Writing Difference:
Student Ideologies and Translingual Possibilities

by

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DEDICATION

To Lily, whose intellect, diligence, tenacity, and goodness improve the world each day.
To Colin, who is ever a source of joy and love in the lives of all he meets.

The light shines in the darkness and the darkness has not and cannot overcome it. Therefore, do not be afraid, but in all you do, walk humbly and give thanks.

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Late one afternoon in the fall of 2015, after my teaching day had ended, instead of driving north toward home I drove south to Calvin College (now Calvin University). I walked to the English Department, sat in the lobby, and waited for Elizabeth Vander Lei to exit her office. When Elizabeth saw me, probably on her way home to make or eat dinner or to bring a child to a sports practice or to walk her Pembroke Welsh Corgi, Kevin, she sighed slightly, knowing exactly what I was going to ask her. I had been talking about going to graduate school for almost ten years, but I was afraid. This was an ongoing conversation between Elizabeth and me that had occurred frequently but evolved little. That afternoon, Elizabeth looked me square in the eyes and told me to go to graduate school or to stop talking about it.

So I went, no doubt helped along in the admissions process by her letter of recommendation.

For the experiences of these past five years, I am indebted to Elizabeth. Her influence is woven through the lines in these pages, through my thinking and my being. Whenever I am stuck, Elizabeth will respond with advice, sometimes in the form of an obscure literary or biblical allusion, and the answer is always there in the process and the story. No dissertation is possible without mentorship, instruction, and friendship. In Elizabeth, I have all three.

When I first visited the University of Michigan in the spring of 2016 during Welcome Weekend, it was confirmed for me that people like me do not earn PhDs. Everyone, it seemed, was talking about their research and their Master's thesis-turned-publication and I, who had never walked a large university campus and was therefore wearing improbably high heels, spent the day pretending that my ego was sturdier than my stride. When I started my coursework, Anne Gere and Anne Curzan listened patiently as a I tried repeatedly to explain why I was in graduate school and what I intended to do with my time in the program. Anne Gere watched me give the first conference talk of my career, at Cs, the kind of talk that ended with something like, "Thank you, I think that's all, and someone else is going to talk now." Anne Gere also watched me give my first talk to my peers in her "What Makes Writing Good?" course, where I went over my

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If you have worked on a writing project with me, you know that I have a tendency to pass along drafts when they are in need of significant revision. And I'm not much of an editor. Anne Curzan knows this better than anyone, as she has read every draft of every exam and dissertation chapter I have written, grim as some of them have been. Anne also trained me as a researcher and taught me how to organize and present my findings. Perhaps the most helpful professional guidance Anne Curzan has provided for me is her willingness to listen to all of my ideas and then gently turn most of them down. If you've ever had a person in your life who took your ideas seriously and then helped you to excise the dead ends, you know the value of people with this keen ear. Anne is also generous and tireless in her mentorship and advocacy. I would not be the thinker or researcher I am today without the training I received from Anne, nor would I understand the academic's commitment to inclusion and social justice. On a personal note, Anne has been kind and friendly, and I am glad to know her.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation study analyzes 15 multilingual students' talk about language and identity in the first-year writing classroom to uncover students' language ideologies and their impact on student's writing. This study tests translingual theory, which argues for contingent and negotiable standards and the production of mixed-language writing for academic purposes, against students' logics and experiences. Translingual literature has positioned itself as an antiracist orientation for writing studies that assumes a natural blending of dialects and languages for multidialectal and multilingual students, and therefore promotes code-meshing as an antiracist pedagogical approach in the classroom. Using semi-structured interviews, ideological discourse analysis of student talk and writing, and constructivist grounded theory, this project analyzes students' responses to code-meshing and translingual differencing approaches to provide better representation of multilingual student perspectives as they explain the frictions among their linguistic identities, translingual framing, and code-meshing practices.

The participants in this study were generally interested in the idea of code-meshing, but articulated many reservations about code-meshing in their own academic writing. Some of their objections were practical, such as their questions about whether their peers or instructor would need to be able to read multiple languages to read a code-meshed text. Other objections were based in linguistic difference, such as the hesitation expressed by Chinese-speaking students that Chinese characters do not follow the same grammatical patterns of English or use the same alphabet, and therefore do not "naturally" blend. Many of the objections were ideological, such as the belief that Standard Edited American English (SEAE) is the best dialect for academic writing in the United States, or that learning to write in academic English for English-speaking audiences should be the primary goal for students in first-year writing. Ultimately, even students who were quite interested in the idea of academic code-meshing reported that they did not have the necessary mastery of academic forms of their non-English languages and were not sure how to blend two different codes into a single cohesive academic discourse.

Throughout their interviews, students' talk also revealed other ideological barriers to translingual logics. All of the participants believed that academic writing should be impersonal and written in SEAE. Underlying these beliefs is the development and maintenance of ideologies that promote the academic value of standard Englishes over students' home languages, and the implicit argument that students should suppress pieces of their cultural and linguistic identities in academic settings. While their language ideologies prompt their linguistic actions, students are not always aware of their deficit beliefs about their languages and identities, as these beliefs are situated in structures that naturalize the elevation of standard English. Translingual literature argues that students should be trained to use their language difference as a resource, but students don't quite know when, how, or why to incorporate their differences.

Students also reveal that they are sometimes unable to participate in academic conversations because of cultural difference. For multilingual students, race plays a foundational role in the creation, performance, and interpretation of their identities and languages in the writing classroom. As a part of the cultural construction of race, *Americanness* plays a central role in both defining and othering students' identities and their access to classroom participation. In this study, international students report that their writing courses were typically structured upon conventions and conversations central to American culture that were not always familiar to them. To establish their "in-group" positioning, the American multilingual students in this study explained their strategies for using their American cultural identities to negotiate their insider ranking with their peers and instructors.

Ultimately, the implementation of a translingual ecology in the writing classroom depends upon deep ideological shifts for instructors and students. By centering linguistic and cultural difference as the expectation in the U.S. composition classroom, space is created for students to share and value their multilingual identities and competencies. This ideological shift requires a move away from U.S. cultural norms and audiences as the assumed target and a move toward transcultural and translingual negotiation and meaning-making. The de-centering of *American* as the target creates ideological space for multilingual students to have more rhetorical opportunities to bring their full linguistic and cultural identities into their writing projects.

CHAPTER 1

Language Ideology, Race, and Translingualism

Introduction

In 2016, Gilyard wrote, "The arc of moral composition studies is long, King might say, but it bends toward translingualism" (p. 284). The translingual project, as largely a linguistic-justice project, argues that both *standard* and *academic* function in Writing Studies as social and political constructs, subordinating and discriminating against nonstandard linguistic codes. One of the central goals for translingualists is to teach students to negotiate their language resources with language standards in an effort toward social justice in the writing classroom.

Gilyard's (2016) essay, published in a special issue of *College English* featuring "Translingual Work in Composition," highlights the hopeful energy surrounding translingual theory while also revealing translingualism's problematically inconsistent stance toward standards and difference. While Gilyard (2016) agrees that the "institutional enactment of language standards is repressive in some case and restrictive in all," he also cautions that translingualists must determine "how much language prescriptiveness they are comfortable with—lest they assert 'none at all' and…seem to evade politics" (p. 284). The tendency of translingual theory to dismiss language standardization as a political construct and to forefront language difference as universal threatens to flatten difference and elide the politics therein. This flattening of the differences within difference has the potential to devalue "the historical and unresolved struggles" of minoritized and marginalized groups that "suffer disproportionately" in relation to the academy (Gilyard, 2016, p. 286).

Race and racism are an implicitly present through-line in translingual theory, often appearing as the taken-for-granted foundation of the linguicism which translingualism fights against. While translingualism rightly presents itself as capacious in terms of who might "qualify" as translingual with arguments like "we are always translingual" (Bawarshi, 2016; qtd. in Gilyard, 2016, p. 286), it also problematically positions racial difference as unremarkable and

undeserving of critical attention. The result is that issues of race tend to simmer invisibly below the surface, while talk about standards and student language rights and resources, like code-meshing, are centered.

This dissertation study includes interview data from 15 multilingual students enrolled in First Year Writing (FYW) at a large public university in the Midwest in 2019. Eight of the 15 students identify as "American" and six identify as "International." Each of the students identifies as multilingual, speaking some English as one of their home languages. In this dissertation project, I focus on students' language ideologies because the translingual orientation promotes practices that require an ideological shift away from standards-based writing targets and toward language negotiation and blending. However, without changing students' beliefs about language, the imposition of language blending strategies threatens to be another "institutional enactment" (Gilyard, 2016, p. 284) of language expectations and standards, albeit a new set of standards. An assumption or insistence that multilingual students would or should want to code-mesh runs the risk of reifying linguistic tourism and voyeurism (Matsuda, 2014) and reifying students' beliefs that their instructor's rhetoricity supersedes their own. Through analysis of students' talk about being multilingual in FYW, I highlight the ways that race and students' language ideologies challenge the translingual flattening of difference in support of a broader range of pedagogical possibilities and research.

This chapter analyzes the places and possibilities of translingualism by locating translingual theory in its interdisciplinary context. While Horner et al. (2011) call translingualism "a new paradigm" for understanding language difference, the translingual repudiation of monolingualism and its promotion of difference have long histories in linguistics and in critical race theory, particularly in scholarship about standard language ideology and second language (L2) acquisition. This chapter traces the conditions that led to the emergence of translingualism in Writing Studies, beginning with a discussion of race and standard language ideology, which establishes a framework for the dissertation study questions. The chapter then offers an expanded history of translingualism, followed by a discussion of critical race theory to analyze race, language, and translingualism together, revealing the need for better interdisciplinary approaches to translingualism. This final section of this chapter analyzes the debate between code-switching and code-meshing to illustrate the need for interdisciplinary approaches to translingual work for the benefit of multilingual students.

Race and Standard Language Ideology

During the course of this project, I have gathered many students' stories. These are stories about how students' lived experiences have shaped their language ideologies, which in turn shape their writing practices. When students fill the seats of their first-year college writing courses, they are already storied by their home lives and cultures, their social experiences around language, and at least twelve years of English education from their schools. All of these experiences have established within students a system of beliefs about the values and appropriate uses of their languages and their dialects. Dialects, as language forms used by groups of people according to geographic region or social group, are judged against language standards. While Writing Studies scholars generally agree that "standard language" as a discrete and stable dialect is a "myth" (Horner et al., 2011), students continue to learn standardized forms of English for academic purposes as the best or most appropriate or most natural linguistic code for school (Young, 2020; Inoue, 2016). This continued teaching of Standard Edited American English (SEAE[1]) for writing in schools as the dialect of prestige subordinates other dialects and languages as nonstandard and inferior.

In response to the social injustice perpetuated by the reification of standardized English[2] in Writing Studies, Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur published an opinion piece titled "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach" (2011), which argues that the teaching of SEAE and traditional language standards in writing classes are racist, classist, and based on a monolingual ideology that reinforces the supremacy of whiteness in school settings. In "Language Difference," the authors argue for a new translingual paradigm which acknowledges and repudiates the historical preference for whiteness and in turn honors students' home languages as codes of power in academic and formal settings.

Because language is used to establish a social hierarchy, students who use a nonstandard dialect or non-English language at home might also acquire SEAE in school settings for academic purposes. Sometimes SEAE is presented to students as a way to earn advantage in formal settings, and often times students desire to learn SEAE because they have internalized the

[1] I use SEAE to refer to the academic written form of standardized American English.
[2] I use "standardized English" to refer to more general uses of Standard American English, distinct from the written form (SEAE).

social and political prestige ascribed to SEAE. Translingual scholarship intervenes into this space to question how SEAE functions in writing classrooms, and to argue that students should be able to use their home languages and dialects in writing classrooms as politically equivalent to SEAE. This dissertation study enters the linguistic justice conversation by way of language ideology because the racism, classism, and language subordination repudiated by translingualism are rooted in deficit language ideologies about nonstandard codes.

While translingual scholarship presents "alternatives to conventional [punitive] treatments of language difference" as a "new paradigm" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 304), this treatment of language difference and its structuring ideologies has deep roots in other disciplines. As linguist Lippi-Green (2012) explains, beliefs about race, language use, and the material reality of the two emerge in standard language ideologies, which are preferences for "abstracted, idealized, homogenous" language practices that are "imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" (p. 64). Lippi-Green's prominent scholarship on standard language ideology analyzes socially-constructed and socially-accepted beliefs about race and language correctness. In academic spaces, where standardized written language preferences are modeled after the spoken dialect of racially-white, upper-middle-class American English speakers, standard language ideology creates and maintains preferences for the dialects of whiteness and wealth while transmitting and reproducing itself as nothing more than common-sense notions about good, better, and best (and worst) language practices (Lippi-Green, 2012; Inoue, 2016; Young 2020, 2009, 2007).

Standard language ideologies as deeply held, common-sense beliefs about language use and language users are rarely interrogated or analyzed. They are formed by social practice, and in turn, standard language ideologies reproduce and transmit those social practices, reifying their common-sense nature. In the writing classroom, these social practices include the language and posture of textbooks which present SEAE as the target dialect for academic writing and the teaching of SEAE conventions across the curriculum for academic writing. The normative social practices also include the language of the teacher in the classroom, the use of SEAE on classroom handouts and in school communication, and the unspoken understanding that dialects associated with whiteness are more socially, academically, and economically prestigious in high stakes school settings (Inoue 2016). These naturalized, unquestioned educational practices serve to reinforce the power and normativity of whiteness and standardized English, including a

pervasive belief among university writing instructors that SEAE is racially neutral (Davila, 2016).

In the United States, where standardized English functions both now and historically as the dialect of power, people are ascribed social and political power according to their historical and contemporary social relation to the dialect. Bourdieu (2002) uses the term "cultural capital" to explain the acquisition and maintenance of social assets, such as a standardized dialect. Historical sociopolitical relations to standardized English are largely determined according to race and socioeconomic status. This ranking of all dialects against standardized English leads to other social consequences as well. Because languages are partially constitutive of identity, individuals are esteemed or disadvantaged according to the socially-constructed value of their speech.

Translingual theory argues that students should be taught to negotiate standards and to open spaces for code-meshing, but most of the students in this study defer overwhelmingly to their beliefs about the linguistic and stylistic expectations of an American audience. The multilingual students I interviewed enter their writing classes, and generally leave them, with writing goals oriented around improving their standardized English for academic writing and discourse. To challenge this ideology and work through this ideological friction in a single semester may be unlikely, which suggests that translingual theory and pedagogy requires a framework for gradual, continuous ideological change.

Another critical distinction is the clarification of what should be, according to translingual scholars, and what students say they want, as an indication of students' current beliefs about languages and writing standards. The translingual argument that students should be able to bring their home languages and dialects into academic writing communicates social and political equity among all dialects and languages. However, introducing code-meshing as a strategy to students who desire to improve their mastery of standardized English is fraught with ideological friction for students. The translingual orientation and its ideological insistence that traditional writing standards are contingent generally conflicts with what students have been taught about academic writing before coming to the university.

By interrogating translingual logics and practices through the lens of student experiences and voices, I found significant instances when translingual theory and the practices it suggests clash with the ideologies of the students, often because the theory and practices fail to account

for the embodiment of race and difference. This study takes a step back from the assumption that multilingual students "naturally" adhere to translingual preferences and practices, and it tests translingual thinking and practices against the logics of multilingual students enrolled in FYW courses during the winter of 2019. I use of ethnographic and discourse analysis methods to gather students' beliefs about being multilingual academic writers. I then analyze students' words and their writing through ideological discourse analysis, to capture the ideologies that underlie their thinking and expressions.

Research Questions

The orienting research questions for this study bring together translingual theory and students' experiences of being multilingual in academic writing settings. In particular, to deepen translingual theory and develop pedagogical possibilities, I analyze students' articulations about their first-year writing experiences, which reveal their language ideologies about multilinguality and academic writing, and their perspectives about language diversity, race, and their own linguistic choices. To learn more about how students' ideologies about race, language, and standardization impact their linguistic decisions in first-year writing, I organized this study around three research questions, guided by Cameron's (2012) interrogation of the actors and aims of language control. In her book *Verbal Hygiene*, Cameron interrogates the compulsion to "correct" and "clean up" another's language to fit a prescribed standard. Cameron argues that questions of prescriptivism ought not be '(what) should we prescribe?' Instead, the questions should be about who prescribes for whom, how, and why (p. 11).

The questions posed by Cameron (2012) are about how people acquire and internalize language ideologies, and about how standard language ideology functions invisibly but purposefully to reify and naturalize its maintenance of social and political power. The orienting research questions for this dissertation study ask the same questions: what kinds of language ideologies have students internalized from their previous writing and language experiences, how were they prescribed, by whom, and why? The answers to these questions will provide space for targeted language interventions, such as translingualism, to work at the level of ideology so that students' beliefs about language standardization and difference can support new linguistic practices.

To answer these large-scale questions, I narrowed this study to three more specific research questions (in bold):

1. **How do multilingual students' previous academic writing experiences shape their ideologies about language diversity and being multilingual in FYW?**
    - What values, attitudes, and beliefs do students have about their diverse language abilities and about academic writing?
    - How have students' previous school-related writing experiences shaped their current values, attitudes, and beliefs about academic writing and their own diverse language abilities?
    - What kinds of writing goals do students set for themselves in FYW, and how do students' multilingual identities influence their writing goals?
2. **What kinds of linguistic choices do multilingual students make in their academic writing, and how might those choices be influenced by their linguistic ideologies?**
    - How are students thinking about and using their diverse language abilities in FYW?
    - For example, when students explain their linguistic choices in their literacy narratives and other academic essays, what do their explanations reveal about their ideologies about being a multilingual in FYW?
3. **From multilingual students' perspectives, how do their FYW experiences impact their thinking about language diversity, race, ethnicity, academic writing, and/or their writing practices?**
    - In what ways, if any, does student talk about their FYW experiences regarding language diversity and/or race and/or ethnicity reveal shifts in student language ideologies?
    - How does student talk about their FYW experiences regarding academic writing reveal shifts in student conceptions of 'academic,' if at all?
    - How does student talk about the impact of FYW on their writing practices reveal shifts in a student's writing practice or its conceptualization?

The first question establishes students' existing beliefs about standards and difference in the writing classroom based on their embodied experiences in previous writing classrooms, which speaks to the "differences within difference" that are at the center of many of Gilyard's (2016) cautions about translingualism. The second question interrogates how students' language ideologies influence how and what they write, determining what kinds of conditions are required for students to make ideological shifts toward translingualism. The final research question explores the impact of FYW on students' language ideologies and writing practices and reflects on how race impacts their beliefs and practices. These orienting research questions are designed to gather a collection of multilingual student stories that will help writing instructors better

understand the experiences, needs, and goals of multilingual writers. These questions also interrogate translingual theory and practice, in the hope of ensuring that students are not encouraged to merely change their writing practices, but are encouraged to develop justice-oriented beliefs about language diversity.

The next portion of this chapter explains how translingual theory and practices emerged to address the need for linguistic social justice and how translingual theorizations of *difference* and *standard* challenge longstanding monolingualist traditions of teaching academic writing. The following analyses of translingual frameworks, code-meshing theories and practices, and translingual perspectives on language standards establish the theoretical frameworks and exigence for this dissertation study.

Defining Translingualism

Translingualism is a linguistic theory and a set of commitments and pedagogies within Writing Studies that calls for generosity toward linguistic difference, for the teaching of the politics of standardization, for code-meshing pedagogies, and for teaching writing standards as ever-changing and negotiable. The majority of translingual literature has targeted the language ideologies of writing teachers, with less attention toward student language ideologies. Arriving at the critical juncture where students accept the negotiable and contingent nature of writing standards requires a deep shift in students' language ideologies, in the structure of writing classrooms, and in theoretical and pedagogical approaches to teaching writing. The target is no longer academic discourse as a standards-based writing experience, but academic discourse as an emergent social negotiation. However, as my interview data show, students are generally unaware of the role standardization plays in their beliefs about academic writing and their multilingualism, and they generally desire greater command over writing standards. Furthermore, until multilingual students perceive a benefit to negotiating language standards (such as a better grade), they are unlikely to pursue translingual options.

In their 2011 essay "Language Difference," Horner et al. present translingualism as a "new paradigm," one which welcomes and supports language difference in the writing classroom as both a rhetorical "resource" and a linguistic "right." This distinction is meant to create a new branch in the language difference conversation, one that veers away from talk of "students'

rights" toward promotion of the inherent rhetoricity within each student (p. 304). Horner et al. (2011) explain the translingualism approach this way:

> In short, a translingual approach argues for (1) honoring the power of all language users to shape language to specific ends; (2) recognizing the linguistic heterogeneity of all users of language both within the United States and globally; and (3) directly confronting English monolingualist expectations by researching and teaching how writers can work with and against, not simply within, those expectations." (p. 305)

The argument for the necessity of the "translingual turn" hinges on what it is meant by "English monolingualist expectations" and what it means to work with, within, and against them. Horner et al. (2011) argue that historically in Writing Studies, honoring language difference has meant acknowledging that students bring many heritage dialects and other languages to the classroom that are as rhetorical as standardized English, but only teaching standardized English for academic purposes. The result is that students learn to elevate standardized English over their home languages for academic use, and they elevate whiteness and diminish non-whiteness by proxy.

Horner et al. (2011) argue that translingual approaches to language difference offer a more accurate and moral perspective on language difference than traditional, standards-based practices. The translingual orientation refutes the myth of discrete and stable languages and competencies, arguing instead that language users regularly mix dialects and languages together, resulting in first languages (L1s) comprised of multiple "inseparable" languages (Canagarajah, 2013a, p. 6). This fact of language blending is promoted through pedagogical commitments to honor difference and use it rather than segregate it.

Translingual theory argues that ideologies of multilingualism and colorblindness are rooted in monolingualism because they teach students to turn their multilingualism on and off according to the linguistic expectations, and they suggest that all dialects and languages are important but not equally appropriate in academic settings. These code-switching approaches are examples of working within monolingual preferences, as opposed to the meshing of standard and nonstandard codes in academic discourse, which exemplifies working "with and against" monolingualism. According to code-meshing scholars like Vershawn Ashanti Young, this language of appropriateness amounts to overt racism and classism in a "separate but equal" vein (2009, p. 54).

While translingualism remains a popular topic for conference papers and publications in Writing Studies, the practical application of translingual approaches, especially within traditional writing programming, can create significant friction for the research and teaching of writing. Early concerns by teachers of multilinguals included the scarcity of pedagogical materials and student writing models coupled with warnings that code-meshing pedagogies could encourage "linguistic tourism" and inauthentic student performance of difference (Matsuda, 2014, p. 481). Other teachers worried that multilingual students will become even more disadvantaged without access to instruction in standardized English given the reality that standard forms of English command political power (Gilyard, 2016, p. 284). There were also questions about what it means to assess writing that crosses so many linguistic boundaries (Horner et al., 2011).

When it comes to the development of theory and pedagogy, Canagarajah (2013) acknowledges that translingualists generally fall into two camps: the "idealists" who believe in the theoretical underpinnings of translanguaging, and the "pragmatists" who are sorting through pedagogical implications of fluid language boundaries and teaching toward new or absent standards. Ultimately, Canagarajah (2013) reminds readers that both camps share the same goal of social justice, and both fall short of reaching that goal. The idealists have failed to fully account for the necessary reality of pedagogy, while the pragmatists have conceded to "traditional standards" (Horner et al., 2011) as part of their classroom-driven focus, undermining the notion of the "bankruptcy" of standards.

Faculty in L2 (Second Language) Writing and TESOL (Teaching English as a Second or Other Language) have their own sets of programmatic concerns. In 2013, Matsuda argued that translingualism covers much of the same territory as ELL and applied linguistics research, but without the benefit of input from linguists and language experts. In 2015, a group of L2 Writing and TESOL faculty responded to translingualism's growing popularity with an open letter addressed to Writing Studies editors and organizational leaders, published in *College English*. The L2 cohort opens their letter by clarifying that L2 writing and translingualism are related but "distinct" areas of research and teaching, and that both should be supported and represented in conference talks, journal articles, and in other professional opportunities. The authors go on to say that there is a misconception that translingual writing is replacing L2 Writing, but that "much of what has been discussed under the term *translingual* writing has long been part of the conversation in the field of L2 writing" (Atkinson et al., 2015, p. 384). The authors conclude by

arguing that translingualism takes up the work of criticizing monolingualist preferences but has not yet offered serious support helping L2 writers develop their languages according to their own purposes (Atkinson et al., 2015, p. 384).

Another complication in the translingual approach to difference is that the students who were initially theorized under the 1974 Students Right to Their Own Language (SRTOL) affirmation are not necessarily the same students who are represented within translingual theory (Gilyard, 2016; Lee, 2018). Those who wrote SRTOL were responding primarily to the mistreatment of speakers of "nonstandard" American English codes. Given the international and transnational populations in composition classrooms today, translingual scholarship includes speakers of world languages in addition to speakers of American English codes, situated in both U.S. composition sites and universities around the world. Translingual scholarship is rightly capacious, but can and should respond to threats of eliding difference by storying the research with explicit attention to the intersectional differences in translingual populations, as people's attitudes toward accents, grammars, and languages perceive not only difference, but indexed differences. Indexicality explains how socially-constructed meanings and values are attached to people's language use. As Gilyard (2016) explains it, marginalized folks "don't all differ from said standard in the same way" (p. 286). The leveling of differences into difference hides the work of indexicality.

Despite these criticisms from language experts, translingualism continues to branch its application across a variety of theoretical frameworks, including decoloniality theory (Cushman, 2016), anti-racist writing studies (Inoue, 2017, p.26), writing assessment and social justice (Inoue, 2017; Poe, Inoue, & Elliot, Eds., 2019, p. 207-222), literacy and TESOL (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b), and writing studies pedagogy (Lalicker, 2017). Translingualism also forefronts new terminology like code-meshing (Young, 2006), languaging (Cushman, 2016), and plurilingualism (Horner & Tetreault, 2017, p. 7) for describing what translingual practice looks and sounds like. While the urgency and excitement around translingual is palpable (Matsuda, 2014), almost every claim to the framework acknowledges its unsettled nature (see, for example, Horner & Tetreault, 2017, p. 5; Lu & Horner, 2016, p. 2017, Horner et al., 2019).

While translingualism has spread broadly across the Writing Studies landscape, it remains purposefully undefinable. Canagarajah's (2016) definition of translingualism as "a perspective on languages always in contact and generating new grammars and meanings out of

their synergy" (p. 266) highlights the interconnectedness of blended codes and the inherent changeable and emergent nature of translingualism. Gilyard's (2016) focus on the "tracings of migration, mixing, negotiation, or conquest" (p. 284) places code-mixing in a historical and sociopolitical context that includes diasporic practices ("migration") and conquest, rooting both standard and nonstandard linguistic codes in a sociohistorical narrative in which languages cannot be disentangled from their multiple emergent histories.

Some translingualists argue that the translingual approach should be conceived more broadly than a single definition. Guerra and Shivers-McNair (2017) posit that translingualism is founded on an ideological break from previous approaches to language difference, and therefore requires a new "vocabulary of motive," including the terms like *transnational*, *decolonial*, and *code-meshing*. This new vocabulary establishes translingualism as foundationally different from monolingualism, which promotes code-segregation, assimilation, eradication, and colonialiality. Translingualism is also structured on different grounds from multilingualism, as multilingualism is grounded in code-switching, acculturation, accommodation, and neocolonial "cultural awareness" (Guerra & Shivers-McNair, 2017, p. 21). Translingualism, by contrast promotes code-meshing[3], transculturation, hybridization, critical linguistic and cultural awareness, and decolonial approaches, which are each grounded in negotiation.

The Horner et al. (2019) WPA-CompPile Research Bibliography notes the "polemical" reality of translingual theory, and issues a call to "resist efforts to offer any final definition, program, or pedagogy for translinguality" (p. 1). Instead, the authors argue that efforts should be directed toward "creating conditions for exploring ways to define [translinguality] with colleagues and students" (Horner et al., 2019, p. 1). Horner et al., (2020) argue that translingualism is an ever-evolving project, and should be understood, "like languages, as always in process" (p. 1). Such parameters, in addition to the continuous inclusion of translingualism with other social-justice oriented programming, serve to increase translingualism's popularity because of its capacious application and local control.

While a current singular definition of translingualism has not been sanctioned, there are two anchoring components of most translingual definitions: a way of thinking about language standardization and difference (often called an orientation), and the pedagogical implications of the orientation, such as code-meshing. What is implied but not explicit in these definitions, is the

[3] A detailed discussion of code-switching and code-meshing appears later in this chapter.

role that race and socioeconomic status play for students when it comes to both the theorization and the praxis of translingualism. However, without accounting explicitly for the role that race plays in the development of students' language ideologies, in their relation to standardized English, and without clear assertions about how translingualism means to address the material reality of standards in students' education (Gilyard, 2016), it is difficult to tease out pedagogies that meaningfully address students' language needs in Writing Studies.

In this way, translingual applications may have outpaced some of its foundational theoretical work. For example, there is still the unanswered question of who qualifies as translingual. Guerra & Shivers-McNair (2017) claim that "translingualism has evolved from an approach to language difference designed for specific intervention in the lives of disenfranchised students to one intended to address the needs of *all* student writers" (p.19, emphasis mine). However, these kinds of catch-all claims flatten difference, further disenfranchising already-disadvantaged students. Basic questions of translingual definitions of difference remain un-answered. How does translingualism distinguish between dialects and languages? How does translingual pedagogy differ from L2 Writing or TESOL programming? How do class and race figure in translingual differencing? In the United States, these intersectional distinctions are essential for naming linguistic injustice and redressing it.

What remains to be defined is a better set of parameters around who is and is not translingual, and how translingualism means to deal with the reality of linguistic standards. An influx of ethnographic studies can help answer these questions, centered around multilingual and multidialectal students' ideologies about their language practices and their understandings of their social and political relations to standardized English in the writing classroom. Analysis of multilingual students' ideologies is a necessary part of understanding how translingualism can support linguistic justice in the writing classroom while avoiding the erasure of intersectional difference.

Continued ethnographic research offers opportunities to better understand how race, ethnicity, and standard language ideology intersect with translingual theory and pedagogies. Of the scant ethnographic translingual studies, the majority focus on teacher ideologies (for example, Zheng, 2017; Zapata & Laman, 2016). However, there are a few studies focused on translingual student identities. One recent study that has taken up Gilyard's (2016) call for understanding the differences within translingual difference focuses on DREAMers and Otros

DREAMers living along the U.S./Mexico border. De los Santos et al. (2020) conducted ethnographic work with DREAMers and Otros DREAMers (nearly 2 million U.S.-raised Mexican citizens who returned or were returned to Mexico as young adults), and they describe the ways that race, language, culture, and opportunity are easily flattened through a translingual approach. De los Santos et al. (2020) write, "By flattening all language differences to the point where difference is solely an individual idiosyncrasy that should be honored in schools—in the narrow belief that differences matter in the sense that they don't matter—we can miss the distinct challenges that diaspora and repatriation can place on student languaging practices" (p. 173). These kinds of ethnographic studies reveal how ethnicity and race-based cultural factors, like migration across the U.S/Mexico border, affects students' opportunities for social justice and their relation to SEAE and traditional writing standards.

One of the ongoing challenges in translingual research is the failure to disentangle the political and linguistic implications of dialects and languages in writing education. Without the theorization of race as central organizing force for the dismantling of racist writing standards and practices, translingual theory fails to explore the ways that students who speak different languages and dialects of languages experience racism in writing classrooms. The result is that translingual pedagogies promote antiracism in a general way, but underserve students' specific antiracist needs as writers. To use the same theory of difference and pedagogical approach for a speaker of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and with an international student from India who grew up speaking English, Tamil, and Hindi erases the essential race-based histories of all students, eliding the politics and embodiment of ethnicity and difference.

Distinguishing Translanguaging

While translingualism has its own history and literature that now is fairly distinct from translanguaging scholarship, I include this section to distinguish the two. Horner et al. (2019) describe translanguaging as "the mixing and meshing of languages within utterances," which is not, in their opinion, in the same critical vein as translingual scholarship (p. 2). In other words, Horner et al. (2019) would argue that translanguaging describes a linguistic fact, whereas translingualism describes an orientation toward language standards and difference.

The term *translanguaging* has its roots in pedagogy, originating in bilingual education literature in a 1994 dissertation by Cen Williams, which describes *translanguaging* as "the

planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson" at school (qtd. in MacSwan, 2017, p. 170; qtd. in García, 2009). Many others have recognized similar practices and ascribed different names for the meshing of two languages in a single discourse, such as code-switching (Jakobson, 1953), heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1975), polylanguaging (Jørgensen, 2008), translingualism (Horner et al., 2011), and code-meshing (Young, 2006). The term *translingual* has evolved out of translanguaging to describe not a planned use of bilingual pedagogy, but the use of mixed-codes "as a matter of fact" for all speakers (Bawarshi, 2016, p. 245), and the recognition that languages and dialects have not been treated equally in writing studies.

Some proponents of translanguaging use frameworks from applied linguistics to argue that languages are political inventions, and that the naming of languages as discrete entities is a social and cultural invention for purposes of the maintenance of power (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). In 2006, Pennycook argues that linguists ought to develop "an anti-foundationalist view of language as an emergent property of social interaction and not a prior system tied to ethnicity, territory, birth, [and] nation" (p. 67) and concludes that "there is ultimately no good reason to continue to posit [a language's] existence" (2006, p. 67). In Writing Studies literature, applied linguists like Canagarajah (2013a, 2015) argue that the boundaries between languages and dialects are historically, currently, and always fluid, as all language use is performed by individuals who are in continuous contact with speakers of other dialects and languages. Scholars who promote translanguaging do so on the premise that it normalizes the continuous evolution of language boundaries while simultaneously de-stabilizing notions of fixed, standard varieties of languages. Through the normalization of difference and the dismantling of standards, translanguaging scholars work to attenuate the political power of standardization.

However, while high theory may debate the political and social construction of languages as fact, the material reality is that students live and experience the borders and definitions of languages and their social ramifications every day. Furthermore, when students enter our FYW spaces, they are not ideologically neutral; they are already storied by their previous experiences with languages. For students, languages are lived and experienced, and translingual theory can focus on affecting students' language ideologies in order to influence students' awareness of pervasive cultural language ideologies and their own agency over the politics of language boundaries.

Finally, the distinction between translanguaging and translingualism is largely a disciplinary construction. Translanguaging appears more frequently in TESOL, L2, and international contexts, while translingual has taken hold of the Writing Studies scholarship. This divide is likely the result of the focus on language practices in the term translanguaging, which applied linguists like Canagarajah (2013a) have explained to mean "practices through and across languages," as opposed to the focus on university writing standards and standard language ideology in the early translingual scholarship, as introduced through Horner et al. (2011) in "Language Difference."

In 2017, Jerry Won Lee took up the term *translanguaging* and shifted it in a new direction by positioning it as a modifier. Through his construction of "translanguaging pedagogy," Lee (2018) argues that translanguaging work must advance beyond a simple concession of linguistic plurality in writing studies, beyond arguments about the political nature of naming and bounding languages, and beyond the reduction of translanguaging to a product or as an assessment category on a checklist (p. 133). Instead, translanguaging pedagogy means "applying lessons evolving out of translingual approaches about language to the teaching and evaluation of language" (p. 136). This ongoing development of approaches includes individualizing evaluation criteria to the greatest extent possible, negotiating linguistic and institutional experience, and attenuating the translingual/monolingual binary (Lee, 2018, p. 132). Translanguaging pedagogy therefore relies upon the assumption that the instructor's institutional and linguistic authority is negotiable, that the instructor can choose a variety of flexible assessment strategies based on the needs of the student writer, and that the student writer is able to negotiate their cultural and linguistic capital in the classroom. In short, translanguaging pedagogy entails an individualized approach to all aspects of writing and its teaching and assessment whenever possible.

Race and Writing Studies

Critical Race Theory

Because race figures prominently in this project, critical race theory (CRT) serves as a central framework for analyzing and interpreting participant talk. Critical race theory originated in legal scholarship in the 1970s with scholars such as Derek Bell and Richard Delgado, who argue that race and racism are central structuring tenets of all cultural realities in the United

States. Racism arranges and orders wealth, opportunity, education, employment, and the attitudes and beliefs people hold about others who look like them or look different from them. Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995) argue that CRT usefully frames educational inequity with two structuring beliefs: that race continues to be a significant determining factor, and that the U.S. society's historical and ongoing basis in property rights combines with racial inequality to multiply disadvantage non-white students and their educational communities (p. 47). They argue that non-white people in the United States are held, materially and fundamentally, at a structural disadvantage, given that "the ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature of power in America" (p. 54). Non-white people have historically been denied ownership opportunities, the legacy of which is pervasive. Property here extends beyond goods, beyond tax money tied to home values that fund the public schools in the United States. Property is ideological when we talk about who owns English language standards, who owns the right to be educated in their own home languages, and who owns the right to learn their histories from community leaders in their schools. These are questions of authority and agency, and they are grounded in race and ethnicity.

Within translingual literature, the concept of "standard" often refers to a hegemonic norm while the concept of "difference" is understood in terms of its deviation from standard. To borrow language from Geneva Smitherman (*Talkin*), difference too often becomes "deficiency" in the FYW classroom. Because race has been historically undertheorized as a determiner of educational opportunity and outcome (Prendergast 1998; Poe, Inoue, Elliot, Eds., 2018), other deficit narratives based in "color-blind" ideologies about difference became central: that minority communities don't value education as highly as their white counterparts, or that education as a pure meritocracy can be tendered as the grand equalizer. Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995) use CRT to articulate how historical and systemic racism guarantee that non-white students have fewer educational opportunities and are more likely to be punished by educational research, policy, and practice, especially when race is ignored. Rather than having more options for their academic writing, students of color, especially multilingual students, often have fewer options because they are challenged to make their writing suit the prescriptions of SEAE.

While CRT rose to popularity in the 1990s and early years of the 21st century, racial inequalities in education have persisted in American schooling, partially as a the result of the continued under-theorization of race, despite an increase in "antiracist" and "culturally

responsive" pedagogies. As talk about race has risen, so too has the circulation and reproduction of damaging dominant cultural narratives about People of Color (Yosso, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Prevailing cultural beliefs about meritocracy and color-blindness refer poor outcomes back onto those at a race-based structural disadvantage, attributing underperformance to personal or community defects, such as laziness, disinterest in education, home-based behavioral problems, truancy, and lawlessness. While education scholars know that students of color are underperforming for reasons of systemic abuse masquerading as equal opportunity, CRT has yet to move from the discourse of academics into the hands of practitioners (Morris, 2006, p. 131), a limitation which may be compounded by the under-theorization of race as a structuring tenet of educational experience.

Critical race theory highlights the ways that the differences within difference matter for individuals and groups. Yosso (2006) argues that "CRT acknowledges the inextricable layers of racialized subordination based on gender, class, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent and sexuality," and that it "refutes the claims of educational institutes to objectivity, meritocracy, colorblindness, race neutrality and equal opportunity" (p. 171). This racialized subordination is manifest in Writing Studies praxis that focuses on students' right to own their languages without promoting students' inherent rhetoricity. To counter the ethnocentrism and racism experienced by multilingual students, CRT centers the cultural wealth of each student, allowing them to establish their own rhetorical contexts and to be the cultural experts in those spaces. Yosso (2006) argues that a CRT framework "enacts a commitment to social justice through the validation of cultural wealth of people of color" (p. 171-2).

Through storytelling, marginalized people may be able to construct new social realities and influence ideological shifts toward fairness (Delgado, 1989, 1996). Delgado argues that stories offer people on the margins a way to name their own realities in the recognition that much of our reality is a social construct. Stories also offer a way for minorities to "preserve their own psyches" and to challenge deeply held beliefs rooted in ethnocentrism and racism (Delgado, 1990). In *Counterstory*, A. Martinez (2020) offers "critical race counterstory" as a method within CRT for marginalized people to offer personal accounts that contradict or complicate the dominant narrative about nonwhite people. This dissertation project stories the research in order to highlight the cultural wealth and experiences of people of color, and it also draws upon these

counterstories to push back against translingual assumptions that students want to be "differenced" in visible ways.

In addition to its significance in the translingual literature and as a research methodology, this work in counterstorying and CRT has important implications for FYW pedagogy as first-year classes are sites where students are regularly asked to write their stories, a forced ritual of leveraging one's identity against the hidden cultural norms of the course. The popular literacy narrative assignment places heavily racialized cultural and linguistic demands on students: tell your story, but in a way that makes sense to the instructor; write about yourself in a dialect the instructor can understand, and be authentic, but the instructor will assess your voice and assign it a grade. Taking racism into explicit account forces instructors to weigh the considerable challenges our non-white, non-middle-class students face when asked tell their stories. Perhaps paradoxically, the literacy narrative also offers the opportunity for students to explore their own rhetoricity and linguistic identity in an academic context. A difference-based approach to the literacy narrative wrestles with the reality that student agency is always bound by the social and political realities of the classroom environment.

The use of CRT in this dissertation allows me to analyze student talk about language, code-meshing, academic writing standards, and multilingualism from the premise that race and racism are inherent in students' experiences. CRT also provides a practice for resisting dominant cultural stories about multilingual students by providing a place to write new stories that feature these participants' experiences as counter-narratives. Educators, writing studies scholars, and people who work daily with multilingual students cannot elide conversations about the racism inherent in traditional educational practices, and should instead be in constant dialogue about what it means to be ethical researchers and practitioners. As Duffy (2017) writes, it's not that any teacher has a choice about teaching ethics, but instead teaching writing necessarily means teaching practices of ethical communication. Duffy (2017) argues, "as teachers of writing we are *always already* engaged in the teaching of rhetorical ethics and that the teaching of writing necessarily and inevitably moves us into ethical reflections and decision-making" (p. 230). Not only do instructors already teach an ethic of rhetoric and language ideology, teachers are compelled to make ethical decisions about how make space for the stories of each of the students in the classroom and for the storying that takes place within the writing curriculum.

A Brief Historical View of Linguistic Justice in Writing Studies

In writing studies, even in research relying foundationally upon race, race is often treated as a sociological fact, but not as a factor in a student's writing education and experiences. In 1998, Prendergast writes, "Even when the subject of a study is identified by race or ethnicity, the legacy of racism in this country which participates in sculpting all identities—white included—is more often than not absent from the analysis of the writer's linguistic capacities or strategies" (p. 36). Prendergast uses Heath's *Ways With Words* as an example of a text where race is introduced and then sidelined throughout the remainder of the book. The comparisons and analyses of Roadville and Trackton are made, according to Prendergast, with little explicit talk about which is the "white" town and which is the "black" town, although from a critical race theory, one could argue that the text relies upon that racial difference for its argument. Prendergast notes that Heath positions race as ancillary to the other cultural forces at work between the two towns (p. 48).

While Prendergast is writing in "The Absent Presence" (1998) about Heath's 1983 work, she could be writing about any number of popular translingual texts. The translingual scholarship has largely elided talk of race and racism in favor of talking about rhetoric and linguistics. In other words, translingual scholarship has positioned itself in a disciplinary context as a response to "repressive" multilingual or code-switching models, offering a linguistic intervention in racialized terms which rarely include discussions of racism. For example, Horner's et. al.'s 2011 essay, "Language Difference in Writing," a text cited repeatedly as the catalyst for translingual theory, mentions *race* only one time and *racism* not at all. In contrast, the authors use the word *standard* or *standards* 34 times. They use *multilingual* or *multilingualism* 19 times. Of course, the writers mean that standards are built upon racist beliefs about languages and their users, and they know that *multilingual* has been used to sideline students based on racist ideologies, but the arguments are implicit. We are still talking about race and racism without talking about race and racism.

In the introduction to his book *Antiracist Writing Assessment Ecologies,* Asao Inoue (2015) writes, "Racism has always been a part of writing assessment at all levels" (p. 6-7). Inoue argues that the systems of writing assessment ideologies, practices, and outcomes are "biased toward a discourse that privileges whites consistently because it is a discourse of whiteness" (p. 7). While historically there has been little conversation about race in writing studies (Inoue,

2015, p. 5), since 2015 there has been a significant surge in antiracism in writing studies, and much of that energy has been channeled toward translingual and code-meshing practices to combat social injustice: the unequal and inequitable distribution of opportunity, wealth, and privilege.

Historically, there is a long history of flattening intersectional difference in writing education. One of the invisible forces of racism in education is the underlying morality that is loaded into language use. In education, the history of promoting standardized English as the moral code for academic uses is longstanding. In her history of race and dialect in education, Geneva Smitherman reminds compositionists of the 1917 National Council of Teachers of English "Better Speech Week," in which students recited a pledge equating love for the language (singular) of the United States with avoiding foreign and nonstandard language usage. The pledge begins, "I love the United States of America. I love my country's flag. I love my country's language…I promise that I will say a good American 'yes' and 'no' in place of an Indian grunt 'um-hum' and 'nup-um' or a foreign 'ya' or 'yeh' and 'nope' (Smitherman, 1999, p. 372). The use of "good American" to describe standardized English layers a moral complexity onto language use, as the possibility of "good" speech implies the possibility of "bad" and incorrect speech. The conflation of "American" with SEAE as a dialect of American English exists yet today, as is evident in chapter 5 in this project. While students may no longer recite pledges to use "good American" dialects to the exclusion and subordination of foreign and nonstandard language codes, the lesson continues.

In this dissertation study, the students each self-identify as multilingual, but I include this short history by writing about multidialectal students, especially speakers of AAVE, because the translingual literature grounds itself in this history. While this does not account for the conflation of histories of nonstandard American English dialects with the histories of non-English languages in the U.S. writing classroom, it does point toward a possible origin of this failure to separate the politics of the two: historically, much of the published scholarship about speakers of nonstandard languages and dialects offers the same ultimate goal: language correction and assimilation as a moral good. For example, after analyzing "race, language, and immigration" in *English Journal* from 1912-1935, J.W. Hammond determines that "many *EJ* contributors describe the monolingual, monocultural aspirations of Americanizing assimilations as a kind of benevolent good," which is born from the same ideology that penned the 1917 Better Speech

pledge distinguishing Americans from Indians and foreigners. These racist mistreatments are grounded in notions of an idealized American, with little interest in or critical distinctions made among other populations. This does not account for or excuse the slippage in translingual theory regarding nonstandard dialects and languages, but an analysis of a translingual history of difference does usefully highlight opportunities for continued historiography.

Historically, the influence of monolingual ideology to maintain linguistic injustice is evident in the nation's treatment of nonstandard dialects in schools. The racial integration of schools following the controversial ruling of *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), which upheld Brown's argument that the segregated schools were underserving non-white students, resulted in the displacement of the majority of black and brown teachers and principals. As a result, most black and brown students who had been previously taught by black and brown intellectuals from their communities would now be taught by white teachers. The disruption this caused for black and brown students' educations cannot be overstated. Whereas black and brown students previously were taught in their neighborhood schools by educators from their own communities who looked, talked, dressed, ate, and lived like they did, after *Brown*, black and brown students found that their identities were a misfit in integrated schools which generally followed the habitus of the white middle class.

As a result of the desegregation of schools, increasing numbers of white writing teachers were faced with the task of teaching standardized English to black students who did not use the dialect socially or at home. Writing teachers were not always trained or equipped to teach standardized English to multidialectal students, prompting professional organizations to respond with linguistic trainings and promises of more inclusive practices. In 1974, the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) adopted the Students' Right to their Own Language resolution (SRTOL), which explicitly "denied the myth" of a stable standard American dialect, affirmed that teachers should be trained to respect and validate all language varieties, and affirmed that all students should have the right to their own language in school. In the introduction to a special issue of *CCC* devoted to SRTOL (1974), Richard L. Larson, the Chair of the 1974 CCCC writes, "American schools and colleges have, in the last decade, been forced to take a stand on a basic educational question: what should the schools do about the language habits of students who come from a wide variety of social, economic, and cultural backgrounds? The question is not new." Larson concludes his introduction by asking, "Should

the schools try to uphold language variety, or to modify it, or to eradicate it?" (p.1). The question of what to do with language variety persists today, with the same prescriptive bent that Cameron (2012) identified decades ago: who prescribes for whom, how, and why?

In 1979, parents in Ann Arbor, MI brought a linguistic case to the courts, arguing that their community school, King Elementary, was failing to provide equal education to students who spoke "Black English" and was misidentifying them as learning-impaired. Judge Joiner ruled that the teachers needed training to learn about their students' home dialect, and to learn to work with and not against those dialects in their teaching of standardized English at school. Linguists in the 1970s and 1980s were arguing for the legitimacy of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) as a systemic and rule-governed language variety while English teachers were trained to teach standardized English writing conventions to every pupil. This divide between the realities of linguistic difference and the power of standard language ideology to denigrate difference is especially evident in the gulf between language experts and public perception of linguistic difference, which Smitherman (1995) explains as a fault of language education, or the lack thereof, in schools.

The ideological framework required to recognize the legitimacy of nonstandard dialects within schools was slow to develop. In 1996, the Oakland School Board in California passed a resolution recognizing "Ebonics" as a legitimate language in order to secure second language funding to hire teachers who could code-switch and to teach students competency in SEAE through contrastive analysis practices and second language strategies. The resolution was misunderstood and ultimately unpopular with speakers of English and other languages, because it threatened to take funding from ESL programs, it categorized AAVE as a different language from SEAE, and popular figures like Rev. Jesse Jackson, vocalized their disapproval of the resolution. Rev. Jesse Jackson did later change his mind, explaining that he initially misunderstood the resolution as "trying to teach Black English as a standard language." The resolution remained unpopular but usefully shed light on the layering of race and language ideology in education and questioned the boundaries of dialects and languages.

Following the Oakland Ebonics Controversy in 1997, the Linguistic Society of America unanimously adopted the following resolution at their annual meeting:

> The systematic and expressive nature of the grammar and pronunciation patterns of the African American vernacular has been established by numerous scientific studies over the past thirty years. Characterizations of Ebonics as "slang,"

> "mutant," "lazy," "defective," "ungrammatical," or "broken English" are incorrect and demeaning. . . . There is evidence from Sweden, the US, and other countries that speakers of other varieties can be aided in their learning of the standard variety by pedagogical approaches which recognize the legitimacy of the other varieties of a language. From this perspective, the Oakland School Board's decision to recognize the vernacular of African American students in teaching them Standard English is linguistically and pedagogically sound.

Writing about his experience as a linguist brought in to consult on the Oakland Resolution, John R. Rickford explains his dismay at the miseducation of the American public about nonstandard American English dialects, such as AAVE. He also expresses his profound disappointment at the racist caricatures depicted of speakers of AAVE as poor, dangerous criminals. Rickford (1999) writes,

> In cases like these, language was no longer at issue; 'Ebonics' had become a proxy for African Americans, and the most racist stereotypes were being promulgated. This cruel humor might remind us, however, that behind people's expressed attitudes to vernacular varieties, there are often deep-seated social and political fears and prejudices about their speakers. If we don't take the "socio" part of sociolinguistics seriously, we won't be prepared to understand or respond to such attitudes effectively.

Rickford concludes that the future of success for speakers of AAVE in schools and in public perception relies on linguists deepening their understanding of linguistically sensitive approaches.

The history of treatment of non-English languages in schools is no more flattering than the treatment of nonstandard dialects. While the most well-known proposal of "English-Only" legislation in modern Writing Studies dates to the 1980s with Senator Hayakawa, these kinds of policy debates predate the founding of the United States. In the mid-18th century there were debates over which languages should appear on street signs and be permitted for "official" state business as the country eventually warred its way through the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Mexican-American War (1848), and innumerable conflicts with indigenous peoples. During the late 19th century, white leaders passed legislation for English-only language policies in white-run indigenous boarding schools, and around the same time Harvard University famously established an entrance exam designed to admit only young men who grew up with enough privilege to permit their enrollment at highly-selective, whites-only secondary schools. The founding of professional Writing Studies organizations at the turn of the 20th century, like NCTE (1911),

coincides with the large-scale removal of German-language materials from schools during WWI. Underwriting all of this history of language in the United States is the continued insistence on preserving the purity of the American English language (Hammond, 2018, p. 59).

Still, the memory of linguistic exclusion is relatively short, and within writing studies, scholarship tends to focus on a few central events: The civil rights language of the 1960s, SRTOL in the 1970s, the English-only and code-switching debates of the 1980s-1990s and the Oakland School Board Resolution of 1996, and then programmatic moves through TESOL and L2 Writing which in some ways, moved the responsibility and thus the conversation about linguistic justice off the Writing Studies table and into the hands of sociolinguists.

The resurgence of interest in linguistic social justice in writing studies through translingualism coincides with two political events: the 2009 election of the first black president of the United States, Barack Obama, who relied on code-switching to speak in culturally-relevant ways to different groups of people, and the subsequent election of Donald Trump in 2016, who said, “This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish” during the 2015 campaign season. If Obama widened the possibilities for nonstandard languages in professional settings, Trump’s white nationalist bluster solidified for many in Writing Studies the need for specifically antiracist linguistic practices.

There is clearly a need for continued historical work to better understand the mistreatment of nonstandard dialects and languages as distinct historical and ongoing contemporary events. There is also the need to structure equitable opportunity now for students of all linguistic backgrounds. Describing their vision for writing assessment, social justice theory, and the advancement of opportunity, Poe et al. (2018) write that their vision is a “hermeneutic one” which is “historical, linguistic, dialectical, and ontological” (p. 16). As Poe et al. (2018) explain it, “There need be no division between research and advocacy: Sound assessment practices advance social justice, and social justice requires sound assessment practices” (p. 16). The same is true of social justice and translingualism. Sound translingual research and teaching advance social justice, and social justice requires sound translingual research and teaching practices. It may be impossible to fully disentangle the treatment of dialects and languages in the history of Writing Studies approaches, but by determining how to treat them with critical distinction moving forward, the translingual project has an opportunity to advance social justice.

Code-Meshing and Code-Switching

In her essay "Crossing, or Creating, Divides" Tardy (2017) expresses her discouragement that the "crossing of [transdisciplinary] divides has not come to fruition" (p. 182). Tardy (2017) is discouraged that the interest in translingualism has not inspired many in Writing Studies to engage with scholarship from related disciplines, "but instead decades of relevant research, theory, and practice are routinely ignored and dismissed as traditional or monolingualist" (p. 182). The need for better interdisciplinary history and scholarship is evident throughout translingual scholarship, as conversations about translingual difference and the place of nonstandard dialects and languages in the writing classrooms highlight the disciplinary divides between writing scholars and language scholars.

The lack of interdisciplinary conversation is most prominent in the debate between code-switching and code-meshing. The conflation of language with dialect, register, and style demonstrates the reticence of translingual literature to incorporate research from allied disciplines, even when it would provide clarity. Code-switching, often enacted through bidialectalism and contrastive analysis, is a strategy used to privilege the linguistic tools students already have and to use that knowledge to help students acquire additional dialects or languages. Code-switching typically encourages students to learn and use SEAE for academic writing and other times when the student feels it is appropriate, and students are encouraged to use their home dialects and languages for informal communication at schools, as they feel appropriate. While code-switching does not limit speakers to the use of a single variety of a language at a time, this is what bilingual or multilingual speakers will often do so when they communicate with monolinguals, or those they may perceive to be monolingual, such as classmates or their instructors at a U.S. university.

Historically, multilingual models have theorized languages, dialects, and codes as mostly discrete, allowing users to pull resources from codes independently, switch between them, or even mix elements from each code to create new meaning (e.g., Muysken, 2000; Martinez 2010; Bauer, 2000). Muysken (2000) describes code-switching as an alternation of codes, not out of deficiency in either code, but as an additive ability acquired through bilingualism (p. 9). Code-switching as a linguistic term to describe this practice dates to at least the 1950s but was popularized in education in the 1970s. In his 1997 chapter "Code-switching Processes:

Alternation, insertion, congruent lexicalization," Muysekn describe three kinds of code-switching, which demonstrate the extensively developed theory of code-switching and code-switching's confusion with current theories of code-meshing. The first type of code-switching, *alternation*, is a "true switch from one language to the another, involving both grammar and lexicon" (p. 361). Muysken uses the term *insertion* to refer to "lexical imbedding," or the use of a few words or a phrase from one language used within discourse primarily being produced in another language. The third type of code-switching is called *congruent lexicalization*, which refers to a blending of two languages in a single utterance, which Muysken also terms "code-mixing" (p. 360).

Code-mixing, as Muysken explains it, seems to describe the same linguistic practice as code-meshing, as popularized by V.A. Young in 2007. Muysken's questions are about how the different processes of code-switching work, and whether one code-meshing competency precedes another. He concludes, based on his discourse analysis of Spanish/English language samples from Spanish-speaking immigrants, that insertion may evolve into congruent lexicalization (code-mixing) and then into alternation, or traditional forms of code-switching. Implied here is that the goal might be to arrive at code-switching after working one's way through lexical insertion and then congruent lexicalization. The significant difference is that while Muysken recognizes code-meshing, he does not politicize and promote it in the same way as Young (2007) and others have done in current code-meshing literature.

In 2009 Vershawn Ashanti Young published an essay titled, "'Nah, We Straight': An Argument Against Code Switching," which heavily criticized code-switching as promoting "linguistic double consciousness." Young (2009) writes that code-switching "is steeped in segregationist, racist logic that contradicts our best efforts and hopes for our students" because it teaches students that "two language varieties cannot mix," which "replicates the same phony logic behind Jim Crow legislation" (p. 53). This "separate but equal" approach ignores race and racism as the basis of code-switching pedagogies, thus perpetuating a racist insistence that all students acquire the ability to "talk white" (p. 54-55). Young is especially critical of Wheeler and Swords' 2006 text *Code Switching: Teaching Standard English in Urban Classrooms* because of the authors' insistence that code-switching is not about race. Wheeler and Swords write, "We suggest that you refrain from referring to race when describing code-switching. It's not about race" (p. 161, qtd. in Young, 2009, p. 50). Young's reply is that insistence that linguistic

strategies are "not about race" extracts the historical race-based experiences from the marginalized and "renders them invisible" (p. 51).

Despite Young's clarification that his theory of code-meshing is specific to speakers of AAVE, code-meshing strategies are quickly adopted for use with speakers of other dialects and eventually other languages (Canagarajah, 2013a). Young expands his application of code-meshing to other languages as well. In his 2011 collection with Martinez titled *Code-Meshing as World English: Pedagogy, Policy, Performance*, Young and Martinez describe *code-meshing* as the blending of minoritized dialects and world Englishes with "Standard English" as both what multidialectal and multilingual students do, but also as a pedagogy for teaching students to use their languages together in both formal and informal contexts. According to Young & Martinez (2011), code-meshing as a pedagogy stands in contrast to code-switching for all speakers of minoritized dialects and languages not because it describes a radically different practice, but because it describes a different ideology. Young & Martinez (2011) argue that code-switching uses the language of "appropriateness" or "home codes" and "school codes" to teach students how to use their languages in different contexts, which can reinforce deficit ideologies in students about their own native languages or language blends, or can make students resistant toward practicing English because the English can feel intrusive. Code-meshing pedagogies encourage explicit teaching about the "arbitrary code-censoring" that happens in school contexts, and also the teaching of "effective code-meshing" in a variety of rhetorical contexts (p. 8). Few argue against making space for multilingual students to use all of their languages in school context, but the translingual code-meshing pedagogy may erroneously make an assumption that multilingual students *want* to code-mesh in their academic writing, or that this is a natural practice for them.

Young's 2020 publication about code-meshing, "Black Lives Matter in Academic Spaces," uses a new term: metaphorical code-switching. Young explains it this way: "In my 2004 essay, 'Your Average Nigga,' I coined the term code-meshing—my neologism for what linguists refer to as metaphorical code-switching, using two or more dialects, discourses or languages in one speech or writing act" (p. 5). This clarification serves to distinguish the use of code-switching "in a reductive and punitive sense," from his theory of code-meshing which describes "language of and in action, how language works among its users, not language of and in restriction or language that imposes limits" (p. 6). Young describes the same kinds of

"congruent lexicalization" processes that Muysken observed in 1997 in his study of Spanish speakers, but the different linguistic histories of Muysken's participants and the speakers of AAVE that Young writes about change the tone and arguments significantly. Young's code-meshing literature serves as a useful and sometimes uncomfortable reminder that linguistic justice in the United State is always based in histories of race.

In his essay "It's the Wild West Out There," Matsuda (2013a) refers to the debate between code-switching and code-meshing as "a prime example of lawlessness in the linguistic frontier of U.S. college composition—and the wider community of English education" (p.133). Matsuda argues that popular movements, like code-meshing, "tend to despise the old and valorize the new," (p. 132), but without language experts at the helm, critical linguistic distinctions are left indistinct, and Writing Studies now finds itself with a linguistic knowledge gap when it comes to the treatment of nonstandard dialects and languages. Matsuda clarifies, from a linguist's perspective, his take on the confusion between code-meshing and switching. Most scholars working with ELLs agree that code-switching refers to the mixed-use of languages, and/or dialects, and/or registers, and/or styles. This is very close to Young's notion of code-meshing as blending "nonstandard" dialects with standard academic forms of English (2009, p. 62). However, Young's dismissal of code-switching depends upon his use of Wheeler & Swords' definition as the alternation of entirely distinct and separate codes, and importantly, the use of codes of prestige at school and home codes elsewhere (Matsuda, 2013). This, of course, is incongruous with an antiracist composition agenda. Matsuda explains that Wheeler and Swords' (2006) articulation of code-switching was too narrowly defined, and that linguists promoted a more fluid model for "switching," but Matsuda also notes that given the dearth of linguists in composition studies, and the sentiment that language study is now a generalizable subject open to all in composition, the narrative may be set: linguists and their code-switching notions practice a racist division of home and school codes, while translingual scholars promote antiracist code-meshing practices and products that elevate "non-standard" to the level of academic.

In a time when U.S. composition classrooms are rapidly increasing in world-language speakers, it is unsurprising that code-meshing was popularized at the expense of the older practice of code-switching, which has been used primarily with speakers of American English dialects. Matsuda (2013) argues that linguists might prefer a clarification of code-switching as

in-line with the ideologies of code-meshing and the use of code-meshing as "code-switching with an attitude," highlighting the "active and agentive use of language mixing" (p. 135) but that seems doubtful, as many compositionists may now associate *switching* with "race-switching" and *meshing* with the language mixing that most students are negotiating as they complete their writing tasks.

As writing teachers have become increasingly attuned to meeting the needs of multidialectal, multilingual, translingual and other linguistically-marginalized students, many instructors have turned to code-meshing pedagogies (Matsuda, 2013, p. 132). However, there is not yet conclusive evidence that such pedagogies are meaningful for all speakers of "nonstandard" codes, and not nearly enough voices from multilingual students populating the research. The dangers of indiscriminately implementing code-meshing with multilingual students include the inference that all languages are or ought to be mixed together and the teaching of language mixing without necessarily attending to students' own language preferences and language ideologies, given the possibility that students' deficit language ideologies may encourage them to learn a standard form of English without mixing their home codes.

There is certainly good reason for hope that translingualism can yet bridge the divide between writing experts and language experts for the benefit of multilingual students. As long as translingualism continues to focus Writing Studies scholars on the study of language, ideology, and identity, there can be productive movement toward better analyses of how linguistic difference can be negotiated with language standards. The layering of critical race theory and surfacing of historical and ongoing mistreatment of speakers of nonstandard languages and dialects further reveals the need to bring race, language studies, and writing studies into more focused and deliberate conversation with the goal of advancing justice for the least advantaged students.

Conclusion

As Inoue & Poe remark in the introduction to their text *Race and Writing Assessment*, "Race is often elided in the practices of composition studies but is still very much silently present" (p. 9). The translingual project must imagine itself more capaciously by surfacing difference if it wants to increase its reach. Every classroom, every teacher, every student is storied by constructs of race and patterns of racism, but until translingual scholarship centers

race in addition to linguistic interventions, it may not have the impact it desires. The chronic elision of race from translingual work does not result in its abatement, but rather, permits the strengthening of racism according to the reification of color-blind ideologies that seek to fix or permit "linguistic difference" without attending to the ideologies that structure "difference."

This is not to say that centering race and racism means to exclude linguistic interventions or talk of standards. These are necessarily ideologically intertwined in a material way for students. A writing curriculum focused on the grammar of SAE, for example, may be a curriculum seeped in a racist history. While students may interpret lessons about how to wield past-tense forms of the verb *to be* as nothing more than lessons in "English," what they are learning is a race-based preference for the white forms of usage. A curriculum explicit about race and grammars opens the possibility for students to think and talk about their uses of *to be* and the politics at play. In addition to acknowledgements that students come to our classrooms with all kinds of language competencies, plain talk about historical patterns of racism in English education and rhetorical choice build a more honest foundation.

There is always the need to bring the theory into praxis. This has been an ongoing critique of the translingual theory, just as it was of the SRTOL resolution more than 40 years ago (Smitherman 1995). While there has been prominent scholarship in writing studies recently by scholars such as Inoue & Poe (2012), Poe & Cogan (2016), Inoue (2015), and Poe, Inoue, & Elliot (2018) who are writing explicitly about race and racism in writing programming and assessment, the translingual scholarship is still about *standards*, and race-less students. Gilyard (2016) notes that the students who figured originally in the SRTOL resolution are not the same international, multilingual, transnational students who today are "translingual." The students imagined in the drafting of SRTOL were typically bi-dialectal, and often African American. However, Smitherman (1995) notes that "whenever blacks have struggled and won social gains for themselves, they have made possible gains for other groups—e.g., Hispanics, Asians, gays, etc., even some white folks!" (p. 25). Translingualism is perhaps the next logical step in this ongoing ideological battle against preferences for whiteness in English education. Translingualism rightly draws upon contemporary issues of racism, such as immigration, migration, and the politics of a shrinking world that lead to new realities at the university level like an influx of talented international and multilingual students. It is therefore imperative that

writing studies not lose sight of historical patterns of racism and historic battles in writing studies that paved the way for both the need, but also the opportunity, for translingual work.

The underlying problem with translingualism's treatment of race addressed by this study is that translingual interventions call for code-meshing (Horner et al., 2011), for making space for translingual products (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2016), and in some cases, for decolonizing writing studies by un-structuring the colonial tenets of the whole business (Cushman, 2016) without sufficient focus on people's treatment of and attitudes toward "non-standard" language variety in the classroom on the basis of race. I argue that translingualism has consistently undertheorized race in its treatment of language in the writing classroom, and that translingual offerings have attempted to change what students are "allowed" to produce without enough emphasis on standard language ideology as a driving motivation for the racism and ethnocentrism that pervades writing courses.

Horner et al. (2011) argue for the translingual orientation on the moral grounds that students are taught to "learn 'the standards' to meet demands by the dominant," and that "to survive and thrive as active writers, students must understand how such demands are contingent and negotiable" (p. 305). For standards to be contingent and negotiable, institutions must make them so. Until this is a reality for students, translingual practices will always position the greatest linguistic risk on those who take up the call to negotiate standards in academic discourse.

Looking Ahead: A Preview of Chapters

- Chapter 2 describes the research site, participants, research design, and methods.
- Chapter 3 discusses students' ideological frictions over code-meshing practices in academic discourse.
- Chapter 4 explores the need for translingual ecologies in writing classrooms to facilitate shifts in student language ideologies.
- Chapter 5 analyzes students' conflation of "American" with "English" and the implications for students' desires to infuse their academic writing with references to their home cultures and language.
- Chapter 6 includes implications for the continued development of translingual theory, pedagogies, and research.

CHAPTER 2
Research Methods and Design

Introduction

Qualitative research privileges the perspectives of the participants by seeking to "understand the world from the perspectives of those who live in it (Hatch, 2002, p. 7). This qualitative study aims to understand the ideologies of the multilingual participants and how participants' beliefs drive their linguistic performances in FYW. To better understand participants' perspectives from their own points of view, I conducted a series of one-on-one semi-structured interviews to ask pointed questions, leaving room for participants to nudge the conversation in different directions. I use ideological discourse analysis to analyze participants' talk along with their writing samples to understand how participants' language ideologies influence their linguistic actions. Thus, this study contains many components of ethnographic research (participant observation and interviewing, artifact collection) in combination with discourse analysis to analyze how students make sense of their linguistic identities in the FYW setting.

This study also uses constructivist grounded theory in the recursive process of analysis. Hatch (2002) explains that grounded theory uses methods that "can be used to discover approximations of social reality that are empirically represented in carefully collected data" (p. 26). By coding the interview responses for ideologies, categories of meaning emerge and can be analyzed within single cases and across cases in a systematic search for meaning (Hatch, 2002, p. 148). I chose social constructivism because it "pays careful attention to the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510). By accounting for my own positionality as the researcher, for the social hierarchy inherent in the

relationship between researcher and participant, and for the embedded relations of power, my analysis constructs interpretive, relational meaning (Cresswell, 2013, p. 65).

Study Design and Methods

Research Site

This study took place at a large public four-year university in the Midwest, which I call Midwest University (MU). According to the demographic information provided by Midwest University's FYW program, most of the first-year students are residents of the same state where MU is located, although the university does enroll students from all 50 states and 122 other countries. According to the school's published demographic information for 2019 (the year the data was collected), the racial/ethnic makeup of the undergraduate students is as follows: 65% identify as white/Caucasian, 15% are Asian American, 6% are Hispanic or Latino American, 5% are African American, and 10% are other/unknown. The university enrolls about 29,000 undergraduate students, including 2,157 international students. Many students are bilingual, and most students enter the university having studied at least one non-English language. I could not find accurate gender or sexuality demographic information. According to the university's diversity report, 50% of the undergraduates who responded chose "male" and 50% chose "female."

The students for this study were recruited out of the university's first-year writing courses. Each FYW section is slightly different, but during recruitment of consenting instructors, I specified that course material must include a literacy narrative or personal linguistic/language reflection, a substantial academic research paper, and at least two more academic writing projects. Over 3,000 students enroll in FYW each year at Midwest University. These FYW classes meet on campus, carry a weight of four credits, and rely heavily on graduate students and lecturers in English to manage the immense teaching load.

The course goals for first-year writing at Midwest University are:

(1) To cultivate practices of inquiry and empathy that enable us to ask genuine questions, engage thoughtfully and rigorously with a wide range of perspectives, and create complex, analytic, well-supported arguments that matter in academic contexts and beyond.
(2) To read, summarize, analyze, and synthesize complex texts purposefully in order to generate and support writing.

(3) To analyze the genres and rhetorical strategies that writers use to address particular audiences for various purposes and in various contexts.
(4) To develop flexible strategies for revising, editing, and proofreading writing of varying lengths.
(5) To develop strategies for self-assessment, goal-setting, and reflection on the process of writing.

Prior to teaching, Graduate Teaching Assistants (TAs) gather for a multi-day, intensive training where they learn about the FYW goals and curriculum, and work through syllabi, methods, grading procedures, and how to organize a course around a theme. Each TA must follow the format of one of the prescribed syllabi, they must include a small number of shared course readings, and they must have their syllabus approved by the FYW director before they are permitted to teach their first FYW course. Upon successful teaching of their first FYW course, TAs are permitted to make substantial revisions to their course content, including swapping out readings and altering the number of writing assignments and the genres taught. Accordingly, there tends to be more variety in the winter FYW course offerings than in the fall. Because I conducted my study during the winter semester, I had to carefully recruit instructors who were teaching the same kinds of essays to ensure that my participants would have the same kinds of writing assignments.

Recruitment

There were two stages of recruitment for this project. The first stage took place during the first week of January, 2019. I worked with one of the FYW graduate student mentors to send an email to all current TAs of FYW. The email was titled "Research Participation Opportunity" and included a brief introductory note about me written by the graduate student mentor, and then my IRB-approved recruitment note to FYW instructors. The instructor recruitment note informed them that I would like to visit classrooms to recruit self-identified multilingual and multidialectal students to participate in a series of three 1-hour interviews during which the participants and I would talk about being multilingual writers in FYW. I also requested instructor consent to review their syllabi and writing prompts so I would have a better context for students' talk and their writing samples. Instructors signed the consent forms at the beginning of my recruitment visits to their classrooms.

I visited 15 classrooms during the week of January 14, 2019. Each visit lasted about five minutes, during which I introduced myself, talked briefly about the study, and left a small flier with study details and my contact information on it. I received 20 responses from interested FYW students, and accepted the first 17 participants who scheduled and confirmed a first interview with me. The three participants who were not part of the initial 17 agreed to be on a waitlist in case the participant group dropped below 12 members. I purposefully kept the study relatively small so I could spend more time closely analyzing students' stories. My goal was to recruit 10-15 students who would complete all three phases of the study: recruitment and paperwork, interviews and writing samples, and member checking. Each participant signed consent forms at the beginning of our first interview, and participants received $20 for each of the three interviews. Of the initial 17 participants, one participant had difficulty scheduling the third interview, and one other participant was not interested in coming in for the final member-checking review, so I eliminated both of them from the study. None of their data is included in this dissertation. 15 participants remained with the study through the end.

Participants

The 15 study participants were each enrolled in first-year writing at Midwest University. Table 1 indicates each participant's chosen pseudonym, their self-described race or ethnicity, their perceived socioeconomic status, their FYW course number (100 or 101[4]), their year of study, their transfer and citizenship statuses, and their major and minor. Providing this demographic information was optional for the participants. I gathered the pseudonyms, race or ethnicities, languages, year of study, citizenship (U.S. or "non-U.S.") and course numbers during the first interview. I gathered the students' perceived SES and major/minor during the final interview. I gathered this data in two phases for several reasons. The pseudonyms and language background information was necessary for my memo writing and for anonymizing the early rounds of analysis that took place after the first round of interviews. The year of study, meaning first year (FY) or sophomore (Soph), and transfer information was also necessary in the early stages of analysis because I asked about students' previous writing experiences. I chose to ask

[4] English 100 and 101 both designate FYW. One course is based in literature, while the other relies more heavily on nonfiction readings. I initially separated these courses for my own records but did not distinguish between them in my study analyses.

students about their citizenship (U.S. vs. "non-U.S.", with the option to specify "International") because I wanted to code the interviews according to ideologies acquired in a U.S.-only context versus other kinds of contexts. I waited until the end of the study to gather major/minor data because many students are not sure about their future course of study until at least the end of their first year. The data is useful, because it allowed to me analyze for links between academic programs and ideologies about writing.

TABLE 1: Participant Demographic Information

	Pseudonym	Ethnicity	Languages	Perc. SES	Course	Year	Transfer?	Citizenship	Major/Minor
1	Margarita	Indian	Tamil; Hindi	Upper	101	FY		US	Architecture/ Anthropology
2	Josh	Chinese	Mandarin; Spanish (Chile)	Upper	101	FY		INT	(Undeclared) Biology/Computer Science
3	Jessica	Taiwanese	Mandarin; Japanese	Upper middle	101	FY		INT	(Undeclared) applied to Ross; maybe Econ, Business, or Math:
4	Maria	Chinese and "American"	Mandarin (Mom); English (Dad); Japanese (other language for family)	Upper middle	101	FY		US	Biomedical Engineering
5	Stacy	Chinese	Mandarin; Wenzhounese	Middle/or Lower	101	FY	Transfer	US	Nursing; Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience (BC)
6	Max	Russian	Russian	Upper middle	100	FY		US	Econ
7	Finn	Korean	Korean	Upper middle	101	FY		US	Biochemistry
8	Lin	Chinese	Mandarin; local dialect	Middle/Upper	100	FY	Transfer	INT	Psychology
9	Frank	Chinese	Mandarin	Upper middle	100	Soph	Transfer	US	Pre-med, Biomedical Science/Computer Science
10	Evan	Chinese	Mandarin; Cantonese	Upper middle	101	FY	Transfer	INT	Econ and Communications Double Major
11	Julie	Chinese	Cantonese (Dad); Mandarin (Mom) "Chinglish"	Upper middle	101	FY		US	Pre-med, Movement Science

12	Sarah	Korean	Korean	Upper	101	FY		US	Political Science/undecided minor: maybe Global Studies or Media Studies
13	Anna	Indian	Tamil; Marathi; Hindi "Hinglish"	Upper middle	101	FY		INT	Business/Computer Science or Asian Studies
14	Monica	Chinese	Mandarin; local dialect	Upper middle	101	FY		INT	Pre-med: Evolution, Ecology, and Biodiversity and BCN double major/minor in Gender Studies and Health
15	Ria	Indian	Telugu; English "Tenglish"	Upper middle	101	FY		INT (US Citizen)	Computer Science/ Entrepreneurship

Defining multilingual

Throughout this study I refer to students as "multilingual" rather than "translingual" (or bidialectal, etc.). Using the identifier *multilingual students* within a translingual studies framework is a deliberate decision. During recruitment, I used the term multilingual rather than translingual with students because translingual had yet to become a meaningful term outside academia, whereas multilingual is both more established and familiar. When I visited classrooms during my recruitment phase, I explained that I was looking to work with students who identified as bilingual, multilingual, bidialectal, multidialectal, or any student who "knows and uses more than one language or more than one version of a language." When the students met with me individually, they each self-identified as multilingual, so I use the identifier multilingual throughout this study.[5] Because the term *translingual* continues to be in refinement and without an established definition (despite common sets of identifying traits), it felt premature to ask students whether they might identify as translingual in addition to, or instead of, multilingual. For the purposes of this study, I define multilingual as any person with the ability to communicate (through listening, speaking, reading, and/or writing) in more than one language.

[5] My recruiting language may have influenced both who responded to my call and also how they identify linguistically, but I do think most FYW students from similar linguistic backgrounds to these participants would identify as *multilingual*.

Students, like many of us in Writing Studies, have a lot of questions about what it means to be multilingual. They want to know if they can be multilingual without being "fully fluent" in two or more languages. They wonder if they "count" as multilingual if they speak, but do not read or write, in some of their languages. For example, some international student participants are fluent speakers of three or four languages, and they regularly mixed their languages together when speaking with family members, but they do not read fluently in languages other than English. Some participants who grew up in the United States speaking two languages at home wonder if they can be "fully American" and also "true" multilinguals. And a few students who applied to the study grew up as monolinguals in the United States and asked whether their years of high school foreign language study qualify them as multilingual.

The short answer to these students' questions is that almost all of us are somewhere on the multilingual spectrum; few university students have never studied or used a second language. The reality that most students are multidialectal and/or multilingual presents interesting new challenges and opportunities in Writing Studies as scholars and teachers think about how to teach writing to students who can communicate in more than one language. What does it mean to teach and practice academic writing, writing standards, and discourse communities with an assumed multilingual majority in first-year writing? Should the reality that most students are multilingual shape our teaching of first-year writing, and if so, how? What does it mean for first-year writing that both American students who have taken a few years of high school Spanish and international students from Hong Kong might all identify as "multilingual"?

This study focuses on meeting the needs of multilingual students who have historically faced linguistic discrimination in writing studies because of cultural and/or race-based linguistic associations. This means I did not accept American English-speaking students into the study whose only second language experience was their foreign language study in high school. Rather, each of the participants featured in the following chapters comes from a family that speaks multiple languages at home, and each participant also identifies as having at least one "native" or "home" language that is not a variety of English—American, British, Indian, or otherwise. I did not have any nonstandard speakers of American English apply to the study but would have accepted these students had they applied. I drew these distinctions for participation because the goal of this study is to advance research that results in social justice knowledge and opportunity for students who have traditionally faced linguistic discrimination in university writing

classrooms. This does not mean that the American students who were not chosen have not faced linguistic discrimination. It does mean that I chose students who are representative of student populations who have traditionally and historically faced discrimination on the basis of race, language, and culture together.

While the participants in this study did not all report feeling targeted by linguistic discrimination during their time in their first-year writing classrooms, throughout the interviews they did each identify structural and cultural barriers, often based on race and language together. These barriers have been longstanding in writing studies, and they are by now so familiar and naturalized that some of them operate invisibly, as "common sense" writing studies practices, such as the preference for student writing to be produced in standard American varieties of English.

While other approaches to linguistic difference in Writing Studies, such as L2 Writing or TESOL, have more established literatures and pedagogies, none of the existing approaches focuses in quite the same way as translingualism on adapting primarily the *structure* of the writing studies classroom, as opposed to primarily adapting the language practices of the multilingual *student*. Through its critical approach, the translingual paradigm fundamentally begins its work by re-defining how Writing Studies as a field and writing classrooms as communities of practice ought to relate to traditional writing standards and the fact of a mostly multilingual student population. Foundational to translingual theory and to this study is the belief that traditional writing studies standards emerge from ideologies that privilege the language practices of white, middle-class American (male) dialects and their preferences, and that the naturalization of such ideologies is racist, classist, sexist, and wrong and should therefore be challenged.

Data Collection

Interviews

While I originally considered ethnographically-oriented case studies, I decided to focus primarily on interview data rather than ethnographic observations of students. While observing students using their languages in a variety of contexts and settings would provide an intimate understanding of how they use their languages, I wanted to focus this study on student talk about themselves, their languages, and their writing experiences in FYW.

I conducted three rounds of semi-structured interviews between January 2019-May 2019. The purpose of the interviews was to develop relationships with the participants, to hear their perspectives on their FYW experiences, and to uncover their ideologies about being multilingual to understand how these ideologies impacted their linguistic choices. The interviews lasted from 38 minutes to just over an hour each, and participants often stayed longer after the recording ended to chat about the interview or about their families or coursework.

Phase 1: First Interview and Collection of Writing Samples

During the first interview[6], I focused on building a good working relationship with the students by getting to know them as individuals. I asked about their families, their language use in their homes, and about their attitudes toward their languages and the languages of others. I also asked about how their previous semester went, and about what they had heard about the FYW course they were just beginning. Through casual but focused conversation, I was able to learn a great deal about the linguistic backgrounds and ideologies of each student. I learned where the students grew up, what kinds of schools they had attended before coming to the university, what languages they speak at home and with whom, what kinds of media they view and create, and how they use their languages with friends and family. I also learned about their previous schooling experiences. Many U.S. students attended what they called "Chinese School" or "Korean School" at the end of their "American" school days, where they learned to do some reading and writing in their non-English home languages. Many international students attended "American schools" abroad where they learned to complete their studies in English and other national languages of their home countries. Most of the students who attended American schools abroad learned to do all of their academic writing in English, and all of the international students report that they are stronger writers in English than they are in other languages.

At the end of the first interview, I asked students to share two writing samples with me: the literacy narrative and one other academic writing sample. I collected the literacy narrative because it provides further insight into students' thinking about language and identity. I asked for a second academic writing sample so I could do a comparative analysis of style and content and analyze students' talk with their academic writing.

[6] See Appendix A for interview guides. See Appendix B for sample interview responses.

Phase 2: Second Interview and Analysis of Writing Samples

The second round of interviews allowed me to deepen the analyses that I started after coding the first round of interviews, and it provided new insights into how students are using their languages to complete their academic writing assignments. Students' descriptions of their thinking and actions for writing revealed a number of underlying ideologies about their languages and their identities as multilingual writers. We also reviewed two writing samples that each student had submitted to me four weeks after the first interviews.

The second interviews lasted between 48 minutes and just over an hour. These interviews began with me reminding students about what we had talked about in our first interview, and I asked a few questions for clarification or confirmation based on my initial coding of the first interviews. After this early member checking, I asked students for an update on their FYW class—what was going well, what was surprising or frustrating, what they were looking forward to. I then asked them a series of questions about how they think about their academic writing and how they compete the writing of their drafts. The last set of questions were about their writing samples. I had reviewed each of their samples and drafted a set of questions about the form, content, and writing practices that led to the final drafts. The students were also invited to comment on portions of the writing that they felt were successful or in need of revision, which allowed me to hear them talk about their "good" writing and what they saw as in need of improvement.

Phase 3: Third Interview and Member Checking

The third and final round of interviews took place during the final week of the semester, after students had completed all of their writing assignments for their FYW courses but were still on campus waiting to take their final exams. The interviews began with about 15 minutes of member checking where we discussed some of the emerging theory I was developing about code-meshing, translingual ideologies, and multilingual student ideologies and practices. I conducted member checking to clarify portions of students' writing that I had questions about and to review previous interview responses where students said things that confirmed or contradicted some of the emerging study patterns. The final 30-40 minutes of these interviews were dedicated to questions that reviewed the FYW course experience as a whole. I asked

participants to tell me about how they felt FYW had changed them as writers, about what they felt was most important in learning how to write, and about how they were thinking about themselves as multilingual writers. I also asked them about what they would say to multilingual writers just getting ready to take the course, or to their instructors. Their responses to these questions were typically based in their own ideologies about being multilingual, about academic writing, and about their perceptions of authority and their multilingual peers, all of which helped me further analyze the earlier study data.

I also asked a set of identical questions during each of the three interviews so I could track students' changing ideas about academic writing. I asked them to explain academic writing and its goals or purposes, to explain their own writing goals for their time in FYW, and to talk about how their languages play a role (or don't) in their writing processes. Tracking the development of their ideas and also their abilities to talk about academic writing provided a rich data set for understanding student uptake of their FYW course conversations and experiences. In total, after conducting three interviews with each of the 15 participants, I collected about 38 hours of interview data.

Memos

I wrote memos continuously throughout each stage of the project. As Charmaz (2000) writes, "Memos catch your thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections you make, and crystallize questions and directions for you to pursue. Memo-writing creates an interactive space for conversing with yourself. New ideas occur to you during the act of writing" (p. 162). I wrote memos during all three interview phases as I developed early open and, eventually, focused analytic codes.[7] I jotted notes about questions that worked or didn't work during an interview so I could change the language or the focus slightly for the next interview. I also took notes as I recorded each interview, noting comparisons and differences across interview responses. After each participant left the interview room, I immediately wrote for 30 minutes about the experience; I wrote everything I could remember about the participant (including mannerisms, personality, my perception of their interest in the study) and also about their interview responses. These notes were immensely helpful when I went back to listen to the interviews, as they helped

[7] See Appendix C for the interview codebook with sample codes.

me keep track of who the participants were in the early weeks, and then to organize individual cases in the latter weeks. The memos also helped me make more valid interpretations of the audio data, as I had notes to help me interpret laughter (was it nervous, ironic, joyful?) and silence (is the participant thinking, uncomfortable, taking a drink of water but nodding that they have a response coming?). These memos helped me more accurately piece together the stories of my participants.

I also kept memos as I completed my rounds of coding. I created participant profiles as I listened to the recordings, and started building my cases along with my codes from the first listen. Memos helped me to make connections across cases, to see the early theory emerge that would later be brought to participants for member checking, and the memos helped me to see the development of my own thinking throughout the study.

Writing Samples

I collected two writing samples from each participant between the first and second interviews. I asked for one essay about identity or language, and one other academic writing sample so I could talk with students about how they approached and completed two different kinds of writing assignments—one about their languages, and another more "traditional" academic genre. I used ideological discourse analysis to code the writing samples, paying careful attention to how students talked about their multilingualism, their languages, and their relations to school and academic language expectations and experiences. For example, when students used an expression like "language barrier" to describe the relation of their L1 to academic English, I coded it as "barrier" and then asked participants during the interviews why they chose that word, what it means to them, and why "language barrier" describes the relationship between their "home" language(s) and their "school" language. I also coded places where language attitudes were visible, for instance, places where students would write about feeling "embarrassed" or "proud" of their multilingualism.

I also talked more generally with students during their interviews about their writing and my analysis of the samples. I asked participants to talk about the similarities and differences in their writing processes when comparing the literacy narrative with another academic essay, and I asked them to talk about their favorite passage or something they felt they did well. I also asked them to tell me about a revision they would make if they had more time to work on the essays.

By listening to them talk about their processes and beliefs about the writing, and by asking them about passages I had noted through my reading of their essays, I was able to deepen my understanding of them as writers and thinkers.

Data Analysis

Data Corpus

The full data corpus includes 45 interviews (audio, transcripts), 30 instructor writing prompts, 31 student writing samples (one participant shared three samples), 6 anonymous exit surveys, and 19 memos (I created a single memo for each of the 15 participants and added to it after each interview. I wrote one memo after completing each round of interviews (3 total), and one memo after reading the anonymous exit surveys). The anonymous exit surveys were distributed electronically to all participants the week after member checking. The survey was intended to provide a way for students to "talk back" to the study and asked about their experience as an interview subject by asking questions about whether there were times they felt uncomfortable or led to answer questions in a particular way. All questions were open-ended and allowed the participant to write any response. The survey was open for 12 weeks and 6 of 15 participants chose to submit responses. To analyze study data and draw valid conclusions, I used constructivist grounded theory and ideological discourse analysis. Following the methods of Charmaz (2014) and Glaser & Strauss (1967), I collected and analyzed my data simultaneously, constructing analytic codes from the data itself, testing the theory and writing memos during all stages of the research (Charmaz, 2014, p. 7-8). I relied on methods from Deborah Cameron (2001) and Barbara Johnstone (2018) to complete the ideological discourse analysis.

Transcription and Coding

From a constructivist grounded theory perspective, data collection and analysis should happen simultaneously as an iterative process. To that end, I noted possible analytic codes and interesting statements during the interviews, and I started the open coding process when I started the transcription process. As I transcribed interviews, I noted speech acts that seemed like they might align with my research questions or might be linked to a relevant ideology. The more I transcribed, the more I was able to notice patterns and themes, so after transcribing 3-5 interviews, I would return to the first interviews to code them quickly again. I did use a

transcription service for some of the interviews. To code the transcripts that were generated for me, I listened to the interview while reading the transcription, often correcting the document, and then listened a second time to do the first round of open coding.

After my first set of interviews was transcribed, I went through them again to do a more thorough but still relatively quick round of open coding to make sure I had not missed any utterances that I wanted to capture during focused coding. Because I wanted to know about students' ideologies, and how their previous writing experiences contributed to those ideologies, I coded student stories about previous schooling experiences and any stories about language or identity from their childhoods. I also wanted to follow their changing (or unchanging) conceptions of themselves as multilingual writers, so I asked a set of questions about being multilingual in FYW and about their academic writing goals during each interview. I used a combination of ideological discourse analysis and grounded theory methodology to code their responses, looking for the ways their talk revealed their ideologies. I asked a lot of follow up questions, like "Why do you think that's true?" to uncover how and why students held "common sense" beliefs about being multilingual writers in a FYW setting.

I followed Charmaz's (2014) instructions to "concentrate on what your initial codes say and the comparisons you make with and between them" (p. 149) to focus my initial open codes into focused analytic codes. Based on my focused codes, I created a single-case for each of the first interviews, and then conducted cross-case analysis to look for patterns of agreement and disagreement. From this, I developed new conceptual categories to use when coding the second round of interviews. I analyzed and coded each interview separately, then as a single-case analysis, and then conducted cross-case analysis after each round of interviews. As a result, I was able to member-check all 15 single-case analyses with the participants, and conduct thorough cross-case analysis to look for patterns of agreement and disagreement to ground my new theory in my data. The code-book and sample coded segments can be found in Appendix C.

Ideological Discourse Analysis

I analyzed student talk using ideological discourse analysis (IDA). Discourse analysis is a method of study for understanding spoken or written language. Ideological discourse analysis is a critical discourse analysis method which seeks to uncover the ideologies, or patterns of thinking, within discourse and to analyze their meaning. As Johnstone (2018) explains, "The

controlling theoretical idea behind critical discourse analysis is that texts, embedded in recurring 'discursive practices' for their production, circulation, and reception which are themselves embedded in 'social practice,' are among the principal ways in which ideology is circulated and reproduced" (p. 53). I use IDA to interrogate the beliefs held by participants, and to understand how those ideologies impact their thinking and actions in FYW. Ideologies as ingrained belief systems can be recognized through discourse by interpreting the writer's or speaker's language in regards to their attitude, their use of particular language features such as nominalization or passive voice, and their diction. Identifying an ideology is challenging because participants do not typically explain their patterns of beliefs explicitly; rather ideologies are usually deduced by analyzing what participants say to uncover why they say it. The 'why' might signal an underlying ideology.

For example, when I asked participants what they thought they could work on as writers, Julie responded this way: "Oh, grammar. Definitely grammar. I love commas, which is really bad. So I use a ton of commas. And my writing style is very, flowery, I guess you could say. And so sometimes the word, like the sentence can go on for a very, very long time and I won't even realize it." Julie, like all of the participants, responded by talking about how she could improve her English writing, revealing a naturalized assumption that when we talk about academic writing, we're talking about writing in English. Julie also wants to improve her grammar and formal writing style to eliminate her "bad" overuse of commas. For multilingual students who equate academic writing with English writing and improvement with mastering standardized English grammar and formal style, shifting toward code-meshing presents an ideological clash between their internalizations of academic writing and the premises of translingualism.

Another method I used for identifying relevant language ideologies included coding for positive and negative mentions of linguistic difference, like Julie's pronouncement that her comma usage is "bad." Johnstone (2018) explains that "beliefs about linguistic correctness, goodness and badness, articulateness and inarticulateness are aspects of language ideology" (p. 67). During her first interview, Finn said, "My parents definitely have a bit of a language barrier, but I mean, they're professors so they can obviously get by. It's not the worst, but it's still there." By describing her parents' Korean as a "barrier," Finn's language reveals her belief that a non-English language is an impediment. Her use of "not the worst" and "they can obviously get by"

show that she ranks her parents' language competency according to a traditional standards-based scale.

In her discussion of transcription, Cameron (2001) explains that speakers' redundancy and repetition often signals a deeply held, naturalized belief (p. 34). Over the course of this study, participants repeated themselves frequently as they worked through their responses. For example, when asked if she ever uses her Korean in her academic writing, Finn replies, "It's definitely all English because, I mean, I live in America. There's really no reason why I should be writing in Korean." Finn's equating of "all English" and "America" reveals an ideology that the two are a natural pair. From Finn's perspective, there's no reason to write in non-English languages in academic settings in the United States, a belief she holds so strongly, she reiterates it: "There's really no reason why I should be writing in Korean." The use of ideological discourse analysis provides a rigorous method for interpreting and analyzing participants' talk. Johnstone (2018) argues that "all discourse is both a reaction to the world and an intervention into it" (p. 76). Thus, participants' responses both reveal what they have internalized, and also transmit their ideologies through their talk about the "natural" way things are.

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

Given my 14 years as a writing teacher and the significant time I had spent already reading the translingual and code-meshing literature, I had to very intentionally set aside my preconceived ideas about translingual theory and about multilingual students. There were times when I heard what a participant said and noted that it did not align with what I had expected, and I tried to hang on to those moments of cognitive dissonance as a reminder that the students' talk was the study data, not my own beliefs or prior experiences. I was most aware of this dissonance when I asked students whether they ever felt judged or out-of-place as multilingual students in FYW. I expected participants to respond with stories of being marginalized, and some did respond this way, but many students spoke about the benefits of being multilingual, and their backgrounds in international high schools that prepared them for American universities. From their talk of identity, I realized that I had been focused on race without enough focus on class. My U.S.-based theorizations of race have been shaped by the cultural narratives that minorities are discriminated against and are therefore less successful, according to cultural measures of success (wealth and generational wealth, property ownership, educational opportunities, etc.).

But many of my international students and the participants whose parents had immigrated to the U.S. held on to bootstrap notions and Land of Opportunity ideologies, and some had experienced significant cultural and economic privilege growing up which offered some shelter from discrimination. I had to very consciously set aside my assumptions about how students were thinking through their identities, and listen for them to tell me about their constructions of their culture and identities.

I was also aware of how I present as an Asian-American female. There were times that students would talk about their experiences, attributing them to the experiences of being a minority more generally, and they would say things like, "Well, you're Asian. You know." My appearance marked me with an in-group status, which sometimes led students to confide in me or make assumptions that we shared cultural knowledge or experiences. Because the study is so focused on identity, I was upfront with each participant about my own identity--about my monolingual competence and the fact that I was adopted and grew up with a Caucasian father and sometimes with a Caucasian mother who was in and out of my life during my childhood. I tried to present myself as empathetic and sympathetic to the variety of linguistic and family backgrounds that led each student to pursue participation in the study.

I was also upfront with participants about my motivations for the study. As a longtime English teacher, I have witnessed the ways that racism and schooling unfairly structure a more challenging path for multilingual students. I remember as a student the pressure to establish myself as one who can speak and write in "proper" English, according to the teacher's standards. What I wanted as a student was for that pressure—the pressure to show everyone that even as a minority I knew the rules of school—to disappear. Now, as a researcher and teacher with the capacity to do for others, my work pushes on those rules to steer the conversation away from bringing writers up to the same standards, and toward the promotion of difference and structuring of fairness. I hope this dissertation study both highlights the logics and experiences of these study participants and also encourages writing teachers to create more diverse rhetorical opportunities and more broadly-defined markers of successful writing.

I am also aware that I come into this study with exceptional privilege and with experiences of privilege that color my perception of school, writing, difference, and multilingualism. I have always been fascinated by languages and linguistics, but a fascination may be no more than the product of privilege. To be able to take what I know about language

and linguistics and to allow the students to story that knowledge shares some of the privilege I have been given. To make their stories the central research and to humanize the translingual literature spreads cultural wealth and privilege. Given the current system for academic research, there is yet a lingering requirement that to be taken seriously, one must have enough privilege to be an educator, and sometimes, enough privilege to complete a PhD. These structures are gatekeepers, and I acknowledge the privilege I have that allows me to walk through the gate. I hope this study opens the gate for others.

Ethical Considerations

I am cognizant of the many research methods used to study identity that can harm participants. Dropping into a student's life, asking a series of personal questions, and then abandoning the student seems obviously unethical. Using coercive talk to make participants feel that they must answer a question or that it should be answered in a particular way is also contemptible, so I did my best to make it clear that every interview and every question, including the conversational follow-up questions, were optional. I conducted extensive member checking during the final interview and continued to email participants afterward to gather participant confirmation. I also sent a Google survey to participants to gather additional feedback about the ethics of the study. The survey was optional and anonymous and did not gather any identifying information about anyone who took the survey. Participants were allowed to complete the survey one time but could edit responses as often as they wanted. The questions asked whether participants ever felt uncomfortable during the study, whether they understood that participation was optional and that they could withdraw at any time, whether they wanted to redact any responses they had shared, whether they had adequate member-checking experiences, and if there was anything else they wanted to share with the study or researcher. I felt it was important to offer an anonymous feedback opportunity after the conclusion of the study so participants had a way to communicate with me without being on-the-spot or in-person. The survey was open for 12 weeks so participants had time to process their experiences before responding, and so they could make changes to responses. The survey results showed that students felt comfortable during the interviews, they felt accurately represented by the writing, and they enjoyed the opportunity to share their perspectives and think more about how they use their languages.

CHAPTER 3

Code-Meshing: Race and Pragmatism

Introduction

Translingual scholarship argues for code-meshing pedagogies based on an understanding of languages as unbounded and fluid, and the students in this study agree that they do mesh their languages fluidly in informal contexts. However, this study finds that multilingual students also intentionally maintain linguistic boundaries for a variety of rhetorical purposes. In their interviews, students talk about their languages as separate and separable, able to be mixed in some social contexts, but able to be used in isolation to suit different roles. When presented with the possibility of academic code-meshing, students thoughtfully express many reasons why they do not and would not code-mesh in school writing. Many of their reasons are practical, such as the extra work involved in switching keyboards to other languages or the challenges of using translation within an essay. Other reasons are ideological, and students are not always aware of the deficit beliefs about their non-English languages which influence both their responses to notions of code-meshing, and also their decisions to use standard forms of English in FYW.

Poststructuralist Perspectives on Language

Two of the foundational arguments used by translingual scholars to differentiate the translingual perspective from multilingual perspectives on language are code-meshing (as discussed in chapter 1) and language fluidity. Horner & Tetreault (2017) write that translingualism relies upon "the fluidity of the defining boundaries between languages" (p. 4), arguing that theories of translingual code-meshing, rather than code-switching, more accurately capture how students theorize and use their languages. Guerra & Shivers-McNair (2017) draw the distinction between multilingualism as theorizing the use of distinct codes for various social

spheres, such as 'home' or 'academic,' and translingualism as "life in the neither/nor," in which hybrid languages function "beyond" language boundaries (p. 21-22).

While language hybridity and the blending of languages beyond discrete codes are certainly happening among the students in this study, students also talk about the separation of languages and use of their separate codes for specific purposes. Students are savvy switchers and meshers, using hybrid languages with friends and family, and using standard varieties of English for their school writing. During the interviews, students explained that this is their "natural" division of codes, as they have learned to mesh at home with family and use academic English at school. While it may be true that students are switching to academic English in school because of the whiteness inherent in composition classroom expectations (Inoue, 2016), this does not necessarily feel repressive to students because they have been trained to use their academic English in this way. In other words, code-switching has become their normalized practice in school, and the naturalization of switching means this practice is largely uninterrogated by students.

Poststructural perspectives on language and other social constructs, such as history or geography, reject modern theories of 'boundedness.' Canagarajah (2017) argues that translingualism departs from the structuralist perspective in modern linguistics that languages are "self-defining and closed" (p. 31). Canagarajah (2017) argues instead that a translingual, poststructuralist perspective on social constructs more accurately describes people's "mobile, expansive, situated, and holistic practices" (p. 31). Translingualism challenges multilingual theories by dismissing autonomous models of language which promote code-switching or contrastive analysis as bidialectal pedagogies. Instead, Canagarajah writes, "*translingualism* looks at verbal resources as interacting synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings, beyond their structures" (2017, p. 31) arguing that the use of *trans* invokes linguistic practices and pedagogies that transcend structured languages.

Canagarajah (2011) also argues that code-meshing, the mixing and blending of languages, happens naturally and does not need to be elicited through a conscious pedagogical strategy, though students do still require instruction in rhetorical effectiveness. He writes that in his experience in the classroom, code-meshed texts are produced "unbidden," and instructors should therefore focus on developing effective code-meshing styles (p. 401). None of the students in my study have previously produced code-meshed texts in their writing classes,

though some of them do use an English-heavy meshed drafting practice. Students' language ideologies may be compatible with translingual notions that languages are political constructs, but their politics lead them to set distinct boundaries around their academic writing as formal, standard, and English. During the interviews, students talked repeatedly about switching between their languages, or about the different kinds of work they accomplish in different languages, but the use of mixed codes in academic work was not a common practice for them.

By the time students reach the level of university writing, they have been trained, in the United States and around the world, to do their academic writing in English. While some students in this study are interested in the idea of experimenting with language fluidity in academic writing, most do not want to risk their grades and their educational opportunities to push on the standards in FYW. In this way, multilingual university students are indeed living in the "neither/nor," neither in the modern, structural, bounded sphere of code-switching, nor in the postmodern, poststructrual, unbounded place of unlimited meshing. They switch, they mesh, and they also maintain linguistic boundaries.

Ultimately, students have learned how to use their languages to meet others' expectations and they have been trained to write in schools for an audience of one: their English teacher. Politically, meshing is messy. Asking a multilingual first-year writing student to question academic language standardization and conventions and submit a mixed-language composition at the university level puts a lot of political pressure on the student. It asks multilingual students to take a stance, to take a risk that monolingual students may not be undertaking, to make private and culturally-subordinated layers of identity public, and to submit them for evaluation by peers and instructors. For translingual practices to thrive in the writing classroom, multilingual students need to experience safety and privilege when they blend their languages. This requires changing the monolingual structures of writing classrooms in order to change students' language ideologies to open space ideologically for students to consider academic translingual practices.

Student Perspectives on Language Boundaries

Audience

While Canagarajah (2013a) offers a translingual perspective on languages as inseparable and unbounded, the students I interviewed talked regularly about how they use their languages as independent entities. Students' previous experiences, particularly in their homes and schools,

play a significant role in how students talk about being multilingual and how they think about their languages. For example, Margarita, who is fluent in English, Spanish, Tamil, and Hindi, says she likes to experiment with her languages with her multilingual family members:

> When talking to my uncle, he knows Spanish, I'll definitely start maybe in Spanish, and switch to English, and go back to Spanish. Especially when I'm talking to my grandparents. I say whatever I can in Tamil, but there are definitely limitations to what I know. I'll speak somewhat in Tamil, I'll switch to English, or I don't know a word, so I do like 'Tinglish,' I'll pop in an English word. There aren't Tamil words for every English word. We (my family and I) also just kind of like mix it up a little bit.

Margarita uses 'Tinglish' to describe casual language meshing in familial contexts, and her description of switching among her languages indicates an interest in creative language use. Because Margarita's family background has encouraged her to maintain competence in a variety of languages, and in our interviews, Margarita viewed her multilingualism positively in our interviews and she expressed a creative interest in language meshing.

Margarita's use of 'Tinglish' with her grandparents or Spanish with her uncle until she hits a lexical dead end and "pops" in an English word contrasts with her academic language practices. When she talks about academic writing, Margarita is unsure about the usefulness of language meshing. She defers to the rhetorical and social situation, thinking about her potential readers, whom she imagines are expecting English. When asked whether she would be interested in mixing her languages in her academic writing, Margarita says,

> To mix languages? I think a large part of writing is for the audience and having an awareness of the audience and if it, I mean at the same time, while not doing that would help a wider audience, facilitate a wider audience to understand the writing, that doesn't mean that…that [it] doesn't have its pros. Like I guess it helps people be more connected to the different languages of the world, the different cultures of the world.

Margarita's main objection to meshing is the practicality of it, which I heard across student interviews. Her talk about having "an awareness of audience" indicates a belief that her reader uses English and expects to read in English. She does hesitate momentarily to consider the possibility of a "wider audience" and connecting people with different languages and culture, but her hedging ("I guess") and the way she frames this consideration as secondary demonstrates that her primary focus in academic writing is to communicate in English with an English-speaking community.

Margarita maintains an intentional separation of languages for different audiences. She consciously chooses to switch and blend her languages at home and she "pops in an English word" when she "doesn't know a word" in Tamil. At the university, Margarita writes only in academic English. In this way, Margarita both maintains separate languages for some purposes--and is able to use English to the exclusion of other languages entirely--and blends the boundaries for others. Her explanation that she would not mesh languages in her academic writing because of her perceived audience indicates a clear separation and use of different linguistic practices depending on the discourse community. Margarita does not seem interested in expanding the linguistic possibilities for academic discourses, but rather defers to her perception that SEAE is the expectation. Margarita's underlying ideology is that English is best for academic work, and her language blending is for informal uses.

Translingualists argue that blended and blurred language boundaries have replaced multilingual notions of language switching and discrete language boundaries. Canagarajah (2017) writes, "Challenging traditional understandings of language relationships in multilingualism, which postulates languages maintaining their separate structures and identities even in contact, translingualism looks at verbal resources as interacting synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings, beyond their separate structures" (p. 31). Margarita blends the "traditional understandings" with the "generation of new grammars" in her own language use through her informal lexical borrowing and language blending and her exclusion of non-English languages for academic purposes. While Margarita has the opportunity to bring a synergistic practice to the writing classroom, such practice clashes with her ideologies for academic discourse.

While many students in this study believe that they are supposed to think favorably of bringing their home cultures and languages into their academic work, it is generally a secondary consideration, following their immediate concerns about meeting the expectations of their imagined American, English-monolingual audience. For example, Ria says, "I feel like it's so much more useful and helpful if I could write a couple of languages, but I also can understand that the professor doesn't necessarily have to know my language and it's such a big university where there's so many different languages and it might be harder thing to implement." Ria's assumption is that her professor won't be able to read Tamil, and that the professor would need to be able to read in multiple languages to read everyone's blended writing. The underlying

belief is that her audience is her professor, or at least an English-speaking audience, and that her professor needs to be able to read all of the words to assess the writing. Even though Ria thinks code-meshing might be "much more useful and helpful" than writing in a single language, she dismisses the idea.

Jessica, who speaks English, Mandarin, and Japanese, explains that her peers would need a translation or an explanation to understand the writing. Like Ria, Jessica puts the responsibility on herself to communicate in a way that her audience can understand. Jessica says,

> Just writing multilingual, it should be fine but you probably have to also kind of translate or make a short summary for that so that whoever's reading your paper can understand. I guess we would do peer response in our class and if you let another classmate read it and they don't understand that part, and that part could be a really essential part for your essay, and if they're missing that part it's not any helpful for them. Probably, you still need to include some explanation for that side.

Jessica assumes that her reader would not be able to read non-English languages, and that she would need to provide a translation or summary for her reader. Ultimately, Jessica wants her writing to be understood by her audience, and she believes that the most efficient way to accomplish this goal is to write in English.

Purpose

Anna, an international student from India, explains that language distinctions usefully preserve different functions and purposes for her languages, which include Tamil, Hindi, and English. When asked what it's like to be multilingual, Anna says,

> I think it's great. I think I can think in many different languages which is helpful. And also, I use these languages for different purposes. Academically, it's mostly English, but then I would say spiritually and religiously it's mostly Tamil, because that's where I learned more of my prayers, and that's where my religion came into my life. But I think emotionally and musically, artistically, it would be Hindi. So different purposes for these languages, but academically I'd mostly say it's English. But when I'm feeling strongly, then it's definitely either Hindi or Tamil that I think in.

Anna keeps journals in Tamil and Hindi, and does not do any personal writing in English. Conversely, when writing for school, she may think across her languages, but she does all of her academic writing in English. Her explanation about separating the uses of her languages among academic (English), emotional (Hindi), and feeling strongly (Tamil and Hindi) indicates a divide

between language used for school writing and language used to express her identity. Anna has a truncated and bounded set of language skills for academic use, separate from the rest of her languages.

The divisions of language use that Anna describes are common boundaries. Several participants maintain journals or do personal writing in their non-English languages, or they keep a "home" language for religious and cultural purposes. Another participant, Lin, who also keeps a journal in her home languages, explains that her home languages are more suited to personal writing and fully expressing her emotions. Lin, who started learning English around age 7 in school in the southern part of China, where she grew up, also likes to write short stories and to do all of her creative writing in her "home" language, Mandarin. She says,

> I believe that my direct feeling about a sentence, about how to express that, or influence others who read that, I want to show them the real me so I will not polish so much to write in Mandarin when I'm writing the stories. In academic writing, it's more serious. Sometimes you should make your sentence more concise and more clear.

Here Lin explains how she distinguishes between "the real me" in her creative writing, and the attention to standard conventions for academic writing, which require polishing and revision for clarity and concision.

During member checking, when asked whether she still makes a distinction between "the real me" in creative writing and an "academic" version of herself, Lin agreed, saying, "Yes, in English, it's not a whole representation of my thoughts." To clarify, she added that in creative writing, "You can write freely because all of your ideas are already on the mind." But in English, she says, "You have to check the dictionary sometimes. Some meanings of the words or using of the words is more context-based and need more experience in using them." For Lin, this interruption of writing flow distinguishes the two identities she maintains as a writer: a real self who writes freely in Mandarin, fully expressing her ideas, and an academic self who performs in English, checking with language authorities like dictionaries to confirm her usage and understanding of written English.

Students like Lin who write more "freely" in a non-English language may benefit from code-meshing, but have not yet been led to consider the possibility. When presented with the logics of code-meshing, Lin rejects the premise based on its "odd" use of Chinese in an English environment and its aesthetics. She explains, "I don't like the way to, because if I'm writing in

Chinese in an English content it will seem quite odd, and the lines they are in Chinese, the character are quite I might say 'big' compared with 'abcd' something. So I don't like the odd thing and I want it to be neat." Lin's description of code-meshing as "writing in Chinese in an English content" demonstrates her perspective that her university writing is an "English content" and therefore is not the place for Chinese. The mix of English characters with Chinese characters is also aesthetically odd, from Lin's perspective, and she desires a "neat" final written product which she does not think she can produce in a blended code. It is possible that Lin's preference for a neat composition stems from a language ideology that prefers separate, "correct" language use. Later in the interview, after explaining her preference for neat writing, Lin expresses gratitude that she learned Mandarin at school because her family did not all learn school Mandarin, and Lin says she "cannot tolerate when they are saying Mandarin in a way that is not pronounced correctly." In line with her preference for correct pronunciation and neat production of language, Lin says that her academic writing goal is to "avoid grammar mistakes."

While Lin can potentially be encouraged to try translingual practices, there will be a significant time of friction while her language ideology shifts away from preferences for traditional or standard writing conventions toward blended "languaging." A useful clarification that translingual literature can provide would distinguish among what students are able to do, what they would like to do, and what code-meshing possibilities exist that students may not be aware of but could benefit from. Claims that students are already code-meshing in all aspects of their lives except the writing classroom (Canagarajah, 2013b, p. 2) may mislead teachers into expectations that students have equivalent competencies across their languages for academic writing, and that students want to use their meshed home codes in their school writing. This is not the case for the students in this study, as they all have been taught to do their academic writing in English, and express varying interest in academic code-meshing.

Canagarajah (2013b) argues that "[t]ranslingual literacies are not about fashioning a new kind of literacy" but are instead about "understanding the practices and processes that already characterize communicative activity in diverse communities to both affirm them and develop them further through an informed pedagogy" (p. 2) While I agree that there is an urgent need to understand multilingual students' practices and processes, such understandings cannot be gathered without continued ethnographic research. If translingual literacies are not about creating "a new kind of literacy," then translingualists need better data about our multilingual students'

current literacy practices. Analyzing students' ideologies will generate candid and reliable understandings of what multilingual students can do and what they want to do in their academic discourse. With that foundation laid, translingual pedagogies can advance more inclusive ideologies.

Canagarajah (2013b) blames monolingualism for scholars' inability to craft translingual pedagogies, arguing that scholars' monolingual definitions of literacy are to blame. While this argument has some merit, it's also true that Canagrajah's solution is part of translingualism's challenge. He writes, "It is not surprising, however, that scholars are still struggling to define these literacies and implement relevant pedagogies. Having defined literacy according to monolingual ideologies since modernity, they have to now revise their understanding to conceive of literacy as translingual" (2013b, p. 2). Canagarajah argues here that teachers struggle to implement translingual pedagogies because they have defined literacy according to monolingual ideologies "since modernity," and this established history of monolingual ideology as the basis for teaching literacy in the United States is certainly a reason why multilingual students are reticent to use code-meshing practices in their academic writing or to desire code-meshing opportunities. But an ideological change is required for the successful establishment of translingual pedagogies, and it will require a systemic overhaul of not only university writing programs, but also K-12 writing instruction. Students who enter their university writing classrooms are not blank slates; they are storied with years of previous writing instruction and language experiences.

Linguistics and Culture

Other reasons why students may maintain boundaries between or among languages is that they recognize the differences in structure, grammar, sound, history and printed character. According to students, their "home" languages often "feel" quite different from English, especially if they learned English in school outside of the United States. However, even when students recognize that they might write more fluidly or easily about themselves or their home cultures in their non-English languages, student still write in English, believing that English meets the FYW expectation. For example, Evan, an international student from China, explains, "So in English, I find it hard to use some kind of very literate kind of writing because I find it hard to describe myself in English. And, Chinese and English are, like, super different in their

structure, in writing." Despite his recognition that it is difficult to describe himself in English, Evan completed all of his university writing in English, including his literacy narrative. When asked why he writes in English, even when the subject lends itself more easily or naturally to Chinese, Evan replies, "I think we have to write in English, right?" When I explained that his first draft is just a place for him to organize his thoughts, he said, "No, we need to do peer review." Evan is choosing to write about himself and his home culture in English, even though he knows he can write more easily about these topics in Chinese because he believes he has to translate to English before he can turn in his first draft for peer review.

Evan's description of the "super different" structures for writing and his inability to do a "very literate kind of writing" in English explain why meshing creates friction. The different structures mean it might make sense to blend the writing rather than try to translate between structures, but it also shows why students may not see the logic in blending. Similarly, the fact that Evan says he can't write as smoothly in English means meshing might offer a way to "synergize" a new grammar and content, but the different structures might make it challenging to achieve the "literate" style that Evan prefers.

Anna says that it is difficult to write about her home Indian culture in English because "English is very culturally bound." She cites an example word in Hindi that means a mixture of shame and anger, and explains that there is no English equivalent because the history of the word in Hindi is "so deep." Two other students, both from China, reference the four Chinese characters that hold deep cultural meaning, which cannot be easily translated to English. Lin says, "In Chinese, we have four characters and they have stories behind them and sometimes when I was writing in Chinese I can write just the four Characters so that people all know that, the story behind that and what that means, but in English, I should be translating all the stories." These students' talk about their different languages demonstrate some of the challenges to the translingual theorization of language fluidity. Meshing languages, with or without accompanying translation, does not alleviate the problems of how to account for the cultural boundedness of languages and their use.

Apart from the challenges of translation, structure, or history, students' main linguistic objection to using non-English characters in their academic writing is that many English-speakers would find the non-English characters un-readable, reinforcing their beliefs that languages are materially bound. English-speakers may also have no sounds for the foreign

characters they encounter in the writing, which functions as a significant boundary for students. Julie, who speaks Mandarin, Japanese, and English, explains that code-meshing is an interesting idea, but she's "not sure how that would work" since her imagined reader cannot read the characters. Julie says, "[Code-meshing] would be really cool. I think that that would be really cool just because, you know, some emotion you can't get across in other languages. So, definitely. I'm just not sure if it would work with Chinese or Japanese. Because with Spanish at least you could like, an English reader would be able to read it and gain some insight onto what it says, just because some words are similar. But with Chinese it's like characters, they have no idea what it says. So I feel like the meaning would kind of be lost in the writing. But just knowing that I have the option to would be really cool." After a dozen years of language arts education focused on the importance of fluid writing and reading comprehension, purposefully including writing that her audience cannot read or comprehend is an illogical suggestion for first-year writing.

Case Studies: Stacy and Julie

The following case studies present two students' talk about language boundaries and translation, and an analysis of the ways that their language ideologies influence their academic writing practices. Stacy discusses the division between her Chinese and American identities and how her languages operate differently in various social and/or cultural spheres. Julie talks about her languages as "two tunnels" and describes how the tunnels deliver language, culture, and identity. Both Stacy's and Julie's language ideologies drive their linguistic actions. Their shared belief that academic writing should be written in academic English leads both students to rely on translation, and sometimes imprecise expression of their ideas, to produce SEAE in their academic writing courses.

Stacy: Two Sides

Stacy's parents immigrated from China to the United States in the 1990s. Stacy was born in New York state and grew up speaking a dialect of Chinese at home called Wenzhounese. When Stacy started school around age 5, she also started attending Chinese School where she learned to read and write Mandarin. Stacy says in our first interview that she has been aware from a young age that she has two "sides" to her identity, a "Chinese side" and an "American

side," that are often in conflict with one another. She says, "I realize there were two sides of me always clashing because I grew up in the States, but my parents were very traditional, so it was hard for me to balance two parts of my identity." Stacy recalls many disagreements that took place with her parents because they insisted that she follow their instructions, according to their "Chinese expectation," when the "American" part of Stacy wanted to follow her own path.

Like other participants, Stacy conceives of her multiple languages for different uses, but is sometimes unaware of how enmeshed the languages are. Participants would often tell me that they complete a task in a single language until they start describing the process of doing that task—then they realize that they are actually moving among their languages and mixing them along the way. This is especially prevalent when asked about how they first approach an academic writing task, as many participants think they are working entirely in English, but then describe a code-meshed prewriting practice. I was able to gather some more specific details about this process from Stacy during our first interview when she explained how she approached the literacy narrative assignment for her first-year writing course:

Kristin: When you do your brainstorming, are you thinking in English?

Stacy: Yeah.

Kristin: Okay. When you draft your essays, are you drafting all in English?

Stacy: Drafting is more like a free-thinking thing, so sometimes (4-second pause) like I said earlier, there are a lot of phrases in Chinese that are hard to translate into English, so sometimes I'll draw that down in the corner and have that in my mind, a reference to something. So when drafting, it might be in both, but yeah.

When Stacy thinks first about the idea of brainstorming for a writing assignment, she believes she is thinking in English, which may be because most of her academic life has taken place in an English-speaking school environment. But when she describes her drafting process, which includes brainstorming and ideation, she describes the use of Chinese and English together, both in her thoughts and as she begins writing. She completes her pre-writing in both Chinese and English simultaneously, as she describes here:

Kristin: Are you drafting in pen on paper?

Stacy: Yeah.

Kristin: Okay, so when you're doing your drafting, are you writing in more than one language at a time, fluidly all over your paper, or is the Chinese always off in the corner?

Stacy: Oh, yeah. It's sectioned off. So English would be on the left side, and then Chinese would be maybe in the corner because, like I said, my writing in Chinese isn't that efficient, so usually I would have more to say in English and I wouldn't say that much in Chinese.

Kristin: Okay. What's the process like when you translate the Chinese that you have written down into English?

Stacy: It takes a lot of thinking because it's difficult. Sometimes I would translate word for word and then try to transform that into a phrase or an event, but it is very difficult to directly translate what I'm thinking.

Kristin: Sure. When you go back to revise your writing, so you're working from your rough draft now into your second draft. Are you still writing in Chinese in the corners, or how are you using your languages?

Stacy: No, because the final draft has to be in English, editing from the draft to the final draft, the draft has to be in English because it has to be submitted to my instructors, so in that way I guess it would be limiting, but I've never thought of doing my final draft with the incorporation of Chinese.

Stacy's comments about the final draft having to be in English is telling. She is aware that she is "limited" by the requirement that the final draft be in English, and she explains that it is difficult to translate her code-meshed drafting into academic English. However, she doesn't really question the requirement that her draft be in English. The "common-sense" nature of standard language ideology leads her to accept that this extra step of translation across languages is part of the "cost" of being multilingual in an academic English setting.

During our second interview, Stacy talks at length about how her Chinese and American "sides" interact with one another. Stacy recalls a time in high school when she was writing about the end of a romantic relationship as she experienced it through her "American side." She says that her writing process "was mostly in English because at the time of my vulnerability I was frantically writing in English and I didn't have time to translate, to think of other ways. Because how I approached the situation was very American-like, so how I wrote it was very in English."

When asked what it means to approach something "very American-like," Stacy responded, "Well, so in this time my parents were very, they tried to be very active in the situation because I was really upset. So they would just tell me, 'Oh forget it. It's okay. Just move on. Find somebody else.' That's the Chinese way of approaching it, just to move on with everything because everything's going to be okay. But my American side was very attached to the scenario, and it was just very stubborn. I just wanted to keep, I just wanted to stay in this relationship." While Stacy is describing her approach to a writing assignment, here she also describes how her languages and the culture they bring with them interact. She describes separating her two cultures and their different ways of responding to an event through the separation of the languages used to write about and describe the event. While Stacy describes a meshed practice during the writing of her literacy narrative, there is a metawareness that the languages function differently, that they "feel" differently, and that they can be used to access different kinds of rhetoric. Growing up bilingually in the United States, Stacy does not have the same emotionally-detached associations with English that some international students experience, but she maintains a clear distinction between what the two languages can represent.

Julie: Two Tunnels

Julie, an international student from China who completed three years of high school in the US before coming to the university, also describes her two languages as separate parts of her identity. When asked to describe how her languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, English) function during her writing process, Julie talks about getting the languages "mixed up" and how Chinese will "pop up" when she's working in English. Julie describe the experience this way:

Kristin: When you do your brainstorming and thinking about what topics to write about, do you think in English, or Chinese, or both?

Julie: I'd say a combination of both. Mostly English, just because that was the language that I predominantly used when I was doing academic writings. But sometimes some Chinese will pop up here and there.

Kristin: So when the Chinese pops up what do you do with that? Do you make a little note about that someplace, or?

Julie: Yeah, I usually write it down just so that I could address it later on and translate it into the English version. Cause I find that if I don't write it

> down and I stop and try to translate it then, like I'll lose my whole entire stream of consciousness writing.

Her use of "stream of consciousness" here shows that she writes mostly in English for school, but her Chinese does "pop up" as part of her natural writing process. Her distinction between the two languages does indicate a boundedness that keeps the languages separate. Julie describes how her writing process requires her to work functionally in one language, not fluidly in both. Unlike Stacy, Julie does not section her draft between her languages. Instead, she writes the Chinese sounds in English letters as she types. When asked how she writes down the Chinese that "pops up" while she's drafting in English, Julie says, "So usually if I'm on my laptop, just because it's a hassle to change the language it is, I'll write it in, I'll sound it out in English, but I'll write it the Japanese or the Chinese version." Here are two images that Julie took of her computer showing the language mixing she described above. The images from her computer show the writing in an early draft of her literacy narrative (Figures 1a and 2a), side-by-side with an image of the revised writing from her final draft (Figures 1b and 2b).

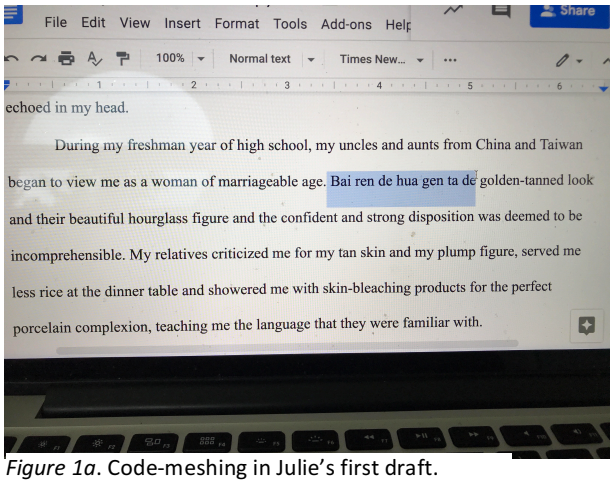
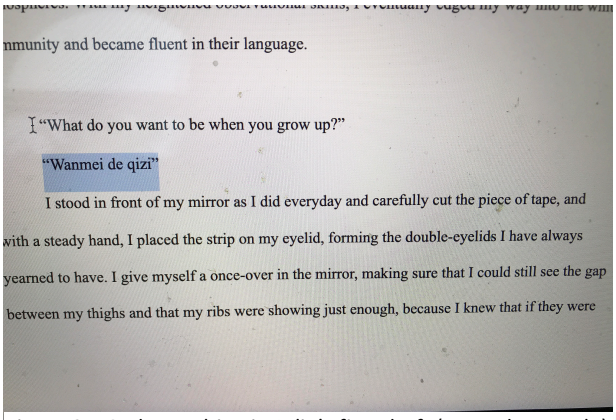


Figure 1a. Code-meshing in Julie's first draft.

During my freshman year of high school, my uncles and aunts from China and Taiwan began to view me as a woman of marriageable age. The language of the white people with their golden-tanned look and their beautiful hourglass figure and the confident and strong disposition was deemed to be incomprehensible. My relatives criticized me for my tan skin and my plump figure, served me less rice at the dinner table and showered me with skin-bleaching products for the perfect porcelain complexion, teaching me the language that they were familiar with.

Figure 1b. The revised language in Julie's final draft.

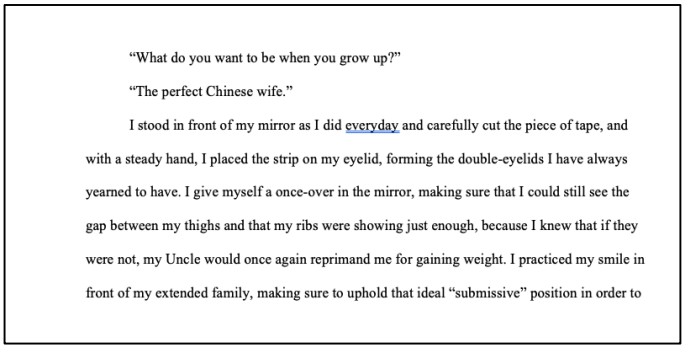

nmunity and became fluent in their language.

"What do you want to be when you grow up?"

"Wanmei de qizi"

I stood in front of my mirror as I did everyday and carefully cut the piece of tape, and with a steady hand, I placed the strip on my eyelid, forming the double-eyelids I have always yearned to have. I give myself a once-over in the mirror, making sure that I could still see the gap between my thighs and that my ribs were showing just enough, because I knew that if they were

Figure 2a. Code-meshing in Julie's first draft (second example).


"What do you want to be when you grow up?"

"The perfect Chinese wife."

I stood in front of my mirror as I did everyday and carefully cut the piece of tape, and with a steady hand, I placed the strip on my eyelid, forming the double-eyelids I have always yearned to have. I give myself a once-over in the mirror, making sure that I could still see the gap between my thighs and that my ribs were showing just enough, because I knew that if they were not, my Uncle would once again reprimand me for gaining weight. I practiced my smile in front of my extended family, making sure to uphold that ideal "submissive" position in order to

Figure 2b. The revised language in Julie's final draft (second example).

Like Stacy, Julie sometimes struggles to find the right translation to move her code-meshed notes and early drafts into an all-English draft. When I asked her about this process, Julie replied, "Well, first I have to identify why I decided to put [in] that Chinese or Japanese in the first place. And then I have to try to see if I could find an English word that matches the same exact feeling and sentiment of that other Chinese or Japanese word." Her reflection on why she used Chinese or Japanese is an important step for thinking through code-meshing strategies in academic writing. While it may sound easy to us as instructors to be "other language permission givers" or to find samples of code-meshed texts for models, this kind of linguistically-blended writing is about more than simply using two languages in a single discourse. It's about rhetorical style and intent, and about the things the writer feels can or cannot be expressed in a single language, and maybe about what should or should not be translated across language boundaries. For these students, primarily, academic writing is about being understood, and they do not see code-meshing as rhetorically-compelling in academic settings because they assume their reader cannot understand a blended text.

The examples Julie provides (fig. 1a-2b) are racialized and culturally specific. Figure 1a contains a narrative of Julie's discussions with her Chinese and Taiwanese aunts where she struggles to fit the parts of her cultural experiences and expectations together. While telling the story in English about her aunts' Chinese and Taiwanese perspectives, the phrase that comes to her in Chinese is translated to "the language of the white people." It is interesting to note that while thinking about her experience of that moment, and while writing from a Chinese perspective, "the language of the white people" is the foreign phrase. This may indicate a divide

in her thinking between the languages, where English represents a different cultural logic and expression. Figure 2a shows another cultural construction, that of "the perfect Chinese wife," which "pops up" for Julie in Chinese. Although the words are translated into English, the cultural connotations of "the perfect Chinese wife" are not available in those words alone. Julie must spend several additional paragraphs explaining what that phrase means.

When asked about her translation process, Julie says, "The first thing I do is usually call my sister because she completely understands me, and she'll help me work it out myself. If I can't, then I'll go on thesaurus or I'll Google translate and try to find something as close as possible. And if I can't find it, then I'll just find the closest one that I can find." When Julie is stuck on translation, she relies on her sister, who shares her same languages, to help her navigate meaning. It goes beyond the languages, however, into how Julie is understood by her sister, and being able to talk through the ideas in all of her languages is essential to translating the ideas into written English. Notice how Julie says that her sister helps her to "work it out myself" because she "completely understands me." This goes beyond translating individual words and into a fuller and more sophisticated understanding of what Julie means to communicate, and why it first emerges as blended. This social framing is a critical part of meshing, and possibly a reason why meshing in academic spaces does not, to multilingual students, seem effective.

The types of writing assignments students encounter in FYW and the topics they choose dictate how multilingual students will access their languages in the writing process. Julie explains that some writing assignments allow her to use her languages more easily than others. She explains that during the literacy narrative, because it was about her experiences with languages, she was able to connect with Mandarin, Japanese, and English while writing. However, while writing her rhetorical analysis about being vegan, she was unable to connect the topic with her Chinese culture and therefore did not access her Chinese language during the planning or writing of the essay. In the interview about the rhetorical analysis, Julie described how her father disapproved of her veganism, and how she attempted to cut off that portion of her mindset while writing. She says, "My mom thinks [veganism] is fine. My dad is the one that has a huge issue with it. So I think, if anything, I wouldn't have written this paper if it wasn't for the fact that I wasn't at home and that I'm a little bit more firm in my beliefs now." When asked if she imagined her dad reading the essay she said, "Yes. And it scared me. I could hear him starting…That's when I guess you could say the Chinese kind of creeps up. I kind of hear it

insulting me. Yeah." Here Julie expresses that the languages are tied to their long history of social interactions: people, places, cultural norms, and other experiences and feelings surface for Julie when she talks about Chinese.

When asked what it's like to be multilingual, Julie responded with a metaphor of two tunnels to describe her Chinese and "American" languages, explaining that the tunnels use language to deliver culture, ideas, and ways of thinking. Her English, however, is not a primary tunnel, but a secondary tunnel accessed at the end of her Chinese tunnel. She says, "The American, I feel like the American part of it is kind of just sitting at the end. Just Sleeping Beauty almost. It really depends. Like, sometimes I guess you could say my Chinese tunnel will turn on and then my American tunnel will turn on, depending on the assignment that I'm working on." She goes on to say that during the writing of the literacy narrative, "Both of them [the Chinese and American tunnels] were kind of attacking each other at once. For [the rhetorical analysis], I feel like the American tunnel was going, but then the Chinese tunnel with my dad in the back of my head just like telling me to stop. But yeah, it's kind of weird. But yeah, it depends I guess." Julie's awareness that her different languages deliver different cultural expectations and patterns explains how and why she accesses her languages differently for different rhetorical purposes. Her Chinese and English are clearly heavily influenced by her family, and while her languages may sometimes deliver contradictory messaging, Julie's sister is able to help her sort through what she means and how she wants to express it. Julie's case also highlights the importance of language communities, and the social connections built through shared language practices.

It is also interesting to note that Julie refers to "English" as *American*, as do several Chinese students during their interviews. Perhaps through analogy, these Chinese students use *American* to describe the English language and to describe US students or culture in the same way that they use *Chinese* to refer to the languages, people, and cultures of China. For example, Stacy explained that she tries to think and write in English all the time in FYW because "the way of thinking" at the university and in academic writing "is very American, where you ... I would say more broad and not very narrow." By writing and thinking in English, Stacy accesses her "American" culture and patterns of thought. The conflation of "American" with "English" is common and comprises a large portion of chapter 5, and the use of "English" to mean SEAE is likewise prevalent and receives deeper analysis in chapter 4.

The tunnel metaphor is striking for a number of cultural and linguistic reasons. The tunnels are fully separate and deliver separate (Chinese or American) culture and language. They are activated separately, and turn on and off, can "attack" one another and can run simultaneously with one in the foreground and one in the background, but the tunnels do not mix or blend. Julie describes thinking primarily in one language with the other one functioning as a secondary commentary, and she describes the "American part" as sitting at the end of the Chinese tunnel, like Sleeping Beauty, waiting to be woken up. The tunnels are context-dependent, and Julie will use her Chinese or her English depending on the context of the writing assignment. This suggests that students' thinking may default to different languages depending on the context of the conversation or project, and students may be able to better use their multilingual resources if they are given explicit opportunity to do so.

Responses to Code-meshing

When asked about the idea of producing purposefully code-meshed academic writing, the opinions of the participants were split, but the majority did not see the practicality or the rhetorical value of code-meshing. As a whole, the students' friction with the idea of academic code-meshing is based in standard language ideology, which normalizes SEAE in school contexts, thereby subordinating other linguistic codes for academic purposes. The next section describes student reactions and responses to questions about code-meshing and their structuring language ideologies.

Responses to Code-Meshing: We Need Instruction

Students provided a variety of practical reasons why code-meshing in academic contexts required specific instruction. Several participants who code-mesh easily in informal contexts expressed that they would need instruction in academic code-meshing or sample papers to understand what it could look like in formal discourse. Monica remarked that academic code-meshing could be an interesting concept and that she would like to try it, but said, "Yeah, but someone would probably need to show me how." Jessica reflected on her previous writing training, and said that her limited writing experiences in non-English languages would make it challenging to code-mesh at the university level. Jessica said, "I think it would probably be easier to write in Chinese in a way, but I've also not written such a long paper in Chinese before,

so I'm not sure how it would look if it's in Chinese." Without better instruction and direction from writing instructors, students will likely continue to feel that their code-meshing is unsupported in first- year writing classrooms.

In his 2011 classroom study of translanguaging among students from Saudi Arabia, Canagarajah writes that "translanguaging is a naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual students" but that it does still need to be taught. Canagarajah (2011) writes, "Translanguaging cannot be completely restrained by monolingual educational policies. It can occur with minimal pedagogical effort from teachers. However, such studies might give the impression that translanguaging does not have to be taught. It might be argued that if it occurs naturally in the most unbidden contexts, translanguaging is so fully developed among multilingual students in their home and community contexts that there is nothing further for the school to add, other than provide a context for it to be practiced" (p. 402). Canagarajah writes that multilingual students do need to be taught to use translanguaging in academic spaces, as "there is still more for multilingual students to learn in translanguaging" and cites "rhetorical effectiveness" as a means of analysis for how students might improve their translanguaging (2011, p. 402). The pedagogies, however, of teaching standards as contingent and negotiable do not match students' ideologies of rhetorical effectiveness, which are based in monolingual standards.

Another practical reason why students are not code-meshing is that they often lack the technical or academic vocabulary in their non-English languages necessary to mix their codes in writing. Evan, an international student from China, reports that choosing a language is context-dependent, and depends on how he learned and processed the information that he's writing about. During his first interview, Evan commented, "It's about my experience. Language-wise, I just still have a hard time putting Chinese into my paper. I just don't know how that works. I haven't seen too many examples of that, so I cannot learn by reading." During his second interview, Evan said, "I'm an econ major, and I've taken some econ classes in Chinese, sometimes, for those concepts when it's hard, I'll probably use Chinese. They are teaching me in English, but I will convert it into Chinese and write it in Chinese, so when I'm going through the concepts, I can understand it better. But for other courses that are not that hard, I'm not really comfortable with writing that in Chinese because I don't have the Chinese concept of it. I will write it in English." Code-meshing as a writing practice might make sense for topics that students can write about in two or more languages, but the ideas and vocabulary for writing may

be language- and context-specific for some students, depending on when and how they learned about the topic they are writing about. Evan explains that his background in economics in Chinese is helpful because "converting" to Chinese helps him understand challenging material, but because he has not been taught to use Chinese in his academic writing at the University, he "has a hard time" with the idea of code-meshing. Evan might benefit from explicit instruction in code-meshing and code-meshing models, as he does use Chinese and English to learn, but without code-meshing instruction, it's unlikely that Evan will fully develop a meshed learning system.

Some participants also explain that they were taught to use their languages differently, which may account for student attitudes towards their various languages. Jessica says, "For Chinese, it was mostly just writing short paragraphs, expressing our thoughts on a particular reading or a particular issue. For English, it was definitely a more formal essay with the five paragraphs. Yeah. Also, I think for the English-taught stuff, it's like history, literature, or language, we definitely have to write research papers and longer essays." In international schools, students are often taught to use their languages differently in writing and for different purposes. Jessica explains, "I think for me, especially emotions, it's easier to do in Chinese. But normally if it was like more formal academic writing then I think it's easier to do in English because that is what I have been doing in high school a lot." Other international student participants also noted that they learned to do all of their academic writing in English and had very little writing instruction in Hindi, Tamil, Mandarin, or other languages. Ria, who grew up in India but attended an American high school, said she uses English as her default academic language: "I think because I was conditioned to write only in English. Mostly even now I think in English like for my essays if it's academic my brain always just starts to in English and goes, 'Maybe I should do it in English,' but that's probably because I've never done [academic] writing in other languages before." For the students, academic writing is a set of skills that they have learned over many years of schooling. They may not have the skills or vocabularies to express what they mean to say in non-English languages. In response to whether or not he would like to do academic writing in Chinese, Evan says, "I don't really wish. It's kind of complex mood to it because I haven't really done much about it, and the training I received now both in China and here in the US it's mostly academic writing in English, so I don't have any like experience

writing in Chinese." Lack of experience and academic vocabulary in "home" languages has resulted in a practical and ideological belief that English is best-suited for academic writing.

The translingual argument that students with multiple language competencies are already code-meshing may be true in informal contexts, but students view writing in school as a separate rhetorical task with different discourse expectations. While they may code-mesh in conversation with family and friends, writing for school is a separate rhetorical situation to be approached using the rules they learn through their writing instruction. As *all* participants in this study learned to do their academic writing in English, they do not feel equipped to produce code-meshed or otherwise translingual products in academic settings. Their years of writing instruction in English have reinforced beliefs that English is the expected language for school, and students feel that they are unprepared to do academic work in other languages. Based on students' responses, it does seem that some instruction in code-meshing pedagogies might benefit their learning and writing as some students are already thinking across languages to facilitate their studies, but without an ideological shift, they are unlikely to produce code-meshed texts

Responses to Code-meshing: Not Aligned with Our Goals

Another reason why students object to academic code-meshing is that it is not aligned with their larger goals, which again stem from their ideologies about academic work. Jessica reports that she finds it easier to communicate in Chinese, but she is working hard to "improve" her English. She says, "I mean, I think that's definitely easier for us to communicate and really say what we're thinking [in Chinese], but I don't know. Right now, I'm trying to force myself a little bit to be in that English environment because that's what I really want to improve in." Students may come to a U.S. university looking for focused English instruction and looking to practice their academic English writing skills. Whether or not they are interested in working on code-meshing for academic purposes, some students may prioritize academic English during their four years in the university context. Jessica says, "If it's something that I'm really unfamiliar of then I would definitely look up in Chinese cause it's much faster for me to read and understand what the concept is but if it's something I kind of know then I'll just go in English. I try to force myself to make my phone and laptop setting in English. I try to look everything up in English just to practice more and read more." There has been an underlying assumption in some

of the translingual literature that multilingual students want to code-mesh, or are already code-meshing in their formal discourse (Canagarajah, 2006; Horner et al., 2011) but I did not see evidence of that among the students I interviewed. Most students in this study have spent years in preparation for the U.S. university context, and they are eager to continue their English education.

Responses to Code-meshing: Targeting an English-Speaking Audience

By far the most prevalent response to whether or not code-meshing makes sense, from the students' perspectives, is that it does not make rhetorical sense because writing is social, and the multilingual writers perceive their American readers to be English-monolinguals, or at least to expect and probably prefer SEAE. For example, Finn says that she does all of her writing in English because of the U.S. university context. She says, "It's definitely all English because I mean, I live in America. There's really no reason why I should be writing in Korean. I feel like there shouldn't be a reason why." Her assumption is that "in America," English is most appropriate in academic settings (and perhaps more generally as well). Finn also connects the use of English to her goals of "fitting in." She says:

> It's different because it's not like I want to think in Korean because I know things will be backwards. I feel like I can articulate better in English especially just because there's some words that just don't exist in Korean, and there are just some phrases in Korean that don't have any meaning in English. For example, weird dreams, just really random spatial dreams, I guess. In Korean, [this] literally translates over to 'doggy dream,' which if you hear that conversationally, it's just, 'What did you say?' It's just so different. I don't know and I don't think in knowing that, I wouldn't want to put 'doggy dream' inside of a professional essay because I don't want the reader to be confused. I don't want myself to be perceived as strange or too out of the ordinary.

For Finn, using English signals to her readers that she belongs in the "professional" discourse community. Because she wants to be perceived as normal or professional, Finn tries to rely on her English so that her thinking is not "backwards" and so that the reader is not "confused" by words, phrases, or ideas that do not easily translate from Korean to English, as Finn expects her audience to read in English.

Finn also explains that she has not previously worked on her academic writing in a language other than English, and adds that she doesn't see the value in writing across her languages. This previous experience is compounded by beliefs that English and "Western

culture" represent her future. Growing up in the United States and attending American schools significantly impacted how Finn understands her Chinese-American identity and the roles of her languages. Certainly more than the international students in this study, Finn expresses her desire to fit in with her American peers. She says:

> Yeah. I don't think I've ever thought about really shifting gears, going into Korean and fixing it up just because I don't think I've ever had the opportunity to do a very formal essay completely in Korean and have a lot of the rules really benefit me that much. Because I feel like when we write in English, I mean it's even cultural because Korean people value the Western world. It's like, why would you want to go back even though it's valuable, but people are looking more towards the West. It's just the whole why go backwards mindset for me.

This ideology, that "Western" modes of academic writing represent progress or hold greater cultural value, came up several times during Finn's interviews. Finn's schooling, combined with her experiences growing up as a multilingual speaker in the United States developed in her an attitude that Korean culture and languages are deficient and "backwards," requiring "fixing up." Given her racial beliefs about Korean and Western cultures, Finn is unlikely to be interested in code-meshing strategies without first working through the cultural beliefs she holds.

Finn's use of "shifting gears" signals an awareness of choosing between two discrete linguistic codes and her language about "fixing up" her Korean and its representation of going "back" is built on an underlying ideology of race, language, and culture. Her argument that Korean people value the Western world speaks directly to the implicit belief that American culture is more valuable than Korean culture in academic settings. Code-meshing literature argues that switching between languages is based in a racist monolingualist ideology (Young, 2013; Canagarajah, 2017). Finn adheres to monolingualist beliefs and practices, signaling the need for ideological re-training before students can be led to experiment with translingual meshing. For Finn, the use of Korean signals a "backwards" cultural background from which she is actively trying to dissociate.

Another participant, Frank, explains that his audience is unlikely to be able to read a code-meshed text. He thinks of the university as an "all-English" site and believes that he "can't really use" his non-English language in his university writing. Frank says, "Yeah, a lot of people in America aren't that bilingually…or they don't speak their second language as well mainly because we go to an all-English school, and it's hard to use a language that isn't, that you can't really use." Despite his description of Midwest University as "all-English," Frank does recognize

that there are many international students and Chinese speakers at the school. His use of "all-English" indicates a perceived preference or expectation for English, or perhaps that his audience is limited to a monolingual competence. Frank says, "I guess for Chinese it's a bit easier, since there's a lot of international students. I guess for any other language, there's a pretty diverse. You can definitely find a crowd that only speaks your second language. But I think the class would be kind of limited to find students that could actually read it." Frank's distinguishing between Chinese speakers at the university and "the class" creates a divide between those who share his languages and his target academic audience. It also reveals his belief that a class with Chinese texts would be limited to those who speak Chinese, reinforcing his firm language boundaries and the illogical premises of expecting American students to read in a non-English language or to be presented with texts they cannot fully read. The underlying belief is that American students speak English and are not expected to learn in a multilingual environment in which they are not the standard.

Max, who speaks Russian and English, also defers to the linguistic competence of his audience. When asked if academic code-meshing makes sense in first-year writing, Max said, "Not really, because your discourse community would be so small, then. What would be the point?" These objections that code-meshing is "limiting" or that it disadvantageously narrows the discourse community are important because they reflect the rhetorical instruction many of our students have received through schooling. Despite the fact that translingualists argue that code-meshing allows students to place their writing in a more cosmopolitan setting (Canagarajah, 2006), students have learned to position their writing within an English-speaking context. They are rarely thinking about world Englishes or international settings when they write in their U.S. university classrooms.

Within this study, the students who use Chinese were the least likely to consider academic code-meshing. Every one of the participants who speaks Chinese believed that the characters were too different from English to be used in formal writing. Julie explains that she thought about using Chinese in her writing but feels that Chinese is different from other languages that she has seen in writing at the university. She says, "Having that sort of multilingual, knowing how to speak Chinese, I was kind of tempted to add Chinese into the narrative, but adding Chinese, it's not like Spanish where you could at least pick and choose, and you could at least understand some of it without actually knowing the language. With Chinese, if

I put a bunch of characters or even the Pinyin, they're just not going to understand it. So while I was writing it, it was definitely like things that kept on popping up that I could say in Chinese, but it wasn't put in." Julie and other Chinese-language speakers like Evan and Lin remark throughout the interviews that Chinese languages are unfamiliar to U.S. students, while other languages, like Spanish, are more prevalent, and therefore more "acceptable" in academic English writing, revealing their beliefs that in the US, languages with unfamiliar characters are indexed as additionally deficient. The ideology at play for these students is that English is the expected language for academic writing, and that their home languages are for casual, personal, or other use.

Jessica's perspective is that beyond the writer's capacity to write carefully and specifically about a topic, a code-meshing writer and reader would also need to have a remarkably impressive command of both languages. Canagarajah (2013a) argues that students are already using their languages "synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings," but students like Jessica do not want to generate new grammars for academic writing. "Languaging" (Horner et al., 2011) as the creative interplay of linguistic resources may be happening in causal discourse, but students reserve their preferences for standardized English for their academic writing. Jessica says,

> I think it depends on the language, in terms of Mandarin and English, let me think. I think it would only make sense if the readers could understand both languages really well Just because sometimes when you write down a word, but then the connotation is different. If the connotation in the Chinese to English doesn't match, one is negative and one's positive then that wouldn't make sense in an essay. You need to have a pretty good understanding of both languages in order to sense that difference and get the overall tone or feeling of that essay. So I don't know how it would turn out, but I think it would just be nice to probably stick with one language. Considering a really short semester, one has four months. And if you wanted to switch between them it would just be having things all over the place. I would just say focus on one and gain a pretty good understanding so then you know what to do next.

Jessica's theorization of bounded languages and their possible meshing represents a line of questioning that many have when it comes to translingual writing. Do readers need to know all of the languages present in the writing? Does the writer need to translate, or should the reader translate, or should the writing go untranslated by writer and reader? What portion of a writing class should be devoted to translingual writing instruction? How should an instructor grade a writer whom they may not be able to understand? Rather than wade through these considerations

into potential complication, many translingual writers, like Jessica, find it easier to do the work in English.

A final recurring objection to academic code-meshing or writing in other languages is that it can require more work to mix the languages in an academic context than to use a single language, and the translation is extra labor that the students often feel they must take on. Monica says, “I've never done any writing in Chinese ever since I got here. Only because first of all it wasn't promoted, so it would be more work for me. I don't really want more work load. Like, my life is pretty hectic. Also, like I said, the translation isn't going to be precise, so it kind of lost the point of writing your own language since it wouldn't translate as well.” Though she is responding to a question about code-meshing in her first-year writing course, once Monica begins talking about writing in Chinese, she assumes she will need to translate to English, revealing the potency of students’ belief that academic writing and English are paired, and that American students have no responsibility to understand non-English texts.

Margarita likes the idea of code-meshing, but says, “I wouldn't mind. I mean I don't know what languages everybody else knows. If we did that everybody, not everybody would know the language, and then it would have to be translated into English, but there's definitely things you could learn about the culture, and stuff like that in the process. But I feel like you just end up translating it, and be in English, even though you're reading different things, you're still reading in English.” While initially Margarita likes the idea of code-meshing, she immediately tries to work out what it might look like, and she concludes that she would have to translate, rather than present a mixed-code text. Margarita defers to the reader experience, believing the reader should receive a translation.

Anna believes that code-meshing has its benefits “somewhere” but given the U.S. university context, she just can’t find a place for it here: “I think it would definitely have some benefits somewhere, especially in the phase of brainstorming and maybe translating it a little bit better, but at the end of the day, you have to go to your English and not in Hindi. That's not the goal of the class.” Anna did use Hindi to generate what she calls “original, first-time ideas” and then she translated them to English. She says it was not too difficult to translate her ideas, but there were some words that didn’t translate perfectly. She notes that it’s complicated to translate words too many times, meaning it can be challenging to translate an English idea into Hindi to think about it in that language, and then to translate the ideas back to English again. She says that

process requires "too much effort." Anna also notes that "most [Hindi] culturally-constructed words don't have definitive and exact translations to English," so when she is working in Hindi, she is never able to express exactly what she means in English.

Implications

While the translingual literature eagerly suggests code-meshing pedagogies that teach rhetorical effectiveness through blended-language writing (Horner et al., 2011; Canagarajah, 2011; Canagarajah, 2013b), the participants in this study, ideologically, are not ready to take up that strategy. In the context of this study, teaching code-meshing is putting the cart before the horse. Students' talk indicates that there needs to be a structural change in Writing Studies first, which would generate more generous language ideologies among students, which would then open space for the possibility of academic code-meshing and academic translingual practices. Because of multilingual students' divide between languages of the 'personal' and the detached English used for academic purposes, students are not bringing all of their rhetorical options with them when they approach a writing assignments. Several students reported that participating in this study served as a reminder to think across their languages in their writing courses. For example, Monica, who said in her first interview that she had not seen herself writing in Chinese in a long time, reported, "After the first interview, I started using Chinese words in my outlines. That has somehow become the habit because it's helpful. It's helpful in expressing what I want to say, so that has changed me a bit and it's been helpful." While Monica wrote her final draft in English, she says that using Chinese to develop her opinions before looking to English to write her arguments helped her to write more easily, affirming findings from many studies that explain the benefits for students when they work across their languages. Monica says, "I mean, when I was describing the power dynamics, I definitely used Chinese words to substitute like, to express my feelings, because it's just easier. But for the evidence, again, it's easier to just do it in English, because I read it in English, right?" Using Chinese to gather her arguments and blending languages in her brainstorming and outlining served as a useful translingual pre-writing strategy that could easily be taught in first-year writing.

Another way to bring translingual writing into the FYW is to suggest that students bring their cultural perspectives to their writing. Students explained that writing about their home cultures or parts of their identities that activate their non-English languages helped them to write

their essays more easily. Anna said, "I think [being multilingual] is helping, because I can write about topics that are more culturally situated. Thinking about those topics in my first language really helps. And also, thinking in my mind, in class itself, in other languages, helps me express in English better." Helping students to think about their cultures and topics in their first languages, as many U.S.-born students are privileged to do simply by nature of taking a FYW course in their home language and culture, can help level the playing field and open pathways and connections for international students. This idea of an "internationalist" approach is taken up in greater detail in chapter 4.

Lin agrees that thinking across languages is "quite useful" because her Chinese will clarify her English thinking. She says, "For example, when I'm writing an essay, if I have no idea what to write, for me the first thing is, because I'm writing in English I think it English at first, if I have no idea in English, I will try to translate that into Chinese and try to figure out if I can have new ideas on that, and actually sometimes I find that quite useful." Lin explains that when thinking in English she will sometimes run out of ideas or start writing repetitively, but when she switches her thinking into Chinese, she finds that she has more creative ideas, and can break out of the repetition of her academic-English thinking. Here the awareness that her creative thinking is tied to her emotional identity, in Chinese, usefully elevates her academic English writing.

These suggestions rely upon shifting students' conceptions of 'academic' as formal and detached to 'academic' as writing about personal commitments. Several students noted that starting the semester with a literacy narrative assignment usefully activated all of their languages for the course, but then the shift to the second essay of the semester moved them away from thinking broadly across their languages and back into English-only. Julie said she used her Chinese to think through and draft her literacy narrative, but then moved back into an English-only practice when she approached the rhetorical analysis assignment She said, "I feel like with the literacy narrative, I got to show more of a creative element, so like writing and stuff like that. But with the rhetorical analysis, it was more of like what I had to write in high school. So more cookie cutter. Not exactly, just, instead of like in high school where we were only allowed like one paragraph for the introduction and one sentence for a thesis, she actually allowed us to expand on that which was really, really nice." To explain why she moved away from her creative writing and use of Chinese when she wrote the rhetorical analysis, Julie said, "Unlike the literacy

narrative, where I was actually able to make some sort of connection to my culture, this one was something completely separate. And I guess you could say, if I'm going back to my literacy narrative, more like part of my American identity. So the Chinese portion of it really couldn't play into this at all." Her talk about her two languages and identities reveals the limitations she felt in her approach to the rhetorical analysis. Because it was not connected to her culture, she defaulted into a detached "American" identity, leaving her Chinese out of it entirely. Maintaining their personal commitments and connections to their various cultures throughout the semester as a guiding framework for their academic arguments may help keep all of their languages working together during the semester.

Student talk about being multilingual revealed a multitude of deficit ideologies about being multilingual, sometimes steeped in race and racism, as is the case for Finn's resistance to using her Korean in school. Within this study's context, these deficit ideologies present the most significant barrier to implementing code-meshing pedagogies. The logics of code-meshing do not match the instruction that students have previously received to make sense of English, academic contexts, and being multilingual. Helping students to think about code-meshing not only as blending languages in a formal paper but as activating their full identities and rage of linguistic possibilities for academic writing may help them to break down some of their deficit beliefs about being multilingual or language "interference." When students in this study experienced the broadening of possibility by thinking across languages and writing early drafts in blended languages they were much more likely to recognize the benefit of thinking translingually.

CHAPTER 4

When *Academic* Means *English*

Introduction

This chapter builds upon the implications of chapter three, digging deeper into students' beliefs that academic writing should be both impersonal and written in a standard form of English. Underlying these beliefs is the development and maintenance of ideologies that promote the academic value of standard Englishes over students' home languages, and the implicit argument that students should suppress pieces of their cultural and linguistic identities in academic settings. While their language ideologies prompt their linguistic actions, students are not always aware of their deficit beliefs about their languages and identities, as these beliefs are situated in structures that naturalize the elevation of standard English. Translingual literature argues that students should be trained to use their language difference as a resource (Horner et al., 2011, p. 302), but students don't quite know when, how, or why to incorporate their differences. The fixation on the inclusion of language difference might also suggest that multilingual students' competencies are fixed and stable, rather than emerging and developing (Lorimer Leonard, 2014, p. 228). Based on participants' experiences, the literacy narrative, in conjunction with perceived instructor flexibility, may offer space and support for developing translingual dispositions and practices in FYW. Writing the literacy narrative assignment early in the semester usefully challenged students' perceptions that academic writing should always be impersonal, in standardized English, and free from any multilingual identifiers. This feedback from students reinforces the importance for instructors to consider all aspects of the translingual orientation if they offer code-meshing opportunities. It's not enough to simply allow students to choose code-meshing. All students need to be trained to analyze a rhetorical situation, to analyze their own linguistic resources, to respond generously and appropriately to language difference, and to value perspectives that are different from their own. Writing instructors might also benefit from training focused on how to create a translingual ecology in the writing classroom.

Multilingual Student Conceptions of Academic Writing

Academic writing, as a social and rhetorical action and product, takes into consideration the intended audience, the purpose of the writing, and the identity of the writer. These rhetorical and social relations invoke a number of tacit assumptions about the form and style of academic writing that are, according to my participants, rarely unpacked. For example, I asked participants to describe *academic writing* during each of the three interviews, resulting in a total of 45 responses to this question, and each of the participants responded by talking about writing *in English* every time. One tacit assumption about academic writing among these students is that it is performed in English, and in this university setting, *English* meant a standardized written form of American English. Even when instructors suggested to students that they could include personal writing, an informal style, colloquial word choices, or other languages, students favored standard English for their academic writing. Students cited several reasons for using SEAE for their academic writing, such as feeling they needed to prove that they could write in the dialect (Finn), feeling that the use of mixed-language writing would be an unfair accommodation for international students (Monica), and wanting to be taken seriously by their perceived English-monolingual readers (Frank).

A second tacit assumption about academic writing is that it must be impersonal and never self-referential. When asked to describe academic writing, five of the 15 participants cited the rule that the writer must never use the pronoun *I* or include self-referential phrases, such as "from my perspective" or "based on my own experience." Taken together, beliefs that academic writing should be in standardized English and impersonal indicate student ideologies that clash with translingual perspectives on code-meshing and difference-based approaches. The use of an impersonal standardized English means that students are writing in a dialect that does not always surface their multilingual identities. For example, Evan explains that he "finds it hard to describe myself in English" and that he only knows how to do academic writing in English. He also believes that academic writing involves "strict rules," and "maybe some passive voice, some kind of fancy grammar." The option to code-mesh for Evan might usefully open a better space for Evan to write about himself, but he is a long way from seeing the logics and value of academic code-meshing. Before students can evaluate their interest in code-meshing or other

translingual practices, they need to surface and examine their own beliefs about standards, being multilingual, and how they wish to relate the two.

A translingual approach to academic writing promotes writing difference as "a resource for producing meaning in writing, speaking, reading, and listening" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 302). However, students are hesitant to bring their language difference into their academic writing because it conflicts with how they have been taught to think about academic discourse. Translingual pedagogies aimed at changing student ideologies require concurrent programmatic reform. Horner et al. (2011) explain that "the translingual approach asks of writing not whether its language is standard, but what the writers are doing with language and why" (p. 304-305). Until that is the prevailing orientation of writing teachers, students may experience punitive feedback about their use of nonstandard conventions in their academic writing. While it's true that "dominant ideology is always indifferent to the invalidity of its claims, [and] we need not and should not accept its sway" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 305), it's also true that many in academia have accepted standards-based writing as the best form for academic discourse. The dominant ideology sets the expectations, and students want to meet them.

Students' conceptions of academic writing, as explained in the following section of this chapter, have calcified over the years based on the writing lessons and feedback they have received. While translingual pedagogies argue that standardized written English is a "bankrupt concept" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 305), students explain that it's been one of the most formative concepts for their success as writers. In theory, the standards may be contingent, but in practice, standards are only contingent if students have the power to negotiate them as such. Without the power and ability to negotiate the standards, standards remain immutable.

Academic Writing: Don't Take It Personally

One of the recurring themes during the first interviews is the imposition students feel to restrict their own opinions and styles in their academic writing. When asked to describe academic writing, students use words like *objective*, *restrictive*, and *formal* to describe the style. They also list a number of formal and informal stylistic rules they had learned about academic writing, such as "never use the first person" and "always start with a catchy opener." But beyond these descriptions, most students were not able to describe the purpose of academic writing, nor how they would fit together their own identities as multilingual writers with their descriptions of

academic writing. In fact, given their descriptions of a detached and restrictive style, students often assumed that they needed to shelve their multilingual identities and use only English instead.

Lu and Horner (2013) explain that translingual theory is careful not to prescribe a specific form of writing that students are to produce, but instead develops "dispositions toward languages, language users, contexts and consequences of language use, and the relations between all these" (p. 29), and in so doing, helps writers maintain agency over their work. This translingual agency allows multilingual students to decide whether they will produce work in standardized English or another dialect or language, leaving the choice up to the student (Lu & Horner, 2013, p. 31). One of the challenges of this approach is that it has the potential to sidestep the politics of agency for students who are presented with the opportunity and responsibility of choosing between standard and nonstandard practices because it does not address the greater structural consequences of choosing between standard and nonstandard. Students can be presented with linguistic facts about the changeability and "contingent nature" of standardization and instruction in code-meshing or other blended-code strategies, but the translingual disposition and contingent nature of standards is unlikely to be a real possibility for students in other contexts. While it may be true that standards can be (or are) contingent, standards may present as inflexible in other high stakes contexts. An important support that translingual work can offer is greater focus on the institutions that circulate and reproduce standardization. This focus on the institution supports the contingent nature of standards by changing the standards more broadly rather than only within particular writing classrooms, programs, or academic units.

Students have already experienced the inflexible nature of writing standards. This is evident in how they talk about the forms and style of academic writing. Many participants believed that academic writing takes a form and style that the instructor, or someone else, imposes. For example, Stacy explains, "Because academic writing, to me, is so structured, I'm very limited in what I can say. Academic writing is writing that has a certain structure, a rubric, a certain argument or thesis that you have to write about. It's a structure that somebody else gives you and you're not free writing." This distinction between academic writing for someone else, and personal "free writing" or writing for one's own purposes is a recurring theme, cited by a third of participants during the first round of interviews. Evan describes it this way during the first interview: "I don't have much ideas about academic writing. Academic writing, most of the

time, they need to form a really strict…I'm short on words. A format. You just need to plug in everything and then it's a pipeline, so that not much difference. I will say if it's a poem, if it's more creative writing, there will be bunches of differences [from academic writing]." Because some students feel "limited" by the "strict" and predictable nature of academic writing, they tend to approach academic writing assignments as a formula to be solved in order to meet the expectations of the instructor, rather than as a creative process through which they would develop their own interesting and meaningful arguments.

Evan's distinction between academic and creative writing is a recognized pattern for students entering FYW, as Hutton & Gibson (2019) describe in their qualitative study of students in FYW. Hutton & Gibson (2019) use the descriptions of "academic" and "creative" to describe the "polarizing categories" that students often hold about the kinds of writing they have learned to do in school settings (p. 110), and the students in this study likewise express notions of polarization in their first interviews. Academic writing functions for some students as a monolith: inflexible, formulaic, impersonal. As Evan says, "just plug in everything." Creative or personal writing, on the other hand, is flexible, intuitive, and adaptive.

Based largely on their previous writing experiences, students enter FYW with limited conceptions of academic writing which, in turn, limit students' engagement and enthusiasm. They report that they are dreading their FYW course, or they find it "boring" or "just a college requirement." Their definitions show that their previous writing experiences have left them with memorable sets of rules and structures that overwhelm memories of learning rhetorical aims and tools. Perhaps the dichotomy stems from the kinds of writing students do in their high school English classrooms, which tend to separate formal papers from informal journal entries, brainstorming, or reader responses. The formal writing tends to be longer, multi-draft, typed writing that is graded by a teacher and high-stakes. The informal writing tends to be hand-written, shorter, and often expresses a personal response to a reading or topic at hand, and is typically not graded for following the "rules" of academic writing.

Many students have been trained, before coming to the university, that personal writing and personal opinions are un-academic. Anna noted that one of her better writing skills is offering her own opinion about an author's perspective, but then concedes that she doesn't believe that her opinion should be included in academic writing. Anna says, "I think the fact that I take away the author's perspective and make it my own is something that I'm good at but I don't

think that should be a part of academic writing. So I think sticking to the author's themes and motives and just developing around them is something that I need to do." Here Anna first offers her opinion that she is good at adopting and adapting an author's perspective into her "own," but then she pivots and argues that this should not be part of academic writing. Anna concludes by explaining how she needs to improve rather than focusing her response on what she already does well. This pivot is common among other participants as well. When asked to talk about her strengths as an academic writer, Monica says, "Oh, my god, I don't think there are any!" When pressed she said that she is good at writing conclusions and finding evidence, but she is quick to add that finding evidence doesn't mean she knows how to use it. When asked how she could improve this year, she cited "supporting my argument." I asked about sharing her opinion and experience as part of the support, and Monica replied that she really needed to learn about "utilizing evidence," meaning textual evidence. This pervasive division between personal language use and English for academic purposes demonstrates a learned hierarchy of languages for personal and school writing.

Bridging a Gap Through Narrative

By mid-semester in their FYW courses, many students' conceptions of academic writing were already moving away from lists of rules and toward rhetorical invention. Hutton & Gibson (2019) challenge writing instructors to better engage notions of the writerly self by providing students "with more integrative language and constructs for students' own sense of their writing and their development as writers" by bringing together the creative (the self) with the academic (p. 111). This is one possibility for greater translingual opportunity both for multilingual students to use their languages in their academic discourse, and also for instructors to analyze student writing for the function and "rhetoricity" of difference. For some participants in this study, the self and the academic began to merge through the experience of writing the literacy narrative, which usefully challenged many preconceptions about the static, de-personalized, dispassionate nature of academic writing and academic writers. Translingual work can continue to develop the literacy narrative as a transformative site for students and instructors as they work together to understand how language difference functions in academic writing.

The first writing assignment in FYW at Midwest University is typically a literacy narrative, which led to productive confusion and dissonance for many students. Max, who

initially explained that academic writing is "boring" and "super planned out," had this to say about the literacy narrative: "I thought it would have to be some scientific thing, like you study this, you do this, you conclude this, whatever. But I kind of took it my own way, and my teacher encouraged it. I even used first person it in, which I thought was a big no-no. It was interesting." Here Max explains how his conceptions of academic writing are challenged through the personal nature of the literacy narrative, and how he adapted to the "new rules" of academic writing in the FYW setting which more capaciously allow the writer to use their identity for academic persuasion. This act of taking the writing in his "own way" helped change his perception of academic writing from "boring" to "interesting," indicating a significant increase in his investment into his own academic writing.

Not all participants found the challenge of the literacy narrative to be interesting at first. Some, like Lin, were unsure about breaking the personal pronoun exclusion rule they had previously mastered. During her first interview, Lin described academic writing as "something like you should be concise and you should not use words like *I* or *we*. We should use *people* or *many of them* or something like that. Just be serious and you need to cite some references." When asked how the literacy narrative fit with her description of academic writing, Lin replied, "How can I talk about myself not using *I*? I'm not sure." This dissonance creates an opportunity for Lin to make a decision about the nature of academic writing, about whether it is better to remain impersonal, or whether one can incorporate the first person. Ultimately, after writing her literacy narrative, Lin decides that her own experience can find a place in academic writing and reports that including her own stories increased her interest in her academic writing.

The literacy narrative also shifted Julie's conceptions of academic style. During her first interview, Julie explains that academic writing is "cookie-cutter and mostly really restrictive in style." However, the dissonance of the blending of academic with the personal resulted in a more nuanced understanding of academic argumentation. Julie says,

> I feel like after a few lectures, [academic writing] is definitely more of like argumenting, or like putting across a specific point, as opposed to having a specific structure or following a specific guideline. Like, I feel there could be so many goals to academic writing. Because if literacy narratives count as academic writings, and [rhetorical analysis] also counts as academic writings, and then like papers that I see in the databases are also academic writings, it's kind of hard to say what the main goal of it is, and supporting what the person is trying to prove in the first place.

Julie's framing of "the goals" of academic writing provides a window into her changing beliefs about what academic writing can encompass. She is theorizing academic writing as more than restrictions and cookie-cutter writing; academic writing is now a goal-based, argumentative activity.

By the end of the semester, Julie understands that a writer achieves their goal by matching form with purpose and audience, a significantly more complex understanding of academic writing. During her final interview, Julie fully includes the writer's identity in her description of academic writing. She says, "I would describe academic writing as something that's very flexible. Honestly, after doing a literacy narrative, and a rhetorical analysis, and a research paper, they're all such different modes, that I feel like academic writing is just such a broad category. People use it to achieve a specific goal they have in mind." Her explanation of people achieving their own goals through their academic writing denotes a significant shift in how identity and academic writing meaningfully intersect for Julie.

Julie was not the only student to articulate her transformation. Toward the end of the semester, many students' conceptions about academic writing had expanded, and many of them cite lessons learned during the literacy narrative. During his first interview, Josh said,

> I would say I find [academic writing] hard to place. I place high priority on writing that's, I find science reports on analytic writing, also when people are writing to interpret stuff or analyzing author's style, I also find that analytic, higher-level writing. But sometimes when I'm reading stories and stuff, like, I personally don't find that as high up in the scale as the other types of writing. But I do understand that there's a certain process involved with that, and it's not always easy, but I don't look as high upon them as other types of writing.

Josh's use of a scale to rank analytical and scientific writing as "higher" than stories on his scale of academic discourse reveals a hierarchy that represents the thinking of many first-year writing students. Josh's articulation of academic writing as impersonal and objective is common. By the end of the semester, Josh's perception of what constitutes academic writing has broadened significantly. During his final interview, Josh says, "Before this class, I mostly thought [academic writing] was mostly focused on non-fiction kinds of writing, like reporting stuff or historical events and stuff like that. But now I see there's a broader topic of recalling personal events and stuff like that." The use of personal events as evidence contrasts significantly with his first description of academic writing, in which Josh expressed a judgement that stories constitute a lesser form of writing. Josh's final description of academic writing is broader, despite its lack

of focus on argumentation generally. While Josh has expanded his understanding of genre, he doesn't quite express an awareness of audience, purpose, and rhetorical intent. The literacy narrative usefully challenges students' perceptions of academic writing as impersonal, but may need better clarity regarding its purpose. Overall, students' talk about the literacy narrative demonstrated its usefulness for disrupting students' limited ideas about what counts as academic writing, and the assignment also helped them to understand how they can leverage their identities for rhetorical purposes.

The literacy narrative assignment also helped to expand students' sensitivity to the needs and expectations of their readers. Lin, who initially reported that academic writing is comprised of a series of rules, including never using personal pronouns, also articulates how FYW changes her perception of academic writing. Lin says, "I feel like I changed my perspective about academic writing. Because at first I thought it's really serious and you cannot do creative writing in that, but I've learned that we can do it. And it has benefits to make the audience more easy to get into the conversation." Through her academic writing course, Lin found a reason to integrate her creative writing with her academic writing for the benefit of her argument and the reader, demonstrating a newfound understanding of the rhetorical use of her creativity as a writer and her audience awareness. This blending of creative and formal writing offers a possible opening for teaching a translingual disposition toward difference and for experimenting with translingual writing strategies.

As students progress through their FYW courses, they adopt more sophisticated understandings of academic writing as discourse that brings together the writer's personal convictions, identity, and research. Michelle says, "Well, when you hear 'academic writing' you hear, there's a stigma about how it's just research, research, research. But academic writing can be, it can be research but it can also be research in your own life. So it's not just facts and data. It can be personal experiences that can be incorporated into your writing and stuff. And I think that's what academic writing is more now." Jessica explains that in her class, "we really emphasize who your writer is and who your reader is." This understanding of personal "research into your own life" *as* research, and the importance of identity as ethos and argument allows some multilingual students to frame their own multilingual and multicultural identities as beneficial in the writing classroom.

This division of identities—one tied to academic writing and the other to emotional or personal writing--has a significant impact on how students approach their school writing. One reason why students may not subscribe to the logic of academic code-meshing is that they believe that academic writing should not be personal or emotional, two characteristics they associate with their non-English languages. When asked near the end of the term whether she would be interested in code-meshing in FYW, Julie says, "That would be really cool. I think that that would be really cool just because, you know, some emotion you can't get across in other languages. So, definitely." This recognition that she has limited emotional expression in English, as compared to her emotional expression in Chinese, is echoed by many during the interviews, especially when participants talk about how and why they translate. Broadening conceptions of *academic* to enfold the emotional helps students bring all of their languages and identities together when they approach a writing task.

The fact that students believe that academic writing should be done in English complicates translingual arguments that students should be, or want to be, code-meshing. International students believe that they should remove their personal experiences and home languages from their school writing, and students who grew up in the United States typically have been taught to complete all of their school writing in English. Code-meshing as a pedagogy is not a practice easily "added on" to existing curricula because it presents a pattern of thinking and writing that conflicts with students' previous experiences of academic writing. The international students in this study have been preparing for a standards-based environment at an American university, and the American students in this study tend to rely upon their American identities rather than their "difference" in school settings. To introduce translingual code-meshing options, the ideological center of the classroom has to shift.

Multilingual Student Conceptions of Standards

Ecological Considerations

Many of the American students in this study are concerned about being "differenced" through their language use. Some participants, like Finn, believe that if they are perceived to be multilingual, they will be treated as less capable. This fear arises out racialized deficit beliefs that English-speakers are a better fit for the US composition classroom. However, despite her feelings that using Korean might represent "going backwards" or not "fitting in," Finn did use

Korean in her literacy narrative, at the prompting of her instructor. Unfortunately, the experience was not affirming for Finn. She explains that this was a careful rhetorical choice, that she was using the Korean word for 'mother' when writing from her perspective as a child. She was encouraged to take this risk by her instructor, who told the students that they should feel free to use nonstandard language and other languages where it feels natural to them. Finn explains it this way:

> Even in the beginning of my section, (the instructor) would say that you're allowed to use different words that you have that are important to you. 'You can use 'y'all' if you're writing. You can use 'ain't,' stuff like that, that are like personal attributes. But, because I don't have a lot of those identities inside of me yet that I'm willing to just shove out into my writing, I don't think that it's super necessary for me as like a multilingual. Even because it's a foreign language, it's not English, it would be super hard for my readers to understand what I'm trying to say without giving a wider context to that word, and then kind of straying away from like the main topic of whatever I'm choosing to write about. It's like saying the word 'mother' in Korean. I tried doing that in my literacy narrative, because I originally wrote it from a child's perspective. I used the word like *omma*. When my peers were reviewing this paper, people were like, 'What does this mean? Why did you not expand upon it?' In that sense it felt like I tried to, it was my first attempt at incorporating something multilingual into my writing, and immediately it was shot down. So, maybe I could try going about it in a different way next time, but the first try wasn't super successful.

Finn makes a number of interesting observations about how language works. She recalls her instructor offering students the opportunity to use nonstandard dialect in their academic writing, and she explains the use of "ya'll" or "ain't" as "personal attributes." Given this description, Finn believes that language is not something adjacent to identity, but is constitutive of identity. Finn explains that she is not ready to "shove out" her nonstandard identities into her writing, but then she shares an example of a time when she did present her Korean within her literacy narrative. She chose to include only a single Korean word in her writing, but it is a personal word: the word for "mother." When she received her peer feedback, she interpreted her peers' questions about the meaning of *omma* as "shooting down" her incorporation of the Korean language, which may have felt Finn was being personally "shot down," given her understanding of the relation between language and identity. It's not clear exactly how Finn's peers meant for their questions about why *omma* was included and why it wasn't further developed to be

received, but Finn's impression was that the questions were unfriendly. Later in her interview, Finn also remarked that she didn't want to use too much Korean because it would mark her as "different" and "foreign" in a place where she was trying to "fit in." She was worried about being misunderstood, misrepresented, and having her writing "judged more harshly" because people would believe that her multilingual identity would result in less proficient English. It's possible that Finn misinterpreted her peer's questions about the meaning and use of *omma*, although based on her retelling of the incident, it seems unlikely.

Finn was frustrated with her peers for not understanding the word based on the context, and she felt that it was "obviously a female figure" and should have been easy to decipher. She then admits that she thought her readers "were just kind of dumb," and Finn's conclusion is that the first-year writing classroom might not be the right context for her work. She says, "I think it just made me realize that maybe I should save the multilingual aspect inside of my writing for a different kind of, like a situation that in a different conversation, where maybe language isn't the thing that I'm centering my writing about. I don't know, maybe there are classes on campus where I can fuse the two. That would be super helpful, and super accepted there." Finn may have had a better experience if she and her peers had been offered training for how to respond to and talk about nonstandard dialects and languages in academic writing. Finn's peers may have posed a different question, or posed the same question differently, and Finn may have interpreted the question or responded to it in a way that would facilitate more productive conversation. Finn's instructor offered an opportunity for dialect or language blending, but there was not enough support for working with blended codes in the writing classroom.

Finn's experience highlights the mutually constitutive nature of the actors' ideologies within the writing classroom ecology. Despite the "permission" granted by the instructor, language authority resides within the greater ecology of the writing classroom. The environment includes Finn's previous experiences which have shaped her beliefs, her peers' experiences and beliefs, cultural patterns of school behavior, the physical environment, the classroom climate established by the instructor and students, and the explicit and implicit expectations based on course materials and students' experiences and perceptions. Finn's experience shows that one part of the ecology does not supersede the ecology as a whole, meaning instructor permission neither mitigates nor negates Finn's experiences of standards-based expectations from her peers.

Standards and students' perceptions of standards-based expectations play a major role in underwriting students' linguistic actions. While instructors may offer non-traditional grading models or opportunities for code-meshing or other translingual production, ultimately, students will typically defer to their perceived expectations and to the grading standards that are enforced in the classroom. When Finn took a cultural and linguistic risk by including Korean in an essay about her *omma*, her experience of the power of *standard* and her experience of *difference* served to reify hegemonic patterns deeply entrenched in deficit ideologies of the legibility of "nonstandard" dialects for academic work. As language is intrinsically tied to identity, Finn internalized the illegibility of being Korean-American in an American writing classroom. What is most disheartening about the outcome for Finn, from her perspective, is that her "attempt to incorporate something multilingual" is "shot down." In this scenario, Finn took a risk that went unsupported by her larger classroom ecology, causing her to look elsewhere for a better opportunity to fuse her languages into her writing.

Standards and Assessment

Translingual literature focuses heavily on its objection to writing standards but is less forthcoming about assessment protocols. The translingual framing of standardization locates standards in their colonial roots, in which a single cultural way of making meaning is elevated over other ways of making meaning (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Cushman, 2016). This is evident in the way compositionists have traditionally used "difference" and "nonstandard" to refer to non-white cultural communicative practices, like signifying (Smitherman, 1977) and non-white codes or dialects, like Spanglish or African American English (Young, 2011).

An early objection to the translingual framing of standardization is that it fails to adequately address the political reality of standards in the lives of the marginalized (Gilyard, 2016, p. 284). In order to address writing standards with an eye towards ethical translingual practice, it is important to balance the conversation about abolishing repressive standards with attention toward a translingual ecology in the writing classroom that will empower multilingual students to negotiate their languages and writing standards with the support of their peers and instructor. Because standards have been used in English education to "exclude voices and perspectives at odds with those in power," Horner et al. (2011) argue "against the common argument that students must learn 'the standards' to meet demands by the dominant," and instead

pursue "a translingual approach [that] recognizes that, to survive and thrive as active writers, students must understand how such demands are contingent and negotiable" (p. 305). However, the translingual literature has yet to resolve how students can negotiate the standards with those in power who follow them without facing negative consequences.

When I talked with the students in this study about the elements of standardization, such as grammars or genre conventions, most participants responded by talking about grades. Participants all agreed that earning a "good" grade was very important to them. Some students need a certain GPA to keep a scholarship or to apply to one of the university's many selective programs. Other students explained that they were hoping to apply to internships or study abroad opportunities which required good first-year marks. *All* of the students identified that grades were a *primary motivator* for them as university students, and several students acknowledged that grades were their only motivation for their work in FYW. When asked how writing is scored, or how it should be scored, students deferred to their instructors. They explained that grading is subjective, at the purview of the individual teacher, and that expectations can vary greatly from one instructor to the next, so it's important to determine what the grading criteria will be for each instructor.

What students are describing is the paradoxical mutability of monolithic writing standards. That is, the writing standards are flexible and contingent, but according to the instructor's design and implementation of them. The student typically has very little autonomy over what standards are set, how they are imposed, and the outcomes of assessment. In addressing the reality of standards, translingual theory has not yet produced replicable approaches, proposing instead that translinguality cannot be reconciled to current understandings of *standard* and must look to the creation of something entirely new in conjunction with a deep reliance upon individuation (Lee, 2018). However, this approach to standardization fails to adequately address the reality of standards in students' lives and the ideologies of race inherent in each student's experience of standardization, which Gilyard (2016) captures in his language about the "differences within difference" (p. 285).

Translingualism's foundational claims about the use and outcomes of "traditional" writing standards (Horner et al., 2011) are that standards are "bankrupt concepts" (Horner et al., 2011) or "morally reprehensible" (Gilyard 2016), and that standards are contingent and negotiable (Lee 2018). The bankruptcy of writing standards results from the discriminatory

outcomes that standards impose, and the negotiation is the result of the social interaction that takes place between a writer, evaluator, and the rhetorical context of a particular text. Lee (2018) argues that standards, as a cultural invention, can also be disinvented, but disinvention relies foundationally upon the ability to shift a student's ideologies about language and about being multilingual. There are many approaches for exploring ideological shifts, such as teaching the historic mutability of language rules or teaching the contingency of language rules, like the acceptability of using first-person pronouns in academic work. However, this is one place where the lack of translingual pedagogy to meet the ambitions of its theory can make translingual possibilities for FYW seem impossible. Writing teachers who attempt code-meshing interventions, or labor-based grading contracts, or other kinds of translingual interventions may alter one part of the writing classroom ecology, but may also fail to shift the ideological conditions of the entire ecology in a way that actually offers translingualism to students. The translingual arguments for flexibility, contingency, and individualization may be the right outcomes, but the path for achieving those outcomes has yet to fully materialize.

One place to start may be to acknowledge that current grading standards privilege racially-white language patterns, and those same patterns are nearly or absolutely unattainable for others based on race, class, and geography. De-naturalizing the assumed neutrality of standards and loading the right meaning into students' understanding of *standard* is one opportunity for shifting the ideology of the ecology. Lee (2018) writes that it is "perhaps impossible" to reconcile translingual pedagogies with traditional assessment models, and argues that students can be led to work toward translingual products and assessment possibilities that are yet unknown. His argument for building something new to accommodate the "inscrutable" nature of translingual assessment compels the field towards better models for student production and assessment; I argue that such models should start with ideological work as the root of new pedagogies and assessments.

Flexible Strategies to Promote Multilingual Student Agency

When students are freed from their beliefs that academic writing is "cookie-cutter" or that it must follow an imposed form, they are much more likely to adopt a deeper understanding of academic writing and express a greater interest in both the activity and the product. The freedom to choose a topic, a genre, a style, and/or an audience made a significant difference for students.

In particular, when students were granted agency to choose their topics and audiences, they took hold of their academic writing and experienced greater freedom and opportunity. For example, Finn says that the literacy narrative was "pretty generalized for us, but because we're allowed to incorporate our experiences, our ideas, our life story inside what we write, that's really, really freeing." Maria says that the literacy narrative is "mostly writing about ourselves, which is really cool, because I'm so used to not writing about myself, and I get to bring in my own experiences, which is really cool." The literacy narrative offers an opportunity for students to access parts of their identities that were previously sidelined in the process of writing for academic purposes. For students like Finn, who explained that they didn't necessarily want to bring their multilingual identities into their writing, the literacy narrative offers a place to incorporate her "experiences" and "life story" into her writing, which she finds "freeing." This does not mean that all multilingual students want to write about being multilingual, or that they can do so easily in English, as Evan explained earlier. Translingual pedagogies may find better traction by moving away from a reliance on code-meshing toward flexibility to help students develop rhetorical agency.

When asked explicitly what their instructors do to encourage them to draw from their multilingual identities—cultural and linguistic--in the writing classroom, the most frequently cited response was "flexibility." Seven of the 15 students cited flexibility, describing the importance of flexible assignment parameters, grading criteria, and topic selections to offer the most opportunity to draw from their diversity of languages, cultures, and experiences. Ria explains that being able to write about topics that are important to her allowed her to be herself. She says, "I think my writing instructor did a really good job of just letting us write what we wanted to. Like, she would give us a really broad topic, and be like, 'Okay, write about this,' which was really nice, because then all of us just had such different essays. And I feel like it really let everyone be themselves, and kind of write about their own stories." The ability to choose whether to write about their own stories, or to keep their multilingual identities to themselves provided a valuable opportunity for students as they moved through their time in FYW, because it gave them control over how to construct their writerly identities. As Ria notes, flexibility resulted in different kinds of essays rather than formulaic arguments, and she expresses an appreciation for the experience of knowing her peers as agentic writers who were able to be "themselves" and write their own stories.

When it comes to flexibility, being able to choose their own essay topic was the most common description of what "flexible" means. Six of the seven students who cited "flexibility" as most important in being able to draw from their multilingual identities also said that flexibility in topic selection is the most important area of flexibility for allowing writer agency. Many students chose to write about their experiences in their home countries, or their non-American cultural experiences for the literacy narrative. Finn says, "There's a lot more freedom than I thought there would be" in academic writing, adding, "I got to write about something that I was truly passionate about." Finn's explanation that she "got to" write about topics she is "passionate about" contrasts sharply with student descriptions from the beginning of the semester that characterized academic writing as "constrained" and "boring."

A perceived lack of flexibility early in the semester led some students to excise their voices and personalities from their writing on purpose in order to achieve what they thought constituted an academic-sounding voice. Evan's experiences in his FYW course tell this story. During his first interview before beginning his literacy narrative, Evan explains that he "excluded" his voice in academic writing on purpose, believing that would make his paper "really academic looking." However, at the end of the semester, he sees a way to use personal narrative for academic purposes. During the first interview, Evan said, "I actually have different goals for my different papers. So for my first paper [the literacy narrative], I want to tell a story that attracts my readers. But for the academic paper, I was excluding my voice. I was, my voice need to say, 'I need to be really, really academic looking.' I will make it look like a published paper by citing enough sources, enough papers, and then being professional." Evan's understanding of academic writing centered around "published" and "professional" papers with many citations. Evan believed that these kinds of papers contrast with the style and aims of the literacy narrative. While the literacy narrative interests readers through story, the academic paper will be impersonal ("excluding my voice") and "professional."

At the end of the term, Evan says that academic writing is flexible enough to accommodate a variety of sources as long as they support the writer's argument. He says, "I would say, [academic writing] would be the best way that you can use to convey your information, but you don't have to use all these scholarly sources. You can use your own story, as long as it's persuasive and it's convincing. Actually, you can do whatever sources you want as long as it's done correctly. You can use whatever sources you want to help you build up your

argument." Evan's explanation that academic writing should be "persuasive and convincing," and that this is how to judge whether sources are used "correctly," demonstrates a significant shift from the beginning of the semester. This newfound understanding of research, support, argumentation, and the social nature of rhetoric within a discourse community speaks to the importance of teaching the flexible nature of writerly choice.

Helping students gain a better understanding of what discourse communities are and how to participate in them is facilitated by instructors who allow flexibility and show students what it means to have writerly choice in an academic or scholarly conversation. By examining different kinds of genres and conventions within the same discourse community, students learned to see themselves as writers with options. Maria explains how she came to understand a discourse community as usefully distinct from her previous notions of academic writing by talking at length about the presence of individuals, including herself, in conversation. She says, "Academic writing, it's kind of like you're putting yourself, like I do think a lot of it is research, but I always thought of it as kind of boring, and it all just being scientists talking, but it's actually a lot broader than that. And I think when you do scholarly writing, you put yourself in a certain realm, and it's just you and those individuals talking about it. And I think that's really cool." Maria's explanation of a discourse community as "a certain realm" with "you and those individuals talking" is a marker of an important new understanding of academic writing, because she is able to articulate that academic conversations happen in community, among real people with real social relations who are in conversation because of their shared interests. That understanding of academic writing provides a foundation for flexible participation and myriad writerly choices for entering the discourse.

Students also talk about flexibility beyond the ability to choose an essay topic. They explain the importance of flexible deadlines, grading criteria, and a generalized flexibility that helps students feel supported so they can do their best writing. Jessica says, "The flexibility of this class, whether choosing our own topic, being able to postpone our deadlines a bit, and then all the emphasis on audience makes me think more about how I want to write. Rather than in high school, sometimes you need to have this paper due by this day, and you're just typing out something, and then you are like, 'Okay, I'm done.' You don't do a lot of your revisions. But coming here, because of that flexibility, I was able to do a lot of revisions." For Jessica, having a general time frame for completing her assignment, but being able to work on it until she felt it

was sufficiently revised, supported her writing process and ultimately made her a better writer because the flexibility allowed her to reflect critically on *how* she wanted to write. She cites flexibility explicitly as a catalyst for revision. This kind of flexibility to continue revisions is supported by translingual theories of "rhetorical attunement" in which students are encouraged to create and adapt language to suit the ongoing unique negotiation of multilingual communication. While Jessica did not submit a final paper written in multiple languages, had she been introduced to the concept of rhetorical attunement, she may have chosen to make some of her multilingual negotiation more evident in her final paper. Given the flexibility to revise and resubmit, multilingual students may find that tuning toward "difference or multiplicity" as part of a rhetorical attunement strategy offers translingual opportunities for negotiating writing standards (Lorimer Leonard, 2014, p. 228).

Finn also appreciated the support she experienced because of her instructor's flexibility. About her instructor, Finn says, "She treats us like people. She understands the struggles that us college kids have to go through. She stresses so heavily, that if these assignments are really getting to you, you just tell me, and we can work something out. She values mental health. She's a huge advocate for that herself." Finn equates flexibility with care, which contributes to an environment that allows Finn to do her best writing. Finn concludes by explaining that flexible deadlines and flexibility in general remove the burden of deadline-related stress that prevents her from being able to do her best writing. When she is able to work until the assignment is complete, rather than until the deadline arrives, Finn finds that she follows a better and more complete writing process. Moving away from absolute deadlines into an ongoing process of rhetorical attunement opens more space for translingual writing and learning.

Implications

The question for translingual academic writing strategies becomes about how to shift student conceptions of academic writing so students no longer feel the need to mash their argument into a particular form or to remove themselves and their pronouns from their writing. Instead, translingual work can pursue ways that writing teachers can help students enter the conversations that matter to them using discourse and rhetorical strategies that accomplish their linguistic, cultural, and personal goals. The most authentic way for writing classrooms to

facilitate this work is for students to be the ones to define their own writing goals and to negotiate their writing strategies in a flexible and supportive classroom community.

Despite the growth that happens when students learn to leverage their identities as multilingual writers in academic settings, the deficit ideologies about being multilingual did linger for many throughout the semester. A number of ethical problems arise from these implicit assumptions about academic writing—that it should be completed in a standard form of American English and that it should be impersonal. Such conceptions of academic writing can function to reify racialized and ethnocentric beliefs that standardized English is the best dialect of language for serious work. Because of its naturalized use in the academy, over time, standardized English becomes viewed and used as a neutral code, divorced from the whiteness that ascribes its power (Davila, 2016). The failure to talk about the white, upper class origins of standardized English and its power ascribed through its derivation from whiteness elides the political and moral responsibilities of teaching standardized English and teaching about the racism which structures and secures its position. Ethics, writing, and language politics cannot be divorced from one another, nor can they be removed from the teaching of writing.

Both writing and the teaching of writing are always inherently political, as they include the intentional and unintentional teaching of ethics and ethical language practices (Duffy 2017). Teaching writing and language in FYW classrooms norms patterns of discourse, language use, and political awareness of the social history of languages. Based on the 45 responses I received to the question "How would you describe academic writing," multilingual students believe that academic writing requires them to take on Western academic perspectives and to communicate with Western academic audiences in standard forms of American English. The implication of these beliefs is that many students exit FYW with more deeply-entrenched deficit ideologies about the (mis)fit of multilingualism for academic purposes.

One way for instructors to counteract these feelings of mis-fitting identity for multilingual students is to incorporate a literacy narrative assignment early in the semester that targets students' understanding and development of their rhetorical agency. According to the participants in this study, early writing about their own literacy experiences both challenges beliefs that multilingual perspectives and identities are less qualified for academic work, and personal writing also helps students to broaden their conceptions of experience-as-evidence within a blending of narrative writing for argumentation. These early challenges to traditional

conceptions of academic as impersonal and best written in SAE lay a bedrock of flexibility and possibility that carries over into the rest of the semester.

Providing students with choice and agency as writers also helps them to develop as multilingual writers who value their own cultural values and experiences within the writing classroom. Unpacking definitions of academic writing that include discussions about discourse community, the value of personal experiences, and providing students ample opportunity to choose their own rhetorical situations allows them to build arguments that really matter to them. Providing a place for students to explore their intended purposes, audiences, and rhetorical moves challenges them to take ownership over their academic writing, and it personalizes the writing activity. For example, requesting a cover letter from students in which they explain the features of their discourse community and how they have decided to enter into that community can help the instructor better understand how to give feedback, while also allowing the student to explain how they approached the writing assignment.

Instructors should also be clear about the politics of using standard English for academic work (Curzan, 2002; Smitherman, 1998) and other possible avenues for students to assert their identities or otherwise disrupt hegemony. Standard English is a rhetorical choice, and should be presented as such, along with options for challenging standards, such as intentional citation practices, translation, cultural examples, and other rhetorical devices that make sense to the students. By providing examples of writing in class that acknowledge the politics of academic writing and the academy, instructors can encourage students to make politically- and linguistically-informed decisions while illustrating what that looks like for other writers.

Perhaps the most important framing an instructor can offer is an overarching translingual orientation for the course, including teaching students about the politics of standardization, about language ideology, and about rhetorical attunement. When students have the skills to analyze a rhetorical situation, the skills to choose from their own linguistic competencies, and a disposition that responds generously to language difference, then multilingual students have the best opportunity to explore how standards can be negotiated and how they can bring their multilingual identities into their academic discourse.

CHAPTER 5

Ideologies of *American:* Participation and Authority

Introduction

Scholars in writing studies generally agree that language and identity are mutually constituted and that the act of writing is both social and situated (Adler-Kassner et al., 2016). Students experience this constitution through their interpretations of how their languages and racialized identities negotiate meaning in their social interactions. For multilingual students, race plays a foundational role in the creation, performance, and interpretation of their identities and languages in the writing classroom. As a part of the cultural construction of race, *Americanness* plays a central role in both defining and othering students' identities and their access to classroom participation. In this study, international students report that their writing courses were typically structured upon conventions and conversations central to American culture that were not always familiar to them. To establish their "in-group" positioning, the American multilingual students in this study explained their strategies for using their American cultural identities to negotiate their insider ranking with their peers and instructors. This chapter explores student talk about *American* and its foundational role in the writing classroom.

Concern over the privileging of American perspectives and experiences is part of translingualism's history and foundation, but is emphasized less frequently in current translingual scholarship. In 2002, Horner and Trimbur draw attention to the "tacit language policy of unidirectional English monolingualism [that] has shaped the historical formation of U.S. writing instruction" (p. 594). The authors argue that this monolingual policy and resulting historical formation of U.S. writing instruction ensure that English-only and the teaching of American culture are naturalized logics and practices in the writing classroom. In response, Horner and Trimbur task compositionists with developing "an internationalist perspective capable of understanding the study and teaching of written English in relation to other languages and to the dynamics of globalization" (2002, p. 624).

Canagarajah takes up this call in his 2006 essay "The Places of World Englishes in Composition: Pluralization Continued," in which he argues that writing teachers should convert internationalist theory into immediate practice. He writes, "As a teacher of writing for ESL and multilingual students, I am left with the question: what can I do to promote this pedagogical vision in my classroom now?" (2006, p. 587). Canagarajah (2006) explains that the TESOL community has already realized "that rather than developing mastery in a single 'target language,' students should strive for competence in a repertoire of codes and discourses" by "shuttling" between linguistic communities, rather than "simply joining" a speech community (p. 592). Canagarajah (2006) proposes code-meshing as a pedagogy that teaches "communicative strategies" rather than "grammatical rules" (p. 593).

Since the publication of the 2011 Horner et al. essay "Language Difference," there has been a greater focus on blending language strategies and less interest in dismantling the cultural centering of American ideologies. One powerful belief about *American* is that it signifies English monolingualism, which ignores the growing multilingualism among people living in the United States while simultaneously reifying monolingualist tendencies and priorities, such as the perpetuation of SEAE as the best dialect for academic writing. Without a decentering of *Americanism* and an updating of the American linguistic landscape, there may not be the requisite ideological space for code-meshing strategies to fully develop. As discussed in chapter 3, code-meshing requires a significant ideological shift for students who have been taught to use SEAE, and as discussed in chapter 4, code-meshing also requires an ecological shift away from standards-based assessment toward rhetorical attunement. This chapter discusses the next translingual shift that can help multilingual students access opportunity in the writing classroom: a cultural shift away from *Americanness* and assumed monolingualism as standard toward *globalization* as the cultural context for thinking and learning. By centering globalization as the cultural expectation rather than privileging U.S. perspectives (and simply permitting or entertaining global perspectives), all students have better opportunities to learn.

Americanness

The centering of racially white patterns of talk, of question-and-answer pedagogies, and culturally "American" topics of classroom discourse work together to significantly disadvantage many of the multilingual students in this study, in particular international students. In their

interviews, international students report that their instructors grade their participation based on how frequently and substantially they participate in class discussion, meaning how often they speak out loud in small- or large-group conversations. Students share that they are sometimes unable to join conversations not for linguistic reasons, but because of the *Americanness* required for participation. By *Americanness*, I mean the cultural knowledge gained from living in the United States, but I am also referring to the patterns and cultural knowledge of white, middle class discourse communities, which align with the common discourse of most universities (Inoue, 2015).

Josh commented that some of the central topics in his FYW class were not "really a thing" in his home context of Chile, and so he didn't have the background to share information or an opinion on the topics. About class discussion in his FYW course Josh says,

> At some points, LGBTQ stuff was brought up, and back home that wasn't really a thing, I guess. There were people that identified as LGBTQ, but there isn't the stigma that's prevalent here. And I think the university puts a lot of emphasis and focus on supporting those students, and I think that's good. I just never put much thought into it back then (at home). Something, oh, immigration, that came up a lot, and stereotypes about people from other countries. I mean, I can see why some people might be against it or some might favor it, but that wasn't a big thing back home.

Here Josh identifies several culturally-relevant topics in the United States that he did not talk about in his home country before coming to the United States. Josh explains that in his home country, there's a different attitude toward the LGBTQ community, and that his cultural context for immigration and stereotyping foreigners is different. Mostly he notes that these are topics that he is aware of from a Chilean or Chinese perspective, but they were not "really a thing" or not a "big thing back home." Given the context of the classroom, Josh is able to determine that these are important topics of conversation in the United States because they are recurring, but he is not sure how he should contribute to the discussion. He recognizes that he does not have same experiences and cultural context as the American students, and his perspective was not invited into the conversation.

Multilingual students, including international students and those who grew up in the United States, may also have a different set of expectations for "discussion" based on their cultural differences. These students may find that their habits and values for "class participation" do not cohere with the instructor's expectations. For example, Stacy says that her Chinese culture

has taught her to dismiss opinions that challenge her own. Stacy says, “Oh, so my Chinese side is very strict so I always have to dismiss opinions that go against mine.” In the classroom context, Stacy’s tendencies to dismiss opposing opinions may be interpreted through a U.S. cultural lens as “uncooperative” or “poor participation.” This cultural knowledge about discussion topics and the habits for participation is learned over time through experiences. Josh, Stacy, and likely other multilingual students are trying to acquire competence in both of these arenas simultaneously, a disadvantage because of the cultural centering of American perspectives and habits.

> When asked if he ever finds it difficult to participate in class discussion Josh says,
>
> Sometimes, yeah, when specific topics are brought up, like the ones that, LGBTQ stuff, gun control, immigration. I guess sports also come up a lot, like football games, I don't really relate to that. But sometimes, because I don't have much information on the topic itself, I don't really have much to share. So I just generally wouldn't participate. I would rather listen and try to learn more about what they're talking about, but that's about it in English class.

Josh says he doesn’t have much to share and so he doesn’t “participate,” by which he means he doesn’t share his opinions, but he’s not checked out from participation. He explains that he’s listening to learn more. It would be easy to misinterpret Josh’s silence in class as non-participation, but he is engaged. When asked if he feels frustrated when the discussion in his FYW course is about a culturally-American topic, Josh replies, “I wouldn't say I feel frustrated, but I do feel curious to an extent. Because I don't know about it, but at the same time, I'm here and that's something I'm going to hear about. So I want to learn more about it. I don't usually intervene and ask questions, they're just talking about it. But I'll pick up on some things and think those will stick to me and stuff.” Josh’s perspective that he’s in the United States to learn about how Americans think about different topics is one that he did not find reciprocated in his writing class. Later in his interview, Josh mentions that his perspective was not explicitly invited to the discussion.

The expectation that students know the topics of discussion well enough to offer an opinion, and that students understand how to participate in a class discussion can quickly become an unintentionally racially- or culturally-prejudiced practice if students are kept out of the discussion by the topic or cultural difference. Many international students agreed at the end of the semester that they wished they had spoken up more earlier in the semester, but they needed extra time to learn the cultural practice of classroom discussion and to feel that their opinions

would be valued by their peers in addition to gaining adequate context for the conversation topics. The students don't articulate it this way, but often what prevents them from contributing more comments in class discussion is not a linguistic gap, but a cultural one.

When asked if being multilingual made it more difficult to participate in class discussions, and if so, how, Anna responded, "Participation is not about a language thing. It follows you through your life. If you're going to live here you have to do this deep research on this culture. This is cultural assimilation. There is no escaping it or complaining about it." Anna's assimilationist perspective is founded in her beliefs that if she is to study and live in the United States, then it is her responsibility to learn the culture norms and to be prepared to talk about popular cultural topics. As she notes, the strategy for her is not a linguistic intervention, but a cultural one. As a "stranger" participating in these conversations for the first time, she does believe that her unique perspective is valuable, but she places the burden on herself to do the extra cultural research required to understand the nuances of the topics.

Josh is more hesitant than Anna to express his opinion on matters of American culture because of how he believes his Chinese heritage will be perceived by others. Josh says,

> In these times, for Chinese international students, it's very hard with the political situation in China. If students want to speak up and are on the wrong side of Americans, they [Americans] won't tolerate that. I would encourage international students to befriend American students to learn what's appropriate and inappropriate to say. Do some research, and maybe keep your opinions to yourself. In these times, it's hard to change someone's opinion. You are wasting your time.

Like Anna, Josh encourages other international students to "do some research" on American culture. However, Josh experiences the politics of his Chinese identity being played out in the classroom as a challenge to his fit and identity, a sentiment I heard from several Chinese participants. Josh suggests that Chinese students should keep their opinions to themselves, as their perspectives either align with Americans or are "intolerable." Josh's theorizations of Chinese students and American students is rooted in his belief that Chinese and American students are culturally fundamentally different, and that Chinese students should defer to the cultural preferences and patterns of American students through their "appropriate" talk and tolerable opinions. One of the differences between Anna's and Josh's perspectives on the value of their cultural contributions is based in their perceptions of race. Whereas Anna feels that her Indian perspective is "truly valuable," Josh believe that Chinese students' opinions will not be

valued if they do not align with popular American discourse because of the political relations between China and the United States.

When translingual theory started gaining traction around 2011, there were immediate calls for pedagogical models (acknowledged in Atkinson et al., 2015; Canagarajah, 2013a). In the move toward pedagogy, especially in the highlighting of code-meshing, translingual theory focused less on cosmopolitism (De Costa et al., 2017), internationalism (Canagarajah, 2006), or other orientations toward decentering American culture. There may not have been a big push in translingualism to decenter American culture because ideologically, the centering of U.S. culture makes sense. The centering of *Americanism* has historically been the norm. International students may also have internalized the inevitability of centering U.S. culture in the writing classroom, as evidenced by Anna's assimilationist perspective and Josh's desire to know what Americans think about a topic. The translingual focus on writing strategies over establishing a internationalist ecology may contribute to the ongoing ideological friction that is the desire to include language difference but not simultaneously and explicitly welcoming cultural difference. When language differences are permitted but cultural differences are ignored, language differencing opportunities are stunted and inauthentic.

Assessing Americanness in Writing

Like most university students, participants in this study regularly cite the grading of their writing and participation as "very important." The difference for multilingual students is their repeated expression of anxiety over the assessment of their language abilities, including fears that their "language barrier" (Finn) or "ESL status" (Monica) will result in a lower grade. Their fears are not unfounded, as we in writing studies know that our grading practices often disadvantage our multilingual students (Poe & Cogan, 2016; Inoue 2015; Horner et al., 2011). While students know that they are supposed to write or speak toward a particular audience and purpose, they also face the reality, as most university students do, that these actions take place in a university classroom, and these acts will be graded by an instructor. The difference for multilingual students is that they may experience limited rhetorical options because they may feel restricted to "English-only" audiences which exclude some of their home cultures.

When students think about the rhetorical landscape for their writing, they situate their essays in the both/and: both in the rhetorical context they imagine as appropriate for their

writing, and also in their actual writing classroom where their peers and instructors may be the only readers of their work. The students in this study talk about the rhetorical situatedness of their writing in nuanced ways. They agree that they should keep their rhetorical focus by naming an appropriate audience and writing toward that audience, and they repeatedly talk about their instructors as the final and most valuable reader of their work. The instructor's evaluation and grade, in a very practical and immediate sense, was far more influential on how students would write their papers. International students sometimes felt a cultural mismatch with the Americanness at the center of their instructors' grading and cultural expectations for their writing. Several participants explained that they chose topics that an American audience could relate to because they were taking the class at an American university, and they talked not about negotiating their transcultural identities into their writing, but of excising their difference and centering themselves in an American context.

The most dramatic example of this happened with Anna, an international student from India, who wrote an open letter addressed to the legislature of New Delhi which contained a form, content, and language that her intended audience could not read, but which she felt was appropriate for her FYW context. The letter was written in a local standard form of American English and included complicated academic constructions within the formal letter format, adhering to the standards of the assignment despite the poor rhetorical fit with her intended purpose and audience.

Anna: "English is very culturally bound"

As a business and computer science double major with a minor in Asian Studies, Anna spent her time in first-year writing thinking about how she can use her education to encourage greater empathy and support for women in Asian cultures. The topics of her papers ranged from women's health and education to theorizing a responsible use of technology for the reduction of risky behaviors among college-aged students. During each of our interviews, Anna provided thoughtful critiques of her own writing, of her schooling and language education experiences from her bilingual high school in India, and of the classroom culture of her FYW course at the university. For example, when juxtaposing her first-year writing class with her high school writing experiences, Anna felt that her university writing class offered comparatively limited writing instruction, "not to the extent an English class would back home, which is much more

instructional-focused and less doing-focused." Anna expanded her claim by arguing that writing instruction should happen in the classroom and the writing should happen outside of class, explaining "you don't need to sit in a group with your teacher there when everyone's doing their independent work" and "it seems like a lot of the burden of the essay is up to us on figuring out how to write the essay itself. I think there are some abstract concepts that we go through in class. I remember seeing ethos, pathos, logos being written on the board, but not really an example of how you would put that into a paragraph." Anna explains elsewhere in her interviews that she is looking for writing instruction because she wants clear expectations so she can earn a high grade in the course.

It was the open letter assignment that highlighted the problematic American cultural center in Anna's FYW class, particularly the revision suggestions Anna received from her instructor. Anna had already noted to me in our first meeting that "English is very culturally bound," by which she meant that English could not express what she knew and understood in Tamil, her first language, and also that the conversations she heard in English in her classroom were tied to naturalized American cultural discourses which inherently disadvantage many students, including international students. The two common American cultural discourses she cited were gun control and the American public education system, conversation topics which sidelined her because of the way the discussions centered knowledge of American culture as a prerequisite for participation.

For her open letter, Anna wrote an opinion piece addressed to the legislature of New Delhi, asking the state leaders to rise to meet a new standard of ethics for the protection of women in public spaces. After completing her first draft of the letter, Anna met with her instructor during office hours and was disappointed by the cultural mismatch between her own intentions for the piece and her instructor's reading. Anna explains,

> I think in the essay that I most recently wrote, I felt like the theme of the essay was something alien to my teacher, itself. It was a very Indian theme. It was a very personal theme that most Americans cannot connect with. And fleetingly in the essay itself, I mentioned the *Me Too*[8] movement, which is very familiar for the Americans. When I went for office hours she said, 'Oh, why don't you insert an entire paragraph of the *Me Too* movement.' I was like, 'That is not inside. That is not what the essay is about, but you want to see something familiar.' I think that's

[8] A cultural movement started in 2006 by Tarana Burke, *Me Too* raises awareness of pervasive sexual misconduct and abuse in American culture. Since 2006, the *Me Too* movement has expanded into countries outside of the United States as well.

> a content disagreement and not really an organizational essay disagreement, where I felt like that was a little selfish on her part to want to steer the essay to something that it's not.

Anna believed that her instructor should have better recognized the rhetorical intentions for the writing rather than steer it towards an American theme.

I followed up with Anna by asking whether she expressed these concerns to her instructor. Anna replied, "No. Why would I say that to her? Only her opinion on this is the one that matters." Here, the presence of the evaluation of the composition superseded the rhetorical intentions for the writing. The open letter was clearly addressed to the legislature of New Delhi, and the subject matter concerned an Indian cultural pattern of belief and behavior. Anna astutely recognizes that the centering of American perspectives is interfering with the rhetorical intent of the writing, and yet, she ultimately defers to the grade and adds additional sentences about *Me Too*, despite her recognition that it doesn't contribute to the purpose of the writing. The rhetorical and cultural mismatch dilutes the power of the writing: it does not fit either an American or an India cultural context, and the style adheres to FYW standards rather than to the stylistic expectations of her intended audience.

Ultimately, Anna adds sentences about *Me Too* to please her instructor but does not change the overall theme of her writing. In this way, Anna defers to her instructor enough to secure a satisfactory grade without allowing her instructor to take full control of the content. Anna says, "I added a couple of sentences but I didn't want to. Because that was still within a larger paragraph about a different theme. And so I added like one or two sentences so that she can personally see the difference, but I didn't want to add an entire paragraph because that's not what it was. It was about public safety of women not workplace sexual harassment. I don't think she misunderstood my original theme. I think she was just sensing a lack of familiarity or connection with the topic itself." While the centering of American cultural perspectives might usefully offer to Anna a way into current conversations in a U.S. context, in this case, it suppresses Anna's rhetorical agency. Anna's deference to the opinion of her instructor was not atypical for my participants, the majority of whom explained that they would follow an instructor's advice even if they felt it hindered their own meaning or purpose. In the reflection above, Anna cites explicitly that she made changes for the instructor to see, and Anna recognizes that these changes do not advance the goals of her writing.

While Anna acknowledges that her instructor's revision suggestions limit her own rhetorical intent, Anna does not think that this was the instructor's intention. Anna observes that American instructors tend to teach from an American cultural center, and they try to bring their students to success in that center as well. Anna explains,

> I don't think she [the instructor] misunderstood my original theme. I think I think she was just sensing a lack of familiarity or connection with the topic itself. I think she was ultimately looking out for me in a way because she would also grade it and also my peers would read it, and she wanted it to have some sort of link from where the audience can jump into the topic.

When asked if a code-meshing practice might help center this letter better in her rhetorical context, Anna disagreed, arguing that the legislature in New Delhi would not be able to read her letter in its current form in any language, as the writing included too many complicated academic forms and elevated diction and style. Anna deferred to the rhetorical expectations of FYW in style, form, language, and revision practice for the purpose of the class assignment but missed her opportunity to write for her intended purpose and audience.

Assessing Americanness in Academic Conversations

The beliefs that academic discourse should take place in standardized English and should exclude personal experience have significant consequences for students' class participation. Because of their beliefs about the impersonal nature of academic argumentation, many students struggle to see a good fit for their multilingual and multicultural perspectives in the classroom discourse. They are hesitant, in the early weeks of the course, to participate in class discussion because they are unsure of their place in the social context of their FYW classes. At the end of the study, when asked what advice they would pass along to incoming multilingual students who are just beginning their FYW course, students overwhelmingly responded with advice to participate sooner in the social facets of their FYW courses. More specifically, students gave advice to participate in class earlier in the semester by sharing their perspectives as international students and/or multicultural students. Students qualified their responses by explaining that they were initially unsure of how their multilingual identities fit into the academic space, but by the end of the class, after broadening their conceptions of *academic* to encompass the personal, students wished they had spoken up sooner with stories and experiences from their backgrounds

One reason some international students provide for not joining in classroom discussion is their concern that they are not "experts" in the discussion topics in the way that they perceive US-born students to be experts in the cultural discourse. However, their perspectives change over the course of the semester, and by the end of the term, Anna suggests that international students' perspectives are useful precisely because the topic is new to them and is not colored by existing cultural discourse. When asked what advice she would offer to incoming international students, Anna says, "I think I'd say, don't be afraid to speak up in discussions that are not your realm of expertise because something that a stranger hears for the first time and has, like, a first-time reaction might be something that's truly valuable for the argument itself."

Ria replies with a similar response about the advantages of an outsider's perspective. She says, "I would definitely suggest that he or she, or whomever, should take advantage of the experiences they have, and that just because they're from not the language that the subject's taught in, they don't mean anything less. In fact, they would add much more than just writing about one perspective. So, I feel like they should definitely take advantage of the fact that they're multilingual." While they feel the "outsiderness" of being multilingual and international, both Ria and Anna come to perceive their different perspectives as additive and useful in the classroom. However, their use of language like "stranger" and not being "from the language" of academic English reveals their initial deficit beliefs about their outsider perspectives.

Establishing a translingual ecology early in the semester in which international and nonmainstream views are explicitly encouraged might help some multilingual students participate earlier in the semester. Valuing a diversity of languages, cultures, and ways of making meaning might eliminate some of the initial anxiety expressed by multilingual students. The purposeful centering of cosmopolitan perspectives and the early challenge to standard language ideology in the writing classroom is a promising translingual framework for establishing more just opportunities.

The advice to speak up more and sooner doesn't mean that students are always confident in what they have to say, or that they fully understand the conversation. But students recognize that participation can be a tool for checking their understanding. Evan says, "I would say engage more in the class. Speak more, definitely. And man, ask any question if you want. It's a good way to learn. I mean, if you are just listening, you always don't know if you get the information correctly, or if you get it at all, but asking questions, and joining the dialogues is definitely a

good thing." Monica agrees and adds that talking with the instructor can help to clarify expectations. Monica says, "Sometimes, you come across as you don't understand what she's saying and she might think that you're not paying enough attention, but it's just the language barrier. Go talk to your instructors. Sometimes, you just don't get instructions. Sometimes, you just don't understand the requirements or the expectations are. I would say please go talk to your instructors a lot. I should've done that. That's my regret." The reason why some multilingual students hesitate to participate, according to Evan and Monica, is the very reason why they believe multilingual students *should* participate. Participation provides an opportunity for students to show their engagement and also voice their need for clarification.

Ria, despite advocating for international students to participate more fully in class discussions, also expresses initial fear and insecurity, which she eventually overcomes through interaction with her peers. When asked what reflection she had for herself at the end of the course, Ria said, "I would tell myself, participate more from the beginning. Because I was so scared to talk in class, and that always kept me back from actually saying anything. But in reality, everyone is so friendly and nice, and I met a lot of people during the peer review workshop, because it was like a one-on-one conversation. So, I figure that I would just tell myself to be less scared." When asked if receiving the advice that she is giving would have helped calm some of her fears and encourage class participation, Ria agrees that it "definitely would." The students in this study hope that by sharing their perspectives and encouragement, other multilingual students will feel more confident participating in the course from the beginning.

Compared to scholarship addressing code-meshing or other pedagogical approaches, there is a lack of translingual scholarship about how the connections among students' languages, cultures, and ethnicities inform students' linguistic practices during class participation. Because class participation is typically part of students' grades in writing classrooms, participation is experienced as a high-stakes activity for many students, as evidenced by these students' reticence to join the conversation. Given the ways that the centering of American culture sidelines non-American students' cultures and associated languages, it seems unlikely that translingual code-meshing pedagogies can thrive without a cosmopolitan or internationalist approach to the course as a whole. Given the pattern of student language ideologies that elevate standardized American English dialects and the associated cultural values by proxy (as discussed in previous chapters)

and the ways that participants' Englishes do not fully express their identities and cultures, multilingual students face significant barriers to participation.

What should be an asset—the ability to bring multiple perspective and languages into a conversation--is often felt as a deficit and can manifest as feelings of embarrassment. Frank encourages other multilingual students to "open up" and share their ideas and perspectives by saying, "Yeah, definitely be more open, and then I guess, don't be embarrassed about your ideas, and just understand your audience, and just make sure to open your ideas and just share what you have inside." This focus on overcoming embarrassment about feeling like an outsider or feeling a lack of fit between their linguistic abilities and the classroom expectations was also mentioned by several participants as a reason why it is difficult to jump into classroom discussion. Monica shares a story from her experience in class to explain how this happens. She says,

> Well, in class, I feel like when I'm talking, when I'm trying to say something, trying to make a point, I don't necessarily get there. Like, I sometimes after class think, 'Oh, my god, I could have said this.' Because I rethink in my mind what I was really trying to say, but I just couldn't get to that point. I feel like my words are limited because I don't necessarily know what word I'm trying to go for. Only because I don't know how to say it doesn't mean I don't know what I'm trying to do. Sometimes, after I speak, other people will speak again and then like, add to it, and I'm like, that is exactly what I'm going for but I just can't do it. It's frustrating, I guess.

This extra labor of speaking in an acquired language in a new academic setting and then rehashing the experience after class has ended illustrates one reason why multilingual students may be hesitant to participate in class discussions, and it illuminates the need for better support from their instructors and classroom environment. Monica's expression that she feels like her "words are limited" and that she knows what she wants to say but is not sure how to say it in English explains her frustration that could be avoided with better translingual approaches to the overall classroom ecology. Monica's recognition that others can articulate her same ideas but in different words that she feels are more effective offers an opportunity for translingual pedagogies that teach students to value rhetorical intent and language negotiation. The fact Monica will say something and then another student will "speak it again" may be the result of a devaluing of what Monica said because of how she said it, when it could be an opportunity for analyzing the processes of language negotiation and rhetorical attunement. Monica's explanation that other

students can express her intent and she "just can't do it" reifies standards-based ideologies that privilege standardized grammars over translingual invention and negotiation.

Growing up "American" and "Multicultural"

Multilingual students who are born in the United States and who grow up living across language and cultural boundaries also experience the racial privileging of whiteness at the cultural center of their FYW courses. Having grown up steeped in a culture of historical racism in the United States, students like Finn, who identifies as Korean-American, tell the stories of a childhood surrounded by racial difference experienced as deficiency. Finn grew up in the Midwest speaking Korean and English at home with her parents who are both university professors and who both received Ivy-league educations in the United States. Despite being a "native" speaker of English and Korean, Finn feels that her appearance as a Korean-American student results in linguistic discrimination in school, and she also feels the pressure to live into the cultural constructions of what it means to be a high-achieving Asian student.

When asked about her previous experiences with school writing, before coming to the university, Finn says,

> In that regard it's also again, I think it's almost racial. Because when I was younger going to school when I was writing, obviously children make mistakes when they write because they're learning, but because I was different and because I was a person of color, well, I am a person of color, any mistakes seemed so amplified when looking at a teacher because it's like, wow, I have this stereotype of 'Asian.' You're equated to, you're supposed to do well in school, and you're supposed to have this big orb of dignity that surrounds you. So any mistake that I turned in seemed like I was dishonoring my culture, my family, and I felt like I was a disappointment even though I was just a kid. As a child you're not supposed to have that little thought of someone just ripping you apart because you look different and you speak differently. I just had to work really hard to be where I am now.

The intertwining of Finn's feelings of cultural expectations for Asian students with her experiences of discrimination because of how she looks and speaks is a theme throughout her interviews. She bears the weight of perceived cultural expectations both to over-achieve as part of the "model minority" but also perceives that she is up against violent, racist authoritative structures ("ripping you apart") for her non-white looks and language.

When asked to elaborate about being a bilingual student, Finn talked about facing judgement by her peers and her teachers as a child because of her Korean appearance. She said that writing her literacy narrative in her FYW course about her childhood experiences with language brought back memories of being treated poorly based on her minority status, but also memories of living into the stereotypes of being Asian-American. Finn says,

> Writing about these experiences just kind of resurfaced all of these emotions that I had harbored inside of myself from a very young age. The fact that my differences were based on my skin color. I didn't have an accent. I just looked differently. I had straight, black hair and smaller eyes and my eyes seemed to function normally by all means. I was not a faulty child. The thing is, when I was younger I used to play into that stereotype.

Repeatedly, when asked about her writing experiences, Finn responds by talking about her Asian appearance, and her mistreatment because of her physical, linguistic, and cultural differences from whiteness. Early in her childhood, Finn recognized that it would be better to be perceived as what she calls the "model minority" than as an immigrant. She explains that the stereotypes and the cultural expectations of Asians are better if they are perceived to be Asian-American, so she plays into that stereotype on purpose.

Many minority students can recall experiences when white peers have questioned their identities. Finn says that even at the university, people have continued to ask her where she is from, "what kind of Asian" she is, and even if the pencil holding up her hair is a chopstick. Finn uses the term "microaggression" to describe the constant barrage of questioning she endures about her racial identity, citing being questioned about whether she is an immigrant as one of the more irritating questions. Finn says that people who question her identity "don't take into account your accomplishments and you as a person before they ask you if you have chopsticks in your hair or if you're an immigrant. Straight up." This irritation is based in her belief that people in the United States cling to racist beliefs about immigrants, which erase her accomplishments and replace them with racist tropes about being poor, English-illiterate, and un-American. Finn explains:

> When you're asked if you're an immigrant, that question is derived from the idea that you are inherently different from everybody else. Your culture is different. The way you go about interacting with other people is different. I was asked if I was an immigrant this year which is crazy, right? You'd think that it's not appropriate and you'd think that's a question you'd never ask anybody. When you have this label 'immigrant' tied to you, it's like this huge label on your chest. 'I am an immigrant.

> I come from a very destructive homeland. I came here to escape this.' But that's the modern perspective given the political climate that we have: immigrants escaping war zones. Immigrants are coming from crime-ridden cities. When you're an Asian immigrant, it's like you came here to take over America. When you think of 'immigrant,' you think 'illegal immigrant.' I constantly wonder what if I was an immigrant? I would be so scared.

Scared, she says, of the open hatred she sees directed towards immigrants. She feels that she earns better grades if her instructors know that she is Asian-American, so she is careful to establish that identity early in each of her classes.

Within the FYW setting, when asked if being multilingual influenced her writing, Finn explains that she felt she worked harder than her white peers because, as a person of color, she had to prove that she was capable. From her experience, Finn believes that white students are more likely to be assumed to be capable writers than non-white students. Finn says,

> I had to make sure that everything sounded smoothly. I'd write it over and over again just because when you present something that pertains to language, and being multilingual myself, I feel like you have to do that in order to prove yourself in the classroom. Because being a person of color, you're just much different than what is considered the norm. Like a white person, and with that, I feel like there are assumptions carried with the fact that you might have some language barrier or everyone that looks and has yellow skin like me is somehow lacking in the way that they speak. So, it just puts more pressure on me as a writer, I think, to give something that I've refined over and over again instead of just writing it last minute the night before like many other college students do and just handing it in. That would give me so much anxiety.

Finn recognizes the presence of whiteness as the standard and perceives her difference from it as a significant barrier to overcome. Because of her racialized appearance and the cultural narratives about *difference*, Finn feels the burden to work harder than others in order to achieve the same results.

The accumulation of racism experienced by Finn affects her behaviors and attitudes in the FYW classroom. She feels pressure to differentiate herself from immigrants or other people of color whom she perceives as having a stigma of underperformance, because she feels that the perception of her ability to write is tied to racist assumptions about the inabilities of people of color. First-year writing assignments like the literacy narrative pose a challenge for Finn as she feels she must write about her difference while also showing that she has achieved or can achieve

whiteness. These are considerations that her white peers are less likely to face. Finn uses stereotypes of class as a way to differentiate herself from stereotypes of non-whiteness, explaining that the racial discrimination she faced as a child was also tied to her perceived socioeconomic status. She says,

> I don't consider myself a low-income person, if that makes any sense. I definitely felt like growing up, I was very, very stable. We went on vacations every single year, like flew everywhere around the world and even that, having money and having comfort within our lifestyles, was not enough to counteract the racism that my family faced every single day. You can drive the nicest cars. You can have the most luxurious lifestyle, but people still take you at face value.

Finn believes that she is working harder than her white peers to be on equal footing, and yet, despite her hard work and achievement of cultural markers of success, her Asian appearance as compared to whiteness makes others feel that they have the power to question her identity.

When asked to elaborate on what she means when she says her parents have a "language barrier," Finn explains that her parents speak excellent English but it's accented, which makes others feel they have the right to comment on her parents' language use. Finn says,

> My dad is the one that gets offended by [people asking if we're immigrants] because even though we're at these huge golf resorts, the old white guys on golf carts are like, 'So where are you guys from? You guys speak really good English.' Like, bye. Where does that come from? It's really hurtful knowing that it was just me and my dad golfing around and the fact that someone can just drive by, ask you about your immigration status or assume that you are not from this land simply because of your skin color is a very, very shocking thing that not everyone has to experience.

Again, Finn uses white cultural markers of economic success, in this case, golfing at a resort with "old white guys," to contextualize the racism she experiences. Finn explains that she and her family are participating in the same activities as the white people, but because of her appearance and her parents' accented English, those who have more whiteness have the power to make comments about Finn's family's appearances and language use.

What Finn is describing is a lifetime of being measured and judged against whiteness. She experiences microagressions in multiple areas of her daily life: while golfing with her family, while meeting her peers at the university, and in her classroom experiences. For Finn, every writing assignment is doubly measuring her whiteness. She feels she must show her instructor what kind of minority she is, meaning one who does not embody the stereotype of the

immigrant, and she must also live up to the cultural construction of Asian-American, meaning academically highly successful. An assignment like the literacy narrative poses both a challenge and an opportunity for Finn to position herself in relation to the assumed neutral center of whiteness in the course. She feels the burden to do a lot of identity work through that assignment so she can set herself up for success, but also reported that the literacy narrative laid the groundwork for her to move forward in her writing once she established herself as economically, culturally, and linguistically stable within that classroom community.

Implications

The "casual racism," as Finn describes it, comes sometimes from a place of malevolence, but sometimes from a place of ignorance in the form of cultural normativity. Because of the historical and ingrained patterns of racism, it is not surprising that Finn is questioned regularly about "what kind of Asian" she is, nor is it surprising that Finn feels she must establish what kind of Asian she is for her instructors. Finn is rebelling against the racism that tries to box her in and emphasize her differenc, but she also recognizes that because of the realities of racism, she has to establish her proficiency in order to be treated as a competent speaker and writer of academic English. For Finn to adopt a difference-centering or a code-meshing practice would require an enormous shift in ideology.

The cultural centering of Americanness that forced Anna to choose between pleasing her instructor or maintaining a more appropriate rhetorical centering of Indian culture for her open letter is only one example of many such situations faced by nonwhite students. Multilingual students choose among dialects, languages, culturally-relevant examples, and a variety of possible audiences each time they face a new writing assignment. They construct identities through their writing, as all writers do, but are choosing from a much broader set of possible identities than their peers who identify as white. Given the intertwining of language and identity and the ongoing systemic racism in schooling in the United States, multilingual students are weighing a number of complicated factors when deciding on who they will be as writers and to whom they will direct their writing. Overwhelmingly, during their interviews, students explained that they chose a white, standard-English speaking audience because they perceived their classmates and instructors to be mainly white speakers of standard English. Cat explains that she tries to write as "white" as possible because "when you're sitting in class with all the other white

kids or American kids they don't understand where you're coming from [as an international student]. If you write about that, it's going to make things more confusing." For multilingual students, writing at the university can feel like a continual trek towards the white, middle-class, standardized-English center.

International students also talked in their interviews about wanting to participate more robustly in class discussion, but being unsure about how their perspectives would be valued by their American peers. At the beginning of the semester, students reported that they wanted to learn to write well in academic English. They explained that they were looking to correct their grammar, mechanics, and usage errors. Julie said that one of her main goals was to learn how to use commas correctly. Josh explained that he wanted to improve in his English writing because he gets his grammars mixed up between Spanish and English sometimes.

By the end of the semester, however, some students wished they had participated more and showcased some of their different cultural perspectives along the way. Stacy remarked, "I think that, we try to conform a lot to what other people think, and because of that we hide our unique qualities and I feel like instead of being afraid of those qualities, use them to your advantage and embrace those characteristics." Maria said, "If you're struggling with your identity as a multilingual, I would write about it and talk about it." And Sophia said, "If they're fluently bilingual, I would probably say to just get ready to recognize that a lot of other people are not bilingual in any other language, so your experience is probably going to be different from them. Your writing style is probably going to be different from them. But it's not necessarily a bad thing, like you can use it to your advantage." While many students entered their FYW courses concerned that they would be punished for their differences, some did exit the course seeing their differences as advantageous. These students' perspectives illuminate the importance of providing explicit opportunities for multilingual students to share their perspectives, and the importance of establishing an expectation for internationalist experiences.

Some participants noted several conditions that led them to view their differences as additive in the writing setting. They all explained that being able to choose their writing topics was very important to them, and that they chose topics that were culturally important to them as well. These participants also all believed that their instructors would perceive their difference positively because the instructors had mentioned explicitly in class that they were hoping for writing about linguistic communities that reflected each student's home language community.

Two of the three instructors also used labor-based grading practices, explaining that the purpose of the grading contract was to allow students to take risks and explore what they could do in their writing. Rather than focusing on a rubric-based grading practices that adhere to any kind of particular writing standards, these courses used labor and student-driven grading criterion. While students reported that being given these options by the instructor made them feel supported as multilingual students, only one student tried a code-meshed project, and as explained in chapter 4, it "was not super successful."

In her final interview, Monica explains that she needs to talk with her instructor about a low grade she received on her writing, but she is afraid to face her instructor, so she's bringing a friend with her. Monica says,

> Sometimes, I just don't know what she (the instructor) is looking for and I tried my best. I really have, and then it just hasn't met her expectations yet. I wish that as a second, I know this is probably not fair because I got in here like everyone else did, but I wish that there's a different scale to grade international students and their writing, because it's going to be different. I don't know. Is that just me? Is that biased?

Monica recognizes that her experience is different because she is an international student, but she believes that different treatment would constitute "biased" treatment. This again is the ideology of "equal opportunity" or "meritocracy." What Monica doesn't talk about is the kind of writing course where everyone, regardless of background, would have equal footing. That kind of school experience has not been yet a reality for Monica. She concludes,

> I'm going to talk to her (the instructor) just after this, but I feel like she's going to tell me if she changes her standards just because of me, that's going to make things unfair. I just don't think my international status in this situation particularly matters, but I think it should because it's first year writing and I'm having trouble expressing my own ideas. I don't know.

Monica says she is bringing a classmate along who is also an international student and who is also "having problems on this paper too."

During her final interview, I ask Monica what reflection she has for herself based on her experience in FYW. Monica says,

> I'm going to have to learn how to teach myself not to be afraid to express my own opinions, both personally and in my writings, because sometimes I'm afraid to say the things I want to say even in my writing. I just thought if I was bolder, if I was more creative, I could've done a better job in my writing because it makes it

> interesting. It's the same route, just to keep myself safe. I just want to be more creative.

Monica didn't find a place to explore her full writing ability and identity in her FYW course, and instead left feeling that she did not meet her instructor's expectations. Monica knew that her multilingualism was part of what she called her "writing problems" but also recognized that within an ideology of color-blind racism there would be no good solution. Any correction to the equal opportunity arrangements of the course would be considered unearned privileges rather than justice-oriented improvements.

While there are many published translingual perspectives about code-meshing and blended-language pedagogies, the focus on language difference without including cultural difference serves as a significant barrier for multilingual student success. Students are unsure of how they should participate in class discussion and they are not sure how their perspectives fit in the class because they perceive their experiences to be quite different from those of mainstream American students. By creating a translingual culture in the writing classroom that explicitly invites multiple perspectives and experiences, multilingual students have better opportunities to join the conversation and to eventually exit FYW believing that their multilingualism is a benefit rather than a barrier.

CHAPTER 6

Translingual Futures for Equity and Social Justice

Introduction

I opened the first chapter of this dissertation project by taking up Gilyard's (2016) call to analyze the ways that differences within difference result in disparate race-based outcomes in the writing classroom. Gilyard (2016) argues that "one of the strongest moves that translingualists can make is to document students' efforts" (p. 288). In this project, I have situated translingual theory and pedagogy within critical race theory, language studies, and antiracist writing studies in an effort to story the research and call for continued interdisciplinary labor. By sharing students' stories in this space, I have documented students' intersectional experiences of FYW classrooms. This documenting of students' stories echoes critical race theorists' call to story and counterstory the research to dismantle deficit narratives and ideologies about multilingual students in educational settings (Delgado, 1996; Martinez, 2020). Translingual theory urgently points the field of Writing Studies toward social justice, but without adequate intersectional theoretical or pedagogical approaches to developing equity within differencing, the theory fails to change students' experiences and outcomes. By storying the research with students' experiences of race, language, and culture in first-year writing to demonstrate the injustices perpetuated by monolingualism, this project underscores Gilyard's (2016) argument that "ultimately, the translingualist project will not be denied…its rejection of the monolingual paradigm is certainly the way forward" (p. 289). While there is much theoretical and pedagogical work necessary for the refining of the translingual orientation, translingualism's pursuit of social justice in Writing Studies is the right goal, given the present and historical racism that has shaped much of the field's language beliefs and practices.

In support of moving forward with the dismantling of monolingualist paradigms, I offer three sections of implications. The first is a call to continued theory-building through interdisciplinary scholarship. The second section of this chapter outlines a series of pedagogical implications based on students' FYW experiences, in particular creating the conditions for

ideological shifts and the valuing of international perspectives in the classroom. The final section of this chapter extends an invitation for future translingual research and continued storying.

Theoretical Implications

The opportunities for continued theoretical development of translingualism are many: there are rich and underdeveloped intersectional opportunities with L2 Writing and TESOL research, there is the need for continued studies with multidialectal and multilingual students, and there is still ongoing definitional work. These three broad areas: interdisciplinary research, ethnography, and definitional work together create better understandings of differencing approaches in Writing Studies, which will enable more specific translingual pedagogies. In particular, I envision this ethnographic and definitional work will sort and analyze more carefully the differences between how nonstandard dialects and non-English languages are treated in the writing classroom to better understand how race, ethnicity, language, and culture work together to students' advantages and disadvantages. Such knowledge will create targeted opportunities to combat racist beliefs and mistreatments of students' linguistic differences. Interdisciplinary collaborations with critical race theory, L2 scholarship, and TESOL research will fortify translingualism's antiracist foundations and lay a firm bedrock for continued pedagogical developments.

In her 2017 call for greater interdisciplinary research, Tardy expresses her disappointment in translingualism's dismissal of decades of relevant TESOL and L2 research. Writing scholars' requests for more targeted and refined pedagogical approaches (acknowledged in Canagarajah, 2013a; Matsuda 2014; Atkinson et al., 2015) can be addressed and the pedagogies further developed through collaborative and interdisciplinary approaches, which will also facilitate a greater uptake across fields. A review of all issues of *Research in the Teaching of English* (RTE) published from the first issue in 1967 through 2017 reveals the frequent presence of translingual ideological orientations and pedagogies, although they are not named as such. There are many classroom studies at the secondary and college levels with multilingual students that call for the same ideological orientations and interventions as translingual work. Expanding translingualism beyond its limited grounding in Writing Studies into allied disciplinary locations and diffusing translingualism's insistence on being a "new" orientation offers an opportunity to ground translingualism more deeply and to mobilize it more effectively.

One reason why translingual scholarship has taken up so little interdisciplinary work lies in the relative isolation of Writing Studies from other research communities, even those closely affiliated with composition, such as the teaching of English or L2 writing. While many research studies about teaching multilingual students in English and TESOL classrooms have been published before, during, and since the introduction of translingualism into Writing Studies, few have been picked up in translingual scholarship. The research in *RTE,* though relevant to developing translingual classroom theory, ecologies, and pedagogies, is often situated in a university literature course or a 9-12 writing classroom. The unique location of translingualism in college writing, especially in FYW, has resulted in the exclusion of studies in other classroom sites. The majority of *RTE* studies also use the existing disciplinary vocabulary including *code-switch* and *bilingual*, which are terms based in a theory of language that translingualism is looking to disrupt.

Unfortunately, this ignoring and dismissing of existing scholarship grounds translingualism shallowly, with little history other than the repudiation of Writing Studies' monolingualist origins. Translingual scholarship could establish broader appeal by positioning itself as the unification of language studies with writing studies and by writing a history that pieces together historically-progressive moments like the adoption of *SRTOL* by CCCC in 1974, the introduction of code-meshing into English classrooms in the 1980s, and the founding of the *TESOL* journal in 1992. These moments function like the stepping stones that can bridge critical language studies with Writing Studies.

A focus on intersectional research may also earn translingualism broader appeal across disciplines and an increased circulation. For example, studies in *RTE* like Orzulak's (2015) research with preservice English teachers does not draw explicitly on translingualism, nor is it positioned exclusively in Writing Studies, but it reveals how standard language ideology conditions preservice English teachers to respond with monolingualist frameworks to students' nonstandard language use, even when the preservice teachers claim a "linguistically responsive" positionality. Orzulak's study, in combination with work from scholars like Smitherman (1999) who has argued that shaping of generous student language ideologies must begin in the K-12 setting, offers a bridge for translingual scholarship to work across multiple disciplines and decades. Grounding translingual theory in this existing work provides exciting opportunities to move the theory forward across multiple disciplines.

Orzulak's (2015) study also highlights the importance of ethnographic work within interdisciplinary research. Orzlak's case study of three preservice teachers is situated at the intersection of educational research, teacher education, 9-12 English education, and language ideology scholarship. This work of challenging deficit ideologies in preservice teachers and encouraging them to make sense of a translingual paradigm has a lasting impact on the teacher, their colleagues, their students, and their wider communities. Orzulak (2015) argues that "past scholarship documents that teachers' language attitudes are often racialized and affect student learning, particularly in relation to African American students' language use" (p. 177). Challenging such language attitudes then becomes an essential component of teaching training, and some recent studies have shown that teachers can adopt translingual positionalities and politics if they receive effective teacher training (Flores & Aneja, 2017).

The student teachers Orzulak highlights each focus on combatting linguicism in linguistically-diverse 9-12 ELA classrooms. One student teacher struggles to adapt her grading practices and her language of correctness to fit her differencing ideology (Orzulak, 2015, p. 185), leading to the conclusion that even student teachers who "bring understandings of language variation into classroom interactions may not recognize how their own positions as teachers and racialized persons, as well as other situational factors--such as the teaching context and the language ideologies of their students--influence those interactions" (p. 189). While this student teacher believed she privileged difference, she was blind to the power of her own deficit ideologies.

Another student teacher in Orzulak's (2015) study communicated her desire to discuss language ideologies with students but was "worried that she'll be seen as a liberal teacher who lectures students" and "questions whether she has a right to impose [her beliefs about language] on students" (p. 190). She also cites insecurity about her supervising teacher who warned her against discussing language ideologies in the classroom. The supervising teacher expressed that students don't have the "skills" to have "productive discussions." Based upon these student teachers' experience and insecurities, we might be able to support preservice teachers with three distinct forms of training: training about linguistic differences, about how to talk to students about language ideologies and the value of standardized English competency, and about how to teach and assess writing so that differences are privileged.

There are also studies of multilingual students that offer additional places to ground and contextualize translingual research. For example, García (2008) found that high school students who have their full repertoire of languages available to them make greater use of higher order thinking. When students' transnational lives and literacies are explicitly privileged, students show greater linguistic awareness and rhetorical ability (2008, p. 468). Students who are encouraged to use multiple languages in the classroom to construct meaning also have a greater activation of lexical items across all of their languages and are more resourceful and creative in solving lexical problems than monolinguals (Tullock & Villanueva, 2013). Studies like these open space in educational research for translingual opportunities in conjunction with culturally-responsive theories for teaching and antiracist pedagogies. By moving into mainstream educational research, translingual scholarship has the opportunity to redress linguistic discrimination in classrooms across disciplines and grade levels.

By presenting itself as a new approach to language difference, translingualism effectively challenged the value of older approaches to multilingualism, "valorizing the new" and undermining established L2 and TESOL scholarship (Matsuda, 2014). This dissertation project calls for a renewed energy toward intersectional history and research to build deeper theory, more effective pedagogies, and to round out definitional work. Despite translingualists' efforts to resist defining translingualism (Horner et al., 2019), it is hard to build translingual pedagogies and curriculum with a theory defined as "emergent" or "synergistic." Definitional clarity would facilitate better widespread implementation, as it would position writing faculty to better articulate the aims and goals of the translingual orientation in the context of their writing programs.

In addition to extending the call for continued intersectional theory-building and definitional clarity, this dissertation project recognizes the need for further capturing the differences within difference (Gilyard, 2016), including the diversity of languages, dialects, and differences across social class, race, gender, ability, and sexuality. As a theoretical approach to language difference for marginalized students, translingual theory has much to offer to the development of social justice in writing studies.

The final theoretical implication addressed here leads to specific pedagogical work. As discussed in chapter 3, students have been taught throughout their schooling to complete their academic writing in SEAE, meaning they do not necessarily have the abilities or the desire to

compete their academic writing in other languages or dialects. There is still theoretical work to be done regarding what it means for translingualism when students enter their writing classrooms desiring standards-based writing instruction and opportunities. Some students are ideologically unprepared to meet the translingual orientation, and the ideological clash requires the development of specific translingual interventions to help students overcome their existing deficit ideologies. To meet the needs for students' ideological shifts, translingualism can further develop theory in support of a translingual ecology, which includes ideological shifts in institutions, among instructors, and across all students in order for multilingual students to have real opportunities to submit language difference in the writing classroom.

Pedagogical Implications

The following pedagogical suggestions support the targeted building of a translingual ecology in the writing classroom. The first pedagogical support teachers can offer is regular, recurring opportunities for students to reflect on their language practices and their ideas about languages. Given the common-sense nature of standard language ideologies, many students have racially prejudiced ideas about language but are not aware that they have internalized deficit thinking about nonstandard accents, dialects, and language blending. A second related pedagogical suggestion is to teach explicitly about language difference and how to read and respond to language difference. Finally, to implement a successful translingual classroom ecology, teachers can both decenter American cultural practices and beliefs and also set the expectation for students to bring multiple cultural perspectives into the classroom.

Targeted Linguistic Reflection

One of the last questions I asked students during our final interviews was what it was like to be part of a research study. Of the 15 participants, nine of them said that participating in this study helped them think more carefully about their multilingual identities, which led to a variety of other conclusions for students, such as valuing the unique multilingual writing process (Ria) and valuing the cross-cultural possibilities for writing (Anna). One pedagogical practice that teachers can adopt to foster a translingual ecology is the normalizing of multilingualism as a resource in the classroom by talking more directly about multilingualism with students. A second related practice is to include translingual peer training so all students have the language

education required to respond generously to language difference. This explicit valuing of multilingual abilities may help students be more aware of how they can use their languages and cultures to inform their writing.

During this study, I asked students about how their multilingualism influenced how they think about language, writing standards, and classroom culture. I also asked students how they use their languages throughout all stages of the writing process. Many students had not reflected on these kinds of questions in a school setting before joining this study, and their responses indicate that targeted linguistic reflections can help students both think positively about being multilingual and also draw from their languages more easily in the classroom. For example, Maria says that being in a research study about her languages "is a really cool experience." Maria explains, "It was really worth my time, because it actually helped me think a lot more about my writing throughout the semester. If it wasn't for this study I would have never thought about being bilingual through my writing." Providing opportunities for students to reflect on their linguistic identities helps students develop as writers.

Stacy identified that this study helped her appreciate her multilingualism as a "unique side" and her participation reinforced her desire to maintain her multiple languages into the future. Stacy says, "I notice a lot more about that cultural side of me that I didn't really notice before. I feel like I took it for granted. I didn't appreciate this unique side of me until I did these interviews. I feel like that's really important. I always knew I wanted to pass the language on to my children, and now I want that even more." During her earlier interviews, Stacy talked about the clash she felt between her "American side" and her "Chinese side" and the conflict and she experienced growing up across multiple cultures. While Stacy views her multilingual abilities positively throughout the semester, she also talks regularly about the ways the cultures conflict. Stacy suggests that this friction can be useful, as she is able to analyze the two perspectives while thinking about her writing. Participating in this study reinforced for Stacy the benefits of being multilingual and having multiple perspectives in her background.

Ria's response was interesting to me as a teacher, because it reminded me that I continue to maintain an "American" perspective, even when trying to think globally. When asked what it was like to participate in a research study, Ria reminded me that she has felt like the linguistic "norm" for her entire life until coming to the university as an international student. Ria says that being in the study was interesting and helpful "because before I came here, I never really thought

about it much, but now that I'm here with people that know so many different languages and cultures, I feel like I pay more attention to how I'm multilingual now. Because before this, I didn't really have to think about it, because everyone around me was similar to me. But now that I'm here, I feel like my different language and cultures I know, really add to me as a person." Ria's global perspective on her language use reminds teachers that the normalized culture in writing classrooms is culturally constructed, and that international students may have had to make a very abrupt transition from living as the linguistic and cultural "standard" to their new identity as "international." Even the way that U.S. compositionists refer to students as "multilingual" carries a deep cultural history, as being multilingual is common and "unmarked" worldwide. Ria's perspective offers a helpful framing for the U.S. writing classroom that students may be interested in learning to write in SEAE in the U.S. context, but that globally, international and multilingual students have multiple cultural perspectives and experiences that should be highlighted and encouraged as possible resources for their academic discourse.

Having time and space to think about being multilingual can also usefully activate students' metalinguistic awareness that can help them become more aware of how they make their writing choices. When asked if talking about her multilingual abilities helped her to be more aware of how she was using her languages in her writing, Ria says,

> I feel like it did. I mean, it's things that I always knew in the back of my head, but didn't really realize until you asked me a couple of questions. Where, now that I realize, 'Oh, I'm making this choice because I'm probably multilingual,' and stuff like that. Like I realize that more often now. So, yeah. It's kind of cool.

Not all students report that this study participation really deepened their appreciation for being multilingual or changed their writing practices. While none of the students responded negatively, some simply replied that it was "interesting" or "cool" (Max). For example, Sarah says that participating in a research study is "definitely very new" and that "studies like these, where it's on my personal life, it's good for me to be able to reflect on my own experiences because it's not very often when you just kind of sit around and think about this kind of stuff." She ends by saying that she would "like to do more, if there are more available." Sarah's response demonstrates a positive attitude toward her study participation, but does not address a change in her thinking about her multilingualism. However, her response does suggest that reflecting on one's language use and ideas about language may be broadly useful for students.

Peer Training

The literacy narrative assignment offers one opportunity to introduce the concept of linguistic reflection and to have multilingual and multidialectal students work across their linguistic competencies while drafting and revising their writing. The literacy narrative assignment typically asks students to reflect on their experiences and understandings of language, reading, speaking and/or writing and to explain how these experiences matter through an autobiographical account. The assignment is to create meaning from a rhetorical moment or experience. The literacy narrative also opens space in the classroom to talk about language ideologies, including where they come from and how they function to disadvantage speakers of nonstandard linguistic codes. Language training for all students creates opportunities to develop translingual orientations toward language difference for all students, which is an essential component of a translingual ecology. These conversations also open space for teaching students to engage linguistically-informed peer review practices, creating the conditions necessary for students to make agentic choices about their audience, purpose, and language use in their academic writing.

As discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation, it's not enough for instructors to allow or even encourage code-meshing in academic writing, as instructors are only one part of the writing classroom experience for multilingual students. Language training for all students is required for students to have equitable opportunities to use all of the language codes in their writing. Chapter 3 records Finn's description of her experience using *omma* in her literacy narrative and the discouragement she felt after receiving her peer review. Finn read the peer review feedback defensively and felt that her Korean culture was rejected by her American peers. Better training for both giving and receiving linguistically- and culturally-responsive peer feedback could help Finn to read the feedback with a different set of expectations. She may have brought a more generous disposition toward her use of Korean in her writing, resulting in different assumptions about how the Korean would be received, and she may have interpreted her peers' feedback (and her peers' abilities to provide feedback) more generously. Finn's peers could also benefit from learning to read generously and from peer review language samples that would help them communicate clearly with Finn. An overall translingual ecology facilitates the necessary conversations for all students to use and receive language difference.

While translingual scholarship argues that we all use different codes in different social situations (Bawarshi, 2016; Horner et al., 2011), these arguments continue to elide the political differences between and among standardized and nonstandard language codes. One essential shift necessary for the future efficacy of translingualism is the move toward translingual language education for all students, and further development of what it means to encourage a translingual orientation among mainstream students. As noted in chapter 3, multilingual students continue to default to their instructors and peers as their target audience. There is a significant opportunity for translingualism to affect more generous language attitudes by targeting peer training practices.

Valuing Cultural Difference

Because of the ways that language, culture, and identity are mutually sustaining and informing, it's not enough to offer code-meshing opportunities without also de-centering American cultural normativity from the writing classroom. As Josh explained in chapter 5, international students may feel excluded by the cultural content embedded in a course reading or discussion, and may not feel authorized to share their international perspectives unless explicitly invited to do so. The creation of a translingual ecology includes encouraging students to use their multiple languages and cultures, training students to respond appropriately to language and cultural difference in the classroom, and drawing out international experience to decenter *Americanism*, meaning the cultural knowledge acquired from living in the United States, assumed English monolingualism, and the patterns and cultural knowledge of white, middle class discourse communities, which align with the common discourse of most universities.

The Literacy Narrative Assignment and Rhetorical Agency

One of the challenges and opportunities within the literacy narrative assignment is how to develop students' understanding of and response to rhetorical agency. For multilingual students, the stakes can be high, given the known deficit attitudes toward nonstandard language use in academic settings. To counter the traditional constraints of standards on literacy narrative assignments, instructors can facilitate a translingual ecology that teaches students how to identify a meaningful rhetorical space for their writing. This approach asks each student to identify their audience and purpose and to explain their rhetorical decisions within their chosen context.

The use of a cover letter is one practice that allows students to explain their chosen contexts for their literacy narratives. The cover letter provides a space for students to write to their peers and instructor about their rhetorical contexts and decisions so readers have the writer's framework for understanding the purpose, audience, and rhetorical decisions. These letters also provide a starting place for peer reviewers and instructors to interact with the writer on the writer's terms rather than offering feedback based on a more generalized rubric or set of peer review questions. Through the cover letter, the writer can explain their writerly decisions and request targeted feedback, creating a more equitable and authentic writing experience.

Despite an instructor's best intentions to create space for students to develop their rhetorical agency, many lingering challenges to the translingual ecology remain in an academic writing space. There are practical concerns, such as how an instructor should respond to writing that contains languages unfamiliar to the instructor or how the instructor should respond when they perceive that the writer's rhetorical choices are a poor fit for the writer's chosen context. There may be a clash of authority in these spaces, further complicated by the power imbalance between the instructor and the student. The question of how to help students develop their own rhetoricity without imposing traditional standards is fraught with competing pressures to develop writers who meet the program's standards without unfairly diminishing the students' rhetorical agency.

The question of how to provide assessment for academic writing containing code-meshing and other translingual writing strategies is one that requires continued dialogue with students and continued research in classrooms. Very practically, instructors may be unsure of how to assess writing in a language they cannot read. Asking a student to translate requires additional labor from the student. Finding an outside reader who can offer feedback complicates the grading practice. For code-meshing practices to take hold in writing classrooms, translingualists should grapple more publicly with the question of how instructors should grade writing they cannot read. There are likely many possible options, and there should be a robust discussion of their advantages and shortcomings.

One approach for teaching students the politics and use of code-meshing may be to teach code-meshing as one possible rhetorical strategy of many, just as SEAE can be taught as a rhetorical choice. Helping students understand the politics of such decisions, and the basis of the standards against which their writing may be assessed by others will provide some agency for

students. Such instruction about how language use is perceived establishes a meta-context for students as they consider the reception they desire for their writing. While they may still be unfairly limited in their rhetorical agency, multilingual writers can make informed decisions about how to use their languages across a variety of rhetorical contexts.

For Further Research

The opportunities for further translingual research are many, including continued research with multilingual and multidialectal students to better understand the critical differences among populations of students who have been historically marginalized and continue to "suffer disproportionately" in relation to the academy (Gilyard, 2016). Such critical differencing leads to knowledge that can be leveraged in support of linguistically disadvantaged students. Understanding how students experience the "disparate impact" (Poe & Cogan, 2016) of their intersectional identities in FYW creates space for targeted interventions that can level the linguistic and cultural hierarches typically allowed to order academic spaces. Research with multilingual and multidialectal students produces the knowledge required to create the conditions for a translingual ecology in the writing classroom.

Differencing Difference

Understanding how students experience the treatment of their race, ethnicity, language, and culture in the writing classroom is an essential component of continued translingual research. For example, chapter 3 of this project walked through a number of reasons why Chinese students were less likely to think favorably about code-meshing, including concerns that Chinese symbols are too different from English characters and concerns over their inability to capture the meaning of the Chinese characters without extended translation and explanation of embedded cultural meaning within the characters. Code-meshing for Chinese speakers is culturally, alphabetically, and linguistically different from code-meshing for speakers of nonstandard American English dialects, and yet code-meshing pedagogies are used as blanket practices for all language difference. These blanket approaches may inadvertently collapse differences, further disadvantaging the already least-advantaged. Translingual research with speakers of different codes will further clarify translingualism's specific approaches to different codes, creating better antiracist opportunities in the writing classroom.

Students' explanations of their cultural differences from *Americanness* also helps to clarify how the translingual orientation can create more equitable opportunities. In chapter 5, Josh explains how his Chinese identity is at odds with *Americanness* because of how he perceives the racialized attitudes of U.S. students toward China. Josh and Anna both talked about how their classes discussed immigration and other topics that involve relations among multiple countries, providing meaningful opportunities for translingual research to speak into differences manifesting disparately across a variety of cultural spaces. Continued research with multidialectal and multilingual students will continue to refine translingual differencing toward better representation and social justice in Writing Studies and language education.

In particular, the highlighting of ethnicity in translingual research and within the broader context of critical race theory as a framework for translingualism provides an opportunity for the refinement of antiracist theory and practices. Students in this study talked repeatedly about the ways that their ethnicities influenced their language ideologies and their interpretations of how their writing was received. Treating difference as a monolith flattens the political differences of embodiment that students experience and interpret through the lens of ethnicity. Foregrounding ethnicity in translingualism analyzes how students' experiences and perspectives of language are uniquely impacted by their disparate relations to traditional standards.

Teacher Training

So much of students' beliefs about being multilingual in FYW and the logics of code-meshing is already concretized before students enter their FYW classrooms. Combatting deficit ideologies has to start much earlier in students' language and writing education if writing teachers hope to form a translingual disposition in college writers. The structural changes required rely upon an entirely different approach to the writing classroom ecology, an approach focused on meaning making across languages, the blending of cultural logics for broader understandings, and continual reflections on and adaptations of best antiracism practices.

Because the creation of a translingual ecology relies on changing structures and ideologies, there is an opportunity to target interventions in teacher training programs so that students grow up in language and writing classrooms that value difference and seek out its contributions. The development of translingual ecologies is a recursive process, requiring adaptations to teacher training, which alters classroom culture, which shapes student language

ideologies, and ultimately shifts notions of language standardization toward greater generosity. Continued research with English teachers and with writing teachers to understand how their language ideologies impact their teaching strategies and their students' ideological formations can bolster translingual approaches if translingual research can show meaningful shifts in teacher and student ideologies toward more generous approaches to language difference. As Orzulak's (2015) study shows, even teachers with language training require ongoing support to counteract greater monolingualist cultures in English classrooms. Translingual research has an enormous opportunity to develop and sustain ecological supports for teachers of language and writing.

Storying the Research

Another opportunity for storying the research through collaborative work is to highlight what a translingual approach offers existing studies of college writers. Translingual research that studies the effects of race in FYW and Writing Studies more generally can effectively generate antiracist stances and practices. For example, Gere's (2019) longitudinal study of college writers found that students' personal and social development is linked to writing through the feedback they receive about their writing and their ability to pursue "critical engagement" through "affect and action" including imagining a meaningful audience and articulating a clear purpose for their writing (p. 320-321). What does it mean to layer a multilingual identity with these findings? How do multilingual students' perceptions of language difference and standardization affect their critical engagement with feedback? How does surfacing race or culture change the way a student imagines an audience and purpose for their academic writing? By shifting energy away from being "new" or "emergent" toward cooperation with existing research, there's great potential for the next wave of translingual research to tease apart the differences within difference for linguistically-diverse student writers.

Directing efforts toward continued ethnographic work ensures the continual understanding of experiences of race, ethnicity, language, and culture from the students at the center of translingualism. Maintaining a record of multidialectal and multilingual student perspectives is essential to student agency, restorying, and counterstorying, which structures protections against the collapsing of difference and assumptions about how students are using their languages and how they would like to be using them in academic spaces. In particular,

further research seeking to understand how ethnicity informs students' language ideologies and their resulting linguistic decisions will illuminate opportunities for targeted social justice action.

Conclusion

During our final interviews together, I asked each student if they would like to share a message with other writing teachers who might read this study. Monica said, "I hope there's improvement in the school system. Not necessarily because I think it's unfair, just because I think it's going to be more beneficial to international students. The system right now is not particularly designed to help us. I just hope that your study will do something and then maybe someone can help us, or people behind me in the following years." As a writing teacher and researcher, I share the same hope that Monica has, the hope that this project will improve writing studies theories and methods for the benefit of multilingual students. It is the stories and feedback offered from students, like the 15 multilingual writers in this study, that helps to usher in meaningful pedagogical change, and I am grateful for these students' time, energy, and generosity.

Like Monica, I hope that this study will create small ideological shifts that will move the conversation about language difference and standardization forward. This dissertation began with Gilyard's (2016) argument that "the arc of moral composition studies is long, King might say, but it bends toward translingualism" (284). It is unlikely that the arc of moral composition studies will end with translingualism, but translingualism does seem to be a way station and connection point that draws together multiple opportunities for linguistic social justice. Through continued research with multilingual students and the telling of stories, writing teachers have the opportunity to refine theory and pedagogy in support of social justice. By establishing a translingual ecology in writing classrooms, writing teachers can facilitate opportunities for linguistic and cultural difference, maintaining students' rhetorical agency to draw from their full identities for academic discourse.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview 1 (about 50 minutes)

I'm going to start by asking you some questions about your languages and how you learned them.

- Can you tell me about your language background? What languages[9] do you know? How did you learn them?
- Can you read in any of your languages? How did you learn to read in [xyz] language?
    - Do you wish you could read in ____ language? Can you tell me about that?
- Can you write any of your languages? How did you learn to write in [xyz]?
    - Do you wish you could write in ____ language? Can you tell me about that?
- Do you ever use more than one language when you talk? Can you tell me about that?
- Do you ever use more than one language when you write? Can you tell me about that?
- From your perspective, what's it like to be multilingual? Can you tell me any stories about being multilingual?

Now I'm going to ask some questions about your high school writing experiences.

- What kinds of writing did you do in high school?
- Can you think of any stories from high school writing instruction (English class) that shaped how you think about writing now? Can you think of any stories from high school writing instruction that shaped how you do your writing now?
- What did you like about writing in high school? What didn't you like?
- How was your high school writing graded? How did you feel about the grading of your writing?
- Can you tell me about other writing experiences that have shaped how you write or think about yourself as a writer?

Now I am going to ask you about the writing you're doing in English 125.

- How would you describe the kind of writing you're learning to do in 125? What would you call that kind of writing?

[9] I use *languages* and *multilingual* in these questions, but will adapt them to fit the language background of the participant being interviewed.

- What do you think is meant by the course description of "writing and academic inquiry"?
- How would you describe academic writing? How did you learn to think about academic writing that way?
- What are some of your strengths as an academic writer?
- What are some things you think you need to work on as an academic writer?
- How you think being multilingual affects you as a writer, if at all?
- Can you tell me about how you learned to do academic writing?
- Have you read any academic writing in languages other than English? (If yes, can you tell me more about that?)
- Do you think students should read more academic writing in languages other than English? Why or why not?
- Do you think students should do academic writing in languages other than English? Why or why not?
- Can you tell me about any writing you've seen that uses more than one language?

My last questions today will be about English 125.

- Can you tell me a little about English 125 so far? What's it like to take English 125?
- What's it like to be multilingual in English 125?
- How do you use your languages when you think through an essay assignment?
- How do you use your languages when you draft your writing? When you revise your writing?
- What writing goals have you have set for yourself in English 125? How did you come up with those goals?
- Would you ever want to write an academic paper in more than one language? If so, why? How do you think you would do that? How would you talk to your instructor about it? [If not, why don't you want to do that?]
- How does the grading in English 125 affect how you write or what you write?
- What questions do you have about today's conversation? What else would you like to talk about today?

Interview 2 Protocol: Weeks March 25 & April 1, 2019. About 60 minutes.

Today I'm going to ask you a few questions you have heard before, and new questions about how your FYW class is going. We will also talk about the two writing samples you brought with you. Do you have any questions about our interview today before we get started? Are you ready for me to begin today's recording?

Set 1:

- Is there anything you would like to talk about based on the last time we met?
- Did you notice anything during your FYW course about being multilingual based on our last interview?

- How is English 125 going? What are you currently working on?

Let's talk about the literacy narrative.

- Based on the assignment sheet, can you explain the literacy narrative to me?
- How did you figure out what to write about?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in choosing an essay topic?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in the drafting or revising of this essay?
- How do you think being multilingual impacted your writing of this essay, if at all?
- Did you do any writing in more than one language? Can you tell me about that?
- Can you tell me about what you think you did well in this essay?
- Can you tell me about what you think still needs work in this essay?
- Can you tell me about any specific writing choices you remember making during the drafting or revising of this essay?
- How did the grading affect how you worked through this essay, if at all?
- Was writing the literacy narrative different from writing other essays in 125? (If yes, how so?)

Now let's talk about your other writing sample.

- Let's look at the assignment sheet. Can you explain the assignment to me?
- How did you figure out what to write about?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in the planning or writing of this essay?
- Do you think being multilingual impacted your writing of this essay? How so?
- Did you consider writing in more than one language? Can you tell me more about that?

Let's talk about the passage you think is interesting or successful.

- Which passage did you chose and why? What criteria did you use to choose this passage?
- Can you tell me about any specific writing choices you remember making during the drafting or revising of this passage?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in the planning or writing of this sample?
- What else you would like to say about this passage?

Let's talk about the passage you think is less successful.

- What makes this passage less successful than the others?
- What criteria did you use to select these passage?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in the planning or writing of this passage?
- Can you tell me about any specific writing choices you remember making during the drafting or revising of this passage?
- Did your writing process differ between this passage and the more successful one? Can you tell me about that?
- What else you would like to say about this portion of the essay?

Now let's talk about your other writing sample.

- Let's look at the assignment sheet. Can you explain the assignment to me?
- How did you figure out what to write about?
- What roles, if any, did your languages play in the planning or writing of this essay?
- Do you think being multilingual impacted your writing of this essay? How so?
- Did you consider writing in more than one language? Can you tell me more about that?

For our remaining time, I would like to talk about FYW more generally.

- Now that you've been in FYW for two months, how would you describe academic writing?
- What, if anything, has seemed surprising about English 125?
- What, if anything, has seemed challenging about English 125?
- Do you think being multilingual is affecting how you write in English 125? Can you tell me more about that?
- The last time we met you said that your writing goals were _____. Are your writing goals changing? Can you tell me about that?
- What questions do you have about today's conversation? What else would you like to talk about today?

Interview 3 Protocol. About 30 minutes.

During our interview today, you'll hear me ask a few questions you've heard before. There will also be a few new questions. Do you have any questions for me before we begin? Are you ready for me to begin recording?

1. Is there anything from our last interviews or our time in this study that you would like to talk about before I ask you the questions I have planned for today?
2. Now that you have nearly completed your FYW course, how would you define academic writing?
3. How has your FYW course changed you as a writer?
4. Can you tell me a story about a time when you felt yourself improving or learning in FYW?
5. (If not answered in question #3): How do you think you improved as a writer during FYW?
6. What are some areas for you as a writer that still need improvement?
7. What do you think is most important in learning to write?
8. Now that you have completed the course, do you think it makes sense to teach students to write in multiple languages in FYW? If students are already able to write in multiple languages, do you think FYW is a good place for them to try that kind of writing?
9. How are you thinking about yourself now as a multilingual writer?
10. Is it important to you to incorporate your multiple languages or cultures into your writing?
11. What would you say to a multilingual student who is just getting ready to take this course?
12. What are your writing goals now that you have completed FYW?
13. Do you have any regrets from FYW or is there anything you would change about your experience?
14. What reflection or message would you want to give to your writing instructor?
15. What reflection or message do you have for yourself going forward as a writer? What reflection would you offer to yourself if you could go back in time to the first day of class?
16. Is there anything else you would like to say about being in this study? About being a multilingual writer in a university writing course?
17. Do you have any other comments or questions about what we have talked about today?
18. Ok, I'm going to ask you a few questions to gather some demographic information, but you do not need to answer and questions that you do not want to answer.
    a) Can you tell me your major and/or minor if you have made this decision already?
    b) Do you have preferred pronouns that I should use when I write about our interviews? For example, "she/her/hers," "they, them" or "he, him?"

c) Do you have a sense of your family's socioeconomic status compared to Americans generally? For example, in the United States, we sometimes refer to these categories as "middle class" or "working class." (How did you determine that categorization?)
d) Is there anything else about your identity that you would like me to add? Is it ok if I write about our study using your chosen pseudonym (confirm the name) and the pronouns you have chosen today? Is there anything about your identity that has come up that you would like me to withhold from this study?
e) Is there anything you would like to say about being a study participant? Is there something I can do differently in the future to help participants feel more comfortable or answer questions more easily?

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE INTERVIEW RESPONSES

1. **Can you tell me about your language background? What languages[10] do you know? How did you learn them?**
    - Okay. I know English. I know Chinese and a dialect of Chinese, which is Wenzhounese. So Wenzhounese is like a lost language now because it's not in a written form. It's just taught orally, and Wenzhounese was my first language. And my sisters, I have two sisters. One is in high school right now and the other one, she's in second grade, and so with each sibling, with each daughter that they had, they tough Wenzhounese less and less, my parents, and so my youngest sister, she doesn't know Wenzhounese at all. She understands it, but speaking to her in Wenzhounese is very difficult, so yeah. (Stacy)

2. **How do you use your languages when you're planning? Drafting? Revising?**
    - When I'm thinking in Chinese, it's more like branching, if that makes sense. Because when you're brainstorming, the branching are conceptual things. Whereas the result are just English because I don't know what it is in Chinese. Then I guess the branching is more clear to me in Chinese, that's why I do it that way. But only conceptual stuff. (Julie)
    - For English stuff it doesn't. Tamil doesn't come in for English stuff. When I'm doing Spanish stuff on the other hand, even though it is academic, because my brain is looking for something that's not English, I will go to Tamil every time. (Margarita)

[10] I use *languages* and *multilingual* in these questions, but will adapt them to fit the language background of the participant being interviewed.

- Yeah, I would say I probably think in Russian when I'm starting to get frustrated in English. I don't know, maybe to try to settle myself. (Max)

3. **From your perspective, what's it like to be multilingual in FYW? Can you tell me any stories about being multilingual?**
    - I think it's kind of like a double-edged sword. Sometimes it does help me perhaps see another perspective or think of an assignment in another way. At the same time, perhaps I'm writing for an English class and I know that there's a saying in perhaps Spanish that might fit the prompt, but when I translate it back to English, it won't make sense and it really doesn't fit in there. (Josh)
    - So, I don't have experience of too much positive sides by now. I do experience some negative things like grammar use. Some instructors will definitely grade it hard based on grammar, and there are different patterns no only grammar, but like structures. Sometimes, I will form an idea in Chinese and convert it into English, and I know that's not a good process. (Evan)
4. **What do you think is most important in learning to write?**
    - Confidence in yourself. Knowing you can do it. (Max)
    - I think probably the most important thing is to make sure that what you're saying is what you mean and to recognize that everyone else reading your writing might not perceive it the same way that you meant it. So like being specific and particular with words that you're saying is probably the most important. (Sarah)
5. **How has FYW changed you as a writer?**
    - I think it's made me more structured. There's definitely more thought that goes into the matter of writing and every step of the process from outlining to finishing. (Anna)
    - I have a new strategy for what I'm writing now. Like how I mentioned before, just write everything down, and look at it later. I feel like that really helped me throughout the year. (Julie)
6. **What are some areas for you as a writer that still need improvement?**
    - I feel like sometimes, some ideas to me is just so clear that I can finish it in one sentence, so I don't want to expand more. But since I'm not just talking to myself,

I need to expand more. Also, I feel like sometimes, I want my papers, or the argument to be logic, but it might be only my logic and not the audiences. (Evan)

- I can definitely improve on wordiness, probably. I think I can always improve on flow. I think I have a tendency to kind of just write down what I'm thinking at that time and to me, if I read it, it makes sense, but obviously it's not going to make sense to everyone else, so that's something I can improve on. (Sarah)

7. **Do you feel like being multilingual influenced the writing at all?**
    - Multilingual. I definitely took a long time writing these papers just because I wanted to make sure that I didn't sound like I was incompetent when writing about such a proud topic. I had to make sure that everything sounded smoothly. I'd write it over and over again just because when you present something that pertains to language, and being multilingual myself, I feel like you have to do that in order to prove yourself in the classroom. Because being a person of color, you're just much different than what is considered the norm. Like a white person, and with that, I feel like there are assumptions carried with the fact that you might have some language barrier or everyone that looks and has yellow skin like me is somehow lacking in the way that they speak. So, it just puts more pressure on me as a writer I think to give something that I've refined over and over again instead of just writing it last minute the night before like many other college students do and just handing it in. That would give me so much anxiety. (Finn)
    - Yeah. Because I think that being multilingual, I'm able to kind of get a different perspective, maybe not necessarily. Well actually, the language itself, there's so many different like grammar points and syntax and stuff like that, that really bugged me sometimes. And when I'm thinking in Chinese and then I'm writing in English, it's kind of difficult to translate almost. (Julie)
8. **So now that you've been in English 125 for a couple of months, how would you describe academic writing?**
    - Academic writing, I would describe it as, I would describe it as a lot freer than I originally thought it would be. And I think that the main goal of academic writing would probably be to, not necessarily like, sometimes persuade the audience and sometimes not. Like I feel like there could be so many goals to academic writing,

it's kind of like hard to, because if literacy narratives count as academic writings and this also counts as academic writings, and then like papers that I see in the databases are also academic writings. It's kind of hard to say what the main goal is of it, and supporting what that person is trying to prove in the first place. Yeah. (Julie)

9. **What do you think about the idea of allowing students to write bilingual text?**
    - Yeah, I don't think it's important, but a lot of people in America aren't that bilingually, or they don't speak their second language as well mainly because we go to an all English school, and it's hard to use a language that isn't, that you can't really use. I guess for Chinese it's a bit easier, since there's a lot of international students. I guess for any other language, there's a pretty diverse, saying that there's a lot, if you definitely try to, You can definitely find a crowd that only speaks your second language. But I think the class would be kind of limited to find students that could actually read it. (Frank)
    - Language-wise, I just still have a hard time putting Chinese into my paper. I just don't know how that works. I haven't seen too much examples of that, so I cannot learn by reading. (Evan)
10. **Is it important for you to incorporate your multiple languages or cultures into your own writing?**
    - I think so. I wouldn't say languages exactly. Sometimes, it depends on what I'm writing on or what the topic is. If it has to do with the culture, then I think that there's some things that don't translate over languages. There are certain words in different languages that you can literally, there's no word for it, there's only word for it in that language and you can describe it, but you'll never actually hit the word, so for that reason, I guess if it warrants it then incorporate the language, but mainly the culture. Mainly culture and yeah. (Margarita)
    - I think if I become more fluent in Korean, I probably would be, but as of right now, I think it would be pretty much American-centric. (Sarah)

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW CODEBOOK WITH SAMPLE RESPONSES

1. **Being Multilingual**:
    - Jessica: Well, it's definitely amazing because you don't need to rely on someone to do the communication for you. You can just speak for yourself. But there's also issues. Sometimes you can't really fully express what you want.
    - Ria: I think it's extremely beneficial being multilingual because when I'm writing something I can think it multiple languages and I also think it gives me a lot of perspective.
2. **Metaling Awareness:**
    - Margarita: It's either like I know the phrase or it's very hard for me. If I got a sentence in Spanish, I could just go word-by-word and translate, almost. With Tamil you can't do that. It's like you know it in phrases.
3. **Translation:**
    - Anna: Sure. There's a Hindi word, and it does not have a translation in English, that's because it's a word so strong, so profound that any English word doesn't come close to it. But I think the closest words that I could think of is jealousy plus shame combination, but deeper. It's like this really strong guilt. And it's a word that was born out of the independence struggle and then the partition and so on, so it's a very strong communal word.
    - Julie: Oh, sometimes there are like these, you know how some words don't really translate well between languages? And like some words have a different type of connotation and meaning and feeling behind it? So sometimes I'll get those really mixed up between languages and that will be kind of tough to sort out. Like I'll have to go onto like thesaurus and try to find what I'm really trying to go after.

But sometimes it's just really hard because the word will pop up in a different language but I'll have a lot of trouble translating it into the English version.

4. **Strengths:** Student talk about their perceived strengths as a writer.
    - Josh: I would say I'm pretty good at analyzing text.
    - Sarah: I try to make the flow of my sentences go really well. And I think for argumentative essays, I think I'm decent at supporting my argument and stuff like that.
5. **Needs Improve:** Participant talk about what aspects of their writing they feel needs improvement.
    - Julie: Oh, grammar. Definitely grammar. I love commas, which is really bad. So I use a ton of commas. Any my writing style is very, flowery, I guess you could say. And so sometimes the word, like the sentence can go on for a very, very long time and I won't even realize it.
    - Anna: Vocabulary. I usually have to look up synonyms as I write papers.
6. **Code-mesh:** Student talk about their code-meshing practices. Student responses to questions about code-meshing.
    - Anna: Yes. I think that really interesting, but only if the original text was also in that language. I don't want to do a Hindi academic writing on an English paper, just doesn't make sense.

      Kristin: Okay, what part of that does not make sense to you?

      Anna: Because when I'm citing that original paper, I'd have to translate that, and then it's lost in translation.
    - Julie: I'm not sure if it would work with Chinese or Japanese. Because with Spanish you at least could like, an English reader would be able to read it and gain some insight into what it says, just because some words are similar. But with Chinese it's like characters, they have no idea what it says. So I feel like the meaning would kind of be lost in the writing. But just knowing that I have the option [to code-mesh in academic writing] would be really cool.
7. **Racialized Comment:**
    - Finn: In that regard it's also again, I think it's almost racial. Because when I was younger going to school when I was writing, obviously children make mistakes

when they write because they're learning, but because I was different and because I was a person of color, well, I am a person of color, having that, any mistakes seemed so amplified when looking at a teacher because it's like, wow, I have this stereotype of Asian. You're equated to you're supposed to do well in school, and you're supposed to have this big orb of dignity that surrounds you. So any mistake that I turned in seemed like I was dishonoring my culture, my family, and I felt like I was a disappointment even though I was just a kid.

8. **Academic Writing:**
    - Julie, interview 1: Maybe challenging different ideas in an academic setting, questioning why some authors or writers are writing the way they are, what message they're trying to put across I guess.
    - Anna: To me, academic writing is writing to teach someone else. I think academic writing is like a research paper, or something along the lines of that, where you have to cite your sources and everything.
9. **Instructor Likes:** Participant comments about what they like about their FYW instructor's teaching, lessons, assessment or other practices.
    - Finn: Because the instructor I have now, she is amazing. She is so nontraditional. She wants us to get things done, but she wants us to express ourselves.
10. **HS Likes:** Participant comments about what they liked about their high school writing experiences.
    - Monica: That the teachers are very specific. They tell you want they want and the rubric, it's very clear that what they're looking for.
    - Sarah: It was good to learn how to articulate my thoughts into writing clearly. I think that's what I like the most is that it taught me how to use different ways of communicating in a way that wouldn't change my thoughts or ideas into something that was completely different.
11. **HS Didn't Like:** Participant comments about what they did not like about their high school writing experiences.
    - Finn: Just traditional things made me feel boxed in and like I couldn't get my point across.
    - Julie: The things that I didn't like was how cookie cutter it was.

12. **Language:**
    - Finn: Language is all about culture, diversity, and just spreading knowledge, and it's about being who you are at the end of the day.
13. **Language Barrier:** I did not use these words, but I marked any place where participants used this phrase.
    - Finn: My parents definitely have a bit of a language barrier, but I mean, they're professors so they can obviously get by. It's not the worst, but it's still there.
    - Monica: The language barrier. It just prohibits me in some way, I guess.
14. **Fitting In:** Participant talk about fitting in as it relates to being multilingual.
    - Monica: When I first came here, I had one thing in mind is that I'm going to blend in. Then having Chinese in my mind constantly just means that you're not blending in. You're not even trying. So now I think of things in English.
    - Sophia: I think [my mom] thought that [speaking Korean] would inhibit my ability to, I guess, relate to other regular American students, so she just didn't want to teach us [Korean] so that we wouldn't be separated from them, I guess.
15. **American:** Participant talk about *America* or *American*, including observations about languages in what they termed an "American" context.
    - Finn: It's definitely all English because, I mean, I live in America. There's really no reason why I should be writing in Korean.
    - Stacy: Yeah, just the way of thinking's very American, where you, I would say more broad and not very narrow.
16. **Assessment:** This code refers to any comments that participants made about feedback from their instructors or how they analyze or respond to instructor feedback. This code also includes participant talk about rubrics and other grading technologies. During the first round of focused coding, following open coding, this code (Assessment) was further divided into two codes: Grades and Feedback. Thus, some talk coded as Assessment may appear as Assessment/Grades or Assessment/Feedback.
    - **Assessment/Grades:** Participant talk about grading practices and/or grades received and/or the influence of grading on their beliefs or practices.
        1. Finn: Because we're held to such high standards, I think the grading process puts a lot of pressure, and it heightens to pre-existing anxieties

that students have just coming here because it's part of the culture here at [university name].

2. Frank: I would say that what I write is primarily focused on how it's graded. I'm not usually going to write about something that will not benefit my grade at all. My writing for school is primarily just grade-focused.

- **Assessment/Feedback:** Participant talk about assessment practices that did not focus on grades.
    1. Stacy: They wanted me to focus more on a part where I felt like it wasn't important, but they wanted me to be more specific about events that happened or details pertaining to an event.

17. **Writing Goals:** Participant talk about their writing goals.
    - Julie, interview 1: I want to learn how to be more, not necessarily free, but I want to learn how to adapt to my own style.
    - Julie, interview 3: Yes. I want to be able to write more scientifically. I feel like this course really aimed towards more social aspects, and social studies. But in the future, since I am studying movement science, and I might be a doctor, I'm not sure, I feel like being able to write scientifically, like different research papers and stuff like that, would be a really useful skill to have.
    - Anna, interview 1: I just want to get an A.
    - Anna, interview 3: think one thing that I haven't been doing in the past that I will be doing more now is reviewing feedback. I did it successfully throughout this course with my instructor would be on peer review I used go to office hours for feedback, but going forward I think I'll find a couple of peer review people and all. I think that is a really important aspect of writing that's often missed out and the classes here as well I feel like even back home it wasn't a major component. And that really strengthens the essay if you look at it from someone else's viewpoint and you see stuff you haven't seen before.
18. **IncCult:** Incorporation of culture. Participant talk about whether or not it is important to them to incorporation their cultural perspectives into their writing.

- Maria: No, it's not really important to me. I think it comes naturally, and it makes me a stronger writer and more interesting, but I don't try to insert it in there.
- Josh: Only in specific assignments. But in those ones, yeah, I do put a lot of emphasis on it. And I guess I go in depth on my background and the culture that I was raised upon, and I just, I don't know, it feels nostalgic in a sense when I'm writing about that, but I also feel like, I guess it's a bittersweet feeling in a sense.

19. **ReflToInstr:** Reflection to FYW Instructor. Participant talk about what message or reflection they would offer to their FYW instructor.
    - Frank: I just appreciate the flexibility and the comfortability that she provided in class.
    - Maria: I am just really glad that she opens the floor for us to pick whatever topic we want. Maybe in the future, like in the beginning of the class, talk about the importance of picking this topic.
20. **ReflToStud:** Reflection to Multilingual Student. Participant talk about what message or reflection they would offer to multilingual students preparing to begin FYW.
    - Ria: I would definitely suggest that he or she or whoever should take advantage of the experiences they have, and that just because they're not from the language that the subject's taught in, they don't mean anything less. In fact, they would add much more than just writing about one perspective. So I feel like they should definitely take advantage of the fact that they're multilingual.
    - Frank: Yeah, definitely be more open, and then I guess don't be embarrassed about your ideas, and just understand your audience, and just make sure to open your ideas and just share what you have inside.
21. **ReflToSelf:** Participant reflections to themselves about their time in FYW.
    - Max: Be open and be creative. Think outside the box.
    - Ria: I would tell myself to participate more from the beginning.
22. **Improve From FYW**: Participant talk about how they think they have improved as writers during their time in FYW.
    - Jessica: I'd say just knowing who my audience is and really digging into that topic.

- Julie: I would say commas, addressing that again. I feel like I am definitely getting better.

23. **Additional codes** (sample responses included in Table 1 and Appendix B): Culture, Surprises, SES, Major, Writing Center, LitNarr, PeerR, FavePass, CaseS, AcadInq, Contradiction.

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