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Heritage Language Speakers' Conceptual Metaphor Use Through Genres
in Spanish and English

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Interdisciplinary Humanities

by

Lorraine Marie Ramos

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    Professor Dalia Magaña Villalobos, Chair
    Professor Virginia Adán-Lifante
    Professor Manuel Martín-Rodríguez
    Professor Anne Zanzucchi

2024

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University of California, Merced

2023

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents and grandparents.

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CURRICULUM VITAE, PUBLICATIONS, AND FIELD OF STUDY

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Heritage language speakers Conceptual Metaphor use through genres

in Spanish and English

by

Lorraine Marie Ramos

Doctor of Philosophy in Interdisciplinary Humanities

University of California, Merced, 2024

Dalia Magaña Villalobos, Chair

Critical pedagogy surrounding Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) has focused on the student's attitudes regarding their language and culture, specifically as it relates to Spanish and Latinxs in the United States. These heritage language (HL) learners, who were exposed to Spanish in the home, enroll in Spanish classes to further a sense of identity and recover, develop, and foster their first language. Research in linguistics and pedagogy has explored writing through different genres in the HL as it is the skill with which the learners have the least experience and is perceived as the most difficult to learn the heritage language by the students themselves according to preliminary surveys. However, few have examined SHL speakers' writing in both English and Spanish in the US context. Additionally, studies have had a disciplinary focus, while this project engages applied linguistics, writing studies and Chicanx/Latinx studies. Looking at English and Spanish writing concurrently creates a space for HL speakers that would not be included in Spanish-only focused studies. This bilingual and bicultural research space not only invites the student to write about their attitudes regarding culture and identity, but it also generates possibilities for the use of features of language that have been previously unexplored in this context: namely using figurative language like metaphors in both languages.

This study pairs genre theory from systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and conceptual metaphor theory to examine the use of figurative language reported here as initial findings, in 192 SHL speakers through the students' written texts (86 in English and 106 in Spanish). The exploration of students' work through various genres provides differing spaces to explore their ideas about language and identity, and the focus on metaphor provides insights into both their cognitive and affective experiences. Preliminary findings demonstrate students' use of metaphors to conceptualize their identity and cultural experience as well as to explain their language learning experiences. Using a holistic approach that incorporates the use of conceptual metaphors in the bilingual heritage context has yet to be studied, even though it has the potential to give instructors important insights into how students feel about their identity and cultural development. This study provides context-specific, culturally relevant insights and structured guidance on how to further enhance students' social, emotional, and academic engagement in language development with particular benefit to multilingual speakers.

This project presents a qualitative and quantitative case-study to produce a theoretical pedagogical framework that maps the affective experiences of Hispanic students through their cognitive achievements. By focusing on cognitive and affective understandings, we can approach new ideas, reform current instruction, and contribute to critical heritage pedagogy. This project will follow an integrative vision of the study through a presentation of the relevant literature and theoretical frameworks of metaphor and genre theories. It continues with a discussion of the current research methodology, dissertation framework, Spanish, English, and genre chapter analysis. It ends with findings, pedagogical implications, and a summary presenting this work in conjunction with its broader significance.

INTRODUCTION

Spanish Heritage Language Speakers and Learners (SHLS & SHLL) are a minoritized group within the United States, while still being a majority of speakers of non-English speaking peoples. Future projections of Hispanic people in the US are on the rise and in turn the Spanish-speaking community. This indicates projects related to these types of speakers and learners are a timely endeavor. Here, this project seeks to provide an interdisciplinary perspective within the intersections of applied linguistics, writing studies, and Chicanx/Latinx studies.

In the US, home and community speakers of Spanish are often matriculated into English-based schooling at the age of five, losing the opportunity for the continued growth of academic Spanish alongside academic English. Additionally, those who have the chance to participate in bilingual education have a limited language track, as bilingual education usually commences with primary school, but does not usually continue to the middle and high school environments.

Also, there are many reasons that Hispanic students may or may not continue with formal Spanish language learning. While some have familial, community, and cultural support to maintain their oral language, others forgo speaking it altogether due to negative ideologies and attitudes surrounding the Spanish language and its speakers. Negative language beliefs are often a guise for linguistic racism that is easily transferred to speakers of Spanish and other minority languages.

Due to these issues et al., developing Spanish speakers often bring with them the ideologies and attitudes of the nation at large, which can affect the speaker in many different ways. It can influence how they engage or do not engage with the language and its speakers. It also can create affect-based cognitive changes in their own attitudes and ideologies towards formal and informal Spanish use in and outside the academy. This information is central for Spanish instructors as it can inform future critical pedagogy.

SHLL and SHLS in the US are often studied from the Spanish point of view, only focusing on the HL, and rightly so as it is their minoritized language. Traditional pedagogy has focused on knowledge-based investigations, seeing what students can produce in the classroom in the HL. Often this type of approach lends itself to a focus on deficit-based knowledge, where students are categorized by the errors or mistakes they make in the HL. This type of research methodology can further distance the SHLL students and does not capture all the knowledge they may possess, as much of the implicit cognitive language choices occur beneath the surface and may not be explicitly seen. Other pedagogies view SHLL as a resource in the classroom, using their knowledge as a way to teach other students, however, this too can create more pressure for a student to help their peers as they are being instructed themselves in the target language. For this project, an additive perspective in teaching can be helpful, where students are met where they are at, and skills can be added to their current linguistic capacity.

With these matters that affect SHLL in the classroom, it is common to see SHLS forgo formal academic Spanish training completely. These individuals may continue to speak through their family or community, or they may choose not to speak the heritage language at all. They may still have a cultural connection to Spanish and due to that connection can still be considered part of the Latinx heritage. Researchers have indicated that this connection is what is important, not the ability or disability to speak the corresponding language. For these reasons, it is relevant to involve those of Hispanic heritage who are not in Spanish classes for ongoing HL research. This could benefit all SHLS, as they are not usually included in this type of research. Here, a holistic representation of the learner can be attained through their own vantage point or perspective.

When in the classroom, SHLLs seek to reclaim, retain, and maintain the target language while attaining levels of academic or formal Spanish. While oral abilities are multiple and varied, they tend to be considered stronger than their writing skills. It has been found that writing must be taught and is not easily transferable from other known languages as writing systems are

linguistically arbitrary. Furthermore, writing is the skill that most HL students perceive most difficult during their university tenure, especially when the assignments are decontextualized with no perceived purpose. For these reasons, a genre approach to writing can be useful, in which students have experience with various writing and academic genres ranging from informal to formal in a contextualized way.

Through a variety of written genres in Spanish linguistics and Chicanx Study courses, HL students are able to explore certain attitudes and ideologies about their own language and culture. These students are aware of language beliefs through their own experiences in formative education and have been exposed to various linguistic mindsets since matriculating in the US English-based school system. They have first-hand knowledge of linguistic discrimination through their community and educational involvements. A genre approach to writing gives students a space to explore these growing connections, providing the instructor with valuable pedagogical knowledge surrounding student language development.

Ideologies surrounding these learners and speakers arise in multiple contexts through their lived experiences. Also, figurative language has been paired with their spoken languages and also their personal identity to convey negative bias. For example, the use of metaphors is pervasive in the media to describe immigration and Hispanic migrants, usually to detrimental effect. Laws have been a rich site for this type of conceptual metaphoric language when regarding Latinx populations in the US. Educational propositions have also implemented such language to convey overarching feelings about bilingual education in this country. Here, metaphors concerning violence proliferate, creating a hostile intellectual environment for these individuals.

For these reasons, this project examines the written work of SHLL in Spanish and SHLS in English through a translanguaging approach to attain a holistic representation of SHL students at the University level. Through this approach, languages are not seen as separate codes and are considered inherently one language competency. It posits that language categories are colonial in nature, created by those in power to try to separate peoples (Vogel & García, 2017). The theory shows how the separation of languages creates hierarchies to further separate language speakers through linguistic, cultural, and racial means (Vogel & García, 2017). By including English writing samples along with Spanish ones, we can see a clearer perspective of the SHL student, whether or not they are actively in Spanish classes or not. This type of work is necessary to further understand what motivates students to continue with Spanish education or why they decide to focus on their English-based studies. A distinctive contribution displays SHL holistically through all known languages, as opposed to research that only focuses on the HL.

This study views genre under the umbrella of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which looks at language in relation to social settings. Here, other useful theoretical approaches include Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to deduce the underlying linguistic attitudes and ideologies that our students espouse. CMT in language is extensive and it is difficult to communicate abstract ideas without comparing them to known and familiar concepts. The focus on metaphor allows for the collection of natural writing as many novice writers are unaware of their own conceptual metaphor use. Additionally, it serves as a tool to conceptualize their own identity and cultural experiences as well as to explain their language learning experiences, providing insights into their cognitive and affective experiences. Also, within contextualized genres, the use of metaphor can be varied and is understudied within the HL population.

The present project provides a mixed-methods, qualitative, and quantitative investigation of SHLL and SHLS in written Spanish and English. It analyzes the following: the student's sociolinguistic profiles about their perceptions regarding their identity, culture, and bilingualism; the students' conceptualization of affect through the use of metaphoric and figurative language within specific genres in their Spanish and English writing; and how this conceptual and affective data can inform both language pedagogy and academic institutions serving Latinx students.

The research design includes 192 SHL students through their written texts in English and in Spanish (86 in English and 106 in Spanish). Participants were students at UC Merced, a semi-rural Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) from 2016 to 2020. The data includes written work from students who were matriculated in 5 different courses. Each class is repeated once to reach a total of 10 different classes providing two sets of data for each course. Within the class total, there were four upper-division Spanish courses and one lower-division English course. It is important to note that the English course could be counted for Spanish course credit and students were given the freedom to write and communicate in Spanish or English throughout the course, following a translanguaging approach.

Data collection included a sociolinguistic survey of their language development in conjunction with their written work, downloaded from the university Learning Management System, Canvas, where students uploaded their assignments. Across all courses, 5 genres emerged through the written assignments and classwork: personal response, narrative, review, exposition, and research paper. The collection of 5 distinct genres created space for a variety of metaphoric expressions. Data analysis was conducted through qualitative data analysis software (NVIVO) and metaphoric analysis was achieved through a Metaphoric Identification Procedure (MIP) in order to find the frequency of metaphoric words as well as innovative constructions.

This project seeks to portray an analytic view of the linguistic capabilities of SHLL and SHLS within an HSI university context. As projections of Latinx populations are on the rise, and the university also reflects the demographics of the community, this type of analysis is directly transferable to the surrounding academic community as well as trends at other universities nationally. This focus will provide a better understanding surrounding who or is not using SHL and how it is being used.

This knowledge will equip SHL instructors with tools that can inform their teaching strategies, pedagogical practices, and curriculum development, as well as advise the administration for future HL programs. In the past, students' proficiencies and competencies as part of a needs assessment to inform future pedagogical practice and the voices of students have been absent from critical pedagogy. The levels of bilingualism are so varied due to diverse socio-cultural and historical contexts. Yet, the several theoretical frameworks that view the HL as underdeveloped can adversely influence students' socio-affective needs. Therefore, an investigation of the linguistic ideologies that surround these students is needed to understand how they feel about their languages, so we can better help them acquire the Spanish they seek to speak. To this end, the study of metaphor within various genres is beneficial to better appreciate how these learners conceptualize these types of beliefs and ultimately how it affects their linguistic development.

Conceptual metaphors have been used in language learning as a tool to help students acquire new language skills, however, they also can be explored within the language learning experience to better understand student abilities and their reflections about those abilities. Through the opportunity of writing in different contextualized genres, students have more flexibility in their language style which creates a wider space for metaphor use to further describe their cognition through affective experiences.

The study of metaphor, within a written sample produced by SHLL and SHLS, is a critical pedagogical approach due to the multiple identities they hold as well as the intersectional context in which they exist. Further critical pedagogical applications must also work with an interdisciplinary focus and through translanguaging to display best practices. The varied educational involvements that our students experience create the demand for pedagogical practices that are aware of students' socio-affective needs. As issues of positive representation are prevalent, this scholarship chooses to privilege the voices of students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural practices, compounding identities, and translanguaging development.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The number of Spanish speakers in the US has increased substantially and projections are on the rise. At the start of this study, in 2016 over 17%, or more than fifty million, of the total US population were Hispanic and according to current estimates, the numbers are closer to sixty million. Due to this growth, the US has become one of the countries with the highest number of Spanish speakers, with Spanish being the second most spoken language (Escobar & Potowski, 2015). Along with Florida and Texas, California's Hispanic population is a majority compared to most other racial minority groups, such as African Americans and Asians, and it is the state with the largest Hispanic population in the nation. In the Central Valley, the Latinx population surpasses the state average. More than half of UC Merced attendees identify as Hispanic, heavily mirroring the surrounding county demographic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). In 2020, the Latinx population was measured at 63.2% demonstrating a high level of Spanish speakers in the Central Valley (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). However, it should be noted that Hispanics themselves are a multi-racial group.

The current demographics are due to the historical position of Spanish and English in the US. Martínez (2006) explains the complexity surrounding the Mexican American language experience as in "large measure a function of the bilingualism of the community that has persisted for more than 150 years" (ix). However, Spanish is seen as a minority language and English is the politically dominant de facto common language even though the US does not have a defined "official" language (Escobar & Potowski, 2015). While Spanish has always been part of the US landscape since many of the now southwestern states were originally part of Mexico, the language still plays a subordinate role to English. Another issue affecting Latinxs language is that it is sometimes assumed that all Latinxs speak Spanish. However, HL speakers are a heterogeneous group (Torres & Baralt, 2022). Here, narrow, and broad definitions of HL students are useful due to the differences in bilingualism. Thus, a narrow characterization of HL speakers includes only those who have some linguistic competency in Spanish and a broad categorization involves those who have a cultural connection and motivation to learn the home language (Beaudrie et al., 2014).

Even so, research has found that the language ability among Hispanics is widely varied, and we as educators need to understand how they use their multiple language abilities, so we can help them achieve their academic goals (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Their language proficiencies are influenced by multiple variables within multiple circumstances and a critical pedagogical approach must keep this specialized context in mind (Roca & Colombi, 2003). To this end, Brinton et al. (2017) urge instructors to know the demographics, community, and history that surrounds HL learners. A progressive perspective that includes their sociolinguistic profiles needs to consider social, cultural, and demographic factors that have historically influenced their development, and it needs to expand the acquisition of data to include the voices of the students themselves.

A multidisciplinary approach to the development of students with various identities is vital in the field of HL pedagogy. Language researchers have included multiculturalism in the curriculum to improve academic development (Martínez, 2003). Montrul (2013a) signals that one of the goals of modern linguistics is the study of language and its cognitive mental representation and that relevant pedagogy should cover subjects connected to the students' bicultural and bilingual identities. While work on the sociolinguistic profiles of HL learners has been conducted to better understand them, it has not involved HL students' writings regarding their sociolinguistic situation.

In addition to sociolinguistic profiles, an effective way to better understand the needs of the SHL population is by analyzing the students' writings in the target language as it provides

important insights on how they conceptualize their language learning. Researchers have not yet explored how SHL speakers metaphorically conceptualize culture and identity through their academic writing through various genres in English and Spanish. For example, through the genre of a personal narrative, educators are privy to a first-hand account of students' formative language experiences. Through analysis of such autobiographical linguistic metacognitive reflections, instructors are given creative examples of students' writing that can be further analyzed in terms of structure and metaphorical strategies to better comprehend how they have conceptualized their language development.

The use of multiple approaches presents a more detailed analysis of SHL speakers within an English-speaking university context. This approach can offer insights into how they portray that existence through figurative writing. To provide a holistic representation of the HL speaker, this study draws on various theoretical perspectives and linguistic approaches that give a clearer depiction of their writing style and bilingual ability to better recognize how language is used as well as how they conceptualize their cultural experiences. This project strives to find how learners use their HL alongside English to conceptualize their own sociolinguistic experiences as well as their metaphorical competence through various genres. It hypothesizes that students use a variety of conceptual metaphors, in English/Spanish as a cognitive strategy to portray their affective understanding. Through their functional use of language, this information can be further evaluated to identify their writing ability in both languages and help heritage students develop academic writing skills in either language to inform future pedagogical practice.

Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States

HL speakers and learners have distinct differences and share a heterogeneity due to the high degree of linguistic variation which complicates pedagogical approaches in foreign language classrooms, especially within an English language-based institution. SHL speakers in the US were originally framed as home speakers of Spanish with differing abilities in the language (Valdés, 1997). A narrow definition of HL speaker only includes those who have proficiency in the language but has also been broadly defined to include those who have a cultural tie to the language (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Kelleher, 2010). An HL learner can encompass at least the aforementioned characteristics, but what is salient is their motivation to further interact with the language in an academic setting (Beaudrie et al., 2014). Valdés (1997, 2006) has been instrumental in further characterizing HL learners by identifying their specific distinctions and outlining their typologies as well as the specific challenges they face. Since the 1970s, instructors of Spanish as a foreign language have brought pedagogical focus to prioritize Spanish as an HL, to help students recover, develop, and foster their first language (Lipski, 2000; Roca, 1997; Valdés, 1981; Valdés & Teschner, 1977).

The rapid growth in the number of Latinxs in various educational contexts, combined with their individual multicultural and linguistic diversity, creates a need for integrative research approaches so instructors can adequately assess the needs of their students. HLs are a diverse group and research on their sociolinguistic profiles has helped further categorize these learners in various languages (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Walqui, 1997; Webb & Miller 2000). Valdés (2006) points to the importance of understanding the whole student and to that end, research has grown to examine their academic needs. Within the literature on their sociolinguistic profiles, researchers looked through the lens of academic language requirements and current competencies to help predict aptitude (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Correa, 2011; Pascual y Cabo & Gómez Soler, 2015; Potowski, 2005; Potowski & Carreira, 2004; Roca, 1997; Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Valdés, 1999). Recent emphasis has been on improving their Spanish by categorizing HL learners by their linguistic skills as well as pedagogical needs. However, a focus on merely their

competencies in the HL can view these learners as linguistically inferior and can hinder their development in the target language. A holistic approach to these learners should also include affective and cognitive ways of knowing. This population should be understood for their sociolinguistic makeup and affective information so that the participating Spanish instructors, as well as school administrators, can create a meaningful curriculum that connects the language, culture, and community.

The ability to engage, or conversely, not to engage, the language in power greatly influences the individual in multiple ways. HLs within the US Spanish context refer to a language in which individuals indicate a personal connection. It is the historical and individual connection to the language that is salient and not the actual proficiency of its speakers (Valdés, 2001). Foreign language educators use the term to refer to a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and English (Valdés, 2001). Spanish as a Heritage Language Learner (SHLL) describes a person studying Spanish who has a cultural connection to that language and may speak or at least understand the language (Kelleher, 2010). While the term SHLL is used to describe a person studying the language, a *Spanish-speaker of a heritage language* (SSHL) has proficiency in or a cultural connection to that language but may not be taking Spanish language classes (Valdés, 2001).

Applied linguistics research on HL has an academic culture of investigation that began with a direct focus on correct or incorrect language use (Rosa, 2016). This signals a need for research about SHL learners by SHL speakers. Many investigators have looked at these learners through a deficient lens of incomplete grammar (Montrul et al., 2008) focusing on differing grammatical concepts such as pronoun use, gender, and number issues, as well as tenses and moods. While furthering the linguistics field, teachers are "othering" students, creating a dichotomy of 'my Spanish' vs 'your Spanish' and perpetuating the power dynamics that exist institutionally. While some may be comfortable speaking Spanish and consider themselves 'balanced bilinguals', others avoid doing so in public or in academic settings for a variety of reasons. This study focuses on the creativity and variety of metaphoric use, rather than incorrect grammar as to not perpetuate further linguistic inequalities towards this historically marginalized population. Carreira and Beeman (2014) note that many have distanced themselves from academic Spanish due to various socio-historical issues. To reach those students part of the project focuses on Chicanx experiences written in English.

Traditional Applied Linguistic Approaches in SHL Pedagogy

The overarching goal in HL education in the United States has been the acquisition, maintenance, or recovery of the HL while achieving academic registers and researchers have largely determined that students suffer in grammar (Potowski et al., 2009). Pascual y Cabo (2015) points to the English schooling that Latinos experience at 5 years of age as socio-political reasoning to explain this trend. The Incomplete Acquisition hypothesis has been explored extensively to help students in Spanish (Montrul, 2002; Polinsky, 1997, 2006). With this information, studies have explored how to help the heritage learner's grammar (Montrul & Bowles, 2009). Commonly, investigations point to a lack of writing skills and metalinguistic awareness and writing skills when compared with monolinguals (Mikulski & Elola, 2011; Montrul, 2010; Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011; Roca & Colombi, 2003). Potowski (2009) investigated the effect of direct grammar teaching on both L2 and heritage learners, finding that the L2 group made considerable progress in comparison with the heritage students. While the study found there was a general benefit for all, it had a distinctive impact on L2 learners and therefore not a pedagogy specifically suited for the HL

learner. She suggests research turn toward innovative educational applications to further enhance education outcomes for these learners (Potowski, 2009).

Focusing primarily on academic achievement can lead to perceiving HL learners as somehow deficient especially when compared to the skills of a monolingual or L2 speaker and ultimately puts these distinct learners at a clear disadvantage. Besides, scholars have been criticized for comparing differing Spanish speakers based on dialect and contact varieties (Valdés, 1989; Villa, 1996). Here there is a privileging of prestige varieties and higher registers that sometimes are learned at the expense of the home or community dialect (Carreira, 2000). Or they are alienated pedagogically due to the perspective that their language or dialect needs to be corrected (Martínez & Schwartz, 2012). Potowski (2002, 2005) reports many bilingual students feel insecure about their Spanish or have been criticized by past native Spanish teachers. These experiences have led to the abandonment of formal language instruction due to being inconsiderate of students' socio-affective needs. Doing so undervalues the students in our classes and Spanish as a US language and an "expansion-oriented approach" was used to accept all language varieties with HL pedagogy (Leeman, 2014, 2015). However, this view does not consider the reasoning for the ideological ranking of language, dialect, and register through critical language awareness (Martínez, 2003).

Critical Approaches to SSHL Pedagogy

HL pedagogy has used various approaches to develop best practices for this specialized group. It is clear that heritage students require different learning opportunities (Beaudrie et al., 2014), however, researchers persist in applying traditional language practice to the HL. This research has progressed by applying L2 strategies to HL learners with varying levels of success (Camus & Adrada-Rafael, 2015; Potowski et al., 2009). Others have found that while there are differences in linguistic competencies, this does not mean they inevitably have deficient grammar (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Pascual y Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Rosa, 2016).

Translanguaging as a linguistic perspective has facilitated a step away from the deficit perspective within heritage learners providing a space where linguistic competencies are not separated by language but rather our language capacity is but one code, giving students more resources in communication (García, 2009). In this space, US Spanish students particularly have the opportunity to access more of their language ability by not forcing them to ignore one language in favor of another (García & Torres-Guevara, 2009). Moreover, it combats what Rosa's (2016) terms as 'languagelessness', where HL learners are positioned as not having competencies in either language.

While research on HL profiles and grammar lays the groundwork for understanding the HL learner, there are affective needs that effect motivation and, in turn, learning. For example, Zentella (1997, 2002) has found that the situation of Spanish speakers in the US and their contact with English or non-standardized Spanish dialects has ultimately affected their language learning motivation. To rectify this issue, researchers explored ideologies to better understand how these thought processes influence the learner (Leeman, 2012, 2015; Showstack, 2012, 2017). Through these types of studies, researchers are positioning the student as a central linguistic resource in terms of identity (Rampton, 1995).

SHL Learners as a Resource

The focus on students' perspective as an explicit resource has been shown to be beneficial in analyzing learners' attitudes, ideologies, and motivations in language study. However, there are other ways of knowing, and language competencies are not always visible at the surface within bilingual speakers (Cummins, 1992). To arrive at the cognitive and implicit knowledge under the surface, the use of students' written texts through differing genres can support the activation of

deeper-level competencies. More specifically, the focus on students' use of conceptual metaphors in these texts provides a more tacit perspective on their lived cultural and linguistic experiences. In this way, the present study focuses on the student's written text as a resource through their use of metaphoric language as a means to uncover implicit ideologies and connect their voices to their cognition. This type of meta-discursive reflection could create a space for HL speakers to influence future pedagogical theory.

SHL Speakers as a Resource

Many HL learners have preferred English as their dominant language for various social, political, and economic reasons (Bills & Vigil, 2008). This cohort is often classified as 'passive bilinguals' for reading and auditory understanding of the Spanish language, while still being unable to speak it fluently (Peñalosa, 1980). The current investigation provides an integrative focus on HL speakers in both languages. First by examining those who are actively learning Spanish in an academic setting, and second, by examining those who do not. The 'narrow' definition of HL students only includes those who have 'heritage motivation' to learn the language academically and also have the linguistic skills to do so (Beaudrie et al., 2014, p. 2). Here I privilege the broad definition, to reach those students who are not engaging in academic Spanish and to consider the whole student. The present study focuses on HL speakers writing in both English and Spanish. In this way, this data privileged the voices of these students bilingually, with a distinctive contribution as English writing is not usually studied within the Spanish as a US heritage language context. Such a multifaceted approach to the development of students with differing levels of bilingualism is vital in the field of HL pedagogy.

Ideologies and the Language Learner

The use of metaphor is prevalent in our language and can serve as a way to understand the ideologies that can affect students. Therefore, surveying the corpus of students' work for conceptual metaphors can demonstrate how they have internalized and, in turn, conceptualized their cultural existence or community affiliation, as these perceptions have been shown to influence their socio-affective needs. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) write, "it is by no means an easy matter to change the metaphors we live by" and for that reason, we should recognize how entrenched associations are and how they may affect the students we teach (p. 145). Language pedagogy has transformative potential; of importance, then, is also recognizing the ideological components of associations and teaching them critically. Metaphoric analysis, subsequently, offers critical knowledge about cultural cognitive experiences and it is applied to the texts to find how students conceptualize their real experiences through abstract metaphorical ideas.

Language ideologies affect the group's speakers and are reflected in individuals in multiple ways. Montrul (2013b) states that the language a child takes to school is part of their identity et al. have found that they frequently internalize messages of inferiority, making the ideologies around communication so vital for this discussion (Beaudrie et al., 2014). At the individual level, Martínez (2006) records via individual response that these types of beliefs, ranging from panic to pride, have a formidable weight on individuals and the cultural community. At the community level, linguists have found that perceptions related to language status correlate directly to how these individual speakers are viewed (Beaudrie et al., 2014).

These types of ideologies are harmful to communities of language speakers as well as individual learners. Martínez (2006) notes that "much of the ideological content of language panics is contained in subtle the deeply entrenched metaphors," providing the example that English is viewed as 'natural' and this conviction often makes a case against bilingual education (p. 14). When English is natural or the dominant language, Spanish can be seen as inferior. For example, Loza

(2017) notes that Spanish in the US has been categorized pejoratively with terms like '*pocho*' or '*mocho*.'

Santa Ana (2002) explores manifestations of language panic and discovers that these forms of ideologies are often found in subtle but deep-rooted metaphoric language. With this in mind, one of the main objectives of modern linguistics is the aforementioned knowledge of the language as well as the cognitive representation that language holds in a speaker's mind (Montrul, 2013a). Montrul (2013a) signals a focus on cognitive representations as a way for linguists to understand the language knowledge of the learner and these representations can offer pedagogy critical insights on how the HL functions. In this project, the theory of metaphor through a range of different academic and professional writing genres is applied to locate cognitive representations to, subsequently, discover how students conceptualize cultural and individual experiences.

Latinx and Chicanx Language Experience

Anzaldúa refers to the linguistic injustices the Chicanx population experienced by demonstrating the apprehension felt in communicating in Spanish as well as the extreme discomfort experienced by way of language. Anzaldúa (1987) presents the language contact and conflict at the US-Mexico border as one of *linguistic terrorism*, evoking sentiments of violence and fear. She defends Chicanx Spanish and acknowledges that negative feelings have been internalized due to its comparison with English as well as academic Spanish. This terror is portrayed by her use of metaphors related to blood and wounds. She presents the *border/borderlands* as a theoretical construct to center the Chicanx experience and decenters the dominant Anglo narrative. She does this by not only creating a national identity in this third space but also by translanguaging in the text. Beltran (2004) proposes that this metaphorical and literal place offers space for Chicanx complexity and Alvarez (1995) suggests its ambiguity allows for multiple identities within its inhabitants.

Additionally, Otto Santa Ana speaks of hegemonic discourse and the struggle for power noting that metaphors give opportunities for resistance (Santa Ana, 2002). As metaphors are used as weapons in *linguistic terrorism*, to combat this threat, we need to understand the metaphors that are being employed. We need to recognize them within the Chicanx experience to deconstruct these metaphoric narratives through literature, media, and academic institutions. Then, we can begin to reframe and replace the negative metaphorical thinking that is embedded systemically in academia.

Gloria Anzaldúa and Metaphor

Literature privileges metaphoric language. Moreover, Latinx writers include metaphors and other types of figurative language to teach non-Latinx readers about their culture and language experiences (De Stephano, 2002). Anzaldúa (1993) emphasizes the importance of Mexican customs, food and art for Chicana artists and symbols stating, "*sus símbolos y metáforas todavía viven en la gente chicana/mexicana*" (p. 37). Anzaldúa (1987) asserts that before we begin to understand analytically, our mind is primarily metaphoric in terms of thinking and finds spirituality in speaking figuratively, using it to communicate with the deities (p. 69). Moreover, Anzaldúa (1993) proclaims that "metaphors *are* gods" (p. 38). To achieve this type of heavenly correspondence, Anzaldúa (1987) employs hybrid metaphors, saying, "I ponder the ways metaphor and symbol concretize the spirit and etherealize the body" as she believes they connect our consciousness with the unconscious (p. 75; see also Lockhart, 2006).

In poet-shaman aesthetic metaphors are presented as having an actual reality (Anzaldúa, 1993). Keating (2012) explains, "words have causal force; words embody the world; words are matter; words become matter" (p. 52). In this way, words have the power to change. Anzaldúa views metaphors as therapeutic, comparing them to "*hierbitas* or curing stones" and a source for

self-healing (p. 122). "Dead metaphors," like those that are used to indoctrinate individuals into patriarchal and global north ideologies, must be eliminated so that healing can begin (Anzaldúa, 2009, p. 99). Anzaldúa (2009) provides the example of Mexicans being lazy as such a metaphor.

Borderlands/la frontera employs many metaphors related to Spanish as not only a linguistic system but an identifying cultural element. She uses a tongue metaphor to foreground the importance of cultural identity and language identity (Lockhart, 2006). Simply, Anzaldúa (1987) states, "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity — I am my language" (p. 81). In the preface of her book, she presents a conceptual metaphor related to the perishability of language as she writes, "There, at the juncture of cultures, languages cross-pollinate and are revitalized; they die and are born," describing languages in terms of natural resources and perishable substances (p. 20).

While Anzaldúa is critical of her indigenous past and its influence on the present (i.e., *las culturas que traicionan*), she privileges their metaphoric representations. López (2017) reminds us that, "it is important to note that the Nahuatl language in its spoken and written forms, as with other languages of Indigenous peoples, rely heavily on metaphor and poetics" (p. 64). Opposed to the global north's figurative language associated with the serpent and the eagle, Anzaldúa presents the Nahuatl metaphoric representations of these animals to represent how the border can be surpassed (Castillo-Garsow, 2012; Lockhart, 2006). Furthermore, she reimagines the serpent as feminine and the eagle as masculine, reversing gender binaries to dissolve them. In this way, she presents reinterpreted metaphors as cross-cultural, inter-referential, and a tool for resistance (Aigner-Varoz, 2000).

She displays the border as not only a historical but also a metaphorical site, insisting this is the reason it gets connected metaphorically with issues related to identity and migration (Anzaldúa, 1993). The border as a wound[1], "*una herida abierta*," is one of the metaphors central to Anzaldúa's (1987) narrative (p. 25). Santa Ana notes that this type of body metaphor, within the scar, opens a conceptual space in that border (Santa Ana, 2002). While sounding undesirable and unbearable, its framing also allows for the possibility of healing and the reimaging of the border subverts the existing nationalistic representation of the border as a divider (E. López, 2019). E. López (2019) suggests that by replacing the dead metaphor of the border as separating two countries, Anzaldúa dismantles national binaries and creates a space for a more productive dialogue between cultures. She calls for a deconstruction of the dominant conceptual metaphors to re-center marginalized populations. It is interesting to note that Anzaldúa interprets the US side of the border, only inferring metaphorically the Mexican side (Castillo, 2004). This is an example of Anzaldúa decentering the hegemonic narrative by shifting the focus to Spanish in the US context.

Chicanx and Metaphor

Latinx identity has been explored and developed through a variety of metaphors. For example, Anzaldúa uses the tongue and the serpent metaphorically to help convey culture, embodiment, and personhood. She personifies language as not only part of one's identity but as one's identity. As previously mentioned, Anzaldúa (1987) states, "I am my language," creating a direct association with herself and her ways of communicating (p. 59). Researchers have examined the influence of self and pride in the ability to communicate effectively (Anzaldúa, 1987; Martínez, 2006). Moreover, using Spanish and English together, termed sometimes informally as 'Spanglish' in the past, has been seen as a metaphor for identity. Researchers have directly equated it to a hybrid culture, a new way of life as well as its own cultural space (Fairclough, 2003; Nieto & Zoller Booth, 2010).

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[1] This metaphor does not portray all Chicanx experience. For example, Nericcio rejects this comparison and a likens the border to something more permeable, such as fabric or a membrane (Egúsquiza et al., 2016).

Martínez (2006), explores the language experience of Mexican Americans in the US exploring figurative language that ranges from 'pride' to 'panic.' On one hand, 'language pride' can stem from the individual or community and provides sources of positive ideologies surrounding Latinx Spanish. On the other side, 'language panic' refers to the broader socio-historical issues that produce negative Spanish ideologies and how they emotionally affect its speakers.

Scholars explored the metaphoric representations related to the Chicanx reality. They explore the "metaphor of Chicano life," denoting its management and refinement through the course of literature as well as its resulting complexity and depth (Elizondo, 1982, p. 41). For example, Chabram-Dernerseian (1999) proposes and applies, 'the metaphor of struggle' through a Chicanx cultural studies lens. Historically, a crucial metaphor for understanding this struggle consists of what is left out in the form of erasure. Martín-Rodríguez (2001) makes a direct mention of this history, referring to a 'net-made-of-holes metaphor,' to describe the loss, silence, and erasure this culture endures (p. 6). Also, Aztlán is presented as a metaphor for identity and national unity for the Chicanx population (Beltran, 2004; de Alva, 1989; Martín-Rodríguez, 2001). More specifically, Kaup (1997) suggests that an architectural metaphor of the Chicanx house also displayed individual and cultural identity (i.e., *The House on Mango Street*).

Ruiz (2016) suggests that the use of metaphors is a way for Latinx writers to forefront experiences that are usually seen with little legitimacy. Specifically, Latinas present this type of figurative language as an analytic tool to prevent further suppression and silence (Ruiz, 2016). Elizondo (1982) echoes this linguistic resistance stating that Chicanx, "figures, images, and metaphors are no longer silent," and reiterates that culture should be considered horizontally as well as vertically (p. 40). The author explains that a horizontal focus would include issues related to territory and a vertical focus is more subjective, looking at the social context. Such a focus is used in this project to show the socio-historical and contextual reasons for language use as well as the use itself.

Latinx Metaphor in Media

Metaphor use is a common practice in the mainstream media to frame and limit public opinion. Santa Ana (1999, 2002) has worked extensively around the conceptual metaphors perpetuated by newsprint media about Latinx populations in the US. Specifically, they examined several years of Los Angeles Times journalism and found that the dominant metaphor surrounding immigrants was IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS (Santa Ana, 1999). Other studies have found similar framings with IMMIGRANT CHILDREN ARE ANIMALS (Catalano, 2017). Additionally, immigrants were associated with being a soldier, diseases, war, weeds, and commodities (Santa Ana, 1999). The process of Latinx immigration posed IMMIGRATION AS AN ARMY, referring to a danger that is great and vast (Santa Ana et al., 1998). When speaking of irregular immigration, it is posed as a problem with conflicting sides, such as in war or a chess game (Pinero-Pinero et al., 2014). Also, metaphors regarding light and dark are seen, where LIGHT IS GOOD and DARK IS BAD, denoting immigrants' status as one absent of light or invisible (Pinero-Pinero et al., 2014).

Immigration metaphors often dehumanize the migrants to justify the treatment imposed upon them. A commonly employed metaphor depicts immigrants as aliens and immigration as an invasion (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011). Immigrants and immigrant children are seen as criminals (Catalano, 2013, 2017). In general, all these conceptualizations demonstrate migrants as nonhuman (Catalano & Waugh, 2013).

Hispanic immigration has frequently been compared to natural disasters or natural resources. For example, the metaphors IMMIGRATION AS MOVING WATERS and IMMIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS have surfaced, along with IMMIGRATION AS A FLOOD and more specifically,

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AS DANGEROUS WATERS (Catalano, 2017; Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011; Hart, 2011; Santa Ana, 1999).

There are clear implications for these types of references, as Santa Ana (2002) writes, "Once a group of people is defined as somehow not fully human, as animal-like, or as a disease or national burden, then it is easier to treat such individuals like debased people or animals" (p. xiii). The same could be said when they are presented as processes. The study found that racialized metaphors had analogous qualities, they are limiting and demeaning (Santa Ana, 1999). However, Santa Ana (2002) asserts that the development of alternative metaphors, as in the form of renegade metaphors, can help deconstruct harmful dominant discourses.

Also, Santa Ana analyzed the US legislature through voting propositions and acts. In Proposition 187, the metaphors employed viewed immigration or immigrants as a demographic process, thereby removing individual personhood (Santa Ana et al., 1998). In the Voting Rights Act of 1975 conservatives wrote a proposition depicting LANGUAGE AS A PRISON, to remove the inclusion of bilingual ballots. Within this metaphoric structure, non-English speakers are confined by their own speech. Proposition 203 has been seen as a war where BILINGUAL EDUCATION IS A FAILURE and EDUCATION IS A COMPETITION (Johnson, 2005, 2006).

Prevailing discourses in public education routinely suggest that schooling is seen as a path. However, Santa Ana is critical of this reference as it can put an undue burden on students who leave an educational system that is not meeting their instructional needs (Santa Ana et al., 1998). They suggest that a more fitting relation would be EDUCATION AS CULTIVATION or EDUCATION AS CONSTRUCTION, both conveying a sense of creation and community (Santa Ana et al., 1998).

Education and Metaphor

The state of Spanish/English bilingual education in the US complexity is socially and historically bound. Scholars have employed various types of metaphoric language to demonstrate the intricacies of the educational system and recognize its effects on its learners. In US classrooms, Spanish is posed as a 'foreign' language creating further separation and difference. Murillo (2017) explains that part of the humiliation Spanish students experience is due to their perceived lack of ability in their home and community language while in the 'foreign' language classroom. Alonso (2007) explores the ideologies surrounding Spanish in the university system, juxtaposing Spanish as the foreign national language and critical of its external status. Reframing Spanish in the US as a legitimate language can provide a space for these learners inside the classroom.

Within the bilingual school system, the English language is privileged as many programs implement phasing out Spanish communication with the end goal of English-only instruction. Palmer (2011) uncovered ideologies used by bilingual teachers in a Texas school where they began to refer to this process as 'the transition.' This terminology not only vastly simplifies students' linguistic journeys, but also focuses on an ultimately damaging final objective of converting them to the English language and culture, causing further erasure.

Studies focusing on bilingual education in the US have portrayed the issues through similar figurative references. Murillo (2017) explains the nature of bilingual education on the border by seeing it as an area of interaction. They employ Pratt's (2012) "contact zone" theory where language and cultural practices are exchanged, with one nation having more power than the other. English has become the dominant language in this border zone and those who do not practice it are subject to negative ideologies (Pratt, 2003). However, within this space, there is an opportunity for individuals and cultures to practice creativity and agency (Pratt, 2012).

Spanish-speaking students are inspected for correct pronunciation and perceived legitimate language use. Cameron (2012) portrays these actions of language monitoring as a 'verbal hygienist,' describing them as prescriptivists. Villa (2002) discusses this figurative cleaning as they

describe issues in academia as the 'sanitizing' of US Spanish. They depict the use of orientational metaphors, such as 'low' and 'high' in association with registers, dialects, and language, where 'low' is seen figuratively as 'bad' and 'high' as 'good.' Villa admonishes the inclusion of these metaphors in our educational communication as there may be deeply fixed associations to these terms that could further disadvantage its speakers.

Christoffersen (2019) presents a study of students and their positionality connected to Anzaldúa's linguistic theory. In a Texas university, students exhibited borderland identities through personal narratives, comparing their bicultural identity and language ability to a 'coconut.' This finding is useful as it demonstrates the duality and plurality of the Latinx experience, as well as the creativity of language this space provides. Valdés (1989) proposes a musical metaphor for bilingual communication where a speaker is viewed as a guitar with twelve strings. These examples show how metaphors can be specific to cultures (Achugar, 2008). Again, we are presented with the dualism of a bilingual speaker and its relevance to Spanish language pedagogy within the US. Christoffersen (2019) pushes for language instructors to employ critical language awareness in these spaces of contact, whether they be physical or metaphorical.

Critical language awareness also includes emotional connections through differing modes. For example, Coffey (2015) utilizes a portrait process, although with teachers in a language pedagogy context to portray how metaphors are emotion-based and embodied. This is an appropriate example of an intervention activity seeking to reframe language knowledge among teacher candidates. Understanding students' language experiences and reframing pedagogical ideologies with classroom teachers are the first steps in recognizing the intermediations needed in the educational system.

Conceptual Metaphor

Using metaphor pedagogically to promote competencies is shown to be effective in learning a second language, and more specifically in English learners. Metaphoric competence has been shown to contribute to the acquisition and retention of vocabulary in the L2 (Sun, 2010). Littlemore (2008) has explored the place of metaphor in an English as a foreign language (EFL) learning classroom and found its explicit teaching was useful in enriching the production of language. Veliz (2017) also determined that direct instruction of metaphors created greater metaphoric awareness in ESL students, and this enhanced their lexicon in the target language as well as their ability to decipher multiple meanings. In the same way, Hamamoto (2004) signals metaphoric awareness as a factor in language and cultural comprehension within the EFL student. These investigations demonstrate a trend in using metaphor as a way to support proficiency in the target language.

Conceptual metaphor theory has certainly been useful in language learning but also in college-level literacies and students' attitudes toward their primary language. In the English university system, Armstrong (2008) investigated extemporaneously produced metaphors to better understand their attitudes and beliefs surrounding college writing to help first-year students pedagogically. Paulson and Armstrong (2011) used students' metaphors to understand how they conceptualize reading and writing in a transitional college course, finding that negative associations to reading were based on issues related to time and difficulty. Also, English textbooks and English Literature have been used as a tool to measure metaphoric competence with Spanish speakers (Guerra de la Torre, 2020; Martín-Gilete, 2022).

Internationally, metaphor analysis has been studied pedagogically in terms of the ideologies students have about instructors and instruction, uncovering influential attitudes toward teachers and teaching that may help or hinder academic success (Jitpranee, 2017; Nikitina & Furuoka, 2008; Yayci, 2017). Also, some authors discovered that Polish EFL learners had difficulty

with metaphoric understanding due to the culturally differing metaphors each language contains (Deignan et al., 1997). They suggest that through cross-linguistic education this gap in knowledge could be attained by comparing metaphors taught in the L2 to known metaphors in their L1.

The aforementioned studies show that metaphoric awareness is an effective tool in language learning, but it has also been shown to uncover affective and attitudinal information about learners. For example, studies have examined the learning process and found that students metaphorically categorize language learning experiences from metaphors transferred from their first language as well as comparing language learning to other learning activities (Baş & Gezegin, 2015; Mariani, 2012). Most importantly, researchers have looked at the relationship between metaphor use and students' attitudes, which helped predict their learning patterns and how it can change over time (Kochis & Gillespie, 2006; Wegner & Nückles, 2015). From the teacher's perspective, experts have shared which learning metaphors have been useful in their academic development. For example, learning strategies have been compared to construction, journey, music, sports or business, animals, temperature, or other embodied metaphors like SEEING IS KNOWING or CONSUMING (FOOD OR LIQUID) IS KNOWING (Oxford et al., 2014).

Additionally, this theoretical framework has been useful in training student teachers and further uncovering attitudes through metaphor. Investigations have centered around how society views teachers and how teachers themselves construct their identity metaphorically, using it as a tool for self-reflection and understanding (Alarcón et al., 2014; Marshall, 1990; Willox et al., 2010; Zhu & Zhu, 2018). In another study, novice teachers examined metaphors surrounding their sense of teaching, resulting in the common use of a tree metaphor signaling the growth of knowledge (Shaw & Mahlios, 2008). Furthermore, language teachers have been viewed as a CONDUIT, a NURTURER, and a COMPETITOR (Oxford et al., 1998).

Spanish language-based investigations have included metaphoric analysis while comparing bilinguals in relationship to their language competencies. Studies have compared the metaphor use of HL learners with L2 learners finding that the frequency and types of metaphors employed in extemporaneous speech are very similar and that Spanish-speaking Latinxs were found to be more receptive to metaphoric language due to their ability to recall specific metaphors related to politics, science, and interpersonal connection (Ondish et al., 2019; Tocaimaza-Hatch, 2019). Researchers have also looked at the use of metaphor deliberately in conversations with Spanish native speakers and Spanish learners, concluding that L2 learners transfer metaphors from languages and show creativity in metaphoric discourse (Cuberos et al., 2019). Metaphor has also been used in Spanish to analyze the practices and beliefs of classroom teachers (Lacorte & Canabal, 2005). However, studies have not yet focused on SHL learners and speakers bilingually in conjunction with metaphor analysis in genre-based discourse. Here, my study will view the students' use of metaphor conceptually in both languages to revel affective information in conjunction with competencies.

Metaphor within Genres

Researchers conclude that within differing genres, metaphor use can vary greatly (Deignan, 2016). Kövecses (2015) signals that context influences the variation of metaphor within communication. Also, metaphors can be re-used or adapted to have different meanings depending on the genre in which they are used (Semino, 2011; Semino et al., 2013) Therefore, within SFL written genres as an organizing tool, I focus on metaphors to better understand how students conceptualize their life experiences. In sociolinguistics, the use of metaphors is not just a literary strategy, but a complex conceptual mapping that influences how we behave and think (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Simply, using metaphor and metonymy helps individuals communicate complicated ideas to others and can play a role in language development. Research finds that generic-level metaphors such as MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN, have become routine across cultures

and are pervasive in communication due to their unconscious nature. However, specific-level metaphors like LOVE IS A JOURNEY are less common but more likely to be culturally influenced (Bailey, 2003). Preliminary data for this investigation finds that within the intersections of the SHL speakers' identity, specific metaphors in students' writing give impressions of the culturally significant experiences that affect their learning. Applying this strategy to the language learner can be useful since the use of conceptual metaphors and metonymy in acquisition has been frequently overlooked (Andreou & Galantomos, 2008).

The study of metaphor within HL speakers can prove to be beneficial pedagogically. As issues of positive representation are prevalent, privileging the voices of these students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development is essential. The analysis of figurative language, specifically metaphor, within the SHL experience, should be approached bilingually through a critical pedagogical lens to give a glimpse of students' internal knowledge. This is especially salient for SHL speakers as their historical, political, cultural, social, environmental, and economic situation creates the performance of multiple identities with a range of heterogeneous lived experiences due to issues of class, citizenship, status, and space. Instead of merely looking at academic competencies, this study traces how language is used conceptually through various linguistic approaches that comprehensively represent HL students' writing style and ability.

English and Spanish Metaphors

While conceptual metaphors are taken from human experience, it does not mean that there is a universality to metaphoric thought and communication. Kövecses (2010) finds variation between cultures and how they conceptualize their metaphoric experience. Other researchers have used this distinction to compare languages and to find differences between culture and conceptual metaphors. In one investigation, it was found that Western cultures use bodily-based metaphors and understand KNOWING AS SEEING, while non-Western cultures also find SMELLING OR HEARING AS KNOWLEDGE (Caballero & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009). For example, 'I see what you mean' is a conceptual metaphor pertaining to KNOWING AS SEEING. When comparing English and Spanish, similarities appear such as ideas about death and dying (Marín-Arrese, 1996). This occurs as well in mind-body metaphors at higher-level mappings, however, when comparing sub-metaphoric categories, some differences occur. For example, while ENJOYING IS TASTING comes up in both languages, in Spanish the opposite also occurs where DISLIKING IS TASTING as well as KNOWING IS TASTING (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2002). Other differences have been found when describing gaudy colors in Spanish and English (Barcelona & Soriano, 2004). While one could think that conceptual metaphors related to the body should be universal, this is not always the case. A Spanish and English analysis of Head and Heart metaphors found that they differ in the types of expressions used (Al-Saleh, 2020).

Issues regarding metaphor and emotion have also been explored, finding connections between emotions and metaphors, as well as cultural differences (Kövecses, 2003). Many studies have examined emotions as sources of language variance. Concerning happiness, it has been found that HAPPINESS IS UP is found predominantly in English, but in Spanish, this framing is not realized (Hamdi, 2016). While conceptualizations of HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER are found across these languages, Spanish does not demonstrate these emotions as 'bursting' or 'overflowing.' Conversely, there are Spanish happiness metaphors not found in English such as HAPPINESS IS A PATH, or HAPPINESS IS A BUILDING (Hamdi, 2016). When speaking of Anger across languages, the container metaphor is still more salient in English while in Spanish ANGER IS A POSSESSED OBJECT occurs more in Spanish (Kövecses, 2015). Additional differences found demonstrate the container as 'steaming' in English, while no such mapping occurs in Spanish, however in Spanish the verb

'frying' has been seen to talk about anger (Barcelona & Soriano, 2004). Another example shows swelling with anger in Spanish, while in English you normally swell with pride (Soriano, 2015). Anger is a Devil also arises in Spanish and is not found in English corpora and may be attributed to religious connections in Spanish cultures (Soriano, 2003).

Specific Conceptual Metaphors

As we have seen, the war metaphor has been found in regard to bilingual education and Latinx immigration (Johnson, 2005; Pinero-Pinero et al., 2014; Santa Ana, 1999) and it is pervasive in our history and daily lives. It has been compared to the Hobbesian 'war of all against all' in our current media (Karlberg & Buell, 2005). In the US, this war has been declared on poverty, drugs, overpopulation, and terrorism to promote nationalism and the urgency of war (Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002). Lule (2004) notes that we also use this metaphor to speak about politics, medicine, sports, law, and business. Other combinations include the war on crime, the war on inflation, and even the war on cancer (Flusberg et al., 2018). This conceptual framing has also justified literal wars through the media. Lakoff notes "Metaphors can kill" and understands this metaphor to have been a way to promote the War in the Gulf as a just war (Lakoff, 1991, p. 5). He repeats a similar argument with the Iraq war seeing other metaphors such as A NATION IS A PERSON that is part of the war framing as one to protect (Lakoff, 2003). Flusberg and colleagues note the reasoning for the pervasiveness of this framing to be fourfold: First, the schema for a war is well defined, second, its knowledge is commonplace, third, many conversations topics mimic war and lastly, they are effective because they are predominant (Flusberg et al., 2018). However, these researchers question the effectiveness of such metaphoric framing that goes across so many domains (Flusberg et al., 2018; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002; Karlberg & Buell, 2005; Lakoff, 1991, 2003; Lule, 2004). Nevertheless, researchers have found that for very specific matters, these types of violent metaphors may be useful. For example, investigations have uncovered that when speaking of climate change, describing the issue as a war was far more motivating to human behavior than when it was portrayed as a race (Flusberg et al., 2017).

Another widespread and well-investigated conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A JOURNEY (A'Beckett, 2005). Within this frame, individuals maintain their personal identity by continuing a forward movement on a path that helps create a self-concept (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This produces a cognitive mapping of life events using the conceptual framework of a journey (Gibbs, 1994). This includes a combining metaphor that goals are destinations and therefore employing the journey metaphor suggests wanting to achieve a goal (A'Beckett, 2005; Grady, 1999). Keefer and colleagues find that metaphoric constructions including life is a path suggest uncertainty in the speakers' identity and future (Keefer et al., 2011). Other researchers note that this type of metaphor arises when the individual combines their life with an amount of time (Katz & Taylor, 2008). Furthermore, lower-level metaphors arise with the same format such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY or in our cases, EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY.

Conclusion

SHL literature has focused on students' proficiencies and competencies as part of a needs assessment to inform future pedagogical practice. Researchers have debated theoretically on how to further define this population as their bilingualism is so varied due to diverse socio-cultural and historical contexts. However, the various theoretical frameworks that view the HL as underdeveloped can adversely influence students' socio-affective needs. Here, an examination of linguistic ideologies that surround these students is required to further understand how they feel about their languages, and in turn, how to better help them acquire the academic registers and writing ability to equip them with the Spanish they need to communicate in a professional

environment. To this end, the study of metaphor within specific genres is useful to better understand how these learners conceptualize these types of beliefs and ultimately how it affects their language development as it may be positively or negatively impacted.

As seen through the relevant literature, conceptual metaphors have been explored within the language learning experience to be a significant linguistic tool to better understand student abilities. Through the examination of various genres, the students will have more flexibility in language style which creates a broader space for metaphor use to further explain their cognition through affective experiences. Previous studies (Kamberi, 2014; Masegosa, 2010) have examined foreign language learners and cross-cultural implications; however, the use of conceptual metaphors and HL speakers is yet to be fully mapped. For these reasons, the focus and purpose of this project is to fill the gap in the research relating to the use of conceptual metaphors in SHLL and SHLS within a US university context to better understand the cognitive development of our students.

The study of figurative language, and more specifically metaphor, within the SHLL and SHLS experience, is approached through critical pedagogy due to the multiple identities they exhibit as well as the intersectional context in which they exist. Critical pedagogical applications to further their development must also work interdisciplinarily and bilingually to display best practices. Within the often-fluid intersections of race/ethnicity, class/culture, gender/sexuality, and Spanish/English language, varied educational experiences create the demand for pedagogical practices that are cognizant of students' socio-affective needs (Guerra de la Torre, 2016). As issues of positive representation are prevalent, this scholarship chooses to privilege the voices of students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor through a genre lens, making connections with students' attitudes, ideologies, and language learning. The purpose of this chapter is to present a qualitative and quantitative research methodology to engage and document the conceptual language experiences of Latinx students at UC Merced, who are predominantly heritage language speakers. This approach connects students' linguistic profiles with their affective cognitive data through written texts. The primary components of this chapter's research plan include the methodology employed, student participants, procedures in collecting the data, method of analysis, limitations, and ethical concerns that should be considered when working with this specialized population.

The project presents a mixed-methods investigation to contextualize their written work to feature students' perspectives. This focus on multiple viewpoints is valuable to make connections between the students' lived experiences and conceptualizations of those experiences. Here, specific information about the student's language development in Spanish and English such as birthplace, first language, school, and community experience with Spanish as well as reasons to continue its use provides foundational data about this population. This demographic linguistic survey was used for the quantitative evaluation alongside a qualitative perspective on the students' bilingual writing, in Spanish as well as English. Other studies have explored demographic and biological information through these types of sociolinguistic surveys (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Valdés, 1997) but have not made an explicit connection to their language learning motivations nor the production of their written work in a contextualized way.

Spanish's academic culture of investigation has tended to focus on correct or incorrect language use (Rosa, 2016). This signals a need for research about SHL learners by SHL speakers. Many investigators have looked at these learners through a deficient lens of incomplete grammar (Montrul et al., 2008) focusing on differing grammatical concepts such as pronoun use, gender, and number issues, as well as tenses and moods. While furthering the linguistics field, teachers are othering students, creating a dichotomy of 'my Spanish vs your Spanish' and perpetuating the power dynamics that exist institutionally. To combat what Anzaldúa (1987) terms as 'linguistic terrorism' (p. 80), this study focused on the creativity of metaphoric use, rather than grammar.

The data included written English assignments from Chicanx classes and Spanish written assignments from Spanish linguistic classes. In the Chicanx classes, the primary instructor is a native Spanish speaker, providing the students with a multilingual space to speak about issues regarding Mexican populations in the US. However, the professor is not of Latinx descent. In the Spanish classes, the instructor of record identifies as a Latina, which provides the students with two individuals as a source of authentic cultural representation. Here, there is a clear modeling of conceptualizing cultural and lived language experiences in the input from the teachers that is demonstrated through the students' written output. Furthermore, more than 90% of students are SHL speakers or learners in the Spanish and Chicanx classes, creating a shared cultural community and perhaps a sense of belonging. This may foster a sense of belonging within the class environment as well as the school at large. In these classes, I seek to explore if a Spanish-speaking or Latinx instructor encourages language identity and reflection. Akin to ethnographic investigations or feminist theory, I strive here to acknowledge my positionality and be aware of the dynamics of power in the classroom. For these reasons, I would like to also recognize that my current theoretical framework is a direct result of living as a Latina born in the US.

The Logic of Inquiry: Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

This investigation includes a multi-genre approach combining biographical linguistic surveys and a corpus of various genre-driven assignments such as personal responses, narratives, expositions, reviews, and research papers. This methodological application of multiple genres provides a place for students to explore different types of spaces that may activate the student's use of metaphor and figurative language. The texts have been uploaded to a qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, and coded for metaphoric language. Descriptions of the four Spanish classes and one English class are included in the study. Also, the specific assignments will be explained and sorted by specific genres. These learners have been shown to explore their cultural identity by means of conceptual metaphors embedded in different writing styles. Studies have found that there is a connection between metaphor and culture. Littlemore (2008) finds that the cultural background of an individual affects the way they interpret metaphor. Kövecses (2003) demonstrates the variations of metaphor use through culture. Musolff (2017) shows that cultural cognition through collective and national identities is conveyed through conceptual metaphors. Examining separate sets of students through different measures and at several stages of learning helps educators get a distinct picture of how HL students conceptualize themselves and their learning experiences.

Quantitatively, this research plan provides a multi-faceted review through the genre of current figurative language abilities that can be found through the study of the HL speaker population in a Hispanic-serving university where more than half of the population comes from Latinx origin. Since the university accurately reflects the community at large, an analysis of the existing HL speakers using data from the university and the surrounding community is needed to better understand the actual HL or languages that are being used on campus. The sociolinguistic profiles of these HL speakers of Spanish uncover the linguistic developmental background of each student and will be able to help inform the field of HL education and future critical pedagogy. With this information, future HL instructors will be provided with an accurate needs assessment to better inform their teaching strategies, pedagogical practices, and curriculum development, as well as advise the administration for future HL programs.

Qualitatively, an examination of linguistic ideologies that surround these students is required to further understand how they feel about their languages, and in turn, how to better help them acquire the academic registers and writing ability to equip them with what they need to communicate in various environments. To this end, the study of metaphor within specific genres is useful to better understand how these learners conceptualize these types of beliefs and ultimately how it affects their language development.

Theoretical Framework

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), originally presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is applied to this study to uncover ideologies and attitudes the students embed linguistically into their written work. This project used the Metaphor Identification Procedure, explained by Pragglejaz Group (2007), in which the metaphoric quality of words is compared with their possible literal definition in the dictionary. As I became familiar with the corpus data through the theoretical coding of metaphoric expressions, I first applied an open coding strategy to identify the metaphors used by the HL speakers and then followed with a more selective coding that focused on the metaphors related to language and identity. Out of this process, a code tree was developed, refined, and reapplied.

Metaphor has been explored through genre-based material to display the flexibility of figurative language through text. For example, Semino et al. (2013) have found that metaphoric functions and meanings can change depending on the genre through an English-centered

investigation. Caballero (2011) explores English as a second language students within an architecture class and asserts that there are cultural dimensions to the use of metaphor, and it should be included in an English for Specific Purposes course. The texts analyzed are organized by genre, as proposed by Eggins (2004) within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), to find differences in metaphoric use across a variety of written spaces. Here, students engage in a range of genres to explore their use of figurative language as well as registers. This approach displays the use of figurative language through each type of assignment and helps demonstrate how genres influence metaphoric language.

A Genre Approach to Writing

In addition to metaphor theory, here I use a genre focus within the umbrella of the SFL approach. Within varying genres, students are given the space to explore different writing styles within familiar types of texts. Here, they can employ linguistic devices, such as metaphor and figurative language, within distinct genre-based assignments to differing effects. For these reasons, this project pairs Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with metaphor as a theoretical framework applied to SHL learners and speakers to uncover students' attitudes. I use the methodological tools in SFL to describe language to understand and analyze the multiple possible meanings layered in a linguistic text. Eggins (2004) demonstrates that SFL is useful in providing a schema that sees language as a strategic way of making meaning in a social context. Through the examination of genre, she established staged ways of achieving contextual language goals that can, in turn, be identified within the students' essays (Eggins, 2004). Through the analysis of the texts' genre and stages, the use of metaphoric language in conveying students' thoughts through their writing can be examined to provide insights into their academic and identity development. Colombi (2015) determines that SHL learners are a mixed group that needs opportunities to develop academic linguistic competencies in the target language and asserts that the application of SFL within current university programs can help HL students achieve cultural literacy and language awareness bilingually.

Derewianka and Christie (2008) use SFL for its potential in meaning-making regarding writing development in schools. Through a cultural context, they view genres as a social process to better understand students' attitudes or evaluations as it includes affective clues that correlate with emotional reactions. They further categorize genres through their use of common structures. For example, they define narratives, response, review, and research genres as sites for affective meaning-making (Derewianka & Christie, 2008). Schleppegrell (2004) looks specifically at the commonly school-assigned expository essays as a focus of writing development for advanced learners through personal, factual, and analytical lenses. For these reasons, the work of Derewianka and Christie and Schleppegrell informed the categorization of genres.

Recent scholarship has used differing writing genres as spaces in which metaphoric knowledge can be found. Caballero (2003) uses review genres to analyze the conceptual and image metaphors relating to architecture. Similarly, other researchers have looked at metaphorical expressions in documents related to medicine, politics, and parenting (Semino et al., 2013). Yet, researchers have overlooked metaphors used in various academic genres by language learners, and more specifically SHL speakers.

Guiding Questions

1. What are the sociolinguistic profiles of SHL speakers acquired through the demographic language survey and how do they relate to their perceptions of their identity, culture, and bilingualism?

2. How do these students conceptualize affective understandings of their identity, culture, and bilingualism through the use of metaphoric language within specific genres in their Spanish and English writing?

3. How can this conceptual and affective data inform both language pedagogy and academic institutions serving Latinx students?

These research questions are explored through open-ended qualitative data provided by the students in the form of homework assignments. These assignments create a space for students to explore through writing. It gives them the opportunity to practice their written Spanish and English as well as an area to produce conceptual metaphors. These metaphors are analyzed to better understand how students conceptualize their language experiences. These ideas can be considered and integrated into current and future language programs.

Research Design

Data collection used a mixed methods research approach to the written texts. The quantitative data supplied demographic and sociolinguistic information provided by the students in the form of a survey. The qualitative information was collected through students' homework assignments and coded for their use of metaphors within differing genres.

Participants

This project consists of the written work provided by 192 Spanish as a Heritage Language Speakers. These are students in Spanish and English classes at the University of California, Merced. Of these bilingual students, 106 were enrolled in Spanish classes and 86 were participating in a Chicano/a/x studies class. The Chicanx studies course is primarily held in English, with bilingual Spanish/English texts and the opportunity to write and speak in both languages. Not only does this provide a sample of the SHLLs at a rural institution, but it also represents the Hispanic-led demographic change that is occurring in California and eventually the nation.

All participants filled out a 45-question questionnaire centered on their linguistic history (see Appendix 1 Biographical Linguistic Survey). The demographic survey was first used to screen participants to be sure they met the selection criteria of being a Spanish Heritage Language Speaker. Secondly, the information solicited by the varying question types focused on demographical information, and past and present language use in different environments. The survey includes self-evaluation questions measuring the student's linguistic proficiencies in reading, writing, speaking, and listening in both languages on a scale, as well as their level of bilingualism on a continuum. Four of the questions were open-ended asking students to elaborate on their favorite language experiences, the reasons they are taking Spanish; explaining when they use Spanish and why it is studied, as well as their personal class expectations. This survey of the current UC Merced 2016-2020 cohort of Hispanic students was obtained to better understand the context surrounding SHL learners.

Research Setting

The data was collected in the form of homework assignments uploaded to a learning platform (Canvas) from 5 university-level classes: Four upper-division Spanish classes (Spanish 103: Composition and Conversation, Spanish 170: Spanish Linguistics, 175: Spanish in the US and 177: Sociolinguistics and Latino Health) and one lower-division Chicano/a/x Studies, CCST 60, a course taught primarily in English with bilingual texts. Demographic information was collected for

each course through a Biographical linguistic survey and this information helps give a representation of HL learners within this university context.

For this study, the data includes two different groups of classes, providing two corpus sets for each course as well as providing information on a four-year cohort of heritage language speakers from 2016-2020.

Introduction to Chicano/a/x Culture and Experiences (CCST 60) is a lower-division Chicano/a/x Studies course taught primarily in English with bilingual texts. Due to the combination of Spanish and English in the class, it can be taken as an English, Spanish, or Chicano/a/x studies course. Within this course, the written assignments include three 2-page reports, under the review genre, that summarize various chapters in the class textbook. Each chapter covered a topic within Chicanx studies such as social justice, language, education, religion, and economic class. Within these themes, the students integrated personal and class experiences that mirrored or paralleled the text's main ideas. Additionally, they are allowed to write in Spanish or English as well as given the freedom to use translanguaging practices. However, all students chose to write in English in their homework assignments and did not include many Spanish words in their texts.

Spanish 103: Composition and Conversation is an upper-division class that serves as a prerequisite for the some of the remaining upper-division Spanish classes. It includes two written assignments that use two genres. The first assignment is a 500-word open-ended narrative essay within the narrative genre, and the second is a general 600-word descriptive or argumentative essay in the exposition genre. As opposed to all the other genre-based assignments, while the narrative essay was open-ended, the students were asked specifically to integrate at least one metaphor. Here metaphoric language was directly elicited and graded for completion and creativity.

Spanish 170: Introduction to Spanish Linguistics, is an upper-division class that fulfills requirements for the Spanish minor and major. As an introductory course, it only includes one culminating open-ended research paper on a linguistic topic that involves Spanish speakers.

Spanish 175: Spanish in the US is an upper-division course that provides various writing opportunities through the narrative, review, personal response, exposition, and research paper genres. Assignments include 3 essays, the first a 500-word autobiographical linguistic narrative, the second being a 750-word exposition paper describing a linguistic landscape, and a final 1250-word research paper on a self-chosen sociolinguistic issue. Weekly written assignments involve 350-word reviews and 100-word personal responses in the form of blog posts (uploaded on a separate blogging site) about class readings.

The last upper-division and highest-level class in the sample is Spanish 177 Sociolinguistics and Latino Health. The course comprises a combination of lectures by the instructor in conjunction with a collective analysis and discussion of the assigned materials. This upper-division Spanish class culminates in a 1250-word research paper in which students interview an individual who has experienced language barrier issues in the healthcare system due to their limited proficiency in English.

The size of the corpus as well as the number of texts in each genre gives a larger sample size for a clearer picture of the SHL speakers and learners in a four-year university context. The data span for the typical four-year cohort of Spanish majors at the institution. These classes all count for the major and minor and follow a measured sequence from lower-division to upper-division courses to illustrate the progression of development of an SHL student. Each class has a writing focus, and the assignments offer the students a place to explore the cultural experiences that relate to class objectives. It also portrays the use of metaphoric language across classes and genres. The metaphoric language will be calculated out of 10,000 words to balance the comparison between both languages as well as the distinct genres and provide a more equal sample.

Table 1

Summary of Genre Categories

Genre	Function	Class
Personal response	Offer personal opinion	Span 175
Narrative	Narrate language history	Span 103/Span 170
Review	Summarize and context	CCST 60/Span 175
Exposition	Propose an argument	Span 103/Span 175
Research paper	Propose a scientific investigation	Span 170/Span 175/Span 177

Note. Modeled from Derewianka & Christie (2008); Schleppegrell (2004)

Data Collection

The bilingual corpus was compiled through genre-specific classroom assignments in both Hispanic-based English and Spanish classes through Canvas, an online learning platform. The primary data in the form of a bilingual corpus includes 336,400 words in both Spanish and English. The English corpus contains 142,500 words and the Spanish corpus has 193,900 words. There was a total of 650 student texts: 285 in English and 365 in Spanish. When categorized by genre, the sample comprises 348 reviews, 93 expositions, 93 narratives, 63 personal responses, and 53 research papers. A corpus of this size allows this study to provide a collection of data from a four-year cohort of SHL at a Hispanic-serving institution. This information can be considered at other HSI campuses as well as to advise universities that will experience the upcoming demographic shift.

Table 2

Corpus Size

Genre	# of texts	Approx.. word count	Language
Review	348	164,550	English (285 texts)/Spanish (63 texts)
Exposition	93	55,800	Spanish
Narrative	93	43,500	Spanish
Personal response	63	6,300	Spanish
Research paper	53	66,250	Spanish
Total	650	336,400	English: 142,500 words/Spanish: 193,900 words

Data Analysis

NVivo, a computer software that assists in qualitative data analysis, was employed to help with managing the data during the analysis process. Query keywords are used to compare metaphoric use. Content analysis regarding metaphoric usage is examined in the following stages through each genre: coding, classification, categorization, and scholarly review. Descriptive Data was gathered by observations without intervention. The data were prepared for analysis by removing identifying characteristics and were organized by genre (SFL). NVivo was used to code documents theoretically for any organic and unsolicited use of conceptual metaphor. Texts were coded to break them down into manageable and meaningful points of analysis. Coding was completed after the class finished to prevent any influence from the researcher regarding grading the assignments and lessen the impact of potential researcher bias.

A complete code included a full sentence categorized by the target domain as the grounding metaphoric frame. Target domains included topics relating to bilingualism, language, culture, identity, social justice, and education. Source domains were noted as conceptual metaphors and connected to the target domains through the description of a JOURNEY, WAR, NATURAL RESOURCE, TOOL, or VALUE.

For example:

"Aunque los Estados Unidos se ha convertido en un país multicultural, luchó por varios años para aceptar las diversas lenguas habladas."

Here the target domain would be bilingualism due to the reference to multiple languages within the US. The source domain war is due to the use of "*luchó*" as being a verb related to fighting. The conceptual metaphor is labeled as BILINGUALISM IS WAR.

A frequency count of various metaphoric words associated with this battle is displayed below in Table 3. It shows the bellicose language usually utilized in violent metaphor types.

Table 3
Word Frequency of Battle Metaphors

70	Dominar	9	Combatir	4	Defender	2	Armas	1	Trauma	1	Oponer
38	Enfrentar	8	Triunfar	4	Rendir	2	Atacar	1	Guerra	1	Tormento
28	Luchar	5	Vencer	4	Víctima	2	Proteger	1	Ejercer	1	Miedo
28	Forzar	5	Sacrificio	4	Sufrir	2	Resistir	1	Enemigo	1	Temor
22	Batallar	4	Pelear	3	Ganar	2	Encarcelar	1	Eliminar	1	Hirientes
21	Impactar	4	Empujar	3	Peligro	2	Capturar	1	Derrotar	1	Muerte
17	Contra	4	Conflicto	3	Amenaza	2	Dañar	1	Derrumbar	1	Oprimir
						2	Opresión	1	Ofensiva		

Another example:

"Me recuerdo al empiezo de **mi camino** en le educación bilingüe que en algunas meses podría hablar con mi maestra de español sobre cosas básicas."

Table 4 displays a frequency count of various metaphoric words associated with the journey to better understand the type of language students demonstrate within this figurative source domain. It presents the range of lexicons that students produce about culture and language as a journey.

Table 4
Word Frequency of Journey Metaphors

Jornada	1	Laberinto	1	Aventura	1	Viaje	3	Explorar	2			**8**
Barrera	272	Obstáculos	51	Impedir	9	Dificultad	7	Interferir	2			**341**
Seguir	52	Pasar	40	Continuar	23	Proceso	10	Progreso	6	Poco a poco	4	**135**
Adelante	21	Avanzar	15	Llegar	15	Superar	9	Sobresalir	5	Sobrepasar	1	**66**
Empezar	20	Comenzar	10	Iniciar	5	Metas	8	Lograr	7	Destino	2	**52**
Camino	25	Transcurso	6	Ruta	3	Rumbo	1	Lejos	4	Dirección	1	**40**
Años	20	Tiempo	16	Generación	1	Largo Plazo	1					**38**
Guía	11	Recorrer	3	Tropiezos	1							**15**
Retrasar	7	Atrás	11									**18**
Navegar	6	Manejar	2	Abordar	2	Mover	1	Saltar	1	Andar	1	**13**
Perder	9	Caer	3	Abandonar	1							**13**
Desvía	1	Declinar	1	Alejar	1	Ajena	1	Demora	1	Detuviera	1	**6**
Velocidad	2	Rápido	2									**4**

Conclusion

How students feel about the language will affect how they learn it. Therefore, by understanding the heritage speaker's beginning and development as well as their attitudes and perceptions in both languages, instructors can create innovative classes that account for their social-emotional as well as academic development. The use of metaphor within the academic genre is useful in both theorizing new frameworks as well as understanding our students pedagogically. The negative or positive values associated with their own ethnic identity as well as the attitudes surrounding the cultural community may have profound effects on student motivation as well as learning outcomes. These results provide important insights for educators to create and apply critical pedagogy. I seek to provide contextual real-world knowledge about the language behaviors, cultural social structures, and shared beliefs of Hispanics in the US. For these reasons, this scholarship chooses to privilege the voices of students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

"Bilingual Chicanx Students Writing in English" A Metaphoric Analysis

Introduction

This chapter aims to apply a holistic translanguaging perspective to HL research and highlight student voices in all their known languages, English, and Spanish. Intuitively, research has focused on HL in Spanish, and for good reason. Nevertheless, students engage with multiple languages and information can be gleaned from their cognitive conceptualizations through their English use. Concurrently with the accepted Spanish investigation, I include SSHLs who are participating in English-based courses at an HSI institution in Central California.

SSHLs have various reasons and particular spaces in which they may or may not choose to engage with Spanish. Latinx students who speak Spanish but choose not to take Spanish classes are an untapped resource of information regarding ideologies and attitudes towards the language and its cultural practices. While some Spanish classes provide spaces to explore personal language experiences (Magaña & Ramos, 2022), English-based curriculums in US institutions usually do not lend for this type of critical auto-linguistic reflection towards their HL. Yet, in a Chicanx class, where critical race theory is privileged, these types of conversations are encouraged and directly elicited through class texts, lectures, and discussions. This creates a location for exploring metacognition concerning their formative language and cultural experiences.

The mainstream pedagogical system that has affected Latinx and Chicanx students has influenced their language experiences in historically negative ways. Spanish programs in the US have had a competency focus, and approach to language teaching as remedial for SHLLs (Vogel & García, 2017). Some have even posed their writing as "backward" due to students' use of English grammatical constructions in Spanish writing (García, 2009). Others have designated their language competence as 'incomplete" when describing the acquisition of standard Spanish language features of SHLLs (Montrul, 2004). Investigators have displayed SHLLs communication as something to be fixed, further perpetuates harmful language ideologies, and linguistically marginalizes students from their own language. Furthermore, critical language theories signal that language is actively connected to aspects of the self (Anzaldúa, 1987). Additionally, systemic racism is also portrayed through language discrimination (Rosa, 2017). Therefore, this rejection of their own HL could produce affective and academic repercussions on issues related to identity. Magaña and Ramos (2022) highlight these perspectives as a demonstration of why some Latinx have a complex relationship with language and sometimes reject Spanish.

Nonetheless, only focusing on competency does not necessarily create performative gains. In the language classroom, formal and productive learning are privileged, ultimately devaluating receptive and informal learning activities. As many Latinx students have strong receptive bilingual skills, their strengths in the language are also depreciated. Spanish classes and textbooks focus on academic or standard Spanish, disparaging other dialects and language varieties (Burns & Waugh, 2018; Padilla & Vana, 2019). While English has classes such as 'English for Academic Purposes,' Spanish classes do not usually make this distinction and focus on prescriptivist formality at the cost of conversational communication. A standard Spanish pedagogical approach should not be at the expense of other genres, dialects, languages, and cultural practices.

Furthermore, Spanish educational spaces privilege vocabulary and verb conjugations that are frequently unfamiliar to US Latinx learners. For example, Ducar (2009) has found that textbooks frequently include grammatical constructions that are only used in Spain while linguistic features that are present in multiple Latin American countries are absent (e.g., *vosotros* vs. *vos*). Here, students of non-standard varieties are separated from Spanish, framing it as a "foreign"

language and further isolating heritage speakers (Alonso, 2007; Gruesz, 2013; Leeman & Martínez, 2007). While they may have communicative comprehension and be conversant in the language, they are further alienated through the pedagogy of academic Spanish.

Instructors place themselves as the gatekeepers of proper language, giving higher marks to those with verbal and written output while neglecting to consider receptive language skills. Cummins' (1982) iceberg theory presents several misconceptions about language learning and frames language knowledge as something that cannot be completely seen. There, the productive language is represented by the tip and is what can be seen over the surface. However, many processes that occur under the water's surface that may not be clearly defined by performance alone. The iceberg imagery can help understand translanguaging practices, where what can be seen in each language in production. Still, there are many linguistic processes taking place that cannot be easily perceived.

In the language classroom, multilingual students are not given a chance to use or put together all their language resources. To access this underused linguistic source, teachers can employ 'Translanguaging for Academic Purposes' and further foster motivation and create engagement at the whole student level. In other words, we can encourage them to be interdisciplinary in their communication. The critical personal reflective process is a way to access deeper competencies and is useful for the instructor as it can provide greater knowledge of the student population that is frequently understudied.

This chapter seeks to provide a space for the reflections of English Chicanx students on their lived language and cultural practices. These students are not usually included in SHLL research due to their English linguistic choices. Notwithstanding, they interact daily with the Spanish language and culture in multiple ways. In the literature review, I presented some of the ideologies that surround these students, through literature, education, and the media, demonstrating the metaphors by which these students live. Here, I offer a perspective centering on students' voices through the figurative language used in their English writing. This delivers a whole student translanguaging perspective that includes all linguistic competencies and provides a greater sociocultural context surrounding these speakers.

Chapter Framework and Methodology

The research questions posed for this project are repeated in each chapter, with differences related to focus. I revisit the questions keeping in mind the specific Chicanx context, and the genre employed through the incorporated texts into the course.

Chapter Guiding Questions
1. What are the sociolinguistic profiles of SHL speakers in a Chicano/a/x Studies course, and how do they relate to their perceptions of their identity, culture, and bilingualism?
2. How do these students conceptualize affective understandings of their identity, culture, and bilingualism using written metaphoric language within the report genre in an English-led Chicano/a/x Studies course?

These research questions are explored through open-ended qualitative data provided by the students in the form of homework assignments. These assignments create room for students to explore attitudes and ideologies through writing. It gives them the opportunity to contextualize class readings (i.e., Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera; Chicano Studies: Survey and Analysis* textbook) as well as an area to use conceptual metaphors to convey comprehension. These metaphors are analyzed to better understand how students incorporate class texts into their writing as well as how they conceptualize their language experiences.

Participants

The results of this chapter consist of the written work provided by 86 SSHL's in English. These are students in Spanish and English classes at the University of California, Merced, participating in a Chicano/a/x studies class. The Chicanx studies course is primarily held in English, with bilingual Spanish/English texts and the opportunity to write and speak in both languages. All participants filled out a 45-question questionnaire on their linguistic history. The demographic survey was first used to screen participants to be sure they met the selection criteria of being an SSHL. Secondly, the information solicited by the varying question types focused on demographical information, as well as past and present language use in different environments. The survey includes self-evaluation questions measuring the student's linguistic proficiencies in reading, writing, speaking, and listening in both languages on a scale, as well as their level of bilingualism on a continuum. Four open-ended questions asked students to elaborate on their favorite language experiences, why they are taking the class, when they normally use Spanish, and their personal class expectations.

Results from the survey showed that the English writing participants ranged from 18-22 years old, with the highest percentage being second-year students. Most participants were born in California, with almost 15% being born in Mexico. All claim Hispanic identity. Only two of the students noted that English was their first language, while the majority learned only Spanish first and about 20% had both Spanish and English at home as well as bilingual education in school. Most had the experience of taking a previous Chicanx class and language classes, but only one had previously taken a linguistic class.

Corpus Data

The English corpus contains 142,500 words with a total of 285 texts. The data was collected in the form of homework assignments uploaded to a learning platform (Canvas) from Chicano/a/x Studies, CCST 60, along with a biographical linguistic survey to represent HL learners within this university context. For this study, the data includes two different groups of classes, providing two corpus sets for the course. Introduction to Chicano/a/x Culture and Experiences (CCST 60) is a lower-division Chicano/a/x Studies course taught primarily in English with bilingual texts. Due to the combination of Spanish and English in the class, it can be taken as an English, Spanish, or Chicano/a/x studies course. Within this course, the written assignments include three 2-page reports, under the review genre, that summarize various chapters in the class textbook and make connections to other required readings. Each chapter covered a topic within Chicanx studies, such as social justice, language, education, religion, and economic class. The students integrated personal and class experiences that mirrored or paralleled the text's main ideas. During the second year, students were allowed to write in Spanish or English as well as given the freedom to use translanguaging practices. One student out of 48 chose to write in Spanish for one of their three assigned reports. Thirteen student texts out of 141 employed Spanish and English in their assignments, resulting in a 9% use. The next results chapter will focus on Spanish metaphoric use and translanguaging practices will be addressed in the discussion.

Results

A high majority of students included conceptual metaphors associated with their culture, language, and identity. At least one metaphor was used across 88% of the texts, with a range of 1-13 metaphors, utilizing 1-5 differing target domains throughout each document. A total of 799 metaphors were used in the 285 texts through the corpus of 142,500 words.

Most metaphoric conceptualizations were regarding personal cultural experiences 61% of the time, followed by general cultural ideologies at 35%, and language experiences were included 4% of the time. Conceptual metaphoric use includes the concept they are trying to reason as a target domain, and the source domain is the concept they are using to make the metaphorical connection. Students employed 76 conceptual metaphoric frames across 15 differing target domains. Students most frequently used metaphors regarding topics related to bilingualism with 11.8% metaphoric use, culture with 18.1%, education with 30%, and Spanish with 6.7% total use. Bilingualism is associated with 13 different source domains, culture is associated with 12 source domains, education is associated with 9 source domains, and Spanish is associated with 9 source domains. Next, metaphors associated with religion (6), English (5), language (4), and social justice (4) were employed less frequently. Assimilation (3), art (2), the border (2), healthcare (2), country (1), and money (1) were referred to the least in conjunction with the source domains.

When organized by the source domains, students denote 15 differing target domains through 20 distinct source domains. Most students associated the target domains with a journey demonstrating 34% use across 10 targets, a battle with 41% throughout 9 targets, as a natural resource 11% of the time through 7 targets, and as a container 5% across 5 targets. The target domains referring to gift, psycho-social value, and a tool were displayed across 5 source domains. References to a building, a game, and a person were seen through 4 source domains. Lesser used sources include the following: economic and personal value (3), a bond, comfort, or disease (2), and least associated were an object, a liquid, an animal, food, or a natural disaster with only 1 associated target domain (see Table 5).

Table 5

English Metaphors by Number of References and Frequency of Use by Percentage

Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use
1	Battle	325	41%
2	Journey	267	34%
3	Natural Resource	85	11%
4	Container	36	5%
5	Building	18	2%
6	Value/Success	14	2%
7	Bond	12	2%
8	Tool	12	2%
9	Gift	7	1%
10	Disease	7	1%
11	Animal	4	<1%
12	Game	3	<1%
13	Food	2	<1%
14	Liquid	2	<1%
15	Other	5	<1%
	Total	799	

1. Battle Metaphors

Students in the English data set used the Battle metaphor most often when speaking about culture and cultural experiences with a 41% frequency. In this case, the most used conceptual metaphoric construction included EDUCATION IS A BATTLE with 10.3% total usage. They depict Chicanx's educational experiences in terms of war and violence. In turn, they convey an

understanding of their own formative education, comparing it to other Chicanx students through time. This direct metaphor is shown in the following examples.

"Students had to *battle* to receive the same education as their peers." CCST-F18-149
"This chapter was a strong reminder of the *battle* that Chicano and Chicana students had to face in order to gain rights for their education. CCST-F18-221

Additionally, similar metaphoric language seen in the journey metaphor (i.e., obstacle and barrier) was combined with the educational battle. This displays creativity in mixing metaphors as well as the complexity surrounding past and current academic involvements.

"Graduating high school seemed like the biggest obstacle they had to overcome, but the biggest *battle* is the financial, cultural, and emotional barriers they faced once they are in college."

Other bellicose language describes the 'fight' and 'struggle' students experience in the university. Their conceptualization of education as violent represents not only the significance of education in terms of life and death, but as well as the extreme effort Chicanx students put into the school system. This also shows the dire consequences that result from engaging with academia under a systematically racialized US as an oppressed minority.

"Today, the *fight* continues, with Chicanos slowly lifting brick by brick the weight off their shoulders, hoping for a chance to stretch their arms out and grasp for a better future to ensure that the *struggles* of the past weren't all in vain." CCST-F19-314

"This was in the late 80's until the early 90's and made my classmates and I realize that we are still *fighting* for it in present time, just in a slightly different way." CCST-F19-231

Framing education as a "battle" and something that "we are still fighting" reveals the continuation of academic issues today. In this way, students relate past issues to their current situation, empathizing with the Chicanx students that searched for educational equality.

They describe the 'force' associated with the educational system as an actual force or something that forces them to do things they did not choose to do alone. The force describes the intensity of feelings and substantial power associated with the current mode of instruction.

"Even though education is a *force* meant to get rid of class barriers, it appears to be strengthening them instead." CCST-F18-340

"The exploitation of Mexican workers shaped the education system that Chicanos were *forced* into in later generations." CCST-F19-153

"Immersion was believed to be an important method when integrating immigrants into their educational system because the students were *forced* to learn what was being taught and if they didn't, they would fail." CCST-F19-234

Here, the Chicanx students are seen as the 'victims' in this war and they experience 'attacks' against an oppressor, placing themselves on the defensive. Students as the victims in a battle insinuate a designation of being unjustly hurt and being on the losing side of the educational war.

"Students who were Mexican continuously fell *victim* to the label of being "inferior."
CCST-F19-123

"Students that migrated into the states that seeked education and that were in emerging programs where unfortunately *victims* of segregation and did not receive the same level of education of those whom were native to the states." (*sic*) CCST-F19-247

"Not only were Chicana/o students feeling *attacked* but so were the rest."
CCST-F19-220

As a form of defense, they engage in 'combat' against localized schools and the whole educational system itself.

"Being a group modeled by a combination of both identities makes it difficult to *combat* and *advance* in the educational system." CCST-F19-233

"The *fight* for a brighter future then begun, and parents and children spoke up to *defend* their well deserved education." (*sic*) CCST-F19-354

Within this defensive position, students describe the type of defense that is enacted, including the specific armaments they employ.

"I mean it still happens today, everyone has a *shield up* that doesn't want to let down."
CCST-F18-350

The following EDUCATION IS A BATTLE examples portray the pain associated with the school system. They include words that transmit their feelings, the hurt experienced, and what expense these experiences incurred.

"A system built on racism, discrimination, and several faces of *hate and fear.*"
CCST-F18-115

"Those who *suffer* from any of these factors can face school failure, even when it is unintentionally." CCST-F19-116

"Chicana/o students *confronted* the injustices that were *inflicted* on their community by public school systems. CCS-F19-123

"Although she was able to get accepted do to the resources and guidance provided the *hardships* did not stop and it became a *struggle* for her to remain successful for the remainder of her college years." CCST-F19-149

"What happens when these basic actions become so prejudiced that a whole generation of children's education gets *damaged*?" CCST F19-314'

"As a minority in the United States myself, I have endured the *struggles* and *sacrifices* education has made me go through over the course of my educational years." CCST-F19-325

"These students solely wanted education not *eradiction*." (*sic*) CCST-F18-324

Further danger and fear are conveyed by the language related to fire, bombs, and killing as well as the oppressors malice towards the situation. The overall gravity of the educational experience is exhibited through such weighty and descriptive language.

"This is how educational barriers *exploded* all around the United States, especially in California." CCST-F18-158

"This ultimately *sparked* many people to stand up and *fight* for what was right." CCST-F19-250

"When DeParle delves into their stories, however, what he finds is the aftermath of the *carnage suffered* by the three girls who took "a leap [to college] that they braved without a safety net." CCST-F18-354

"Racism and segregation were clearly seen and felt in schools, and under the concept of "separate, but equal ", *corrupt* society was able to get away with such *cruel psychological torments* that only *triggered* one to want to quit and drop out." CCST-F19-354

The inclusion of explosions, carnage, and cruelty present the negative and harmful experiences related to the Latinx school experience.

Within the metaphoric frame of battle, the students connected a sense of violence to their individual existence as Latinx and the social justice issues that affect the whole community. Conceptual metaphors include CULTURE IS A BATTLE and SOCIAL JUSTICE IS A BATTLE most frequently. Here, they included words associated with being a threat, targeted, and attacked. The direct metaphor using the word battle was not employed as often as with education, but there are a couple of specific examples,

"Chicanos have *battled* to demonstrate their pride in their cultural background." CCST-F18-240

"Mexican-American individuals constantly *battled* the *struggle* between who they were (Mexican) and who they were suppose to be (American)." (*sic*) CCST-F18-240

However, students frequently mentioned the 'fight' and one student included it as the title, "The *Fight* to be Chicano" (CCST-F18-149). Additionally, they include 'struggles' with more frequency. They mention being 'attacked' and 'targeted' for their cultural background.

"The Hispanic community is always being *attacked* and it seems that they are always *struggling*." CCST-F19-141

"The minority community is being *targeted* and encouraged to eliminate their cultures core values." (*sic*) CCST-F19-256

Four examples used 'threat,' half communicated the threats Chicanxs face and half showed how they have been seen as a threat.

"Although more representation of Chicano scholars and the debunking of stereotypes have been achieved in modern day society we still *faced threats*." CCST-F18-121

"The Chicano community can be easily viewed as a *threat* for many politicians." CCST-F19-256

Students expressed the use of 'force' against the cultural group. The following example portrays the fear and shame that comes with such force.

"And the fact that because of that they would be *forced* to start thinking of how they could change themselves to the point where in one part of the chapter it says how people began to become "closet Mexicans" people who were either *afraid* to say they were Mexican because they felt *ashamed* or because they were so desperately convinced that they should be anything but Mexican that it *forced* them to *hide* a huge part of their identity." CCST-F19-329

Students also express how Mexican Americans have been shown as a dangerous enemy.

"Not only minorities are being *targeted*, but the American government is *demonizing* immigrants in order to justify their actions against them." CCST-F18-138

"Mexican Americans weren't even allowed to learn about their history due to the *demonization* of their people." CCST-F18-138

"Mexican children were seen as *dangerous*, they believed that they had to be contained before they created "cultural disintegration". Many schools started using that reason in order to justify the segregation that they were causing." CCST-F19-250

While acknowledging discrimination and condemnation, some show Latinxs as the victors or recognize the progress they have made in the fight as well as distinguishing safe places.

"The option to freely convert has created a sense of *rebirth* and has allowed the Latino/a community to take part of the immigrant experience; as well as has allowed them to separate themselves from past *struggles* and *condemnation*." CCST-F19-352

"In the Mexican community, the "barrio" served as a *refuge* from prejudice and discrimination." CCST-F18-129

"Despite their few *victories* Latinas still face oppression and continue to *struggle* not just for representation but for recognition/respect as well." CCST-F18-150

"Stereotypes and derogatory behaviors tend to diminish and in many cases overshadow their achievements never giving Latinas the chance to enjoy their *victories*, however big or small they may be." CCST-F18-150

The battle has been portrayed as Anglo against the minority culture or vice versa, but also the minority culture against itself. In the following examples, students use the word 'trap' to show this difference.

"This program provided support such as hospitals, clinics, kindergartens, and along side a school all set up to *trap* these Mexicans." (*sic*) CCST-F18-238

"As talked about in class, Chicano/a culture expects women to be a certain way and continually *traps* them in these cultural traditions." CCST-F19-238

Regarding gender, they also express issues relating to intersectionality and how individuals within a culture may be seen as enemies as well for not following cultural norms and expectations.

"The development of Latina politicians helped serve as a way to dismiss the double standard that most Chicanas are *chained down* by and create a way for many Chicanas to follow a path that they seek to walk down themselves." CCST-F18-212

"It's true that Latina politicians and officials have endured many complex barriers such as the traditionalism that their culture *pushes down their throats,* or the stigma of them being inadequate as leaders, yet they continue to advocate for equality and justice which has significantly impacted minorities of all ethnic backgrounds." CCST-F18-222

The concept of betrayal came up in educational references, where students were seen as betraying their families when deciding to continue the academic path. A similar betrayal is seen below, but with reference to Anzaldúa and her assertions against the patriarchal society.

"Bianca came across a problem many hispanics can relate to which is staying home because they don't want to feel that they *betrayed* their family which is another thing that I can relate to." (*sic*) CCST-F18-340

"The people in their own community were the ones that were *betraying* them, their ones that turned against them." CCST-F18-348

"This reminded me of Anzaldua's "*la cultura que traiciona*" because in many instances it is our own culture that *betrays* us and makes things more difficult." CCST-F18-357

"The two events mentioned capture the reality that Mexicans have always *fought* to bring justice." CCST-F19-111

"However, Mexican American's were the ones who started and lead the *fight* for equality." (*sic*) CCST-F18-250

The idea of 'force' replays itself through language learning in English and in Spanish. Here students also state the role that language plays in identity and how this force away from their native language kept them from their true identity. They portray the 'suffering' caused by this forcefulness in education.

"This topic of segregation affected Mexican Children greatly because they were thought to be more suitable for labor work with their abilities undermined and placed into segregated schools being *forced* to learn English." CCST F19-252

"My elementary school also played a big role in disconnecting me from my roots, being *forced* to only talk English never Spanish through my elementary years *pushed* me further from who I really was." CCST F19-345

"It was accomplished by *forcing* Mexican children to feel negatively for speaking Spanish or even *suffering* consequences like detention for communicating in their native tongue." CCST F19-151

Also, the idea of bilingualism was placed in this state of violence. Examples show that the language use of Mexicans was seen as a 'threat' or 'target' to be 'attacked' and in some cases 'obliviated.'

"The biggest *threat* was language because it was considered the main epitome of culture." CCST F19-353

"Language encapsulated a complex pedagogical equation for the education of Mexican children, therefore it was *targeted*." CCST F19-253

"Not only was bilingual education *attacked*, but also school finances were being lowered, affecting this particular community." CCST F19-338

"The commence of Americanization for the Mexican children was to *obliviate* any bilingualism within the environment of schools." CCST F19-153

The idea of identity resurfaces through the battle metaphors. Here identity is seen as a 'struggle' as the imposition of American culture has been seen ideologically as paramount. There continues to be a 'fight' in the Chicanx experience. Their means of survival is only present through fighting. They express a rupture caused by the tearing apart of their identity, producing fear of being targeted for being Hispanic.

"Mexicanos *struggled* in being able to keep their identity when all they were taught was American culture and how to become more American." CCST F18-128

"Chicanas were able to reclaim a past, market their experiences, and establish solid identities for themselves in the *fight* for chicano visibility." CCST F19-118

"Not only did this cause a change in values for many individuals, but it caused a whole identity crisis within the cultural mindset of this group that was only able to *survive* through those that *fought* against their *domination*." CCST F19-131

"The Hispanic community was *torn* from their self-identity and lived in *fear* these laws were *targeted* against them and were anti-Hispanic." CCST F19-344

2. Journey Metaphors

Secondly, the most common conceptual metaphor was that of a journey with 34% frequency of use. Within this category EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY was employed 15% of the time. Other mentions include a 'trail', a 'track', and a 'venture' with 'goals' and 'guides'. Further

incorporated lexica that denote a journey included path or pathway. These student samples connect the educational path with something connected to the future or success. For example,

> "As a result of groups like MEChA and the Brown Berets more chicanx were able to attend college because of the *pathway* that activist students *paved for the future*." (*sic*) CCST-F18-226

They are also related to this path as being 'right' or the 'right' direction et al. as being the 'wrong' one, as demonstrated below.

> "I am my parents pride and joy since I am the first to go to a four year institution in the family however coming to the University being a first generation student I was constantly feeling *lost* and *out of place*, having no one to *guide* me towards a righteous *path*." (*sic*) CCST-F19-229

> "Overall all of their lives went to a *wrong direction* and they are just trying to pay off all the debts they have from college." (*sic*) CCST-F18-350

The journey is often described in terms of the type of transport they may use for a trip. For instance, students describe travel associated with a motor vehicle as there is a 'road' and it is 'paved' with 'milestones.' Additionally, they use the verb "drive" linked to the college experience. Others speak of 'steps,' a 'run,' or wanting to be on 'equal footing.' For example,

> "I want to do something better with my life than to follow in my parents' *footsteps*." CCST-F18-248

> "As a Mexican American first generation student, I was expected to fail at school. My family (excluding my parents) all thought I was going to follow in the *footsteps* of my cousins." (*sic*) CCST-F19-345

> "The chapter details the struggles that Mexican children faced in getting a proper education that could give them an *equal footing* in society as their Anglo counterparts and the efforts undertaken by the Anglo administration to ensure that Mexican would not be afforded the same opportunities as their Anglo children." CCST-F19-154

Students demonstrate their personal perception of progress through the distance they could achieve. At times their steps can be small or taken one at a time, showing the writer's ability to understand the processes that are involved in learning and reveal their ability to employ executive functioning skills. Other times, the steps are unattainable and signify a large change, as shown in the following.

> "A better educational system is a great way to motivate the child into becoming better and doing it one *step* at a time." CCST-F18-338

> "All three girls had an educational bright future before heading into college, but things took a ***turn*** when leaving home became too much and like a *step* from a different planet." CCST-F19-325

A couple of students related to water as being part of the journey. They use words like with 'stream,' 'swim,' and 'sink' in their responses, which may signify a feeling of being out of place in an ecosystem that was not created for them. This type of language expresses apprehensions about failure in the educational system.

> "If there was a student that belong in the middle class then you are sorted out into the "right" *streams* or *track* of education." CCST-F18-251

> "It creates a *sink or swim* type of education, where they just hope the student will *catch up* and learn the language with some assistance and if not, well the student will just *fall behind* and have a harder time in school." CCST-F19-212

> "Mexican children were Americanized by *dropping them in* school and having them *sink or float*." CCST-F19-356

Additionally, there were mentions of climbing and ladders, displaying the common metaphor that 'up is good' and that there is a difficulty in reaching that high accomplishment. This denotes a rise that is associated with higher education and the opportunities it produces.

> "With more access to education and different opportunities, Chicanx students are starting to *climb the ladder* and get to places where we are not supposed to be." CCST-F18-226

> "Their stories and struggles is what many first generation low- income chicano/a/x college students endure as they *climb the educational ladder.*" (*sic*) CCST-F19-138

> "As a college student myself I understand the *struggle of trying to reach the top of the academic ladder*, and to be frank at times it seems impossible." CCST-F19-331

> "These girls had a though household life as growing up. In Galveston, Texas, three low-income girls named Melissa, Bianca, and Angelica faced an *uphill climb* at Ball high School by failing to graduate on schedule." (*sic*) CCST-F19-336

The metaphoric framings related to the journey show the problems and worries students experience with academic progress. Here the word 'obstacle' can be found frequently and was connected to a high quantity through adjectives like 'full,' 'a lot,' 'major,' 'large,' and 'big.' Students described these as 'burdensome,' and something that was 'endured,' indicating the significant consequences that occur when students are confronted with educational hindrances, as shown in the following,

> "Their stories and struggles exemplify the kind of *burdensome obstacles* that may *lie in the path* of poor chicano students." (*sic*) CCST-F19-137

Only a few students included 'facing' or 'overcoming' such struggles. The most constructive example acknowledges obstacles but shows the ability to get over them.

> "These obstacles can be just a *bump on the road* that some learn how to get around like in the case of melissa who faced many challenges during her college *venture* but was able to succeed." CCST-F18-323

Nine instances include mention of 'barriers' in terms of social class, emotional, financial, academic, and language issues that can ultimately affect educational attainment. Here, students were more likely to 'face' and 'overcome' such instances with words like 'tackle' or 'break' to show their ability to surmount these trials. For example, one student writes:

> "I felt proud of myself that I did not give up or let any fears and *barriers* stop me from putting myself into the *right path* to academic success." CCST-F19-229

However, in one instance, the student reveals the lack of effective transitional bilingual education due to being a monolingual Spanish speaker. Here the language barrier was impenetrable until the acquisition and comprehension of the English language.

> "A personal experience of mine regarding segregation was when I was in first grade, I had a bilingual class but then got moved to an all English class for second grade and Spanish classes were no longer available, creating an *impermeable barrier* between us and our education until we learned English." CCST-F19-349

Furthermore, one student explained these types of impediments to be an actual boundary. They use words like 'detained' and point to the 'border' as a hindrance. The words employed in this metaphor evoke ideas related to the US/Mexico border, showing connections between the educational system and the immigrant experience.

> "This described that in an area of learning and encouragement, there still are some *borders that detained* student to be success in school and reserve a high education." CCST-F19-254

The verbiage used frequently indicates their positionality in the journey. This includes positive connections like, 'catching up,' 'moving forward,' and 'pushing through.' Others noted 'getting lost,' 'falling behind,' 'falling short,' 'going downhill,' 'downward spiral,' and 'being behind.' Some also alluded to their relationship with their family and its effects on education. They showed the responsibility an individual feels towards their family as they feared leaving them to pursue a higher education.

> "As Deaparle has touched on in this reading, feelings of guilt arise when wanting to *leave family behind* or asking for financial support when wanting to get a higher education." CCST-F19-334

> "I almost didn't take UC Merced acceptance to go to a school close to home due to feeling like I was *leaving my family behind.*" CCST-F19-340

Students demonstrated their creativity as well as the importance they put on education with grandiose language associated with their academic travels. For example,

> "There, they all shared one goal which was to "get off the island" – to *escape* dead-end lives and obtain a college degree." CCST-F19-340

> "Education was supposed to be the *escape route* for all low-income individuals but since "the poor get poorer and the rich get richer" education is actually in widening this gap in education between the poor and rich [sic]." CCST-F19-340

"Several reasons contribute to why their college *journey* was a *rollercoaster*." CCST-F19-121

"I just think about how the hell *I made it here* when I am a low-income person, with very low resources given to me when I went to school." CCST-F18-350

"To wish for equality within the Chicano/a(s) community and *education has become a shooting star that never travels the sky*. We are left with the need of change." CCST-F19-338

These examples reflect feelings of difficulty and magnitude related to the educational experience. The relation to school and a "shooting star" demonstrates apprehension towards the unknown and perhaps something that was not designed for them in the first place. Relating college to a "rollercoaster" presents a fast-moving journey with many ups and downs. The view correlating education with an "escape route" associates a sense of freedom with a university degree. They show their extreme struggle by comparing the journey with 'hell,' and the surprise that comes with that perseverance.

English and Spanish became part of that journey where the students express the barriers that language can create. However, in the last example, the student presents Spanish as a guide in bilingual attainment.

"Language can be a *barrier* for many Latinos, most don't understand English." CCST F19-322

"Spanish also becomes a *barrier* when it comes to going in for appointments." CCST F19-228

"Educators had to ban the use of their native language to force students to learn English, rather than implementing an additive strategy that could use Spanish as a *guide* to learning English, all in order to rid these kids of their culture." CCST F19-345

On one hand, bilingualism is itself seen as an obstacle to the language learning journey. On the other hand, bilingualism can help students keep up on that journey.

"The use of Spanish was prohibited among Mexican students and was used as a way to justify school segregation as bilingualism was seen as "unAmerican" and an *obstacle* for learning." CCST F19-157

"However the chapter's discussion is different from what has been reviewed in class, in lectures we have focused on language being the *barrier* children face in American schools as the education system wants immigrant children to focus on the english language rather than accommodating bilingual teaching programs to help immigrant children *not fall behind* and feel discouraged from taking pride in their language and native culture." (*sic*) CCST F19-213

Identity itself was also viewed in terms of a journey where Chicanas experienced many barriers in identity creation.

"Chicana artists must overcome *barriers* such as traditional beliefs, oppression, social critiques in order to create an identity." CCST F18-327

3. Natural Resource Metaphors

The third most common metaphoric construction was that of a Natural Resource with an 11% total use. Students wrote about their culture as something alive that could be wasted, removed, forgotten, or even die. The most common reference integrated the idea that culture is a plant with roots. Following the nature frame, reflections noted culture as retainable, reclaimable, sustainable, and survivable. Also, culture could be maintained and preserved, conveying the idea of possible decomposition, while affirming their commitment as cultural caretakers. They speak of being the keepers of culture and cultural knowledge. As an important resource, it is held on to, kept, and passed down to other generations.

There was a noteworthy juxtaposition between the possession and dispossession of culture that depicts the students' awareness and ultimately uneasiness with cultural loss. Under the natural resource frame, affirming statements regarding culture were used 39% of the time, while disaffirming accounts were noted with a 61% frequency. Students' discomfort with the loss of culture was described as forgettable, erasable, or erodible. More specifically, they portrayed cultural knowledge as something that has been lost or could be lost. In other reports, there is an agent that abandons, leaves, rejects, or ignores cultural beliefs, while another agent could take them away. Further worry is demonstrated with the elimination, diminishing, dismantling, and rupture of cultural groups.

Examples include,

"Mexican women *kept their culture alive* and they passed it down to their children as well." CCST-F18-117

"She thinks that by becoming educated that she would be *leaving the roots of her culture, the very roots that were planted by her family* and by leaving she would no longer be connected with them." (*sic*) CCST-F19-137

"Thus, leading to their traditions, customs, and celebrations being *transplanted* into that area." CCST-F19-342

The use of roots to describe identity is common within this group of students. They connect these roots to their identity and explain how Americanization intends to purge them from that connection.

"Their justification for using women and children to try and assimilate Mexican immigrants into the culture was the idea that women had a big impact on how traditions and culture continued and by dismantling this made it easier to try to get *rid of ones roots* and create a whole different identity with being solely American." CCST F19-234

Spanish is also seen as a natural resource through its ability to be disposed or eliminated. Conversely, it also can be maintained and passed down to future generations.

"However, this often has consequences because it deprives one from their first language *disposing* of their Bilingual identity." CCST F18-236

"By maintaining attending events, such as the services in Spanish, they were allowed to speak in their native language, feel more at home, and teach the younger generations how to *maintain* their language." CCST F18-341

"American schools believed that *eliminating* spanish was a step closer to getting *rid* of children's backward culture so when students would speak spanish they would be punished, they had no other option but to speak english to stay silent." (*sic*) CCST F19-312

4. Container Metaphors (5%)

Container metaphors are presented by likening the culture itself to a container that fits certain types of people. Frequently each culture is presented as its own container where students can be placed in the middle of both, unable to fit into either one. Others show their bicultural ability to be able to live in both cultural containers.

"They are *stuck in the middle* of both cultures trying to find themselves." CCST F18-129

"We as in Chicano/as have two cultures in which we were born and raised *in*." CCST F18-152

The concept of 'fitting in' is shown as a difficulty, especially in a culture that is not their own. Here, there may be molds within the container that one is expected to fit into.

"Regardless of where the person comes from, they will still have their own culture within them, though they are trying to *fit in* a new one." CCST F18-129

"If she *didn't fit into the molds society* and her family had placed for her then she was seen as a disgrace—a fallen woman." CCST F19-239

While some show the ability to be able to live in both cultures, albeit with difficulty, others describe being left out of said container. In other instances, there are containers within containers where certain cultures are kept separate from the larger culture. Also, there are requirements for fitting in, in one example the loss of identity is one of them.

"It is hard to be part of the culture that is blood while trying to be part of the culture of the country that you are *in*." CCST F19-137

"They may feel *left out*, this can be due to the fact that many first-generation college students are from low income families, which includes many minorities." (*sic*) CCST F19-144

"Segregation was required in order to educate at the ability Mexican children needed, but in reality they just wanted to Americanize them and keep them in their own *little bubble*." CCST F19-253

"Ironically, the only way for minorites to *fit in*, was for them to lose their identity through the censored education they received half way through." (*sic*) CCST F19-354

5. Building Metaphors (2%)

Culture and identity were shown to be like a building with the use of construction terms. In the following examples, students show that identity can be assembled and culture as well as cultural knowledge can be built.

> "I have come to understand that Mexicanos are able to prosper in this land without having to change their identity because we have *assembled* our own identity through and because of our ancestors." CCST F18-128

> "They are constantly judged about how they aren't enough for either culture, so they have to *build* their own." CCST F18-129

> "As a child is brought into this world, they must start from *building* their first layer of knowledge." CCST F19-240

Once built, this concept of culture as a building can be retained to help maintain cultural ties. Nonetheless, it also could be dismantled during the efforts of Americanization.

> "Overall, confronting the ideology of Americanization brings to light the concept of immigrants and children being picking, *retaining*, and creating a distinctive cultural form." CCST F18-129

> "Their justification for using women and children to try and assimilate Mexican immigrants into the culture was the idea that women had a big impact on how traditions and culture continued and by *dismantling* this made it easier to try to get rid of ones roots and create a whole different identity with being solely American." CCST F19-234

6. Value/Success Metaphors (2%)

Psychosocial, personal, and economic value is placed upon culture and educational attainment. Students explain that the cultural and educational struggle, while difficult, will be worth something in the end.

> "The life of Mexicans, Chicanos, Latinos, and migrants in general is not easy, but it is *worth it*." CCST F18-154

> "But all of the struggle that I am going through will be *worth it* at the end when I get my degree and I will have a better life." CCST F18-350

In terms of education, students see its economic value by using the metaphor related to 'opening doors' for success or opportunities.

> "A college degree is an investment to a brighter future because it *opens new doors* for high paying job opportunities and networking." CCST F18-243

> "To many first-generation children, education *opens many doors* to new opportunities." CCST F18-345

7. Bond Metaphors (2%)

Unlike container metaphors that tend to separate cultures into separate boxes, bond metaphors allow for a connection between those cultures. Students express this ability by seeing opportunities for cultural fusion (when outside circumstances allow) or the capacity to intertwine cultural aspects.

> "Americanization" did not allow a *fusion* of two cultures, but a rejection of one's own culture. CCST F18-143

> "This process manufactured two different cultures to *intertwined*." CCST F18-331

Within the home, they demonstrate cultural connections through bond metaphors. Here, they display the women as glue in the household dynamic. Other examples include the idea of strings that tie or knit to keep family members together culturally.

> "Even my own mother does this, when she talks about how a family is so perfect she gives the women all the power because the women is the *glue* to a household." CCST F18-241

> "While Latinx family life is very *close knit*, it is in constant danger of being Americanized by the next generation." (*sic*) CCST F19-230

> "Familial *ties* are what *hold* Latinx households together." CCST F19-230

When speaking of the past and cultural knowledge, they see this as a bond or connection that ultimately unites them.

> "Once Chicanos/as are able to learn history of their own culture, their *bond* with their cultural identity can grow stronger." CCST F19-120

> "As a Mexican, family is very important because they help us *connect* to our past and *unite us*." CCST F19-127

8. Tool Metaphors (2%)

Tool metaphors were prevalent when speaking about education and language ability. They likened these factors to a key when dealing with issues related to equity and inclusion in education. This key could be seen as an extension of metaphors that include the opening of doors.

> "In connection to this, we discussed in class how improving one's educational level and language skills is the *key* to attaining a higher and better paying job in the U.S." CCST F18-246

> "Bilingual education was seen as the *key* to equal education, but it caused social tension." CCST F19-323

Others described educational access in terms of a tool, denoting that there are 'right' tools or 'best' tools when it comes to success.

"By having the *right tools* and a class where they could feel relatable made a difference." CCST F18-338

"At the end of the day informing yourself is the *best tool* to have." CCST F18-338

"Education is a powerful *tool* people can use to teach others or to receive important information. Education should be a *tool* to lead young children into a better and more stable life." CCST F19-254

9. Gift Metaphors (1%)

While not a gift that is actively received, students portray the lack of gifts that are proportioned to Hispanic individuals. In this example, they show the continued difficulties that are experienced even though strides have been made in terms of segregation.

"Even though segregation no longer exists, it is not all sunshine and *flowers* for Mexican, Chicano, and Latino students in general." CCST F18-154

10. Disease Metaphors (1%)

Students gave examples of negative ideologies that surround the Mexican-American experience through conceptual metaphors related to disease. While not espousing such attitudes, they are aware of the language used to describe immigration and immigrants. Examples include posing individuals as diseased with no cure. They also display the fears of immigration with the spread of these maladies. The border itself was seen as a place for infection and it needed to be cleaned. Additionally, children were demonstrated to be defective with the further need to cleanse them of their cultural flaws.

"Mexicans were idiotically seen as a sort of *disease* that once spread had *no cure*." CCST F19-132

"This law was created to help with the issue of immigrants invading Arizona and being a threat, it would control and *cleanse* the border." CCST F19-237

"They felt like the Mexican children had to be *cleansed* of their cultural defects before they can attend an anglo-American school." CCST F19-250

"Many schools in the United States segregated Mexican children in order to *cleanse* them from the defects that their culture had placed on them." CCST F19-312

11. Other Metaphors (<1%)

Moreover, there were some other metaphoric types that did not show up in terms of frequency but are noted as all voices should be included in this type of analysis. Within these examples the target domains of culture and bilingualism are posed in terms of a game. Cultural comparisons denote feelings of negativity in regard to their position within such a game. Using language like "the shorthand of the stick" demonstrates their frustration with feeling like they are on the losing side of the game. Also, "the hand they were dealt" reveals concern with their starting place culturally within this country and how as individuals they are expected to remain in that place.

In this metaphor, it implies that the cards in the game were of low significance, perhaps suggesting similar feelings. The last example reveals the thoughts regarding the competitive nature of immigration where there is conflict between those who are actively migrating, and those who have already established themselves on the US side of the border.

> "It is crucial to note that different population groups such as the minorities usually receive the *shorthand of the stick* and have to deal with consequences that the individuals in the majority are usually more unsusceptible towards." CCST F18-142

> "Throughout the reading it becomes more and more prominent that the *hand they were dealt* begins to shape and determine *the hand* the world wants them to have for the rest of their lives." CCST F18-342

> "From all areas like border patrol (Homeland Security and ICE), those who cross the border, those who already live in the states, each are at odds with each other like *pieces on a chessboard*." CCST F19-214

Continuing with the game as a source domain, students express bilingualism in terms of such a game. They express the difficulty of language maintenance and language learning. Here there is a 'juggle' between both experiences, indicating never having both in use at the same time.

> "The importance of maintaining language, yet also learning English is especially important to Chicano/as who have an understanding of both, and *juggle* between these different experiences." CCST F19-243

Students repeated societal ideologies and attitudes to which they have been exposed by showing how the Latinx cultural individual has been likened to the non-human. They display how others have treated them like animals with 'bait' and 'lures.'

> "All this motive caught my attention and left me with no words, because these Americanization groups were here to give support that the government never really gave to hispanics at the time, and that's why most of these mexican communities fell for the *bate*." (*sic*) CCST F18-238

> "They *lured* the mothers with educational and health services for the family and the children were easy to *lure* and be smoothly introduced into Christian ways through snacks, games/activities and storytelling." CCST F19-349

> In other examples, they express animalistic ideologies that present the cultural individual as dangerous and uncivilized. These attitudes mimic previously seen sentiments portrayed by media outlets.

> "In addition, the American people felt threatened by the Mexican culture and its distinct values and beloved the if these values were to be *unleashed* in common society, they could pervert the American society as the Mexican society was viewed by many Americans as impure and not deserving of mingling with the "superior" American society." (*sic*) CCST F19-154

"The fear that had taken its roots in white culture was great, so great that there was a need to separate themselves from they saw as *savages*." CCST F19-337

In terms of social justice as a cultural experience, students portray the need for equality through the need for food. Their 'hunger' for just experiences shows a desperate need for equal freedom. The 'relishing' of social justice shows their determination in these sorts of political achievement. Receiving a 'taste' of justice gave individuals a new viewpoint and understanding of the inequalities they had experienced.

"In conclusion, Mexicans were belittled, and the impotence they felt angered them and made them *hungry* for justice." CCST F19-132

"Chicanas also *relish* political activism because they differ in thought in comparison to white, mainstream feminists." CCST F19-315

"In 1943 when the returning Mexican Americans returned from war they had a *taste* of equality because while in the war they were treated as equals and coming back to the conditions that they were living under they noticed the inequalities that their community was living under." CCST F19-343

Immigration has been frequently seen in terms of a liquid through media representations. This type of metaphor is repeated here, however without the negative connotations usually expressed by news broadcasts.

"The rapidly growing number of Latino/a Protestants is creating a *wave* across the nation." CCST F19-347

In our last example, this student communicates the fears that surround language maintenance. Here they display their Spanish as an object that could be damaged and ultimately 'broken.'

"My spanish became more *broken* my ways of communication with my parents changed." (*sic*) CCST F19-345

Chapter Discussion

The students in a Chicano/a/x course conceptualize in their writing many of the intersectional concepts not only presented in the course but also those similarly expressed by the disciplines related to Critical Race and Ethnicity as well as Chicano/a/x studies. They use figurative language in the form of metaphor within the academic genre to conceptualize their personal experiences and the experiences of others. It should be noted that students' metaphoric use sometimes resulted directly from the textbook as they summarized the chapter's context.

In their writing, personal and community experience is most referred to in terms of a battle and a journey, with some mentions of it as a natural resource. They pose cultural existence and maintenance as something vital and dangerous; it takes effort as well as time. Instructors can make the effort to recognize the cultural aspect when teaching these students. They convey their feelings towards the struggles and obstacles the community has endured in conjunction with their own life experiences. Their metaphorical connections also demonstrate their values, choosing to write about

issues related to culture, education, and social justice. A curriculum based on known values may help these students connect to class material.

Anzaldúa (1987) uses a hybridized metaphor regarding language and culture. She writes, "There, at the juncture of cultures, languages cross-pollinate and are revitalized; they die and are born" (p. 20). Here we can see similar framings where CULTURE IS A JOURNEY with the mention of a juncture, and CULTURE/LANGUAGE IS A NATURAL RESOURCE, as it relates to a living plant. While students did not use the Serpent and Eagle metaphors presented in Anzaldúa's text, they did associate with the plant. Interestingly, F. López (2017) makes a linguistic connection to the Nahuatl words of eagle and tree, which share a root stem (*cuauh*) and provide visual puns in Codex (p. 64). However, other Latinx authors, like Francisco X. Alarcón (2005), extend the root metaphor inferring those cultural roots can be folded up and carried with the person. This is like the idea students conveyed regarding roots being planted or transplanted.

Chapter Conclusion

This project begins to give a voice to heritage language speakers who have been previously marginalized due to culture as well as language. This study seeks to center English-speaking Chicanx students, who may not have had the opportunity or motivation to take Spanish classes, as they have been historically left at the margins of Spanish heritage language studies. By understanding the heritage speaker's beginning and development as well as their attitudes and perceptions in both languages, instructors can create innovative classes that account for their social-emotional as well as academic development.

The use of metaphor within the academic genre is useful in both theorizing new frameworks as well as understanding our students pedagogically. The negative or positive values associated with their own ethnic identity as well as the attitudes surrounding the cultural community may have profound effects on student motivation as well as learning outcomes. These results provide important insights for educators to create and apply critical pedagogy. Here, I provide contextual real-world knowledge about language behaviors, cultural and social structures, in addition to shared beliefs of Hispanics in the US. For these reasons, this scholarship chooses to privilege the voices of students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development.

Research on Spanish speakers and metaphor theory has been limited to studies in the heritage language and has yet to explore the language use of heritage speakers in their naturalized language, English. These types of students are normally left unstudied, and for these reasons, this project seeks to fill a gap in the research and begin a conversation that includes a more holistic approach to figurative language that considers heritage language speakers written metaphors in English as well as Spanish. This study draws on various linguistic approaches that give a clearer representation of heritage language students' writing style and ability to better recognize how language is used. The analysis of the texts' use of metaphoric language in conveying the students' thoughts through their writing can be examined to provide insights into their academic development. The overall goal is to inform the field of HL education and future critical pedagogy. With this information, future HL instructors will be provided with an accurate needs assessment to better inform their teaching strategies, pedagogical practices, and curriculum development, as well as advise the administration for future HL programs.

An interdisciplinary approach is crucial in reaching students who are on the margins. Therefore, this project employs various theoretical perspectives as a structural base. This includes frameworks from the more general Critical Race and Ethnic Studies to specific issues in Chicanx studies, as well as incorporating Spanish as a heritage language pedagogy with an applied linguistic lens. I explore the cultural and social formation of Chicanx Spanish speakers within the US.

Language has been used as a point of conflict against the majority as well as a space and place for possible resistance for subaltern, marginalized, and indigenous groups. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) expresses the irony that surrounding issues related to minority languages are often described in the words of the colonizing language. Their position relates specifically to Maori and English, nonetheless, these feelings have been echoed by other minority groups. Goeman (2013) notes that in the southern Americas, the language of the colonizers was Spanish but began to be replaced by English, resulting in compounding pressure for indigenous populations to assimilate to the global north standards. This idea can relate to various ethnic groups within the US, particularly the Hispanic population. They explore language as an external and internal struggle and suggest that this context results from settler colonialism (Goeman, 2013). Similarly, this concept could be applied to the Chicanx experience, albeit in the context of internal colonialism.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

"Spanish Heritage Language Learners' Spanish Writing" A Metaphoric Analysis

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Spanish language metaphors in students' writing and directly complements the previous chapter on English results to apply a translanguaging methodology in research practice in HL pedagogy. Previous research on HLL has been posed unidirectionally, focusing on academic competencies and student knowledge in one or the other language, only presenting part of the speaker's language capabilities. Historically, it started with the majority and, most recently, colonizing language as the target and shifted to prioritize the minority language from disenfranchised cultures. In this case, English is seen as a *de facto* language, and Spanish is the secondary language, while still having many speakers in the US context. The translanguaging perspective takes a step back from the fundamentally colonial linguistic-based separation to view language production as one cognitive system, therefore eliminating any perceived hierarchy between them. It should be noted that English and Spanish share colonizing experiences across cultures, but they maintain a distinct ideological classification in the US, in which there are hierarchies based on social power. By analyzing a Spanish corpus alongside an English one, the results should directly complement each other, instead of acting just as a supplement to the target language. These two chapters demonstrate a holistic and integrative approach to the student's linguistic competencies and all their language knowledge.

The current performance-based pedagogical system continues to affect these students and has influenced their formative language acquisition. Since language is tied to the self, educational experiences have academic repercussions. A refocus on purpose instead of solely academic skill helps alleviate the pressure and anxieties that stem from traditional pedagogical practice that linguistically marginalizes students of US Spanish dialects from their own language by privileging Castilian Spanish in foreign language textbooks. Systemic Functional Linguistics explores the specific functions of language within a genre. In this way, students are invited to use language in context instead of decontextualized rote exercises or other types of busy work. The value of the SFL approach is seen through the real-life use of text communications and allows students to draw from previous knowledge and language practices. Using SFL in language classes provides spaces for students to use Spanish in contextualized ways to explore personal language experiences. This supports students' metacognition and open reflection about lived cultural experiences instead of further perpetuating colonial norms through the traditional curriculum. The standard Spanish pedagogical approach should accept a variety of genres with authentic examples of dialects, languages, and cultural practices. Additionally, students of non-standard varieties must be accepted in the classroom, and in turn, actively included in the Spanish research dialogue.

Latinx students have a range of bilingual skills, they speak multiple dialects and language varieties in addition to translanguaging competencies. There are many linguistic processes taking place that cannot be easily perceived, and all language knowledge cannot be completely seen through the lens of one linguistic code. In the traditional language classroom, multilingual students are not given a chance to use or put together all their language resources when employing cognitive strategies. The interest in translanguaging seeks to promote motivation and create engagement at the whole student level to reach deeper competencies.

In this chapter, I center the voices of US Latinx/e Spanish speakers' use of figurative language in their writing. The focus on HL learners and speakers presents information on a lesser-studied multilingual and multicultural population that can benefit from a translanguaging research perspective. Keeping this in mind, I privilege the whole student with all linguistic competencies to

provide their view on lived sociocultural experiences. As such, this chapter is demonstrated in direct conjunction with the previous English chapter. In this way, readers are presented with a more detailed account of students' bilingual abilities.

Framework

The research questions posed for this project are repeated in each chapter, with differences related to focus. I revisit the questions keeping in mind the specific Spanish language context, and the multiple genres employed through the course map of a Spanish language track in the university system.

Chapter Guiding Questions

1. What are the sociolinguistic profiles of SHL learners in a series of upper-division Spanish language courses, and how do they relate to their perceptions of their identity, culture, and bilingualism?

2. How do these students conceptualize affective understandings of their identity, culture, and bilingualism using written metaphorical language within the various genres (i.e., review, exposition, narrative, personal response, and research paper) in courses in Spanish?

Methodology

These research questions are explored through open-ended qualitative data provided by the students in the form of homework assignments. These assignments create a space for students to explore through writing. It gives them the opportunity to contextualize class readings (i.e., peer-reviewed publications related to Spanish sociolinguistics in the US and upper-division Spanish textbooks) as well as an area to use conceptual metaphors to convey comprehension. These metaphors are analyzed to better understand how students incorporate class texts into their writing as well as how they conceptualize their language and cultural experiences.

Participants

This project consists of the written work provided by 106 SSHL's. These are students in Spanish classes at the University of California, Merced, participating in a series of upper-division Spanish courses (Spanish 103, 170, 175, & 177). The courses are primarily held in Spanish, with bilingual Spanish/English texts, and most allow for translanguaging in the classroom. All participants filled out a 45-question questionnaire on their linguistic history. The demographic survey was first used to screen participants to be sure they met the selection criteria of being an SSHL. Secondly, the information solicited by the varying question types focused on demographic information, as well as past and present language use in different environments. The survey includes self-evaluation questions measuring the student's linguistic proficiencies in reading, writing, speaking, and listening in both languages on a scale, as well as their level of bilingualism on a continuum. Four open-ended questions asked students to elaborate on their favorite language experiences, why they are taking the class, when they normally use Spanish, and their personal class expectations.

Results from the survey showed that the participants ranged from 18-25 years old, with the highest percentage being second-year students. Most participants were born in California, with some born in Mexico. All claim Hispanic identity. Only two students noted that English was their

first language, while the majority learned only Spanish first, a majority had both Spanish and English at home as well as bilingual education in school. Most had the experience of taking previous language classes, but only one had previously taken a linguistic class.

Corpus Data

The Spanish corpus contains 193,900 words with a total of 365 texts. The data was collected as homework assignments uploaded to a learning platform (Canvas) from various Spanish courses, along with a biographical linguistic survey to represent HL learners within this university context. For this study, the data includes two different groups of classes, providing two corpus sets for each course. Within these courses, the written assignments under the review, exposition, narrative, personal response, and research paper genres are used to summarize various articles, understand the class textbook, and make connections to personal cultural experiences. The students integrated personal and class experiences that mirrored or paralleled the text's main ideas.

Results

This study focused on conceptual metaphors associated with their language, cultural experiences, culture, and identity. A total of 4261 metaphors were employed by the students through 107 metaphoric frames in the 365 texts through the corpus of 193,900 words.

Students frequently used metaphors regarding topics related to language, culture, and experiences. A conceptual metaphor is comprised of the concept they are trying to understand as a target domain and the concept they are drawing from to make the metaphorical connection as the source domain. The most common conceptual metaphor frames were associated with a journey, a battle, and a natural resource. Students associated issues related to culture, language, and identity most with a journey, demonstrating 28% use. Next, with 16% use, the battle metaphor demonstrated violence in their life experiences. This is followed by metaphors relating to culture and language as a natural resource 12% of the time and a lesser amount of dominant person metaphors displaying 10%. There were a few references to language and cultural items such as gifts, success, and tools. Texts displayed minor metaphoric references relating cultural experiences to building, a game, and a person. Lesser used sources include concepts such as bond, or deficit, and the least associated were with liquid and food. Table 1 summarizes the overall metaphoric use displayed throughout the students writing.

My approach to formatting the results and sharing results includes broad summaries that demonstrate general frequency followed by specific student voices that offer examples of the richness in metaphoric use. Results present student quotes as examples that are put together into thematic buckets by concepts to display figurative language range. The diversity in examples groups general student views to specific or unique conceptualizations. I maintain a balance between frequency of use and creativity of use.

Each section varies in length depending on the metaphoric variation within each conceptual theme while speaking with equal depth to metaphoric content. The length of sections does not signify a level of importance within use. The following sections are numbered for clarity for frequency, although this organization displays a pattern not necessarily priority or hierarchy between conceptual metaphors.

Table 6 presents the entire corpus of conceptual metaphors ranked by frequency of use paired with the corresponding percentage of use.

Table 6

Spanish Metaphors by Number of References and Frequency of Use by Percentage

Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use
1	Journey	1183	28%
2	Battle	685	16%
3	Natural Resource	500	12%
4	Dominant Person	444	10%
5	Value/Success	420	10%
6	Gift	291	7%
7	Building	177	4%
8	Bond	135	3%
9	Liquid	135	3%
10	Less is Bad	81	2%
11	Other Person/Personification	78	2%
12	Container	77	2%
13	Tool	39	1%
14	Other	16	<1%
	Total	4261	

12. Journey Metaphors

The journey was the most used metaphoric frame associated with language, culture, and cultural experiences. This reference was portrayed simply through associated words like *viaje*, *destino*, *jornada*, *aventura*, *explorar*, and *laberinto*.

"Entonces para mi, mi *viaje* con la lengua de español empezó en mi año final de la preparatoria." (*sic*) SP175-S18-118

They describe the path taken through *camino, ruta, rumbo,* and *transcurso,* showing direction and way of movement.

"Ha sido un *trascurso* extenso cual todavía estoy aprendiendo como utilizar los dos idiomas en niveles académicos." SP175-S17-126

"Al llegar a mi *destino* del *camino* hacia el bilingüismo he tenido varias experiencias sociolingüísticas." SP175-S17-133

Additional examples demonstrate a forward trajectory through verbs like *adelantar* and *avanzar*, in addition to an upward direction with *sobrepasar* and *sobresalir*.

"Por otra parte, el estatus legal en que la familia se encontraba tampoco les facilitaba obtener un seguro médico fácilmente ya que existen varios *obstáculos* que se tiene que *sobrepasar* poder obtener seguro médico." SP177-S17-102

Movement language includes, *pasos*, *moverse*, *recorrer*, *saltar*, and, *tropezar*. Other transportation based verbs include *andar*, *manejar, navegar* and *abordar.*

"El cambio de código se refiere a cuando un individuo es capaz de *moverse* entre lenguajes en diferentes contextos." SP170-F16-125

Students referred to their progress frequently to show the time and distance covered. Students make clear connections to the beginning of the journey with *comenzar*, *empezar,* and *iniciar*. Progress is shown through words like *seguir*, *continuar,* and *pasar*.

> "En muchos casos, esa cosa es también la propia motivación de la gente, por lo cual quieren seguir trabajando duro; para *seguir empujando* a pesar de los *tropiezos* en el *camino*." SP103-S19-119

Additionally, phrases like *poco a poco*, and *más y mas*, show small increments of achievement. Longer stages are portrayed through, *largo plazo*, *año tras año*, and *generación a generación*. The distance is shown through *lejos* and *alejar*, and speed is demonstrated through *velocidad* and *rapidez*.

> "Adicionalmente, puede ser que el verdadero efecto del programa no sea percibido porque el ambiente del estudiante también influye la *velocidad* de cual el español es aprendido." SP175-S18-331

One text admonishes the reader that these achievements are not made instantaneously. They are aware of the arrival at their destination, as well as noting goals and other achievements. On their journey, they are not always alone and have guides in the form of cultural relationships.

> "Me mude a los estado unidos antes de *empezar* la escuela pero no aprendí inglés al *instante*." (*sic*) SP175-S18-102

> "Al *traspaso* de los años, en mi *camino* por la vida, he vivido experiencias e interacciones con varias personas que me han marcado de diferentes maneras, desde los entrenadores en mis tiempos jugando al futbol, a los maestros que siempre estuvieron listos para enseñarme dentro del salón. Sin embargo, mi gran *guía* ha sido mi padre." (*sic*) SP103-S19-114

Few students displayed apprehensions about the pace of their journey. There are demonstrated through delays with words like *atrás*, *retrasar*, *detuviera*, and *demora*. Once, a student showed a downward route with the verb *declinar* or the wrong direction with *desvia*. Some others described falling with *caer* or being lost with *perder*.

> "Muchos se sienten *perdidos* y se sienten desilusionados porque que no pueden hablar en inglés perfectamente." SP175-S17-336

One student notes the feeling of competition with other students in language classes, displaying the worry related to their progress compared to other peers. Some worried that, as first-generation individuals, they did not have the guides they needed.

> "Todos los estudiantes universitarios se *enfrentan* con dificultades en la universidad, pero es importante reconocer que se les dificulta más a los estudiantes de primera generación porque no tienen la *guía* ni experiencia de alguien más para *navegarlos* por esas dificultades." SP103-S19-121

> "Cuando me pregunto si me gustaría que ella estuviera allí cuando les vaya a decir a mis padres; yo llore porque me sienta sola en un *laberinto* y cuando me dijo eso, yo me sienta

que finalmente tenia a alguien que me apoya en *seguir* mis sueños de ir a una universidad." (*sic*) SP103-S19-121

However, students mentioned confidently that they would be the first ones to graduate with a degree and would subsequently create a way to follow, being the sort of guide they needed but for younger family members and other Hispanics.

"Su éxito motivo a sus hermanos menores, primas y otros relativos a *perseguir* el *camino* de la educación." (*sic*) SP103-S19-119

A further difficulty was portrayed through the rigorous and risky nature of the journey, describing it with riesgo and arduo, while one explains the total abandonment of the task. The most used words in relation to the journey referenced barriers and obstacles. The effort was again alluded to with the interference and impediments that these obstacles and barriers create.

"Leer fue una manera en que pude *vencer* este *obstáculo* difícil." SP175-S17-124

"Este ensayo habla sobre las dificultades que enfrentan los latinos en el sistema médico. Hay varias *barreras* para latinos en los Estados Unidos, especialmente si no hablan inglés." SP175-S17-322

Also, the reference to the typically slow course of learning denotes a process that takes a substantial period or several stages.

"Una persona que es bilingüe no se hace bilingüe de *la noche a la mañana*, de hecho, toma *tiempo* y práctica." SP175-S17-140

"El inglés me tomo un *largo tiempo* de aprender ya que en la escuela solo me comunicaba en inglés pero ya en casa mis padres querían que yo siguiera practicando el español y hacían que hablara en español." (*sic*) SP175-S17-114

13. Battle Metaphors

Students employed battle metaphors as the second most used type of metaphoric frame. The battle metaphors used by students primarily included words directly related to a physical altercation and its possible contact with the body. Verbs associated with domination are most common as opposed to words related to the act of submission. Interestingly, in Spanish, as opposed to English, it is usual to hear speakers convey wanting to 'dominate' a language (dominar el idioma) to show knowledge mastery, high competence, and communicative fluency in the desired target language. For example,

"Entre a la escuela de niña, y allí fue donde llegue a *dominar* el inglés con mis maestros y amigos." (*sic*) SP175-S17-132

In an extension of the violent metaphor, the idea of confronting the language (*enfrentar*) further demonstrates the battle, in which the language becomes a sort of enemy to confront. Also, conflict is revealed through the notion of being against something else (*contra*).

"En momentos cuando yo sentía que era el mundo *contra* mi, ella nunca dejó de ser mi abogada y *pelear* por mi felicidad y mi futuro." (*sic*) SP103-S19-119

"Este es un programa que habla de la situaciones y *barreras* que los latinos *enfrentan* al llegar en los Estados Unidos y a asimilarse." SP175-S17-337

The formidability of the enemy shows the language's great significance in people's lives. Similarly, the confrontation was also shown as something speakers must physically face due to attitudes and ideologies placed on the culture and its minoritized interlocutors. The English language is also directly named an enemy (*enemigo*), personifying the linguistic system, and placing it within violence-based metaphors.

"La lengua inglesa *ejerce* un grado de influencia sobre la lengua español." SP170-F16-126

"Es como decir que el inglés había sido *forzado* en mi vernáculo cotidiano y pues lo *rechace* por un par de años." SP175-S18-114

A further struggle is portrayed through verbs directly related to war, such as fight, combat, and battle (*luchar, batallar, pelear, combatir*), while others portray the physical contact through a force, push, or impact (*forzar, impactar, pelear, empujar*) that is caused by the language or inflicted on language users.

"Lo decía porque mientras que yo *luchaba* comunicarme, ella tenía dificultad tratando de comprenderme y eso para ella no era su trabajo." SP175-S17-119

"Durante las clases de español en la preparatoria me encontré *batallando* mucho encontré un afán por la literatura en español." SP175-S18-111

In some instances, actual violence is not inflicted, but there are warnings of future harm. Here, the possibility of a conflict is shown by the existence of danger and a threat, as well as the feelings associated with fear and trauma.

"Crecer siendo bilingüe en un mundo donde el inglés es un lenguaje aceptada supone una *amenaza* para nuestro español." (sic) SP175-S17-131

The students' positionality in the potential battle is demonstrated by their defensive stance. They place themselves in the role of defender or protector as a bilingual speaker while actively showing resistance to assimilation and imposed socio-cultural norms.

"Para eliminar este problema los patrones veían restricciones lingüísticas como solución, en lugar de *defender* a la persona bilingüe." SP170-F16-131

"Cuando me graduó de la universidad, yo voy a usar mis habilidades de ser bilingüe a *proteger* mi raza contra la desconexión con los anglohablantes." SP175-S18-104

In the defensive stance, they show perseverance against surmounting risk, stating that they will not give up. They will not yield to the oppressors or be overcome.

"Entonces he aprendido que es mejor que estoy tratando de convertirme a ser un activo bilingüe que simplemente *rendirme*." SP175-S17-136

"Sin embargo, decidí tomar cada oportunidad disponible a mi para aprender el español en lugar de permitirme a sentir *vencida* por situación mía." (sic) SP175-S18-115

However, they portray the possibility of winning the battle. This can be done through great sacrifice and substantial effort by the community or even in the identity of each individual.

"Soy bilingüe, y gracias a los esfuerzos de mis padres que nos dieron todo, mis hermanos y yo podemos *triunfar* en un país que nos facilita la habilidad de poder tener una cena saludable todas las noches." SP175-S18-119

"Aunque ahora reconozco que el ser bilingüe es un privilegio, para mí el haber aprendido ingles representa años de *sacrificio* y discriminación." SP175-S18-108

"La identificación o *lucha* de la propia identidad se hace ver en la literatura cuando los autores usan el cambio de código." SP170-F16-121

More generally, the battle metaphor is displayed in personal experiences but also extends to the Hispanic-speaking community. Topics surrounding North American assimilation, and even the Latinx culture itself are posed in terms of a fight. Confinement as a culture is felt and feared. Resistance and sacrifice are presented as the necessary route of action.

"En conclusión nos podemos dar cuenta que si bien la comunidad hispana en Estados Unidos se ha caracterizado por su habilidad para *resistir* la asimilación americana tratando de *preservar* su idioma y cultura, todavía hay muchos retos que las segundas y terceras generaciones encuentran." SP170-F16-120

"Es decir, las personas (los Chicanos) se sienten *encarcelados* mentalmente por la incapacidad de saber su lugar en la sociedad actual." CCST F19-249 S

"No obstante, el *sacrificio* de aprender la lengua y la transición cultural mexicana a la americana que tuve que tolerar nunca fue notada." SP175-S18-108

In English language discourse, issues related to social justice are commonly posed as a fight. Students mirror speech in direct association with Hispanic social justice.

"Muchos *pelean* por una reforma inmigratoria." SP103-S19-203

"No obstante, universitarios seguirán sintiendo el deber de tener que *combatir* sus *opresores* de manera justa, apasionada y de acuerdo con la primera enmienda." SP103-S19-216

Similarly, experiences as a minoritized individual in the US healthcare system are presented as violent situations.

"Pero después de una vida larga y corta lo que la *oprimió* hasta su fin era el cáncer." SP103-S19-122

"Así pueden graduar la universidad sabiendo que no dejaron *vencer* su enfermedad." SP103-S19-223

14. Natural Resource Metaphors

When speaking about culture and language, participants often related them to a natural resource, one that grows, should be maintained, and could be lost or even recuperated. These types of metaphoric framings show the high significance placed on language and culture and their necessity in everyday life. Also, it demonstrates the fears surrounding the possibility of losing resources and the need for conservation efforts. Similarly to the journey metaphor, there is a display of great effort in speaking languages as well as preserving cultural aspects. They illustrate the dire consequences if these resources are not taken care of and often admonish others to be prepared against this eventuality.

A frequent idea within the natural resource framing is an association with flora and vegetation. More specifically, students write about their 'roots' relative to their identity and the direct connection to culture and language. Warnings of losing your roots show students' apprehensions towards potential language and cultural losses when living in the US context.

"Mis padres no quieren que perdamos nuestras *raíces* de hablar español mexicano." SP175-S17-113

"Esto se convirtió en una rutina y fue donde *floreció* mi pasión por la lectura." SP175-S18-130

Students describe language and culture as an object brought along on a journey. Here, they describe the journey that language and culture take in the hands of Hispanic speakers, from a historical perspective as well as a viable option for individuals in the present and future. These roots are in danger of being lost due to external factors such as negative societal pressure. While others acknowledge the internal choices that may cause abandonment of language aspects and cultural norms. However, they note that it is possible for a minoritized individual to resist this rejection, and they have an ultimate choice in halting this type of ideological dismissal.

"Es posible ser bilingüe y tener éxito en un país como los Estados Unidos sin dejar de lado tus *raíces*." SP175-S18-129

The significance of sustaining culture and language is seen throughout students' work. It shows the meaning placed on cultural aspects, such as identity and language, and steps that one could take to keep these cultural resources. Words that suggest this need include to conserve, to maintain, and to preserve (*conservar*, *mantener*, and *perservar*).

"El español ha sido muy significativo en mi vida porque me ayuda a *conservar* mis *raíces* y mi cultura." SP175-S18-134

"En fin, la familia es un símbolo que representa fuerza impulsiva en *mantener* un idioma sobre el otro." SP175-S17-120

"En todo caso, es fundamental ahora mas que nunca seguir *preservando* el español para poder permanecer ya que nuestro presidente actual quiere prohibir el español." (sic) SP175-S17-134

While the upkeep of cultural and language aspects is not always feasible, writers demonstrate hope for the possible recouping of losses or saving the resource. This is not without effort, as individual practice and collective support are needed to facilitate this type of retention and recollection.

"Es fácil de olvidarse de un idioma aquí en Estados Unidos donde el idioma principal es el inglés pero con práctica se puede *recuperar*." SP175-S18-113

"Ellos dan esperanza a aquellos que quieren ayudar y *salvar* este lenguaje histórico." SP170-F16-132

Language and culture are posed in terms of an animate entity, one that can live but also has a risk of perishing or expiring. It is essential to note that the ideals surrounding culture and language are often merged and perceived as intercorrelated. This could convey a direct connection between language and culture, that interconnects with identity.

"Es importante de *conservar* estos idiomas para no perder el uso de lingüística y para *mantener* la cultura *viva*." SP170-F16-133

"Una de las causas más grandes por las que se está *muriendo* la lengua es porque el español la está reemplazando." SP170-F16-110

There is evidence of the fears related to language and cultural loss through this life-and-death binary. The fate of these natural resources is seen as in danger, possibly ceasing in this generation, as well as the ones that may follow. The terminality of these issues is emphasized when their disintegration can cause present and future language and cultural extinction.

"De acuerdo de lo que menciono el autor, parte de mi que no quiere *dejar* que la cultural ni el leguaje que integraron en mi se *muera* en las generación que siguen." (sic) SP175-S18-135

"Es en este país que un *cadena* de eventos peculiares ha llevado al idioma español a encontrarse muy cerca de la *extinction*, pero muy lejos de perder su importancia." (sic) SP170-F16-123

15. Dominant Person Metaphors

Within this metaphoric framing, students provide rankings of languages. In these examples, Spanish or English dominates while the other is insinuated to be subordinate. This type of hierarchy is usually placed at a national level (i.e., The US) and stated as a known fact despite the other minoritized languages that they themselves speak.

"El español es un leguaje *predominante* en Estados Unidos." (sic) SP175-S17-128

"Pero, aun existe una gran desigualdad lingüística en la sociedad estadounidense porque el lenguaje *predomínate* es el inglés." (sic) SP175-S17-227

Although English is viewed as ultimately dominant, Spanish is growing through systemic difficulties.

"Aunque una puede notar que el inglés *domina* en los EE.UU hay otros idiomas que se usa mucho y tiene mucha influencia. El español es uno de estos lenguajes." SP175-S17-211

"El español sigue creciendo como un lenguaje *potente* en los EE.UU porque el poder de los hispano hablantes es grande." SP175-S17-211

"Sin embargo, como ya ha sido discutido anteriormente hay factores institucionales y culturales que dificultan el aumento del *prestigio* del español en Estados Unidos." SP170-F16-120

At a personal level, the students rank English or Spanish by levels of understanding and not necessarily by chronological learning order.

"A pesar de que aprendí ambos, el español *predominó*." SP175-S17-129"

Aunque el inglés es mi idioma *principal*, el español fue el primer idioma que aprendí." SP175-S17-129

However, there is a possibility to have equality or balance where one does not dominate the other.

"Esto da a entender que ambos idiomas son del mismo nivel y que un idioma no *domina* al otro." SP175-S17-241

Meanwhile, they do perceive bilingualism as growing into a dominant form of speech, further dismissing hierarchical ideologies.

"El cambio de códigos es un fenómeno natural que cada día se vuelve más *predominante* entre las poblaciones estudiantiles ya sea a fuera o dentro de la escuela." SP175-S18-309

"Es decir, que los latinos usando el spanglish en Estados Unidos, crean una nube de desigualdad y de no importancia hacia la lengua *dominante* que es el inglés." SP170-F16-119

Students reject ideas of monolingual superiority and note that both languages can exist in this space, while still being conscious of negative ideologies that surround Spanish.

"No hace sentido como una persona mono lingüista puede ser *superior* a alguien que sabe más de un idioma." SP175-S17-122

"Dos idiomas *predominantes* se encuentran siendo el español y el inglés pero como la mayoría de ciudadanos son Americanos y su primer idioma fue el inglés, el español a veces no es visto en una luz fuerte." SP175-S17-128

"Este aspecto es mucho más popular en los estudiantes bilingües, sobre todo si excite un *predomínate* número de estudiantes bilingües que acostumbran a cambiar de códigos al hablar." (sic) SP175-S17-315

16. Success/Value Metaphors

Values related to economic growth, psychosocial connection, and personal improvement are presented through success metaphors. In that respect, language and culture become a means for achievement and prosperity. Having these instruments of advancement creates opportunities for the individual and makes them more valuable in the world's social and economic marketplace. This is besides the personal worth that the speaker gains through such bicultural expertise.

As an economic value, Spanish provides the speaker with more job opportunities, giving inherent value to the Hispanic speaker.

"Para muchos de estos padres, es importante que sus hijos aprendan y mantengan la lengua heredada ya que no solo los beneficia con la comunicación entre familiares, sino que también les *brinda oportunidades de valer más en el mercado de trabajo*." SP175-S18-308

"La importancia de estas lenguas y las culturas que *cargan* con ellas es muy importantes en el desarrollo no nada más en la área donde las lenguas se originaron sino en el país entero." (sic) SP170-F16-112

As a psychosocial value, Spanish provides a platform to connect with the whole world.

"En fin, la variación social permanece una de las importantes formas de comunicación entre personas en el *mundo entero*, y estudiando el habla social nos puede llevar a encontrar relaciones muy intimas en la lengua del español." (sic) SP170-F26-129

As a personal value, Spanish joins the individual to their unique humanity.

"Las clases de español expendieron mi aprendizaje no solo como un estudiante pero como una **humano**." (sic) SP175-S18-103

Language is centered as the most significant value, and more specifically, Spanish, and English bilingualism affords benefits at both national and international levels. It is an ability that should be admired.

"El bilingüismo permite que *los horizontes de las personas se expandan*." SP175-S17-124

"Sin embargo, al comenzar la escuela el rol de aprender dos idiomas a la misma vez se *convirtió en dos mundos para mí*." SP175-S18-130

"En nuestra sociedad, ser bilingüe por la mayoría de las personas se describe como algo *admirable*." SP170-F16-131

In the economic sector, bilingualism provides rich and lasting opportunities for the worker and their financial legacy. Students use the door as a metaphor for fiscal access and further favorable commercial circumstances.

"Tal proceso de aprendizaje fue mi primera *puerta* al español, la cual muy pronto se cerró un poco cuando mi papá nos trajo a mi familia y a mí a los Estados Unidos." SP175-S18-110

"El ser bilingüe, *te abre muchas puertas puedes trabajar* en muchos lugares y a tu alcancé están más oportunidades." SP175-S17-323

"En conclusión, obtener una carrera en español tiene sus buenas ventajas porque uno puede ser bilingüe, saber un idioma distinto al inglés, se aprende diferentes dialectos y se tiene la *oportunidad de un legado muy rico*." SP103-S19-200

"Ser bilingüe, en adición, les da una oportunidad a estos estudiantes en *acelerar sus carreras.*" SP103-S19-201

English is portrayed as a privilege and lingua franca. It displays another way to reap benefits and connect with the world as a whole.

"Me llegaron a decir que tenía un gran privilegio al poder vivir en los estados unidos y noté que el hablar el inglés para ellos representaba no solo la lengua, pero también el sueño americano y todos los *privilegios*." SP175-S18-108

"Aunque hace muchos años deseaba que entendiera el inglés ahora tengo la dicha de *poder comunicarme con casi todo el mundo*." SP175-S17-123

Access to culture is obtained through their bilingual knowledge and ability to translanguage between linguistic codes. In this capacity, they express cultural competence in which they can both live in two cultures or change them at will.

"El cambio de código es un aspecto importante en la vida de un individuo que *vive en dos culturas* y seguirá siendo importante." SP170-F16-121

"Cuando cambiamos de código de personas, *cambiamos culturas*." SP170-F16-125

17. Gift Metaphors

Students engage with gift metaphors yet only when speaking of languages that include Spanish. They recognize the Spanish language as precious to many while still perceiving the negative ideologies that attempt to remove its inherent value.

"Español es un lección muy *preciosa* a muchas culturas para razones numerosos." (*sic*) SP175-S18-118

"Muchos de sus comentarios eran negativos, pues eran comentarios que *devaluaban* la importancia del español." SP175-S18-124

However, frequent references to language as a gift refer to their bilingualism as a whole. Through this view, bilingual communication ability has an outcome of fruitfulness, signifying positive returns or rewards. Spanish and English understanding is treasured, like a prized jewel.

'Ser estudiante universitario ha sido un *fruto* que mi esfuerzo como bilingüe me ha dado.'' SP175-S17-118

"En varias ocasiones para los estudiantes lo mas importante es poder utilizar las dos lenguas y valorarlas igual que cuidarlas como un *diamante* único." (sic) SP175-S18-120

Furthermore, bilingual knowledge is signified as a noteworthy talent or an external blessing.

"Para mí, ser bilingüe es como un *talento* que no todos tienen." SP175-S18-109

"Yo no fui *bendecida* con la habilidad de ser maestra de los dos lenguajes." SP175-S18-111

The inherent value of bilingualism is sometimes difficult to quantify. It is portrayed as a priceless commodity and should be honored as such.

"Por medio de mi camino hacia el bilingüismo me dio cuenta de que saber más de un idioma es una característica *valiosa sin precio* que uno puede tener." (sic) SP175-S17-133

"El bilingüismo es algo muy *honrado*, necesario y *valorado*." SP175-S18-310

Others double its apparent value, reiterating common sayings (*dichos*) that signify a positive duplexity to the bilingual speaker. Simply, being bilingual is doubly special. Students may have heard these types of mottos from family members and repeat them as cultural truisms. Bilingual adages from relatives may stem from their desire for their kin to have more advantages lingually than they experience as native speakers of Spanish. However, comments related to the duplicity of bilingual speakers may promote ideas related to the perfect or balanced bilingual where one individual is seen as containing two native speakers within them.

"Tome mucho tiempo para aprender y *valorar* que cuando eres bilingüe, *vales por dos*." (*sic*) SP175-S17-119

"Ser bilingüe es ser *doble especial*." SP175-S18-125

18. Building Metaphors

Writers also present metaphors that relate to culture and language to be a building. This corresponds to the concept of a type of container, one that can be entered, and inhabited. This gives agency to the speaker as a builder with the power to fortify said building. The building provides a point of access as well as a place to reside safely. The association with an entryway is analogous to seeing language as an economic or psycho-social value that provides an avenue for future success.

"Además como se ha visto en varios casos la primera lengua ayuda a desarrollar la segunda y sirve como un apoyo para *fortalecerla*." SP175-S18-203

Furthermore, language capabilities can be built, reinforced, and rebuilt if necessary. This type of construction provides the speaker with the confidence to be the instrument of change, as they are the architect and contractor of language knowledge.

"Después del Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo en 1848, muchos hispanohablantes mexicanos pasaron a ser estadounidenses de un día para otro, y en los años siguientes los largos flujos migratorios han *reforzado* el uso del español en muchas partes de este país." SP170-F16-120

"Yo creo que porque mi mama me hablaba en español yo pude *retener* el lenguaje comparada a mi hermana Gina que sus padres generalmente le hablaban en inglés." SP175-S17-117

"Quería poder entender y *restablecer* la lengua para poder integrarla como parte de mi identidad." SP175-S17-124

In regards to speaking bilingually and changing linguistic codes, students depict codeswitching as fulfilling a distinct structure, analogous to other languages.

"La razón por esto es que las generaciones de chicanos que ayudaron a formar la *estructura* lingüística del Spanglish todavía no existían." SP170-F16-126

However, this structure is sometimes seen as a deterioration of previous language constructions. Nonetheless, students reject this view and, in turn, call for the taking apart of such stigmas. This creates a space for new linguistic constructions that discount any language deficiency.

"El cambio de códigos puede representar las primeras etapas del desplazamiento de la lengua de herencia o una *deterioración* de una o ambas lenguas." SP175-S18-309

"Lo cual significa que no solo esta creando una nueva forma de comunicación, si no que esta *desmantelando* el estigma que de es una deficiencia entre lenguas." (sic) SP175-S18-322

Spanish and English bilingualism was put in the same building frame, as the experience was displayed as a foundation for future fluency. Through bilingualism, parts of their identities solidify and are permanently established.

"Estoy agradecido de estar en el programa durante los años cruciales de mi infancia porque eso me dio la *base* para poder hablar el inglés fluidamente al igual con el español." SP175-S18-133

"A través de la primaria mi bilingüismo se hizo más *concreto* causando que mi identidad mexicana americana sea oficialmente *establecida*." SP175-S18-135

In relation to the immigrant experience, they describe meaning-making as creating a hole in the languages, where speakers can find a space for mutual understanding.

"Desde hoy, más y más inmigrantes de muchas partes del mundo *construyan el hueco* de idiomas para poder entender uno al otro." SP175-S18-303

Moreover, a bilateral correlation is presented where one language is strengthened, while the other is weakened, showing the hierarchical nature of language ideologies.

"El tener todas las clases en ingles realmente *reforzó* mi aprendizaje del idioma drásticamente, pero al mismo tiempo, *debilitó* mi español mucho más." (sic) SP175-S17-115

Cultural relationships are also seen as a building across the students' texts. They describe familial resources as part of the basic infrastructure that supports their lives. They pose family solidity as stability.

"Como la familia de los estudiantes es la primera *base* que crea una relación emocional a muchos estudiantes, cuando faltan motivos personales, afecta el rendimiento de los estudiantes." SP103-S19-209

"Ellos fueron los que me demostraron el valor de ser una familia *solidaria*." SP103-S19-113

19. Bond Metaphors

Within the students' writings, they relay language and sometimes culture, as a uniting force that connects to an entity or bonds various entities. It also has the potential to reconnect previously disconnected relationships or past cultural associations. Language as a whole is posed as intertwined with culture.

"Es una manera de entender a la persona con quien estás comunicando porque muchas veces no hay ninguna traducción directa, va más allá de ser solamente una forma de comunicación, es la comunicación *entrelazada* con la cultura." SP170-F16-124

Furthermore, language can be used as a mechanism for connection, specifically in the medical field. This displays similarities with language as a tool metaphor, where interpreters act as a bridge to initiate cultural contact.

"Los intérpretes tienen que hacer una *conexión* con los pacientes y darles su confianza para que se sientan que están haciendo más que interpretar la situación." SP177-S17-125

In regards to Spanish, individuals feel connected to the language, and it can unite Latinx populations.

"Siendo mi primer idioma me siento muy *conectada* al español, quisiera decir que la razón por eso es que mi aprendizaje del inglés fue muy difícil." SP175-S17-119

"El lenguaje *une* a los latinos, pero también causa una confusión en saber cuál es el país de origen de uno." SP175-S17-126

Others extend the same associations to their bilingual ability, where speaking Spanish and English is a way of reconnecting with culture and linking both sets of speakers.

"Adicionalmente, ser bilingüe les da oportunidad a los estudiantes a *conectar* o *reconectarse* con las culturas de sus padres o entender culturas de otras personas." SP103-S19-201

"Queremos ser parte de las dos culturas y poder *compartir* nuestro bilingüismo para *unificarnos*." SP175-S17-325

Similar ideals are placed on code switching: a linguistic fusion that can be used to unite two cultures.

"Esto permite que otras personas puedan ver este fenómeno y ver como dos culturas se *unen* y como un individuo se expresa en ambas culturas." SP170-F16-121

"Esta influencia se manifiesta de muchas maneras como en la creación de nuevas palabras usando palabras prestadas del inglés, y una *fusión* lingüística entre ambas lenguas llamada el 'Spanglish.'" SP170-F16-126

Within the healthcare field, language, and culture are delineated as a bond or link to create trusting connections between the patient and doctor.

"A pesar de existir este tipo de leyes para asegurar la protección del bienestar de grupos minoritarios que enfrentan discriminaciones en el sistema médico, Ramona propone que los personales médicos deben de ser más amables y respetuosos con sus pacientes para poder establecer ese *vínculo* entre doctor y paciente." SP177-S17-104

20. Liquid Metaphors

When speaking specifically about language, students pose communication ability in terms of fluidity, showing their ideas surrounding the facility of conversation.

"Esto puede ser a causa de que alguien no puede escribir bien en inglés o no son muy *fluentes* en el español." SP175-S17-217

"Las nuevas generaciones necesitan padres que sean *fluidos* en su español para que sigan la cultura de ser orgullosamente bilingüe y latino." SP175-S17-132

Words associated with liquidity are illustrated through the mixing of language and culture. This mixability depicts the malleable nature of speech while affirming the difficulty and inability to separate once blended.

"Las culturas de mi mama y mi papa son diferentes pero he aprendido como **mezclar** ambas y crear una cultura que incluye las culturas de mis parientes." SP175-S17-129

"En nuestra comunidad hay muchas culturas que son *mezclados* y este facto es evidente en los anuncios y otras maneras de comunicación en los areas publicas de nuestra ciudad." (sic) SP175-S18-217

"Por lo general, la sociedad en EE.UU. hagan que los latinos elijan un parte de sus vidas, el parte de su identidad que se siente estadounidense o latino, pero la realidad es que la

mayoría experimentan biculturalismo y *no pueden separar* sus identidades y no deben." SP175-S17-337

Other phenomena related to liquid molecules are chosen to present how languages have come about as while as how they get disseminated. For example, Spanglish as a linguistic phenomenon has existed under the surface of the water to emerge as a viable communicative choice. Also, Spanish as a career opportunity can be dispersed across many fields.

"En la comunidad latina, se ha *sumergido* Spanglish que se define como un idioma híbrido con una *mezcla* de dos idiomas." SP175-S17-217

"Incluso es una carrera que no tiene un único fin profesional, que tienen otras como, por ejemplo, si uno estudia enfermería está muy claro lo que se quiere estudiar; sin embargo, la carrera en español tiene muchas aplicaciones, no tiene una sola tan clara y tan directa, sino que es un poco más *difuso*." SP103-S19-200

21. Less is Bad Metaphors

A sensitivity to a perceived lack of language is exposed when speaking of learning Spanish and English as separate linguistic codes. In the example below, the student's Spanish aptitude is disclosed as something that needs 'fixing,' insinuating that it is faulty, damaged, or defective.

"Ella comenta que al haber aprendido ingles sin tener practica de su lengua heredada ha tenido consecuencias que ella quisiera *arreglar*." (sic) SP175-S17-318

Other examples show further inferiority of language knowledge as receding, demonstrating how it becomes less over time.

"Por eso decidí tener al español como mi especialización académica secundaria, porque pienso que mi conocimiento del español ha *disminuido* sobre el tiempo." SP175-S17-119

"Cada año que pasaba en clases en inglés mi español empezaba a *desaparecerse*." SP175-S17-124

References to English ability start from a place of fragmentation, where competence in speech is seen as incomplete due to mutilation. '*Mocho*' implies the lopping off of horns in an animal, extending in humans to the removal of hair. Here, the sentiment exists that part of the speakers' ability is removed by forces beyond their control.

"Mi papá habla el inglés muy *mocho*, como él le dice." SP175-S17-125

They describe English skills within the Hispanic community as explicitly broken and without the explicit expectation of corrective counteraction.

"En su inglés *quebrado* y con un acento mexicano, mi tía le dijo que ella si hablaba y entendía el inglés, aunque no perfecto y que ella escogía hablar español." SP175-S17-131

"Pero a la misma vez, como la hija menor fui expuesta al inglés *roto* de mis hermanos que hablaban al tratar de practicar lo que aprendían en la escuela y sus frases favoritas se convirtieron en mis frases." SP175-S18-135

In addition to being somehow defective, students demonstrate a clear hierarchy between Spanish and English. Using words related to position and superiority, students place lesser value on Spanish and themselves as Spanish speakers.

"Venir de una familia en la cual son latinos y el idioma ideal es el español no es para sentirse *menos* ni avergonzarse." SP175-S17-132

"Un día cuando llegué de la escuela, les dije a mis padres que ya no iba hablar español. Me sentía muy *insegura* de quien era y de donde venía. El hecho de saber hablar español me hacía sentir *inferior* a los otros estudiantes." SP175-S17-122

22. Personification/Part of a whole Metaphors

Metaphoric responses reveal connections or disconnections to the parts of the body or the individual's whole organism. This includes instances where there is a personification as well as experiences with the bifurcation of language and culture. Embodied metaphors often identify the 'body as a container' that can be filled or compartmentalized with distinct parts of the self. Also, the container frame extends to society as a whole, and individuals can be included or excluded from that receptacle. Students regularly place themselves as a part of the whole culture or society at large.

"Soy hispana, y nada ni nadie va a parar mi orgullo ser *parte de una cultura* y comunidad que me transformó en la mujer que soy hoy." SP175-S18-119

"Esto significa que cuando van al país tienen dificultad en lenguaje primariamente cual causa una gran desventaja en ser *parta de una nueva sociedad.*" SP175-S17-327

Similarly, writings include their experiences with cultural duality. They speak of being part of or living in two differing cultures, the difficulties experienced, and the knowledge one must possess.

"En realidad, aunque la vida de un bilingüe latino americano es difícil porque *eres de dos culturas*, hay una oportunidad de lograr beneficios profesionales y de identidad." SP175-S17-136

"El cambio de código es un aspecto importante en la vida de un individuo que *vive en dos culturas* y seguirá siendo importante." SP170-F16-121

"La frustración de pertenecer entro *dos formas distintas.*" CCST F19-249 S

Additionally, the typical Hispanic refrain '*los bilingües valen por dos*,' (bilinguals are worth two) further demonstrates the multiplicity of language identities and the value students place in them. As a common *dicho*, 'a saying,' it is passed down to motivate children to learn languages for future advancement.

"Siempre nos dicen que los bilingües *valen por dos*." SP175-S17-125

In contrast, students present being bilingual and bicultural as physically being separated into two.

"Ser hispanohablante y saber inglés abecés me a *dividido en dos*, ya que en la escuela hablo inglés por la mayor parte y en casa hablo español con mis padres." (sic) SP175-S17-118

Other ideas include feeling rejected by both cultures, and not being part of one or the other.

"Una persona hasta expreso que ella no se siente *ni de una cultura o la otra.*" SP175-S17-332

Language is seen to fill one of our bodily containers as an integral part of our lives.

"La lengua española seguirá siendo *parte* de nuestras vidas." SP175-S17-114

Students further express their translanguaging ability when it is observed that code-switching is a big part of their lives.

"Es un gran *parte* de mi vida y es algo que no pensé mucho, pero es un tema que necesita más atención." SP175-S18-319

The personification of language as its own entity is demonstrated through actions that usually pertain to animate organisms. When speaking of parts of speech, the writer describes language change as suffering that words endure.

"Los verbos *sufren* alternaciones de tipo grafico y fonológico que les permite sustituir los fonemas extranjeros." (sic) SP170-F16-114

Looking at language as an existent being, they illustrate the origin of bilingualism within indigenous communities as the birth of Spanish.

"Esto es muy interesante porque esto es puede ser el principio de que *nazca* el español dentro de los indígenas." SP175-S18-126

Others characterize the embodiment of bilingualism, where the language ability can move with agility.

"Contrario a la creencia popular, el bilingüismo se vuelve más *ágil* durante la edad adulta." SP170-F16-124

The personification of language or languages is extended with relation to the body and specific body parts.

"La *cara* lingüística de la comunidad de Merced es el español." SP175-S18-206

"Como hemos visto, el cambio de código toma muchas *caras*." SP175-S18-305

Also, other concepts are included that are usually associated with personal existence.

"Un excelente ejemplo de que el español ha dejado su *huella* en las Filipinas es la lengua criolla 'Chabacano' o 'Chavacano.'" SP170-F16-123

"Aunque hay gran población e influencia hispana dentro el comercio, la expresión top-down de los carteles oficiales de la empresa no promueve el rango bilingüe apropiado para el *espíritu* cultural del mercado." SP175-S18-218

23. Container Metaphors

Container Metaphors are a basic metaphoric construction that is applied in many differing contexts. The body is frequently seen as a container and can be filled with things like emotions as a liquid. Other examples include the container being a location like the earth, countries, and cities. In the language and cultural context, the student can fit or not fit into the container space. They can interact with the container and observe characteristics such as what is in, out, or around the framed concept. When seeing bilingualism as a container, students note what surrounds it, such as myths, negative connotations, and incorrect information.

"En el caso de esta investigación, me centraré en los mitos negativos que *rodean* el bilingüismo y las formas en que estos mitos influyen en las opiniones de los demás con respecto a la educación bilingüe." SP175-S18-313

"La necesidad de entender qué información incorrecta ya estaba *circulando alrededor* de la educación bilingüe porque una pieza crucial de información para entender antes de que yo llevara a cabo mi propio estudio." SP175-S18-316

The educational space as a container is demonstrated as a place the students inhabit. The school system can be filled with opportunities that students can pull from as a resource. In some cases, individuals shape can be transformed due to the container size. In this case, students can be molded by the container, feel stuck in the container as if it was a bottle, or even not fit in the box of education.

"El mundo dentro del campo escolar universitario está *lleno* de oportunidades." SP103-S19-214

"El labor añade estrés a causa de tener un día de solamente estudiar y trabajar, sin relajación una persona se podrá sentir *embotellada* en quehaceres universitarios." SP103-S19-217

"Decidir en donde uno va a vivir dictará un *molde* para el futuro del estudiante, sin importar el género del estudiante." SP103-S19-219

"Estar en una escuela y ser de diferentes trasfondo puede crear un ambiente para los estudiante que no *encajan* con la demográfica del resto de la escuela." SP175-S18-331

Regarding culture, students express the ability to fit in due to language ability. Others note the deepness of the cultural container as one that can be understood profoundly.

"Muchas personas cambian de código para poder *integrase* entre una o dos comunidades." SP170-F16-121

"Al mismo tiempo los bilingües tienen oportunidad de conocer su propia cultura más *profundamente*." SP170-F16-131

"La habilidad me ha brindado oportunidades de entender mi cultura a *fondo*." SP175-S18-109

24. Tool Metaphors

On a personal level, language is seen as a tool in maintaining cerebral health as it can delay the onset of certain brain disorders.

"El lenguaje se ha convertido en una *herramienta* poderosa para *combatir* enfermedades cerebrales." SP170-F16-113

Language and culture are delineated as a bond or link to create trusting connections between the patient and doctor.
They further the idea of language as a uniting force, extending the metaphor to a physical bridge. In this place, the individual student seeks to act as a communication bridge in future employment. Likewise, they acknowledge the role of professional interpreters as they frequently serve as language bridges in the medical field. More than that, they detail the experience of young family members that are placed in the position of ad-hoc children translators and the responsibility fixed upon them in immigrant families.

"Entonces en mi profesión estoy tratando de ser ese *puente* de comunicación para ellos." SP175-S17-136

"Intérpretes son importantes en el sistema médico porque crean el *puente* de comunicación entere el paciente y el médico." (*sic*) SP177-S17-106

"Los niños de inmigrantes mexicanos todavía se encuentran en la difícil posición de buscar el mejor tratamiento médico para sus familias actuando como un *puente* lingüístico." SP177-S17-118

Spanish has been represented as a critical tool for cultural maintenance. Additionally, Spanish is seen as a tool to draw in Hispanic consumers during economic development and commercial growth.

"Para los inmigrantes hispanohablantes es importante mantener su cultura, y el español es una *herramienta* que usamos para mantener nuestras culturas latinoamericanas." SP175-S17-118

"El uso de la lengua nativa, español, es una *herramienta* clave para atraer a los hispanos." SP175-S17-340

As a specific tool, Spanish is compared to a key that gives access to culture and cultural knowledge. This is similar to the "open doors" metaphor seen previously, usually paired with economic success.

"El español es la *llave* que nos permite entrar en una biblioteca repleta de culturas." SP175-S17-139

Students frequently refer to language and culture as tangible objects that are brought along with them. While not explicitly mentioned as a specific resource or tool, these conceptualized objects are carried and kept by the speaker, particularly through the immigration or assimilation process.

"Los hispanos, al emigrar al país, han *traído* un nuevo idioma, el español." SP175-S17-326

"Muchos de los emigrantes *traen* la cultura y las tradiciones que tienen sus países y tienen que adaptarse a la nueva cultura donde se establecen." SP170-F16-115

"Entiendo que no todos hemos sido criados de la misma manera y que todos pensamos diferente, pero algo que mi mamá siempre me enseñó es que el español es algo que siempre tengo que *llevar* conmigo." SP175-S18-134

The Hispanic culture was also likened to comestible. Students encouraged others to 'try' or 'taste' local community cultures to promote societal relations, mutual understanding, and the transfer of cultural knowledge.

"Atrévete a *probar* la cultura de la gente de tu comunidad porque la única cosa que quieren muchos es poder saludar a su vecino fin el miedo de faltarles el respeto." SP175-S18-303

25. Other Metaphors

Higher-level conceptual metaphors such as 'Life is a Game' is referenced infrequently and directed at cultural issues and experiences in healthcare. These instances relate to the fears associated with losing the game, as there are negative individual health risks for the player who suffers defeat.

"La mayoría del tiempo, los pacientes tienen que depender de médicos inexpertos, parientes bilingües o personal no médico durante sus visitas al doctor, poniendo en *juego* la calidad de los tratamientos y la posibilidad de errores en los resultados de salud para estos grupos minoritarios." SP177-S17-104

Another mention includes the specific game played, dominos, where the adverse results of negligent care due to language issues can create a cumulative effect. The consequences compound as each domino falls and the ability to halt progress becomes problematic.

"La barrera lingüística que existe para los hispanos en este país, crea un efecto *domino* negativo en su salud." SP177-S17-108

Further fears related to societal language barriers are perceived through the 'Life is a Dream' conceptual metaphoric frame. However, in this case, apprehensions about individual language within educational spaces are likened to a nightmare due to the lack of English ability. They portray their concern due to their personal needs to feel connected with their peers and want to have a way to identify with fellow learners.

"Al contraste, todos mis compañeros eran fluentes en inglés. Era una *pesadilla* estar en esta situación porque no me identificaba con mis compañeros al principio." SP175-S18-133

Other types of conceptual metaphors relate to the space around the minoritized individual as well as personal corporeality. Closeness or distance is associated with the Spanish speaker, further showing a physical relationship between the person and their language and culture. Students acknowledge the influence of language on social connections on a global scale.

"El lenguaje es algo que nos *rodea* desde que entramos a este mundo." SP175-S18-102

Starting from birth, they portray language as something that surrounds them and the entire world. This conveys the relevance they place on communication and their position as a speaker in this communicative macrocosm.

Additional metaphoric descriptions are expressed through the physical expanse between the individual and their culture or language. The feeling of distance is shown through gaps, explaining a lack of universal social connection.

"Sin embargo, existe una gran *brecha* debido a que muchas de las personas retornadas son niños o a penas jóvenes." SP175-S18-302

"Es interesante reconocer el *hueco* dentro la población basado por la interacción dentro de comunidades multilingües." SP175-S18-303

The feeling of the communication deficit is displayed by a physical cavity. This hole prevents further personal connection due to a lack of cultural and language awareness.
These students demonstrate the inability to communicate through corporeal means and somatic senses. Situated in the head, students depict mental shortcomings through bodily weakness, incompetency, or disintegration. In regard to Spanish, they describe experiences where productive language is hindered due to faulty anatomy. Speakers are prevented from speaking bilingually due to symptoms like closing the throat, biting their tongue, or not having a tongue at all.

"Muchos de los estudiantes en la clase no sabían nada de español e incluso el maestro apenas *masticaba la lengua*." SP175-S17-135

"Entendía el español, pero a la actuación me sentía como si me *cerraba la garganta* o como si *no tuviera una lengua*." SP175-S17-136

These perceived personal shortcomings are portrayed through physical means, where the inadequacy of communication falls on the individual. However, these feelings of linguistic deficiency only present the role of the speaker and do not reflect the function of the society in which the speaker exists. Specifically, in the US context, the responsibility of bilingualism should not fall solely on the speaker, but on the systematic structures that portray Spanish as racialized, minoritized, and stigmatized.

The dominant hierarchy fixed on the English language is ultimately responsible for observed Spanish linguistic inadequacies. Speakers should not be blamed for any lack of language. Moreover, through the lens of translanguaging, there is no actual absence of communication, as speakers are invited to use all linguistic competencies through various and diverse language codes. The social priority of English as a common language creates a situation where bilingual speakers

internally set monolingual expectations and standards for themselves et al. in the community. In these instances, when Spanish is agreed upon as the primary mode of communication, English is held back and contained within the body of the speaker. They portray English as having its own agency with the ability to escape from its human confines.

> "La señora Elvia sabía que esta entrevista era para mí curso de español y trato de hablar lo más que pudo en español, pero si se le *escapaba* unas palabras en inglés." SP177-S17-103

This monolingual English perspective is extended to the shift between linguistic codes, and more specifically, the codeswitching of English with Spanish. An ethical stance is upheld, when the speaker is pressured to maintain loyalty to one language or another. This is demonstrated in the following example, where the students present this overarching view in relation to religious unfaithfulness.

> "En términos prescriptivos, el cambio de código es un especie de *blasfemó* que no debe tener su propio lugar en modos comunicativos." (sic) SP175-S18-305

The righteous posture creates another layer of responsibility on the speaker, implicating culpability, and morality within the choice of language use.

An alternate perspective is offered, where modes of communication are monetary and natural resources. Also, the mixing of codes describes the fluidity of language patterns, likening language, and culture to liquid.

> "En términos descriptivos, el cambio de código es *capital* cultural con *raíces* a comunidades que contienen una *mezcla* de lengua y cultura." SP175-S18-305

Linguistic codes are considered malleable and sometimes unable or often impossible to separate in terms of culture and language.

Discussion

In the students' writing, personal and community experience is most referred to as a battle and a journey, with some mentioning it as a natural resource. This chapter expanded on similar themes that have arisen in previous metaphoric studies (Magaña & Ramos, 2022). Students pose their cultural existence and the maintenance of that culture as something dangerous and vital; it takes time as well as effort. This poses pedagogical implications as students demonstrate a high level of motivation to continue with their language development. They convey their feelings toward the obstacles and struggles the community has endured in conjunction with their own life experiences. Instructors can infer that students have understood the barriers they have faced and how they have continued their education through hardship. They use metaphors in an original way and do not directly reflect the surrounding media. Their metaphorical connections also demonstrate their values, choosing to write about cultural, educational, and healthcare issues. Practitioners can include value-based assignments to further understand students as well as giving them a foundational way to connect to class content.

Conclusion

This project gives a voice to heritage language speakers who have been previously marginalized due to culture as well as language due to issues related to systemic racism and

linguistic prestige. This study also seeks to center on English-speaking Chicanx students, who may not have had the opportunity or motivation to take Spanish classes, as they have been historically left at the margins of Spanish heritage language studies. By understanding the heritage speaker's beginning and development as well as their attitudes and perceptions in both languages, instructors can create innovative classes that account for their social-emotional as well as academic development.

The use of metaphor within the various academic genres is useful in theorizing new frameworks as well as understanding our students pedagogically. The negative or positive values associated with their own ethnic identity, as well as the attitudes surrounding the cultural community, may have profound effects on student motivation as well as learning outcomes. These results provide important insights for educators to create and apply critical pedagogy. Here, I provide contextual real-world knowledge about language behaviors, and cultural and social structures, in addition to shared beliefs of Hispanics in the US. For these reasons, this scholarship chooses to privilege students' voices to discover how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development.

Research on Spanish speakers and metaphor theory has been limited to studies in the heritage language and has yet to explore the language use of heritage speakers in their naturalized language, English. These types of students are normally left unstudied, and for these reasons, this project seeks to fill a gap in the research and begin a conversation that includes a more holistic approach to figurative language that considers heritage language speakers written metaphors in English as well as Spanish.

This study draws on various linguistic approaches that clearly represent heritage language students' writing style and ability to better recognize how language is used. Analyzing the texts' use of metaphoric language in conveying the students' thoughts through their writing can be examined to provide insights into their academic development. The overall goal is to inform the field of HL education and future critical pedagogy. With this information, future HL instructors will receive an accurate needs assessment to better inform their teaching strategies, pedagogical practices, and curriculum development, and advise the administration for future HL programs.

CHAPTER 5: COMPARATIVE RESULTS

"Spanish and English Genre-Based Metaphoric Analysis"

Introduction

The following discussion chapter describes SHLL's figurative writing in both English and Spanish and across various academic literary genres. Spanish language pedagogical investigation traditionally works with learners solely in their heritage language, taking a clear and linear methodological approach (e.g., Mikulski & Elola, 2011; Montrul, 2010; Montrul et al., 2008; Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul & Perpiñán, 2011; Polinsky, 1997, 2006; Potowski, 2009; Roca & Colombi, 2003) However, students' engagement with languages is complex, with visible and invisible daily applications. Researchers have also viewed Spanish and English as separate modes that apply the colonial and social construction of language. Meanwhile, the brain communicates through all linguistic codes (García, 2009). A translanguaging approach calls for a reconceptualization of rigid language designations to view all linguistic abilities instead of separate languages (García & Torres-Guevara, 2009).

It is evident and seemingly obvious that SSHL investigations prioritize the target language, still, when working with individual Latinx students, I argue all language capacities should be considered. These students reside in a multiplex social context where language use is fluid across circumstances. For these reasons, I incorporate the voices of Spanish speakers enrolled in both Spanish and English courses at a centrally located HSI institution in California.

SSHLs engage in Spanish and English in multiple ways. Spanish speakers may forgo academic language learning for numerous and mixed reasons while still seeking to participate culturally. These students have the capacity to reflect critically on their formative language and cultural experiences in English and Spanish. To create engagement at the whole student level, multilingual students should be welcome to use all their language resources to achieve communication in the classroom. This should include auto-reflection on all communication modes to better understand linguistic competencies holistically and help students do the same.

This chapter presents language attitudes and cultural ideologies about Spanish and English through conceptual metaphors in both languages. A student-centered translanguaging perspective incorporates various linguistic competencies to supply pedagogical insights into these speakers. Here, I model translanguaging principles to present English and Spanish as a whole. Inclusive language knowledge cannot be seen through the lens of one code or mode. Therefore, analyzing metaphoric language in Spanish and English creates a holistic view of the student's linguistic knowledge. Pedagogical interest in translanguaging practice seeks to better connect with our multilingual and achieve linguistic understanding about present language ability, in addition to formative language experiences. I privilege the whole student through various linguistic competencies to provide their view on sociocultural experiences.

This chapter discusses Latinx students' Spanish and English metaphor use in various academic genres. Translanguaging as a methodological approach allows a holistic view of project results. While having a translanguaging perspective, it is difficult to look at all language capacities at the same time, especially since academic classes are set up in separate languages. Language-based investigations are viewed separately due to academic conventions and current disciplinary boundaries. Data was collected separately, and for this reason, it is presented as separate chapters. Notwithstanding, this analysis will take multiple approaches to help merge both languages. There are affordances and benefits to looking at languages in these ways. An integrative perspective allows for connecting language ideologies and attitudes across pre-defined linguistic codes, in this case, through Spanish/English bilinguals.

Conceptual Metaphors in Languages

In this investigation, data was collected with the idea that students may use translanguaging practices in their written work. Specifically, the Chicano/a/x provided a space to do so and, in turn, include the voices of heritage language speakers who are not currently engaged in academic Spanish classes. The subject matter of the class models the intersections of language, culture, and identity, being sensitive to the relationship the students may have with class content. This critical approach to culture and language was displayed in the course through the incorporation of bilingual texts and the allowance of translanguaging practices in class and with the instructors. In this class, the students were allowed to write in Spanish and English for their assignments as well as given the freedom to code-switch. One student submitted one of their assignments in Spanish while others used Spanish proper names and culturally specific vocabulary with minimal intersentential codeswitches.

While given the space to translanguage, the students showed hesitancy to use these types of practices in written form. However, they frequently used both languages in speech with their classmates as well as lecturers. The data shows that this investigation cannot be truly considered a translanguaging project, as there is little written information provided from the individual students in both English and Spanish. Nonetheless, the spirit in which the material was gathered presents a translanguaging methodology that includes both languages in heritage language research, albeit not directly from the same students. In this way, a bilingual view of students' written work can be seen through the whole corpus focusing on this UC Merced cohort of SHL speakers and learners.

To approach language holistically, metaphoric analysis was also performed across English and Spanish, to provide information on the figurative language seen through this group of participants. The metaphor analysis incorporating English and Spanish use finds that students included figurative language most when writing about their languages at a 55% rate. Next, students expounded on their personal cultural experiences 27%, and lastly, students wrote about their general culture 18% of the time (see Figure 1).
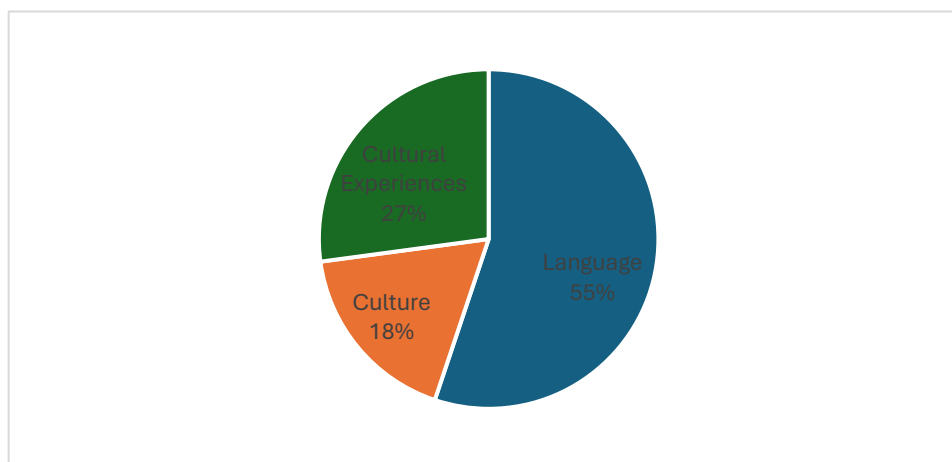
Figure 1. All Metaphoric Themes in English and Spanish

Students overwhelmingly used metaphors to describe language experiences, with a large use disparity between languages. English data present less than 5% total use, while Spanish texts employ it more than 60%. Next, students incorporated cultural experiences, such as in the education, healthcare, and judicial sectors, with opposing discrepancies, English with over 60% and Spanish with a little over 20%. Speaking of culture in general was seen more in the English corpus, with almost double the percentage of instances than in the Spanish corpus.

Under the language theme, participants used metaphors within different subcategories at varying percentages (see Figure 2). Student writers choose to speak about Spanish metaphorically the most, with 38% use and bilingualism followed closely by a third of the instances. This is followed by English with 16%, language in general with 10%, and lastly by codeswitching with 3% metaphoric use.
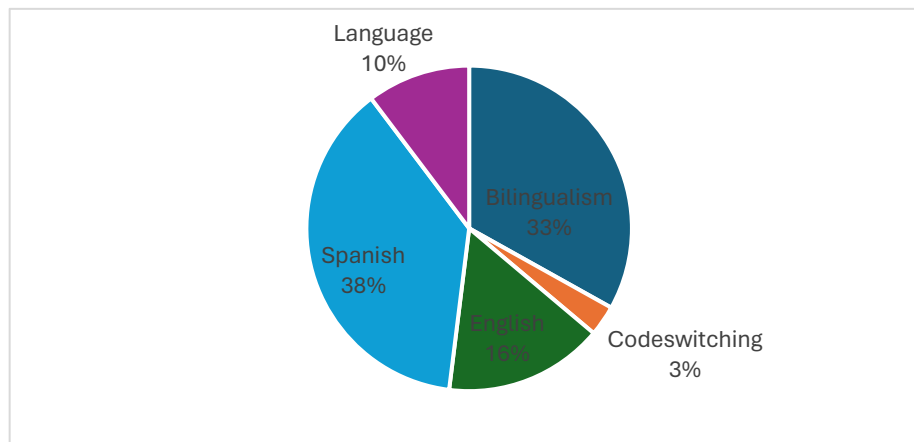
Figure 2. Language-Based Metaphors

Looking at the cultural metaphoric themes, students introduced a wider range of topics in which to use their figurative language. Figure 3 displays the chosen themes with the percentage as rates of use. Culture as a general theme was seen at 29%, and matters related to healthcare and education from a cultural framework followed by 26% and 25%, respectively. Cultural identity came up 10% of the time, and social justice issues at 6%. Minimal instances of cultural assimilation and cultural relationships were found.
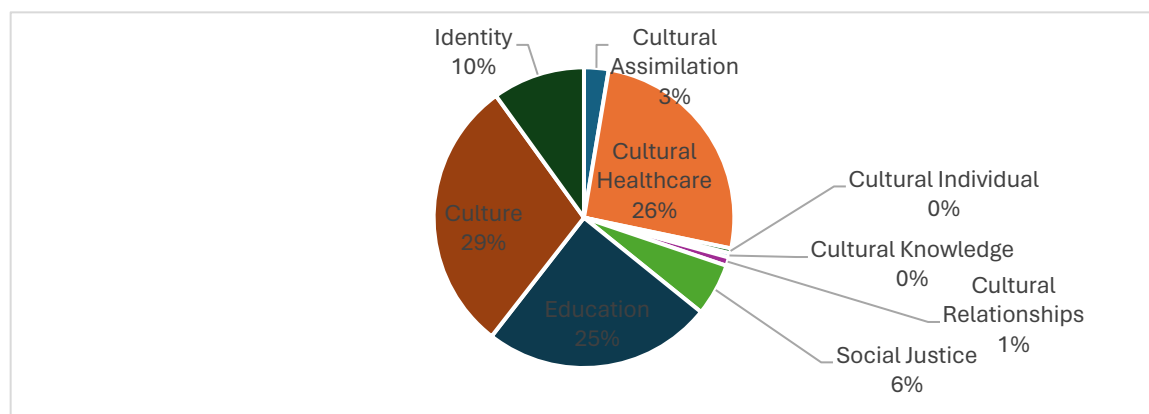
Figure 3. Culture-Based Metaphors

When analyzed by target domain, there were few differences between Spanish and English writers. Most can be accounted for due to the assignment prompt and class discipline. For example, it is explicable that in a language class, students would write about language, especially one aligned with sociolinguistic approaches. Alternatively, in an introduction to Chicano/a/x, where more than 90% of enrollees identify with that multilingual and multicultural community, they would probably have some familiarity with the Chicanx experience.

Table 7 presents the student perspective as a whole, notwithstanding language differences. Through all languages and genres, the data shows 5441/336,400 use of metaphors related to language and culture in the student's writing. Trends include the prevalence of the Journey metaphor, with an overall 29% use. Violence metaphors follow with 20% and natural resource with 12%. While not mentioned to the same degree in the English group of texts, opposing concepts categorized in the more/less group of metaphors show up as 4th in rank of use. These include ideas such as less is bad, and more is good. It is important to note that HLLs are actively measuring their languages and cultural knowledge compared to others, a practice not seen as much in the English samples.

Table 7
Metaphoric Frames in English and Spanish: Frequency of Use

English and Spanish	Raw total # of metaphors	% of metaphors
Journey	1,450	29%
Battle	1,010	20%
Natural resource	585	12%
Dominant person	445	9%
Success/value	434	9%
Gift	298	6%
Building	195	4%
Bond	147	3%
Liquid	137	3%
Container	113	2%
Less is bad	81	2%
Other personification	78	2%
Tool	51	1%
Game	13	<1%
Other	22	<1%

Frequency in metaphoric use between languages does not stray far from the previous holistic results. When viewed by the source domain, Spanish and English writers exhibited many similarities with a few marked differences, summarized by frequency and arranged in order of use in Table 8. In Spanish, the Journey metaphor was most prevalent, with English using it slightly less in comparison. In English, the battle metaphor was more commonly used, and the most used metaphoric framing compared to the journey in Spanish. It should be noted that in Spanish, violence metaphors are used significantly less in the students' work than in English. Another marked difference between Spanish and English is that the natural resource frame was used more in English than in Spanish.

Table 8

Metaphors in English and Spanish: Frequency of Frames

	English				Spanish		
Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use	Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use
1	Battle	325	41%	1	Journey	1183	28%
2	Journey	267	34%	2	Battle	685	16%
3	Natural resource	85	11%	3	Natural resource	500	12%
4	Container	36	5%	4	Dominant person	444	10%
5	Building	18	2%	5	Value/success	420	10%
6	Value/success	14	2%	6	Gift	291	7%
7	Bond	12	2%	7	Building	177	4%
8	Tool	12	2%	8	Bond	135	3%
9	Gift	7	1%	9	Liquid	135	3%
10	Disease	7	1%	10	Less is bad	81	2%
11	Animal	4	<1%	11	Other person/ personification	78	2%
12	Game	3	<1%	12	Container	77	2%
13	Food	2	<1%	13	Tool	39	1%
14	Liquid	2	<1%	14	Other	16	<1%
15	Other	5	<1%				

Across 4 domains, the following metaphoric sources were seen more in Spanish than in English texts. Metaphors related to success, a building, and a gift predominated in comparison to English frequencies by more than double with the most difference in psycho-social and economic values. Liquid metaphors also surfaced more in Spanish than English, with English having few instances of use.

In English texts, 3 source domains led in the frequency of use: a container, a tool, and person metaphors. Again, all were used twice or more, compared to Spanish totals. Two domains, a disease, and an object, were only seen in English work and were completely absent from the Spanish examples. The use of a bond as a metaphoric category was analogous in both languages. Most distinctly, metaphors related to more is good and less is bad were seen more in Spanish, and by a higher rate, ranking 4th in frequency.

Clearly, word counts for class assignments vary in expectations and final product. Genre-based conventions also guide the possible length of a piece. To mitigate possible discrepancies with uneven word counts in each data set, calculations were applied to demonstrate the metaphoric use per 100,000 words. Here, English, and Spanish raw data numbers were divided by themselves to create a number equivalent for each. A metaphoric comparison of balanced results is demonstrated in Table 3 of metaphors per 100,000 words. In Spanish, the raw metaphoric counts are higher, and they are also more frequent per the 100,000-word count, indicating more metaphoric use in the Spanish corpus than in the English corpus.

Table 9

Comparison of Metaphors in English and Spanish per 100,000 Words

	English (142,500)				Spanish (193,900)		
Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use	Rank	Source domain	# of metaphors	% of use
1	Battle	325	23	1	Journey	1183	61
2	Journey	267	19	2	Battle	685	35
3	Natural resource	85	6	3	Natural resource	500	26
4	Container	36	3	4	Dominant person	444	23
5	Building	18	1	5	Value/success	420	22
6	Value/success	14	1	6	Gift	291	15
7	Bond	12	1	7	Building	177	9
8	Tool	12	1	8	Bond	135	7
9	Gift	7	<1	9	Liquid	135	7
10	Disease	7	<1	10	Less is bad	81	4
11	Animal	4	<1	11	Other person/ personification	78	4
12	Game	3	<1	12	Container	77	4
13	Food	2	<1	13	Tool	39	2
14	Other	7	<1	14	Other	16	<1
	Total	799	56		Total	4261	220

Metaphoric Analysis Across Genres

Within varying genres, students are given the space to explore different writing styles within familiar types of texts. Analyzing metaphors in distinct genres can convey students' thoughts, providing direct insights into their academic and identity development. Social processes can be examined through genre-based academic writing. They are categorized through their use of common structures. Differing writing genres can create spaces in which metaphoric language is presented.

The results of this corpus are viewed in its totality as well as from the perspective of the linguistic codes of Spanish and English. Corpus data can also be considered within the specific genre of the texts, namely, narrative, exposition, research, review, and personal response. Consistently across all texts and genres in Spanish, metaphoric themes include mostly language-based metaphors, followed by culture and then cultural experiences. However, in the English review texts, they demonstrate a preference for metaphors based on cultural experiences. This outcome is analogous to previous findings that the metaphoric framing in English followed the name of the course as an explicit invitation to include their personal experiences in their written work.

As previously mentioned, the corpus data has differing word counts depending on the class and assignment prompt under each genre variation. Table 4 separates the groups of texts by genre with a percentage that indicates their relationship to the whole corpus. For example, the high word count found in the review genre accounts for almost half of the data. This is a direct result of having access to 4 classes that used reviews in their writing assignments, 2 in English and 2 in Spanish. However, there are variances between languages as there were higher word counts in the English review data set, which accounts for 24%, and Spanish accounting for only 7% of the total. Almost 20% of the general corpus was found in the research paper genre across 2 Spanish classes that included this requirement. Normally, papers in the research genre are generally expected to be longer in length and content. The exposition, 17%, and narrative genre, 13%, were featured as three

differing assignments through select Spanish classes, providing the project with a third of the data count when both are combined. The smallest sample, with 2%, was pulled from the personal response category as the genre presents the most flexibility. Furthermore, for the purposes of the peer-based homework assignment, each blog comment responding to the initial student review was expected to be 50-100 words long. This type of word as units breakdown helps give perspective to metaphor rates according to total corpus word count, providing a stronger relationship between metaphoric use in each genre and its relation to the data set as a whole. Additionally, separating English and Spanish within the review genre gives insights into the possibility of language-based distinctions.

Table 10
Genres in Relation to Corpus

Genre	Approx. word count	% of total corpus
Review	164,550	49%
English	*-142,500*	*-42%*
Spanish	*-22,050*	*-7%*
Research paper	66,250	19%
Narrative	43,500	13%
Personal response	6,300	2%
Exposition	55,800	17%
Total word counts	336,400	

Table 11 provides a clearer view of metaphor use by looking at each metaphoric phrase used in each genre about all the figurative language that was found in the whole corpus. This demonstrates the rate of use per genre concerning all genre data sets. Rates show the most use of metaphors in the review genre, with more than half of the percentages of usage. Interestingly, when separated by languages, while the English data set accounts for 42% of the corpus, it displays 15% metaphoric rates in direct contrast with the smaller Spanish data set of 7% of the general corpus with 42% of total metaphor use. Other trends show the research paper genre producing a little over one-fifth of use, followed by narratives with 12%. Less metaphoric rich genres include the personal response with 8% and the exposition with only 2% metaphoric usage. A visual representation of the percentage data is offered in Figure 4.

Table 11
Metaphor Counts in Relation to Genres

Genre	Approx. word count	% of total corpus
Review	2,855	60%
English	*-799*	*-17%*
Spanish	*-2,056*	*-43%*
Research paper	905	19%
Narrative	584	12%
Personal response	351	7%
Exposition	98	2%
Total word counts	4,793	
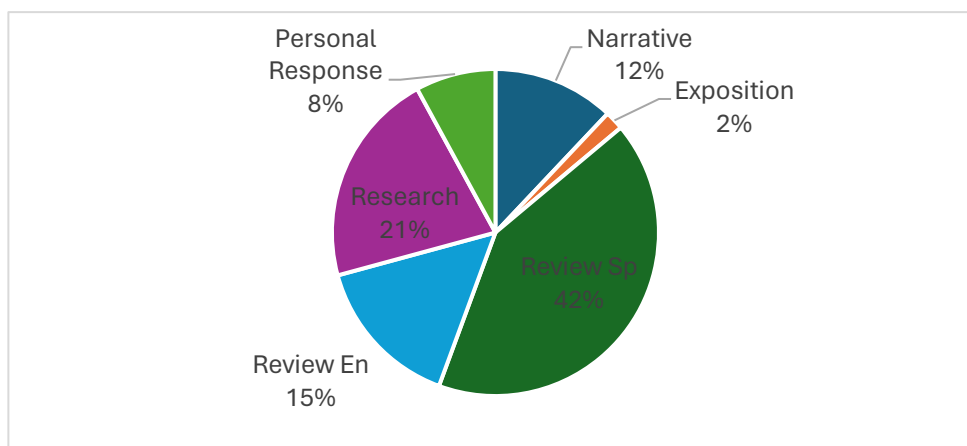
Figure 4. Metaphoric Themes

Metaphoric frequencies are displayed in Table 12 by dividing the number of units used by the total amount of conceptual metaphors found in all the provided data. The review in Spanish shows the most use of metaphors per total word count, with 10.3%. The personal response category follows with a 6.9% use, and all categories fall below a 2% threshold. Again, while the English review genre contains more texts and words, it only accounts for .6%. In practice, the exposition genre demonstrates the least amount of student-produced metaphors with .2%. This type of metaphoric frequency counts presents the conceptual metaphor rates by specific genre to produce exact patterns of use.

Table 12
Metaphoric Frequency Across Genres

Genre	# of metaphors	Metaphor frequency
Review English	799	.6^
Review Spanish	2,056	9%
Research paper	905	1.4%
Exposition	98	.2%
Narrative	584	1.3%
Personal response	351	5.6%
Total word counts	4,793	

Due to the different formats for each genre, the expectations posed for each assignment, and the amount of participants in each class, in terms of word counts, the data is uneven for each group of texts. To mitigate each of these factors, equations were put in place to balance the word counts per 100,000 words. Table 13 expresses a per 100,000-word count for each genre, revealing that the research paper data in Spanish produced the most conceptual metaphors with 175 per 100,000 words. This is followed by the narrative group with almost 151 metaphors per 100,000 words. The review genre trailed with almost 103, alongside the personal response grouping with a little over 69. In the end, the review data set in English produced 58 metaphors per 100,000 words, and lastly, the exposition texts produced 18 per a 100,000-word set.

Table 13

Metaphoric Frequency by Target Domain x 100,000 Words

Genre	# of metaphors	Approx. word count	x 100,000 words
Review English	799	142,500	56
Review Spanish	2,056	22,050	93
Research paper (Sp)	905	66,250	14
Exposition (Sp)	98	55,800	2
Narrative (Sp)	584	43,500	13
Personal response (Sp)	351	6,300	55
Total	4,793	336,400	142

The Narrative Genre

The narrative genre functions to recount and describe personal history. Here, students were invited to write about experiences related to verbal socialization in the target language classes. There were 584 conceptual metaphors in the narratives analyzed, with a 1.3% rate of use. Results indicate an average of 6 metaphors per assignment across 93 student texts. The writing prompt requested the students to reflect on language and concepts related to language prevailed at the 70th percentile, with culture and experiences following, as seen in Figure 5.
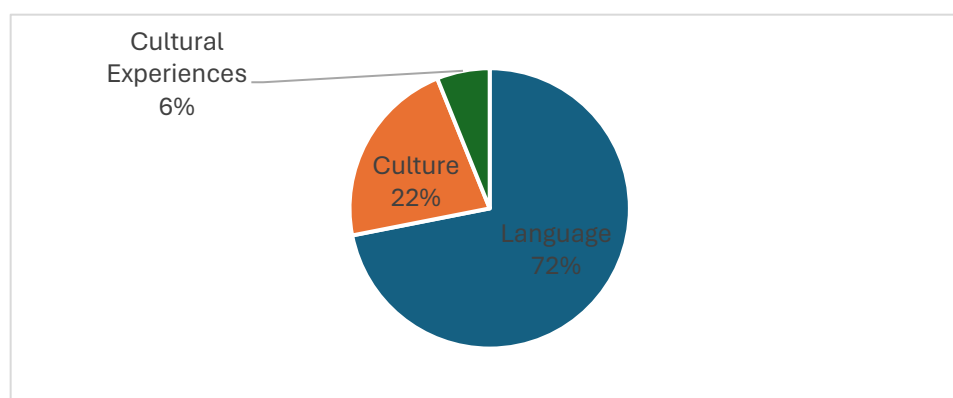
Figure 5. Metaphoric Themes in the Narrative Genre

Figure 6 demonstrates the metaphoric themes within the language target domain. Spanish is mentioned metaphorically almost half the time, followed by bilingualism, English, and language in general. Metaphors regarding code switching were not presented in this genre group.
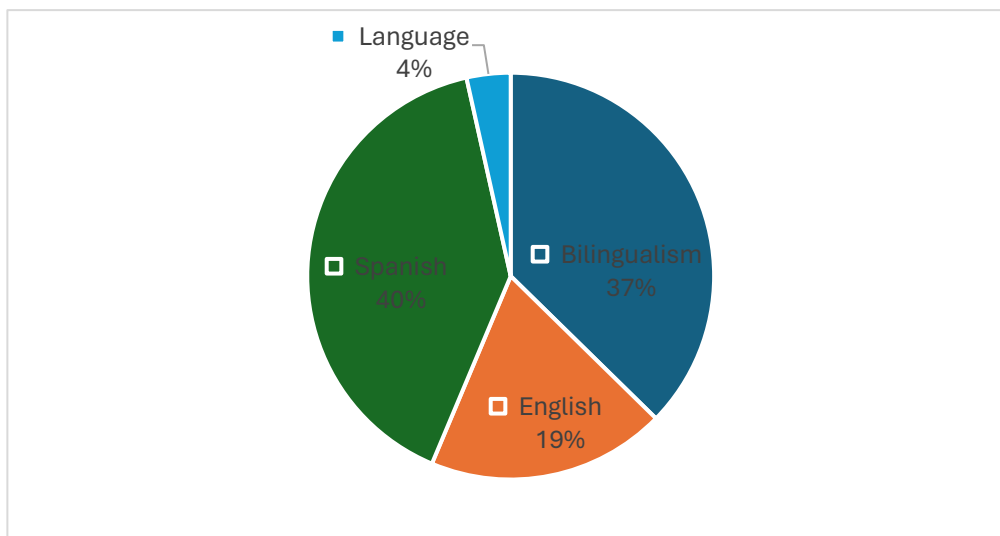
Figure 6. Target Domain in the Narrative Genre: Language-Based Metaphors

The remaining target domain utilized in narrative genres is those based on cultural aspects. For example, Figure 7 displays the cultural factors that promoted metaphoric use. Things related to their own culture were demonstrated with 49%, along with identity at 29%. Other cultural experiences such as education, relationships, healthcare, and assimilation were noted. Students did not touch on subjects related to cultural knowledge, the cultural individual, or social justice.
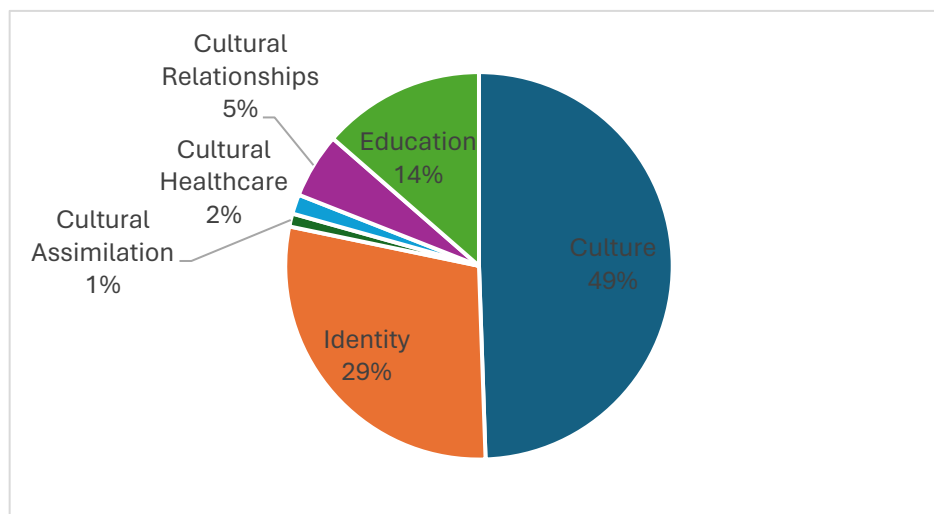
Figure 7. Target Domain in the Narrative Genre: Culture-based

Further analysis separates the source domain and language-based metaphoric options. Figure 4c displays the choices students made within Spanish as the target domain. Participants viewed Spanish, first and foremost, as a natural resource, followed by a journey and then a battle. Ideas related to value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), gift, and bond were next in terms of frequency. Lesser used metaphoric frames including a person, and a building. The least used were that of culture, tool, food, and Spanish as less.
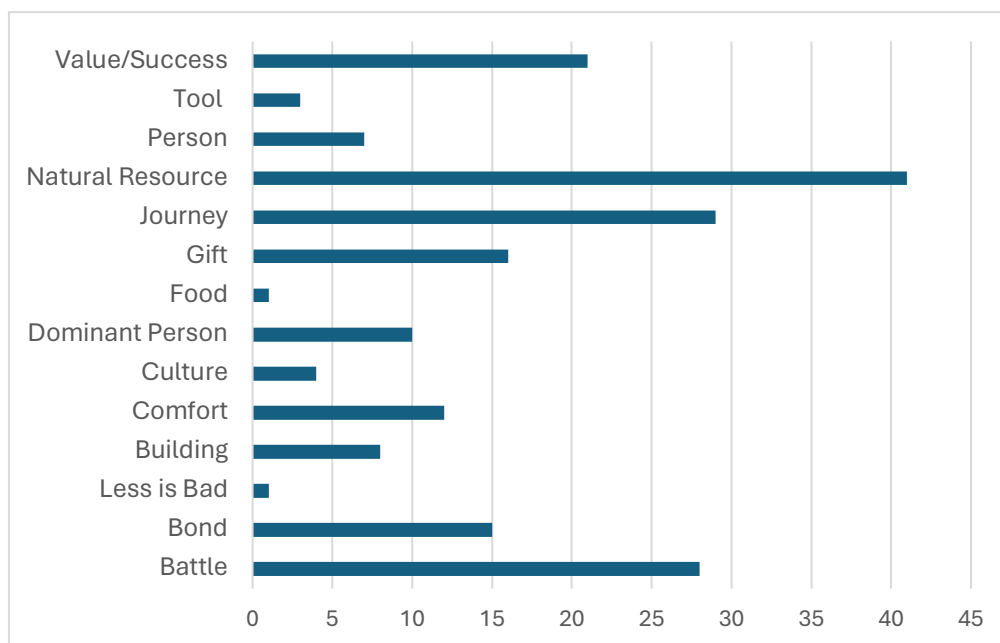
Figure 8. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Spanish

Figure 9 views bilingualism as the target domain. In this case, the most used source portrayed bilingualism as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), and a gift. Other ideas, such as a journey and battle, do arise, but not at the same rates as in the previous Spanish examples. For example, the natural resource category comes up at very low levels in comparison and can be seen at the same levels as the bond, building, tool, and person sources.
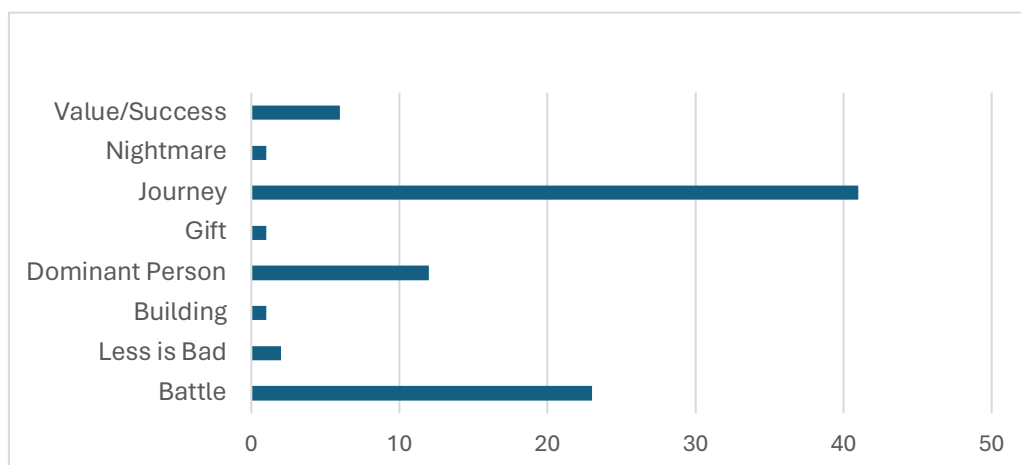
Figure 9. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: English

English-based metaphoric constructions are demonstrated in Figure 4d. Similar themes of a journey and a battle repeat, however, there is a sizable quantity of students speaking about English as the dominant language in relation to the other groupings. Ideas that English is seen as a value (economic, personal, or psychosocial), a gift, a building, and less as bad also remain. A few responses included English as a nightmare.

In terms of language in general, Figure 4e shows the handful of source choices made by the student participants. Mostly, language itself was seen as a liquid. Source domains of a disease, a tool, and a person were shown at similar rates. However, there were no direct relations to it being a natural resource or a bond.
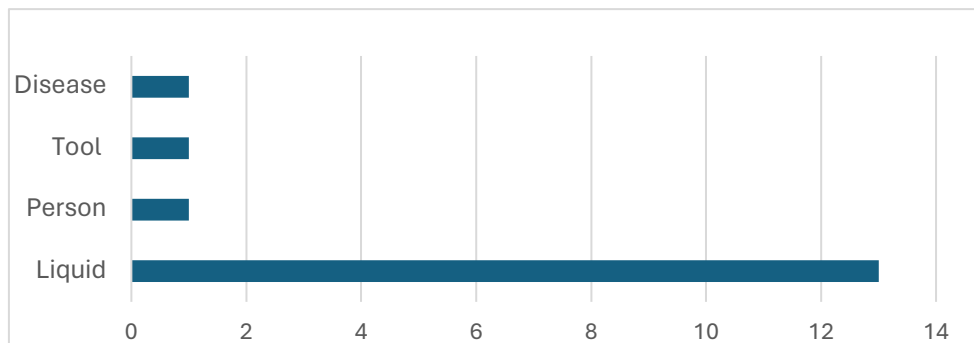
Figure 10. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Language

Shifting to cultural-based metaphors within the narrative genre, Figure 11 delineates the chosen source domains within this theme. The journey concept prevailed, and the group also included metaphors related to battle and natural resources like the other categories. Curiously, students combined other target domains with culture, insinuating that they are linked. For example, bilingualism, Spanish, language, and even code switching were seen as direct cultural traits. Similarly, the general categories of language and culture were also seen as liquid and a bond. Dissimilarly, they could also be perceived as a container or a building.
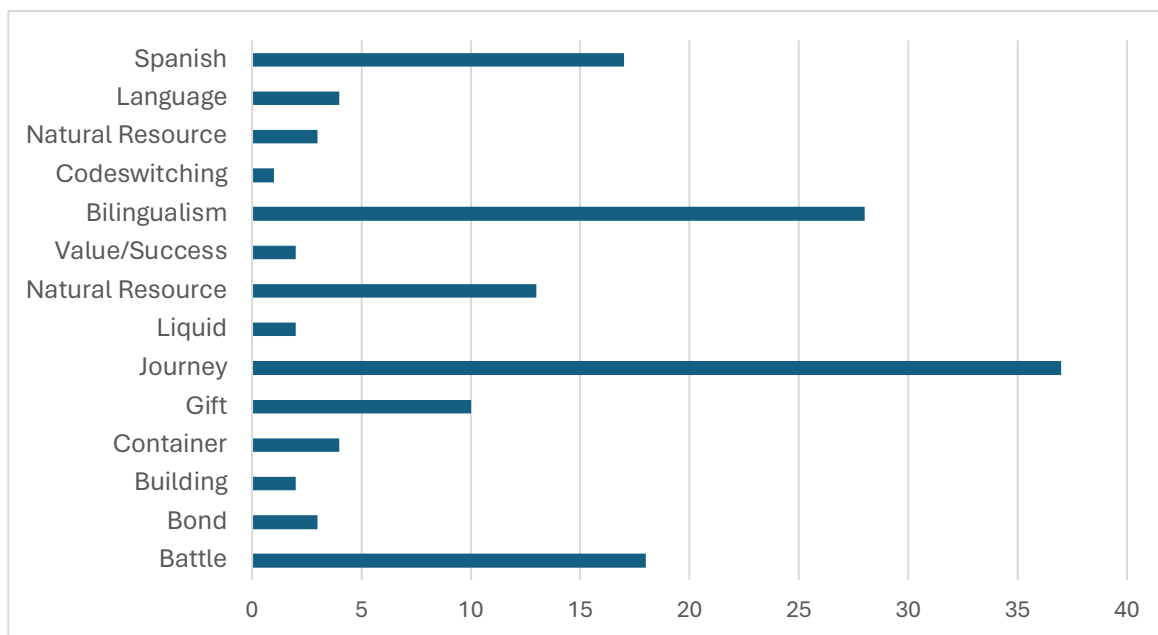
Figure 11. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Culture-Based Metaphors

Cultural experiences were seen through relationships, assimilation, healthcare, and education. Figure 12 displays the battle metaphor within the domains of health care and

assimilation. Additionally, assimilation was also seen as a journey to the same degree as the battle frame. Cultural relationships were shown as a building, one supporting the writer.
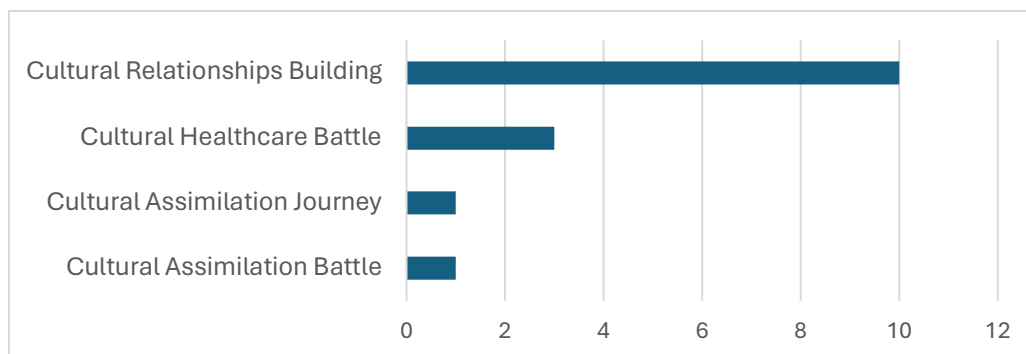
Figure 12. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Culture-Based Metaphors

Figure 13, still under the cultural experience category, presents a closer view of the educational experiences students mentioned. The journey metaphor abounds, followed by the container frame. Concepts such as education being a battle as well as a game and building have the lowest mention.
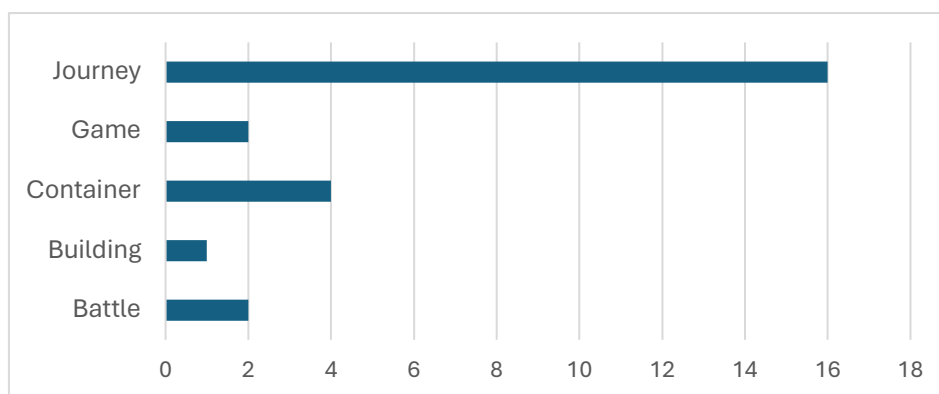
Figure 13. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Education

Exposition

The function of a text written in the exposition style is to propose an argument. Within this group, 98 metaphors were found across 63 texts, displaying an average of 1.5 per document at a 2% rate. This argumentative essay was seen in two different classes across three sections. Students wrote about their language experiences more than ¾ of the time, with the remaining metaphors falling in with concepts related to their culture and identity. Cultural experiences were not mentioned (see Figure 14).
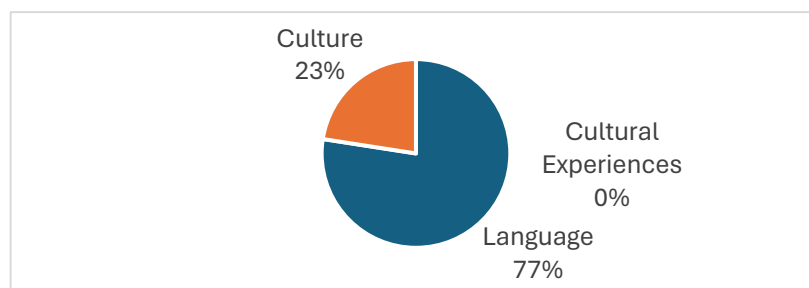
Figure 14. Source Domain in the Narrative Genre: Education

The target domain of the produced language-based metaphors showed mentions of Spanish and English at similar rates. Figure 15 displays the use of Spanish-based metaphors at 44% use and English at 41%. This is followed by bilingualism at 10% and language in general at 5%. Issues related to code switching were not mentioned. In terms of cultural ideas, culture and identity were mentioned, but not any cultural experiences.
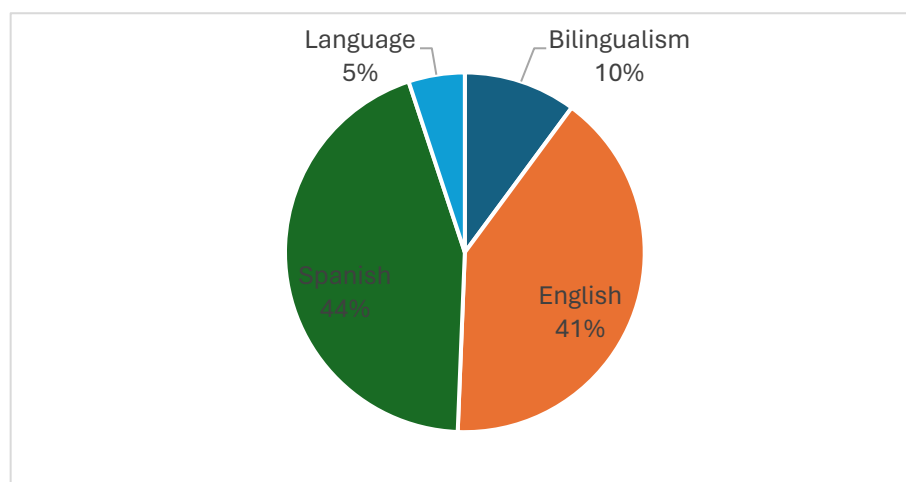
Figure 15. Target Domain in the Exposition Genre: Language-based Metaphors

According to Figure 16 and the source domain in language-based metaphors, students spoke most about Spanish. Within this domain, there was an appraisal regarding Spanish in a hierarchical scheme where it was seen as a dominant person. This is followed by Spanish being seen as a gift, a natural resource, and a bond. Lesser used frames include Spanish as a battle and person with journey, and building being used the least.
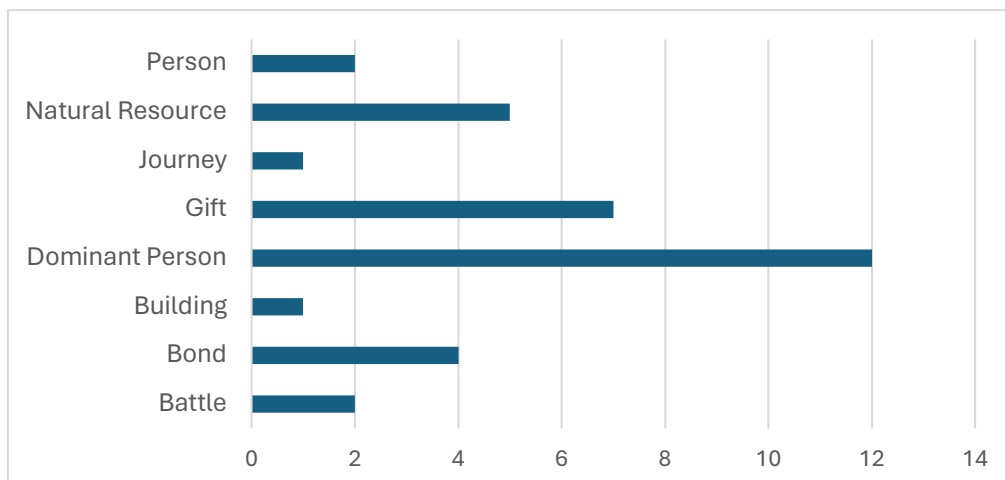
Figure 16. Source Domain in the Exposition Genre: Spanish

Figure 17 shows similar trends where English as a language is seen as the dominant person and lesser metaphors are of English being a gift.
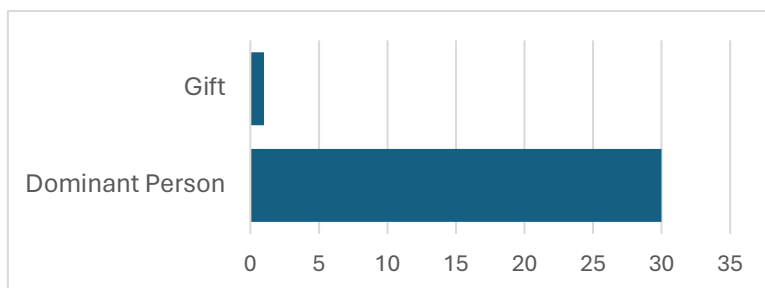
Figure 17. Source Domain in the Exposition Genre: English

Tendencies towards hierarchy continue as bilingualism is seen as a dominant person through Figure 18. After, it is seen as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), and lastly as a journey.
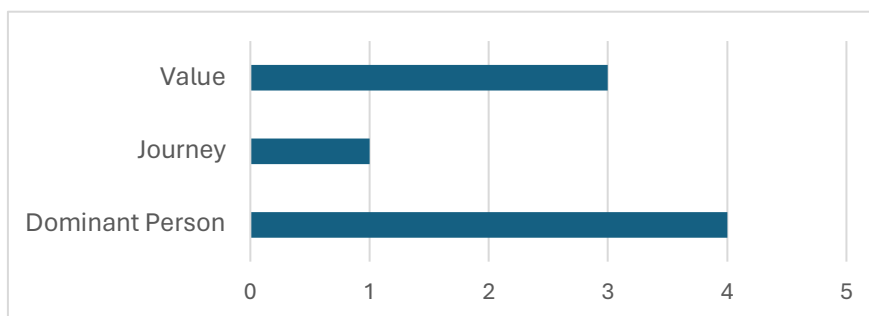
Figure 18. Source Domain in the Exposition Genre: Bilingualism

Within metaphors related to language in general, students continue to personify language and see it with a liquid quality (see Figure 19).
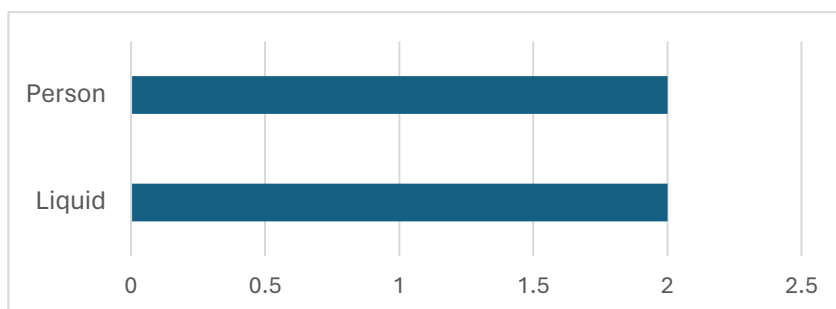
Figure 19. Source Domain in the Exposition Genre: Language

Culture and identity-based metaphors also show matters of opinion regarding the order and grading of cultural items. Students delineate certain cultures being dominant in specific spaces. After, culture is seen as a gift, a natural resource, and a liquid. Traces of the battle metaphor are still seen, but less than in other genres. Lesser metaphoric categories include a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), a person, a container, and a building (see Figure 20).
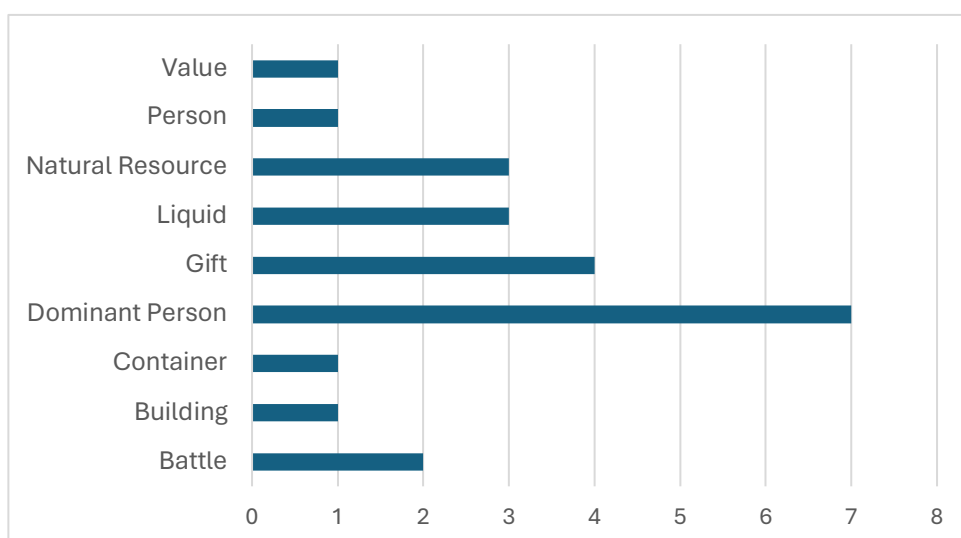
Figure 20. Source Domain in the Exposition Genre: Culture

Research Paper

The Research Paper genre functions as a proposed scientific investigation. While only in Spanish, this type of assignment is included in many courses and has been collected from four different classes across five sections. In this genre, the use of metaphor rate was 6 metaphors per document with 905 instances across 145 texts. Within this genre, language metaphors were used more than half of the time, followed by cultural experiences with a little over a third, and lastly, culture and identity with an 8% use (see Figure 21).
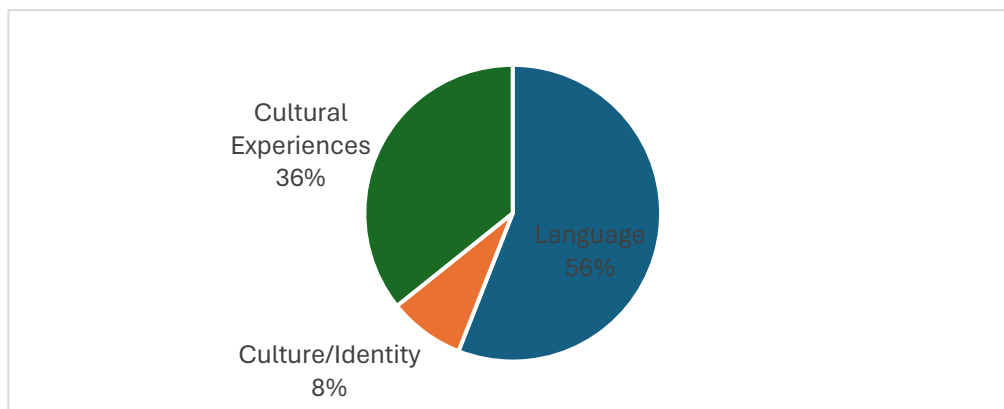
Figure 21. Themes in the Research Genre

According to the target domain, language-based metaphors included themes related to bilingualism at 39%, Spanish at 25%, languages in general at 17%, English at 13%, and code switching at 6% (see Figure 22).
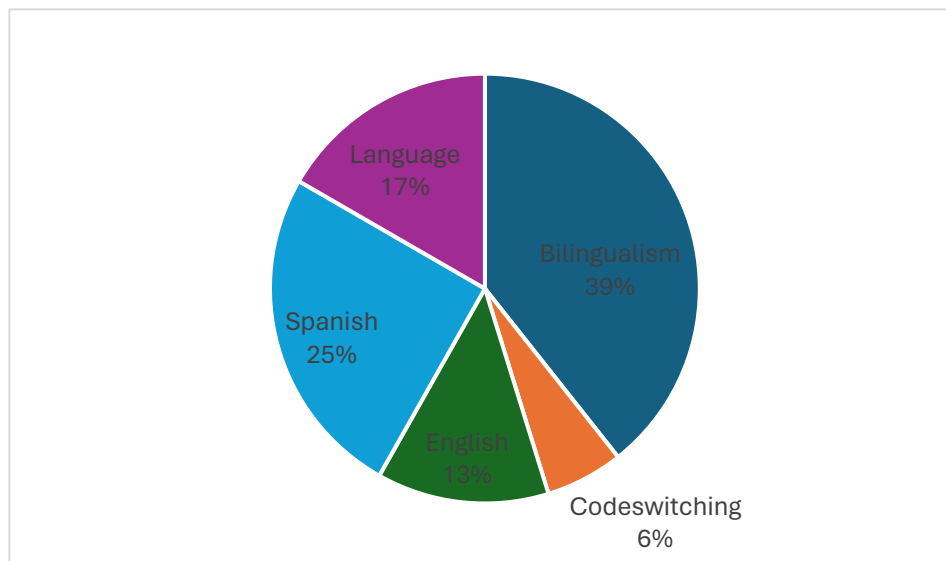
Figure 22. Target Domain in the Research Genre: Language-Based Metaphors

Target domains in culturally based metaphors begin to differ from previously seen genres. As seen in Figure 23, the topic of healthcare as a cultural experience dominates with 58% use. Other important experiences include education at 21%, relationships at 1%, and social justice at 1%. Issues related to culture are seen with an 11% frequency and those regarding identity at an 8% rate.
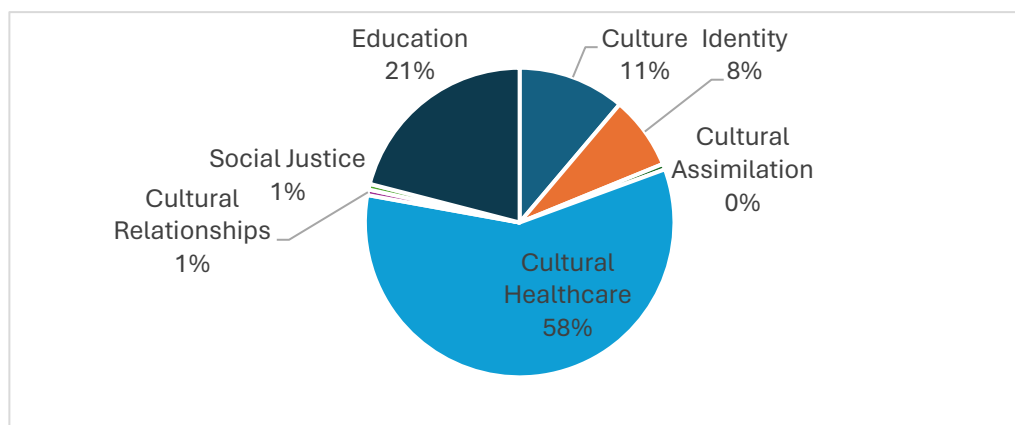
Figure 23. Target Domain in the Research Genre: Culture-Based Metaphors

In examining the source domain within language-based metaphors, Figure 24 delineates the most used metaphoric frames concerning bilingualism. Overwhelmingly, bilingualism is seen as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), first, and then it follows with being a journey or a battle. Other frequently used sources include a gift, a building, a bond, and a natural resource. More minor metaphoric constructions include a tool, a person, a game, a container, and being a dominant person. This genre differentiates itself in its choice of bilingualism as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), as general source domains usually include the natural resource category in combination with the journey and battle metaphors.
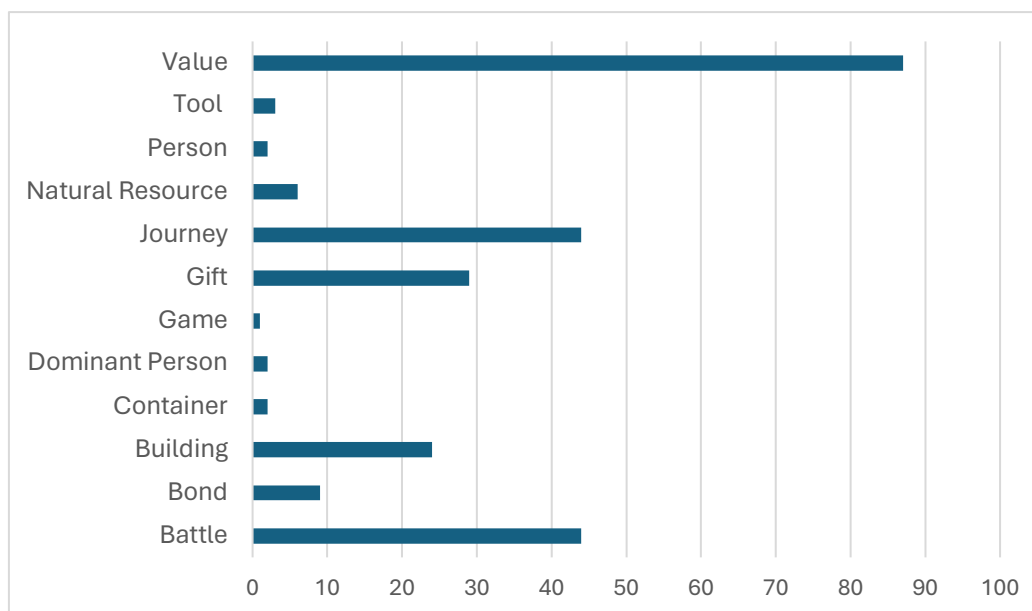
Figure 24. Target Domain in the Research Genre: Bilingualism

The source domains visible within Spanish as a target are seen in Figure 25. In direct contrast with ideas seen in bilingualism, Spanish is viewed mostly as a natural resource alongside the most chosen battle, building, and journey metaphors. Next, concepts related to Spanish being a gift, dominant person, value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), bond, and tool are present. Lesser displayed constructions are person, culture, and less is bad.
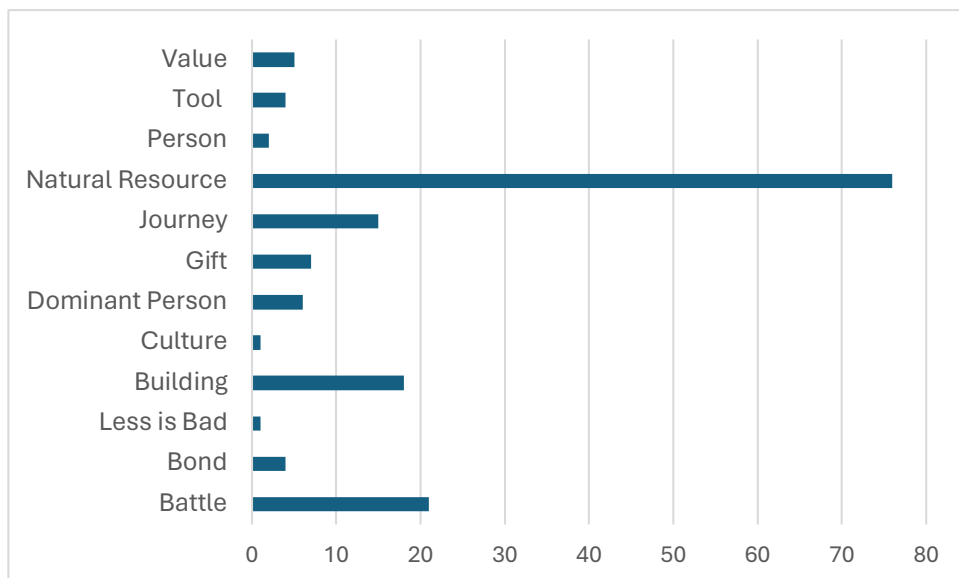
Figure 25. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Spanish

Regarding language as a whole, Figure 26 delineates the chosen source domains by student participants. As seen in other genres, language is communicated as something liquid most often and secondly has the corresponding idea of it being a natural resource. After it is displayed with language associated with it being a tool, a bond, or a person.
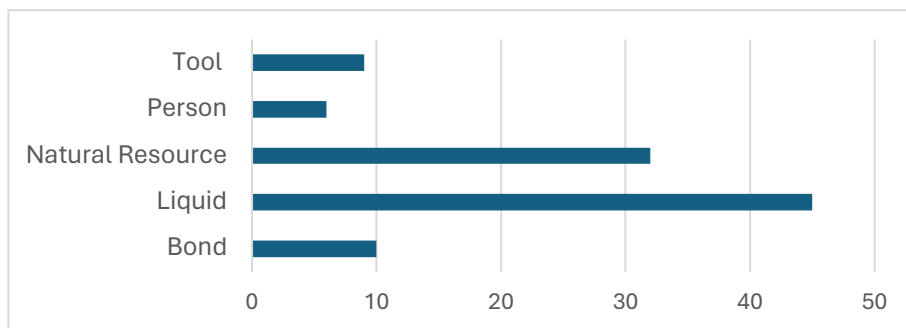
Figure 26. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Language

Figure 27 outlines the source domain choices with the target domain of English. Significantly, the battle metaphor overpowers this category, followed by English being dominant person. Lesser found constructions include English as a journey.
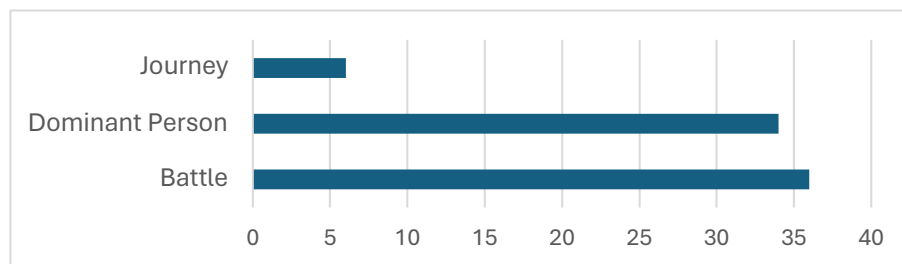
Figure 27. Source Domain in the Research Genre: English

When speaking about code switching, source domains mimic trends from bilingualism as a target domain. As seen in Figure 28, code switching is seen as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), as well as a bond at the same rate. After that, we can see it as a building, and a battle. Other uses include it being dominant person as well as a person or a journey. The least seen was it being a gift.
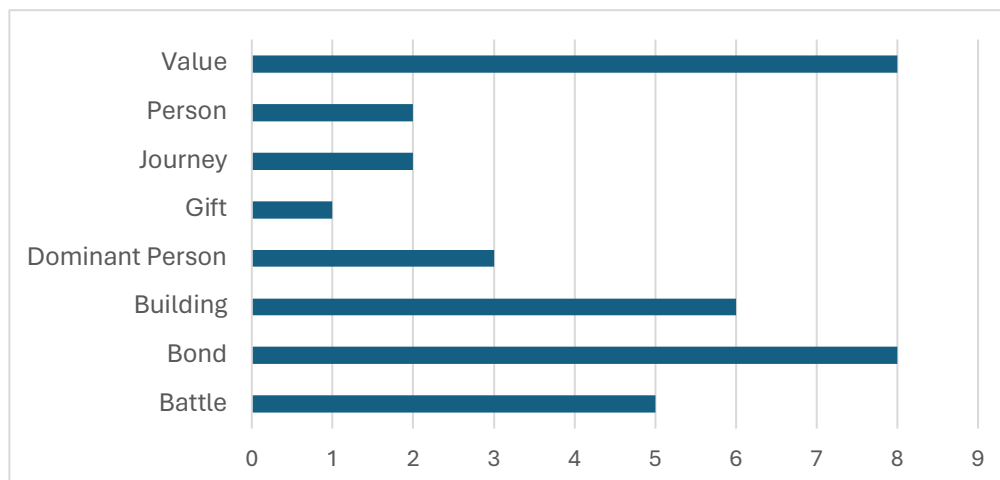
Figure 28. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Codeswitching

Culture-based metaphors within the research genre imitate general metaphoric trends. Figure 29 shows that the top three conceptual metaphors here are the same as in many other genres: natural resource, journey, and battle followed closely by a container. Other themes include culture being liquid, a gift, a dominant person, a building, food, or a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal).
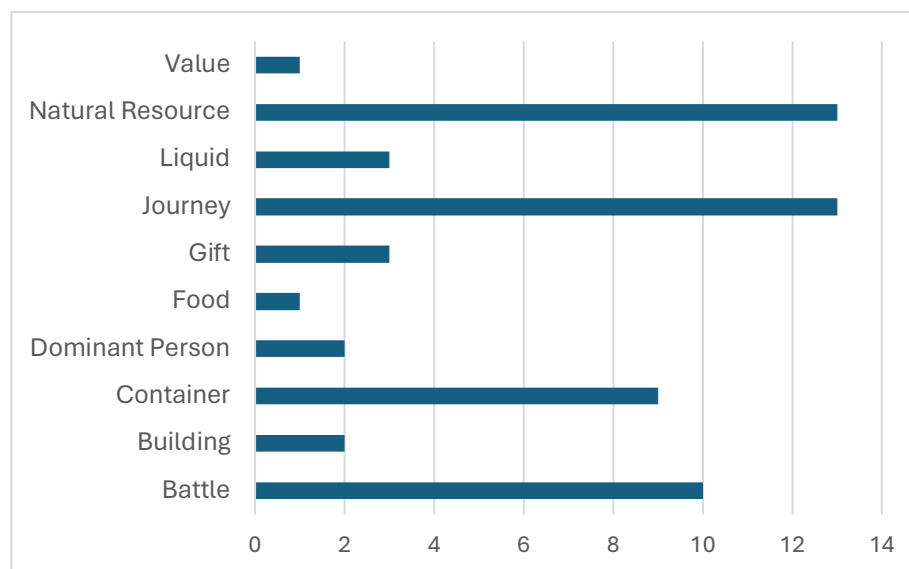
Figure 29. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Culture

When speaking about personal and cultural identity, students made interesting connections between language and culture (see Figure 30). For example, most often, they made a direct

association between identity and code switching. Other links include identity as Spanish, language, bilingualism, and culture. Like other concepts, they also perceive identity as a natural resource.
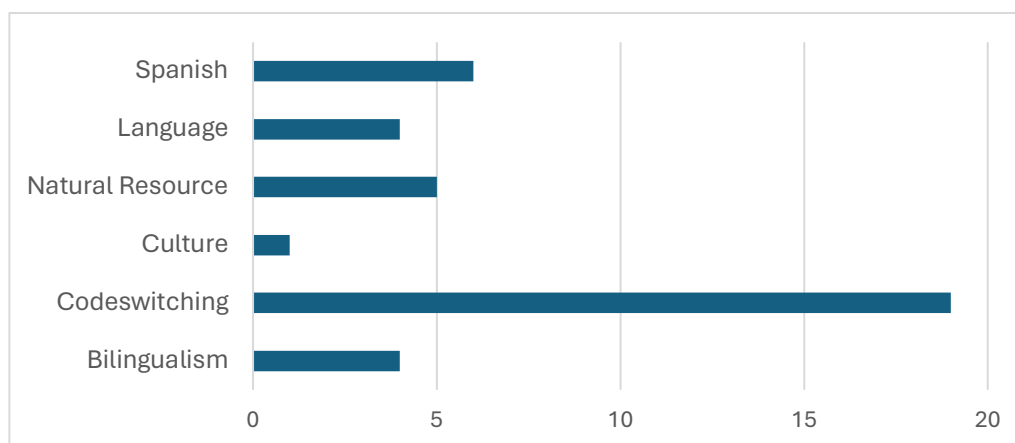
Figure 30. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Identity

Figure 31 shows the students' thoughts about their own cultural experiences. Within this grouping, healthcare as a journey as well as a battle can be seen most often, with some references to it being a game. Other journey and battle-type metaphors are seen through social justice. Cultural assimilation is also a battle, and cultural relationships are seen as a building.
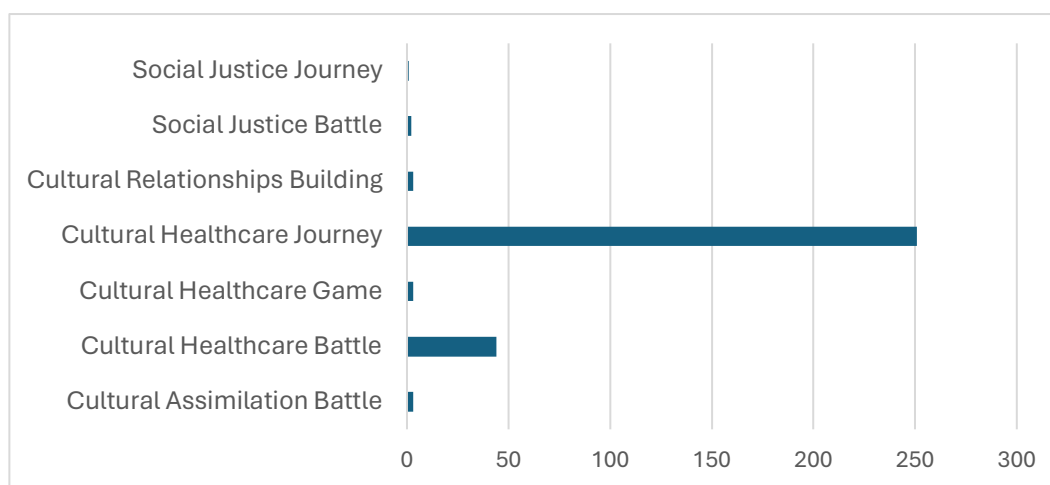
Figure 31. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Cultural Experiences

As a specific cultural experience, education is seen through a similar lens where it is most commonly a journey but also perceived as a battle (see Figure 32). Lesser instances include education as a container, a building, a gift, and a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal).
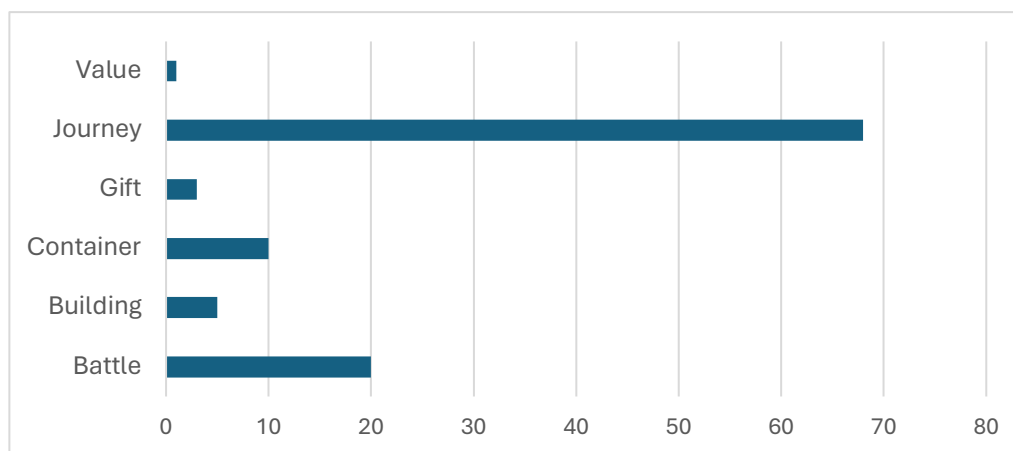
Figure 32. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Education

Review

The overall function of a review is to summarize and contextualize information. For the sake of this project, the review genre has complete data sets for Spanish and English texts from two classes across four sections, creating a space to compare the languages through metaphoric construction as well as genre-specific writing. Total review results in English and Spanish include 2,855 Metaphors across 348 texts with an average of 8 metaphors per document. In general, the review category used language-based metaphors almost half the time, cultural experience one-third of the time, and one related to culture and identity one-fifth of the time (see Figure 33).
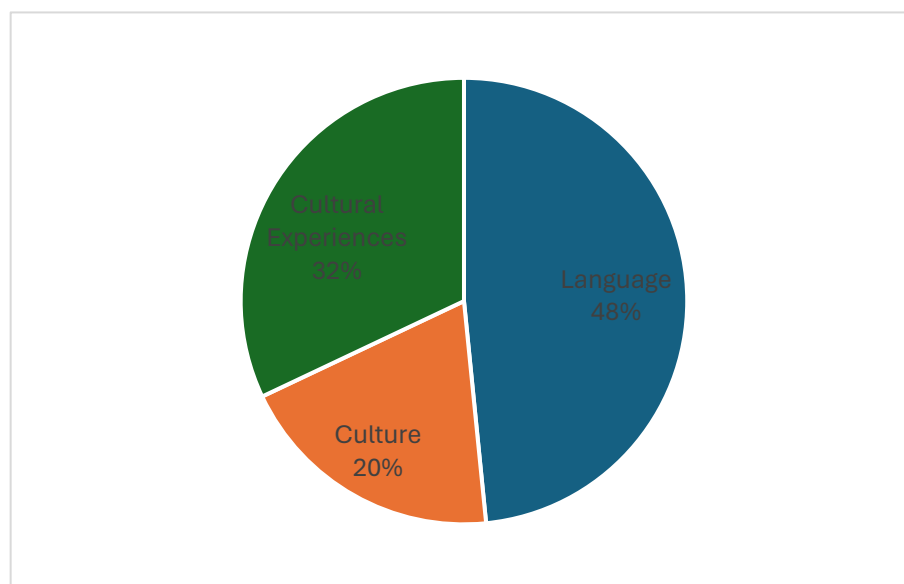
Figure 33. Metaphoric Themes in the Review Genre

Review Genre in Spanish

Within the Spanish review genre, students used a total of 2,056 Metaphors across 63 texts with an average of 32 metaphors per document. Metaphoric themes include language use at a 65% rate, culture experiences at 21%, and culture and identity at 14% (see Figure 34).
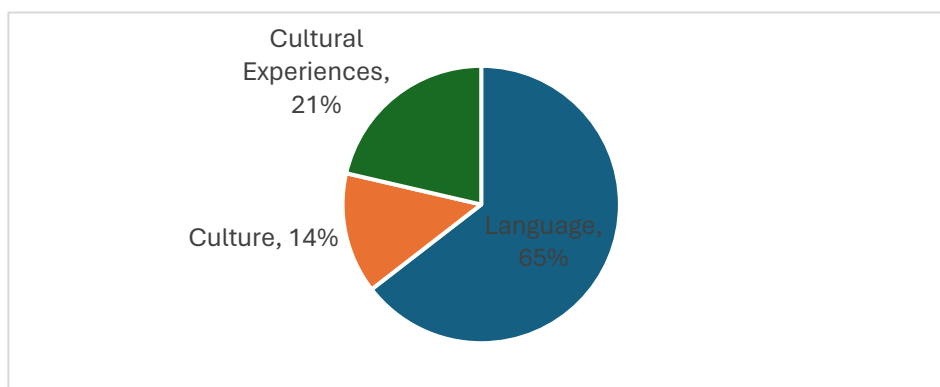
Figure 34. Metaphoric Themes in the Review Genre: Spanish

The target domain with the language-based metaphors indicates close associations between Spanish and bilingualism. In Figure 35, Spanish is mentioned slightly more than bilingualism, with 39% compared to 32%. Next, English is used as a target with 17%, followed by language in general with 9% and 3% code switching.
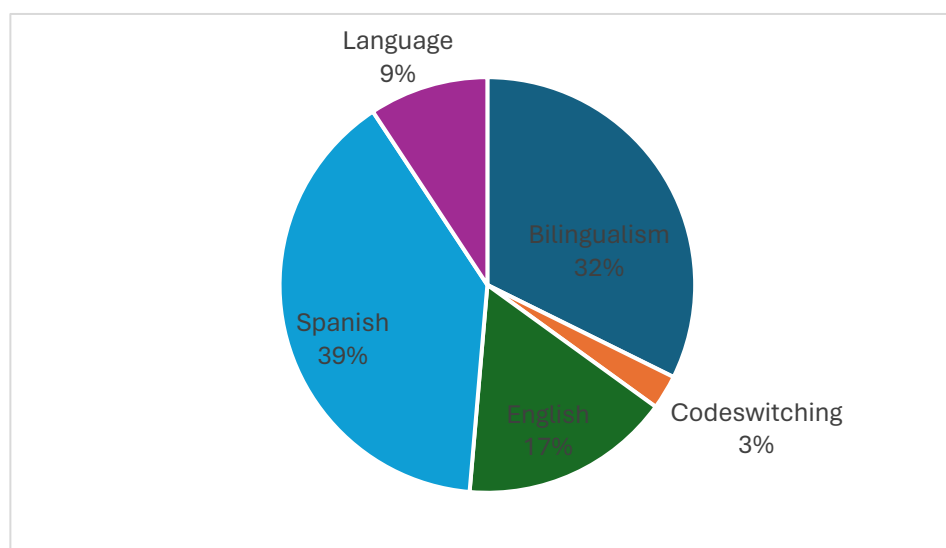
Figure 35. Target Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Language

In terms of culture, within the review genre, students chose to speak about healthcare at a very high rate compared to other genres probably due to it being a course topic (see Figure 36). Healthcare is seen 38% of the time, followed by culture with 27%. After, students wrote about education with 19% and identity with 13%. Lesser mentioned metaphorical targets include relationships and assimilation.
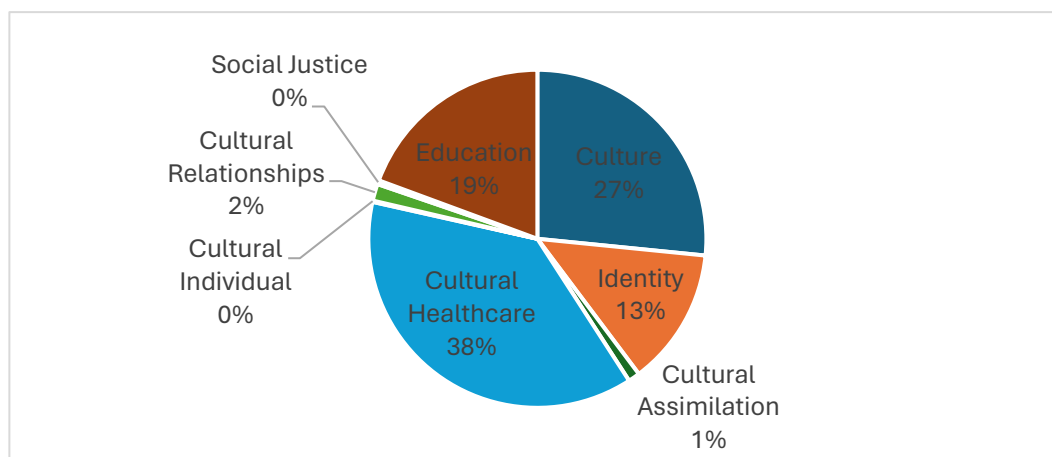
Figure 36. Target Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Culture-Based Metaphors

The review genre in Spanish presents several source domains for language and culture. Figure 37 displays the source domain for the most used language-based metaphors. Mostly, students spoke about Spanish metaphorically and connected it to being a natural resource as well as deficient. The general themes related to journey and battle arise next, followed by it being a gift, dominant person, value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), a building, and then a bond. Metaphors that are least used in this section include Spanish being a person, a tool, culture, or food.
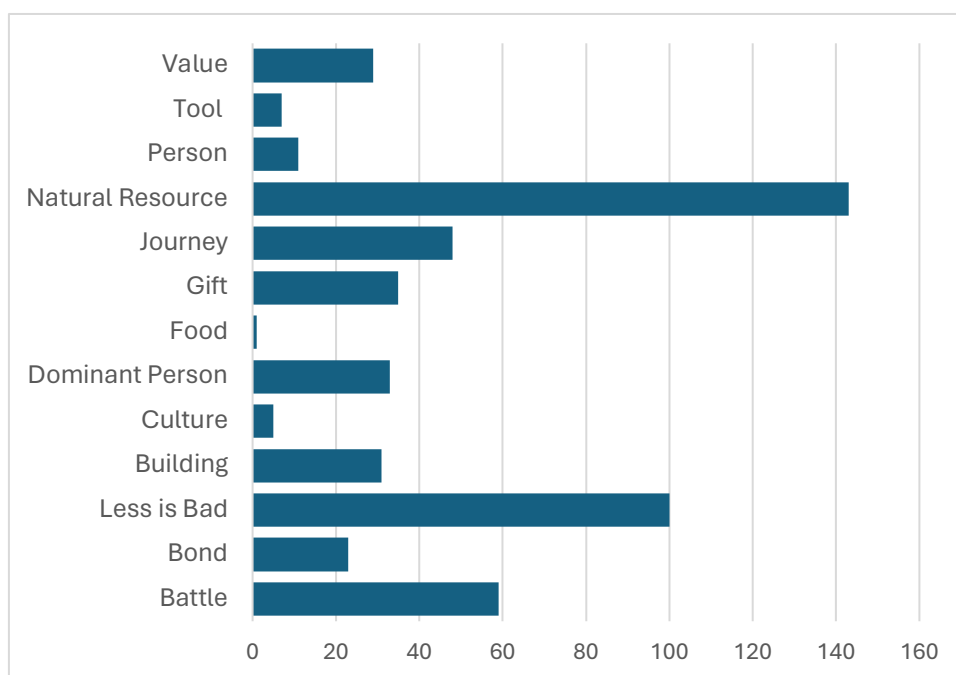
Figure 37. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Spanish

Next, students choose bilingualism as a language-based target domain. Figure 38 shows that bilingualism is communicated as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), at a high rate, followed by it being a gift. Then, similar themes of journey and battle metaphors arise. Those related to being a building, a natural resource, a bond, or a dominant person follow. Lesser-used concepts include a tool, person, game, and container.
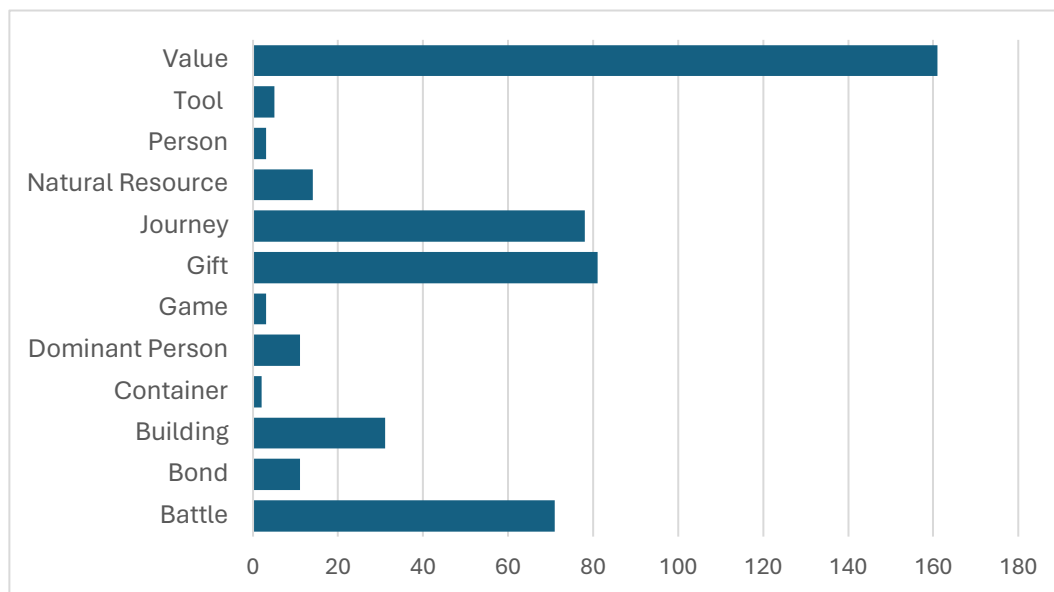
Figure 38. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Bilingualism

When speaking about English, students overwhelmingly related it to being a dominant person, followed by it being a battle and journey. Themes repeat with battle and journey metaphors, but it is interesting to note that the natural resource category is not shown while the sense that English is a dominant factor is present. Metaphors related to the language being less, a gift or a building are presented less frequently. An interesting addition is English as a nightmare to the conceptual metaphor list.
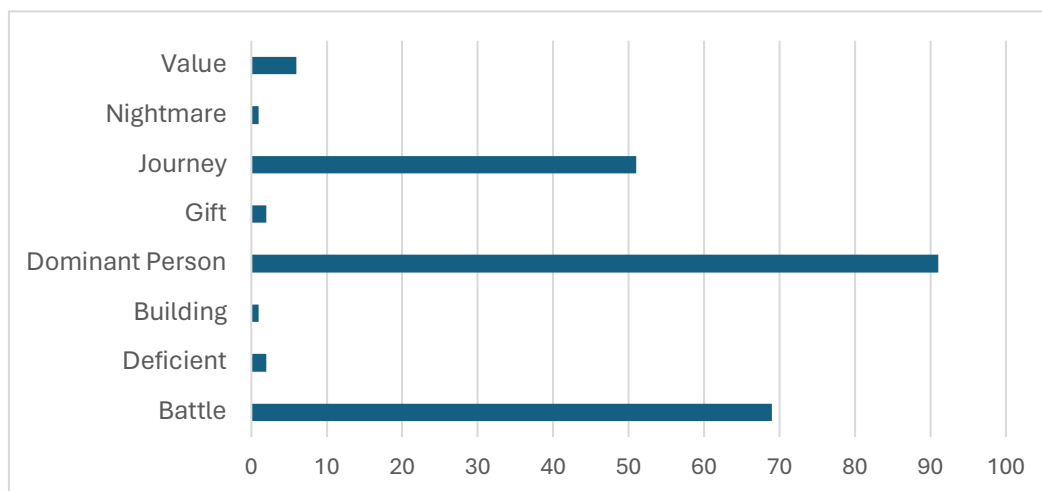
Figure 39. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: English

Figure 40 displays students' metaphoric reactions to language in general. Within this frame, it is viewed as primarily liquid and a natural resource. After, it was seen as a bond, person, and tool. A minimal yet unique addition is the language being seen as a disease.
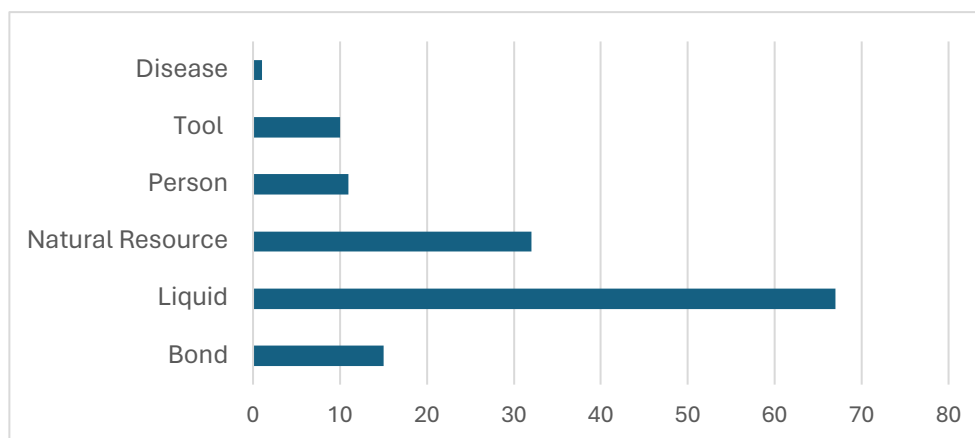
Figure 40. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Language

When speaking about code switching, it was most frequently connected to a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), or a bond, with it being a building following close behind. This category displays differences with the general trends and metaphors related to a building surface over those of the battle. Ideas related to it being dominance arise, and the least used concepts include it being a person, a journey, and a gift. This category differs from major trends as journey and battle do not prevail, and the natural resource frame does not appear.
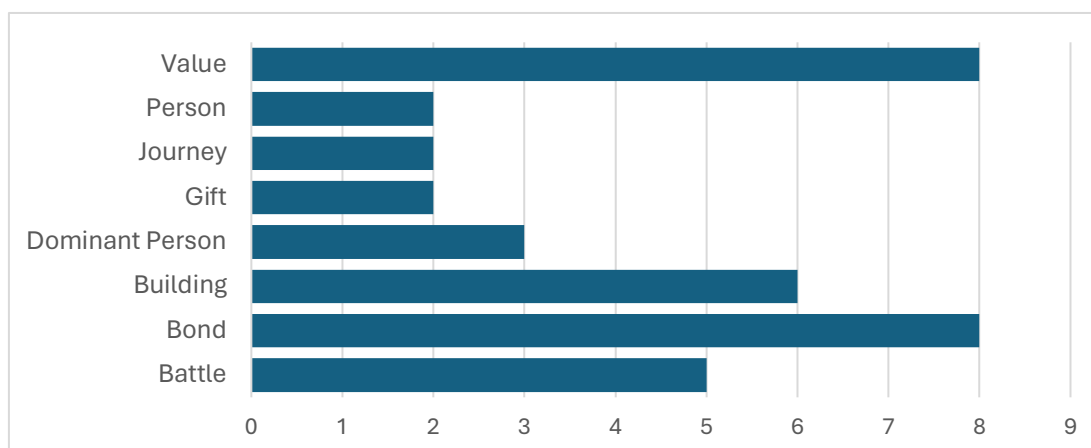
Figure 41. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Codeswitching

Culture-based Metaphors are displayed in Figure 42 as the source domain. Dominant trends return as the journey, natural resource, and battle metaphors are most frequent. Next, culture as a gift or container is portrayed. It is the dominant person, a liquid, a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), or a building that is seen as most used. Least seen are those metaphors related to a bond, a person, or food.
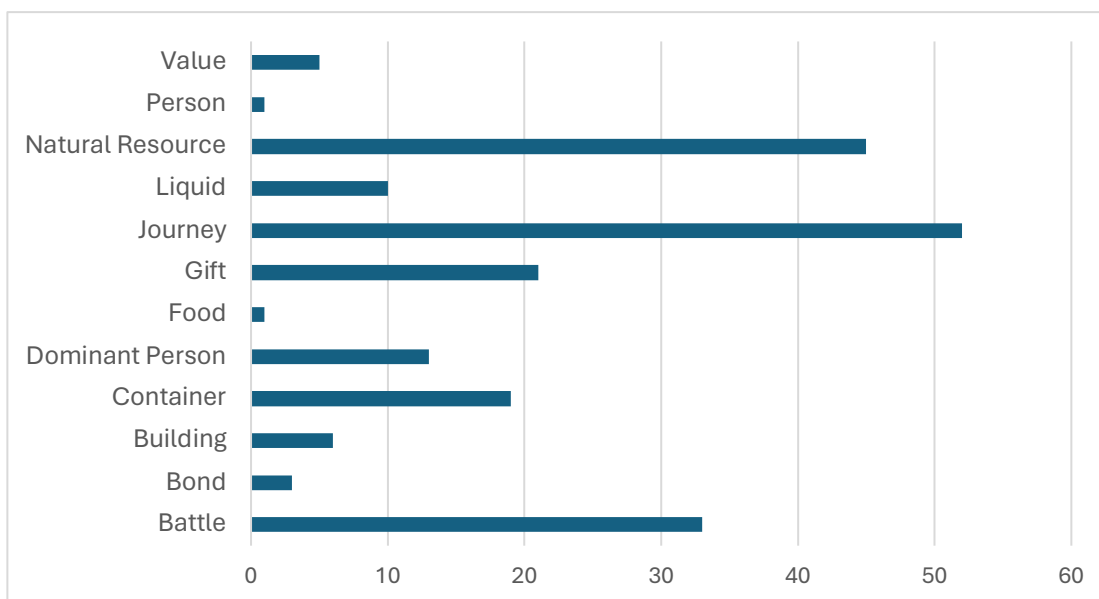
Figure 42. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Culture

Those metaphors related to identity have been mentioned and are not frequently expanded upon in other genres due to the lack of source domains within the category. Figure 43 shows an extended illustration of connections students made to identity as the target domain. Here, students make overwhelming connections to bilingualism, Spanish code-switching language, and culture as a direct part of identity. Additionally, it is seen as a natural resource like other categories, yet the journey and battle metaphors are not present.
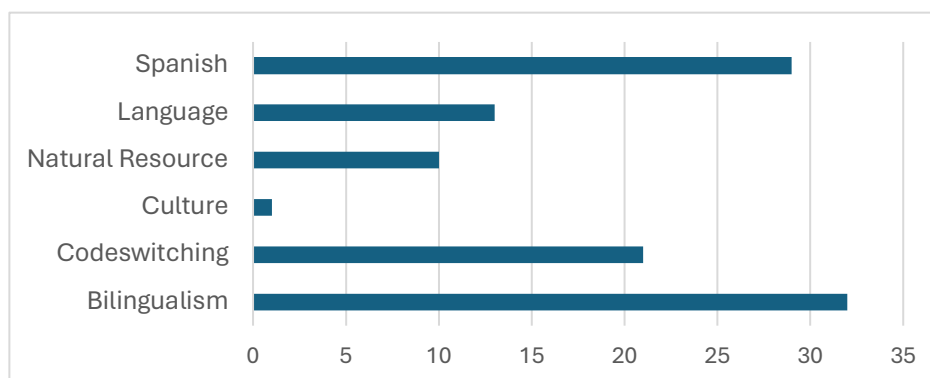
Figure 43. Source Domain in the Spanish Review Genre: Identity

Metaphors based on cultural experiences repeat overall trends, and the journey of healthcare is present at a high rate, with it being a battle next on the list (see Figure 44). The journey and battle metaphor extends to social justice and assimilation. Furthermore, cultural relationships are seen as a building, healthcare as a game, and cultural individuals as animals.
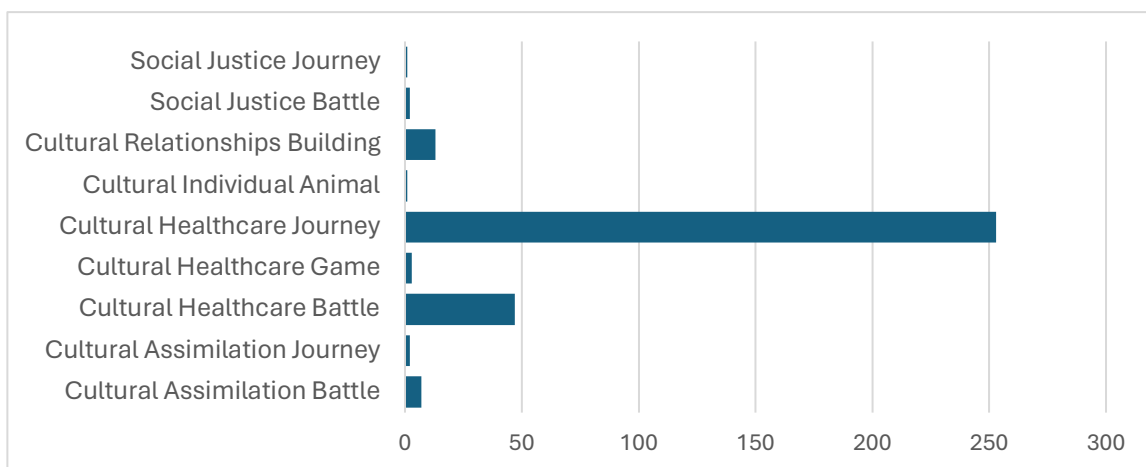
Figure 44. Source Domain in the Research Genre: Cultural Experiences

When education is seen as a cultural experience, it, too, is described as a journey at the highest frequency, with battle being next in terms of use (see Figure 45). The container metaphor follows with it being a building or gift thereafter. Lastly, education is seen as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), or a game.
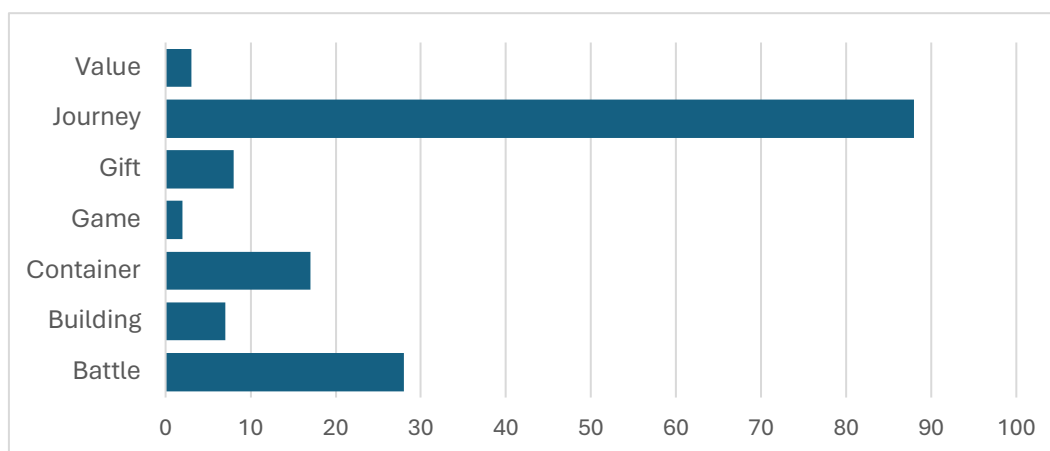

Figure 45. Source Domain in the Spanish Research Genre: Education

Review Genre in English

The Review genre in English offers 799 metaphors across 285 texts with an average of 3 metaphors per document. Here, those linked to cultural experiences lead 61% of the time with culture/identity issues followed by 35%, and only mention language about 4% of the time (see Figure 46).
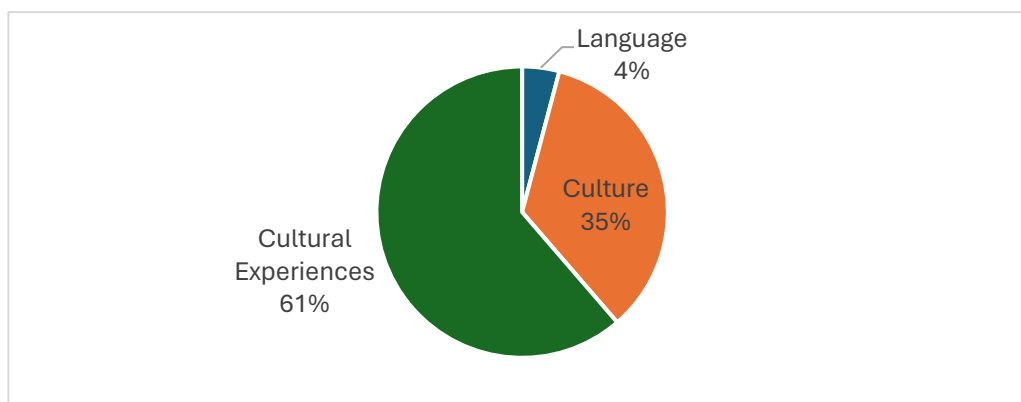
Figure 46. Metaphoric Themes in the English Review Genre

Language-based metaphors as the target domain manifest as ones related to Spanish at 46%, bilingualism at 29%, English at 21%, and language in general at 4% rate (see Figure 47).
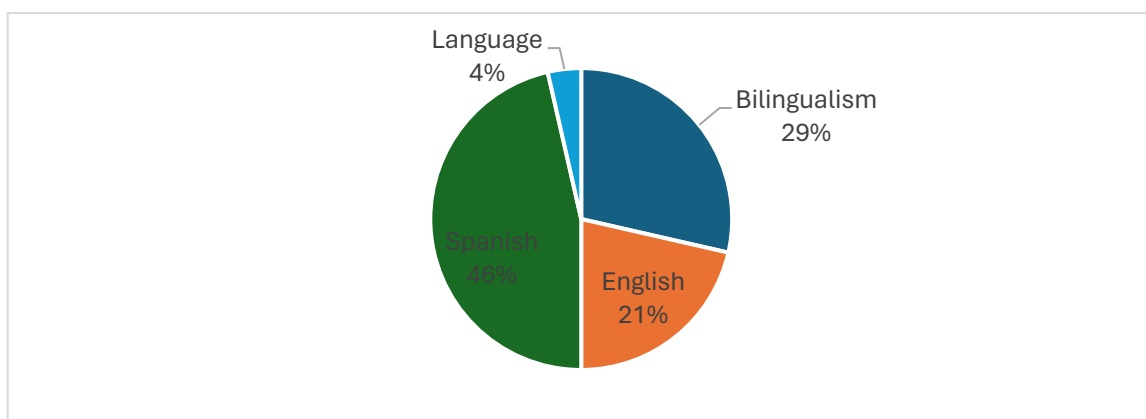

Figure 47. Target Domain in the English Review Genre: Language-Based

Within those culture-based metaphors, education as a cultural experience is the most common theme (see Figure 48). This differs from most other genre-based analyses in this project. Culture and identity are seen at 35%, followed by issues related to social justice at 17%. Lesser targets include assimilation, relationships, cultural knowledge, and individuals within the culture.
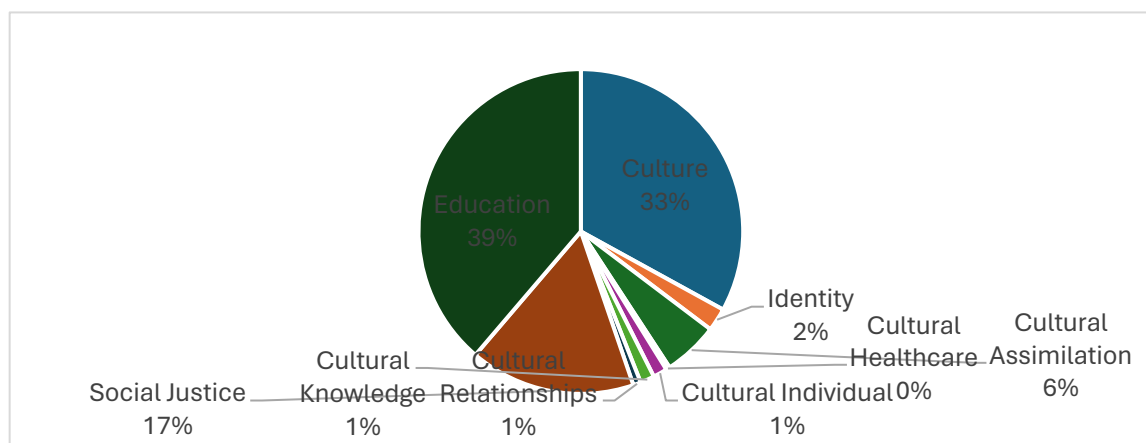

Figure 48. Target Domain in the English Review Genre: Culture-Based

According to the language-based metaphors in the source domain, students in the English classes are speaking of language in terms of Spanish and English bilingualism and not in terms of language itself or code switching between languages. Also, there is a limit to what kind of source domains they choose. Figure 49 displays metaphors related to bilingualism, and students spoke of it in terms of a battle mostly, followed by a journey, and then a tool or a game. Unlike other genres, the idea of it being a natural resource is not present, and that of it being like a game is there in students' writing.
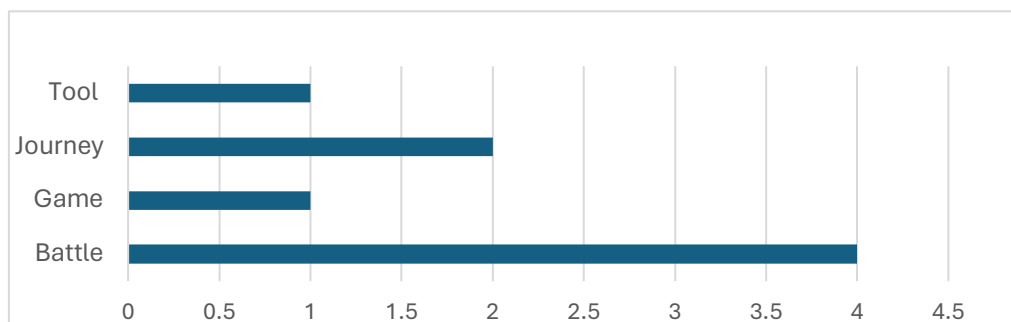

Figure 49. Target Domain in the English Review Genre: Bilingualism

In terms of English, it is also seen mostly as a battle with corresponding rates of being a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), and a journey (see Figure 50).
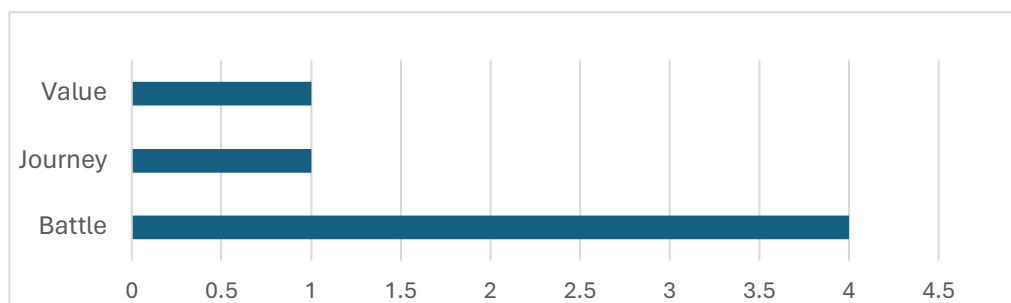

Figure 50. Target Domain in the English Review Genre: English

Intriguingly, the natural resource metaphoric frame is found abundantly when speaking about Spanish in written English. Other common frames like journey and battle are seen here, and the idea that Spanish is deficient is also demonstrated (see Figure 51).
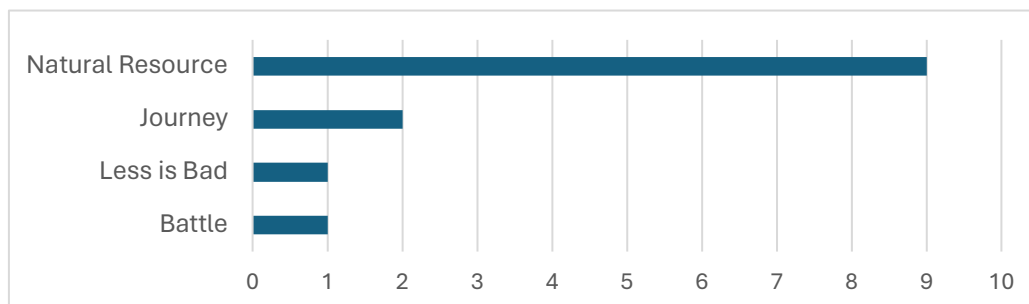

Figure 51. Target Domain in the English Review Genre: Spanish

Culture-based metaphor responses repeat overarching themes. Figure 52 shows culture as a battle, a natural resource, and a journey, like most other groupings. Other constructions include it being a container, a bond, and a building. Lesser used concepts are that of it being a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), liquid, a burden, and food. Differing from other categories, they include culture being a game, food, or a burden as metaphoric possibilities.
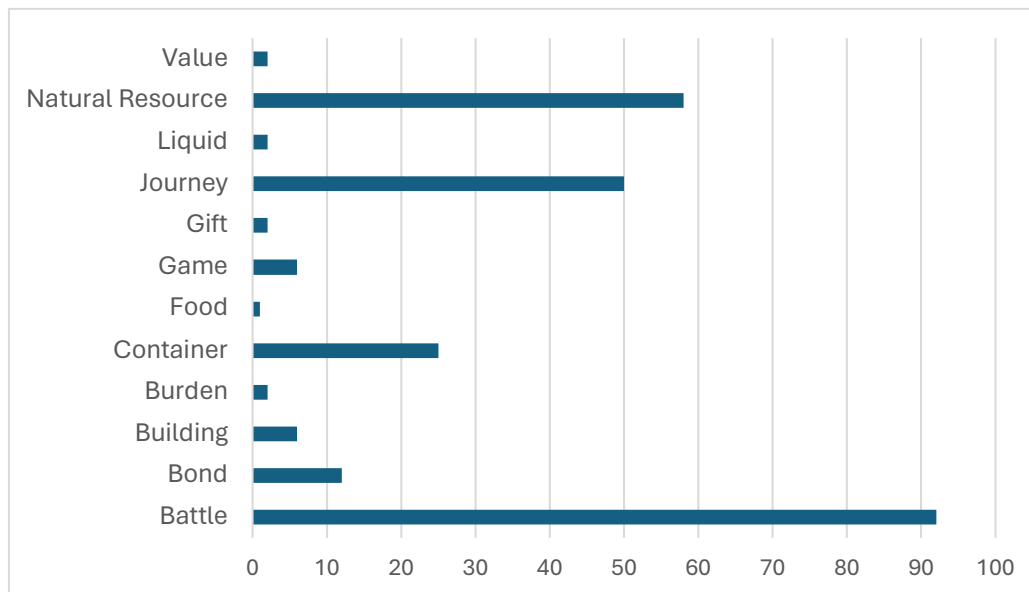

Figure 52. Source Domain in the English Review Genre: Culture

Within this genre, students explored terms related to identity and showed them as the main three conceptual metaphors: battle, natural resource, and journey, while also including bilingualism as a component of identity (see Figure 53).
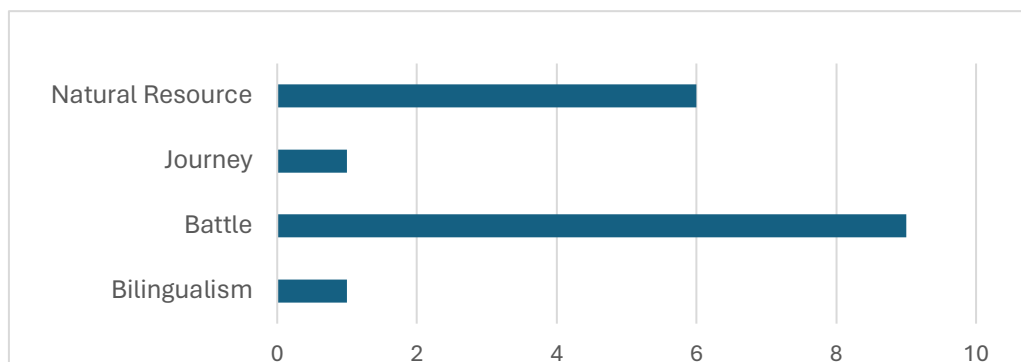

Figure 53. Source Domain in the English Review Genre: Identity

Cultural experiences were likened to the top three metaphoric categories, but students also had creative conceptual connections not seen in other genres. For example, Figure 54 shows the common themes of social justice as a battle and a journey but also adds it is like food. The battle and journey metaphors are also seen in terms of assimilation and healthcare. However, they also add ideas related to the cultural individual as it being seen as diseased or an animal. Relationships, like in other sections, are seen as a building, bringing support to the individual. A new construction

seen only in the English genre is that of cultural knowledge being a natural resource, a framing that is usually attributed to issues related to language.
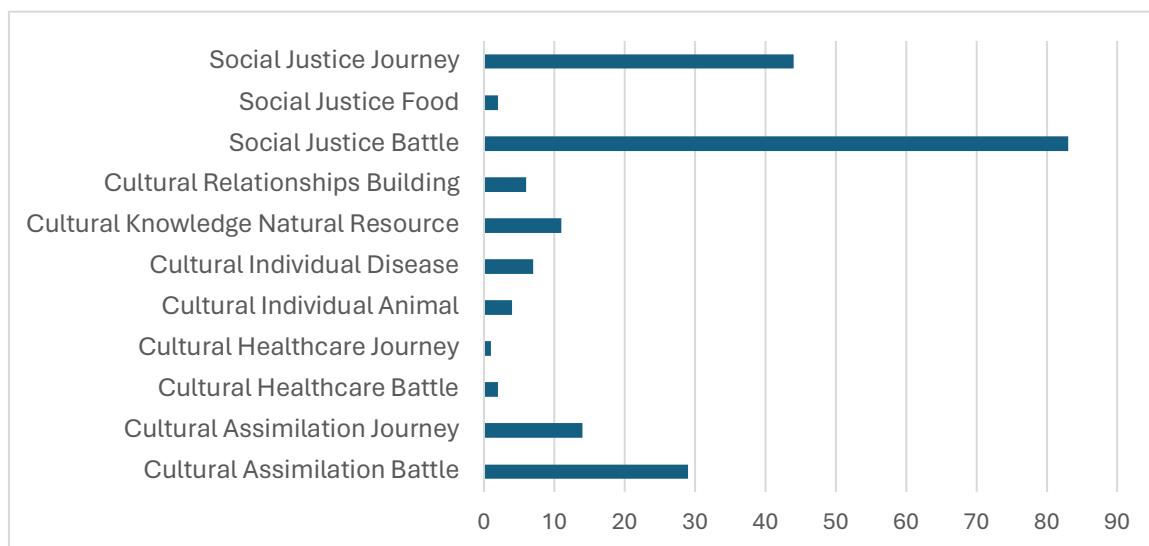

Figure 54. Source Domain in the English Review Genre: Cultural Experiences

Education as a cultural experience was also amplified in terms of the use of source domains for conceptual metaphors (see Figure 55). Like other subjects, it is seen mostly as a journey or a battle and less like a value (economic, personal, or psychosocial), tool, container, building, or gift. Still, students add other concepts, like education being a game and a burden. Only seen here, they write that education is a border, likening it to the US/Mexico border as a place of separation.
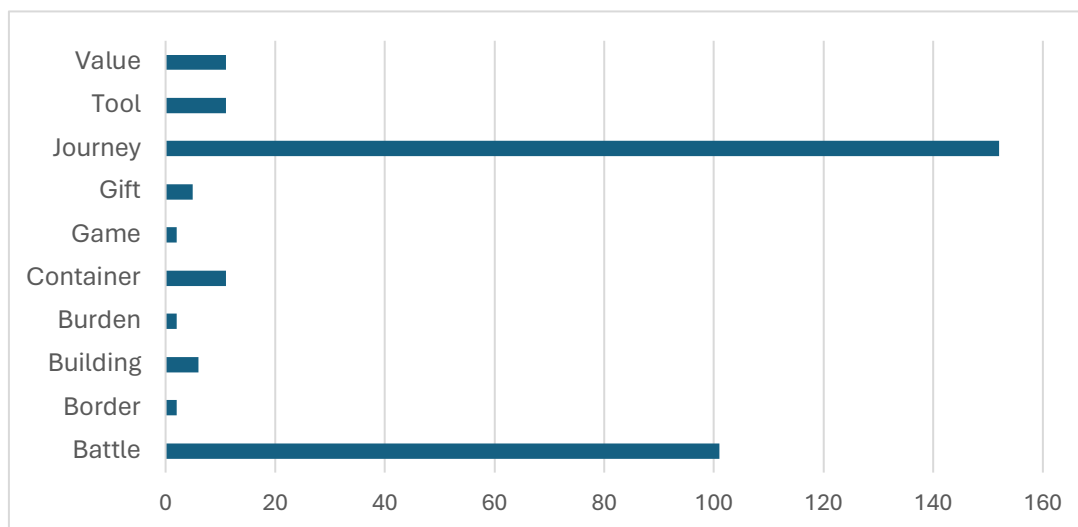

Figure 55. Source Domain in the English Review Genre: Education

Personal Response

The Personal Response Genre serves to offer the writer's personal opinion. Data was collected solely in Spanish and in the form of a reply to a student-led blog. The first part of the assignment was for student participants to provide a written review of a peer-reviewed scholarly

article used for class purposes. This second part is the students reacting personally to the written review in Spanish.

This category produced 351 metaphors across 63 texts, with an average of 6 metaphors per document. Figure 56 exhibits the students' metaphoric choices within the personal response genre. Of all the metaphors used, participants wrote about language metaphorically 70% of the time, culture 23%, and cultural experiences at a 7% rate.
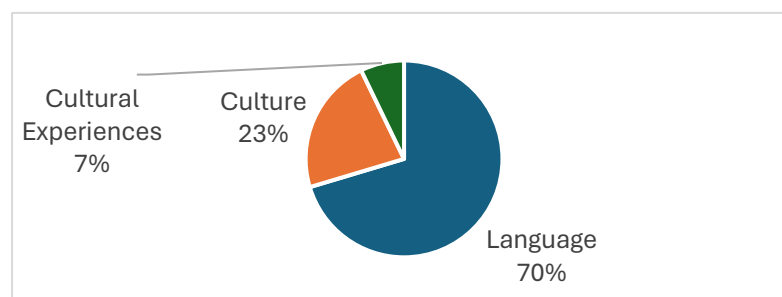
Figure 56. Metaphoric Themes in the Personal Response Genre

The target domain view presents the conceptual metaphors within the category of language, which was one of the writing prompts to reflect on language experiences. Spanish was used almost half the time, followed by bilingualism with exactly a quarter use. Language in general was seen at a 14% rate, followed by English at 8% and code switching at 5% (see Figure 57).
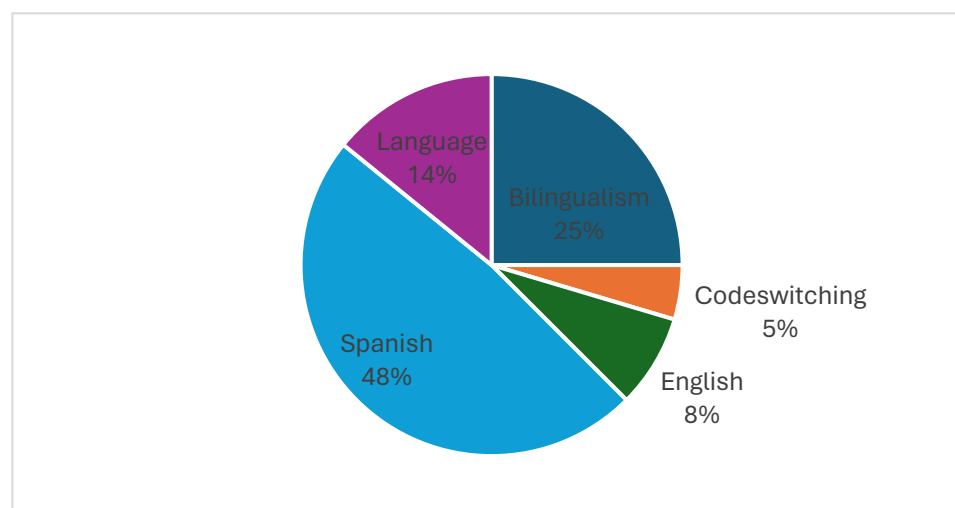
Figure 57. Target Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Language-Based Metaphors

Target domains within cultural-based metaphors show a variety of responses. According to Figure 58, culture-based conceptual metaphors were seen at more than half the time and identity with 1/5th response rate. Cultural experiences included health care (11%), Education (6%), Assimilation (55%), and limited references to the cultural individual (1%) as well as matters related to social justice (1%).
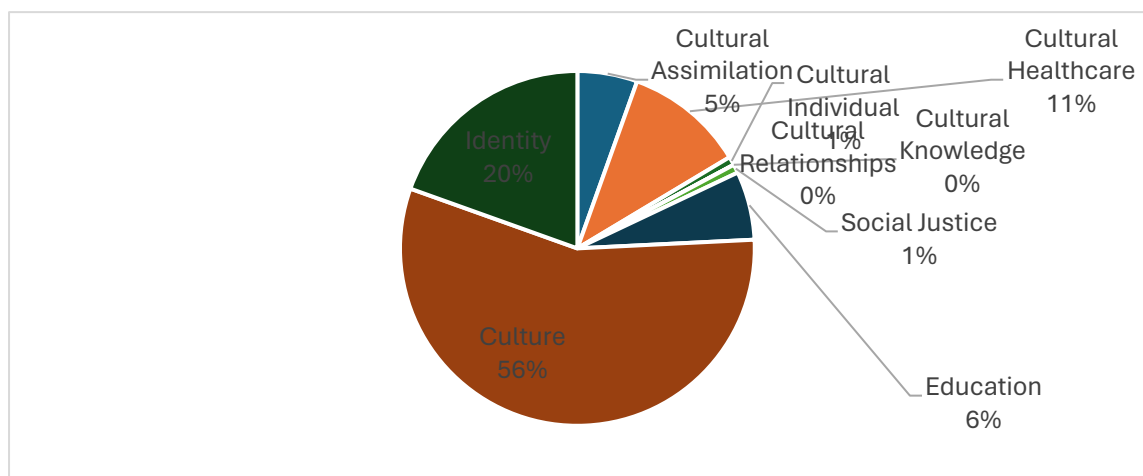
Figure 58. Target Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Culture-Based Metaphors

Within this genre, Spanish was referred to most as a language-based conceptual metaphor (see Figure 59). Like in other genres, Spanish was seen most as a natural resource and then as a battle. Then, the journey metaphors, bonds, and gifts arise the most. Lesser-used metaphoric constructions include Spanish being a person or a building, as well as a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), or a tool.
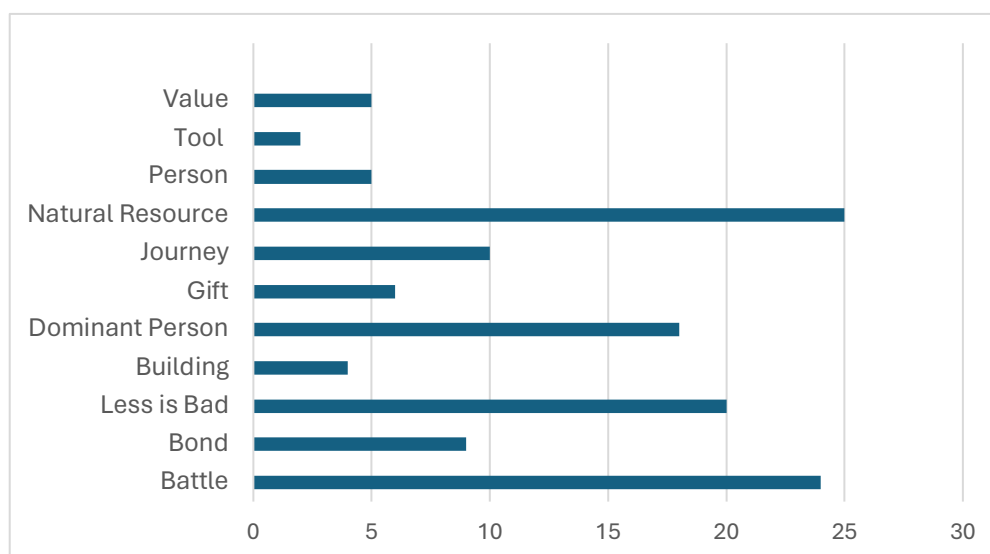
Figure 59. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Spanish

Bilingualism metaphors are similar to general figurative language tendencies. Figure 60 shows that it is seen as a natural resource and a battle at the same frequency, with a journey close behind. Bilingualism as a person is also seen here in high numbers, at a rate not yet seen within other genres. Next, bilingualism is seen as a dominant person and a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), with a building, a gift, a container, and a bond at lesser rates.
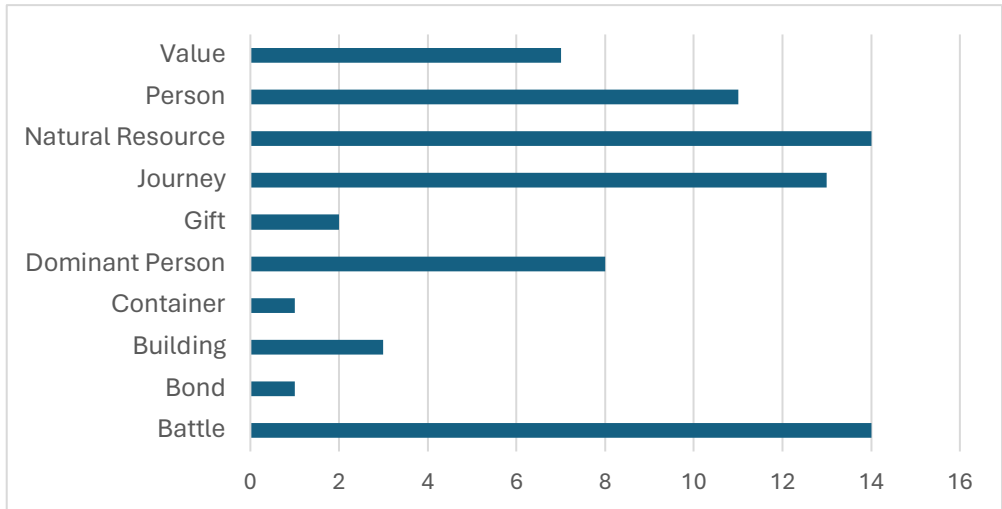
Figure 60. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Bilingualism

Language as liquid is again seen at a high amount, with it being a person, a bond, or a tool at lesser amounts. Least of all is language as a natural resource, a data point in direct contrast to most other references within other genres (see Figure 61).
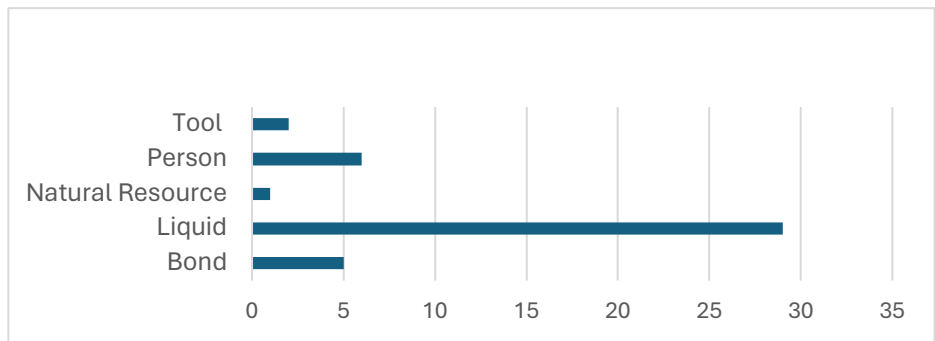
Figure 61. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Language

When speaking about the English language, many note that it is presented as the dominant language (see Figure 62). Alternatively, some portray the learning or speaking of it as a battle and less is bad. At the same rate as less is bad, the journey metaphor is displayed.
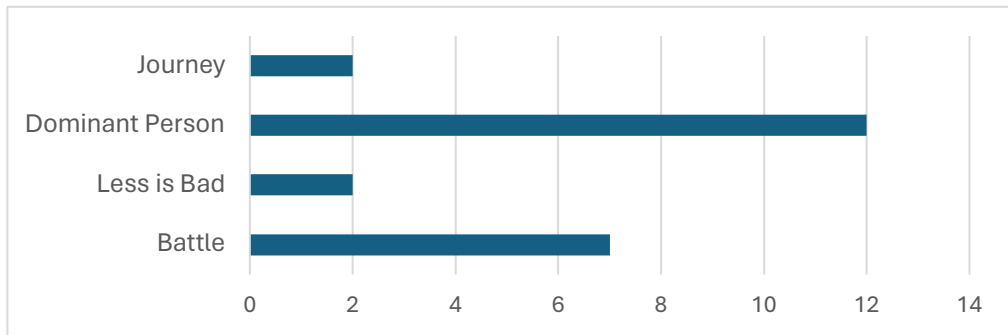
Figure 62. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: English

Metaphors pertaining to code switching illustrate it as a bond first and foremost (see Figure 63). Afterward, it is likened to a person or a building, with a battle being seen the least.
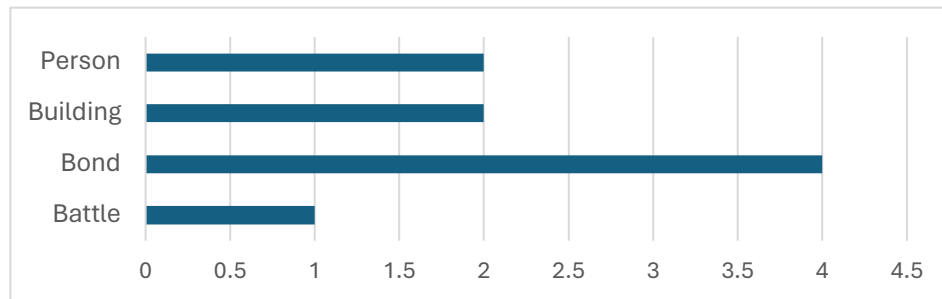
Figure 63. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Codeswitching

Culture-based Metaphors, as seen in Figure 64, repeat the battle metaphor first, natural resource second, and the journey metaphor third in order of use. The container as a metaphor is seen afterward, with it as a gift closely following. Less used metaphors include culture as a gift, a value (economic, psychosocial, and personal), and a person. The least seen examples include culture as a building and a bond.
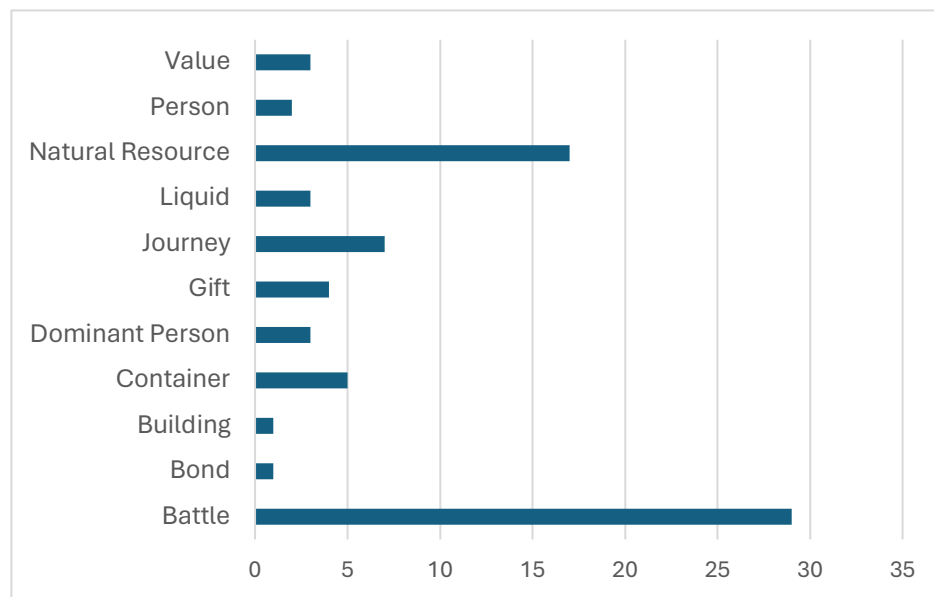
Figure 64. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Culture

Cultural experiences repeat metaphoric constructs of the journey and the battle. In Figure 65, health care, education, and assimilation are seen as a journey. Those of a battle include assimilation, social justice, and healthcare. Differing metaphors show education as a container and the cultural individual as an animal.
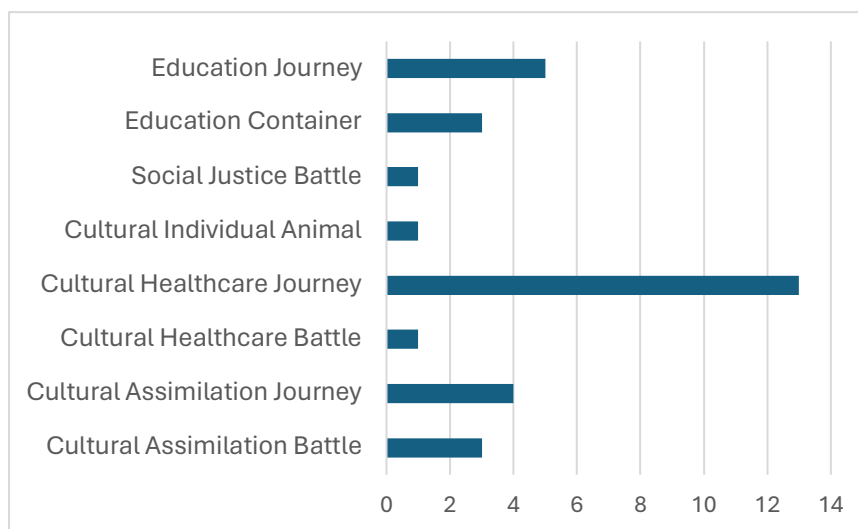
Figure 65. Source Domain in the Personal Response Genre: Cultural Experiences

Discussion of Results

In an analysis of Spanish and English metaphors and across various genres, a variety of themes arise. For example, conceptual metaphoric framing of language and culture being a journey prevails in most instances. This is usually followed by violence metaphors and ones related to culture and language being a natural resource. Seeing language and cultural experiences as journeys shows students' ability to understand that these involvements are lifelong. When looking at language as a journey, it also portrays a growth mindset when it comes to linguistic learning. Battle metaphors could be a way to expose the pain related to linguistic and cultural racism they have endured. Comparing culture and language to a natural resource can display the fears students have about culture and language loss as well as the need to take care of them to have them continue being part of their lives.

When comparing metaphors in both languages, the journey frame is comparable, with slightly more instances seen in the Spanish data. However, the battle metaphor is revealed to be used in English almost double the cases than in the Spanish set. Likewise, the idea of language and culture as a natural resource is discovered within the texts one-third more often in English writing. The existence of these violence metaphors in the English set could come from an Anglo perspective, where in the Western American culture the war metaphor has been pervasive in the media for most of the last century. As previously mentioned, the media has employed the war metaphor in regards to poverty, drugs, overpopulation, terrorism, politics, medicine, sports law, business, crime, inflation and even cancer (Flusberg et al., 2018; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002; Lule, 2004). However, researchers doubt its effectiveness across these domains (Flusberg et al., 2018; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002; Karlberg & Buell, 2005; Lakoff, 1991, 200; Lule, 20043). While this metaphoric construction seeks to motivate, it has only been found to achieve real change when speaking of climate change (Flusberg et al., 2017).

Additionally, there is a grouping of figurative framings found more in Spanish than in the English assignments. For example, students speak of language as a value for success twice as much in Spanish than English, whether it be economic, psychosocial, or personal achievement. The most prominent example is seeing bilingualism as a success, as well as components of bilingualism like codeswitching. As an extension of the value metaphors, language, and culture were more often seen as a gift in the Spanish files, at more than double the amount. Students in Spanish classes choose to be there and see it as a way to grow. They see Spanish as a value and a gift, having not only pride

in their abilities but faith that these abilities will help them in the future. Also, building metaphors are seen more in Spanish at more than twice the rate showing the acknowledgement of the support they receive from their culture, identity, and family. Furthermore, culture and, more specifically, language are described as liquescent much more often in Spanish than in English. This provides information on their thoughts about the nature of bilingualism and their ability to code switching and, ultimately, translanguaging. Trends related to Spanish as success, a gift, a building, and a liquid are also found in recent and similar studies on SSHL's (see Magaña & Ramos, 2022).

Within the English corpus, several metaphors are found more often than in the Spanish one. For example, the container metaphor and tool metaphor are used four times as much. The container metaphor frequently refers to not fitting in and demonstrates the feelings students have as minoritized and marginalized people. The tool metaphor shows their resourcefulness in using their abilities and knowledges as a way to overcome such challenges. Also, the use of personification is used twice as much in English. Moreover, metaphors relating language and culture to an object, or a disease are only found in English.

Metaphors of culture and language within a hierarchy also persist within the data set. This includes personification metaphors that see Spanish as a dominant person as well as comparing their language levels as less, indicating this as a negative. This type of self-monitoring regarding language and cultural levels is most often seen in Spanish writing. Also, there was an equal comparison between Spanish and English when speaking of culture and language as a bond and something to help keep things together.
In metaphoric study, this type of student writing helps demonstrate how students perceive their experiences and environment. Moreover, it shows how societal rules are conveyed through conceptual metaphors. Through this investigation, we can find what ideologies the students espouse or reject.

In comparing and contrasting types of metaphoric language, especially in differing written genres, we can see how these sections interrelate with each other and how culture and language are put at the forefront of students' knowledge production. There are interesting facets to linking language and culture as experiences versus as resources in themselves as well to achieve effective proficiencies, such as in the case of language as success. Their experiences are further portrayed through the idea of existing in containers as well as the personification and embodiment of language and culture.

Metaphors show a variety of affective considerations, such as values, emotions, ideologies, and attitudes. When speaking of the journey metaphor, while there may be struggles, language seems more inclusive to individual progress. Yet, examining violence metaphors can take the form of all-or-nothing arguments that only have winning and losing as final outcomes. It employs divisive language instead of inclusive. Battle metaphors are used to explain the language of power and to grab the reader's attention. Additionally, it represents a patriarchal language due to its connection with the masculine and *machismo*. As enrollments in Spanish and Chicanx classes were primarily female, this may show the societal restraints these women live under and the repetition of patriarchal norms.

Further analysis examines the hierarchical nature of how we classify ideas and experiences. The data shows students trying to make sense of their abilities and how they relate to their world. In one way, this can come out as language and culture as a value for success, a way to compete in the capitalistic society, and perhaps a way to find pride in oneself and abilities against the racial issues that surround us. In another way, it repeats ideals of the importance of English due to its global power. It leads some Hispanic individuals to forgo speaking Spanish or focusing on English development to fit in.

Conclusion

The study of metaphor within HL speakers can prove to be beneficial pedagogically. As issues of positive representation are prevalent, privileging the voices of these students to find out how they conceptualize their cultural existence, multiple identities, and bilingual language development is essential.

The analysis of figurative language, specifically metaphor, within the SHL experience, should be approached bilingually through a critical pedagogical lens to give a glimpse of students' internal knowledge. Instead of merely looking at academic competencies, this study traces how language is used conceptually through various linguistic approaches that comprehensively represent HL students' writing style and ability.

Metaphors are usually expressed subconsciously, and these students are not always aware of their use of metaphors. Future instructors can consider incorporating deliberate metaphoric competencies into the curriculum and how that could affect writing development. As a result, forthcoming research may also explore instances of metacognition within the students' understanding of their figurative language in writing.

An exploration of the use of metaphor when prompted in assignment instructions vs. organic not prompted usage would be useful within writing as a pedagogical practice to help explain the writing process. Particularly, it can give insights into how students develop metaphoric competence and if it can be taught formally in a language learning context. Studying metaphor within specific genres is useful to better understand how these learners conceptualize these beliefs and, ultimately, how it affects their language development.

As seen through the relevant literature, conceptual metaphors have been explored within the language learning experience as a significant linguistic tool to better understand student abilities. Through the examination of various genres, the students will have more flexibility in language style, which creates a broader space for metaphor use to further explain their cognition through affective experiences.

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter will include a broader perspective and further significance of this study, by addressing the original research questions, recognizing their function in relation to the overall investigation as well as revisiting the research aims and acknowledge their general purpose in conjunction with the overall findings. I will discuss the new scholarship acquired and main contributions as well as general takeaways of the work. I will consider how this study contributes to the field through contextual information for current pedagogical instruction and further implications for educators and administrators. I comment on the study's limitations and my role as a researcher. Concluding remarks will include ideas as well as recommendations for emerging researchers and instructors.

Research Questions

The research aims of this study were to better comprehend the language and cultural experiences of the students in a rural HSI California University. This is related through the study's research questions. First, this investigation sought to determine the sociolinguistic profiles of SHL speakers and learners through a demographic language survey to better understand their formative language experiences and perceptions of language abilities. As part of the criteria for inclusion, the survey found that all students were SHL speakers, while those in Spanish classes were considered SHL learners as opposed to the Chicanx participants who were only SHLS. They all had a cultural connection to Spanish and considered themselves Latinx. They all considered themselves bilingual in Spanish and English. Perceptions of their language abilities in Spanish demonstrated their comfort with speaking and hearing the language, while it showed some apprehensions concerning their ability to read and write. Second, this study pursued to understand the students' conceptualizations of their identity, culture, and bilingualism through the use of metaphoric language within specific genres in their Spanish and English writing. I collected written samples where participants wrote about their language and cultural learning experiences alongside their understandings of their identity through the use of conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors gave readers an opportunity to better comprehend their foundational and formative experiences as well as give suggestions about the feelings they have regarding these experiences. Third, this conceptual metaphoric and affective emotional data informs both language pedagogy and academic institutions serving Latinx students by acknowledging their lived experiences within society and developmental educational spaces.

Key Findings

This project found that the use of conceptual metaphor is prevalent in students' writing, especially when they are engaged in self-chosen culturally and language based academic classes at a university level. When these students were invited to write about their language, culture, and identity in their assignments they frequently employed conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors serve as space for the students to relate abstract information in a concrete way to their readers to better transmit and comprehend their own experiences. On this basis, instructors can take into account students' past experiences and analyze how they can effect current learning outcomes. Additionally, significant affective and emotional information can be gleaned from the students' written work and incorporated into curriculum intervention and future program design.

Main Contributions

This project sought to fill in the gap of SHL studies that only focus on Spanish without including other known languages into their investigations. It also sought to include the voices of SHLL and SHLS through their use of conceptual metaphor, a research space that has been understudied. The research outcomes of this project highlight the use of figurative language in students' work across academic genres. Main takeaways include the differences of metaphoric language use in Spanish and English. In this data set, the Spanish writing employed more conceptual metaphors than the English writing, showing a marked difference between metaphoric language. Spanish data showed students speaking more about their language experiences, while the English data demonstrated an affinity towards cultural experiences and identity. Additionally, the choice of conceptual metaphor was similar between languages, but the frequency of use was distinct. In the Spanish corpus, students mostly choose to speak of culture, language, and identity in the form of a journey while in the English counterpart, the battle metaphor was used to describe these experiences. However, in terms of rate, the third most used conceptual metaphor was comparing their language and culture as a natural resource. When looking at genre, the Spanish review has the most metaphoric constructions when compared to the English review genre as well as all the other genres. It should be noted that within the English data set, metaphors were frequently taken directly from the textbook and incorporated into their chapter summaries, while the Spanish set provided metaphors from the students' themselves. The study's findings contribute to the SHL field by demonstrating how students are both conceptualizing their language learning and their positionality within their own culture. The investigation's broader significance establishes that students come into the classroom with various abstract attitudes and ideologies that they are trying to conceptualize through concrete means, and in this case, through conceptual metaphors. The results presented here create pedagogical implications for the instructors of SHL students within the university system. As the Latinx population continues to grow and demographics change, our nation's universities will include more and more SHL speakers and learners within the classroom. This is most pertinent to language and linguistic classrooms, as these attitudes and ideologies can and will affect the language learning process.

Limitations

This scholarship presents limitations due to several factors. While providing a four-year cohort of SHL in the university setting with specific historical sociolinguistic characteristics, it does not provide a true longitudinal study. However, it does provide the generalized academic trajectory of a Spanish major or minor as well as the typical class sequence for a university student. Additionally, except for one writing assignment in which the use of metaphor was required (Span 103), all metaphoric usage was organically produced by the students and not explicitly requested. In this way, aspects of students' affective learning experiences can be accessed and better understood. In using students' assignments and their written voice, their personal voices through interviews are not present.

Also, there is a difference in age and academic development. For example, the English classes included mostly 1st and 2nd years and were considered a lower-division class. The Spanish classes were upper-division and mostly enrolled 3rd and 4th years. There was an unequal sample size in the number of classes as well as the word count in the corpus. The Spanish data set had a higher word count within its corpus than the English data set due to the inclusion of more Spanish courses within the study. Spanish had several classes to examine, while the English group was limited to one course and one type of assignment that only produced one academic genre to analyze.

According to the genre, there was a lack of comparative genres in both languages. There was a significant variety of genres in Spanish through varied assignments, yet in English, I only obtained the review genre. Additionally, there were no focus groups or direct conversations in the form of interviews with students in order to follow up to help explain their choices in metaphor use.

Role of the Researcher

I am a Spanish heritage language learner of Puerto Rican descent born in a US border town. I only spoke Spanish until the age of 5 and continued to speak it intermittently during my childhood with my family and community at the US/Mexico border. Despite my geographical location and bilingual context, I began an English-only education when enrolled in a US-based kindergarten. I only started taking academic Spanish classes in high school, beginning at a novice level in a foreign language classroom. I continued my Spanish education in college, but never in a class specifically designed for SHLLs. I note that my involvement in the class as a teaching assistant may have influenced the results. I consider my role as the researcher and its possible effect on the study. I had academic relationships with the subjects as their TA. I scored their written work, evaluated presentations, graded exams, and presented a few lectures. In this role, I was privy to the students' language choices and noticed they would use Spanish and English in communication with the instructors as well as other classmates.

Future Studies

This study presents a glance at how students conceptualize their learning experiences through the lens of language, culture, and identity. All metaphoric usage was organically produced by the students and not explicitly requested, except for one assignment. In this way, aspects of students' affective learning experiences can be accessed, assessed, and better understood. In using students' assignments, their written voice has been captured. Future investigations could build on the written voices by employing open dialogue interviews, and thus their spoken voices could offer a deeper framework of conversations regarding identity, language, and culture.

In regard to the English part of the study, a close reading of the class texts (i.e., Anzaldúa and Burciaga) with a systematic coding for conceptual metaphor could be useful for developing a literature corpus for further comparison with the student corpus. Additionally, research can explore how some of these metaphors are multicultural and how they relate to pre-Hispanic cultures. A developing project could include coding for the conceptual metaphors found in the class textbook, *Chicano Studies: Survey and Analysis*, to provide a control group of metaphoric language.

Generally, future investigations are needed to help further understand students' meaning and purpose in writing assignments. Structured interviews with students can offer ongoing questions that can include clarifying students' intent. Student focus groups can sample student voices with a range of metaphoric thoughts.

Further scholarship should continue to maintain creativity in research. This can be accomplished by building on existing frames to shape educational approaches and fostering continued contextualizing language research. One way to create these types of investigations is to include more English language research in conjunction with the Heritage Language to provide a more holistic view of the student. SHLS are sometimes invisible, whereas HLLs are the primary focus. Many Spanish speakers choose not to participate in academic development due to a multitude of reasons and are left out of important research. To be sure, this creates an SHLL paradox as justification for research is usually language centered. However, this double work can be beneficial. SHLLs are already doing a large amount of work in our Spanish classes; many are

unpacking systemic racism, and emotional social language development while learning the grammatical features of the language.

A translanguaging approach to future investigations can help achieve future investigational aims. Translanguaging can be used to lessen the idea of lesser/greater language competencies, further moving away from the hierarchical ideals espoused by many of our students. Certainly, there is known academic resistance to translanguaging, and it is seen most frequently with ideas relating to code switching as an acceptable mode of communication. Nonetheless, translanguaging can be used actively in the classroom to create resistance to colonialism.

To this end, pedagogical recommendations include seeing language ability as one entity and more holistically. Within classrooms, we need to step away from error/non-error and achievement-based learning. Ideologies surrounding bilinguals need to be reassessed, such as the individual being a double monolingual or a balanced/perfect bilingual. Also, it is paramount to be aware of students being language brokers or policing other students, as well as monitoring themselves. Removing stigmas around self-judgment about language level and development should be integrated into the curriculum.

Conclusion

This project chooses to amplify the voices of SHL speakers and learners through a holistic and translanguaging framework that includes English and Spanish in SHL investigations. Here the use of conceptual metaphor is used to analyze students' thoughts and feelings regarding the attitudes and ideologies that they espouse and that surround them in regards to their language and cultural identity. The use of various genres gave students the space to explore their use of metaphor. The focus on conceptual metaphor as a tool to learn about the students instead of a tool to learn language, provides instructors with relevant socio-affective information that they may use positively to help the learning process.

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