeling relieved to speak any Spanish at all, and also by feeling better about their proficiency at the expense of other individuals of Hispanic heritage who know little to no Spanish. This fear of attrition seems based in the broader, externally based anxiety of not being accepted or validated by others, from relatives to strangers to teachers. Participants also hold internal perceptions and evaluations that are often based on monolingual norms of Spanish proficiency, although these may not always cause anxiety. For example, P08 'accepted' his

Heritage Spanish despite making an effort to avoid code-switching. His acceptance is both an internal and external force since he was personally content with his Spanish skills while believing that other Spanish speakers 'forgive' (and thus accept) his Heritage Spanish. This contrasts with participants like P04, who worried about not feeling accepted by other Spanish-speakers, but did show some level of individual acceptance as she was proud of the effort she exerts to maintain her Spanish and to achieve the skill level she had at the time of the interview, despite sometimes still feeling ashamed of not speaking Spanish like a monolingual.

The expectations and perceptions of teachers may also leave learners feeling invalidated in class if they are penalized for making use of their own varieties and informal registers of Spanish while learning a new register. This was particularly marked for HL learners in L2 classes if they were only taught one variety (Standard Peninsular Spanish, in this case). This has the potential to reinforce ideologies about prestige (such as P09's belief about the inherent informality of Mexican Spanish), especially because all participants were of Latin American descent. Thus, feeling accepted in class is important because learners who felt invalidated found that to be a large part of what made their learning experiences negative (see Section 5.4 for the pedagogical implications of this). Even if instructors had positive demeanours, this aspect of the curriculum was enough to make these learners and their knowledge of Spanish feel othered.

5.1.3 *Manifestations and Impacts of HLA*

When discussing or writing about HLA and its expressions, participants tended to talk about feeling nervous, self-conscious, uncomfortable, ashamed, embarrassed, 'lost', 'weird', or simply 'bad'. They primarily described these negative sensations and emotions as part of an anxious experience or in apprehension of an anxiety-inducing event. Participants may have used some of these words because they appeared in the interview questions and questionnaire items, which

were consistent with the wording of other anxiety scales such as Tallon's adaptation of the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986; Tallon, 2006).

Regarding the impacts of HLA that participants mentioned, these were largely discussed in the context of the classroom but not exclusively so. For example, avoidance of the HL is a behavioural consequence of anxiety that HSs may exhibit in their own lives or in the HL classroom in order to prevent negative interactions or emotions (Sevinç & Backus, 2019; Xiao & Wong, 2014). However, if the participants in the current study mentioned that their HLA led to the avoidance of Spanish, then it was for situations outside the classroom. One partial exception may be P01, who felt uncomfortable with speaking at length in one of their classes and thus spoke less to avoid the sensation of being judged, although they did not cease to volunteer answers. Moreover, P11 offered an example of how anxiety-driven avoidance has led to her feel disconnected from monolingual family members since she avoids writing in Spanish. She perceives the act of writing in Spanish to be laborious and time-consuming due to her (perceived) limited ability to express herself in this manner, thus prompting her to not write to her relatives.

Finally, some participants reported cognitive impacts of HLA, in which the anxiety is distracting or overwhelming. This is expected since anxiety can pull attentional resources away from the task at hand (Dewaele, 2013; Hancock & Ganey, 2003). Some participants were preoccupied with racing thoughts if they were trying to recover from drawing a blank or if they were worrying about an upcoming interaction and potential judgments. For P11, these racing thoughts connected with the desire to avoid negative consequences as she fretted about the quality of her writing for a class assignment and later refused to share it with her parents.

Worrying about the negative consequences of one's language production is common in anxious HSs and L2 learners alike (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015; Sevinç & Backus, 2019).

5.2 Theoretical Implications: Conceptualizing HLA

The current findings provide further support for how Heritage Language Anxiety differs from L2/Foreign Language Anxiety without disregarding their similarities, such as the roles of self-rated proficiency and an encouraging learning environment (e.g., Horwitz, 2017; MacIntyre et al., 1997). A prominent difference based on this study is how HLA can be caused by factors in a heritage learner's own life that carry over into the classroom once the HL is a target language. For instance, there may be insecurities about one's identity and sense of belonging to the heritage (now target) language community, which can interact with linguistic factors such as speaking. Additionally, the external and internal expectations learners had about what their Spanish 'should' be, based on their living with the language, often contributed to their HLA. The results also support how writing is of particular concern for many HL learners compared to other linguistic skills, including anxiety that went beyond writing in the HL itself but of planning and structuring their writing in Spanish. As already reviewed in Section 2.3, the presence of writing anxiety and identity-based anxieties are not considered in the instruments that have been used to measure HLA in previous research, particularly in the classroom context. Although some scales may include items about one of those factors, none of the reviewed instruments include both. The FLCAS, a commonly used scale in previous HLA research, has neither (Horwitz et al., 1986). Section 5.3 suggests how these shortcomings can be addressed with a new scale designed specifically for HLA.

Regardless, HLA continues to be conceptualized as the field builds more a generalizable understanding of this subject. The results of the current study suggest that a model accounting for

HLA should integrate social, linguistic, cognitive, and environmental factors as well as the relationships between them. An integrated model would also account for other variables dependent on learners and their personalities, such as risk-taking or willingness to communicate (Yashima, 2022). New conceptualizations of HLA could also provide details about the role of communication strategies as reflected in *strategic competence* from Bachman's (1990) communicative competence model. For example, HSs may consider the use of certain strategies—like borrowing from English—a reflection of their Spanish language competence. A matter for future research is the potential of incorporating other elements from Bachman's model. For instance, elements of *textual competence* could account for anxiety learners experience when planning their writing or applying writing strategies.

However, it is necessary to note that early work on linguistic competence tends to reflect a deficit approach to language, one that reinforces ideologies that stigmatize underprivileged communities and their linguistic practices (Flores & Rosa, 2022; Rosa, 2019). Although the field of Applied Linguistics currently discusses competence in a way that refers to difference rather than deficiency, Flores and Rosa argue that a deficit approach remains at the crux of communicative competence models by way of relying on an idealized 'native speaker' from a privileged, homogeneous speech community to define what competence entails. As such, if future work integrates aspects of communicative competence in order to describe elements of communication in a heritage language, it should be done carefully, with these criticisms in mind.

5.3 Methodological Implications: Approaching HLA Measurement

The second guiding research question of this thesis is: *How can identifying [the reasons for and manifestations of HLA] inform the development of an HLA-specific instrument?* To answer it, I turn to the results and consider what they mean for how HLA measured by the field.

Identifying the factors of HLA in this sample can inform the creation of a preliminary classroom HLA scale that is more appropriate for this population of study and its context. This can be done by including items that represent the factors of anxiety reported in this study that other scales do not address, hence creating a scale based on data from (Canadian) Spanish HL learners.

For example, the inclusion of items about writing in an HLA scale is one way to make an instrument that is appropriate for the context of Spanish HL learners, since the results from this study and previous research suggest that writing anxiety warrants measurement in order to understand HLA. Of course, participants also reported at least some anxiety in class about other linguistic skills, so an appropriate scale would include items about all four skills (which is how Luo's (2014) L2/HL Chinese Classroom Language Anxiety Scale is structured, as a reaction to this limitation of the FLCAS).

Furthermore, the relevance of identity, belonging, and social expectations also merit a place in a preliminary scale due to how these can persist in the classroom. As seen in Section 2.3.3, Tallon (2006) addressed these factors in his study by creating a handful of heritage-specific items to be appended to the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986), which supports the idea that an HLA scale would benefit from a collection of items about anxiety rooted in factors originating outside the classroom. A specific example is the item "*I feel like the Spanish I use in my own life is not welcome in my Spanish classroom.*" This has to do with the engrained presence of the HL in the lives and histories of HL learners, and that the register (and/or varieties) they personally use is not what is taught in the classroom. Similarly, the item "*I'm afraid that if I forget my Spanish, I will lose a part of who I am,*" refers to how the HL is already part of a HS's sense of self and identity. Heritage learners may join the classroom with this anxiety about attrition and what it would mean for their self-concepts and their connections to family.

With respect to *inside* the classroom, the results also revealed a varying amount of anxiety about Spanish tests and evaluations in class. This is akin to L2 anxiety as scales like the FLCAS and the newer Multidimensional Language Class Anxiety Scale (Kutuk et al., 2020) do contain items about test anxiety in the L2 classroom.

Finally, do the results from the correlation tests for the HLA questionnaire items in Section 4.1.7 have implications for a preliminary Spanish classroom HLA scale? A notable result is that the HLA ratings for in-class situations compared to those for outside of class had weak to moderate correlations across all question types. This suggests that the anxiety levels rated in class was not strongly related to anxiety levels rated for outside of class (and vice versa) in the current sample, especially for anxiety rated according to different situations and interlocutors. Hence, HLA experienced outside the classroom might not predict the level of anxiety experienced in class, which is consistent with what some participants reported in their surveys and interviews, since the degree of HLA and its causes can differ between environments. An HLA scale intended for use in the language classroom would then have to contain items that are classroom-specific to ensure that HLA is being measured with respect to the class and not solely for other contexts.

5.3.1 *A Preliminary Scale: The Spanish Classroom Heritage Language Anxiety Scale*

The results of this study indicate that the creation of a scale specifically for (Spanish) HLA is warranted in order to more fully understand this language anxiety in the HL classroom—especially with respect to factors that do not relate to L2 anxiety and are overlooked in scales like the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986) or MLCAS (Kutuk et al., 2020). This scale can be valuable for the field by approaching HLA measurement in accordance with how HLs are not foreign or additional languages the way that they are for L2 learners.

Furthermore, there is value in creating a scale that can be administered for both instruction and research purposes. A classroom HLA scale can help instructors understand the levels and nature of HLA in their students and thus tailor lessons and activities where possible, much like how Horwitz (2017) suggests that L2 instructors can use the FLCAS to inform their teaching.

The following scale is a preliminary offering for what a (Spanish) classroom HLA scale could look like. The scale features groups of items for each linguistic skill, classroom factors, and social factors, such that items corresponding to any group could be selected or removed depending on the aim of the researcher or instructor. This resembles the structure of the CCLAS (Luo, 2014), MLCAS (Kutuk et al., 2020), and Tallon's (2006) set of HL items for the FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986). This takes into account the fact that HLA can arise for any linguistic skill, thus ensuring that items about writing anxiety are included. As well, items about the social/external sources of anxiety acknowledges that HL learners can potentially carry over these anxieties into the HL classroom, especially at the beginning. Each category has six items for a total of 36 items, with the expectation that this number might be pared down in the process of validating the scale. With 36 items, a learner could take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete the scale[8].

The wording of the scale is similar to that of the FLCAS, MLCAS, and Tallon's heritage items in that the term 'anxious' is not in every item. It is surrounded by words that appear in other language anxiety scales and words that participants in the current study used when talking about their anxiety. These words describe other emotions related to HLA and its manifestations (e.g., self-consciousness, feeling 'bad'). Items asking about similar situations (such as items about tests) use the same word for consistency. Additionally, I included items with some

[8] A Linguistics colleague (who is an HS) took 5 minutes to simulate completing all 36 items (substituting "Spanish" for her own HL, Tamil). A colleague who is an HS of Spanish took less than 10 minutes.

behavioural and cognitive expressions of anxiety since these also appeared in the findings (e.g., avoiding Spanish, being overwhelmed). Differentiating between these components can better illuminate the nature of language anxiety and how a learner experiences it (Kutuk et al., 2020).

However, a limitation of using Likert scales for perception-based ratings is the uncertainty of whether to treat the scale data as ordinal or interval data (Huang, 2010). Responses based on perceptions are not necessarily made objective just by being quantified by the Likert scale, and researchers must decide whether to assume that respondents interpret the semantic differences between each level as equally distant. The current study has approached Likert scale data as ordinal and non-parametric, but other studies can arguably approach data from the preliminary scale as interval data for parametric analysis (Huang, 2010).

As described in Section 3.5, two colleagues reviewed the preliminary scale during its development. The final version of the preliminary scale is presented here. The items are organized by category for clarity, but they would be randomized when administering the scale:

Preliminary Spanish Classroom Heritage Language Anxiety Scale

Language anxiety refers to feelings of nervousness, discomfort, fear, and insecurity when using a language. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements about any anxiety you experience with <u>*Spanish*</u>*:*

(5) Strongly Agree, (4) Agree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (2) Disagree, (1) Strongly Disagree, Not Applicable[9]

Speaking

1. I feel anxious when I speak in front of my Spanish class.
2. I prefer to avoid speaking Spanish in my Spanish class.
3. I feel self-conscious when I speak Spanish with my Spanish teacher.
4. I feel self-conscious when I speak Spanish with my classmates in my Spanish class.
5. Sometimes my mind goes blank when I’m speaking in my Spanish class.
6. Spanish oral tests make me nervous.

[9] This 5-point Likert scale is also used by scales like the CCLAS, FLCAS, and MLCAS.

Listening

1. I feel anxious when I don't understand what my Spanish teacher is saying in class.
2. I feel lost when I'm listening to my classmates speak Spanish in my Spanish class.
3. I feel like I should be better at understanding what people say in my Spanish class.
4. It's embarrassing when there are words I don't recognize when listening to Spanish in my Spanish class.
5. Sometimes my mind goes blank when I'm listening to Spanish in my Spanish class.
6. Spanish listening comprehension tests make me nervous.

Reading

1. I feel anxious when I don't understand what I've read in my Spanish class.
2. I feel lost when I'm reading in my Spanish class.
3. In my Spanish class, I find it intimidating to read in Spanish.
4. It's embarrassing when there are words I don't recognize when reading in my Spanish class.
5. Sometimes I'm so worried about understanding a text in my Spanish class that I can't concentrate while reading.
6. Spanish reading comprehension tests make me nervous.

Writing

1. I feel anxious when I struggle to communicate my ideas in writing in my Spanish class.
2. I feel lost about spelling rules or where to put accent marks when I'm writing in Spanish class.
3. In my Spanish class, I find it intimidating to write in Spanish.
4. I feel self-conscious about my writing in Spanish class.
5. Sometimes my mind goes blank when I'm writing in my Spanish class.
6. Writing in Spanish during tests makes me nervous.

Other Classroom Factors

1. I feel more anxious about being evaluated in my Spanish class than in my non-Spanish classes.
2. I feel like the Spanish I use in my own life is not welcome in my Spanish classroom.
3. I feel overwhelmed by the grammar that I'm learning in my Spanish class.
4. I feel like my performance in my Spanish class should be better.
5. In my Spanish class, I feel uncomfortable when I can't express myself in Spanish like I can in English or French.
6. I worry that my teacher or classmates are judging me when I make mistakes in Spanish class.

Expectations and Identity

1. I feel embarrassed that my Spanish isn't as good as it should be.
2. I feel ashamed when my Spanish isn't as strong as other people expect.
3. I feel bad when I don't speak Spanish like someone who grew up in a Spanish-speaking country.
4. I feel self-conscious using Spanish with people I don't know very well.
5. I worry that switching between Spanish and English/French in a conversation means that I am forgetting my Spanish.
6. I'm afraid that if I forget my Spanish, I will lose a part of who I am.

In addition to the current sections, researchers and instructors may benefit from another section or scale that measures dispositional anxiety since this dimension is absent from the scale. Clinical instruments that could be used are the Self-rating Anxiety Scale (SAS) (Zung, 1971) or the Depression, Anxiety, Stress Scales (DASS) (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). In particular, the short version of the DASS (DASS-21) has been used in Spanish HLA research by Prada et al. (2020). This is because the sub-scales for both Anxiety and Stress are relevant for assessing anxiety that is chronic or situational (but not specifically situations involving the HL): the Anxiety items broadly assess situational anxiety, and the Stress items assess long-term physiological arousal that occurs without a specific cause. As well, administering these two sections of the DASS-21 with the preliminary HLA scale would not require much additional time as each section contains 7 items.

5.4 Pedagogical Implications: The Importance of Validation

The results of this study suggest that it is valuable for HL instructors to understand the concerns and anxieties of their students. A central implication for HL pedagogy is about how heritage learners' existing knowledge of Spanish is recognized within the classroom or curriculum. The results in Section 4.2.1.d provide examples of when these factors have the potential to cause significant discomfort for HL learners. For instance, courses that teach a specific regional variety may not be relatable or relevant for HL learners. This is because their goals are not necessarily limited to learning prescriptive grammar or formal uses of Spanish; they may also include the development of their identities and connections to their heritage cultures (as was the case for P05, who did not meet these latter goals, in contrast with P04, whose current learning experiences help her feel connected to her heritage).

With respect to language-related factors in the HL classroom, anxious learners repeatedly expressed concerns about writing and learning prescriptive grammar rules or metalinguistic knowledge. Previous research has already highlighted the nature of HLA with respect to writing in the classroom (i.e., Torres & Turner, 2020), particularly spelling, accent marks, sentence structure, and planning. As well, recall the discussion in Section 5.1.2 about the novelty of consistently writing in Spanish compounded with the introduction of writing in an academic style. Likewise, learning prescriptive rules and metalinguistic knowledge may make Spanish feel unfamiliar in classroom settings as learners are made aware of concepts such as stress assignment, or when and how to conjugate verbs for tense, aspect, and mood. Recognizing how their current production in Spanish differs from the Spanish being taught was anxiety-inducing for participants who were keenly aware of making grammatical errors or those who framed their base knowledge as deficient rather than different (i.e., the contrast between P04 and P08 outlined in Section 4.2.3.b).

Regardless, instructors, curriculum designers, and other stakeholders should consider the following questions: When teaching a particular variety of Spanish, why was that variety chosen for the curriculum? How can variation, register, and prescriptivism be addressed within the course? What tend to be the goals of students who take this course? What are the learning outcomes of the course? Most importantly, can the learning environment work *with* the HL leaners' existing knowledge and not *against* it?

The importance of learners feeling validated in class was also reflected in the results outlining participants' learning experiences that yielded little to no anxiety. These included enjoying the course content and activities, which is a nod to language enjoyment being a crucial part of learning environments that do not cause or aggravate language anxieties, although language

anxiety and language enjoyment can exist at the same time as they are considered two separate continua (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). Overall, if the learning environment felt safe, accepting, and supportive of learners' goals, then this appears to also counter HLA that might exist outside the classroom. If the environment is antagonistic, judgemental, or irrelevant to learners' goals, then that seems to allow HLA to manifest or even grow. This has also been discussed by Horwitz (2017) for L2 anxiety, in which she suggests that instructors focus on creating an enjoyable learning environment rather than reducing learners' anxieties, which will vary by learner (this also applies to HLA as its causes varied by learner in this study). Horwitz also recommends that instructors acknowledge language anxiety in class since anxious learners may feel reassured that they are not alone in their anxieties and insecurities. She gives examples for how to mitigate anxiety while boosting enjoyment; for example, instructors can incorporate activities for small groups or pairs rather than the whole class, or help students develop more realistic expectations for their language learning.

Hence, acceptance, validation, and relevance appear to avoid the amplification of HLA. Ultimately, the HL learners in this study reported low to no anxiety when they perceived the learning environment to be free of negative judgement and a safe place to call upon their existing knowledge, whether it be informal or from their own regional varieties of Spanish. These learning environments also did not expect learners to exhibit or achieve unrealistically high levels of proficiency or monolingual-like production.

This discussion highlights the importance of learner-centred approaches, which can foster these kinds of supportive and relatable environments. Differentiated teaching is an approach that aims to address the various goals and contexts of students, especially in Spanish classes comprised of both L2 and HL learners (Beaudrie, 2018; Carreira & Chik, 2018). Differentiated

teaching is a way for language instructors to be receptive to the differences across students and to navigate those differences in their teaching. For example, one strategy is to think about how procedures or activities in class can be adapted to accommodate learner differences within the same classroom (Carreira & Chik, 2018). Other strategies similarly revolve around modifying the course content, assessments and opportunities to demonstrate one's learning, and the pacing of the course.

For example, assessment was a factor related to HLA in this study. A recommendation from Carreira and Chik (2018) that can apply here is the use of formative assessment, or 'assessment for learning', that takes place throughout instruction instead as an 'assessment of learning'. Formative assessment tends to focus on feedback for both students and teachers to monitor the progress being made and to check learners' understanding of the course material. For learners who fear evaluation about being graded, formative assessments need not include any grade at all. For learners who fear evaluation in general, formative assessments that depend on self-monitoring and self-reflection would be important to include. An example of this is an exit card. Exit cards provide a prompt for learners to reflect upon and respond to before leaving the classroom. A prompt may ask about what part of a lesson remains unclear, how the lesson connects to learners' own lives, or how learners assess their own understanding of the learning outcomes from the lesson (Carreira & Chik, 2018).

As well, curricula and instructors of HL (and L2) courses can acknowledge differences across learners' previous exposure to academic instruction in Spanish. This can be done by modifying course content and/or providing different opportunities to demonstrate one's learning (Carreira & Chik, 2018). Examples of activities that facilitate these actions are KWL charts and learning contracts. 'Know, Want to learn, Learned' (KWL) charts are ways for students to reflect on their

learning for a topic and to identify what they would like to practice or clarify to enhance their learning. The second example, a learning contract, lists activities for learners to choose from and outlines the expected outcomes, the overall timeline of fulfilling the contract, and the expectations for each activity. This offers learners independence, the ability to pace their own learning, and opportunities to learn the course material in ways that they deem most relevant to them. For instance, activities for developing professional language skills could be creating a CV, a research project about a chosen field, and so on (Carreira & Chik, 2018).

Learner-centred approaches thus consider the needs of learners and how to balance them within a course, not only because HL leaners themselves differ in proficiency levels and contexts, but also because they may be mixed with L2 learners who have other objectives and motivations. The participants in this study felt most anxious if they were in an unsupportive environment that did not consider these factors, thus highlighting how important it is for HL learners to feel validated in their learning environment, especially when their linguistic repertoire is necessarily different from what is being taught. Furthermore, this study's findings unequivocally support what Zapata (2018, p. 3) has already stated: "formal (i.e., academic) learning needs to integrate the 'informal' learning (i.e., experiences) that permeates learners' personal lives."

For HL learners, integrating their goals into the course content can also include opportunities for them to reflect upon the role that Spanish has in their own lives and to engage with their backgrounds (Zapata, 2018). That being said, engaging with a speaker's linguistic and cultural background does not mean 'othering' them by putting them on the spot and frequently asking them to share their knowledge with the class, especially if the class is mixed with L2 learners who would not be questioned in the same manner. Relying on learners as 'experts' of their

varieties or cultures in this way can express assumptions about their proficiency and experiences with Spanish, which can be embarrassing or uncomfortable for some learners (e.g., as seen in this study or in Felix, 2009; Prada et al., 2020).

Instead, learners can engage with Spanish and their backgrounds through assignments or activities that can be shared with groups or kept personal. Zapata (2018, p. 15) has already given examples on how instructors can apply this to their teaching, although one example to note is from a Canadian post-secondary classroom (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2013). Loureiro-Rodriguez administered *meaningful writing* tasks that prompted HL learners to think and write about their opinions and experiences with Spanish in Canada. The tasks consisted of online discussions as well as individual compositions that were peer-edited, which the researcher found to be helpful for HL learners acquiring Spanish writing skills and a formal Spanish register, which are both sources of anxiety that can potentially be managed in this manner.

Another example of how language learning can be contextualized and made relevant for HL learners are text-to-self tasks (or text-to-world or text-to-text) (Carreira & Chik, 2018). These tasks prompt the learner to read and reflect upon a text and its relevance to their own lives, interests, and goals (or its connection to world events or other text types). Carreira and Chik (2018) also highlight that text-to-self is able to tap into the social and emotional factors involved in the learning experience as well as students' perspectives. Therefore, it may be a valuable resource for HL learners to gain experience with Spanish literacy and academic register while also addressing any affective factors (such as HLA) that are present in the classroom.

Based on the results, the role of internal and external expectations also seems to be an influential aspect of the learning experience. Because the learners in this sample reported wanting to use Spanish like a monolingual speaker, this expectation can be discussed and

managed in class, much like is recommended by Horwitz (2017) for L2 learners who initially hold themselves to unrealistic standards. Likewise, instructors or the course itself would do well to avoid expressing expectations of monolingual proficiency, such as through teaching styles or the curriculum (which were both relevant for the HL learners in Prada et al., 2020). For example, if variation (dialectal or register) was taught and corrected in a way that antagonized or invalidated learners' knowledge in this study, then this consistently led to anxiety. Although only one such learning environment explicitly antagonized other varieties of Spanish, this does imply that issues of prescriptivism and variation have a place in L2 and HL curricula since heritage learners can come from many backgrounds.

Teaching one variety (in this case, Peninsular Spanish) when also teaching a formal register can reinforce sociolinguistic ideologies about prestige as many Canadian HL learners know informal registers of Latin American varieties of Spanish[10], including dialects that may also be stigmatized in Latin America. In the case of P09, she assumed that she would learn Peninsular Spanish because she believed that it was more formal than her Mexican Spanish, but this idea was not reinforced by her heritage-track class, which taught Standard Latin American Spanish (a variety not associated with a particular region but often used for formal writing and literature).

Most notably, all of the participants who enrolled in heritage-track courses learned Standard Latin American Spanish and also mentioned that they were able to learn about their own and others' varieties. This reflects how these courses were indeed aware of HL learners' backgrounds and needs. The issues seen with learning Standard Peninsular Spanish, on the other hand, were only seen with HL learners enrolled in L2 Spanish classes, regardless of whether the instructor was perceived to be approachable or hostile. Thus, if instructors cannot avoid teaching a single,

[10] The majority of Canadian HSs of Spanish are currently of Latin American descent (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2018).

regional variety, it may be beneficial to teach sociolinguistic topics such as variation, prestige, and prescriptivism that make clear how the regional variety (and formal/academic register) are just one way to speak Spanish in certain situations and places (Fairclough, 2015; Torres et al., 2019). Researchers such as Fairclough (2015) have suggested that these topics be included in HL courses, too. In fact, P01 specifically mentioned in their interview that their instructor had discussed these subjects in their heritage-track Spanish class. P01 greatly appreciated it since it contributed to making their learning environment feel like a welcoming place to exercise their *Valluno* dialect[11].

Furthermore, the instructor's approach to corrections and evaluations matters since these factors only exacerbated or instigated anxiety in participants if the approach was hostile. Regardless, it may be helpful for instructors to make clear to learners that correction is a part of learning new skills and not an evaluation of the learners' informal/own Spanish.

Finally, understanding the nature of HLA in HL learners can help instructors plan for how to support these learners and improve their in-class experiences. This could be especially important in L2 classes since the sources of language anxiety in HL learners can indeed differ L2 learners. Instructors may then benefit from an HLA scale that allows them to measure HLA in learners but also to understand when or why it manifests. Instructors can also acknowledge anxiety even before knowing whether it exists in learners, but they can use a brief HLA scale (like the one shown in 5.3.1) to identify the potential sources of anxiety in class and to make the nature of HLA in the classroom more explicit. Doing so would not only serve to identify the anxiety profiles of learners, but also to lead informed discussions about anxiety and to manage learners' expectations for their acquisition of the HL (Horwitz, 2017).

[11] A dialect found in Colombia.

One thing to note is that the proposed scale approaches HLA as a static phenomenon by collecting self-reported anxiety levels for general tasks. To better account for fluctuations, instructors could also record observations of learners during specific activities or solicit their perceptions of a particular task. Similarly, measuring (or observing) anxiety levels at multiple points during a course may help to understand learners' HLA profiles on a more dynamic level. This could also defend against instructors (un)consciously treating learners in a biased manner based on presumptions of whether they are 'anxious' according to one tool at one point in time.

5.5 Practical Implications

This thesis also has implications for HSs outside the classroom, mainly in terms of the social expectations that the HL learners in this study have encountered. The results highlight the role of ideologies, which are systems of beliefs and values about language that communicate prescriptive knowledge about how language should be used and for what purpose (Guardado, 2018a). Ideologies can then shape attitudes about what kind of language use is desirable or prestigious, as well as its connection to identity or community membership. Language ideologies that favour monolingual, 'native'-like Spanish and that consider Spanish a marker of community identity are expressed in the social expectations that the HSs in this study recounted. This is unsurprising as HSs are often expected to conform to monolingual norms (Rosa, 2019). If not, their Spanish may be deemed 'deficient'. These expectations can be reflected by parents, teachers, and HL community members (Rosa, 2019; Tseng, 2021). As seen in this study, extended family members, peers, and coworkers were also relationships that expressed expectations of monolingual-like performance and competence.

The current findings suggest that Spanish HL communities in Canada may benefit from having open discussions (such as within local Spanish-language programs) about these

ideologies, whether expressed explicitly or not. Most important would be to begin challenging preconceived notions of HS competence and performance, especially those that view divergence in HL Spanish from monolingual Spanish as a transgression. Communities and HSs may also learn to approach HLs as another variety or way to speak the language, although of course this would not be immune to broader notions of linguistic prestige. Regardless, encouraging more accepting views towards HLs and the diversity in HSs' backgrounds could potentially ease the pressures or initial anxieties in HSs' lives, which can carry over into HL classrooms and learning experiences as seen in the current study.

5.6 Limitations and Future Research

To state the obvious, one limitation of this thesis is that the preliminary HLA scale included in this chapter has not been validated with a sample of Canadian post-secondary HL learners of Spanish. Although the scale is based on the current data and has been reviewed by a colleague familiar with the HL classroom, it must be tested with a similar sample in order to be quantitatively validated (e.g., test its internal reliability and construct validity). This is a necessary step for future research as this will determine the validity and reliability of the scale as well as which changes must be made before it can be used in research, especially if a category or item are found to be too broad. Future research should also consider how the scale, or a similar one, can successfully incorporate items that reflect an integrated model of HLA. As well, future research should test whether the scale is appropriate for HLA research taking place in other countries (e.g., Spanish HL leaners in the US), for other HLs (e.g., languages with a similar writing system), or other contexts (perhaps Canadian high-school Spanish courses).

Another limitation of this thesis is that participants' ratings and discussions about HLA in the classroom relied on the memory of participants who had already completed a post-secondary

Spanish class (compared to those who were currently enrolled in one). Additionally, for participants who had previously taken Spanish courses, there was no explicit information about *when* they completed those courses.

The mix of current and past experiences in the classroom did have codes in common with respect to HLA, but some of the details of their classes were less specific for some participants. For example, P05 remembered that she disliked completing worksheets with cloze questions, but she did not remember which grammar points were taught this way (e.g., agreement, spelling, conjugations, etc.). This means that participants who had completed a course were able to recollect events from multiple points in time, while learners who were currently enrolled in a course were reporting about how they felt at that time or shortly before, since data collection took place early in the Fall term. Future research should study learners who are currently enrolled in a class to collect data as their learning experiences are unfolding, such as after the first class, mid-course, and the final class. This would be well-suited for instructors who can conduct their own action research.

A larger sample size will also benefit research questions that are best answered quantitatively, such as those querying correlational relationships. The small sample size of this study also poses a limitation for the diversity in proficiency; participants generally rated themselves to have a high level of proficiency in Spanish, so the experiences of learners with lower perceived proficiencies are not represented to the same extent. However, this sample size was warranted due to the constraints of a Master's thesis, such as the amount of time dedicated to recruiting from this particular population as well as coding and analysing interview data.

In the same vein, a small sample size yields ample data about few participants, which is beneficial for focusing on qualitative data but at the expense of not including data from the

experiences of other heritage learners, especially those from other Canadian provinces/territories. Further research (both quantitative and qualitative) on the complexities of individual learner variables is critical for progressing towards a more generalizable model of HLA that is able to account for the possible variables and interactions involved in this phenomenon. Studying learners with a wider range of self-perceived proficiency levels would focus on just one of many variables, such those identified in this study (e.g., identity, writing, avoidance, internal expectations) and others that have been suggested (e.g., willingness to communicate). As well, when studying self-rated proficiency levels, it would be beneficial to include objective measures of HL proficiency, such as by administering comprehension or production tests (Marian et al., 2007). Analysing an objective measure alongside a subjective one can further illuminate the connections between self-perceptions and anxiety.

An additional limitation of this study is that it explicitly asked about the causes of HLA, but not about how participants perceived the manifestations of HLA. Although the first guiding research question only concerned itself with the sources and manifestations of anxiety (not its impacts), this thesis did not address the manifestations of HLA as thoroughly as its sources, and it depended on participants to bring up what anxiety felt like for them. Thus, uncovering a more complete picture of how anxiety is experienced and perceived by HL learners is something to address in future research.

It was also difficult at times to discern whether HLA was exacerbated by a participant's personality or potentially mediating learner variables, such as willingness to communicate (Yashima, 2022), or risk-taking (e.g., P03 exhibited a willingness to take risks by challenging herself to read academic papers in Spanish). The questions about non-Spanish-specific anxiety did help to consider whether a certain anxiety in Spanish class was likely due to trait anxiety or

other anxieties, but the influence of non-Spanish-specific anxieties on HL learning experiences was unclear. Similarly, this study could not always determine whether the differences in a participants' ratings or perceptions of anxiety were because of the nature of their environment or because of individual differences. In some cases, participants attributed these differences to their environment or to themselves, but this was not investigated directly. Future research, whether in classrooms or in HSs' daily lives, can work on how to distinguish between the influences of the environment and individual factors.

A final limitation to acknowledge is that 'anxiety' is a term that may not have resonated in the same way across participants. There were certainly questionnaire items with wording that the field associates with language anxiety and its manifestations (such as being 'uncomfortable' or 'uneasy'), but Question V.5 did ask participants to rate their 'anxiety and/or nervousness' directly. Although participants seemed to refer to anxiety similarly in the interviews, it was P08 pointed who out that, to him, 'anxiety' by itself refers to a more extreme and disruptive experience than simply feeling uncomfortable. His conceptualization seemed more clinical as he referred to 'obsessive' thoughts accompanied by physiological symptoms, such as rapid breathing or an increase in heart rate. Hence, he approached the questions that asked him to rate his anxiety and/or nervousness for certain linguistic skills or situations in this way, which might have underestimated his scores for those questions. However, if this also occurred with other participants, the question items that referred to other feelings (e.g., discomfort, nervousness) would have been able to capture HLA as it is usually conceptualized within the field. Regardless, an explicit definition of HLA across all data collection materials would have been useful for consistent understandings of language anxiety between participants.

5.6.1 *Future Research, More Broadly*

Future research should examine the role of language enjoyment as well as other approaches to minimize the likelihood or severity of HLA in the HL classroom. Researchers and instructors should also continue to investigate how learner-centred approaches can be used to support learners' needs and goals, and how doing so relates to the HLA or language enjoyment that learners experience in class.

Future research would also do well to study the acquisition of formal/academic register in HL learners as well as how and when HLA can be caused by this. The results have pointed to teaching style to be a factor, but more focused studies would better address this issue.

Another topic that warrants further study is the perceptions that Canadian HL learners have of their teachers. Campanaro (2013) did investigate this in a university in Alberta, but future research can continue to expand on this area within the Canadian context. Additionally, how might these perceptions be related to HLA and the diversity of learning experiences? How much is in the instructor's control, and where do learners' perceptions come from?

Finally, a perspective receiving increased attention in HL acquisition research is positive psychology. This is a field that concerns itself with a plethora of 'positive' emotions and experiences such as agency, happiness, curiosity, and *flow* (Oxford, 2017)[12]. Future research could investigate how positive psychology can be implemented with HL learners in language classrooms to boost enjoyment, regardless of the presence of anxiety. One such concept that merits study is flow, and how to introduce opportunities for learners to experience flow in the HL classroom. According to Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2014, p. 240):

[12] While anxiety is a 'negative' emotion.

> Being 'in flow' is…the subjective experience of engaging just-manageable challenges by tackling a series of goals, continuously processing feedback about progress, and adjusting action based on this feedback. Under these conditions, experience seamlessly unfolds from moment to moment…

Hence, flow is a positive emotional state that can be interpreted as 'engagement'. This is because it involves focus; experiencing the *process* of an activity as intrinsically rewarding (not just the end goal); a sense of being in control of one's actions, and a loss of self-awareness (Budzińska, 2021; Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). Another important facet of flow is the perception of a challenge that is surmountable yet appropriately matched to one's current skill level—the task is not perceived to be too hard nor too easy. This is similar to the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) in Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural learning theory. Although originally applied to child development, the general principle of the ZPD with respect to learning is that it is the distance between what a learner is currently able to do and what they can potentially learn with the guidance of an instructor or more experienced peers. Much like flow, which involves 'just-manageable' challenges and goals, the ZPD involves identifying what is achievable given the current knowledge of the learner. Flow also features feedback from the task as a 'guide', while in the ZPD guidance comes from feedback from a more experienced individual (van Compernolle, 2022).

Investigating how to introduce tasks that facilitate flow in class would benefit HL learners and instructors alike, since (self-)perception is an incredibly subjective and personal component of anxiety, as seen in this study. This could be studied alongside intrinsic motivation since it is also a part of flow (Oxford, 2017), and HL learners are likely to have an ample supply as their motives for learning the HL often involve their identities, families, or an interest in language learning.

Nevertheless, Oxford (2017) and Shao et al. (2020) provide examples of emerging research about the applications of positive psychology to the fields of L2 acquisition and pedagogy, including research on interventions intended to enhance L2 learners' experiences. An equivalent line of research has also been arising for in HL pedagogy (e.g., promoting growth mindsets, Giancaspro, 2021) and future research should continue to pursue this intersection of fields to understand the affective and cognitive factors influencing learners' subjective experiences. Similarly, how can affective strategies be applied to managing HLA? Many of the strategies that have been suggested for L2 anxiety are those intended to increase positive emotions and intrinsic motivation. Some of those strategies are positive self-talk, visualizations, reflecting upon positive aspects of language learning, or finding social support (Oxford, 2017).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis conducted a sequential explanatory mixed-methods investigation into the Spanish Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) that 11 participants have experienced as Canadian heritage learners in post-secondary Spanish classrooms. The study remotely administered surveys and semi-structured interviews to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative survey data was mainly analysed with descriptive statistics to better comprehend the background of the sample and each participant, in addition to aiding the interpretation of qualitative data. The analysis of qualitative data was primarily deductive by coding data according to predetermined codes, but some coding was inductive and based on the data itself.

The purpose of this investigation was to contribute an understanding of HLA and Heritage Spanish in the Canadian context. In doing so, it uncovered the main causes of Spanish HLA as perceived by heritage learners both inside and outside of post-secondary Spanish courses. This thesis additionally sought to address current issues in the research field about how HLA is measured in classrooms. Based on the results, this study explored how a scale that is specifically created for measuring HLA in the classroom may be more appropriate than the L2 anxiety scales that have been used in previous HLA research.

6.1 Key Findings

The main finding of this thesis was the importance of feeling validated in Spanish class or around other Spanish-speakers. Specifically, what consistently led to HLA in this sample was feeling as though one's Spanish skills and/or dialect were *not* accepted or recognised, whether that be acceptance from within or from other individuals. This lack of validation could come from the criticism or downplaying of HS Spanish skills; the expression of expectations that are based on monolingual norms; and the (re-)negotiation of identity or community membership.

However, feeling accepted did not necessarily neutralize other sources of HLA. Furthermore, this finding applied to heritage learners both in the heritage language (HL) classroom and outside class. These results are consistent with common concerns and insecurities that HL learners may have about writing, prescriptive grammar, and navigating their existing ‘informal’ knowledge of Spanish in an academic setting (e.g., Prada et al., 2020; Torres et al., 2020).

The results additionally support previous research highlighting the roles that identity, belonging, and internal or social expectations have in the lives of heritage speakers (HSs) as well as their learning experiences. A prominent finding is that participants consistently referenced a limited exposure to Spanish-speaking communities or Spanish-speakers in general while growing up in Canada, regardless of province. For some participants, this situated Spanish as a personal or ‘private’ language that is not associated with the public sphere but predominantly with family and friends. This is a novel finding since previous research on HL learners in Canada has reported similar findings when quoting participants, but not as a part of the research discussion.

Other findings included how language ideologies and monolingual standards shape learners’ experiences, specifically by noting the role that these social forces have in forming internal and external expectations of HSs’ Spanish skills. These findings led to an examination of the relationship between HLA and internal/external expectations through the lens of self-concepts from cognitive psychology (e.g., the *ought-to* self, a self-concept containing information about what individuals think is expected of them or who think they ‘should’ be; Dörnyei, 2009).

6.2 Significance

As discussed in Chapter 5, the results of this study highlight the relevance of teaching practices like differentiated teaching that acknowledge the diversity in HL learners’ contexts and their existing knowledge of Spanish. Learning environments that appear to instigate the presence

of HLA in the classroom are those that do not recognise learners' needs and knowledge (whether it be of informal registers and/or their vernaculars). As written in Chapter 5: How can the learning environment work *with* HL leaners' existing knowledge and not *against* it?

Another significant contribution of this thesis for the field of HLA and language anxiety is that it provides support for the conceptual distinction between HLA and L2 anxiety. This means that instruments that were created to measure L2 anxiety may not be the most appropriate for measuring and understanding HLA in heritage learners. Making this distinction consists of acknowledging how language anxieties can differ depending on the contextual factors involved. The current study has made strides in this direction by considering the social, behavioural, cognitive, and affective components of HLA from the perspectives of HL learners, as their perceptions seem to be at the forefront of their experiences in HL classrooms. Moving forward, future research should continue to study the relationship of HLA with other factors such as inhibition and risk-taking behaviour, as suggested by the data in the current study. Doing so will further advance efforts towards a more integrated approach to language anxiety.

Finally, the preliminary Spanish Classroom HLA Scale offered in Chapter 5 is designed based on the current data with the intention of it being an instrument that can be more appropriate to administer to heritage Spanish learners. The validation of such a scale will benefit both HL researchers and practitioners since it can provide information about the level and nature of anxiety in HL learners. Instructors may use this to promote dialogue about HLA, or to manage students' expectations about their learning (Horwitz, 2017). Administering this scale can also help instructors plan for activities to introduce in class to promote engagement and enjoyment in learners (Oxford, 2017).

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Appendix A: Scale Examples

A.I: Sample items from the scale adapted by Sevinç and Dewaele (2018) from the BEQ questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) for heritage speakers of Turkish

Not at all anxious (1), A little anxious (2), Quite anxious (3), Very anxious (4), Extremely anxious (5), Not Applicable

(Participants rate how anxious they are when…)

1. Speaking Turkish with mother
2. Speaking Turkish with grandparents
3. Speaking Turkish with Turkish friends in the Netherlands
4. Speaking Turkish with Turks in Turkey

A.II Sample items from the Chinese Language Learning Anxiety Scale (Luo, 2014)

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. When I'm reading Chinese, I get so confused I can't remember what I'm reading.
2. I get nervous when all the Chinese tones sound the same to me.
3. Writing Chinese characters makes me forget what I'm trying to convey.
4. I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in my Chinese class.

A.III Sample items from the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS; Horwitz et al., 1986), Tallon's (2006) version

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in my Spanish class.
2. I don't worry about making mistakes in my Spanish class.
3. I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak another language
4. I would not be nervous speaking Spanish with native speakers.

A.IV Sample items from Tallon's (2006) heritage-centred items for the FLCAS

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. I feel anxious when I talk with someone who speaks better Spanish than I do or who speaks "real" Spanish.
2. I feel bad that I don't speak Spanish because people expect me to know it anyway.
3. I feel bad that I have a Hispanic last name but do not understand or speak Spanish.
4. I am comfortable when speaking Spanish with family members who speak Spanish fluently.

A.V Sample items from the shortened FLCAS by Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014)

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in my Spanish class.
2. I don't worry about making mistakes in my Spanish class.
3. I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in the Spanish class I'm currently taking.
4. I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in the Spanish class I'm currently taking.

A.VI Sample items from the Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Scale (Saito et al., 1999), Tallon's (2006) version

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. Hispanic cultures and ideas seem very foreign to me.
2. It bothers me to encounter words I can't pronounce while reading Spanish.
3. I usually end up translating word by word when I'm reading Spanish.
4. When I'm reading Spanish, I get so confused I can't remember what I'm reading.

A.VII Sample items from the Second Language Writing Apprehension Test (Cheng et al., 1999), Tallon's (2006) version

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. Taking a Spanish composition course is a very frightening thought.
2. I have no fear of my Spanish writing being evaluated by the teacher.
3. I have no fear of my Spanish writing being evaluated by people other than the teacher.
4. I feel confident in my ability to clearly express my ideas when writing in Spanish.

A.VIII Sample items from the Foreign Language Listening Anxiety Scale (Kim, 2000), Tallon's (2006) version

Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

1. During Spanish listening tests, I get nervous and confused when I don't understand every word.
2. I feel uncomfortable in class when listening to Spanish without the written text.
3. It's difficult for me to listen to Spanish when there is even a little bit of background noise.
4. I am uncomfortable when I hear other varieties of Spanish that are not the same as the variety that I speak.

Appendix B: Ethics Approval Certificate

University of Victoria

Certificate of Ethical Approval for Harmonized Minimal Risk Behavioural Study

University of Victoria
Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building, R. B202 PO Box 1700
STN CSC
Victoria, BC V8W 2Y2
Tel: 250-472-4545

Also reviewed and approved by:

- **UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board**
- **Simon Fraser University**

Principal Investigator:	**Primary Appointment:**	**Board of Record REB Number:** BC22-0465	**UBC REB Number:**
John Archibald	University of Victoria	**Board of Record:** University of Victoria	H22-01548

Study Title:
Heritage Language Anxiety in Heritage Speakers of Spanish in Canada

Study Approved: August 15, 2022 **Expiry Date: August 15, 2023**

Research Team Members: Eloisa Cervantes — Graduate student, University of Victoria

Sponsoring Agencies: - Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) - "Heritage Spanish Learner Anxieties in the Canadian Context"

Documents included in this approval:

Document Name	Version	Date
Protocol:		
HLA CGSM Proposal	N/A	November 22, 2021
Consent Forms:		
HLA Questionnaire Consent	2	June 21, 2022
HLA Interview Consent	2	June 21, 2022
Advertisements:		
HLA Recruitment Letter	2	June 24, 2022
Questionnaire, Questionnaire Cover Letter, Tests:		
HLA Questionnaire	2	June 26, 2022
HLA Interview Schedule	N/A	June 26, 2022
Letter of Initial Contact:		
HLA Study Email Scripts	N/A	June 24, 2022
Other Documents:		
HLA Data Access Form	N/A	June 21, 2022
UVic Signature Page	N/A	June 30, 2022

This ethics approval applies to research ethics issues only and does not include provision for any administrative approvals required from individual institutions before research activities can commence.

The Board of Record (as noted above) has reviewed and approved this study in accordance with the requirements of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans

(TCPS2, 2018). The "Board of Record" is the Research Ethics Board delegated by the participating REBs involved in a harmonized study to facilitate the ethics review and approval process.
The application for ethical review and the document(s) listed above have been reviewed and the procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.
This study has been approved either by the Board of Record's full REB or by an authorized delegated reviewer.

Appendix C: Materials for Data Collection and Analysis

C.I Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. This is a questionnaire that will ask questions about you, your history with Spanish, and your Spanish learning experiences in the post-secondary classroom. There are no wrong or right answers—this research is about learning about your experiences and views. You are free to skip questions that you would prefer not to answer, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. You may answer in English, en español*, or both at any time. You can also answer the short answer questions in point form.*

Before starting, please set aside some time to fill out this questionnaire. It will take approximately 15-30 minutes. If you accidentally close this page, you can start the questionnaire again and use the same participant number. Please email the researcher at [redacted] *if this occurs or if there are any other issues or concerns while completing the questionnaire.*

Participant #:

(Next page)

I. Demographic information

1. Gender
    a. Woman
    b. Man
    c. Non-binary
    d. Genderfluid
    e. Option not listed:
    f. Prefer not to say

2. Age:
    a. [open]
    b. Prefer not to say

3. Age arrived in Canada:
    a. [open]
    b. N/A, I was born in Canada

4. In which country were you born? *(Only displayed if 3A is selected)*

5. In which province(s) did you live **until the end of high school**? Select all that apply.
    a. Alberta
    b. British Columbia
    c. Manitoba
    d. New Brunswick
    e. Newfoundland and Labrador

f. Northwest Territories
g. Nova Scotia
h. Nunavut
i. Ontario
j. Prince Edward Island
k. Quebec
l. Saskatchewan
m. Yukon

6. Please list the universities and/or colleges at which you have taken, or are taking, **Spanish** class(es).

(Next page)

7. With which ethnicities or cultures do you identify? Select all that apply:
   a. Canadian
   b. Latino/Latinx
   c. Hispanic
   d. Your heritage culture(s) (e.g., Peruvian, Guatemalan, etc.)
   e. Option(s) not listed:

8. If you have any additional comments about how you define your ethnicity, please write them here:

9. What variety/varieties of Spanish do you speak? (e.g., Dominican Spanish, Venezuelan Spanish, European Spanish, etc.)

(Next page)

II. Language Background

1. At what age did you start learning **English**? (Type "0" if since birth)

2. At what age did you start learning **Spanish**? (Type "0" if since birth)

3. Please rate how often you used **Spanish** in these situations **until the end of high school** (including speaking, reading, writing, and/or listening):

Scale: Always, Often, Sometimes, Seldom, Never, Not Applicable/I don't remember

a. With a parent/caregiver
b. With a grandparent
c. With a sibling
d. With other relatives
e. With friends
f. With community members
g. At work

h. At school
i. Visiting a Spanish-speaking country
j. Engaging with audiovisual media (e.g., TV, radio, podcasts, videos on social media, etc.)
k. Engaging with written media (e.g., books, newspapers, magazines, posts on social media, etc.)

(Next page)

4. Please rate the following statements about **reading in Spanish at home**.

   Scale: At least once a week, At least once a month, Every month or two, A few times a year, Never, Not Applicable/I don't know

   a. How often did someone **read to you** in Spanish at home?
   b. How often did **you read** books or other materials in Spanish at home?

5. Please list, if any, prior experiences you had with learning Spanish in a classroom **before** starting university/college (e.g., Saturday school, a two-week Spanish camp, two years of high school Spanish, etc.).

III. Current Language Use and Attitudes

1. For each area, how would you rate your **current proficiency** in Spanish?

   Scale: Very high, High, Moderate, Low, Very low, Not sure

   a. Reading
   b. Writing
   c. Listening
   d. Speaking

2. Is there anything else you'd like to say about your Spanish skills?

(Next page)

3. Please rate how often you **currently use** Spanish in these situations (including speaking, reading, writing, and/or listening):

Scale: Always, Often, Sometimes, Seldom, Never, Not Applicable/I don't know

a. With a parent/caregiver
b. With a grandparent
c. With a sibling
d. With other relatives
e. With friends
f. With community members

g. At work
h. At school
i. Visiting a Spanish-speaking country
j. Engaging with audiovisual media (e.g., TV, radio, podcasts, videos on social media, etc.)
k. Engaging with written media (e.g., books, newspapers, magazines, posts on social media, etc.)

(Next page)

4. Please rate your agreement with the following statements:

   Scale: Strongly Agree, Agree, Somewhat Agree, Not Sure, Somewhat Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree, Not Applicable

   a. I don’t like listening to Spanish.
   b. I don’t like reading in Spanish.
   c. I don’t like speaking Spanish.
   d. I don’t like writing in Spanish.
   e. Knowing Spanish is an important part of who I am.
   f. Spanish is an important part of how I express my cultural background.
   g. The Spanish I speak is not as good as other types of Spanish, such as the Spanish spoken on the news.
   h. It’s important to me to use Spanish like a native speaker.
   i. I want others to think I am a native speaker of Spanish.
   j. I feel like I belong to the Spanish-speaking community.
   k. I want to belong to the Spanish-speaking community.
   l. It is not essential to speak Spanish if you are a member of the Hispanic community.
   m. It is important to me to maintain and improve my Spanish skills.
   n. If I were to have children, I would want them to know Spanish.

(Next page)

5. How often do you **switch between** Spanish and English in a conversation with certain people?

Scale: Always, Often, Sometimes, Seldom, Never, Not Applicable/I don’t know

a. When speaking with family
b. When speaking with friends
c. When speaking with colleagues
d. When speaking with strangers
e. When speaking in public

6. How often do you **switch between** Spanish and English when talking about certain matters?

Scale: Always, Often, Sometimes, Seldom, Never, Not Applicable/I don't know

a. When speaking about neutral matters (e.g., the weather, school)
b. When speaking about personal matters (e.g., your background, your friends)
c. When speaking about emotional matters (e.g., social issues, your emotions)

7. What are your thoughts on **switching between** Spanish and English in a conversation with someone who speaks both?

IV. Spanish in the post-secondary context

1. What are/were your main reasons for enrolling in a university/college Spanish credit course? Select all that apply.
   a. To fulfill an elective requirement
   b. To fulfill a language or core program requirement
   c. To improve my Spanish skills for my current or future job(s)
   d. To improve my grade point average
   e. To better communicate with my family
   f. To better communicate with my friends
   g. To listen to and watch Spanish-language TV programs, films, music, radio, and audiovisual social media content
   h. To read Spanish-language newspapers, magazines, books, and written social media content
   i. To feel closer to my culture
   j. To feel closer to other Spanish speakers
   k. Other reason(s):

3. Please list the Spanish classes you have taken for credit at university/college. Please include **the level** (e.g., Intro, Intermediate, Advanced, for Native Speakers, etc.) and **how many semesters** each lasted.

4. How do you feel about your **overall performance** in your Spanish classes?

5. How do you feel about your **learning experiences** in your Spanish classes?

6. What kinds of situations or activities, if any, have made you feel **uncomfortable or anxious** in Spanish class?

(Next page)

V. Anxiety

1. How would you describe the level of anxiety or nervousness you feel when **using Spanish with family and/or close friends** in terms of the following areas?

Scale: Very high, High, Moderate, Low, Very low, Non-existent, Not Applicable/Not sure

a. Reading
b. Writing
c. Listening
d. Speaking

2. How would you describe the level of anxiety or nervousness you feel/have felt **in Spanish class** in terms of the following areas?

   Scale: Very high, High, Moderate, Low, Very low, Non-existent, Not Applicable/Not sure

   a. Reading
   b. Writing
   c. Listening
   d. Speaking

(Next page)

3. Please rate your agreement with the following statements:

Scale: Strongly Agree, Agree, Somewhat Agree, Not Sure, Somewhat Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree, Not Applicable/I don't know

   a. I feel/felt unsure of myself when the teacher calls/called on me in Spanish class.
   b. I feel/felt at ease when using Spanish in class.
   c. I feel/felt self-conscious about my Spanish skills in class.
   d. I feel at ease when using Spanish at home and/or with friends.
   e. I feel self-conscious about my Spanish skills around family and/or friends.
   f. I would feel self-conscious using Spanish in any Spanish-speaking country.
   g. I would feel self-conscious using Spanish in a Spanish-speaking country of my heritage.
   h. I feel intimidated whenever I have to do something entirely in Spanish.
   i. I feel caught off-guard when I have to unexpectedly use Spanish.
   j. I feel bad that my Spanish isn't as strong as people expect.
   k. I feel uncomfortable when I interact with someone who is better at Spanish than me.
   l. I feel embarrassed when someone treats me like a Spanish 'expert'.

4. Is there anything you'd like to briefly add about how you feel about your **Spanish skills**?

(Next page)

5. Please indicate how anxious you are when using **Spanish** with **different people in different situations** (including speaking, reading, writing, and/or listening):

Scale: Extremely anxious, Very anxious, Anxious, A little anxious, Not at all anxious, Not Applicable/I don't know

a. Using Spanish with parents/caregivers
   Using Spanish with grandparents
   Using Spanish with siblings
b. Using Spanish with other relatives
c. Using Spanish with friends in Canada
d. Using Spanish with friends in a Spanish-speaking country
e. Using Spanish with strangers in Canada
f. Using Spanish with strangers in a Spanish-speaking country
g. Using Spanish in public in Canada
h. Using Spanish in public in a Spanish-speaking country
i. Using Spanish with my Spanish teacher(s)
j. Using Spanish with classmates who also grew up speaking Spanish at home
k. Using Spanish with classmates who did **not** grow up speaking Spanish at home
l. Using Spanish for assignments or tests

6. Is there anything you'd like to briefly add about how you feel using Spanish **in Spanish class**?

7. Is there anything you'd like to briefly add about how you feel using Spanish **with family members or close friends**?

8. Is there anything you'd like to briefly add about how you feel using Spanish **with strangers or acquaintances**?

(Next page)

9. Are there any situations or activities where you are **rarely or never** nervous to use Spanish?

10. What do you **like** about knowing Spanish?

(Next page)

Non-Spanish specific anxiety:

1. How **on-edge or anxious** do you feel…

Scale: Extremely anxious, Very anxious, Anxious, A little anxious, Not at all anxious, Not Applicable/I don't know

a. … in your other, non-Spanish classes (in general)?
b. … during (non-Spanish) tests or public speaking?
c. … in social situations in general?
d. … in your life in general, even without a specific cause?

(Next page)

End

Are you interested in potentially being interviewed by the researcher about topics related to this questionnaire?

Yes
No

(Next page)

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time and for your help with this study! The researcher will be in contact about arranging for your compensation and the possibility of an interview if you indicated your interest in one. She will also contact you at a later time with any of your data, including quotes, that may be included in the research findings. Please contact the researcher at [redacted] *if you have any questions or concerns.*

C.II Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. I'll be asking you some questions related to the questionnaire that you already filled out. We'll talk about your past and current relationship with Spanish, as well as your experiences learning Spanish in the post-secondary classroom. This will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes. As previously mentioned, I will be recording this interview in order to transcribe the audio for analysis. The recording and the transcript will be kept confidential.

Feel free to speak in English, en español*, or both at any time. You can skip any questions you would prefer not to answer, and you can pause, reschedule, or withdraw from the study at any time. Remember that there are no wrong or right answers. You can answer freely and without judgement because this study is about your experiences and views. Please let me know if you have any questions or concerns, even during the interview.*

(Only some of these questions will be asked within each interview. They are possible prompts.)

Background

1. Tell me about your background with Spanish.
2. How do you feel about being a Spanish speaker? What was it like growing up?
3. Did you ever use English or other languages at home?
4. Who did you speak Spanish with while at home, before university/college?
    a. How often?
5. Where would you hear or speak Spanish outside your home, before university/college?
    a. How often?
6. On average, how often do you currently use Spanish?
    a. Where or with whom?

Attitudes towards Spanish

1. How comfortable do you feel using Spanish?
    a. Is there a skill or area that is the most difficult, or the easiest, for you? (For example: listening, writing, speaking, reading…)
2. In general, how do you feel about your abilities in Spanish?
3. How do you feel about switching between Spanish and English during a conversation?
4. How important is it for you to maintain and improve your Spanish skills?
5. What do you think about the Spanish that you speak and the Spanish you learn in the classroom?
6. Do you see yourself using Spanish in the future?

"Ideal" and "ought-to" Spanish-speaking self

1. What kind of Spanish speaker do you want to be? (For example, do you want to be a speaker who is very involved with the Hispanic community, or someone who is able to use Spanish in certain ways…?)
    a. Do you think you've achieved that? If not, how do you think you would?

2. In your opinion, what should someone who is a 'Spanish speaker' be able to do in Spanish?

Experiences with respect to Belonging

1. What does it mean to you to be a Spanish speaker in Canada?
2. How do you define your ethnic identity?
3. To what extent do you identify with your Spanish-speaking culture(s)?
    a. To what extent do you identify with a Canadian English- or French-speaking culture?
4. How important is knowing Spanish to you?
5. Do you think someone needs to speak or know Spanish to belong to the Hispanic or Latino community?
6. How do you feel about using Spanish with or around family members?
7. How do you feel about using Spanish with or around friends?
8. How do you feel about using Spanish with or around strangers?
9. How do you feel about using Spanish with or around people who grew up in Spanish-speaking countries?

Learning Experiences

1. Tell me about the Spanish classes you took before attending university/college.
2. What is/was your experience like learning Spanish in a university/college class?
3. Tell me about why you decided to study Spanish.
    a. Did you have any goals for your learning or Spanish skills before starting the class?
4. Is there currently anything you'd like to improve about your Spanish skills?
5. Do you plan on taking another Spanish class or pursuing further instruction in the future?
6. What's an example of a positive experience you've had while studying Spanish?
7. What's an example of a negative experience you've had while studying Spanish?

Spanish Anxiety

1. Do/did you ever feel anxious or nervous in Spanish class?
    a. When, and why do you think that was?
2. Was there anything that the teacher could have done in class to reduce that anxiety?
3. Was there anything that you would change about the course itself to reduce that anxiety?
4. Do/did you ever dread or feel nervous about using Spanish with or around your classmates?
    a. How do/did you feel about using Spanish with your teacher?
    b. How is this similar to, or different from, how you feel using Spanish with family or friends?
5. Have you ever felt pressured by your own or other people's expectations about your Spanish skills?
6. Is there a specific area or activity in Spanish that you dread the most?
7. Is there anything that made you feel overwhelmed during your learning experience?
8. How do/did you feel about tests in Spanish class?

    a. What about compared to your non-Spanish classes?
9. Do/did you ever feel like skipping Spanish class or dropping it?

Clarification/Follow-up Questions
Two examples of questions posed to participants based on their questionnaire responses:

1. In the questionnaire you indicated feeling more anxious [about] writing or reading in Spanish with family and friends than you did in class. Why do you think that is?

2. You disagreed with the statement [in the questionnaire] about feeling bad that your Spanish isn't as strong as people expect. Could you tell me more about that and why that is?

End

1. Is there anything else you'd like to add to what we talked about today?

That's the end of the interview, so I'll stop recording now. Thank you very much for your time and for your responses. I appreciate your help with this study. After this, I'll arrange for your compensation. I will also contact you at a later time with any data, including quotes, that may be included in the research findings so that you can check how your responses are represented. Do you have any questions for me before we finish? Feel free to contact me if you have any further questions or concerns.

C.III Qualitative Coding Scheme (Short)

Participants may discuss anxiety as feeling: Anxious, nervous, worried, afraid, scared, lost, overwhelmed, uncomfortable, 'weird', frustrated, embarrassed, self-conscious, ashamed.

Frequency counts for each category, sub-category, and code in the data appear in parentheses: ()

Total number of coding references: 360

<u>Causes of HLA</u> (334)

- Linguistic (151)
  - Grammatical (31)
  - Pragmatic (19)
  - Variety (16)
  - Speaking (33)
  - Listening (4)
  - Reading (3)
  - Writing (33)
  - Frequency of Spanish use (3)
  - Corrections (9)
- Cognitive (67)
  - Self-perceived competence (24)
  - Internal expectations (22)
  - Attitudes towards Spanish (7)
  - Self-efficacy beliefs (7)
  - Intrinsic motivation (3)
  - Extrinsic motivation (4)
- Socio-emotional (81)
  - External expectations (24)
  - Others' attitudes towards Spanish (10)
  - Negative emotions (13)
  - Seeking belonging (18)
  - Indexing identity (5)
  - Othering (11)
- Classroom-specific (35)
  - Previous academic instruction (2)
  - Curriculum (8)
  - Course difficulty (3)
  - Instructor factors (6)
  - Assessment (12)
  - Assumed expertise (4)

<u>Consequences of HLA</u> (26)

- Linguistic (1)
  - Anxiety-induced errors (1)
- Cognitive (10)
  - Overload (7)
  - Negative self-perceptions (3)
- Socio-emotional (13)
  - Alienation (2)
  - Discomfort (11)
- Classroom-specific (2)
  - Disliking class (2)

C.IV Qualitative Coding Scheme (Long)

Category: Causes of HLA

Participants may discuss anxiety as feeling: Anxious, nervous, worried, afraid, scared, lost, overwhelmed, uncomfortable, 'weird', frustrated, embarrassed, self-conscious, ashamed.

Sub-Category: Linguistic Causes		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Grammatical	- Vocabulary (including slang), specialized topics - Morphosyntax (e.g., gender, tense, aspect) - Pronunciation - Metalinguistic knowledge	P03 (int.): "I'm afraid that I'm going to say the wrong word…"
Pragmatic	- Register (e.g., academic, polite, informal speech)	P12 (ques.): "The Spanish we learn with family when we're young is very different to the Spanish we learn in university (a Spanish that is much more 'professional')."
Variety	- A variety of Spanish or dialect	P05 (ques.): "What made me most uncomfortable was learning Spanish the way it is used in Spain."
Speaking	- Any speaking tasks	P05 (ques.): "I also felt anxious speaking out loud…"
Listening	- Any listening tasks	P04 (int.): "I don't understand half of the things they're saying."
Reading	- Any reading tasks	P11 (int.): "We keep reading those stories and it's still not clicking in my brain…"
Writing	- Any writing tasks	P03 (int.): "When it comes to writing at that high academic kind of [level]- I feel way less confident."
Frequency of Spanish use	- Past, current, or desired level of Spanish use	P04 (int.): "…I really want to speak [Spanish] more."

Code	Description of code	Example quotes
Corrections	- Being corrected by others	P09 (int.): "I don't want him to be correcting me."

Sub-Category: Cognitive Causes		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Self-perceived competence	- Self-comparison to monolingual standards (e.g., Spanish-only production, 'deficiency') - Self-comparison to what a 'native' speaker 'should be' (e.g., fluent, spontaneous, no accent, etc.) - Concerns about code-switching or 'Spanglish' - Awareness of linguistic errors - Awareness of gaps in knowledge (e.g., borrowing from English, circumlocutions, approximations)	P04 (ques.): "I am ashamed I am not 100% fluent."
Internal expectations	- Expectations of proficiency for self or attributed to self - Value judgments	P01 (int.), when asked about the expectations around their Spanish: "…it's always been, like, very…yes, very, very internal…"
Attitudes towards Spanish	- Utility of Spanish - Spanish monolingualism	P04 (ques.): "I wish I didn't have to [switch to English] that often."
Self-efficacy beliefs	- Beliefs about ability to learn or maintain Spanish skills, regardless of perceived course difficulty - Beliefs about ability to become the Spanish speaker they want to be	P03 (int.): "I just thought maybe [the Spanish class] was going to be way too difficult for me to do."
Intrinsic motivation	- Sense of accomplishment - Intellectual interest - Personal linguistic goals - Building or maintaining interpersonal and social connection	P08 (int.): "It would feel weird if I ever forgot Spanish, like, I would feel bad."
Extrinsic motivation	- Praise or avoidance of criticism - Employment - Academic	P08 (int.): "It's mostly related to security [while travelling]."

Sub-Category: Socio-emotional Causes		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
External expectations	- Expectations of HS Spanish proficiency held by family, community, monolingual speakers, and others - Discouraged code-switching or 'Spanglish' - Deficit discourse (e.g., comments about 'partial' knowledge, etc.) - Language ideologies (e.g., expressed monolingual standards, 'proper' or 'correct' Spanish)	P04 (ques.): "I feel super self-conscious because [strangers and acquaintances] expect me to be fully fluent."
Others' attitudes towards Spanish	- Family linguistic policy - Others' perceptions of utility, importance to community identity	P04 (int.): "They're like, 'It's your culture, your pride, how can you NOT know it?'"
Negative emotions	- Self-consciousness, embarrassment, etc. - Resenting unknown knowledge/skills - Low confidence in Spanish skills	P03 (int.): "When it comes to writing at that high academic kind of [level]- I feel way less confident."
Seeking belonging	- Facing negative evaluation (e.g., being laughed at, criticized, judged, etc.) - Rejection, not feeling accepted by other speakers or members of ethnic group - Low familiarity with heritage culture or country (e.g., cultural mistakes)	P05 (ques.): "I wanted to feel closer to the Latino/latinx community."
Indexing identity	- Indexing family, cultural, or ethnic identity with Spanish	P04 (int.): "It's my pressure, like, 'I'm not Venezuelan enough…'"
Othering	- Spanish becoming unfamiliar, new, unexpected	P11 (int.): "I don't know what I don't know."

Sub-Category: Classroom-specific Causes		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Previous academic instruction	- Experiences with past instruction - Lack of previous experience	P09 (int.): “I don’t know how I would have expected to know [how to write in Spanish], because I never learned it.”
Curriculum	- Heritage-centred or L2-centred - Grammar-focused - Learner familiarity with or relatability to topics - Attention given to non-prestigious varieties	P05 (int.): “…as if [Standard Peninsular Spanish is] the formal way of speaking and that’s why we were learning it in this class.”
Course difficulty	- Perceiving the class to be difficult, regardless of beliefs about one’s ability to learn in the class	P03 (int.): “[A university level course]…it is more difficult.”
Instructor factors	- Teaching style - Reaction to errors - Level of interest in heritage learner backgrounds and abilities	P04: (int.): “If you, like, use[d] a word…of another origin than Spain, she was really mad.”
Assessment	- Testing and assessment methods, being graded, low grades, etc.	P05 (int.): “It was just odd for me to be evaluated on something that’s part of my culture.”
Assumed expertise	- When perceptions of HL mastery influence classroom dynamics - Instructors or peers treating learner as a Spanish ‘expert’ - Teacher-student role reversal - Estrangement from non-Hispanic L2 peers	P03 (int.): “…people assume that just because you are coming from Latin America that you do speak Spanish…”

Consequences of HLA

Sub-Category: Linguistic Consequences		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Anxiety-induced errors	- Making errors in Spanish during or because of anxious feelings	P09 (int.): “…my capabilities aren’t really fully shown.”

Sub-Category: Cognitive Consequences		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Overload	- Overthinking, drawing a blank, racing thoughts, etc.	P09 (int.): "I know this word, like, I- I use this word ALL the time, but I can't think of it…"
Negative self-perceptions	- Lowered self-perceived competence or self-efficacy beliefs (e.g., about learning or maintaining Spanish)	P11 (int.): "The way that I'm writing is going to be horrible…"

Sub-Category: Socio-emotional Consequences		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Alienation	- Feeling unable to connect to other speakers or community - A sense that feelings of belonging or identity are being lost	P11 (int.): "…it's harder for me to keep in contact with them…"
Discomfort	- Being uncomfortable with Spanish, not feeling confident, etc. - Avoidance of Spanish	P01 (int.): "There was a kind of…inhibition…"

Sub-Category: Classroom-specific Consequences		
Code	**Description of code**	**Example quotes**
Disliking class	- Disliking, dreading class	P04 (int.): "I didn't want to go."

Appendix D: Distribution of Coding References for Causes of HLA by/within Participants

Table 15 summarizes how much each participant contributed to each sub-category of causes of HLA. The shaded cells highlight percentages of 20% or higher. The same three participants feature some shaded cells, but a participant with fewer references contributed 20% of the references coded as a cognitive cause of HLA.

Table 15

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Coding References by Participant Within Each Sub-Category

Participant	% Classroom-specific	% Cognitive	% Linguistic	% Socio-emotional
P01	2.86	20.9	10.6	4.94
P03	14.3	2.99	8.61	6.17
P04	17.1	23.9	12.6	27.2
P05	48.6	8.96	21.9	16.1
P06	0	2.99	5.96	0
P07	2.86	0	1.32	0
P08	2.86	16.4	1.32	4.94
P09	2.86	8.96	12.6	17.3
P10	0	0	0	0
P11	8.57	13.4	22.5	23.5
P12	0	1.49	2.65	0
% Total	100	100	100	100

Table 16 (next page) summarizes how much of the data for each participant belongs to each sub-category for the causes of HLA. The shaded cells highlight percentages of 25% or higher.

Table 16

Interview and Survey Data: Distribution of Coding References by Sub-Category within Each Participant

Participant	% Classroom-specific	% Cognitive	% Linguistic	% Socio-emotional	% Total
P01	2.94	38.2	47.1	11.8	100
P03	20	8	52	20	100
P04	9.52	25.4	30.16	34.9	100
P05	24.6	8.7	47.8	18.8	100
P06	0	18.2	81.8	0	100
P07	33.3	0	66.7	0	100
P08	5.56	61.1	11.1	22.2	100
P09	2.5	15	47.5	35	100
P10	0	0	0	0	0
P11	4.92	14.75	49.2	31.2	100
P12	0	20	80	0	100