Abstract

This paper proposes a pedagogical framework for incorporating sociolinguistic diversity in the language classroom to counter the promotion of standard varieties. It problematizes the standard language ideology especially as it pertains to the standard variety of Spanish and the prestige of the Real Academia Española. It reviews current critical pedagogical approaches to address linguistic ideologies in the Spanish heritage language classroom and puts them in dialogue with Kramsch's (2006) concept of symbolic competence and a multiliteracies approach (New London Group, 1996, 2000). Finally, it discusses a pilot study of the implementation of the proposed pedagogical framework in two upper-division Spanish courses at a large public university in the U.S. Southwest with both second and heritage language students. The proposed framework demonstrates how (socio)linguistics can contribute to pedagogy by encouraging an approach guided by sociolinguistic sensitivity. Doing so can counter the promotion of standard varieties, legitimize the elements of sociolinguistic diversity in students' native languages, and allow students to interpret and create meaning in the target language within today's multilingual and global context.

Keywords: sociolinguistic diversity, standard language ideology, second language pedagogy, Spanish

Framework for Incorporating Sociolinguistic Diversity

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Introduction

The notion of *communicative competence* (Canale & Swain, 1980; Hymes, 1972; Savignon; 1983) drastically revolutionized how second languages are taught by bringing about a communicative revolution in language teaching; a rule-driven approach guided by grammar was replaced with a new approach centered on communication. Perhaps the most drastic change in the communicative classroom has involved methods of evaluation in which communicative activities that measure communicative efficiency have replaced grammatical drills that measure grammatical judgment. The need for objective evaluation of communicative efficiency in the communicative classroom has indirectly led to the over-promotion of standard varieties. Milroy and Milroy (1999) and Silverstein (1979) have observed that the acquisition of standard varieties has been rationalized both inside and outside of academic circles as important for increasing personal value, unifying society, and facilitating and preserving communicative efficiency over time. Rather than empowering students, the over-promotion of standard varieties in the communicative classroom can subordinate sociolinguistic diversity, disregard language variation, and ignore the complexities of language use.

In response to the over-promotion of standard varieties, several scholars have called for more critical pedagogical approaches in the Spanish heritage language classroom (Carreira, 2000; Leeman & Rabin, 2007; Martínez, 2003; Potowski, 2005; Valdés, 1981; Villa, 2002). These approaches include fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity (Carreira, 2000; Valdés, 1981; Villa, 2002), valuing different language varieties in different communicative contexts (Potowski, 2005), and teaching dialect awareness (Martínez, 2003). Although these approaches are customized for heritage language learners who come into the classroom with some degree of personal experience with the heritage language (Draper & Hicks, 2000; Fishman, 2001; Valdés, 2000), Leeman and Rabin (2007) and Reagan and Osborn (2002) argue that critical pedagogy should not be confined to heritage language classes, but should be incorporated throughout curricula.

Echoing these calls for more critical pedagogical approaches, Kramsch (2006) proposes that communicative competence should be replaced with *symbolic competence*, which embeds language in the symbolic systems of communication that surround its use, including modes of communication, genre, style, register, and linguistic ideologies. Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) define symbolic competence as "the ability not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else's language, but to shape the very context in which the language is learned and used" (p. 664). According to Kramsch (2006), simply learning to communicate effectively is not enough. She argues that students "have to understand the practice of meaning making itself" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 251).

Also reflecting the importance of more critical pedagogical approaches in the classroom, a *multiliteracies approach* (New London Group, 1996; 2000) calls for incorporating a "multiplicity of discourses" to teach literacy (New London Group, 1996, p. 61). Several scholars have demonstrated how a multiliteracies approach can be incorporated in the second language classroom (e.g. Paesani, Allen & Dupuy, 2016; Allen & Paesani, 2010). Samaniego and Warner (2016) apply the pedagogical frameworks of *learning by design* (Kalantzis & Cope, 2010) and

available designs (Kern, 2000) to integrate a multiliteracies approach in the Spanish heritage language classroom. These pedagogical frameworks can also be used to incorporate sociolinguistic diversity in the classroom.

This paper proposes a pedagogical framework that concretizes critical pedagogy, symbolic competence, and a multiliteracies approach to incorporate sociolinguistic diversity in the Spanish classroom and counter the over-promotion of standard varieties. Within the proposed pedagogical framework, students experience, interpret, analyze, and play with elements of sociolinguistic diversity embedded in texts. This paper begins with a discussion of the standard language ideology (STI) especially as it relates to the prestige of the standard variety of Spanish and the *Real Academia Española* that serves as its guardian. Next, current critical pedagogical approaches in the Spanish heritage language classroom will be discussed and dialogued with symbolic competence and a multiliteracies approach. The pedagogical frameworks of Learning by Design and Available Designs will then be applied to propose a framework for incorporating sociolinguistic diversity in the classroom. Lastly, a pilot study of the implementation of this framework in two upper-division Spanish courses at a large public university in the U.S. Southwest will be discussed. Although this framework has been implemented in advanced courses in Spanish at the university-level, it can be applied and customized in a variety of pedagogical contexts with both second and heritage language learners.

The Standard Language Ideology

Silverstein (1979) defines linguistic ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). According to Irvine and Gal (2000), linguistic ideologies "purport to explain the source and meaning of linguistic differences" among social groups and are constructed as "systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed" (p. 37). Linguistic ideologies are constructed as commonsensical (Rumsey, 1990; Woolard, 1998) and even natural (Silverstein, 1979).

One of the most widespread linguistic ideologies is the *standard language ideology* (STI), which is defined by Lippi-Green (2012) as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class" (p. 67). The STI is an extreme example of the everyday and ordinary "urge to improve or 'clean up' language," a process that Cameron (1995) denotes as "verbal hygiene" (p. 1). Paffrey (2012) describes verbal hygiene as the "propensity to evaluate how language is used, based on ideologies of how language should be used" (p. 47). The STI links perceived language structure and use with the social, political, commercial, and economic needs of dominant groups (Milroy, 2001; Paffrey, 2012).

The STI is constructed in society as commonsensical and natural, but it is not. The acquisition of standard varieties is viewed as an achievable way to increase personal value, unify society, and facilitate and preserve communicative efficiency over time (Milroy & Milroy, 1999; Silverstein, 1979). However, absolute standardization of a spoken language is impossible. Standard languages are thus "a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent" (Milroy & Milroy, 1999, p. 19). The construction of standard varieties as natural and commonsensical through the STI both counters the fact that absolute standardization of a spoken language is impossible and rationalizes the existence of dominant groups who impose standardization on others who are expected to conform (Silverstein, 1979, p. 290). The

STI exists and is promoted by dominant groups so that they can maintain their power (Martínez, 2003).

Two consequences of the standard language ideology are linguistic subordination of varieties that are not considered standard by dominant groups and linguistic discrimination against the people who speak them (Leeman, 2012, pp. 44-45). Lippi-Green (2012) presents a model that illustrates how the STI leads to linguistic subordination and linguistic discrimination. According to Lippi-Green's (2012) model, non-standard varieties are mystified by misinformation and trivialization. Explicit promises are made to those who conform to the standard variety, such as the promise of social mobility, while non-conformers are threatened, vilified, and marginalized. In addition, it is known that linguistic ideologies, like the standard language ideology, link language use with other social categories including race, ethnicity, nationality, and socioeconomic class (Hill, 2008; Woolard, 1998). Consequently, the STI cannot only lead to linguistic discrimination, but other forms of discrimination as well.

Standard varieties in the Spanish classroom

The *Real Academia Española,* which holds the motto "Limpia, fija y da esplendor a la lengua española" ("Cleans, sets, and casts splendor on the Spanish language") serves to promote the standard variety of Spanish. There are 46 members of the *Real Academia Española* who hold their positions for life. Forty-four of the 46 current members are listed on the institution's website. There are 43 Spaniards (98%) and one Peruvian (who has Spanish citizenship) (2%), 36 men (82%) and eight women (18%), and the average age of members is 74 years old (Real Academia Española). These demographics of the current members of the *Real Academia Española* are not representative of the Spanish speaking population worldwide. Beginning in 1951, other academies for promoting the standard variety of Spanish began to be established in the Americas, and there is now an association of 22 Spanish language academies. These academies recently published a 4000-page grammar of the Spanish language. Although the establishment of these academies and the publication of this grammar have been lauded as a model of pan-Hispanic unity among Spanish speakers worldwide (del Valle, 2009), they have been criticized as serving the social, political, commercial, and economic influence of Spain in Latin America (Leeman, 2012; Paffrey & Mar-Molinero, 2009).

The standardization of Spanish in language contact situations is more complicated than a simple dichotomy of standard and nonstandard because there are several competing linguistic ideologies at play. These competing language ideologies especially surround the use of U.S. Spanish. In addition to the STI, there is a related *monolingual ideology* that elevates monolingual Spanish of Latin America and Spain and subordinates the Spanish of bilingual U.S. Latinos (Valdés, González, García & Márquez, 2003; Villa, 2002). This ideology is constructed through purist notions of language, which correspond to "safeguarding" Spanish from English (Achugar, 2008). There are also linguistic ideologies that counter these hegemonic ideologies, including those that associate U.S. Spanish with enhancing personal value and increasing opportunities (Achugar, 2008). Suarez (2002) argues that it is only through a multiplicity of linguistic ideologies that dominant linguistic ideologies can be resisted (p. 515). According to Suarez (2002), the ideal place to recognize a multiplicity of linguistic ideologies is the classroom. In addition to acquiring language in the second language classroom, students should learn the complexities of language use. These complexities can be recognized by drawing on critical pedagogy, symbolic competence, and multiliteracies, discussed in the following section.

Critical pedagogy, symbolic competence, and a multiliteracies approach
Critical pedagogy

In response to the over-promotion of standard varieties, several scholars have called for more critical pedagogical approaches in the Spanish heritage language classroom (Carreira, 2000; Leeman & Rabin, 2007; Martínez, 2003; Potowski, 2005; Valdés, 1981). Although these critical pedagogical approaches are grounded in the field of heritage language pedagogy, they have been applied in literature courses as well (Leeman & Rabin, 2007). These critical pedagogical approaches begin with fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity, which means respecting varieties that are not considered standard by dominant groups (Carreira, 2000; Valdés, 1981; Villa, 2002). Carreira (2000) argues that language educators must internalize that linguistic prejudice is not based in linguistics, that all varieties of a language have value, and that the linguistic differences among varieties of the same language are minimal (pp. 338-339). Valdés (1981) proposes that the classroom should be a place for increasing Spanish-speaking students' linguistic repertoires rather than replacing them. Nevertheless, while teachers can create a classroom environment that fosters sociolinguistic sensitivity, society at large presents an environment that does not. Therefore, students must not only internalize sociolinguistic sensitivity, but also understand the communicative contexts of language use.

Understanding the communicative contexts of language use begins with learning to value different language varieties in different communicative contexts. Potowski (2005) proposes a metaphor for heritage language students in which she compares learning to value standard and vernacular varieties of a language to learning that one should wear a swimsuit on a beach and a business suit to work. While exploring the use of standard and vernacular varieties in different communicative contexts is a good start, language use is certainly more complex than choosing what clothes to wear. Moreover, students are capable of participating in a more serious dialogue about language use and power. Simply teaching students to use standard and vernacular varieties in different communicative contexts can perpetuate linguistic inequality because it ignores why certain varieties are valued over others.

In addition to fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity and recognizing the importance of communicative contexts, Martínez (2003) argues that students should acquire dialect awareness in the classroom. The three components of dialect awareness are the functions, distribution, and evaluation of dialects (Martínez, 2003, p. 8). Regarding the functions of dialects, students should learn what dialects are for and why they exist. Students should learn that dialects exist in order to include and exclude. Moreover, they should question why the burden of changing dialects lies with people from lower social classes or minorities (Martínez, 2003, p. 8). Regarding the distribution of dialects, students should learn that dialects are distributed throughout society and some have more social prestige than others (Martínez, 2003 p. 8). Lastly, the evaluation of dialects explores why some dialects are valued more than others. Students should learn that social prestige is attached to the dialects of people in power (Martínez, 2003 p. 8).

In sum, critical pedagogical approaches in the Spanish heritage language classroom have called for fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity, recognizing the communicative contexts of language use, and teaching dialect awareness. Sociolinguistic sensitivity is made more meaningful by recognizing the communicative contexts of language use and teaching dialect awareness. Recognizing the communicative contexts of language use is reinforced through sociolinguistic sensitivity and dialect awareness. Lastly, dialect awareness explains why fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity and recognizing the communicative contexts of language use are relevant and important.

All three of these ideas should not only be integrated in the heritage language classroom, but throughout curricula. However, this idea is more easily argued among scholars than implemented in practice (e.g., Pennycook, 2001), as even educational institutions with good intentions have been complicit in the over-promotion of standard varieties (Reagan & Osborn, 2002; Villa, 2002; Wolfram, Myrick, Forrest & Fox, forthcoming). The importance of valuing all varieties as legitimate has also been argued by scholars in education (e.g., Delpit, 2006; Lin & Luk, 2005) and those studying the linguistic structure of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (e.g., Labov, 1966; 1972; Rickford, 1999; Wolfram, 1969). The application of (socio)linguistic theory to pedagogy must continue to be strengthened.

As Canale and Swain (1980), Hymes (1972), and Savignon (1983) changed second language pedagogy with the notion of communicative competence, another paradigm shift that deals with issues of linguistic legitimacy is now underway. Paralleling the multiplicity of the standard language ideology and the monolingual ideology in bilingual communities (Achugar, 2008; Valdés et al., 2003; Villa, 2002), the issue of linguistic legitimacy is also further compounded in multilingual contexts, in which varieties of non-native, multilingual speakers are delegitimized and subordinated to varieties of monolingual, native speakers (Kramsch 1997, 2009, 2012). Kramsch (2006) re-conceptualizes Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence as symbolic competence, which will be defined in the following section.

Symbolic competence

Kramsch's (2006) notion of symbolic competence embeds Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence in the symbolic systems in which we communicate, including modes of communication, genre, style, register, and linguistic ideologies (Kramsch, 2006). Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) define symbolic competence as "the ability not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else's language, but to shape the very context in which the language is learned and used" (p. 664). Kramsch (2006) identifies three components of symbolic competence. The "production of complexity" recognizes that learning a language is more complex "than just saying the right word to the right person in the right manner" (Kramsch, 2006; p. 251). The "tolerance of ambiguity" involves "contradictions" in language that do not always have to be resolved (Kramsch, 2006; p. 251). Lastly, the component of "form as meaning" emphasizes "the meaning of form in all its manifestations (e.g., linguistic, textual, visual, acoustic, poetic)" (Kramsch, 2006; p. 251). Kramsch's (2006) concept of symbolic competence originated as a reaction to the privilege bestowed on native speakers in the communicative classroom and the view of second language learners as "blank slates" on which a second language can be inscribed rather than multilingual subjects (Kramsch, 1997; 2009). However, it can contribute to continuing dialogue brought forth from critical pedagogical approaches.

Embedding communication in the symbolic systems in which we communicate means viewing any example of communication as a symbolic system. Kramsch (2011) identifies three aspects of viewing discourse as a symbolic system. The "symbolic representation" of discourse recognizes that linguistic structure can be symbolic of meaning. The "symbolic action" of discourse recognizes that linguistic structure can be symbolic of performance. Lastly, the "symbolic power" of discourse recognizes that linguistic structure can be symbolic of the ideologies and identities that it indexes (Kramsch, 2011, p. 357). This third aspect of "symbolic power" is particularly crucial for distinguishing symbolic competence from communicative competence.

Whereas communicative competence centers on acquiring skills (e.g., speaking, reading, writing) in a second language, symbolic competence focuses on interpreting and creating meaning in a second language within the power game of communication. Symbolic competence can be acquired through any discourse including literary texts (Kramsch, 2006; Vinall, 2016), cultural narratives (Kearney, 2010; 2012), film (Kaiser & Shibahara, 2014), interactions (Hult, 2014; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008), and classroom talk (Leung, 2014; Li, 2014). Kramsch (2011) offers specific critical questions to foster the acquisition of symbolic competence through discourse.

1. Not which words, but whose words are those? Whose discourse? Whose interests are being served by this text?

2. What made these words possible, and others impossible?

3. How does the speaker position him/herself?

4. How does he/she frame the events talked about?

5. What prior discourses does he/she draw on? (Kramsch, 2011, p. 360)

Although the skills of communicative competence (e.g., speaking, reading, writing) are implicitly included in the acquisition of symbolic competence, they are not the end goal. Acquiring symbolic competence involves assessing the positioning of social actors and the framing of events within discourse, as well as the prior discourses that are indexed.

The acquisition of symbolic competence is compatible with and can enrich the critical pedagogical approaches previously discussed. Fostering sociolinguistic sensitivity, recognizing the communicative contexts of language use, and teaching dialect awareness can all be contextualized in discourse. Analyzing these aspects of discourse in addition to the positioning of social actors and the framing of events within it and the prior discourses that it indexes provides students with the opportunity to develop both symbolic competence and a critical perspective of language use. Doing so counters the over-promotion of standard varieties in the communicative classroom in a meaningful way. A multiliteracies approach can concretize the ideas of critical pedagogical approaches and symbolic competence in the classroom.

Multiliteracies approach

According to a multiliteracies approach, literacy is viewed as "the use of socially-, historically-, and culturally-situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through texts" (Kern, 2000, p. 16). Consequently, language appropriation is subordinated to language use and critical thinking is favored over the linear transfer of meanings. Scholars have demonstrated how a multiliteracies approach can be incorporated in both the second language classroom (e.g., Allen & Paesani, 2010; Paesani, Allen & Dupuy, 2016) and the heritage language classroom (Samaniego & Warner, 2016).

The pedagogical frameworks of Learning by Design and Available Designs have been applied to incorporate a multiliteracies approach in the heritage language classroom (Samaniego & Warner, 2016). The Learning by Design pedagogical framework was originally introduced for science education. The framework consists of four components: *experiencing, conceptualizing, analyzing, and applying*. By experiencing, students reflect on their experiences and immerse themselves in what is new. By conceptualizing, students classify and define terminology. By analyzing, students connect ideas and evaluate them. Lastly, by applying, students apply their learning to real-life situations (Kalantzis & Cope, 2010). The Available Designs pedagogical framework was originally proposed for literacy education. In this framework, literacy is layered. The text is embedded in available designs including grammar, vocabulary, writing systems,

procedural knowledge, genres, style, stories, and declarative knowledge (schemata). The text and available designs are embedded in immediate and eventual communicative contexts including the audience, purpose, social roles, physical situation, topic, and task. Lastly, the text, available designs, and immediate and eventual communicative contexts are embedded in the sociocultural context, which includes sociocultural practices in the home community, the foreign language classroom, and the target society (Kern, 2000, pp. 63-64). Drawing on the pedagogical frameworks of Leaning by Design and Available Designs, the proposed pedagogical framework outlined in the following section is inspired by the continued dialogue surrounding critical pedagogy, symbolic competence, and a multiliteracies approach.

Framework for incorporating sociolinguistic diversity in the communicative classroom

The proposed pedagogical framework (Figure 1) incorporates sociolinguistic diversity embedded in texts in the classroom to counter the over-promotion of standard varieties. This framework is not meant to replace the teaching of standard varieties, which have been argued to be necessary for academic achievement (e.g., Goulah, 2013), but to contextualize them. It can be applied and customized in a variety of pedagogical contexts with both second and heritage language learners.

Figure 1: Framework for Incorporating Sociolinguistic Diversity in the Communicative Classroom
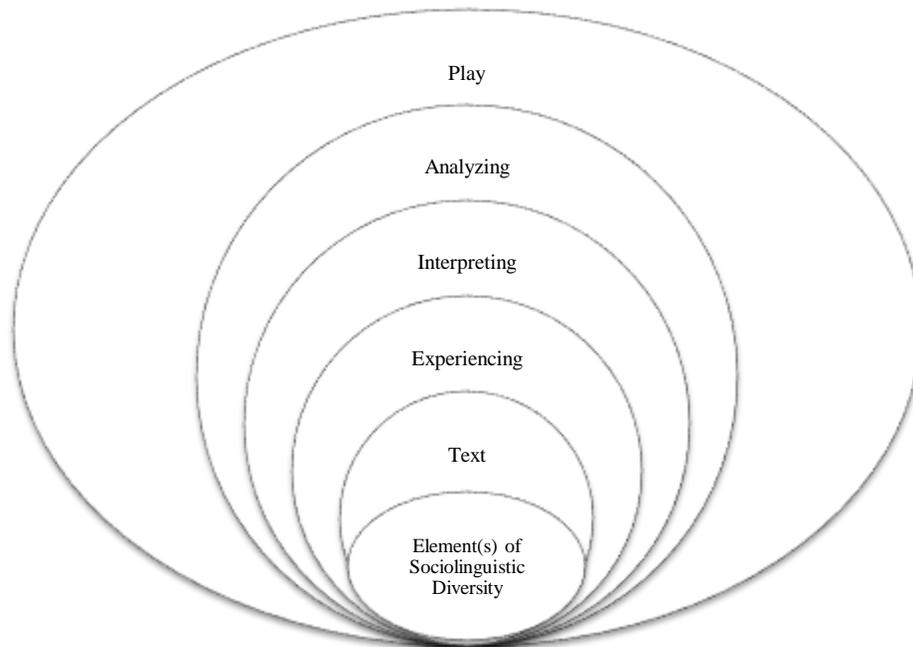
The framework begins with an element or combination of elements of sociolinguistic diversity that the teacher wishes to incorporate in the classroom. These elements of sociolinguistic diversity could include phonological, morphosyntactic, or discursive variables. The element(s) of sociolinguistic diversity chosen by the teacher is then contextualized in a text, which can include literature, sociolinguistic corpora, music, film, or any other representation of language use that contextualizes several examples of the element(s) of sociolinguistic diversity that the teacher wishes to incorporate in the classroom. Students then experience, interpret,

analyze, and play with the examples of the element(s) of sociolinguistic diversity that are embedded in the text.

Each layer of the model corresponds to a deeper understanding of the element(s) of sociolinguistic diversity that the teacher chooses to incorporate. Students experience the text by reading, listening, or interacting with the text. Students interpret the meaning of sociolinguistic diversity inside and outside of the context of the text and analyze how examples of sociolinguistic diversity in the text contribute to its meaning. The critical questions from Kramsch (2011) previously presented can aid this process. Analyzing the meaning of sociolinguistic diversity in the text requires taking into account the relationship between the examples of the element(s) of sociolinguistic diversity in the text and the positioning of social actors and the framing of events within the text, as well as the prior discourses that are indexed. Lastly, by play, students create their own texts with elements of sociolinguistic diversity.

The framework applies Kalantzis and Cope's (2010) Learning by Design framework to a new context. It also integrates Kern's (2000) framework of Available Designs. Experiencing the text allows students to draw on their available designs including grammar, vocabulary, writing systems, procedural knowledge, genres, style, stories, and declarative knowledge (schemata). Interpreting the meaning of examples of sociolinguistic diversity inside and outside of the context of the text takes into account immediate and eventual communicative contexts. Analyzing how examples of sociolinguistic diversity contribute to the message of the text involves the "sociocultural context" of language use in the home community, the foreign language classroom, and the target society. As students move on to another component of the framework, another layer of Kern's (2000) model is explored. Lastly through play, students begin with the "sociocultural context" of their own language use and collapse the layers of Kern's (2000) model one by one to create their own texts in their own varieties, embedding their language use within their own sociocultural context that surrounds it. Now that this framework has been presented, the following section turns to its implementation.

Implementation of the framework

This framework was implemented in two upper-division Spanish courses at a large public university in the U.S. Southwest, including an advanced Spanish grammar and composition course and an undergraduate seminar in Applied Linguistics taught in Spanish. Both classes were approximately equally divided with second language and heritage language learners. Following the completion of the courses, IRB approval was obtained to elicit feedback from three students with whom the instructor was still in contact. This small pilot study is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather is included in this paper to provide student feedback on the implementation of the framework.

In both classes, the framework was used to incorporate code-switching, an element of sociolinguistic diversity in contact varieties of Spanish, including the variety of Spanish spoken in the U.S. Southwest. The bilingual phenomenon of code-switching has been defined by Poplack (1980) as "the alternation between two languages in a single speech event, phrase, or constituent" (p. 583). Code-switching can also occur between varieties of the same language (Gumperz, 1982). The use of code-switching has been analyzed in several genres, including conversations (Auer, 1995; Gumperz, 1982; Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997), literature (Callahan, 2004; Torres, 2007), service encounters (Callahan, 2009), advertising (García-Vizcaíno, 2011; Piller, 2001), songs (Stølen, 1992), historical texts (McLelland, 2004), and greeting cards (Potowski, 2011). Any of these genres could have been chosen as texts to contextualize examples

of code-switching, but the texts chosen were a poem entitled "Soy como soy y qué" by Raquel Valle Sentíes for the advanced Spanish grammar and composition course and excerpts from Zentella's (1997) corpus of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York for the seminar in Applied Linguistics.

In the advanced Spanish grammar and composition course, students fulfilled the component of experiencing by reading Valle Sentíes' poem. Valle Sentíes is a Latina poet who was born in Laredo, Texas, on the border between the United States and Mexico and her poem "Soy como soy y qué" contextualizes several examples of code-switching. This poem was also previously used as a text in the heritage language program because it exemplifies U.S. Spanish and a theme of bilingual identity. After reading the poem, the framework was further implemented with the component of interpreting in which there was a classroom discussion about the use of code-switching inside and outside of the context of the poem. Outside of the context of the poem, many students expressed negative attitudes towards code-switching, believing that it implied a lack of competence in Spanish. As part of the discussion surrounding the use of code-switching outside of the context of the text, Poplack's (1980, p. 586) "equivalence constraint" of code-switching, Zentella's (1997, p. 92) "conversational strategies" of code-switching and Auer's (1995, p. 123) "sequentiality" of code-switching were explicitly taught to students to demonstrate both the formal and functional properties of code-switching. Within the poem, students could see that Valle-Sentíes used code-switching to fulfill a specific function of expressing bilingual identity, shown in the following excerpt of the poem:

Tendré que decir,
"Soy de la frontera,
de Laredo,
de un mundo extraño,
ni mexicano ni americano
donde al caer la tarde
el olor a fajitas asadas con mezquite
hace que se le haga a uno agua la boca,
donde en el cumpleaños lo mismo cantamos
el ***Happy Birthday*** que Las Mañanitas,
donde festejamos en grande
el nacimiento de Jorge Washington
¿quién sabe por qué?
donde a los foráneos
les entra ***culture shock*** cuando pisan Laredo
y podrán vivir cincuenta años aquí
y seguirán siendo foráneos,
donde en muchos lugares
la bandera verde, blanco y colorada
vuela orgullosamente al lado de la ***red, white and blue***." (Valle-Sentíes, 1996).

For the component of analyzing, students explored how code-switching was used by Valle-Sentíes in the poem. The examples of code-switching are framed with a direct quotation of the poet, and are used to index English discourse, contributing to the message of the text of living between two countries, two cultures, and two languages. Lastly, for the component of play of the framework, students wrote their own poems or reflections with the title "Soy como soy y qué" and could incorporate code-switching if they wished.

Following the completion of the course, a heritage language student who was enrolled in the course commented:

Part of why our discussion was so enlightening was the fact that it completely changed my perspective and attitude toward code-switching. It made so much more sense to me afterward, and I actually embrace it as something cultural that both my family and my region (border region) can take credit for as a positive contribution and cultural identifier in our society… I feel a lot more positive about code-switching and as such, have presented to my previous employer about the phenomena regarding code-switching and the need to embrace it positively. I discuss a lot of the material learned in my classroom with anybody that happens to show any interest in the topic. (Personal communication, September 6, 2016)

The presentation that this student alludes to in this quote was a public presentation that he gave on code-switching on the Native American reservation where he lives and works. Incorporating the non-standard and bilingual phenomenon of code-switching in the Spanish classroom using the proposed framework can indeed counter the over-promotion of standard varieties and can challenge both the standard language ideology and the monolingual ideology.

In the applied linguistics seminar taught in Spanish, the use of code switching was incorporated through fragments of Zentella's (1997) corpus of Puerto Rican Spanish. For the component of experiencing, students read examples of code switching in the corpus. For the component of interpreting, the use of code-switching inside and outside of the corpus was discussed. Similar to the course in advanced Spanish grammar and composition, the formal and functional properties of code-switching were explicitly taught. For the component of analyzing, students were presented with examples of Zentella's (1997) conversational strategies of code-switching including footing, clarification or emphasis, and crutching, as well as Auer's (1995) sequentiality of code-switching to explore how code-switching is used in conversation to frame events, position social actors in discourse, and index prior discourses. For the component play, students completed a project in which they collected their own data from community members or online and analyzed the use of code-switching.

Following the completion of course, a second language student commented:

The examples of code-switching in normal speech were also very interesting and novel to me. Before the lesson I mostly thought that code-switching functioned as 'crutching' to compensate for communicative difficulties. Afterwards, I realized that there was a much more linguistic depth and nuance to it than I had otherwise assumed. (Personal communication, September 5, 2016)

This student completed his final research project on the use of code-switching in U.S. Latino/a slam poetry, a paper that he presented at a regional Linguistics conference.

Another second language student who was enrolled in the course commented:

Something that I definitely came away with from this class was a deeper appreciation of the consistency of grammatical rules in linguistic variation, even when those rules may clash with the form of the language that formal prescriptivists say is 'correct.' Frankly, I had always thought of some variations of English as 'wrong,' but this view was already changing before [this class]. However, [this class] definitely gave me more concrete examples and clearer theory that demonstrated that linguistic change is an inexorable process and different variations have verifiable structures, even if they may be less socially acceptable in certain spheres. (Personal communication, September 3, 2016)

This quote reflects Kramsch's (2009) observation that "the experience of the foreign always implies a reconsideration of the familiar" (p. 5). The language classroom provides an ideal place to talk about linguistic diversity in all forms and in every language.

As demonstrated through its implementation, the proposed framework can be used to foster sociolinguistic sensitivity, recognize the communicative contexts of language use, and teach dialect awareness. It can promote the acquisition of symbolic competence through the analysis of how elements of sociolinguistic diversity can contribute to the positioning of social actors, the framing of events inside and outside of the discourse context, and the indexing of prior discourses. Lastly, it can embrace a more nuanced view of literacy, which includes elements of sociolinguistic diversity and a variety of genres.

Although this framework was implemented in advanced courses in Spanish at the university level, it can be applied and customized in many different pedagogical contexts with both second and heritage language learners. The framework can be used to incorporate varieties of the target language spoken in the local community in the classroom. It can be used to incorporate varieties of the target language that are underrepresented in the classroom. It can be used to incorporate sociolinguistic variation in the target language according to sex, race, or social class. The purpose of the framework is not to replace the teaching of standard varieties, but to contextualize them. Incorporating sociolinguistic diversity does not hamper academic achievement, but enriches it.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has proposed a pedagogical framework for incorporating sociolinguistic diversity to counter the over-promotion of standard varieties in the classroom. A small pilot study has provided student feedback regarding the implementation of this framework in two upper-division Spanish language courses at the university level with both second and heritage learners. A more comprehensive study of the implementation of this framework and student outcomes is warranted. Such a study should include a pre-test and post-test to measure students' linguistic attitudes towards standard varieties before and after the use of the proposed framework, which this pilot study does not provide. The implementation of this framework in lower-division courses and to incorporate elements of sociolinguistic diversity other than code-switching should also be explored.

The application of (socio)linguistic theory to pedagogy must continue to be strengthened. Continued dialogue among scholars, educators, and administrators is necessary to prevent the over-promotion of standard varieties in the classroom that can lead to linguistic subordination of varieties that are not considered standard by dominant groups and linguistic discrimination against the people who speak them. The implementation of the proposed framework has demonstrated how (socio)linguistics can contribute to pedagogy by encouraging an approach guided by sociolinguistic sensitivity. It can be employed to counter the over-promotion of standard varieties in the communicative classroom. It can legitimize the elements of sociolinguistic diversity in students' native languages. Lastly, it can allow students to interpret and create meaning in the target language within the multilingual context in which they live.

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