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# (non)native Speaking: The (dis)invention Of (non)native Speakered Subjectivities In A Graduate Teacher Education Program

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# (non)native Speaking: The (dis)invention Of (non)native Speaked Subjectivities In A Graduate Teacher Education Program

## **Abstract**

Despite its imprecision, the native-nonnative dichotomy has become the dominant paradigm for categorizing language users, learners, and educators. The “NNEST Movement” has been instrumental in documenting the privilege of native speakers, the marginalization of their nonnative counterparts, and why an individual may be perceived as one or the other. Although these efforts have contributed significantly towards increasing awareness of NNEST-hood, they also risk reifying nativeness and nonnativeness as objectively distinct categories. In this dissertation, I adopt a poststructuralist lens to reconceptualize native and nonnative speakers as complex, negotiated social subjectivities that emerge through a discursive process that I term (non)native speaking. I first use this framework to analyze the historico-political milieu that made possible the emergence of (non)native speaked subjectivities. Then, I turn to the production of (non)native speaked subjectivities in K-12 and higher education language policies, as well as their impact on the professional identity development of pre-service teachers. Next, I consider the relationship between (non)native speaking and other processes of linguistic marginalization in which language is implicit, as well as how teacher educators can resist (non)native speaking and move towards a more equitable paradigm of language and language education. This inquiry draws on qualitative data from teacher education courses at a large US university, including course texts, policy documents, observational field notes, interviews, and focus group data. In the conclusion, I consider the implications of (non)native speaking as a theoretical and analytical frame, as well as applications of the data for teacher education settings, and possible directions for future research. By reconceptualizing (non)native status as socially and discursively produced, this project provides a new lens for the critical examination of teacher education curricula, professional identity formation, and language education policy. Finally, it contributes to a theory of change and encourages a move towards more inclusive language teaching fields.

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(NON)NATIVE SPEAKING:  
THE (DIS)INVENTION OF (NON)NATIVE SPEAKED SUBJECTIVITIES  
IN A GRADUATE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Geeta A. Aneja  
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(NON)NATIVE SPEAKING:  
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Geeta Anjali Aneja

*Dedication*

Mom and Dad who were right about almost everything  
Tilak Raj Aneja, to whom I owe more than I will ever know  
Paul, for loving me both because of and despite this

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## ABSTRACT

### (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING: THE (DIS)INVENTION OF (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERED SUBJECTIVITIES IN A GRADUATE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Geeta A. Aneja

Nelson Flores

Despite its imprecision, the native-nonnative dichotomy has become the dominant paradigm for categorizing language users, learners, and educators. The “NNEST Movement” has been instrumental in documenting the privilege of native speakers, the marginalization of their nonnative counterparts, and why an individual may be perceived as one or the other. Although these efforts have contributed significantly towards increasing awareness of NNEST-hood, they also risk reifying nativeness and nonnativeness as objectively distinct categories. In this dissertation, I adopt a poststructuralist lens to reconceptualize native and nonnative speakers as complex, negotiated social subjectivities that emerge through a discursive process that I term *(non)native speakering*. I first use this framework to analyze the historico-political milieu that made possible the emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities. Then, I turn to the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities in K-12 and higher education language policies, as well as their impact on the professional identity development of pre-service teachers. Next, I consider the relationship between (non)native speakering and other processes of linguistic marginalization in which language is implicit, as well as how teacher educators can resist (non)native speakering and move towards a more equitable



paradigm of language and language education. This inquiry draws on qualitative data from teacher education courses at a large US university, including course texts, policy documents, observational field notes, interviews, and focus group data. In the conclusion, I consider the implications of (non)native speakering as a theoretical and analytical frame, as well as applications of the data for teacher education settings, and possible directions for future research. By reconceptualizing (non)native status as socially and discursively produced, this project provides a new lens for the critical examination of teacher education curricula, professional identity formation, and language education policy. Finally, it contributes to a theory of change and encourages a move towards more inclusive language teaching fields.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

She told me my name was meaningless. I felt like she had erased my identity. Even as I tearfully tried to convince my first-grade teacher otherwise, she told her aide to escort me to the principal's office for my impudence. Stumbling through the elementary school hallways blinded by frustration, I clung desperately to the remaining shred of who I was. *My name means Song of God.*

- Geeta A. Aneja, *Penn Application, Dec. 2010*

It seems fitting to begin my dissertation, a culmination of six years of doctoral study delving into the historical roots and constant (re)invention of identities, with a reflection of my own historical roots and (re)invention—a reflection on how I came to pursue this subject, and how it came to pursue me. As a “generation 1.5” Indian-American, I spent much of my childhood caught in vain attempts to cram myself into boxes of language, nationality, ethnicity, and race. Americans declared me quintessentially Indian (after all, how could I be American without being either White or Black?) while my family scrutinized my “Western” accent and values. My English was complimented on both sides of the ocean, as if it were somehow extraordinary that I spoke fluently a language in which I had been immersed for as long as I could remember. My undergraduate study was dedicated to navigating these crossroads—to understanding how I could be fully Indian, fully American, and everything in between—though I was perhaps no more successful in this venture than was Schrödinger in caring for his cat. While I did not have the words to articulate it then, these experiences were attempts to illuminate the dynamic (re)invention and negotiation of my identities—as simultaneously

American and Indian, a citizen and a foreigner, an English speaker and not, and everything in between. They were attempts to understand why I was at times seen and present, and at others made invisible and nameless, even in spaces supposedly dedicated to my education and empowerment.

When I began my master's coursework in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) at the University of Pennsylvania, I realized that the insidious entwinement of race, nationality, and language was hidden in plain sight—in the ubiquitous, seemingly indisputable standard of the *idealized native speaker-listener*. It permeated the “field” on which our academic scholarship and pedagogical practice was built. The idealized native speaker-listener in the homogeneous [White, upper-middle class, Christmas-celebrating, hamburger-eating] speech community. A community from which I was excluded as a Brown, mostly-vegetarian, transnational multilingual, but which welcomed my Ivy League-educated American accent and passport issued by the United States Department of State. A community that constantly reminded many of my international peers that they would never be “native” enough, regardless of their academic achievements or pedagogical prowess.

This dissertation is grounded in this conflict and negotiation within TESOL and applied linguistics—how and why the policies and practices of teachers and institutions legitimize some while marginalizing Others, and how individuals reify and resist such positionalities, (re)inventing themselves and their identity possibilities in the process. It seeks to dismantle static, dichotomized approaches to identity categories—considering not what or who people *are* per se, but rather how “they” *emerge* over time through

multiple and dynamic processes of being and doing. As I spoke with pre-service teachers, their professors, and others who started as participants and quickly became friends, I saw my experiences reflected and my voice echoed in theirs. We wrestled with similar questions of balancing multiple seemingly contradictory ways of being, and struggled to create environments that cultivated our students' emergence and formation rather than stifling them with preconceptions of distinct and legitimized languages, cultures, and communicative practices. The stories I tell and questions I ask in this dissertation are the essence of why I began my journey as a scholar of Educational Linguistics, and why I continue this journey today.

### 1.1 BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Over a decade ago, the majority of English language teachers internationally did not speak English as a home language (Canagarajah, 1999). More recently it has been estimated that such teachers outnumber their counterparts who do speak English as a home language three to one (Crystal, 2012; Selvi, 2014). In that time, enrollment of international students studying education in US programs has risen over 33%, from 12,885 in 1999 to 17,200 in 2012 (Institute of International Education, 2011, 2012). After earning their degrees, many return to their countries of origin with improved English language proficiency, American cultural experience, pedagogical training, and increased job prospects (Govardhan, Nayar, & Sheorey, 1999). Others seek positions teaching English or other languages within the United States. However, despite their high qualifications and sizeable number, teachers positioned as being nonnative English speakers frequently experience hiring discrimination (Clark & Paran, 2007; Flynn &

Gulikers, 2001; Selvi, 2010) and deficit framings of their abilities both within the United States and abroad (Braine, 1999, 2010; Crystal, 2012; Medgyes, 1999).

The concept of the native speaker has become ubiquitous in language education, and goal of language learning is often implicitly or explicitly to achieve “native-like fluency” (Braine, 1999, 2010; Cummins, 1981). This standard is used as a benchmark for oral proficiency tests (e.g., ACTFL, 2012) and is a frequently listed requirement in job advertisements for language educators (Bonfiglio, 2010, 2013; Selvi, 2010). Because the “ideal native speaker-hearer” (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3) has traditionally been held as the model of grammatical acceptability, employers often assume individuals who they perceive to be native speakers are more qualified teachers than those who they do not perceive as such (Braine, 1999; Mahboob, 2005). According to a recent study examining discriminatory practices in job ads for English language teachers, over 60% of job ads require “native or native like/near native proficiency” as a qualification for prospective applicants (Selvi, 2010). Holliday (2006) calls this systematic preference for so-called native speakers *native speakerism*, “the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (p. 1). While preference for native speakers may at first glance seem justified based on the “self-evident” grammatical authority of the native speaker (Wu, 2010), the abstract notion of nativeness unravels upon closer examination, revealing ideologies of accent (Bonfiglio, 2010; Liu, 1998, 1999), race (Amin, 1997, 1999; Shuck, 2006), citizenship (Bonfiglio, 2010; Mahboob, 2005), and others that have little connection to the “ideal speaker-listener in a completely

homogeneous speech community” (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3) and even less to an individual’s communicative or pedagogical ability. The pervasiveness of this monolithic linguistic and cultural target is all the more problematic given the high and increasing number of “nonnative” English speakers and TESOL professionals practicing in diverse international contexts and enrolling in TESOL teacher education programs in the United States (Canagarajah, 2005; Crystal, 2012; Kamhi-Stein, 1999). Nonetheless, native speaker ideologies continue to manifest in a wide range of professional contexts from oral proficiency standards (e.g., ACTFL, 2012) to job advertisements (e.g., Bonfiglio, 2010; Selvi, 2010).

In the last few decades, a large and growing body of literature and trend of social activism, collectively referred to as the Nonnative English Speakers in TESOL (NNEST)<sup>1</sup> Movement (Braine, 2010; Mahboob, 2010), has engaged with the experiences of NNESTs at multiple stages of their careers and in a variety of capacities, including professional development, teachers’ self-efficacy, hiring practices, and relationships with supervisors, students, and native English speaking peers (e.g., Braine, 2010; Cook, 1999; Kachru, 1992; Llorca, 2004; Selvi, 2010). Early scholarship within the NNEST Movement generally sought to increase awareness of the NNEST condition, with a focus on professional development and education, perceptions of students and employers, and the experiences of NNESTs in contrast to their native English speaking counterparts.

While this work has undoubtedly achieved visibility in the field of TESOL and has taken

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<sup>1</sup> NNEST can also stand for “Nonnative English Speaking Teacher” (Braine, 2010; Selvi, 2014). I use “Non-Native English Speakers in TESOL” here to extend the term to administrators, academics, policy makers, and other professionals who may not necessarily teach courses themselves, but who nonetheless have a significant impact on the field of English Language Teaching.

major steps towards increasing equity in the field of TESOL (Selvi, 2014), the theoretical orientations of such scholarship have tended to reify nativeness and nonnativeness as static, mutually exclusive categories into one of which all language users neatly fit. More recent work by NNEST scholars has begun to advocate for poststructuralist approaches that allow for more complex notions of negotiated identity that reflect the shades of individuals' lived experiences and resist essentializing, dichotomizing views of nativeness and nonnativeness (e.g., Aneja, 2016a, 2016b; Chacon, 2009; Faez, 2011a, 2011b; Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Park, 2012; Tang, 1997).

This dissertation builds on the large and growing body of literature that seeks to better understand issues of native speakerism and to catalyze a shift away from TESOL's "traditional, monocultural, native-speakerist approach" towards a more inclusive realm that promotes "discourses of multilingualism, multiethnicism, and multiculturalism" (Selvi, 2014, p. 575). It also responds to the recent call for "a reconsideration of the origin, nature, and perpetuation of the NS fallacy" (Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015, p. 39), by contributing a lens that I term *(non)native speakering*. (Non)native speakering conceptualizes nativeness and nonnativeness as mutually-constitutive subjectivities and sheds light on how and why dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness emerged historically as well as how they are constantly (re)produced through discourse, perpetuating their place as the dominant paradigm for framing language users.

## 1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation focuses on four interrelated questions. Question 1 is primarily theoretical, outlining (non)native speakering as a theoretical and analytical lens, though

its discussion will be informed by empirical data. Questions 2-4 are primarily empirical, though they are deeply informed by the lens of (non)native speaking:

1. How can *(non)native speaking*, that is, the (re)invention and reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities, be understood as both a historical and emergent process? How does this process interact in complex ways with other processes of marginalization in which language is implicit?
2. How do teacher candidates, teacher educators, and institutional policies in a graduate language teacher education program contribute to the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities?
3. How do pre-service teachers negotiate, reify, and resist processes of (non)native speaking and create possibilities for alternative subject positions? How does this process affect their identity development?
4. How can teacher educators and department administrators create spaces for their students to occupy alternative positionalities that resist the reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities?

The first question will be answered by undertaking a historical inquiry of so-called native speakerist ideologies, informed by Foucault's (1984) *genealogical method*. This inquiry seeks to demonstrate that categorizing speakers of a language as "native" and "nonnative" has never been objective, but is a form of *language governmentality* (Pennycook, 2006) and *nation-state/colonial governmentality* (Flores 2013, 2014), which developed within a particular sociohistorical context. I then build on Judith Butler's *performativity* (1990, 1993) and Diane Larsen-Freeman's *complexity theory* (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2009; Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2006) to argue that the "mental-cultural 'image'" of the native speaker emerges over time through a series of "constitutive acts" (Duchene, 2008, p. 23).

The second, third, and fourth questions will be answered using qualitative data from a language teacher education department at a large, urban university in the

northeastern United States. This data includes course texts, student work, observational field notes, student focus groups, and interviews with students, professors, and administrators. These data will be analyzed using methods of discourse and textual analysis that frame discourses as systems of related statements that reflect ideological systems from which they emerged (Hicks, 1995) and which interact to produce and reproduce particular viewpoints and epistemologies (Fairclough, 1995).

### 1.3 ORGANIZATION

This dissertation contains eight chapters. Chapter 2 provides a general overview of the NNEST Movement's foundational scholarship and ideological underpinnings, and then develops *(non)native speakering* as a theoretical and methodological lens through which the historical origins and continuous (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities can be understood. Chapter 2 also theorizes how (non)native speakering can be understood as a complex system, with multiple scales and discourses, and which interacts with other forms of marginalization in which language is implicit. Chapter 3 provides a methodological overview, including methods of data collection, coding, and analysis, as well as an overview of the study context and participants. Chapters 4–7 present findings based on the analysis of data. Chapter 4 considers how the policies of the university and other institutions, such as the local public school system and students' field placements, constructed individuals as native or nonnative speakers of languages, as well as how participants reacted to the legitimization and marginalization implicit in those policies. Chapter 5 explores how (non)native speakering can be applied to better understand the identity negotiation and construction of pre-service teachers in the



program, and contains a general commentary as well as a more detailed examination of four focal teachers. Chapter 6 takes a closer look at how (non)native speaking is entwined with *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015) and other processes of marginalization in which language is implicit. Chapter 7 considers how the focal professor and the department create alternative spaces and opportunities for students to explore identity in ways that not only question the traditional, dichotomized native-nonnative paradigm, but also (re)invent more nuanced, complex ways of thinking about language, its users, and its use. In the eighth and final chapter, I identify several themes salient throughout the discussion, and reflect on future directions for research on (non)native speaking as well as contributions of this framework in increasing equity in the field of ELT.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Issues of nativeness in language teaching and applied linguistics have been becoming increasingly prominent in the last two decades (Bailey, Curtis, & Nunan, 2001; Davies, 2003). Since the founding of the TESOL International's NNEST Caucus in 1998, nearly 200 articles, edited volumes, book chapters, and dissertations have been published directly addressing issues concerning so-called "nonnative English speaking teachers" (Braine, 2010). These initiatives, now collectively called the *NNEST Movement* (Braine, 2010; Mahboob, 2010; Selvi, 2014), operate at several different levels, bridging theory, practice, professional development, and teacher education. The NNEST Movement has catalyzed a shift away from TESOL's "traditional, monocultural, native-speakerist approach" towards a more inclusive realm that promotes "discourses of multilingualism, multiethnicism, and multiculturalism" (Selvi, 2014, p. 575). These literatures consider several distinct but related aspects of NNEST-hood, including but not limited to: the respective strengths of "native" and "nonnative" speakers, attitudes towards NNESTs and NESTs, self-perceptions and identity of NNESTs themselves, pre-service needs and ongoing professional development, and the problematic nature of the native-nonnative distinction itself.

In this chapter, I first briefly consider the foundation of the native speaker in theoretical linguistics and language acquisition literatures, and then provide an in-depth overview of scholarship within the NNEST Movement. Against this backdrop, I propose and develop *(non)native speakering* as a poststructural

orientation that denaturalizes (non)native speakerist ideologies and argues that *(non)native speakered subjectivities*—abstract, idealized notions of native and nonnative speakers—are historically grounded as well as constructed over time through the discursive practices of individuals and institutions. Finally, I conceptualize (non)native speaking as a complex process that can reify and resist (non)native speakered subjectivities in different ways depending on the discourses mobilized in a local interaction, at time occurring in conjunction with other processes of marginalization in which language is implicit.

## 2.1 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERIST IDEOLOGIES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

According to Mahboob (2005), the prominence of the native speaker in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) can be traced to Chomsky's (1965) "ideal speaker-listener" whose grammatical judgments are the indisputable standard by which all others should be evaluated. Central to this notion is the distinction between competence and performance, where the former is an abstract system of inherent grammatical rules, independent of social context and variation, and the latter is the formulation of said knowledge in particular instances (Chomsky, 1965). The field of SLA maintained and propagated this idealization in the following decades through concepts like *interlanguage* and *fossilization* (Selinker, 1972), *target language norms* (Ellis, 1994), *ideal language input* (Long, 1981), and a *critical period* after which having "native-like" competence is impossible (e.g., Snow, 1987). Selinker (1972) defined *interlanguage* as the systematic and structurally intermediate knowledge or state between a learner's first language (L1) and second language (L2). He defines *fossilization* as the permanent non-learning of target language structures, or the cessation of learning far from expected target norms

(Selinker, 1972, p. 225). Though revolutionary at the time since they asserted that learners approached language learning systematically and with a logical progression, these concepts still idealize and privilege native speakers, and deficitize L2 learners, who by definition will never be “native.”

While the existence and privileging of the native speaker may seem intuitive, upon closer examination, several underlying assumptions become apparent. First, Chomsky’s native speaker can exist only in static, homogeneous, monolingual communities (Chomsky, 1965), which sociolinguists past and present have claimed are a theoretical abstraction (e.g., Canagarajah, 2010; Hymes, 1972; Rymes, 2014), rendering the idealized native speaker a creature of theoretical myth rather than empirical reality. Furthermore, it cannot account for individuals whose primary language(s) of communication have changed over time, or whose primary language(s) of thought are no longer the language(s) they spoke in early childhood (Grosjean, 2010); whether these individuals retain native speaker status in their childhood language(s) regardless of their current fluency seems unclear. Similar issues become apparent upon closer examination of *interlanguage* and *fossilization*. These frameworks assume L2 learners should strive to achieve *native-like* proficiency in the L2, and that they can do so by gradually transitioning from the L1 starting point to the L2 endpoint (Selinker, 1972; Selvi, 2014). Similarly, the notions of “target language norms” and “ideal language input” assume that there exists a static, ideal target at which students should aim, that this target is “normal” and preferable to other ways of speaking, and that this target should constitute the majority of language input.

However, these monolingualist frames have several limitations:

First, they obscure the contextualized nature of language development and use (Larsen-Freeman, 2011). For instance, consider the feeling of most first-year doctoral students when they realize that regardless of their supposed proficiency in English, they have yet to master the speech and writing patterns of their academic discipline. Because they have never before been exposed to this specific interactional context, they may need to develop additional communicative skills in a language with which they are already highly familiar. Thus, individuals' linguistic and communicative development depends on the manner and context in which they need to communicate.

Second, they obscure the dynamic, emergent nature of language development. As Larsen-Freeman (2007, 2011) observes, language is a “complex, adaptive system” that is in constant flux (2009, p. 15). Consider again the doctoral student mentioned above, who must constantly develop new ways of communicating based on her changing interactional context. From this, it becomes apparent that the process of language learning has no defined endpoint, which contradicts the traditional model that languages can be “learned” or “acquired” as if the process can be completed.

Third, they assume that languages as well as their respective populations of native speakers are internally homogeneous—that there is little variation within a specific language (say, English), or in the language use of native speakers of that language. However, language and its use clearly vary with respect to socioeconomic status (e.g., Heath, 1983; Labov, 1966), gender (e.g. Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1991), geography (e.g., Kachru, 1985; Crystal, 2012), community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), social context (e.g., Rymes, 2014), and multiple other factors. As she goes through her day, a

doctoral student will interact with peers, faculty, family members, friends, and very likely a barista (or bartender) or two, not to mention the diversity of multimedia interaction, including PowerPoints, e-mails, social networking interfaces, and more. Every one of these contexts requires a different, though clearly overlapping, set of communicative strategies depending on the medium, audience, and function of interaction, revealing an enormous heterogeneity in the language use of even one individual, let alone an entire population of “native speakers.”

Finally, these notions obscure the marginalization of populations who speak less-privileged language varieties. For instance, consider the position of a hypothetical individual of Indian descent, born and raised in India, and who was monolingual in English—is this person a native English speaker? Assuming that a native speaker is someone who has spoken a particular language variety from early childhood, one would be compelled to say yes. However, in practice, this individual would likely not be perceived as a native speaker if she were looking for an English teaching position, as the TESOL job market strongly favors teachers from Kachru’s (1985) *inner circle* (Selvi, 2010). On the contrary, studies have demonstrated that White individuals who learned English well into adolescence or adulthood can be perceived as “native English speakers” in teaching contexts (e.g., Butler, 2007). Together, these observations suggest that native speaker status is less an objective, empirically verifiable reality, and more a socio-political positionality.

While the field of SLA has recently diverged from the cognitivist-oriented mainstream towards a more contextual and interactionally-focused inquiry, generally

called “The Social Turn” after Block’s (2003) overview of this paradigm shift, much scholarship continues to reproduce native speakerist approaches to language, linguistics, and language acquisition, which systematically legitimize so-called native speakers and illegitimize their nonnative speaking counterparts. These power dynamics as well as the increasingly apparent ideological roots of native speaker frameworks gave rise to a growing interest among activists and academics in issues of nonnative English speakers in TESOL, collectively called *The NNEST Movement* (Braine, 2010; Mahboob, 2010; Selvi, 2014).

## 2.2 THE NNEST MOVEMENT

In his provocatively titled *The Native Speaker is Dead!*, Thomas Paikeday (1985) asserted that “the native speaker is a fine myth: we need it as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration; but it is useless as a measure; it will not help us define our goals” (p. 157). Since then, a number of studies have demonstrated that an individual teacher’s ability to “pass as native” may be dependent on characteristics completely unrelated to fluency or proficiency, including accent (Bonfiglio, 2010; Liu, 1998, 1999), race (Amin, 1997, 1999; Shuck, 2006), and citizenship (Bonfiglio, 2010; Mahboob, 2005), among others. These caveats suggest that an individual’s status as a native or nonnative speaker is strongly influenced by extralinguistic factors. However, even though this dichotomy may not be linguistically or empirically verifiable, “it happens to be nonetheless socially present, and therefore potentially meaningful as an area of research in applied linguistics” (Moussu & Llurda, 2008, p. 316). Davies (2003) carefully examined the manifestations and impact of the native speaker construct in various subfields of applied linguistics, including psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language assessment, and language

maintenance and revitalization, concluding that the native speaker is more a mythological idealization than an empirical reality. Pursuing this interest, a number of scholars have attempted to unravel the ideological strands of the NS-as-target model for language development (e.g., Braine, 1999, 2010; Mahboob, 2005; Paikeday, 1985; Phillipson, 1992), to analyze the manner in which these ideologies manifest (e.g., Bonfiglio, 2010; Mahboob, 2010; Valdés, 1998), to consider their effects on the identity of and attitudes about NNESTs and NESTs (e.g., Amin, 1997; Motha, Jain, & Tecele, 2012; Park, 2012; Rudolph, 2013) and to address concerns of pre-service needs and ongoing professional development (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Liu, 2001; Llorca, 2005).

An individual teacher's native speaker status may be dependent on characteristics completely unrelated to fluency or language ability. For instance, Bonfiglio (2010) describes an advertisement posted on July 12, 1990 in Singapore newspaper *The Straits Times* stating: "Established private school urgently requires native speaking expatriate English teachers for foreign students." Within two days, this advertisement had been edited to specify "native speaking *Caucasian* English teachers" (p. 30, emphasis original). Bonfiglio observes, "this example belies the ostensible innocence and neutrality of the locution 'native speaker,' which is used to indicate someone possessing natural authority in language. It shows that the semantic field of the term 'native' clearly contains notions of race and ethnicity" (p. 30).

In the same vein, Shuck (2006) analyzed the language ideologies that 52 first-year undergraduate students at an American university mobilized in pair or



group interviews. She found that students' use of "nonnative speaker" often included markedness of race (being a person of color), distance (being from "somewhere else"), accent (having an "accent"), and culture (doing things "differently"), as well as deficit framings of their intelligence. Some even went so far as comparing so-called "nonnative speakers" to "young children, the mentally disabled or 'emotionally disturbed,' and those who don't care" (p. 262). "Native speakers," on the other hand, were understood to be "American" (as opposed to "international"), White or Caucasian, enrolled in "normal" coursework (as opposed to "ESL"), have a "normal" accent, and to "have little or no responsibility for communicating effectively with non-native speakers" (p. 262). While this study was deeply contextualized in US higher education, Shuck's findings reinforce the point that native and nonnative positionalities can be imposed on speakers due to extralinguistic factors and the perceptions of individual listeners rather than any sort of empirically-verifiable characteristics.

The belief that a native English speaker must be Caucasian with an accent and citizenship from Kachru's (1985) *inner circle* is only one manifestation of a native speakerist ideology. Another is incredulity at the contrapositive—that a non-Caucasian person without an inner circle accent or citizenship can still be a native English speaker (Widdowson, 1994). Hackert (2012) identifies two groups of speakers in Outer Circle environments who "thoroughly upset the traditional model" (p. 10):

1. Speakers whose competence may differ significantly from British or American varieties even though they may have acquired English from birth
2. Speakers who communicate fluently and primarily in English even though they may have acquired another language first.

A hypothetical instance of the first exception is a speaker of Indian English in India. One of the second is an adult who immigrated to the US in early childhood but now speaks

English fluently. Neither of these people fit neatly into a static, dichotomous framing of nativeness and nonnativeness, suggesting that a more nuanced frame is needed to understand how individuals are positioned as being native or nonnative speakers.

It has therefore been argued that the native speaker should be considered in terms of contextualized social acceptance rather than empirical reality based on age of acquisition or grammatical competence (Bourdieu, 1977; Coppieters, 1987, Kramsch, 2006; Rampton, 1990). A growing literature on World Englishes and English as an International Language has begun to question the *inheritance* (Rampton, 1990) of language legitimacy and ownership based on national, racial, regional, and historical characteristics. As Widdowson (1994) argues, if English is an international language and worldwide lingua franca, then it cannot be owned by a localized speech community and then “leased out to others, while still retaining the freehold” (p. 384). Instead, all those who use a language should be considered its legitimate users and owners.

However, despite this academic critique, the native-nonnative dichotomy remains the dominant frame for understanding and evaluating language, its users, and its use, and idealized native speakers continue to be upheld as the linguistic standard to which all others must aspire (e.g., Rudolph, Selvi. Yazan, 2015). Hackert (2012) suggests that Widdowson’s (1994) business-based ideas of “production standards and quality control” may inform this continued idealization. In her view, a Standard English is necessary to serve as a “central reference point as an anchor of stability in a confusingly diversifying linguistic landscape” (Hackert, 2012, p. 24). Without it, local Englishes will continue to

diversify until they are no longer mutually intelligible, which would cause English to lose its lingua franca status. In other words, maintenance of Standard English is necessary in order to avoid what McArthur (2004) called “Babelization” (p. 233). However, such a standard must be widely recognized at the international level and therefore must come from an inner circle colonizer. Therefore, this seemingly practical argument for a linguistic standard recreates what Holliday (2005) called the “hegemonic discourse of native speakerism” (p. 10) along with its racial, national, and cultural baggage. An outer circle English, like Indian English, could never be a central reference point because it would not necessarily be connected to other outer or expanding circle Englishes. On the other hand, British and American Englishes have influenced more of the world more deeply than any Outer or Expanding Circle variety, which positions them as being “standard” and those who own them—that is, those who are perceived as being native speakers—as more desirable.

In English teaching fields, this preference produces a business model in which hiring practices often incentivize playing the “native speaker card” (Selvi, 2010). Selvi notes that there is little research on hiring practices and attitudes towards NNESTs except among Intensive English Program (IEP) administrators in the United States and the United Kingdom. Two such studies are Mahboob et al. (2004), which surveyed 122 college-level IEPs around the US, and Clark and Paran (2007), based on Mahboob et al. (2004), which surveyed 90 private schools, universities, and further education institutions in the UK. Mahboob et al. (2004) found a bimodal, polarized distribution among program administrators’ stances on the importance of native speaker status in making hiring decisions: 45.9% felt that “native speaker status” was moderately to highly important

while 29.5% felt that it was not very important or not important at all (s.d.=1.83). Clark and Paran (2007) found that 72.3% judged the “nativeness” criterion to be very or moderately important (p. 417). Unlike Mahboob et al. (2004), they found no bimodality. Both studies found that of the 10 hiring criteria surveyed (including accent, citizenship, dialect, ethnicity, recommendation, teaching experience, native speaker status, etc.) only native speaker status correlated significantly with the ratio of NNESTs teaching in a given program.

However, neither of these studies can demonstrate an impact of NNEST status on the probability of employment, since they lack data on the applicants for the teaching positions. It is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that NNESTs simply do not apply to the positions or programs surveyed. Selvi (2010) fills part of this gap by examining online job advertisements on two leading websites, TESOL’s Online Career Center (OCC) and the International Job Board (IJB) at Dave’s ESL Café. Of the job postings analyzed, 60.5% of those posted on OCC and 74.4% of those posted on IJB specified native speaker status as a job requirement. The results of this study document the sway of native speaker status, and may provide one explanation for the lower hiring of NNESTs in IEPs found by Mahboob et al. (2004) and Clark and Paran (2007).

This bias in hiring practices is partially grounded in *the native speaker fallacy*, the assumption that those who speak a language from birth are inherently capable of teaching it or are inherently better, more qualified teachers than their counterparts who learned the language later in life (Phillipson, 1992). It could also be a “manifestation of the market value of the English language” (Selvi, 2010, p.

170) and its sociocultural affiliations and the consequent commodification of native speaker status to meet the market demand for native speaking teachers. If schools and English programs are conceptualized as businesses selling the experience of language learning, then meeting consumer demands becomes a major factor in decision-making and hiring practices. Thus, if student-consumers prefer NESTs to NNESTs, then nativeness has an economic value and will be favored on the job market regardless of its theoretical validity or TESOL International's position statement against hiring discrimination against NNESTs (TESOL, 1991, 2006).

However, studies have not demonstrated that students consistently prefer NESTs or perceive them more positively than NNESTs. In fact, research suggests that students tend to prefer native English speaking, inner circle teachers specifically in cases where colloquial fluencies, target-culture knowledge, or pragmatics in relatively monolingual contexts are needed. On the other hand, they prefer NNESTs in more general contexts because they model successful learning and multilingualism, and have the ability to offer detailed grammar explanations, to anticipate their students' needs and mistakes, and to empathize with the difficulties of language learning (Mahboob, 2004, 2005; Medgyes, 1999). This work is consistent with that of dozens of other scholars who have enumerated the strengths of NNESTs, which include but certainly are not limited to:<sup>2</sup>

- Acute empathy with one's students, having successfully learned English themselves, including the ability to anticipate their challenges and understand their struggles as well as to celebrate victories or progress
- Increased declarative knowledge of grammar and communicative norms, as a result of receiving explicit instruction

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<sup>2</sup> For additional detail concerning the strengths and weaknesses of native and nonnative speaker teachers respectively, see Moussu & Llorca (2008) and Medgyes (1992, 1999). Edited volumes Braine (1999, 2010), Llorca (2004, 2005), TESOL International's two position statements (1991, 2006) on the issue, the TEFL Equity Advocates blog, and the many other resources on the NNEST Interest Section website may be of interest.

- Deeper understanding of learners' culture and language, if they share a country of origin, or a different and interesting personal background, which is interesting and enriching of students
- Generally, though not always, NNESTs have longer teacher training and experience than their NEST peers, for whom a 4-week CELTA is often sufficient.

This is not to say that NNESTs should be indiscriminately hired at the expense of their native speaking counterparts, but rather acknowledges that different teachers depending on their language backgrounds, depth of experience, and areas of expertise, may have different strengths in the classroom as well.

Moussu (2002), one of the first examinations of students' attitudes towards NNESTs, surveyed 84 students in a US university's English language program twice during the course of a 14-week semester. She found that 68% of students believed they could learn English just as well from a NNS as from a NS, 79% expressed respect and admiration for the NNESTs, and 84% expected to have a positive classroom experience. Liang (2002), also based in US higher education, found that even though students rated teachers' pronunciation and accent as very important, these factors did not affect their attitudes towards ESL teachers in their home countries. Instead, issues of preparation, qualification, and professionalism impacted their evaluation of teachers to a much greater extent. Kelch & Santana-Williamson's (2002) study at a community college focused specifically on students' perceptions of teachers' accents and found that students' attitude towards their teachers correlated with accent, and that teachers who students perceived as having "more native" accents did receive higher ratings. However, students could not accurately distinguish between NS and NNS accents, even from within inner circle countries, and so even "native" teachers could be

subject to this discrimination. Furthermore, a Hong Kong-based study suggests that students' attitudes towards NNESTs improve with increased exposure to their teaching (Cheung, 2002), as students become more aware of their teachers' strengths including a shared cultural background and language, mastery of effective language learning strategies, and others.

This overview of student perspectives of NNESTs suggests that many students recognize NNESTs' strengths and legitimacy as English language professionals, and that those who do not may come to do so in time. Therefore, discrimination in job advertisements and hiring practices is even more poignant, as it may be motivated not by the commodification of native speaker status, but by a deep-rooted and fallacious belief that native speakers are inherently more effective, more qualified teachers. Holliday (2005) terms this bias *native speakerism*, "an established belief that native-speaker teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which springs the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 6). Understandably, these ideologies also have a profound impact on teachers' self-efficacy and performance (Bernat, 2008; Tang, 1997), often causing *I-am-not-a-native-speaker syndrome* (Suarez, 2000) or *imposter syndrome* (Bernat, 2008), a situation all the more serious given lack of empirical evidence demonstrating pedagogical advantages of native speaking teachers.

In the past few decades, there have been numerous attempts to dismantle native speakerism and move towards new ways of conceptualizing proficiency and competence. These attempts generally utilize at least one of two broad strategies, both of which have contributed significantly to undermining the supremacy of native speakerist frames. The

first such strategy is to propose alternative terminology which focuses on factors other than an individual's native speaker status, such as:

- *Proficient user* (Paikeday, 1985)
- *Language expert* (Rampton, 1990)
- *English-using speech fellowship* (Kachru, 1992)
- *Multicompetent speaker* (Cook, 1999)
- User who has *adequate* fluency, accuracy, and complexity (Skehan, 1998)

These terms have been adopted within the academic community as attempts to resist native speakerist notions of expertise or proficiency. A second approach is to examine the respective strengths of NNESTs and NESTs (e.g., Medgyes, 1992; Selvi, 2014), or suggest different professional development or mentoring strategies (e.g., Barratt, 2010; Brady & Gulikers, 2004) for supporting NNESTs and NESTs respectively.

Both of these strategies have been integral and successful in raising awareness of the injustices of native speakerism, providing alternative terminology for discussing fluency and competence, and unraveling the ideological strands from which the native speaker concept is woven. These are worthy undertakings and in many ways are the bedrock on which this dissertation is built. However, this dissertation is primarily concerned neither with developing alternative terminologies, nor with enumerating the respective strengths and weaknesses of NESTs and NNESTs. Instead, I adopt lenses of poststructuralism and complexity lenses to unearth the historico-political underpinnings of dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness, as well as how these ideologies are recreated and reified in discourse.



## 2.3 THE POSTSTRUCTURAL TURN

While the precise definition of poststructuralism is unclear (Agger, 1991), particularly in comparison to postmodernism<sup>3</sup>, its “most important hallmark” is its rejection of the existence of an objective reality and its “aversion to clean positivist definitions and categories” (Agger, 1991, p. 112). Through a poststructuralist lens, every definition and category “tends to unravel when one probes into its foundational assumptions” (p. 112) and every knowledge “is contextualized by its historical and cultural nature” (p. 117). Poststructuralism has profound implications for the manner in which languages are conceptualized. For instance, in contrast to the structural linguistics of Ferdinand De Saussure (1959) that sought to understand the independent units of language (e.g., phonemes, morphemes, phrases, etc.), a poststructuralist lens views language not as a “neutral medium of communication” (Norton, 2010, p. 350) but instead as a fundamentally “social, cultural, and political act” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 29). From this perspective, communication is dialogically situated, meaning is co-constructed and negotiated (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981), speech events are embedded in macroscopic structures of political and economic value, and access to linguistic resources is seen as connected to access to other resources (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991; Heller, 2003, 2010). Makoni and Pennycook (2006) in their volume *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages* go a step further, to argue that the very naming and classification of languages functionally invents them, calling them into being (p. 10). As such, what constitutes “language” or

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<sup>3</sup> Agger (1991) posits that poststructuralism can be understood as “a theory of knowledge and language” while postmodernism “is a theory of society, culture, and history” (p. 112). However, this dissertation uses the term “poststructuralism” to refer to both traditions in order to emphasize the contrast with approaches that maintain the “structure” of objectively distinct languages and categories of use.

“linguistics” through a poststructuralist lens is far broader than what a structuralist frame permits. Furthermore, if languages themselves are seen as social constructs, then by extension, so-called native speakers of those languages must be as well.

Poststructuralist approaches have also been common in investigations of identity development and enactment for decades now, providing a way of conceptualizing and examining social performance without assuming pre-existing identity categories. Identity is understood to be constructed or crafted (Kondo, 1990) by agentive individuals (Weedon, 1987) within a particular social, cultural, historical, and political context (Duff & Uchida, 1997). It is dynamic, multiple, and shifting (Norton Pierce, 1995; Weedon, 1987), and constantly evolves across time and space (Kondo, 1990; Ochs, 1993). In the context of language education and socialization, identity has been framed as a “nexus of multimembership” (Wenger, 1998, p. 159) that “emerges out of the dialogic struggle between the learner and the community” (Lantof & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 149). In other words, individuals’ identities are dynamic and encompass individual agency, the local and community context, as well as connections to global discourses and ways of making sense of the world. Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) also highlight three additional considerations: (1) how individuals define themselves with respect to their social groups (2) how individuals alter their linguistic or cultural practices or performances to align or distance themselves from particular communities, and (3) how abstract notions of nativeness and nonnativeness are produced through this process of negotiation. Collectively, recent poststructuralist scholarship on language and identity has led to what has been termed the

poststructuralist turn in the NNEST Movement (Braine, 1999; Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015; see section 2.2).

### *2.3.1 Poststructuralism and the NNEST Movement*

Poststructuralist approaches to language and identity are also becoming increasingly prominent and influential within the NNEST Movement. While earlier scholarship, as described previously in this chapter, presupposed the existence of distinct categories of native and nonnative speakers and focused primarily on “objective” or “structuralist” considerations, like attempting to enumerate criteria defining native and nonnative speakers, more recent work has begun to conceptualize identity as multiple, fluid, and dynamic (e.g., Park, 2012; Reis, 2012; Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015) and problematize the “perpetual learner” framing of so-called NNESTs (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001, p. 102). A poststructuralist lens also questions traditional notions of language ownership and linguistic or pedagogical legitimacy (Alptekin, 2002; Widdowson, 1994), accounts for the increasingly diverse users and uses of English around the world (Canagarajah, 2006; McKay, 2011), and emphasizes the contextualization of language use (Mahboob, 2010). From this perspective, phrases used in international varieties of English (e.g., “kindly do the needful” in India), are not seen as wrong, inappropriate, illegitimate, or “nonnative” but are instead seen as successful communication. Furthermore, because poststructuralism reconceptualizes language itself as situated within a particular dialogical and sociohistorical context (Bahktin, 1981; Bazerman, 2004) and rejects the empirical existence of distinct languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 1996), it also renders objective, dichotomous categories of native and nonnative as impossible.

Issues of identity have also been receiving increasing attention within the NNEST Movement. While early work attempted to use identity-related factors to define nativeness and nonnativeness (e.g., Rampton, 1990) or to consider if and how students, administrators, and others perceive NNESTs as legitimate language speakers and users (Cheung, 2002, Flynn & Gulikers, 2001), more recent scholarship has adopted poststructural frames that account for the dynamic, fluid nature of identity. Such inquiries would have been precluded by dichotomizing or even continua framings of NESTs/NNESTs (Liu, 1999), and include investigations of the evolution and negotiation of identity over time and across multiple translinguistic and transcultural spaces (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2008; Park, 2012, Weedon, 1987). A poststructural lens also deepens understandings of how individuals' self-conceptualizations may be influenced by institutional regulations and circumstances (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001), personal experience and family history (Benesch, 2008; Rampton, 1990; Rampton, Harris, & Leung, 1997), and supervisors' perceptions (Faez, 2011a, 2011b). Poststructuralism not only recognizes individuals' agency in situated negotiations of their own identities (Bhabha, 1996; Rudolph, 2013) but also considers their invocation of local and global discourses (Kramersch, 2012; Motha, Jain, & Tecele, 2012; Norton, 2000, 2010) in making sense of their own and others' social positionalities. Rudolph (2012) conducted a "poststructuralism-informed narrative inquiry" (Rudolph, 2012; Rudolph et al., 2015, p. 37) of four English professors in Japan, and found participants' conceptualization of nativeness was "glocal in nature and origin, involving local and global

discourses” (p. 37) and that their positionality was “multi-directional and multi-locational” (p. 38), involving a wide range of contexts and interlocutors.

Further studies have also explored how these processes of identity construction and negotiation can affect teachers’ professional development and pedagogical approaches. Tang (1997), for instance, explores how NNESTs’ social identities influence their pedagogical approaches and ability to relate to students’ experiences in the classroom. Chacon (2009) considers how increasing critical language awareness in graduate language teacher education can positively impact novice NNESTs’ budding professional identities as language teachers, and Park (2012) focuses on the identity negotiation of an East Asian woman with respect not only to global discourses, but also in response to specific events, such as a friend expressing incredulity at her teaching English (p. 138). There is also increased attention paid to personal narratives. For instance, Samimy & Brutt-Griffler (2001) explores four narratives of individuals born “outside of the mother tongue context” (p. 99) to support the notion that nativeness and nonnativeness are socially constructed categories, and Lee (2010) reflects on the author’s personal “subjective story” (p. 1) of professional “coming of age,” from a self-conscious doctoral student anxious about teaching English composition to so-called native speakers, to an experienced professor living successfully on the borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987) and encouraging others to do the same.

### *2.3.2 The “Gap” in the Literature: Subject Formation*

Together, these and other investigations have made major contributions towards understanding NNESTs’ professional development, how they position themselves on both sides of the classroom, and how teacher education programs and the field of TESOL

overall can more effectively legitimize their linguistic and pedagogical skills and increase awareness of professional inequity in language education subfields (Brady, 2008; Rudolph & Yazan, in press). However, because the poststructuralist turn is so recent, the implications of a poststructuralist lens in conceptualizing notions of nativeness and nonnativeness have not been robustly theorized. Instead, studies risk essentializing native-nonnative positionalities by assuming their existence *a priori*—that native and nonnative are real categories that provide valuable information about the world.

This dissertation applies a poststructural lens to examine how individuals are constructed as native or nonnative speakers over time. To my knowledge, this is the first such undertaking of its kind, though I do build conceptually and methodologically on a small and growing body of literature that explores individuals' lived experiences and how local negotiations interact in complex ways with other discourses that participants encounter across scales, contexts, and policy levels (e.g., Kramsch & Whiteside (2008) and many mentioned in Norton & Toohey's (2011) review article). Thus, this inquiry contributes to the NNEST Movement an explicit focus on the construction of individual *subjectivities*, "one's sense of self...constituted through discourse" (Allan, 2008, p. 8), or on the subject positions of "native speaker" and "nonnative speaker" themselves. In other words, there is no unified theory for understanding how and why individuals are perceived or positioned as native or nonnative speakers, where the abstract notions of "native" and "nonnative" come from, or why these frames remain so pervasive despite their widespread critique for the last several decades.

In this dissertation, I extend and contribute to these conversations by more deeply engaging with poststructuralist insights from identity theory, social theory, and critical applied linguistics to demonstrate that “native” and “nonnative” can be understood as mutually-constitutive subjectivities that emerged historically and are reified through individuals’ negotiations of their own and others’ positionalities. The lens of *(non)native speakering* that I propose below builds on a poststructuralist orientation to consider the mechanisms that catalyzed the historical emergence of native speakerist frames of understanding language and language users as well as how and why they are continuously reified and (re)produced through everyday discourse.

#### 2.4 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING: THE (RE)INVENTION OF THE NATIVE SPEAKER

Despite the widespread problematization of the native speaker concept in applied linguistics (e.g., Braine, 2010; Graddol, 2006; Rampton, 1990; Rudolph et al., 2015), native speaker ideologies continue to manifest in a wide range of professional contexts from oral proficiency standards (e.g., ACTFL, 2012) to job advertisements (e.g., Bonfiglio, 2010; Selvi, 2010). However, the abstract notion of nativeness—that is, who constitutes a native speaker—unravels upon closer examination, revealing ideologies of accent (Liu, 1998, 1999; Bonfiglio, 2010), race (Amin, 1997, 1999; Shuck, 2006), citizenship (Bonfiglio, 2010; Mahboob, 2005), and others that have little connection to the “ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community” (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3) and even less to an individual’s communicative or pedagogical ability. *(Non)native speakering* as a theoretical lens reconsiders “the origin, nature, and perpetuation of the NS fallacy” (Rudolph et al., 2015, p. 39). It reconceptualizes

nativeness and nonnativeness as mutually-constitutive subjectivities and sheds light on how and why dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness emerged historically as well as how they are constantly (re)produced through discourse, perpetuating their place as the dominant paradigm for framing language users.

*(Non)native speakering* moves beyond more nuanced definitions and means of categorizing individuals as native or nonnative speakers, to instead denaturalizes native speakerist ideologies and shed light on the reality that native speakerist frames are not and have never been objective ways of understanding language or categorizing individuals. Furthermore, (non)native speakering argues that *(non)native speakered subjectivities*—abstract, idealized notions of native and nonnative speakers—are constructed over time through the discursive practices of individuals and institutions. Therefore, (non)native speakering can be understood in part as a process of subject formation by which individuals, who are not inherently native or nonnative speakers per se, are *(non)native speakered* over time with respect to different characteristics, through different institutional mechanisms, individual performances, and social negotiations. I use one term—(non)native speakering—to describe this process rather than two separate terms (i.e., *native speakering* and *nonnative speakering*) to encode the processes of constructing native speakered subjectivities and nonnative speakered subjectivities as mutually constitutive—that each is defined and therefore emerges in opposition to the other. For example, mobilizing discourses of Caucasianness



in conjunction with a native speaker simultaneously produces the social perception of a non-Caucasian nonnative speaker.

This process is simultaneously historical and emergent, producing “effects of truth...within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false” (Foucault, 1980, p.118). In the remainder of this section, I develop two mutually-dependent strands of (non)native speakering. The first is a historical/ genealogical analysis building on *nation-state/colonial governmentality* (Flores, 2013) and the language ideologies with which it is associated. This first strand primarily considers the socio-political circumstances that made possible the historical invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities and offers a foundation for understanding the structures of power and *regimes of truth* (Foucault, 1984) that continue to govern the evaluation of language practices at various scales. The second strand builds on *performativity* (Butler, 1990, 1993), and is concerned with the dynamic nature of (non)native speaker subject formation—how (non)native speakered subjectivities emerge from and are reified through discursive practices. The remainder of this section develops each of these strands in turn.

#### 2.4.1 *Historicizing (Non)Native Speakering*

In order to understand the day-to-day “manufacture and use” (Dalal, 2002, p. 27) of the native speaker concept, one must look beyond its apparently recent origins in theoretical linguistics (Chomsky, 1965; Mahboob, 2005) to consider the historico-political milieu that catalyzed its rise to prominence. Foucault’s *genealogical method* looks to the past to identify “the discursive regimes that allowed for the emergence of certain ways of understanding the world” (Flores, 2014, p. 2). This approach aligns with that of (non)native speakering, which is concerned with exploring the discursive

construction of (non)nativeness and conceptualizes “native” and “nonnative” speakers as (non)native speakered subjectivities produced through larger projects of governmentality.

Foucault (1991) defines *governmentality* as “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power” (Foucault, 1991, p. 102), where *power* is itself a series of mechanisms for knowledge production—a “productive network which runs through the whole social body” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Together, it is such governmental apparatuses and knowledges that “shape, sculpt, mobilize, and work through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants, and lifestyles of certain individuals and groups” (Dean, 1999, p. 12), inventing the abstract notions of native and nonnative speakers—what I collectively term *(non)native speakered subjectivities*.

A historical view of (non)native speakering explores the emergence of governmental apparatuses that systematically construct (non)native speakered subjectivities and favor idealized native speakers over their nonnative counterparts. Such apparatuses rose in prominence with the emergence of nation-states in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Bonfiglio, 2013; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006), during which citizens of each state were recognized and legitimized through certain ethnolinguistic or cultural characteristics that were similar to one another and emblematic of that nation, while those who were positioned as non-conforming were marginalized. Simultaneously, these inner circle countries were positioned as being ethically and linguistically superior to their colonies, the so-called “outer circle” (Kachru, 1985). Together, these two forces, which are regulated by ideologies of race, citizenship, and monolithic ethnolinguistic nationality, form a system of governance that Flores (2014) terms *nation-state/colonial*

*governmentality*, resulting from the formation of ethnolinguistically homogeneous nation-states and the mutually-constitutive Othering and illegitimization of foreigners, or those perceived as such, and colonial subjects (see also Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). From this perspective, an advertisement edited from seeking “native speaking *expatriate* English teachers” to seeking “native speaking *Caucasian* English teachers” (Bonfiglio, 2013, p. 30, emphasis added), is not merely an example of *native speakerism* (Holliday, 2006), but is part of a process of formation and institutionalization of mechanisms of governmentality that reify racialized (non)native speaker subjectivities. By using race, *Caucasianness*, to evaluate a teacher’s linguistic and pedagogical ability, the advertisement legitimizes the inner circle’s claim to English and becomes part of a process of colonial conquest (Benesch, 2008; Pennycook, 2008), in which the ethnolinguistically pure European nation-state is upheld as the racial and linguistic ideal of an English speaker or teacher, while others are considered less legitimate (Bonfiglio, 2010; Flores & Rosa, 2015). Additional mechanisms may include an individual or institutional preference for inner circle language features such as accent (e.g., ACTFL, 2012; Butler, 2007), or even individual behavior as innocuous as expressing surprise that people of color speak “proper” or “good” English because their racial positions are not aligned with those of Caucasian English speakers (e.g., Amin, 1997; Wilkinson, 2014).

Nation-state/colonial governmentality manifests in a wide range of mechanisms. For instance, many countries and languages around the world have policies or academies that maintain and standardize national language policies (e.g., Académie Française, Real Academia Española, etc.). In other cases, for instance in the United States which according to Flores (2014) “saw the creation of a national language academy as too

monarchical” (p. 3), the establishment of Webster’s codification implicitly entwined a static “standard” English with an American national identity. Flores (2014) goes on to argue that far from being egalitarian, this language of the “common man” was implicitly that of an educated, economically well-off, White citizenry. A level of linguistic heterogeneity was tolerated among other immigrants from Western Europe (e.g., Crawford, 1999), but educating African slaves to read and write in any language was illegal (Spring, 2009), and “the history of American Indian education can rightfully be conceptualized as a grand experiment in standardization” (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; as cited in Flores, 2014, p. 3). Flores goes on to cite Mertz (1982), who observed that there also emerged a “crudely Whorfian folk theory” (para. 11) that entwined American political concepts with English—that these concepts could not be understood independently of the English language. In these examples, even an implicit standardizing language policy can reify the association between a standard language, a national identity, and a racially homogeneous citizenry, while simultaneously Othering linguistic and racial identities that deviate from this established norm (see also Pennycook, 1998). While the majority of literature focusing on linguistic significance in the formation of nation-states has been Eurocentric (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012) or Anglocentric (e.g., Kachru, 1985, Bhatt, 2001), the association among legitimacy, language, and nationality certainly extends beyond English.

It is also important to highlight the fact that “governmental apparatuses” (Foucault, 1991) associated with one language or nation may influence knowledges of another, even if they are temporally distant, since such modes of power “run through the whole social body” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). For instance, dozens of people over the

years have asked me if I speak “Indian,” as if there were only one language spoken in India or even a clearly politically dominant language.<sup>4</sup> While a monolingualist nation-state framing does not apply to the Indian context, Americans and Western Europeans extrapolating from the England-English, Spain-Spanish, France-French, Germany-German (etc.) model extend their assumption to include India-Indian, which is nothing but an invention of their own.

It is also important to note that the process of legitimizing a native speaker of a language can also implicitly or explicitly mobilize discourses outside of the most-discussed triad of language-ethnicity-nationality, for instance, economic privilege and educational level were both mobilized by Noah Webster, who Baron (1982) observes “maintains a distinction between the learned and the common people” (p. 44). As such, decisions and judgments about language and language forms across institutions (e.g., education, government policy, standardizing organizations) and instruments (e.g., dictionaries, educational curriculum) influence individuals’ language use, perceptions, and behavior (Pennycook, 2006, p. 65), and how these judgments both construct and are constructed by abstract notion of an ethnolinguistically homogeneous nation-state.

Nation-state/colonial governmentality has several key implications for (non)native speaking. First and foremost, it denaturalizes native speakerist frames and links them to the emergence of nation-states as political, geographic, ethnic, and linguistic units of societal organization. In this way, (non)native subjectivities are understood to be dynamic and subject to sociohistorical circumstance rather than objective or empirically verifiable realities. Second, the social value and power of *citizens*

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<sup>4</sup> Ironically, if one was forced to identify a single politically-dominant language in India, one would be compelled to state English, as it is used as a lingua franca in most federal-level government and business operations.

of a nation-state are contingent upon the marginalization of colonial subjects and non-citizens in the same way that the privilege of native speakered subjects is contingent upon the lack thereof of nonnative speakered subjects (see also Pennycook, 2008), reinforcing the conceptualization of (non)native speaking as one mutually-constitutive process of subject formation rather than two independent processes of native speaking and nonnative speaking. Third, recognition as a “native speaker” entails not only mastery of the codified language of the political majority, complete with its pronunciation, grammar, and communicative norms (Flores, 2014), but also recognition as a legitimate member of a nation-state’s national citizenry. Together, these three points reinforce the reality that people from a given nation are expected to look, speak, and act in certain ways similar to one another and emblematic of that nation, and that those who deviate from these expectations are somehow inferior or illegitimate. Finally, unearthing the historical roots of such mechanisms of (non)native speaking sheds light on why asserting the “privilege of nonnative speakers” (Medgyes, 1992; Selvi, 2014) in some ways undermines the very equity it attempts to advance. Such an effort itself reifies a static framing of the native-nonnative dichotomy and obscures the internal heterogeneity and fluidity of each positionality. Furthermore, as Rudolph et al. (2015) observe, this reification risks the “essentialization and decontextualization may result in oversimplifying issues... confounding approaches to addressing such issues, and ultimately rendering efforts and raising awareness and transforming the field ever more challenging” (p. 40).

A historical perspective of (non)native speakering provides insights into the historico-political milieu within which discourses that produced the possibility for (non)native speakered subjectivities emerged. The everyday (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as the dynamic construction of individuals as (non)native speakered subjects occurs against this backdrop.

#### 2.4.2 *(Non)Native Speakering as Performative*

(Non)native speakering is also concerned with how “constitutive acts” and language practices situated within local interactional contexts as well as complex, macro-level political, economic, and institutional interests (Duchene, 2008) congeal to form the “mental-cultural ‘image’” (p. 23) of (non)native speakered subjectivities. This lens has many parallels to Judith Butler’s (1990, 1993) framing of gender as *performative*, and seeks to “*disinvent* current notions of language in order to be able to reinvent them for use in a new politics of language studies” (Pennycook, 2004, p. 7, emphasis original). According to Butler (1990), something performative “constitutes the identity it is purported to be” (p. 25). She views *gender* as a verb rather than a noun, where the subject of the verb—the *genderer*—is itself created in the act of *gendering*, doing or performing a series of social and cultural practices called gender. From this perspective, a girl does not so much *act like a girl*, in an expression of prior or independent girlish identity, so much as *girl*, as a verb, through a series of acts that “congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance” (p. 33), in this case *girlness*. Butler also emphasizes that “being called a “girl” from the inception of existence is a way in which the girl becomes transitively “girlled” over time” (1999, p. 120). In other words, the process of subject formation is one of “dynamic constitution of social realities” (Miller, 2012, p. 89) that

requires multiple *iterations* of social naming through repeated *citations* across social and discursive contexts. For example, Butler (1999) frames the performative utterance “It’s a girl!” as mobilizing discourses of femininity, which then coalesce with other social realities (e.g., a room being decorated in pink, the birth of a biologically female child, etc.), both producing and reifying the connection between discourses of femininity, “girlled” subjectivities, and other social realities.

Like gender, (non)native speaker status is performative. Just as individuals are gendered through repeated acts upon which are imposed the social-semiotic significance of gender, so are individuals *(non)native speakered*, or constructed and positioned as native or nonnative speakers, over time through dynamic processes of (non)native speaking. This can be in terms of explicit speech acts (e.g., “You are not a native speaker”) or implicit discursive positioning (e.g., in asking a person of color how they learned English so well). It is for this reason that I use *(non)native speaker* and *(non)native speaking* as verbs that encode the dynamism and fluidity of this process of subject formation. Thus, (non)native speakered subjects are defined by what they *do* and how others perceive and define their behavior, rather than with regard to any sort of inherent or innate quality. The identity of *(non)native* cannot exist distinctly from these acts, but is instead continually enacted and performed, congealing to form the perception of nativeness and nonnativeness as self-evident across iterations. A performative lens would view Bonfiglio’s (2010, 2013) job advertisement, which within a two-day period was edited from hiring “native speaking expatriate English teachers”



to “native speaking *Caucasian* English teachers” (p. 30, emphasis added), as a discursive act that cites racializing discourses to produce a racialized (non)native speakered subjectivity as an ideal teacher. Repeated citations of race in conjunction with nativeness reify their association and sharpen the social perception of racialized (non)native speakers.

Performativity has recently informed the theoretical frameworks and approaches of a handful of studies, particularly concerning language learner and teacher identity formation and individuals’ negotiation of institutional discourses (e.g., Harman & Zhang, 2015; Miller, 2012, 2014; Wooten, 2012). I extend this work by more explicitly connecting individual “constitutive acts” of (non)native speaking to the larger-scale discursive production and (re)signification of (non)native speakered subjects. This also builds on previous studies of “native speaker effects” (Doerr, 2009) on individual identity by theorizing how individual negotiations of (non)native speakered positionalities reverberate beyond individuals’ identity construction and contribute to the broader discursive production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. For example, a student who reads *Borderlands/La Frontera* (Anzaldúa, 1987), which deploys a broad range of linguistic and cultural resources to portray the multiple and fluid identities of the author/protagonist, may then feel empowered to present and perform herself in ways that undo dominant, homogenizing mechanisms of (non)native speaking. A teacher, administrator, or professor, who likely has a broader sphere of influence, may even enact policy encouraging such practices, intensifying their effect.

Performativity offers two additional insights into the nature and emergence of (non)nativeness. First, it notes that the discursive formation of native speakered

subjectivities also *interpellates* nonnative speakered subjectivities. In other words, nativeness is best defined in opposition to nonnativeness and vice versa.<sup>5</sup> Thus, these processes are mutually-constitutive and necessarily interdependent. Second, performativity views (non)nativeness as a “mental-cultural ‘image’” (Duchene, 2008, p. 23) that emerges at the nexus of multiple discourses (see Wenger, 1998) which are shifting in constant negotiation and conflict (e.g., Gergen, 1991; Weedon, 1987). The complex nature of this construction (Blommaert, 2012) encourages an openness to discourses that may be mobilized, beyond the most-discussed characteristics of race/ethnicity, nationality, and proficiency.

Resisting (non)native speakerist paradigms can take many forms. For instance, engaging in translanguaging (García, 2009) or translingual writing (Canagarajah, 2013) encourages subjects to use language or deploy discourses in ways that are not readily affiliated with a single nation-state or ethnicity and which do not conform to traditional monolingualist or (non)native speakerist paradigms. In the same vein, one can resist the deficit perspective associated with the concepts of interlanguage or fossilization (Selinker, 1972) by actively using what would traditionally be considered “broken” language for communication, and engaging in other language practices that (non)native speakerist frames would illegitimize or marginalize, as they would not traditionally be considered “native,” or even “fluent” or “proficient.” By engaging in such practices, language users resist being legitimized users of only one codified language and construct new subject positions that embrace and normalize their linguistic heterogeneity.

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<sup>5</sup> ZhaoHong (2004), titled “To be a native speaker means not to be a nonnative speaker” highlights this reality.

It is important to note here that while an opportunity for resignification can subvert dominant norms, not every opportunity necessarily does so. Butler (1990), in her argument for performative framings of gender, observes that while a drag show can be an opportunity to subvert heterosexual gender norms and frame gendering as fluid, it can also potentially reinforce such norms if the subversion is ignored, misunderstood, or locally stigmatized. In other words, the social interpellation and codification of an act is as significant as the act itself. For instance, the act of translingual writing (Canagarajah, 2013) or translanguaging (García, 2009) is not subversive in and of itself, and can actually reify (non)native speakered subjectivities if they are framed as a deficiency or merely as means of transitioning students from one language to another. On the other hand, if translingual writing is used as an intentional expression of fluid, transnational, or heterogeneous identity, or is presented as useful in global interactional contexts (Lu, 1994), it can subvert monolingualist norms. Thus, its impact depends on its social recognition and codification; if such acts are not recognized as resisting the formation of a (non)native speakered subject, they may not have the social impact of a subversive act.

Social evaluations of current practices, behavior, or paradigms can also undermine dominant practices and ideologies (Butler, 1993), moving towards new ways of framing languages, language use, and language users, particularly with the impact of popular discourse on social media and other online forums (e.g., Jenkins, 2006; Rymes, 2014). For instance, the internet memes below resist the deficit discourses surrounding multilingual individuals and practices by reframing and normalizing them, both explicitly in their content and implicitly in their existence and popularity.



Figure 2.1



Figure 2.2

The first image<sup>6</sup> questions the marginalization of individuals who speak with “foreign” or “nonnative” accents<sup>7</sup> and instead reframes them with an emphasis on a communicative asset—being bilingual—rather than a liability. The second image<sup>8</sup> normalizes “Spanglish,” both demonstrating its communicative efficacy and acknowledging its perception as a problem in institutionalized settings. While each meme is steeped in its own ideological biases, the first in implicitly assuming that monolingual speakers are “accentless” and the second in reifying the perception of “Spanglish” as problematic, they still open a window into a space of resistance against dominant norms, and in support of a local, contextualized language practices and the construction of new ways of thinking about language and language use. This suggests, once again, that local reinvention and resistance against a macroscopic policy, in and beyond online forums, individual practices, and classrooms, could provide new insights into understanding how (non)native speakered subjectivities are both resisted and reified.

<sup>6</sup> Retrieved from <https://memegenerator.net/instance/49631412>

<sup>7</sup> It has been observed (e.g., Shuck, 2006) that “native speakers” are often perceived as being accent-less, while those who are “foreign” are perceived to be “accented”, even though in a linguistic sense, everyone speaks with an accent.

<sup>8</sup> Retrieved from <https://bookofness.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/spanglish.png>

The examples cited throughout this discussion have not always explicitly mobilized (non)native speakerist discourses per se, though they have invoked ideologies of language, culture, geographical location, and others grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality. They have also mobilized discourses integral to individual performance and sense-making of (non)native speakerist paradigms, particularly in the case of the two internet memes, which are written in the first-person. Together, these ideologies and discourses, some of which have been closely studied by the NNEST Movement and others which have not, permeate across contexts, congeal to construct in the social perception notions of ownership and legitimacy, and govern the constitutive acts from which emerge (non)native speakered subjectivities. The list of possible mechanisms of (non)native speaking is endless and deeply contextualized based on individuals' experiences and the discourses and power structures to which they are exposed and within which they operate. Therefore, researchers' objective should not be to compile a comprehensive list of all factors, mechanisms, and discourses that could possibly contribute to (non)native speaking in an abstract or universal sense as much previous work has done, but rather to explore the manner in which the mental-cultural image of (non)native speakers emerges within particular contexts through constitutive acts and the discourses deployed by individuals and institutions.

#### *2.4.3 Closing Comments on Poststructuralism*

Thus far, I have grounded (non)native speaking in poststructuralist social theory, identity theory, and the NNEST Movement. I have conceptualized it as a dynamic, discursive process that deconstructs the substantive emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities into their constitutive acts, accounts for those acts within the

compulsory frames set by the various forces that police their social appearance, and considers how each iteration of (non)native speakering interacts with others to contribute to future iterations. These iterations may occur in multiple settings (e.g., coffee shops, classrooms, internet chat rooms, etc.), at different levels of social organization (e.g., individual, friend groups, university policy, national policy, etc.), through various media (digital, speech, legal discourse, etc.), with various interactional dynamics (e.g., between teachers and students, between authors and readers, etc.), and in conjunction with other related ideologies (e.g., race, nationality, culture, etc.).

However, individual iterations cannot be examined in isolation, but must be analyzed and interpreted in relation to their social and historical context, as well as with respect to other iterations of (non)native speakering. For this reason, I also draw on complexity as a metatheory for conceptualizing the multiple and dynamic components of (non)native speakering.

## 2.5 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AS A COMPLEX, DYNAMIC SYSTEM

Because complexity transcends disciplines, methodologies, scales, and contexts, Overton (2007) describes complexity theory as a *metatheory*:

A metatheory is a coherent set of interlocking principles that both describes and prescribes what is meaningful and meaningless, acceptable and unacceptable, central and peripheral, as theory – the means of conceptual exploration – and as method – the means of observational exploration – the context in which theoretical and methodological concepts are constructed. *Theories and methods refer directly to the empirical world, while metatheories refer to the theories and methods themselves.* (p. 154, emphasis added)

In this section, I draw on *complexity theory*, as a metatheory (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 2015; Overton, 2006, 2007) that complements the poststructuralist frame of (non)native

speaking in many ways. First, conceptualizing (non)native speaking as a complex, dynamic system facilitates a more robust theorization of how iterations of (non)native speaking can be understood in relation to one another across settings, participants, interactions, and media, as well as how (non)native speaking, and therefore (non)native speakered subjectivities, transcend these spaces and emerge as social imaginaries. Second, a complexity orientation has unique implications for methodology, informing data collection and analysis in ways that are undertheorized in poststructuralist social theory. Finally, while poststructuralism has been somewhat applied in educational, linguistic, and sociological research, it has largely been ignored by the scientific community for two reasons: (1) great scientific advances of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been heavily analytical and modernist in nature, and (2) poststructuralist discourses are often presented in anti-scientific terms that stress proliferations of meaning, shortcomings of logic, and the failure of such analytical approaches (Cilliers, 1998). Engaging with complexity theory, which both overlaps with and complements poststructuralism theoretically, allows me to build more concrete bridges to work done in a broader range of scholarly fields as well as sub-disciplines in applied linguistics and education, including language policy and practice, language development, and teacher education.

To this end, I first outline the core tenets of complexity theory as it was developed in the natural sciences, and briefly explore how it has been utilized as a metatheory in several subfields of linguistics and language education. Then, I consider how complexity as a metatheory can provide additional conceptual insights for (non)native speaking, particularly in terms of the complexity and multiplicity of contexts and discourses involved, as well as the methodological implications of these insights. Finally, I again

contemplate the value of the combination of poststructuralist critical theory and complexity theory in framing (non)native speaking.

### *2.5.1 Complexity: Origins, Definitions, and Clarifications*

Complexity theory, developed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the fields of physics, biology, chemistry, and economics, is principally concerned with “how complex behavior evolves or emerges from relatively simple local interactions between system components over time” (Mason, 2001, p. 406). Before what has been called the “complexity turn” (Urry, 2005), scientific perspectives were primarily characterized by Newtonian Reductionism (Larsen-Freeman, 2015). Objects were conceptualized as composed of discrete units of measurable length that move linearly in Cartesian Space, “contained within such boundaries of absolute time and space” (Urry, 2005, p. 4). By extension, objects behave in simple, linear ways that demonstrate direct, causal relationships. As such, reductionist methodologies focus on establishing simple, causal links between system components (for instance, “X is so because Y”; “Y causes X”). Most concepts taught in introductory-level physics courses are grounded in Newtonian Reductionism.

However, such approaches are limited and have been largely complicated or even rejected in scientific fields. Davis & Sumara (2012) argue that “the first major development in the emergence of complexity research was that there was a class of phenomena that cannot be understood in terms of simple cause-effect dynamics” (p. 30). For instance, in Charles Darwin’s Theory of Evolution, multiple factors at multiple scales collectively affect how evolutionary change happens, from nanometer genetic mutation to individual agents’ food



consumption, to mating success at the species level and perhaps, on the ecological level, whether a particular carnivore was hungry on a given morning. In such an example, each event is so entwined with others that attributing causality to a single influence is impossible. Instead, the outcome emerges from the interaction of multiple causes.

Davis and Sumara (2012) summarize the emergence of complexity-oriented research in three distinct phases. “Complexity 1.0” is characterized by the cross-disciplinary recognition of a class of emergent phenomena that could not be adequately described by classical, analytical (i.e., reductionist) science, and the subsequent unification of like-minded researchers studying systems as diverse as ant colonies, neural networks, cities, and cells, under the metatheoretical banner of “complexity theory.” At this time, the primary goal was to describe these systems in as much detail as possible and to develop visual metaphors that reflect their complexity, for instance, the nested systems framing of an ecosystem.

“Complexity 2.0” looked beyond describing and comparing complex and non-complex entities, to exploring new mathematical models of complexity, analyzing why such systems behave as they do, and developing strategies for predicting them. Most recently, “Complexity 3.0” has become “decidedly more pragmatic” (Davis & Sumara, 2012, p. 31)—going beyond identifying, understanding, and analyzing complex systems to making “deliberate efforts to trigger them into being, to support their development, and to sustain their existence” (p. 31). While the theoretical orientations of each phase make significant contributions to (non)native speakering—1.0 in developing a “thick description” of (non)native speakering as a complex, dynamic system, and 2.0 in making robust connections to other complex processes in language development and education—

I see Complexity 3.0 as perhaps the most poignant complement to poststructuralist conceptualizations of (non)native speakering, as it resists determinist frames, and provides a starting point for undoing the (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities and moving towards a more equitable field.

Before diving into an in-depth exploration of the characteristics of complex systems, their relevance to linguistics and education, and their applicability to (non)native speakering, I must highlight two additional definitional nuances. First, a “complicated” system is not necessarily “complex,” though complex systems are almost always complicated. A complicated system that has a large number of components and performs a sophisticated task is not complex if it can be broken down into distinct components that operate with defined cause and effect relationships with one another. For instance, a car engine is certainly complicated, but each part serves a particular purpose that repeats in an identical fashion and indefinitely maintains the same relationship with external components (e.g., air, fuel, etc.). As such, a car engine is complicated, but not complex. Second, because complexity is a characteristic of the relationship between components of a system, it is manifested at a systemic level. As such, the notions of “simple” and “complex” are not as distinct as they may intuitively seem (Cilliers, 1998, p. 2; Nicolis & Prigogine, 1989). A seemingly simple system, like a plant’s leaf, is in fact extraordinarily complex, involving dynamic relationships between myriad system components as well as being highly sensitive to the environment outside the system, while a seemingly complex

system, like the car engine described above, can actually be explained in surprisingly simple terms.

### *2.5.2 Characteristics of Complex Systems*

The following core characteristics of complex systems and clarifying examples from the natural sciences are drawn from Larsen-Freeman (1997, 2015) and Cilliers (1998).

First, complex systems are dynamic and often, though not always, complicated. They generally consist of a large number of elements or agents that interact with one another, either physically or in the transference of information (Cilliers, 1998, p. 4; Davies, 1988; Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 143). They are constantly moving and changing, and therefore are far from a static equilibrium (Warf, 1993).

Second, the behavior of complex systems is emergent and cannot be understood by examining each component independently. Instead, micro-level interactions among different components produce larger patterns over time. For instance, the behavioral dynamics a flock of birds cannot be understood by examining each bird in isolation--one must consider how the animals relate to one another (Larsen-Freeman, 1997). Furthermore, the appearance and behavior of the system (the flock) emerges from smaller interactions of individual system components (the birds).

Third, causality is nonlinear in complex systems, both in terms of direction and proportion of causality. For instance, climate change is a positive feedback loop in which human energy expenditure causes rising temperatures and more extreme weather around the world, which recursively causes increasing energy expenditure in air conditioning and disaster relief efforts. In this way, even a small change in emissions can “snowball” into a

large change in global climate. Similarly, a seemingly insignificant trigger, such as a pebble falling in the mountains, may cause an avalanche—a result far out of proportion with the cause.

Fourth, complex systems are open and interact with their environments, often to the extent that the “border” of a complex system is difficult if not impossible to determine. Instead, scientists frame components of the system by “zooming in” on them, limiting scope of analysis without extracting and isolating system components.

Fifth, complex systems are feedback sensitive and adaptive. Feedback can either be positive, enhancing or stimulating the system’s progress, as in an organism successfully reproducing and passing on a given genetic mutation, or it can be negative, inhibiting the system, as in an organism being eaten before having a chance to reproduce.

Sixth, complex systems exhibit “strange attractors” and a fractal organizational structure. An attractor is “the path a dynamic system takes” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 145) or “a way of representing the behavior of a system in geometrical form” (p. 146). For instance, the global appearance of a flock of birds can be understood as a strange attractor, as can the general pattern of planets orbiting around the sun. While there is clearly variation among iterations, there is a tendency to remain within a certain range. As such, predicting local details such as the precise position of each bird at a given moment within the larger pattern is impossible. That said, global structures of complex systems are always fractals, that is, they are self-similar at different scales. Consider a tree, in

which the general organization is self-similar at different levels of scale (branches stem from a central trunk, smaller branches from larger branches, twigs from smaller branches, leaves from twigs, and veins branch off within leaves).

As a metatheory, complexity offers, in the words of Jan Blommaert (2011), “a *perspective* for conceptualizing and understanding dynamic systems” (p. 10, emphasis original). As such, it can provide valuable insights into dynamic systems in a variety of fields, while being co-dependent on “object theories” that directly concern the phenomena being observed (Larsen-Freeman, 2015). In the literature review that follows, I explore how complexity theory as a metatheory has informed recent scholarship in several subfields of applied linguistics and language education, including second language acquisition/development, sociolinguistics, language policy, and others.

### *2.5.2 Complexity, Language, and Linguistics*

Language practices, language development, and language itself can also be understood as complex, dynamic systems. According to Larsen-Freeman (1997), language is a complex aggregate of multiple, interdependent subsystems (e.g., phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, pragmatics) in which the whole (i.e., language) emerges from the interaction of its parts. Language cannot be understood simply by analyzing its components independently from one another. Furthermore, the grammar of language can be conceptualized as a process, in which the very use of language creates new relationships among its subsystems, changing both their nature and their relationships. In this sense, Larsen-Freeman observes, “as I write this sentence, and as you read it, we are changing English” (1997, p. 148). Thus, language is a complex system in that “[the act of] playing the game changes the rules” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997,

p. 158). Larsen-Freeman also notes that changes in an individual's grammar could catalyze a process that leads to global change.

Larsen-Freeman (1997) also observes that the process of second language acquisition (SLA) can be understood as a complex, dynamic system. Not only does learners' language constantly change and develop, but because the process of using the "target" language transforms it, there is no endpoint at which acquisition is achieved; "the target is always moving" (p. 151). Furthermore, SLA involves many interacting factors, none of which determines the nature of the process individually, but which collectively have a profound effect. Such factors include learners' L1, L2, the amount and type of input and interaction, as well as their contexts, the amount and type of feedback received, and so on, not to mention the social, socio-psychological, and identity-related factors of age, aptitude, motivation, attitude, personality, learning strategies, sex, and others (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). SLA has also been observed to be nonlinear process (Larsen-Freeman, 1997), open to influences outside of an individual's language learning experiences, and sensitive to initial conditions (e.g., human predisposition to developing language proficiencies). Given the dynamic nature of SLA, Larsen-Freeman in her later work (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 2014) reframes second language *acquisition* as second language *development* (SLD), as "acquisition" implies the permanent possession of an unchanging object rather than an engagement and participation in a complex, dynamic process.

Blommaert (2014) explored a paradigmatic shift in conceptualizing speech communities, language, and sociolinguistics more broadly "from stability to

mobility and mobility to complexity.” Classically, speech communities were thought of as geographically-bounded, internally homogeneous, with a language that represented the “purely historical heritage of the group, the product of long-continued social usage” (Sapir, 1921, p. 4). Later, the emphasis shifted to “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction” (Gumperz, 1968, p. 381) and with a shared set of social and linguistic norms, a shift which facilitated the study of language variation as a function of socioeconomic class, gender, and culture (e.g., Gumperz, 1962, 1968; Hymes, 1972; Labov, 1966). More recently, scholars have increasingly engaged with individuals’ mobility among multiple hybrid speech communities, for instance in Gumperz’ (1982) intercultural communication studies in British professional contexts, Rampton’s (1995) examination of heterogeneous urban schools, or, on a more theoretical level, Wenger’s (2010) *landscapes of practice*, as a more dynamic alternative to *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Acknowledging the inherent mobility of sociolinguistic phenomena introduces an element of unpredictability, and calls for close ethnographic inspection of communicative minutiae (Blommaert, 2011, p. 6). However, Blommaert (2011) also notes that capturing the “whole system” is impossible—a researcher may not be able to note the history and trajectory of each repertoire element (Rymes, 2014), much less its environment, particularly in the extraordinarily large online community that also created or mass-mediatised new registers, literacy-based semiotic expressions, notions of appropriateness, and ways of giving feedback, such as *metacommentary* (e.g., Jenkins, 2006, Jacuemet, 2005; Rymes, 2014; Varis & Wang, 2011). As such, the mobility inherent to the “sociolinguistics of globalization” is now difficult to ignore.

The second paradigmatic shift, which Blommaert (2014) notes is just beginning, is the shift from mobility to complexity. He observes that sociolinguistic systems, which he defines as “any set of systemic—regular, recurrent, nonrandom—interactions between sociolinguistic objects at any level of social structure” (p. 10) are *complex*, in that they are constantly changing and unbounded, and have multiple polycentric *scale levels* (e.g., individual, peer group, age group, family, etc.) each of which may have its own dynamic norms, which themselves are not “only have an existence in iterative communicative enactment” (p. 5). Such systems are thus characterized by mobility of individual agents as well as repertoire elements, and their emergent patterns are shaped by historical influences as well as the emergent co-evolution of system components. An additional consideration is *fractal recursivity* in which a phenomenon at one scale level reverberates through the entire system (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Because multiple such changes occur simultaneously, each influencing every other, determining or predicting how a given valuable may affect the larger system is difficult if not impossible.

Albert Bastardas-Boada (2013) advocates for a complexity approach to Language Policy and Planning (LPP), echoing Spolsky (2005) in saying “[a] simple cause-and-effect approach using only language-related data is unlikely to produce useful accounts of language policy, embedded as it is in a ‘real world’ of contextual variables” (Spolsky, 2005, p. 2153). Instead, he argues that in LPP, as in sociolinguistics more broadly, multiple scales interact and manifest in one another. As such, rather than attempting to isolate individual system components,



a more appropriate goal may be “distinguishing without separating” (Morin, 1990, p. 23), which “zooms in” on a particular issue, individual, or interaction, while still remaining cognizant of its connections to other system components. Hult (2010a, 2010b) calls for a “principled eclecticism” in developing a multidimensional discourse analysis for the ecology of language policy. As Blommaert (2011) notes with sociolinguistic inquiries more broadly, language policy can be understood as a series of nested linguistic ecosystems (e.g., Calvet, 1999; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) in which “the processes at one scale are constitutive of the processes at the next highest scale... as such scales are interdependent, connected by people and discourses that move within and across them” (Hult, 2010a).

As such, complexity approaches have catalyzed a paradigmatic shift in conceptualizing the nature of languages, the study of sociolinguistic phenomena, the emergence of speech communities, and approaches to language policy and practice. In the discussion that follows, I turn to implications of a complexity orientation for scholarship in teacher education, the primary context addressed in this dissertation.

### *2.5.3 Complexity and Language Education*

Like other systems of social organization (e.g., cities, businesses, ecosystems, etc.) schools exhibit many features of complex adaptive systems, as they are “dynamical and unpredictable, non-linear organizations operating in unpredictable and changing environments...[and] shape and adapt to macro- and micro-societal change, organizing themselves, responding to, and shaping their communities and society” (Morrison, 2008, p. 19). As such, educational research can and should be informed by complexity theory. More specifically, complexity theory challenges the linear causality implicit (or explicit)

in much experimental, positivist educational research, replacing these deterministic, universalizable closed system orientations with an emphasis on relationships, networks, and contextualized interactivity (Morrison, 2008, p. 24; see also Cohen & Stewart, 1994). As such, Morrison argues, educational research should consider the insights afforded by multivalent, non-linear, multidirectional causality can reframe educational contexts as complex ecological systems rather a unidirectional flow of information from higher lower tiers of educational organization. As Hult (2010a, 2010b) also argues, conventional scales of educational analysis (e.g., individuals, classrooms, institutions, communities) should be considered in concert with one another, such that the unit of analysis becomes an ecosystem (Capra, 1996, p. 301), with a particular topic or center of interest that emerges from the interaction of the system's components (i.e., a strange attractor).

Morrison (2006) observes the relevance of complexity for concerns as diverse as analyzing participation in a networked, online learning platform (Jakubowicz, 2006), staff development in schools (Fong, 2006), the impact and circulation of macro-level policies on local learning environments (Tong, 2006), territory-wide socioeconomic, technological, and funding effects on nursing education (Nogueira, 2006), the impact of local economic growth on education (Tchiang, 2006), and others. Each of these papers addresses a subsystem that itself is a component of the larger system of education. Brent Davis and Dennis Sumara (e.g., Davis & Sumara, 1997, 2000, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) are among the most prolific writers on complexity theories in educational research and have

also considered the relevance of complexity in educational subfields such as cognition (see also Spivey, 2007), learner identity and agency (see also Mercer, 2013), and teacher education (see also Cochran-Smith, Ell, Ludlow, Grundoff, & Aitken, 2014). For the purposes of this dissertation, which takes place in a teacher education setting, I will discuss specifically the contributions of a complexity orientation to issues of teacher education and teacher identity development.

As Cochran-Smith et al. (2014) note, discourses spouting the inadequacy of teacher education and the need for teacher education reform hinge on the assumption of a linear causal relationship between teacher education policies, programs, and curriculum, and teacher quality, as well as a linear causal relationship between teacher quality and students' achievement. As such, reform initiatives have focused on revolutionizing teacher education curriculum, school-university relationships, professional development programs, and other programs whose implementation supposedly will directly improve teachers' professional development and therefore students' outcomes. However, such initiatives have been largely unsuccessful because they fail to consider the system holistically (Cochran-Smith et al., 2014). Instead, teacher education can be conceptualized as a complex, dynamic system whose form is shaped by societal and statutory parameters that shift over time (e.g., school, local, state, and national policy; family systems, community advocacy, etc.). It is characterized by multiple, diverse, short-range, interactions and interactional frameworks (e.g., initiation-response-feedback; classroom rules and routines; institutional practices like registering for courses, etc.), and the reality that larger-scale policies may be taken up at the local level in a wide variety of ways (see also Menken & García, 2010). As such, small-scale changes, for instance one

teacher observing a positive outcome of an initiative in a particular setting, can catalyze global change. Lastly, the system constantly sprouts new research, issues, and change.

Cochran-Smith et al. (2014) goes on to identify three broad categories of scholarship applying complexity theory to teacher education. Group 1 is primarily conceptual, and seeks to challenge underlying assumptions of educational research and practice, for instance in rejecting “representational notions of cognition and dominant views of knowledge as object in favor of organic notions of cognition as existing in the interstices of a complex ecology of organismic relationality” (Davis & Sumara, 1997, p. 110), and problematizing the overwhelming focus of teacher education on isolated problems or procedures that obscure both the influence of teachers’ working conditions and their professional and personal lives (Opfer & Peddler, 2011). This argument is not dissimilar from Kumaravadivelu’s (2003, 2006) advocacy for “principled pragmatism” and “macrostrategies” in lieu of pedagogical prescriptions. Group 2 is primarily empirical, and focuses on using complexity theory as a lens to describe and interpret particular cases or aspects of teacher education in new ways. In this sense, it is similar to “Complexity 2.0” as described by Davis & Sumara (2012), in that it is primarily concerned with increasingly nuanced levels of description of complex systems rather than seeking to motivate any kind of systemic change. Group 3 uses complexity theory as a framework for documenting and understanding systemic transformation, how deeply entrenched “attractor states”

can be disrupted, and how these concerns have the capacity to inform pragmatic concerns (see also Davis & Sumara, 2006).

While complexity theory can yield greater insights into why and how particular educational systems function in particular ways, it also poses two key challenges. First, because complexity rejects positivist linearity of cause and effect, it cannot guarantee prescriptions. For instance, it cannot contribute to the identification of “key factors” of all “effective schools” (Radford, 2006), nor can it prescribe generalizable “best practices” (i.e., “if your school does X then it will be successful”). However, complexity is useful for unraveling how “factors and interconnections that constitute schooling come together to function successfully in a given environment” (p. 185) as well as identifying the commonalities among multiple successful patterns, which can then be catalyzed in other contexts. Thus, complexity theory can be useful for analyzing multiple causality, in which several causes collectively contribute to a particular outcome (e.g., Byrne, 1998), from spread of tuberculosis in the UK (as was Byrne’s concern) to the success of students on standardized exams. A second limitation of complexity theory is that because of its origins in the natural and biological sciences, it undertheorizes the role of power in social processes (Morrison, 2008). As such, multiple scholars, myself included have attempted to integrate complexity concerns with social theory (e.g., Cilliers, 1998; Sealey & Carter, 2004; Walby, 2007).

#### *2.5.4 Complexity Theory and (Non)Native Speaking*

Complexity theory, like performativity, offers a dynamic view of “process rather than state, of becoming rather than being” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 142), which relates individual iterations to systemic change (p. 149). In both frameworks, a perceived system

or reality emerges from acts that in themselves recall (or cite) a larger systemic trajectory. However, just as language cannot be understood exclusively as the sum of its parts, native and nonnative speakers cannot be defined simply by listing out their characteristics, as much previous work has attempted. Instead, just as we went “from *grammar* to *grammaring*” (Larsen-Freeman, 1993, emphasis added), so must we shift our orientation from native and nonnative speakers to (non)native speakering—encoding the constantly adapting, dynamic emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities across multiple events. (Non)native speakering can be understood as a complex, adaptive system:

1. It is a *complex* process, in the sense that the social perception of (non)native speakered subjectivities emerges from micro-level interactions among different components within the system over time, and no single instance of (non)native speakering is itself representative of the entire process of subject formation. Instead, the mutually-constituted notions of native and nonnative speakered subjects emerge from individual iterations—citation of race, accent, nationality, or other characteristics with regard to (non)native speakers, imbue the native speaker with said characteristics over time.
2. (Non)native speakering is an *open, self-organizing, adaptive system*. The (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities, even when examined in a localized context, can be influenced by events or exposures far outside the immediate context. This could include anything from a long-past experience of being asked how one learned English so well to rewatching the multilingual Coca-Cola commercial from the 2014 Super Bowl. As such, attempting to isolate individual subjects, interactions, or ideologies to make broad generalizations about the system is impossible.
3. (Non)native speakering is *nonlinear* and *multidirectional*. Current iterations can influence future events and the interpretation of past events. Causal direction can also vary across multiple spaces (e.g., classrooms, textbooks, events), institutional levels (e.g., individuals, classes, department, university), and a wide range of personal experiences and discourses, from nationalistic discourses grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality to childhood memories of newscasters, which constantly interact and influence one another, rather than remaining distinct or having an exclusively top-down effect.

4. (Non)native speakering involves *feedback*—the success or failure of a particular linguistic or behavioral effort or act of (non)native speakering. The use of “native speaker” and related terms in social contexts will depend on the social recognition of and reaction to those terms in previous interactions.
5. (Non)native speakering tends towards the “strange attractor”—the “path that a dynamic system takes” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997)—of (re)producing (non)native speakered subjectivities. While the means by which it produces these subjectivities, including the interlocutors, context, medium, ideologies invoked, etc., may change, the system overall converges in the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. This attractor also exhibits a fractal organization, as it involves self-similar behavior at multiple scales (e.g., an individual saying “I am a native speaker of Spanish,” an institution categorizing its students as native or nonnative English speakers, a nation only issuing visas to native English speaking teachers, etc.), which also draws attention to the “local in the global and global in the local” (Rudolph, 2013, see also Block & Cameron, 2002; Briggs, 1992; Canagarajah, 2005).

From this overview and from the literature review above emerge several considerations for (non)native speakering—the emergence and (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities—both generally as well as specifically in educational spaces.

First, complexity theory offers a more robust theorization of how iterations of (non)native speakering can be understood in relation to one another across settings, participants, interactions, and media, as well as how (non)native speakering, and therefore (non)native speakered subjectivities, transcends these spaces. Going one step further, a complexity theory approach to (non)native speakering also encourages connecting such individual experience to how systems, institutions, and policies at multiple scales confer and deny (non)native status, and contribute to its social construction across multiple scales. When made explicit, such contextualization can support graduate students, pre-service teachers, and language learners in understanding why and how assumptions are made about their own or others’ language abilities, how they can resist such presumed positionalities, and how a seemingly micro-level local

resistance can have an impact that reverberates to macro-level social and institutional policy. In many ways, complexity theory echoes the ontological and epistemological concerns of performativity, and even Foucault's emphasis on "polymorphous correlations in place of simple or complex causality" (cited in Harvey, 1990, p. 9; see also Mason, 2008). However, because of its origins in the natural sciences and application to multiple subfields of applied linguistics and language acquisition, complexity theory opens different transdisciplinary conversations from performativity.

Second, as Walby (2007) noted, complexity theory provides a way of visualizing and conceptualizing the shifting discourses that may be mobilized in the production of (non)native speaking. Walby (2007) posits that social bodies are comprised of multiple different sets of social relations or "categories," each of which can be conceptualized as a complex system itself (e.g., gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, etc.). The discourses that produce each of these systems can be "zoomed in on" while conceptualizing all others as a context. In this sense, other social discourses mobilized in the production of (non)native speaking subjectivities are still connected to the system, though they may not be the analytical focus at the time. Thus, complexity theory prevents the flattening of individual categories into, for instance, a culturally reductionist concept of identity or an economically reductionist concept of class. Instead, each "set of social relations of social inequality is understood as a social system with full ontological depth, being constituted in the institutional domains of economic, polity, violence, and civil society" (Walby, 2007, p. 460). As such, such systems



in theory could co-evolve—a change in conceptualizations of race, class, ethnicity, or any other social system could profoundly affect (non)native speakering. While it may not be possible “to identify let alone measure all the factors accurately...[or] predict the outcome of their combination” (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 157), conceptualizing the components of (non)native speakering as systems in their own right nonetheless allows greater ontological depth without diluting its explanatory power (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Walby, 2007).

Third, complexity theory has been conceptualized as a *metatheory* or *methodology* (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 2015; Overton, 2006, 2007), informing empirical research in a wide range of disciplines, and highlighting two methodological considerations. First, the analytical focus should not be on “substances, subjects or things” but instead should focus on “the relations between these substantives” (Cilliers, 1998). Thus, (non)native speakering focuses not on analyzing the nature of (non)native speakered subjectivities themselves, but rather on understanding how they emerge through discursive interaction. As such, it suggests the need for qualitative case study methodology that allows for a high degree of participant interaction and analytical triangulation (Morrison, 2008). For instance, rather than analyzing “textual materials” such as transcripts in isolation, a textual analysis should be complemented by observational field notes and artifacts that can provide a more detailed context within which a transcript or other text can be interpreted (Blommaert, 2014). Second, Cochran-Smith et al. (2014) pose several different strategies for analyzing and organizing data from a complexity theory perspective, including *system mapping*, “which lays out the general landscape of a complex system, including its major elements and structures, its

interdependencies, and overlapping areas, and its ambiguous borders” (p. 29), and *extended case studies*, which contextualize case studies within their historical and analytical context, emphasizing possibly multidirectional relationships among components of each case, well as between the case and other “background” systems.

The fourth and final major contribution of complexity theory to (non)native speakering is in its goals—in going beyond identifying, understanding, and analyzing complex systems to making “deliberate efforts to trigger them into being, to support their development, and to sustain their existence” (Davis & Sumara, 2010, p. 31). One goal of the current study and of any future studies of (non)native speakering in general is to better understand how and why (non)native speakered subjectivities can be resisted at the local level and how they can be undone at the systemic level.

In this section, I have provided a theoretical overview of complexity theory, explored its application in the natural and biological sciences as well as in applied linguistics and education, and have outlined several ways in which complexity theory complements poststructural approaches to (non)native speakering. I echo Cilliers (1998), who in his exploration of complexity and poststructural theory wrote “There is no *imperative* to subscribe to the poststructural position when we deal with complex, dynamic systems” (p. 136), and I acknowledge that complexity theory generally subscribes to a similar orientation towards emergentism, nonlinearity, and connectionism as poststructuralism. However, in explorations of (non)native speakering, I find that

complexity as a metatheory provides a more nuanced awareness of transdisciplinary connections, methodological considerations, and analytical goals than can poststructuralism alone.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

(Non)native speakering as a complex, poststructuralist approach provides a “way of thinking about language use and identity that avoids foundationalist categories” (Pennycook, 2004, p. 1), and it opens new ways for understanding how sedimented notions of languages and identities emerge at the nexus of multiple shifting discourses that are in constant negotiation and conflict (Weedon, 1987; Wenger, 1998). The complex nature of this construction encourages an openness to discourses or values beyond the most-discussed trinity of race/ethnicity, nationality, and proficiency, and even beyond explicit attempts to define nativeness or nonnativeness at all, to instead consider how participants’ “doing of language creates new spaces of possible identification” (Harissi, Otsuji, & Pennycook, 2012, p. 530) as well as how (non)native speakering co-evolves with other institutional policies and social categories (Walby, 2007). This approach also extends previous studies of “native speaker effects” (Doerr, 2009) on individual identity by theorizing how negotiations of (non)native speakered positionalities reverberate beyond individuals’ identity construction or individual iterations of (non)native speakering, influencing (non)native speakering at other social scales as well as the broader production of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

In the following chapter, I explore the methodological implications of this theoretical framework.

## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the design and instruments of the research study. I first briefly introduce methodological implications for (non)native speaking as a theoretical orientation. Second, I provide an overview of the research questions and study, followed by a description of the research context and participants. Third, I describe the instruments and processes of data collection and the methods of analysis. Finally, I reflect on ethical considerations in this process and how I positioned myself throughout the study.

### 3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND RATIONALE

(Non)native speaking can be understood not only as a theoretical reconceptualization of nativeness and nonnativeness as mutually-constitutive, discursively-produced subjectivities, but also as a methodological lens for examining a dynamic process of subject formation and identity negotiation. As a complex process, (non)native speaking takes place through multiple citations of (non)native speakered subjectivities or related ideologies at multiple scales of policy and practice. Embracing Shohamy's (2004) claim that "researchers should feel free to examine a variety of modes, to mix and blend different ones in the long journey toward answering research questions" (p. 729), I utilized a combination of qualitative methods, including critical observational methods, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups, as well as a demographic survey that contained both qualitative and quantitative questions. The details of each of these instruments as well as how they each contribute to answering my research questions are presented below.

### 3.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research project is organized around four focal questions.

1. How can *(non)native speakering*, that is, the (re)invention and reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities, be understood as both a historical and emergent process? How does this process interact in complex ways with other processes of marginalization in which language is implicit?
2. How do teacher candidates, teacher educators, and institutional policies in a graduate language teacher education program contribute to the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities?
3. How do pre-service teachers negotiate, reify, and resist processes of (non)native speakering and create possibilities for alternative subject positions? How does this process affect their identity development?
4. How can teacher educators and department administrators create spaces for their students to occupy alternative positionalities that resist the reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities?

### 3.3 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The study was conducted in the language teacher education program at a large private university in a large city in the northeastern United States. To maintain anonymity, I use Northern University (NU) as a pseudonym.<sup>9</sup>

In the language teacher education program (hereafter LTE), teacher candidates completed 34-50 credits of graduate coursework. The number of credits required of an individual student varied by whether or not they were pursuing a state teaching certification, and whether they were specializing in teaching English or a “foreign” language.<sup>10</sup> The courses covered a broad range of linguistic and pedagogical content, as

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<sup>9</sup> In order to preserve anonymity as much as possible throughout this dissertation, I have changed names of individuals, institutions, departments, and courses. However, I have tried to choose names that maintain the ethos of the original (e.g., “English Language Center” rather than the official name of the department).

<sup>10</sup> I use the term “foreign language” here and elsewhere because it is the term used by the State Department of Education. I add quotes to problematize the monolingualist assumption that the US is an exclusively English-speaking country and that languages other than English are in fact foreign (i.e., not indicative or representative of America or Americanness). For instance, many languages (e.g., Spanish and French) were prominent in parts of the US long before English was, while others (e.g., Chinese, German, Arabic, and Hindi) are increasingly spoken within the US by individuals who identify as American.

well as classroom observations and supervised student-teaching. Candidates completing state certification also enrolled in courses relating to legal concerns, the K-12 school system, and the local educational and social context. Candidates were also required to take advanced language and linguistics coursework focused on their language(s) of specialization. Candidates completing certification in “foreign” languages had the option of completing significant amounts of coursework in countries where their language of specialization was widely-spoken. Many participants who were earning certification in Spanish or Mandarin chose to take advantage of this opportunity.

In general, candidates not completing state certification completed their master’s in 3 semesters while those completing state certification completed in 4 semesters. In order to increase their competitiveness on the job market, NU encourages candidates to pursue joint degrees and certifications whenever possible. As a result, many earn state certification in both English and a “foreign” language. While this adds additional courses, most students are still able to complete their degrees without adding a full semester.

### *3.3.1 Language Proficiency Exam*

International students who did not hold a bachelor’s degree from an English-speaking institution were required to take an English language exam at NU’s English Language Center (ELC).<sup>11</sup> This exam was administered prior to the start of the student’s first class and assessed all four skills, each of which was graded from 1-9 where 9 was the highest level of performance. If a student earned less than 9 on this exam, that student was required to enroll in relevant language coursework through the ELC. Language courses did not count towards students’ master’s degrees in any way. As a result, some

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<sup>11</sup> Neither a high school diploma nor a master’s degree were alternative fulfillments of this requirement.

candidates completing this language requirement needed an additional term or two in order to graduate.

### 3.4 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

This study adopts a combination of convenience sampling and nested sampling. According to Merriam (1998), “convenience sampling is just what is implied by the term – you select a sample based on time, money, location, availability of sites or respondents” (p. 63), while nested sampling (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) involves sampling across members of different subgroups, often with different levels of focal and peripheral participants, in order to identify conceptual boundaries and “refine ideas” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 519).

Focal participants were recruited from two courses: a K-12 student-teaching seminar and an adult student-teaching seminar taught by the same professor, Anna Marie. These courses were selected for three reasons. First, it was important that participants have some level of teaching experience and that they were teaching at the time of the study because previous work suggests that teacher candidates’ construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities affects individual identity both as graduate students and as language educators (e.g., Aneja, 2014; Jain, 2014; Motha, Jain, Teclé, 2012). Second, because the public school K-12 teaching context is often subject to more stringent state and national-level policies, having one section within the K-12 context as well as one section operating somewhat independently of these constraints allowed for studies of two somewhat distinct but interconnected discursive contexts. Finally, these two courses were taught by the same professor, which provided a level of continuity in terms of pedagogical approach, and also allowed me to build a close relationship with

her, ask questions about pedagogical techniques or approaches, and compare her philosophies in each class.

In order to gain a broader understanding of NU's LTE program and to access more students for focus groups and interviews, I also recruited participants from an advanced research seminar that met four times throughout the semester, taught by Marsha, an associate professor and the director of the focal master's programs, as well as through e-mail blasts forwarded by the department director. Reaching out via e-mail and attending non-focal classes not only made more students and faculty familiar with me and my project, somewhat normalizing my presence at NU, but it also provided me with alternative perspectives and background information about the program and the urban context in which the university and students' teaching sites were located. These participants also provided alternative perspectives in focus groups and in interviews, giving me a more robust data set. Participants from classes were recruited by a simple in-class announcement, followed by a distribution and recollection of IRB approval forms, while participants who were not enrolled in the focal classes were initially contacted via e-mail and then completed the IRB form at our first meeting.

As the semester progressed, additional students continued to contact me, including several Caucasian students earning dual certifications in English language and Chinese language pedagogy. I met with these students as well, with the goal of bolstering my data set and gaining additional information about the program and individual students' experiences. In some ways, having these supplementary/non-focal interviews also allowed me to reflect on my analysis and ask questions that I may not necessarily have thought of otherwise. They also shed light on additional considerations—for



instance, the process of (non)native speakering in the context of a “foreign” language class, while literature thus far has almost exclusively addressed dichotomized notions of (non)nativeness with regard to English and English language teachers.

In addition to the teacher candidates themselves, I also interviewed several non-focal faculty members in addition to Anna Marie, who taught the courses focal to the study. Such faculty members included the department chair, LTE program coordinator, the director of the Chinese language teacher education program, teacher candidates’ mentor teachers, a visiting scholar, two recent graduates, and others in the university community. While I was not able to actually visit candidates’ teaching sites due to institutional and legal constraints with the public school system and with NU’s ELC, where many adult education candidates did their student-teaching, having contact with candidates’ mentor teachers provided me with useful insights into that world.

In terms of total numbers of participants, many researchers (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998) suggest sampling until it is not possible to incorporate additional participants or until there is sufficient overlap in the data gleaned that recruiting additional participants is no longer fruitful. However, I found that every participant’s linguistic, academic, and vocational experience was sufficiently different to be interesting and provide relevant, valuable contributions to my study. As a result, I made a concerted effort to meet with all those who demonstrated an interest in speaking with me.

Throughout this study, I invited the participation of all who were interested, regardless of whether they would traditionally be considered “native English speakers” or “nonnative English speakers.” This openness differs methodologically from the majority of NNEST-related scholarship to date (Braine, 2010; Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Moussu &

Llurda, 2008; Park, 2012; Rudolph, Selvi, Yazan, 2015; Selvi, 2014), which focus almost exclusively on the identity development of so-called “NNESTs” or their evaluations by peers, students, and supervisors. I welcomed all prospective participants to this study for two main reasons. First and foremost, this dissertation is primarily concerned with how the categories of “native” and “nonnative” are constructed through everyday discursive practices, how they become a seemingly axiomatic way of thinking about languages and language users, and how individuals are (non)native speakered—or constructed as being more native or more nonnative across discursive spaces and contexts. Therefore, making this distinction *a priori* would have unnecessarily introduced criteria that my participants may or may not have introduced independently. Second, many of my participants teach languages other than English that they did not grow up speaking and which they learned in adolescence or adulthood. As a result, while they may traditionally be considered “native English speaking teachers” they would also be considered “nonnative Spanish/Mandarin speaking teachers.” Thus, their contributions still provide useful insights into the construction of nativeness and nonnativeness, even if the reference language is not always English.

### 3.5 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

I had 17 research participants, 11 of whom were enrolled in Anna Marie’s K-12 student-teaching seminar or her adult student-teaching seminar. Of the remaining six students, three were enrolled in Marsha’s advanced research seminar, and three “peripheral” participants either contacted me independently or were introduced to me by the Mandarin certification program coordinator. Participants were also pursuing a number of different degrees, including TESOL/Mandarin with K-12 certification (5 participants),

TESOL/Spanish with K-12 certification (5 participants), TESOL-only with K-12 certification (2 participants), TESOL-only without K-12 certification (3 participants), Mandarin-only without K-12 certification (1 participant), and one participant who was not in a language education program but who had significant interest in indigenous language revitalization and had previous language teaching experience.

The table below contains demographic data from a survey completed by my research participants. A copy of the survey itself is included in Appendix A.<sup>12</sup> The survey was e-mailed to participants as well as distributed in hard copy during the second month of the study. It generally overviews participants' language, academic, professional, and cultural background, and elicits brief explanations for what they consider their first or home language and "native" language. The survey revealed that participants ranged in age from 24-30 years old and had 0-7 years of language teaching experience. Participants came from a wide range of demographic backgrounds, with their self-reported gender identification and racial/ethnic affiliation as follows: 11 women and 5 men, 6 Caucasian Americans, 3 African Americans, 1 Turkish American, 1 Indian, 1 Bolivian, and 5 Han Chinese.<sup>13</sup> Every participant had lived in more than one country, with their collective experience including but not limited to the US, England, China, Taiwan, Japan, Bolivia, France, Spain, Mexico, Turkey, and Argentina. Participants also rated their language proficiencies in any language they felt comfortable reporting from 1-5 in each skill (reading, writing, listening, speaking), where 1 was "little working proficiency" and 5

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<sup>12</sup> While such a survey is in some ways in tension with the dynamic process of (non)native speaking I explore throughout this dissertation, I decided to include a survey of this sort to give readers a more complete sense of participants' backgrounds, aside from the discursive data presented in subsequent chapters. That said, the demographic charts should be interpreted as how participants chose to present themselves when presented with the static confines of a demographic survey, not as objective information about participants' identities, affiliations, or orientations.

<sup>13</sup> All racial/ethnic/linguistic questions were open-ended on the survey. I report here and below students' self-reported racial/ethnic/linguistic proficiencies and affiliations

was “professionally fluent.” Unless otherwise stated, participants were enrolled in the last semester of their master’s program.

The charts below also include how I contacted participants and what kinds of data I was able to collect from them. Due to participants’ busy schedules, balancing student teaching, a full course load and other commitments on top of participating in my study, not all students were able to attend focus groups. However, I encouraged participants to participate in whatever capacity with which they could comfortably manage. As a result, some participants elected to be interviewed but declined to participate in focus groups. In the table below, data types are denoted using the following abbreviations: I = Interviews; FG = Focus groups; CO = Classroom Observations; SW = Student work.

	<b>Pseudonym Age/Racial-Ethnic Affiliation/Gender Program Contact method Data types</b>	<b>Languages and proficiencies (1-5, 5 is professionally fluent)</b>	<b>Living and Teaching Experience</b>	<b>Current Courses</b> Focal courses in bold.
1	Grace 25/Caucasian American/F TESOL/Spanish w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/4S/5R/5W	Lived in the US (age 0-2; 5-22; 25- present) Lived in London (age 2-5) Lived in Spain (age 22-25)  * Corporate English consulting in Spain (1 year) * K-12 pull-out ESL in US * 7-12 Spanish classroom in US	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b> Advanced Spanish Language Students with disabilities Second language acquisition
2	Matt 30/African American/M TESOL/Spanish w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/5S/5R/5W (3) Portuguese 1L/1S/1R/1W	*Ministry of Education, Spain * Corporate English consulting in Spain (1 year) * English and Spanish in K-12 US public schools	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b> Advanced Spanish Language Intercultural perspectives Second language acquisition
3	Alex 24/Caucasian American /M TESOL/Spanish w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/5S/5R/5W (3) German 2L/2S/2R/2W (4) Portuguese 3L/1S/3R/1W	Lived in USA (0-22) Lived in Argentina (21) Lived in Spain (22-23) Lived in USA (23-present)  *Taught ESL and Spanish to K-12 in USA	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b> Advanced Spanish Language Students with disabilities Language Assessment

4	*April 30/Caucasian American /F TESOL/Spanish w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/5S/5R/5W	Participant did not return survey – Data unavailable	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b>
5	*Kim 27/Caucasian American /F TESOL/Spanish w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/5S/5R/5W (3) Polish 2L/1S/1R/1W	Participant did not return survey – Data unavailable	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b>
6	Lily 25/Han Chinese/F TESOL/Mandarin w/cert  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) Mandarin 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Sichuanese 5L/5S; no writing system (3) English 4L/4S/4R/5W	Lived in Hubei (age 0-17;22-23) Lived in Szechuan (age 17-21) Lived in USA (age 23-present)  *teaching in USA K-12, Chinese as a foreign language and ESL	<b>Advanced Research Seminar</b>
7	Gloria 29/Bolivian/F MA Latin American and Caribbean Studies  Class announcement I/FG/CO/SW	(1) Quechua 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Spanish 5L/5S/5R/5W (3) French 5L/5S/5R/5W (4) English 5L/5S/5R/5W	Lived in Bolivia (age 0-28) Lives in USA (age 28-present)  *taught Spanish to 7-12 in France *taught Quechua in higher ed in France	<b>Advanced Research Seminar</b> Linguistic Analysis Indigenous Languages in the Americas, Introduction to Latin American and Caribbean studies

8	Neha 30/Indian/F TESOL w/cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) English – 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Hindi – 3L/3S/3R/3W (3) Marathi – 3L/3S/3R/3W (4) Gujarati – 3L/3S/1R/1W	Lived in Bombay (age 0-23) Lived in USA (age 23-30)  *taught K-12 ESL, USA	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b> Advanced Research Seminar
9	*Laura 26/African American/F TESOL w/cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) English – 5L/5S/5R/5W	Participant did not return survey – Data unavailable	<b>K-12 Student teaching seminar</b> Culminating research seminar
10	Brittany 30/Turkish American/F TESOL w/o cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Turkish 3L/3S/1R/1W (3) French 3L/3S/2R/2W	Lived in Istanbul (age 0-4) Lived in USA (4-present)  *taught nursery school in the US for 2 years *current student teaching English in higher ed	<b>Adult student teaching seminar</b>
11	Zoe 22/Han Chinese/F Mandarin w/o cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) Mandarin 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) English 5L/5S/5R/5W	Lived in Beijing (age 0-18) Lived in USA (age 18-present)  *taught Mandarin and English to young children through adults in both the US and China *Taught in both public and private schools, and in for-profit educational institutions	<b>Adult student teaching seminar</b> <b>Advanced Research Seminar</b> Teaching and Technology

12	Mark 28/African American Diaspora/Bi-racial/M TESOL w/o cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) German 2L/2S/1R/1W	Lived in California (0-25) Lived in New York (25-present)  *current student teaching listening/speaking courses in higher education *teaches Zumba classes at NU	<b>Adult student teaching seminar</b> Culminating Research Seminar
13	*Oliver 30/Han Chinese/M TESOL w/o cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) Mandarin 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) English 5L/5S/5R/5W	Participant did not return survey – Data unavailable	<b>Adult student teaching seminar</b>
14	Daisy 24/Han Chinese/F TESOL/Mandarin w/cert  Class announcement I/CO/SW	(1) Mandarin 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) English 5L/5S/5R/5W	Lived in Chengdu (0-19) Lived in Beijing (19-23) Lived in USA (23-present)	<b>Advanced research seminar</b> Academic Writing Student teaching seminar (non- focal)
15	Kiki 28/Caucasian American /F TESOL/Mandarin w/cert 1 <sup>st</sup> semester student  Professor Recommendation Single interview	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Mandarin 3L/3S/3R/3W (3) Japanese 1L/1S/1R/1W	Lived in USA (0-22;22-present) Lived in Japan (20-21)  *no teaching experience	Intro to L2 Pedagogy Language and technology Structures of American English Advanced Chinese



16	John 23/Caucasian American /M TESOL/Mandarin w/cert 1 <sup>st</sup> semester student  Professor Recommendation Single interview	(1) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) Mandarin 4L/4S/5R/4W (3) Spanish 2L/2S/3R/2W	Lived in North Carolina (0-22) Lived in Taipei (1 semester) Lived in Beijing (2 summers) Lived in USA (23-present)  *taught Chinese 101 conversation 3 years, higher education *led ESL club, higher education, 1 year *Translated for a Taiwanese newspaper, English to Mandarin and Mandarin to English	Linguistic Analysis Intro to L2 Pedagogy Teaching urban adolescents Advanced Chinese
17	Wu 26/Han Chinese/M TESOL/Mandarin w/cert 1 <sup>st</sup> semester student  E-mail blast I/SW	(1) Mandarin 5L/5S/5R/5W (2) English 5L/5S/5R/5W (3) French 2L/2S/3R/3W (4) Spanish 1L/1S/1R/1W	Lived in China (age 0-25) Lived in USA (25-present)  *taught TOEFL in China <1 year *significant translation experience from Mandarin to English and English to Mandarin	Introduction to L2 pedagogy Language assessment Intercultural Perspectives

\* Participants did not return their demographic surveys. I filled in these details with information gleaned from other data sources, including interview, classroom participation, and journal submissions.

*Table 3.1 Participant overview*

### 3.6 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND PROCESSES

This dissertation employs a multi-phase qualitative analysis that combines participant methodologies with document analysis of course texts and student work. Data was collected from January-May 2015, the spring semester at Northern University (NU), and included a demographic survey, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, classroom observations, and collection of classroom artifacts and student work. The tables below provide a brief overview of the frequency and sequence of collection of each type of data.

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Frequency of Collection</b>
Classroom Observations/Field Notes	Weekly for K-12 & Adult Student Teaching Seminars (STS) Advanced Research Seminar met once per month – 3 sessions total
Semi-structured Interviews	1 per month per participant – 3 per participant
Focus Groups	1 topic per month, 2 sessions per topic – 6 total
Demographic Survey	Distributed via e-mail and in hard copy in the second month

*Table 3.2 Data source and frequency*

<b>Month</b>	<b>Data Collected</b>
January	1 session of K-12 STS & Adult STS
February	4 sessions of K-12 STS & Adult STS 1 session of Advanced Research Seminar 1 Interview per participant 2 focus group sessions Distributed demographic survey
March	3 sessions of K-12 STS & Adult STS 1 Interview per participant 2 focus group sessions
April	3 sessions of K-12 STS & Adult STS 1 session of Advanced Research Seminar 1 Interview per participant 2 focus group sessions
May	1 session of K-12 STS & Adult STS 1 session of Advanced Research Seminar Solicited unreturned demographic surveys

*Table 3.3 Timeline*

Below, I introduce in more detail the various tools and processes of data collection and then provide a brief rationale for this combination.

### *3.6.1 Demographic Survey*

During the term, each focal participant completed and returned a demographic survey [see Appendix A]. This survey gathered data like participants' name, age, gender, program, year of study, work history, academic history, international travel and intercultural experience, and language proficiencies. In addition, it also gathered their self-identified native language and ethnicity, as well as a brief justification for why they identified as such. The survey was designed to provide a general background for each participant as well as an explicit elicitation of their (non)native status in their own words.

### *3.6.2 Interviews*

Each of the focal participants was scheduled to be interviewed three times during the semester. I had originally planned to time the individual interviews so that the first would be before the start of the focus group but after participants' teaching practicums started, the second would be at the half-way point, and the third would be after the final focus group meeting. While this general objective was maintained, in practice interviews sometimes took place in a slightly different order. For some participants, such as April and Brittany, who had significant medical challenges, and Neha, who was working several different jobs, scheduling all three interviews formally was not possible. In these cases, I tried to catch them immediately before or after class for a few minutes, and was able to squeeze in many of the conversations I had more deeply with other participants.

In addition to the focal participants who were enrolled in the teaching seminars or who participated in more than four combined interviews or focus groups, I also interviewed Kiki, John, and Wu, all of whom were first-year students completing joint certifications in ESL and Mandarin. Kiki and John were introduced to me by the coordinator of the Mandarin certification program, while Wu contacted me through my e-mail blasts at the beginning of the term.

Interviews were intended to provide a loosely-structured, low stakes (i.e., no grades or professor) environment in which participants could express and process experiences or notions of (non)native speaking in a supportive environment. I generally held interviews in a quiet cafe close to campus, inviting participants to order a hot drink as we talked. I chose this café in particular for several reasons. First, it was relatively quiet and comfortable for recording, and it was situated close to campus, just a few minutes' walk from the main library and from students' classes. Second, it was outside of the department, making participants a bit more relaxed, and somewhat removing me from the position of authority I may be perceived as holding in more overtly academic spaces. Third, the opportunity to purchase a drink or snack for my participants gave me a way to thank them for their time and contributions to my project, and to set the ambiance of acquaintances meeting for a chat rather than a doctoral student interrogating her participants. I sought to develop "collaborative, reciprocal, trusting, and friendly relations with those studied" (Denzin, 1998, p. 275).

If we were not able to meet at this café for whatever reason, I scheduled meetings with participants wherever possible—in library conference rooms, in the department

lobby, or anywhere else where they felt comfortable. In one case, with Brittany, I conducted a Skype interview, since it was not possible for us to meet in person that week due to inclement weather.

All of the interviews used a combination of semi-structured and stimulated response protocols. They were designed to better understand not only how participants think about their own fluid positionality as (non)native speakers of various languages, but also to elicit narratives of their experiences with language that may shed light on this process of negotiation, as well as how participants navigated academic discussions of language privilege, authenticity, correctness, and related ideologies both as graduate students as well as language education professionals. The first interview broadly focused on participants' linguistic, academic, and professional backgrounds, as well as their notions of nativeness and linguistic access and legitimacy. The second interview broadly focused on authenticity, appropriateness, and correctness, and the third interview addressed issues of translanguaging and translingualism, as well as practicality of implementation. A more detailed outline of the content of each round of interviews is included in Appendix B. These themes were selected because of their relevance to the NNEST Movement, Applied Linguistics, and (non)native speaking. However, the interviews themselves were flexible enough to address local concerns, including specific class comments or incidents, excerpts from students' written work or teaching experiences, and comments from previous interviews or focus groups (see Briggs, 1986).

Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed shortly after it was conducted, generally within a week (Merriam, 1998). Immediately after every interview, I made oral

or written notes of first impressions, any interruptions or unusual events that took place during the interview, the general interview milieu, salient themes, and any other information that seems useful, as suggested by Briggs (1986). These oral notes were then transcribed with the interview to provide context and additional insights during transcription and analysis. As I transcribed the interviews, I added additional notes of questions that might be useful to discuss in later interviews or focus groups. Thus, earlier interviews informed later interviews.

In addition to interviews with teacher candidates, I also interviewed multiple professors, program coordinators, mentor teachers, and other members of the larger NU LTE community. These interviews were similarly structured, but were designed generally to gain a deeper understanding of the LTE program, professor philosophies, and the resources and environment created for students.

### *3.6.3 Focus Groups*

Three rounds of focus groups were scheduled throughout the semester, with two separate “sessions” in each round, to accommodate for participants’ schedules. While originally I had planned for all participants to attend focus groups in addition to individual interviews, scheduling challenges made this impossible. Instead, I encouraged participants to participate to the extent possible for their schedule. As a result, 7 of my 17 participants attended all 3 focus group sessions. Grace and Kim met with me on Wednesday afternoons, while Gloria, April, Matt, Alex, and Lily met on Thursday evenings. Each focus group meeting was scheduled for an hour, but they often ran into 1.5-2 hours. In each focus group session, I provided stimuli to catalyze participant

discussions on issues related to language, language ideologies or language practices, and their own experiences with (non)native speaking in academic and “real world” settings as teachers, students, and language users (See Appendix C). All focus groups were audio recorded. I chose to audio instead of video record because audio recording is less invasive—I could simply start the recording on my phone and set it down in the middle of the table where participants would often forget about the recording. Furthermore, the focus groups were sufficiently small and the participants’ voices sufficiently different that I could easily identify the speakers and follow interactions among group members from their voices alone (Morgan, 1988).

The general outline of the focus groups somewhat paralleled that of the interviews. Themes were chosen based on their salience within language education scholarship, and were organized in a logical sequence that approximated the increasing theoretical nuance of a university course. The first set of focus groups addressed issues of race, ethnicity, (non)nativeness, and language use by using a YouTube video of a Caucasian native speaker of Cantonese as a stimulus (link provided in Appendix C). The second set of focus groups discussed holidays and implicit assumptions of nationality and language use. The third set of focus groups centered on issues of translingualism and translanguaging, and other “alternative” language practices that muddle the native-nonnative dichotomy as it is traditionally conceptualized. Together, in addition to a traditional, facilitated discussion (Agar & MacDonald, 1995), these groups employed additional forms of engagement, such as visual depictions (Agar & MacDonald, 1995),

and brainstorming (Suter, 2000). A more detailed description of each focus group as well as the stimuli used are included in Appendix C.

I chose to collect focus group data in addition to interview data not only because the collection of multiple data forms triangulates data (Berlin, 2000) and therefore increases the likelihood of consistent, reliable conclusions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), but also because focus groups facilitate complex interactions among participants that allow for the emergence of new ways of making meaning that are precluded by the individual interaction of an interview. (Krueger & Casey, 2014). Furthermore, because several of my participants (Grace, Kim, April, Matt, & Alex) were in the same degree program and were good friends, inviting their relatively relaxed conversations with one another provided a rich ground for discussion of (non)native speaking in their teaching sites and personal experiences.

As with the interviews, I sought to create as comfortable of an environment as possible for the focus groups. With the help of Marsha as the program director, I was able to reserve space in the department itself and order pizzas and drinks for the events. In this way, I was not only able to place participants as much at ease as possible, but was also able to thank them for their time and invaluable insights to my project.

#### *3.6.4 Observational Methods*

The observational methods used were intended to capture as much of the “day-to-day life” in the department as possible, both in and out of the classroom, from student-student conversations, professor comments, and class activities, to department events and public notices. Not only are these inner workings “integral to the reproduction of



institutionalized practices” (Giddens, 1984, p. 282), but they are also necessary to contextualize the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities and “capture them with all their complexity” (Canagarajah, 2010, p. 155).

#### *3.6.4.1 Classroom observations.*

I attended every meeting of each of the student-teaching seminars throughout the term. During classes, I took observational field notes and audio recorded the full lesson using a recording application on my smartphone. Field notes began with the setting, including the time, location, class, professor, participants who were present and absent, and a record of documents collected or submitted. During class sessions, I participated in activities and in group discussions, and did the readings and prepared assignments like the other students, while also collecting course texts and noting in as much detail as possible the professor’s comments, student-student conversations, and other classroom discourse and interactions. Immediately after each class, I noted salient themes, ongoing questions, and general impressions, as well as any events during class that were significant to participants. I transcribed my field notes into a more robust narrative as soon as possible after the event itself (Merriam, 1998), generally within 72 hours, supplementing my field notes with details and quotations using the audio recording.

Classroom observations served two key purposes. The first was to provide insights into the educational contexts in which teacher candidates found themselves at NU and to use these insights to provide an interpretive context for course texts, interview data, and focus group data. The second objective was to observe how, why, and with what results the professor was able to create opportunities for her students to develop and

occupy subject positions in opposition to (non)native speakerist framings and consider new ways of thinking about themselves, their own students, and their language use. These observations also served as a launching point for many interview and focus group questions.

It is also important to note here that I define “text” in the broad sense, including not only course readings, but also handouts, lecture notes, websites, videos presented in class and in the NU LTE environment, and other written and multimedia resources. This broadening definition that moves beyond traditional written texts responds to a rapidly changing and increasingly digital world. It has been taken up in both discourse analysis (e.g., Luke, 1995) and literacy studies (e.g., Mitchell, 2013).

#### *3.6.4.2 Student work.*

With students’ consent, I collected all written work produced for the seminar courses, including journal entries, reflections, and research proposals. Several participants were also willing to share work produced for other classes, and many of the candidates for K-12 teacher certification shared with me their teaching portfolios required for teacher certification as well. Some students in the courses agreed to allow me to collect their course documents and observational data, but declined to participate in any additional parts of the study such as focus groups or interviews. As a result, I collected, documented, and analyzed their documents, but do not focus on them in the analysis. Work from focal students was also used to inform interview and focus group questions.

### *3.6.4.3 Department/additional observations.*

In addition to classroom observations, I made an effort to spend as much time as possible in and around the department's communal spaces. In doing so, I was able to gather artifacts from the department itself—flyers of student and department events, course offerings, study abroad opportunities, and so on. My presence also made me easily accessible to students and professors and vice versa, as well as for impromptu meetings and introductions. This immersion also made me more aware of the department culture, how professors and candidates interacted, as well as what additional initiatives or programs were sponsored by or operated by the department. One such program was a monthly meeting that brought together faculty members, teachers, school district administrators, and university administrators to consider how emergent bilinguals<sup>14</sup> (i.e., English language learners) in the state's K-12 public schools could be more effectively supported. I was able to attend all of these meetings for the semester during which I was collecting my field data. Another department event was a Multilingual Literacy Day,<sup>15</sup> in which individuals could read a text, published or unpublished, in any language or combination of languages of their choice, in front of an audience of their peers, colleagues, and professors. If not for my almost constant presence in the department, I never would have attended these and other events, and my insights into the program milieu would have been far more limited. However, because it was not feasible or appropriate to ask every attendee at such events to complete an IRB form, my main goals

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<sup>14</sup> García (2009) proposes the term “emergent bilingual” rather than “English language learner” (which itself replaced “limited English proficient”) because it highlights students’ linguistic assets rather than their lack of English.

<sup>15</sup> A pseudonym

in attending were to deepen my understanding and familiarity with the context, to collect flyers, documents, and handouts for later textual analysis, and to observe how individuals who had already consented to participate in my study, interacted with one another and negotiated fluid positionalities in non-classroom contexts.

#### *3.6.4.4 Justification for data sources.*

Denzin & Lincoln (1994) advocate for the utilization of multiple data forms in order to increase the likelihood that conclusions drawn are valid and reliable. This approach is called *triangulation*, derived from the navigation technique of discovering a position on a map by taking bearings of distant landmarks to determine one's location, (Berlin, 2000; Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). There are several forms of triangulation, including methodological, data, investigator, and theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This dissertation utilizes methodological and data triangulation by using different methods to collect several different data sources, as listed above.

In this project, the collection of each data source involves slightly different methods and therefore provide slightly different perspectives and insights. From a triangulation of these sources and findings, a more complete understanding of (non)native speakering emerged than would have been possible from any individual source. Course and policy texts and field notes provide insights into the (non)native speakerist ideologies to which students were exposed in the classroom, as well as possibly how they negotiate and resist (non)native speakering in classroom contexts. Observational field notes and interviews with the professors and program administrators interrogate how and with what results teacher educators were able to create spaces for subject positions outside

(non)native speakerist frames. Observational field notes also provide an additional lens for understanding teacher candidates' positionalities, as their actions and explicit beliefs do not necessarily align with one another or with their classroom behavior (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 110).

Interview and focus group data provides a less structured environment with lower stakes in which participants could process and express their perceptions of (non)native speakered subjectivities and experiences with (non)native speaking. The interview setting was slightly more structured and allowed participants to express themselves individually, while the focus group facilitated complex interactions among participants, whose performances often interacted with one and other.

### 3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

This project generally applies methods of discourse and textual analysis. For this purpose, discourse refers to both written and spoken language use, and should be understood as “language-in-use”—meaningful symbolic behavior with a dynamic, flexible meaning negotiated among participants and with regard to their relationship to the social context (Blommaert, 2005; Hanks, 1996; van Dijk, 1997). Because discourse is socially situated, all discourse must be interpreted with regard to other discourses (Marshall, 1992), which “mark out identifiable systems of meaning and fields of knowledge and belief” (Luke, 1995, p. 15). Therefore, rather than being understood as a series of discrete statements, discourses become a system of related statements that interact in complex ways to produce and reproduce particular points of view (Fairclough,

1995; Mills, 1997). Thus, discourses cannot be politically neutral, but rather always “reflect ideologies, systems of values, beliefs, and social practices” (Hicks, 1995, p. 53).

Throughout this analysis, discourse is viewed as productive—“actively shaping and producing subject positions and the material realities in which we find ourselves” (Hicks, 1995, p. 52). The several forms of data collected were intended to complement each other, each providing slightly different insights into discourses and processes of (non)native speaking in this higher educational context. The purpose of their analysis was to understand how institutional and policy discourses shape and reflect particular realities for pre-service teachers and teacher educators, as well as how those individuals reinvent and resist such subjectivities.

### 3.7.1 Analysis of Texts

Texts<sup>16</sup> collected were analyzed using Allan’s (1999, 2008) approach of *policy discourse analysis*, which is designed to “analyze the discursive shaping of policy problems, solutions, and images” (2008, p. 3). I extended Allan’s approach to texts that do not explicitly engage with policy because a policy-focused lens sheds light on the hidden assumptions of texts, the manner in which they form governable subjects, and if and how such texts can subvert the status quo. It advocates for the reading of documents as efforts in subject formation and provides a means for naming and analyzing dominant, generally unquestioned policy discourses, and considering their implications, even how they limit movements towards equality.

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<sup>16</sup> I again clarify that I define “text” in the broad sense, including not only course readings, but handouts, lecture notes, websites, videos presented in class and in the NU LTE environment, as well as other written and multimedia resources—a definition that responds to an increasingly digital world and which has been taken up in both discourse analysis (e.g., Luke, 1995) and literacy studies (e.g., Mitchell, 2013).

The first stage of such an analysis was to closely read and reread all collected materials to “begin to see policy patterns and exceptions” (Allan, 2008, p. 57). Once a foundational understanding was gained, a more formal coding process could take place. This coding process employed both inductive and deductive coding in order to gain the greatest insights from multiple perspectives. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996), deductive coding involves the analyst approaching data with themes explicitly defined *a priori*. This method was applied first to narrow down the corpus to data that may be relevant. Deductive codes included, for instance, context (e.g., NU graduate course, teaching placement, “real world,” etc.), verbs describing what participants were doing with language (e.g., relaying a narrative from their past, offering metacommentary on their own or others’ language use, reflecting on an event in their teaching placements, etc.), responses to interview or focus group questions, themes that had been discussed in the NNEST Movement (e.g., race/ethnicity, nationality, accent, etc.), and whether a particular act or utterance was aligned with or resisting the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. Then, inductive coding was used to conceptualize the emergent themes. For instance, within the *a priori* code of resisting (non)native speaker subjectivities, emerged child codes of translanguaging/translingual subject, multilingualism-as-asset, rethinking holidays, and so on, all of which emerged from the specific discourses within the data. As the data was coded, it was necessary to read and reread documents to identify key concepts within and among documents in order to make connections among them (Allan, 2008, p. 60). This analysis also provided insights into

the individual interactions of students and teachers in the observational, interview, and focus group data.

### 3.7.2 Analysis of Interviews

As per Briggs (1986), I understood interviews as “intricate speech events with their own communicative norms and structures,” and assumed that both the interviewee and the interviewer were adhering to those norms. Thus, I sought to account for the components of the interview situation rather than focusing exclusively on the words of participants. Briggs (1986, p. 40-41) provides a detailed schematic for describing the components:

1. The primary participants – the interviewer and the respondent
2. The message form – auditory or visual signals that serve as sign vehicles for communication (e.g., words and gestures)
3. The referent – the “something else” the sign represents (i.e., Saussure’s 1959 *signifié*)
4. Channels – physical, visual, or acoustic, and circuits among participants
5. Codes – linguistic and nonverbal codes of encoding and interpreting messages
6. Social roles – the constructed positions of the interviewer and the respondent
7. Interactional goals/motivations of both participants
8. Social situation or context
9. Type of communicative event (e.g., esoteric lecture tradition, financial exchange, etc.)

Following a consideration of the factors above, immediately after each interview, I recorded a brief oral reflection on the interview components, including setting, participants, time/day/date, and ongoing social or other relevant events. This initial reflection was conducted prior to considering any component utterances. I then reviewed and transcribed the full recording and reflection as soon as possible, generally within 72 hours. Once the transcript was written, I loosely mapped out the *linear structure* of the interview, including activities, shifts in topical focus, key changes in key, tone, or genre, the arrival or departure of participants, or any other information that seemed relevant. The nuanced understanding of these contextual and linear cues



that emerged then facilitated the discovery of contextualized meanings of particular utterances, particularly when one is fully immersed in the data (Agar & Hobbs, 1982).

Once the above overviews were conducted and a contextual understanding was gained, I coded the interviews inductively based on themes that emerged from the data, as Schensul and LeCompte (2012) recommend that any corpus with more than 20 interviews establish a coding scheme. These codes emerged from the data, as interviews were compared both diachronically and synchronically (Berlin, 2000). However, they were loosely structured in response to the focal questions the dissertation hopes to address, as described above. Such codes include: language ideologies (e.g., of race, privilege, accent, distance, etc.); patterns of use of “native speaker,” “nonnative speaker,” and related terms; characteristics of (non)native speakers; as well as verbs that encoded what speakers were doing with language at that time – for instance, relaying a narrative from their past, providing metacommentary on their own or others’ language use, reflecting on an event in their teaching placements, and so on.

### *3.7.3 Analysis of Focus Groups*

According to Suter (2000), focus groups provide “access to participants' interaction on topics that are either difficult to observe or rare in occurrence.” In other words, they provide a way to catalyze semi-natural conversations on topics that would not necessarily occur in participants’ daily lives. While focus groups can in some ways be conceptualized as group interviews (Carey & Asbury, 2012), they differ in that participants have the opportunity to engage with each other rather than exclusively with the researcher (Morgan, 1988), sometimes influencing their expression of their opinions or how they present themselves, and possibly providing a different perspective from that presented in other data sources. Thus, approaches to

theorizing and analyzing the focus groups synthesize interview-based approaches with more ethnographic methodologies (Agar & MacDonald, 1995).

For instance, like interviews, focus groups are unique communicative events and should be understood as such, with the same parameters for context as listed by Briggs (1986). The coding scheme for focus groups was derived in the same manner as that of the interviews, both inductively and deductively, and was structured to shed light on the themes posed by the study's guiding questions. However, in developing coding schemes for the focus groups, I considered how participants' identity expression, performance, and negotiation may differ between a group setting and the individual interview contexts. While coding, I also tagged relevant excerpts from interview data that may provide additional perspectives on a given focus group interaction and vice versa.

Additionally, both during the focus groups and during the transcription, I made notes of any particular salient gestures, circumstances, or critical moments (Wei, 2010) that captured non-linguistic communication among different group members.

### 3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before beginning data collection, I obtained approval from the Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) of both the University of Pennsylvania, my home university, and Northern University, where I collected my data. I also obtained explicit and enthusiastic support from the chair of the Language Teacher Education (LTE) program and from the professors whose courses I would be observing.

During the first session of each of the courses I was observing, the professors allowed me to briefly share my background and project with the students, as well as to collect written

consent forms that had already been IRB approved. Students were able to designate if they were interested in fully participating in the study (with course observations, student work, interviews, and focus groups), if they were interested in partially participating (with only course-related activities), or if they declined to participate. I ensured that the professors did not become aware of who elected to participate and who did not until final grades were assigned. In addition, I made sure that students were given my e-mail address, so that if any questions or concerns arose throughout the term that they would be able to contact me and easily ask.

The professors facilitated the collection of student work associated with their class by forwarding me digital documents that they had received by e-mail and by allowing me to photocopy any submissions they received in hard copy before they returned them to the students. Anna Marie also made me a teaching assistant in her course's online interface, allowing me to see assignments students submitted in that venue as well. Once I collected the documents, they remained in my bag until I returned to my home to minimize the likelihood of other individuals seeing them. At home, written documents were kept in a locked drawer.

As I conducted each interview and focus group, I reminded participants verbally that any answers they gave would be kept completely anonymous, and that I invited them to let me know if they preferred not to discuss certain topics, or if they simply wanted or needed to leave. I also made an effort to give back to the participants as was possible—in many cases I looked over papers or lesson plans for them, providing feedback as a teaching assistant would. I also provided them with food and drink as they wished during our meetings. At the conclusion of the study, in our last meeting, I gave each of them a thank you note with a gift card to Amazon.com, as well as a typed list of the various techniques and activities that Anna Marie had presented

throughout the semester, in the hopes that these would serve as resources for them as they launched into their careers as teachers.

### *3.8.1 Researcher's Role and Positionality*

As I alluded to earlier in this dissertation, my role in the study was somewhat complex. Like my participants, I was and am a language teacher and have experience working with a wide range of student populations in diverse settings around the world. However, as I had already completed my Masters of Science in Education from the University of Pennsylvania, and am a current doctoral student, I am more advanced academically than they are. In order to prevent uncomfortable power dynamics from developing, I did my best to position myself as someone who was genuinely interested in and curious about their experiences with language and (non)nativeness, and as someone who was seeking to learn from them anything they were willing to share. I also frequently consulted them throughout the data analysis process, asking clarifying questions, presenting drafts of articles to them, and asking them for their own interpretations of the data. In this way, I sought to position my participants as “experts in their own teaching and researching lives—experts who could share in the decision making regarding teaching, researching, and professional growth (Gerardo & Contreras, 2000, p. 24). While a poststructuralist orientation and analytical lens itself questions the notion that objectivity is achievable or desirable, this recursive analysis offered more in-depth insights into participants’ views and interpretations of their own experiences.

I also did my best to reciprocate in ways that would make them comfortable speaking with me but which did not, before my last interview with each participant, reveal the full theoretical argument of the research study or my objectives in asking specific questions. I felt

this level of opaqueness necessary to make participants comfortable speaking candidly and not self-correct on my account when discussing (non)native speakered subjectivities. In particular, I shared aspects of my own linguistic, personal, vocational, and academic background with my participants, weaving in my own stories whenever relevant (Creswell, 2002). In doing so, I became a real person, rather than just a researcher, “with concrete, specific desires and interests and not an invisible, anonymous voice of authority” (Harding, 1987, p. 9). In particular, my experience growing up in Florida and studying abroad in Peru made it easier to connect with the teachers of Spanish, who often had significant experience in Latin America and Spain, while my experience working in Hong Kong for several summers in college and graduate school made teachers of Mandarin feel more comfortable as well. Laura, Mark, and others who came from minoritized backgrounds in the US were able to relate to the feelings of marginalization shared by me and many other recent immigrants and people of color in the United States, while Neha, who was also from India, shared many of the same experiences with family, friends, and conflicting linguistic identity as I did. While I obviously cannot provide any counterfactual data, my sense is that my active efforts as well as individual positionality made my participants feel comfortable with me. They were willing to, for instance, say a few words in Spanish to convey translation challenges or share particular cities or regions of China, while they may not have done so if they had believed that the words or locations would have been meaningless to me.

From a more academic perspective, I freely answered questions on course material when I could, and gave feedback on lesson plans and the like when I was asked. Two participants, Mark and Matt, also showed interest in doctoral study, so I advised them as I was able. However, throughout this process I was open about my lack of experience in the K-12 system, and in

particular with the local policies and practices. As a result, I was able to establish relatively equal footing with my participants, avoiding potentially uncomfortable power dynamics.

### 3.9 LIMITATIONS

While this study is unique in its reconceptualization of the native-nonnative dichotomy as well as its qualitative inquiry in a teacher education setting, some limitations remain:

1. Observation of students' coursework was limited to Anna Marie's teaching practicums and Marsha's advanced research seminar. As such, the data presented here are a small sample of students' larger experience as pre-service teachers in a graduate teacher education program.
2. Because of the large number of specializations within NU's Master's programs (degree-seeking, non-degree-seeking; TESOL, "foreign" language, dual certification), the number of students in each category was fairly small, sometimes having only one student. However, because of the mixed qualitative methodology, the irrelevance of statistical significance, and the focus on (non)native speakering as a process, the small sample size is an asset rather than a liability.
3. I was unable to observe participants as teachers in their teaching placements; all information about their placements is reported by the participants themselves. As such, the role of participants' placements in (non)native speakering is reliant solely on their self-reports, though I did attempt to elicit as much (meta)commentary on their teaching placements as possible, especially by analyzing their reflective journals and asking follow-up questions.
4. The discussion of language policy is limited to Northern State. However, state departments of education have a great deal of discretion in the construction of their own programs, and therefore may differ in their (re)production of (non)native speakering and (non)native speakered subjectivities.

## CHAPTER 4: INSTITUTIONAL (RE)PRODUCTION OF (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERED SUBJECTIVITIES: A LANGUAGE POLICY PERSPECTIVE

Institutions in general and education systems in particular have long been considered sites of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 1983), recreating and subjecting future generations to historically-rooted power hierarchies—in this case, positioning and constructing individuals and groups as (non)native speakers. One means for this reproduction is the legislation and appropriation of language policies, “the decisions that people make about languages and their use in society” (Shohamy, 2003, p. 279). These policies are embedded within every social institution, from national governments to friend groups to educational organizations, and determine or influence who speaks which languages in what contexts with what degree of acceptance (Tollefson, 2006). While the field of language policy (LP) has historically focused on explicit policy or legislation, such as official documents and codified laws (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999), more recent work, especially in educational contexts, has expanded the focus to include their appropriation across contexts and scales through individual interactions, as well as how bottom-up initiatives and unofficial language practices can coalesce to form covert language policies (e.g., Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006).

In this chapter, I explore how institutionalized language policies (LP) in multiple interconnected scales and contexts contribute to the (re)production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. To this end, I first provide a general introduction to the field of

LP and the insights of a poststructuralist perspective of LP for framing (non)native speakering as a policy process. Next, I draw on complexity theory as a way of conceptualizing the multiple and nested contexts in which language policies are appropriated. Then, I present a visual “map” of the LP environment in which this dissertation’s data was collected, and explore how policies in various interconnected contexts, within Northern University and the local K-12 school system, collectively mobilize (non)native speakerist discourses and reify (non)native speakered subjectivities. Throughout this discussion, I weave the views and comments of individual department administrators, professors, and pre-service teachers, who in different ways negotiate the implementation of overt policies. In my closing comments, I consider commonalities between the K-12 and NU policy landscapes, and explore the implications of this environment as a backdrop for individual pre-service teachers’ identity development and classroom policies.

#### 4.1 LANGUAGE POLICY AND (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING

LP scholarship emerged with a focus on “preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (Haugen, 1959, p. 8). As the field evolved, it became increasingly concerned with the resolution of language “problems” (see Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 1974; Ruiz, 1984) and the politics of nation-building in the post-colonial world (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Cooper (1989) distills the key concerns of language policy research to one question: “What *actors* attempt to influence what *behaviors* of which *people* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with



what *effect*” (p. 98, emphasis original). This examination has traditionally focused on *de jure* policy enacted through official documents, including “national laws, declarations of certain languages as ‘official’ or ‘national’, language standards, curricula, tests, or other types of documents” (Shohamy, 2003, p. 279). However, such an approach is incomplete in its ability to examine the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, an inherently social and discursive process, as it cannot get to how individuals reproduce (non)native speakered subjectivities in their daily interactions. A focus exclusively on overt policy risks obscuring the historico-political context in which languages are used and policies are enacted (e.g., Tollefson, 1991, 2006), and therefore risks conceptualizing the implicit identity categories present, including gender, race, nationality, and (non)native speaker status, among others, as self-evident or having prior ontological status, rather than as contingent and constructed (see Pennycook, 2006, p. 63). Furthermore, while it recognizes that overt policies are generally enacted in a top-down manner, it tends to obscure the reality that ground-level enforcement and implementation can “override and contradict existing policies and create alternative policy realities” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 283).

From a poststructuralist perspective, language policy can be understood as a form of language governmentality, in which a broad range of institutions and instruments “regulate the language use, thought and action of different people and groups (Pennycook, 2006, p. 65), not only at the state or federal level, but also in micro-level discursive practices. In this way, the emphasis is shifted from the policies themselves to their effects. Through this lens, a seemingly progressive policy, such as the

implementation of bilingual education programs, may become a strategy of governmentality, for instance when White bilinguals are privileged while their non-White peers are nonnative speakered (Valdés, 1997). A poststructuralist approach denaturalizes the production of *a priori* ideas and identity categories, undoing the notion of discrete languages and (non)native speakers, and instead focuses on how these subjectivities emerge, sediment, and congeal across acts (see Butler, 1990; Hopper, 1998). It also contextualizes these acts within a larger sociopolitical, economic, and ideological milieu, remaining open to the influence of past and present trends, from the historical emergence of the culturally and linguistically homogeneous nation-state and the rising global prominence of English, to national immigration and educational testing policy, to local political campaigns and grassroots initiatives (Hornberger, 2006; Tollefson, 2006). Collectively, a poststructuralist lens conceptualizes LP not as a collection of static texts, but rather as a discursive *process* that operates dynamically across multiple scales, contexts, agents, and processes (Cassels-Johnson, 2009; Pennycook, 2006).

Ricento & Hornberger (1996) propose the visual metaphor of an onion as a way to conceptualize the nested relationships among various LP scales, contexts, agents, and processes. At the outermost layers of the onions are national-level legislation and broad policy objectives, which are then interpreted and operationalized in institutional settings, which themselves are comprised of even more situated contexts like classrooms and offices. However, far from being distinct or isolated from one another, layers of the onion are fluid and interconnected. Gaps between overt, macro-level policy goals, their uptake by institutions, and their local implementation are well-documented in the LP literature,

as are situations in which local initiatives influence larger-scale policy changes (e.g., Canagarajah, 2005; Menken & García, 2010). Individuals have agency at each of these levels, and may interpret, appropriate, or resignify policy discourses in complex ways (e.g., Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000; Hult, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010). The impact of this local implementation is particularly salient in educational contexts, because of the relatively high degree of liberty that principals have over their schools and teachers over their classrooms, even while being subject to local, regional, state, and national educational legislation (see Cooper, 1989).

Because of this nested structure and the unpredictability of policy appropriation, no LP approach can fully predict the outcomes of a given policy or demonstrate a causal relationship between a particular policy and a given outcome (Cooper, 1999; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). In the words of Johnson (2013), “the line of power does not flow linearly from the pen of the policy’s signer to the choices of the teacher” (p. 97). As such, language policy can be conceptualized as a complex, emergent process (Mason, 2008; Cilliers, 2008), in which the multiplicitous ways of appropriating policy at different scales perpetuates many interacting social inequalities (Hult, 2010), one of which is the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

In the discussion below, I first offer a detailed description of the organizational structure of the LP context in which pre-service teachers at Northern University (NU) were trained, starting with Figure 4.1. Then, I explore how specific policies and their appropriation (re)invent and reify (non)native speakered subjectivities, including individual participants’ comments and negotiations of policy implementation.

## 4.2 NORTHERN UNIVERSITY'S LANGUAGE POLICY CONTEXT<sup>17</sup>

While the curriculum of Northern University (NU), a private university located in a large urban area in the northeastern United States, is not explicitly subject to state and national language or education policy, it is implicitly influenced by such policies, for instance by curriculum being shaped by state teacher certification exams. Figure 4.1 below visually represents the nested and overlapping relationships among multiple interrelated layers of the NU LP context (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). However, this representation is necessarily an approximation because of the vast and multiple scales involved, the definitional openness of a complex system, and the different ways that individual agents may interact within and among these various policy layers. For instance, pre-service teachers who are enrolled in certification-track degree programs conduct their student teaching placements in the K-12 school system, while those who are enrolled in non-certification-track degree programs are placed at the university's in-house American English Center (AEC) or, in one pre-service teacher's case, in the local community college system. Each pre-service teacher, regardless of their practicum context, is placed with a Lead Teacher (LT), who serves as the main teacher of the class and who they assist throughout the term of their student teaching. They are also assigned to a Mentor Teacher (MT) employed by NU who is responsible for conducting periodic observations and giving feedback, which is then factored into the pre-service teacher's practicum grade. Thus, NU's language education department, AEC, and K-12 school system are closely connected through the movement of individual agents. This is clearly a

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<sup>17</sup> All organization, department, and test names have been changed to maintain anonymity. However, the pseudonyms reflect the same ethos of the originals to the extent possible.

complex and complicated system. An additional consideration is the reality that students in different degree programs (foreign language Education/ TESOL/ certification-track/ non-certification track) may be placed together in courses that overlap in their program requirements, and that because of this significant degree of overlap, students can decide fairly close to the end of their programs to add or subtract certifications or languages.

This chapter focuses on state, and institutional policies that were mentioned by at least one participant during data collection, though I do briefly describe the national policy context as well. The discussion explores the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities in policy, as well as professors' and pre-service teachers' commentary on particular policies or practices. The purpose of this discussion differs from traditional policy analyses in that its purpose is not to criticize or evaluate the policies in place nor to propose a viable alternative. Rather the purpose of this discussion is twofold: first to examine how (non)native speaking is woven into the fabric of institutional policy and how both are shaped by historically-grounded mechanisms of governmentality discussed in Chapter 2; and second explore the manner in which participants mobilize policy discourses in nonlinear ways which over time have the potential to reify and undermine (non)native speakered subjectivities. This policy milieu contextualizes the discussion of pre-service teachers' identity negotiation (Chapters 5 and 6), and their resistance against the (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities in their own departments or classrooms (Chapter 7).

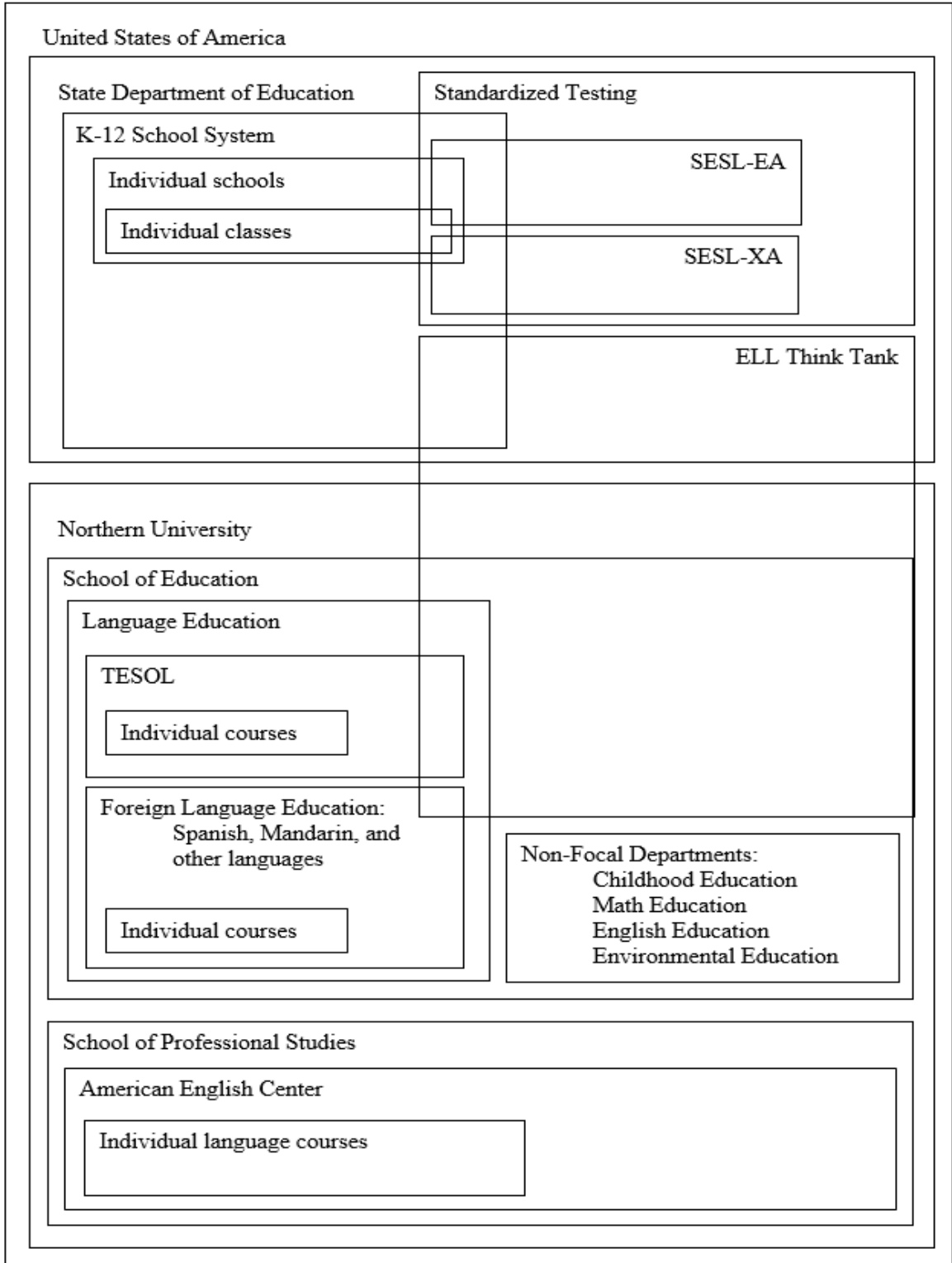


Fig. 4.1. Northern University's Language Policy "Onion"

#### 4.3 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKING IN FEDERAL POLICY

Unlike many other countries, the United States has no overt, codified language policy. However, several states have named English as an official state language as the result of the English-only Movement, and the writing of the founding documents in English served as an implicit establishment of English as the language of public and political discourse (e.g., Spolsky, 2010). While seemingly organic, a number of additional processes in the establishment of early US language policy, including Noah Webster's compilation of a dictionary codifying a "democratic" American language indicative and representative of the language practices of the "common man," reified the privilege of an educated, English-speaking, primarily Caucasian elite of British descent (Flores, 2014). Furthermore, over the years, numerous individual laws have privileged some languages and suppressed others in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes, primarily connected to the construction of a unified national identity and the maintenance of a linguistically and culturally homogeneous American citizenry (e.g., Spolsky, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Ricento, 2005). For instance, proficiency in English has been a requirement for becoming a naturalized citizen since 1906, when concerns about high numbers of non-English speaking immigrants, primarily from central, eastern, and southern Europe were high. Similarly, teaching of German, Japanese, and Russian were heavily suppressed during the World Wars (Pavlenko, 2003), and a similar xenophobic resurgence in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 catalyzed the current suspicion of Arabic, Hindi, and many other languages spoken by "Brown" individuals of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent (Khan & Ecklund, 2012; Read, 2008; Shankar, 2008).

At the same time, even those federal acts that claimed to advocate for bilingual education, such as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which advocated for providing language support to those who were not fluent in English, still positioned bilingual students as underperforming and having “limited English speaking ability” (Flores & Schissel, 2014; Souto-Manning, 2010). Such policies were grounded in monolingualist and native speakerist ideologies, marginalizing and deficitizing those who deviated from the idealized native speakered subject. The BEA died “a quiet death” in 2002, yielding national educational policy to the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), passed in 2001, and the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), released in 2010 and currently adopted by 42 states.<sup>18</sup> Numerous scholars have noted the monolingual bias in both NCLB and CCSS (e.g., Abedi, 2004; Barlett & García, 2011; Evans & Hornberger, 2005; García, 2005, 2009; Hakuta, 2011; Menken, 2009, 2010) and their pathologization of bilingualism—explicitly in the use of medical metaphors such as “diagnosing each student”<sup>19</sup> and the systematic erasure of the word “bilingual” from departments and legislation (Hornberger, 2005), as well as implicitly in the tests’ claiming to measure students’ mastery of content knowledge, while actually “rely[ing] heavily on language proficiency... [and being] first and foremost language exams, not necessarily measures of content knowledge” (Menken, 2006, p. 523).

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<sup>18</sup> I consider CCSS here a national-level policy because of its adoption by more than 80% of states, and because it must be understood in the context of NCLB in the previous decade. However, I discuss Northern State’s implementation of CCSS at the state testing and classroom pedagogy levels in detail in sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 below.

<sup>19</sup> “Application of the Common Core State Standards for English Language Learners” Published by the National Governor’s Association for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers.



In precluding the possibility of bilingualism, NCLB and CCSS perpetuate dichotomized framings of language users solely in terms of their English proficiency—namely as “English-proficient” and “English Language Learner” (ELL)—obscuring the additional language proficiencies of all students (Flores & Schissel, 2014). In doing so, they reify the English monolingualism of native speakered subjectivities, and erase any language proficiency of nonnative speakered subjectivities, instead constructing them only in terms of their lack of English. Furthermore, their dependence on tests that conflate students’ language needs and content needs risks nonnative speakering students who would benefit more from supplementary content instruction than supplementary language instruction, as well as constructing students who have mastered content as academically deficient. Collectively, these confluations perpetuate the notion that a perceived lack of English proficiency is a barrier to academic rigor, and contribute to deficitized perspectives of nonnative speakered subjects. This feedback loop has serious consequences for bilingual students, particularly those who are categorized as ELLs, since state exams measuring students’ achievement of such standards determines their access to advanced coursework, continuation to the next grade, graduation, and many other high-stakes decisions.

Because participants discussed CCSS primarily in reference to its state-level implementation in standardized tests and its local effects on classroom environments, I continue the discussion of CCSS and its implementation in section 4.4 below, which focuses on (non)native speakering in state-level policy.

#### 4.3.1. (Non)Native Speaking in Federal Policy outside the US

Several candidates also mentioned the explicit or implicit institutionalization of national language practices in other countries around the world. April, Alex, and Richard, all of whom were completing the dual certification in Spanish and English, studied in Madrid during their first year of their Master's program and mentioned the *Real Academia Española* (Royal Spanish Academy)<sup>20</sup>, a government organization responsible for overseeing the Spanish language, in their judgments distinguishing between "official" and "colloquial" varieties of Spanish. For instance, when asked why he categorized a particular utterance as *Spanglish* rather than Spanish, Richard responded "Because according to the *Academia Real Española*, these are not, like, official Spanish words according to that organization" (Interview 2, Feb. 26, 2015). April gave a similar response in the third focus group. While both acknowledged that the *Academia* is constantly modifying its lexicon, they also recognized it as the highest authority in "official" and therefore "classroom-appropriate" Spanish. A similar nationalized standard was mentioned by Lily, who was completing a dual certification in Mandarin and English and who is from Hubei Province, China. While she did not mention a particular law or organization responsible for maintaining a Standardized Mandarin, she did express that Standard Mandarin and a Chinese national identity were mutually constitutive, to the exclusion of all other languages or dialects spoken historically. Commenting on the language values of her peers in China, she said, "they don't care about the original dialects... a lot of my peers they couldn't speak their original dialects, or they think it's

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<sup>20</sup> All transcriptions here and elsewhere are presented as closely as possible to participants' writing and speech, including spelling, pronunciation, emphasis, etc.

inferior. That's the perception they get from the government. Any language spoken in China other than Mandarin is inferior" (Lily, Interview 1, Feb. 12, 2015).

In the cases above, participants note the establishment and reification of a standardized, institutionalized national language through government legislation or government-sanctioned organizations. Those who have mastered such discourses are, at least in theory, constructed as being educated citizens and native speakered subjects, while those who have not are not. Because of space constraints and an overt focus on (non)native speakering in more localized contexts, I do not in this dissertation delve in detail into federal language policy, either in the US or in other countries, except in so far as such policies are invoked by participants, though such an inquiry would further an understanding of the mechanisms of (non)native speakering. This discussion was meant primarily to provide a background context for the discussion that follows.

#### 4.4 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING IN NORTHERN STATE (NS) POLICY

Northern State (NS) adopted the CCSS in 2010. In this state, all K-12 students, including those who are enrolled in special schools (e.g., newcomer schools, magnet schools, etc.) are required to take annual state exams certifying their mastery of that grade level's content and skills, as specified by the CCSS. Throughout data collection, nearly every participant, including pre-service teachers and NU faculty and staff, mentioned the importance of state NCCSS<sup>21</sup> examinations in determining the academic trajectory of K-12 students, and by extension, the professional trajectories of K-12 teachers.

Furthermore, in order for teachers to become certified to teach in NS to begin with, they

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<sup>21</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, to maintain anonymity of the state, I call the "mainstream" state exam the NCCSS, the ESL diagnostic exam the SESL-EA, and the ESL exit exam the SESL-EX.

must complete a series of exams and submit a portfolio demonstrating their familiarity with CCSS as well as their ability to design a series of learning segments and lesson plans that teach students the content and skills specified in the CCSS.

Participants also frequently critiqued the NCCSS, SESL-EA, and SESL-XA exams' content, structure, and implementation, which they felt consistently expected or assumed examinees' familiarity with particular cultural or linguistic norms, reifying the notion of a homogeneous "standard" American citizenry with which students must identify and be familiar in order to be considered academically adept. As will be demonstrated below, not only are such standards grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality and the assumption of a culturally homogenous citizenry (Bonfiglio, 2010; Flores, 2013, 2014; also see Chapter 2), but they also contribute to the reification of these ideologies by essentially mandating their (re)creation in every classroom. In the discussion below, I consider the official process through which Northern State identifies English Language Learners (ELLs) as well as the content and structure of the SESL-EA and SESL-XA. These are the "for whom" and "what" in Cooper's (1989, p. 31) LP framework—"who plans what for whom and how?" Throughout this discussion, I weave pre-service teachers' views and comments on the policies, as well as their insights into their on-the-ground implementation. The purpose of this analysis is not to prescribe policy changes, but rather to shed light on how (non)native speakering as a process of subject formation is woven into the very fabric of schooling. The themes that emerge here both contextualize and are reproduced within the localized interactions discussed later in this dissertation.

#### 4.4.1 Who takes the *SESL-EA* and *SESL-XA*?

In Anna Marie's first session with her K-12 student teaching seminar, she explained a four-stage process through which K-12 students come to be categorized as "English Language Learners" (ELLs). As she did so, she distributed a flowchart of this process taken from the NS Department of Education website. The quotes below are taken directly from this flowchart, though I do not cite it directly in order to maintain anonymity of the state.

Stage 1 is the administration of a home language questionnaire to the student's parents. If parents respond that the student's home language is English and that they do not speak any language other than English, then the student is immediately categorized as "NOT LEP<sup>22</sup>/ELL" and the student "enters general education program." However, if the student's home or native language is "other than English," then the student must be interviewed in both their "native language" and in English. If the student "does not speak any language other than English" then the student is allowed to enter the general education program. If the student "speaks a language other than English and student speaks little or no English" then they are required to proceed to Stage 2.

Stage 2 is the administration of the *SESL-EA*,<sup>23</sup> a four-part exam that tests students' ability to read, write, listen, and speak English at a level appropriate for their grade. There are four possible scores for each skill: Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced, and Proficient. In order to enroll in general education courses, examinees must earn a score of "Proficient" on all four subsections. Otherwise, they are categorized as

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<sup>22</sup> Limited English Proficient

<sup>23</sup> State English as a Second Language Entrance Assessment. This is not to be confused with the *SESL-XA*, the State English as a Second Language Exit Assessment.

“LEP/ELL” and are placed in supplementary language coursework, which, according to the flowchart, can be a “bilingual education or freestanding ESL Program.”

Stage 3 is students’ placement in their supplementary language program.

Stage 4 is the annually-administered SESL-XA examination. As with the SESL-EA, students must score “Proficient” on all four sections of the SESL-XA in order to become exempt from supplementary language classes and be allowed to enroll in mainstream or “general education” coursework.

I recognize that intent of this process of identifying ELLs is to ensure that they receive the support they need to be successful, as well as the fact that it has made great contributions towards doing so. However, this process is also steeped in monolingualist and native speakerist language ideologies that contribute to the reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities in many ways. The discussion below is not meant to evaluate the procedure in a traditional sense, but rather to denaturalize the (non)native speakerist ideologies at its core, with the goal of better understanding how this and similar institutional processes impact the experiences of participants as well as shape their efforts of resistance.

First, the wording of home language survey’s questions insinuates that students can only have one “native” or “home” language, and assumes the presence of a language other than English undermines students’ English proficiency—if any language other than or in addition to English is identified as the home or native language on the survey, students’ examination continues, even if English is also listed. Not only are these

ideologies grounded in language governmentality and nation-state/colonial governmentality, but they also reify the construction of the native speakered “mainstream” student-subject as monolingual, while simultaneously nonnative speakering multilingual students by questioning their proficiency.

In this third interview, Alex mentioned that monolingualist assumptions of the home language survey may be more likely to nonnative speaker students whose parents are less experienced in navigating educational bureaucracies. He observes that, ironically, parents’ honesty about their children’s bilingualism can put them at risk of unnecessarily taking the SESL exams:

Alex: We also have situations where, this is going to sound weird, but parents are too honest. Like today we had a Spanish-English bilingual family come in, but the father's American, so they listed English and Spanish both as home languages, but because they listed Spanish, the kid was going to have to be tested and go through this stuff. My HT [host teacher] realized this in my intake meeting... and the problem is that the kindergarten entrance exam does require knowing some letters and stuff, so even kids who are native English speakers can’t always pass it anyway. So she was like, "maybe you should change this" because the kid's English is fine, he doesn't need services, and it'll just be a huge pain. It’s not helpful for him. So maybe just erase two of those Spanishes and just say English. (Interview 3, Apr. 24, 2015)

Alex’s anecdote demonstrates the implicit monolingual bias in the design of the survey itself, highlighting the reality that the English proficiencies of bilingual students, most of whom are from minoritized, immigrant backgrounds, are undermined on the basis of their bilingualism. Furthermore, they are then required to demonstrate their English proficiency on an exam that, according to Alex, holds them to an academic standard higher than that of their native speakered peers. Monolingual English-speaking kindergarteners who cannot yet read or write are exempt from remedial coursework

because of their native speaker status. However, those who are bilingual and therefore (non)native speakers do not have the same privilege even if they have similar English proficiency. Instead, could be subject to additional coursework if they fail the SESL-EA.

Furthermore, the evaluation of the oral interview in Stage 1, which requires that the student speak no language other than English, disadvantages and nonnative speakers bilingual students, who particularly at younger ages or in stressful situations may find it difficult to isolate their languages from one another (e.g., Grosjean, 2010). While the scholarly literature overwhelmingly demonstrates that bilingualism and translanguaging are not necessarily evidence of a lack of proficiency in English (e.g., García, 2009; Menken, 2011), the policy overtly frames these practices as such, since any use of a language other than English, regardless of the language(s) of the interlocutors and *even in conjunction with English*, is still cause for the student to be required to take the SESL-EA. The implicit deficitizing assumption is that a child would only use a language other than English if they could not sufficiently express themselves in English, which is not necessarily the case. As such, a multilingual child who translanguages would be placed in remedial coursework regardless of the sophistication or contextual appropriateness of their response's content or language. The result is that children who use their bilingual linguistic repertoires are required to prove their English proficiency on the SESL-EA in a way that "monolingual English-speaking children" or those who can "pass" (e.g., by not naming a language other than English on the home language survey or by not using their bilingual repertoires during their interview) are not. The proficiency of monolinguals, who are constructed as "native English speakers" is taken as self-evident, while the



proficiency of bilinguals is doubted on the basis on their bilingualism, because they deviate from the idealized monolingual native speakered subject (see Chapter 2).

Teacher candidates' comments in interviews and focus groups also shed light on the reality that students who deviate from native speakered subjectivities in ways other than being bilingual, for instance in their national origin, variety of English spoken, or racialized position, may also be nonnative speakered even though they may see themselves as monolingual, native speakers of English. For instance, Alex, in his second interview, mentioned that a teacher can still administer the SESL-EA to a student if she suspects that their parent lied on the home language survey. He described the subjective nature of this judgment as "kind of fishy...because a question is, is there a higher likelihood of teachers administering that to students who come from a country who are... you know..." (Alex, Interview 2, Mar. 24, 2015) Although he did not finish this sentence, Alex's clear concern is the disproportionate examination of students of color or students who are from non-inner circle countries. While he did recognize that teachers arguably should be able to give the exam if, in his words "they [students] come in and they don't speak English," he seemed unsure of how students' racialized positionalities or nation of origin could be prevented from influencing their likelihood of being tested.

In Focus Group 3, Richard also observed that students from Guyana or Jamaica, or others who speak marginalized varieties of English, may be nonnative speakered because of their deviation from the idealized "American" native speakered subject:

Richard: So their English [in Guyana], I mean, it's English, but it's different from American English, so students who may come from these places, even though they may consider themselves native English speakers, because it's so different from the English that's spoken here they may be placed in ELL program because

they're considered to need English support. So I guess like Jamaicans who may speak English, they're native English speakers, but it's different so they may need to have to be placed in ELL classes.

Geeta: So how do they figure that out? Because I'd assume that on the home language survey they would write English right?

Richard: I would assume too, but I don't really know

Alex: I would assume too, but once they're put into classrooms, the teacher says "I don't know what this student is saying" and then they get tested.

(Focus Group 3, Apr. 30, 2015)

In this excerpt, Richard legitimizes the Englishes used in Guyana and Jamaica as English and their speakers as native English speakers, and attributes the placement of their speakers in ELL programs to their deviation from American English. However, it is difficult to imagine a deviation from American English being used to justify the placement of a Caucasian British or Australian student in an ELL program, suggesting that the issue is not simply a matter of a non-American variety of English, but rather varieties from particular countries in which a majority of the population consists of people of color. Richard's explicit commentary on two countries in which over 90% of the population are people of color, especially in conjunction with Alex's concern above that teachers are more likely to doubt the language proficiency of students of color than that of their Caucasian peers, suggest that the identification of ELLs is racialized, constructing a non-Caucasian nonnative speakered subjectivity in contrast to a Caucasian native speakered subjectivity. As such, what appears initially to be an overtly-linguistic issue of language variety is heavily influenced by nationalistic and racialized undercurrents, suggesting that (non)native speakering as a process of subject formation may interact closely with racialization and other forms of Othering in which language is implicit (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6).

Alex's comments in particular also provide glimpses of the instrumental role of individuals teachers as policymakers (Canagarajah, 2005; Menken & García, 2010) in both reifying and resisting the (re)construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities, a position that is particularly important since according to a representative of the Northern State Department of Education, the issue of language varieties with regard to ELL identifications is "part of the conversation, but at this point it's not being integrated into policy" (field notes, Feb. 11). While teachers may at times nonnative speaker students by using oral interviews or the SESL-EA to evaluate their language proficiency, Alex also notes that his host teacher was able to use her familiarity with Northern State's policy to tweak the administration of the home language survey to prevent her students' bilingualism from undermining their English proficiency by discouraging multilingual parents from stating that languages other than English are spoken in the home (see section 4.4.1, page 87). While not ideal, as students should not have to conceal their bilingualism, in taking this action, the teacher not only achieved what she saw as the optimal educational outcome for her student, but she also resisted the notion that bilingualism is mutually constitutive with nonnative speakered subjectivities. The role of teachers and teacher educators in (un)doing (non)native speakering is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

#### *4.4.2 SESL-EA and SESL-XA: Structure and Content*

If students do not pass the oral interview in Stage 1, they are required to take the SESL-EA. If they are not rated "Proficient" in all four skills, then they are enrolled in supplementary language coursework and take the SESL-XA annually to gauge whether

their proficiency is sufficient to enroll in “mainstream” classes. While both exams, the SESL-EA and SESL-XA, claim to isolate language proficiency, nearly every pre-service teacher commented on the problematic nature of their content, noting their implicit invention of a monolithic, normative, institutionalized nationalistic American culture and their evaluation of examinees’ English language proficiency with respect to that invention. For instance, in her second interview, Allison mentioned that her students are often unfamiliar with what she called “iconic cultural points of reference” (Apr. 1, 2015) that were central to understanding the meaning of particular exam passages or questions. She gave the example of a reading comprehension passage meant for third grade ESL students that involved a personified Statue of Liberty. She said, “a couple of them [students] didn’t know what the Statue of Liberty was, and there was a story about a personified Statue of Liberty and at least 10% of them were like, ‘what is that?’” Because they were not familiar with the cultural context of the text—the Statue of Liberty and its historical and symbolic significance—her students were unable to glean the intended meaning of the text and were therefore unable to answer the related questions. In other words, in Allison’s example, the legitimization of students’ English proficiency was predicated on their familiarity with normative American cultural icons, demonstrating the realities that modern language governmentality is steeped in nation-state/colonial governmentality, and that the legitimacy and acceptability of certain language practices are co-constructed with a historicized national identity.

Laura also commented on the centrality of “American” foods in evaluating students’ English proficiency, both reifying the association between language and culture

in an abstract sense, and institutionally predicating the attainment of English proficiency upon a familiarity and identification with a monolithic national culture and identity:

Laura: We [teachers] were confused about the questions. They were like ‘there are some foods in these pictures,’ and then they start naming the foods, and then they’re like “what other foods do you see?” And I’m like, the kids are either going to: one, just reiterate the foods that you just told them because you just said ‘what foods do you see?’ so that’s not really testing them, or the pictures, like, a lot of the students in my class, they don’t eat American food, they eat Chinese food. And apparently... like what is this [Laura points at an image on the test booklet between us], like pretzels. They don’t know pretzels. They’ve never had them. They don’t eat a lot of things with cheese. And so like, even things that you would think they might know, like tacos, like they don’t know tacos. Why would they know? My two Mexican students know tacos, but like, most of the population is Chinese in that school, so I’m like... (Interview 3, May 7, 2015)

Laura went on to say that an additional challenge is that even when students understand the question, they are often unable to describe the foods they eat at home in English, since they may not be familiar with the English translation, if one exists at all. For instance, xiao long bao, a Shanghainese dumpling filled with a pork-based soup, is a traditional food, but children who have only ever eaten this food in a Chinese-speaking context may have never heard the English translation of the name nor may they have had the opportunity to develop the ability to describe it in English.

Together, Allison and Laura’s observations about the content of the exams reveal the exams’ implicit assumption of students’ familiarity with certain cultural icons that may not necessarily be within the locus of immigrant youths’ experiences. As such, these exam questions reify the association between English proficiency and a monolithic “American” culture, history, and national identity, contributing to the nationalistic and cultural construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities, and marginalizing students who deviate from dominant native speakered norms. So deeply entrenched are these

ideologies, that even as Laura challenges the notion of a legitimized English speaker steeped in nationalistic and cultural assumptions that do not reflect the experiences and backgrounds of her students, she implicitly reifies nation-state framings of culture—that “Chinese,” “Mexican,” and “American,” are mutually exclusive, static identity categories inherently distinct from one another. In other words, both Laura and Allison implicitly frame their students’ cultures as static. Both note their students’ unfamiliar with particular cultural icons—namely the statue of liberty and pretzels. However, neither seemed to note that in their process of discovering students’ unfamiliarity, students were actually exposed to these concepts with which they were purportedly unfamiliar. As such, students’ cultures and self-definitions may have been in flux before their eyes, but not in ways of which they were able to be consciously aware.

I highlight this observation not to pass judgment on Laura or Allison or their teaching, but rather to demonstrate the deep entrenchment of (non)native speakerist ideologies—that all of us are complicit in the (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities, and that this reification is not limited to those who explicitly marginalize or exclude nonnative speakers. Even progressive advocates often simultaneously reify and resist the same relations of power. While later chapters focus more explicitly on localized (re)inventions of (non)native speakered subjectivities, it is useful to note here first the ubiquity of (non)native speakerist discourses and their permeation of the very fabric of our perception, and second the complex, iterative nature of (non)native speaking, in which localized mobilization of discourses, such Allison’s and Laura’s above, congeal

and interact with one another, creating a fabric of governmentality that produces the subjectivities with which we frame our worlds.

Additionally, Anna Marie and several of her students also mentioned that the linguistic structures, content familiarity, and cognitive demands expected on the SESL-EA and SESL-XA exceeded the abilities of most “mainstream” students at the target grade level, even those who had been raised in monolingual English-speaking households, immersed in normative, majority American culture. For instance, as mentioned above, Alex observed that monolingual kindergarteners may not have been able to demonstrate the alphabet literacy skills expected of their multilingual peers on the SESL-EA. Laura in her third interview noted that the academic double-standard is all the more salient in the newest version of the SESL-EA, released in 2015, which is more closely aligned with CCSS and therefore conflates content knowledge and linguistic proficiency a greater degree than previous versions of the test. In her view, this level of “higher academic language and content...isn't even accessible for a majority of ELLs...it's going to be really difficult for newcomers or students with interrupted formal education” (May 7, 2015). In other words, multilingual students' difficulty responding to the SESL questions may be prematurely attributed to their nonnative speaker status even though the actual cause may be an unfamiliarity with particular content. As a result, multilingual students may be required to receive supplementary English language support in lieu of content instruction that would more directly address their needs. On the other hand, mainstream students' underperformance on the NCCSS would not generally be interpreted as such, although, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6,

being monolingual does not automatically render one immune to being positioned in linguistically deficient ways—race, social class, nationality, and language variety influence the legitimization of students’ language practices as well.

Similarly, Alex noted that another source of difficulty is the developmental inappropriateness of some SESL questions for the grade levels to which they are assigned:

Alex: There's this one we're all super annoyed at, it's meant for first graders, and it has a series of pictures, and it's like, "This is Darnell. Like, here's some pictures of Darnell at school and in the library. Ask him a few questions about what he likes to do in school." And that kind of abstract thinking, like asking a question of someone who's not actually there is really difficult. This is for first and second graders. (Alex, Interview 3, Apr. 25, 2015)

Alex then went on to explain that the kind of developmental challenge presented by posing questions to an imaginary person is unique to the SESL-EA and SESL-XA—similar demands are not made of “mainstream” students in the NCCSS. As in Laura’s example, multilingual students’ difficulty is attributed to their nonnative speaker status rather than the reality that they may not yet have developed the level of cognitive abstraction necessary to conceptualize the situation and respond to it, a standard to which their “mainstream” peers are not held.

While the co-construction of (non)native speaker subjectivities with other ideologies in which language is implied (e.g., race, nationality, culture, etc.) will be examined in more detail later in this dissertation, it is important to note here that dichotomized framings of nativeness and nonnativeness fall apart upon closer examination—monolingual, “native speaker” status does not render one immune to being positioned in linguistically-deficient ways.



#### *4.4.3 (Non)Native Speaking and the Identification of ELLs*

Together, the processes of surveying, interviewing, and testing prospective ELLs pathologize and stigmatize multilingualism, reifying a monolingual native speakered “mainstream” and entwining the evaluation of language proficiency with familiarity with a monolithic national history and cultural iconography. As such, these and other similar processes can be collectively understood as mechanisms of language governmentality steeped in nation-state/colonial governmentality, contributing to the reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities. These biases, particularly in the wording and implementation of state policy, normalize monolingualism and disproportionately marginalize bi/multilingual and bi/multicultural students and families. They hold bi/multilingual, and therefore nonnative speakered, students to a standard different from and higher than their monolingual peers, attributing their difficulty answering certain questions to a lack of language proficiency rather than content familiarity or cognitive sophistication. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, this process is also connected to other discourses, such as familiarity with certain cultural icons, which may not overtly mention (non)nativeness, but which nonetheless contribute nationalistic constructions of (non)native speakered subjects and therefore the process of (non)native speaking as well.

#### **4.5 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING IN NORTHERN UNIVERSITY (NU) POLICY**

While Northern University, unlike the K-12 school district, is not directly subject to state legislation, NU does require what their website calls “nonnative English speaking applicants” to demonstrate proficiency in English as part of their application for

admission. The university-wide policy sets minimum requirements for all applicants, though individual departments and schools may have more stringent or additional standards. In this section, I first briefly overview NU's university-wide policies and specific requirements of the School of Education, within which the language education departments are housed, and consider how each contributes to the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. Then, I consider how students, faculty, and staff perceived and discussed these policies, and their implications for (non)native speaking.

#### *4.5.1 Northern University's Language Policy*

According to the university's website, "non-native English speaking applicants" are required to submit recent scores from the TOEFL iBT, IELTS, or PTE Academic. NU exempts this requirement for students whose "native language is English" or those who have been studying at an institution "where the sole language of instruction is English for at least 1 full year at the time of application." It is unclear from the explicit policy how NU determines whether English is an applicant's native language, or how they treat bi/multilingual individuals or institutions. Instead, their policy seems to be grounded in monoglossic language ideologies (García, 2009) that assume that languages are and should be distinct from one another, thus contributing to the production of monolingual (non)native speakered subjectivities.

While this overt policy is university-wide and applies to all undergraduates, graduate admissions is run through individual colleges or schools, which are free to enact their own requirements in addition to those of the university. Below, I explore the School

of Education's language testing requirements as well as how professors and other pre-service teachers perceived them.

#### *4.5.2 School of Education Language Policy*

According to the School of Education's website, students must fulfill the following requirements in order to verify their English language proficiency is sufficient to complete graduate-level coursework:

First, the TOEFL "is mandatory for all applicants whose native language is NOT English and who did not receive the equivalent of a 4 year U.S. undergraduate education from an institution where English is the official language of instruction." The website also goes on to explain that a graduate degree from "an English-speaking institution" does not waive the TOEFL requirement if the degree was less than four years in duration. This policy is significantly stricter than NU's overall admissions policy, which not only allows other exams (e.g., the IELTS), but which also considers one year of academic study in English sufficient to demonstrate proficiency.

Second, in addition to NU's language requirements for general admission, the School of Education also requires a "post-admission assessment" via an online exam designed and administered by the university's American English Center (AEC), housed in the School of Professional Studies. No TOEFL score can exempt students from taking this exam, though students may be exempt if their "first language" is English or if they "graduated from a college or university where English was the language of instruction." Furthermore, the website also states that academic departments within the School of Education "may require the exam regardless of your English proficiency." In other

words, a department can require any student, regardless of their fulfillment of all overt university and school language requirements, to take the AEC exam. Such a policy, not unlike the K-12 provision that any teacher can require administration of the SESL-EA, risks disproportionately affecting students of color, those who have non-inner circle accents, and those from immigrant backgrounds. The School of Education website goes on to say that the AEC uses exam results to make recommendations for each student, and that “in some programs, where English language skills are especially critical, students are expected to comply with AEC recommendations,” which tend to “recommend” that students take supplementary English language coursework in their first year. Students are required to pay for the administration of the AEC exam, in addition to the tuition of any “recommended” supplementary language coursework.

According to the AEC’s “Placement Testing FAQ” document, the AEC exam is required in addition to the TOEFL because “the TOEFL is unable to measure interpersonal speaking, and writing samples are not available from that test.” Thus, the AEC test is designed to evaluate students’ productive writing and interpersonal speaking skills in English, and consists of two parts: Part I is a writing exam that gives examinees 50 minutes to respond to two different prompts, each of which contains a series of tasks that must be addressed; Part II is a speaking interview in which examinees must respond to a series of verbal questions. According to the website, the exam is scored from 1-9, where 1 is the lowest proficiency and 9 the highest. However, it does not go into detail about the evaluation process or the standards to which students are held, beyond saying that the exams are evaluated by AEC faculty who hold advanced degrees and have

specialized training in language proficiency assessment, nor does AEC officially release practice tests or sample interview questions.

From this description, much of which was taken directly from the websites of the School of Education and Northern University, several issues become apparent.

First, students can be exempted from the TOEFL and AEC exam if their native language is English. However, not only is the means by which a student's native language is determined unclear, but the assumption of a single native language reifies monolingual, native speakerist ideologies. Furthermore, the act of categorizing individuals as native or nonnative English speakers is (non)native speaking in the most literal sense of the term, ascribing these identity categories to individuals and reifying (non)native speakered subjectivities. Chang, a first-year doctoral student in the language education department, mentioned that "being from" an "English-speaking country" is often sufficient for exemption. However, she was skeptical of the school's process for determining these criteria—how long would someone have had to live in, for instance, the US, in order to "be from" here, and what countries are considered "English-Speaking"? While she simply shrugged in response to the first question, to the second she answered "like the US, the UK, Canada...many countries. But like, people from China or Korea and Japan, these countries and many other European countries where they don't speak English as a first language, those are not" (Chang, Interview 1, Feb. 4, 2015). When I asked about India, she laughed, understanding the reasoning behind my inquiry—namely that English has been spoken and widely taught in India for hundreds of years, and is an official language—but acknowledged that India was not typically thought of as

an “English-speaking country.” Chang’s response corresponds almost perfectly to Kachru’s (1985) inner, outer, and expanding circles, reifying the association between a nation-state and a homogeneous language that represents it.

A second issue, as Daisy, an international pre-service teacher earning dual certification in Mandarin and English education, observed in her first interview is that within the School of Education’s specifications, high-performing students who graduated from US secondary schools still need to take the TOEFL if their “native language” is not English; while they may have completed four years of education in the US, a high school degree is not equivalent to “a 4 year U.S. undergraduate education.” In the same way, international doctoral students who completed a master’s at a US university are not exempt, as a master’s is almost always under four years in duration. As such, the policy continues to nonnative speaker and undermine the English proficiency of immigrant and international students, even if they have already proven their ability to complete high-level academic coursework in English. Daisy went on to say that most of her international classmates believe “we already passed the TOEFL test, and if you admitted me, you should like accept my TOEFL test score, and I don’t need to take other tests.” She also mentioned that expecting international students to pay for a mandatory in-house exam as well as additional coursework made her and others think, “the AEC just wants more money from international students.” Mark, a domestic pre-service teacher who did his student teaching placement at the AEC, also seemed suspicious of a conflict of interest, because the AEC profits from the administration of the exam itself as well as from

increased enrollment when students did not achieve satisfactory marks, saying “I feel it’s like a business at this point.”

Third, Lily, another international pre-service teacher earning a dual certification in Mandarin and English, also brought up concerns about the test’s validity and reliability. She described herself as “lucky” to have tested out of the AEC requirements, saying that results “depended on your interviewer.” She described her own interview saying, “we had a friendly chat lasting five or ten minutes. I was in good mood that day, and I was still excited. It was my first week, so I think I was being friendly that day instead of like usual [laughs].” However, she went on say that a friend of hers, also from China, who enrolled a semester after her and whose “accent and vocabulary is much better” was required to take supplementary AEC courses because her interviewer was harsher. Similarly, Marsha, the graduate coordinator, and Anna Marie both mentioned students who had taken the exam twice in close succession and who had received wildly different scores, again shedding doubt on their reliability. In all of these cases, an examinee’s score is attributed to their own performance and interpreted as a lack of English proficiency, when the actual issue may be the examiner’s unfamiliarity with or dispreference for their accent, or even something else entirely. Despite such doubts of the reliability and validity of the AEC exams, their results still have serious consequences for students positioned as being “nonnative”—or at least as deviating from idealized native speakered subjectivities sufficiently enough to require remedial coursework.

Fourth, students Lily and Daisy, and faculty Marsha and Anna Marie, all stated that the AEC classes did not meet the needs of prospective English teachers. As Lily said,

“Besides the fact that the teacher is a native English speaker, it’s very basic things.”

While Lily does reify the superiority of NESTs, she also acknowledges that the courses do not seem to provide language development in the areas identified by the exam. One possible reason for this may be the lack of professional specificity of the AEC exam and courses. Anna Marie mentioned that she had petitioned AEC to have a language course focused on the kinds of language most used by teachers (e.g., having conferences and meetings; giving instructions clearly), without a favorable response. As a result, students are required to undergo an extensive examination process and, if they do not earn the required marks, enroll in and pay for courses that may not even meet the language needs that were supposedly identified.

Marsha, the graduate coordinator, acknowledged that there had always been some evaluation of international<sup>24</sup> students’ English proficiency, and that some form of evaluation was necessary, at least for those who may not have experienced content education in English. However, she also commented that current School of Education policy was relatively recent, and was particularly illogical because it denies the language education department any kind of influence over the evaluation of their own students’ language proficiency:

Marsha: It’s horrible, absolutely horrible. They have always had to come here and take a test, and up until now, we were able to actually interview the students and look at their statement of purpose, and we get a sense of them, you know, we’ve always had a little leeway, so if they place like 6 [of 9], we could say no. It was always an in-house test. It was never robust in terms of reliability and validity, so

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<sup>24</sup> I use the term “international” here because Marsha did as well. However, it is important to note that not all international students are required to take the AEC exams or submit TOEFL scores, which are only required of students whose native language is not English and who had not earned a 4-year degree from an English-speaking institution. In my participant pool, Neha, who was born and raised in India, and Chang, who earned an undergraduate degree from a US institution, were the only international students who were exempt from the AEC requirements. Of these, only Neha was a focal participant.



we always had discretion as advisors to say “you can take the higher level” and now they won’t let us. Now not only will they not let us do it, but they insist they’ve developed some new online test, and how could it possibly be more valid than the TOEFL? They’re ignoring the TOEFL... we use the TOEFL as part of our admissions decision, and as far as I’m concerned if you have a 105 on the TOEFL, who cares? But no, they have to take an additional online test that they have to pay for, developed by AEC, and we’ve lost our discretion, so if I have a conversation with someone and they’re really fluent and just not great at taking tests on computers, I have no discretion to say “well as someone who’s in the second language field” And I know something about second language evaluation. And we have [another professor—name removed] who’s one of the world experts on second language evaluation. Even SHE doesn’t have the right to say “no this person was misplaced.” And it’s terrible, and it’s going to have an effect on our enrollment. (Interview, Feb. 25, 2015)

In addition to questioning the test itself, Marsha brings up the issue of students’ computer literacy—that students’ performance may be negatively influenced by their unfamiliarity with computer-based examinations, since navigating and potentially troubleshooting the exam interface itself may take valuable time and energy. Students’ performance is interpreted as a lack of language proficiency rather than accounting for the exam or its interface. As such, students who are nonnative speakered are subjected to the AEC exams and potentially AEC coursework, regardless of their demonstrated English language proficiency or their academic performance—requirements that would never be expected of those who are positioned as native speakers.

Anna Marie and Mark both noted the psycho-emotional impact of such policies, Anna Marie in terms of students’ designated course of study:

Anna Marie: We have students who have literally dedicated their entire academic career to English. Imagine getting your bachelor’s in a language. And then coming and being told that you need remediation. It’s like a friggin slap in the face. Whereas if you’re a concert violinist and you’re a music major, you’re like “ok, I just gotta do it” So it has a very different feel for our students I think because like you’ve dedicated so much. (Interview, Mar. 25, 2015).

Mark noted that the AEC course requirements were particularly problematic in conjunction with other degree requirements. For instance, he was required to observe classes at AEC for a number of core courses for his Adult Education degree, during which he was fairly likely to observe AEC classes in which his peers were students:

Mark: It shocked me that a lot of my peers were taking AEC classes, but what like... disheartened me the most was like when I was observing a class and one of my peers was in the class! So for her it was like uncomfortable to even look at me! Like I saw her eyes and she was like.... [rolled his eyes and looked down, as if expressing shyness or embarrassment] and like she's like "oh you know my English isn't that good like you saw me in the other class," and I'm all like "girl you don't have to explain yourself to ME." And I was like, I felt so embarrassed for her... (Interview 1, Mar. 11, 2015).

Mark, an African American man who was born, raised, and educated on the west coast of the US is categorized as a native English speaker according to university and school policy, and was therefore exempt from the AEC's English requirements. As an observer in this setting, he is also positioned as a future teacher, and therefore as an institutionalized authority on the English language. In contrast, his peer, also an aspiring English teacher, was not only nonnative speaker and therefore subject to the AEC language exams, but was also positioned as an English learner and student of a "native speaking" teacher. Her declarative grammatical knowledge, which Mark acknowledged most likely exceeded his own, not to mention her years of dedication to mastery of academic English were both undermined because of her nationality of origin, reifying the "Americanness" of native speaker subjectivities and the "foreignness" of their nonnative speaker counterparts.

When I brought up this issue at a meeting of the mentor teachers, they seemed surprised. One mentor said "we never thought about it before, but maybe that needs to be

brought up in their seminar, that they might see someone they know.” While I was glad to have shared this issue with the mentor teachers, their response obscured the reality that the policies of NU’s school of education undermine the English language proficiency of the very graduate students it is training to become English language teachers, not only producing (non)native speakered subjectivities, but also reifying the superiority of native speakered individuals over their nonnative speakered counterparts. In so doing, they implicitly value the discomfort of the relatively privileged, native speakered observer over the nonnative speakered teacher-candidate English language students.

#### 4.5.2.1 “Foreign” language education.

Domestic students seeking joint degrees in teaching a “foreign”<sup>25</sup> language in addition to English do not seem to experience (non)native speaking in the same way as their international peers, even though both groups are earning certification in teaching a language that they did not speak growing up.<sup>26</sup> Richard, April, Allison, Grace, and Alex, all of whom were completing the dual certification in Spanish and English, mentioned that there was no Spanish proficiency exam comparable to the TOEFL or AEC exam that was required for them, even though they completed the first year of their master’s program at NU’s Madrid campus. Richard attributed this dual standard to the fact that NU was founded in the US as an English-language institution, and that if he and his peers had instead enrolled as degree-seeking students at most other universities in Spain they would have had to achieve at least a C1 or C2 on the Common European Framework

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<sup>25</sup> I put “foreign” in quotes here because Spanish and Mandarin, the two most commonly earned dual certifications, are widely spoken in Northern State and in the city in which NU is located. Framing Spanish as foreign is particularly problematic since it has been spoken for significantly longer than English in much of the United States.

<sup>26</sup> As evidenced in the participant overview in Chapter 3, there were no candidates earning dual certification who spoke both languages of certification growing up.

(CEFR). April and Alex seemed a bit more doubtful, thinking that some kind of language exam likely should have been given, since their coursework in Madrid had been entirely delivered in Spanish. Furthermore, the coordinator of the Spanish certification program told me that an undergraduate major or minor in Spanish, or a Superior on the ACTFL oral proficiency interview are prerequisites for admission into the Spanish teaching certification track.

To clarify, this means that according to NU's policy, an undergraduate minor in Spanish from a non-Spanish language institution is sufficient to demonstrate proficiency necessary for a graduate degree and state certification in teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language, while a 2-year Master's degree in TESOL from an English-speaking institution is not sufficient to demonstrate English proficiency for a doctoral applicant if the applicant cannot make the case that they are a native English speaker. As such, NU's language policy does not so much universally value "native speaker status" or marginalize bilingualism, but instead privileges those who are legitimized as English speakers, constructing them as citizens who are "able to participate fully" (Ramanathan, 2013, p. 1) in the community of language speakers and educators, in a way that those from minoritized linguistic, socioeconomic, or cultural backgrounds may not be. Chapters 5 and 6 delve into this process of legitimization in more detail, particularly by examining the experiences of Mark, an African American man who described himself as a speaker of "broken English," and Neha, a multilingual Indian woman who had made significant efforts to "sound American," both of whom, despite identifying as being most comfortable communicating in English, were in different ways nonnative speakered

because of their deviation from racialized and nationalized native speakered subjectivities.

(Non)native speakering is not a singular process, but is a multiplicitious and complex, manifesting in different ways for different languages in different contexts. At NU, English seems to have a uniquely privileged status, in which native English speakered subjects' proficiency in additional languages is institutionally acknowledged with relative ease, while the reverse is not true. Scholars have noted that valuing of bilingualism and appropriateness of language use is often racialized, observing that the bilingualism of Caucasians raised in English-speaking households is often praised and privileged, while people of color with identical or better language skills are marginalized for not being "fluent enough." A similar process seems at work here, where a Latinx<sup>27</sup> bilingual in English and Spanish may find it much more difficult to become certified than a Caucasian with the same proficiency, as the former would be more likely to be expected to take the AEC language exam while the latter would have no analogous requirement. Marsha, the graduate program coordinator, also highlighted the reality that when these candidates seek employment in the K-12 school system, they are often seen as having considerable social and linguistic capital, making them valuable as Spanish language teachers in the eyes of state certification boards, even if they did not grow up speaking Spanish. Their mastery of content knowledge and avoidance strategies, among other discursive conventions, makes it easier for them to become certified by the state, she said, while many so-called native speakers of Spanish who come from low-income or

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<sup>27</sup> "Latinx" is a gender-neutral alternative to Latino/a and Latin@. I use Latinx here and throughout this dissertation to acknowledge the continuum of gender identities between heteronormative extremes.

immigrant backgrounds would have more difficulty getting certified because their experiences and knowledges are seen as less relevant to educational contexts. This suggests that (non)native speaking is also influenced by *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015), discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

#### 4.6 DISCUSSION

By explicitly categorizing students as native or nonnative English speakers, these and similar policies presuppose that such an objective categorization is possible, and not only construct their students as (non)native speakered subjects, but also reify the native-nonnative dichotomy itself. The language policies of both NU and the local K-12 school system contribute to the construction of dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness, associating the former with fluency in American English and a familiarity with a shared national history, culture, food, and customs, and the latter with “foreignness” and a lack of English proficiency. Furthermore, they treat the native-nonnative dichotomy as objective and base on it decisions that have major consequences for students—collectively holding nonnative English speakered students to standards and requirements not imposed upon their native English speakered peers. In both cases, overt policy seeks to identify a single “native language” for each student via a survey. If the student names a language other than English, then they must fulfill an additional requirement, an oral interview in the case of the K-12 system, and the obtainment of a 4-year US degree in the case of NU. If they do not meet this secondary requirement, they are subject to a language exam (SESL-EA, or AEC respectively), and potentially remedial language coursework. In both cases, the identification of a single “native”

language precludes the possibility of bilingualism, and in the case of the K-12 district, actively stigmatizes it, effectively constructing bilingualism as representative of nonnative speakered subjectivities. The exams to which students are subject are imbued with cultural, ideological, and historical associations grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality, and the supplementary language courses required risk detracting from nonnative speakered students' content education while they may or may not be meeting their language needs.

Furthermore, such policies may be inequitably enforced, disproportionately nonnative speaking students of color, those who come from immigrant backgrounds, and those who speak what I call "marginalized varieties of English." Thus, even students who have been exposed to English since infancy and who come from countries where English is widely spoken, such as Jamaica, may still be nonnative speakered if their particular teacher devalues or is unfamiliar with it. As such, (non)native speaking is not simply the process of categorizing individuals as native or nonnative speakers of a language, but rather is a complex negotiation involving the ascribing of and resistance against monolithic ethnolinguistic identity positions. Collectively, these stories suggest that scholars and educators must look beyond the development of more nuanced standards for (non)native speaking individuals, and instead seek to undo dichotomized framings of (non)native speakered subjectivities in ways that account for the experiences of those who cannot be neatly categorized as one or the other.

#### 4.7 CLOSING COMMENTS

The data presented in this chapter supports Ruiz's 1990 observation that "while language planning is *at least* about language, it is rarely *only* about language" (p. 14, emphasis original). In other words, while NU and the local K-12 school system claim to focus exclusively on students' language proficiency, their policies' implementation mobilizes discourses of nationalism, culture, food, and history, as well as monolingualist framings of language and language users, which collectively congeal to produce (non)native speakered subjectivities. This is not to say that language policy is itself a form of (non)native speaking or vice versa, but rather that the process of constructing and implementing language policy may reify or resist (non)native speakered subjectivities. As such, there is no singular solution that will resolve, prevent, or preclude the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities in institutional language policy.

However, (non)native speaking is a complex, discursive process by which (non)native speakered subjectivities are produced across multiple scales. As such the remainder of this dissertation avoids an overemphasis on the "hegemonic power of policies" (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; see also Pennycook, 2002), and instead turns to the agency and experiences of local educators and individuals. More specifically, I consider how pre-service teachers make sense of and negotiate these and similar policies, as well as the subjectivities they produce (Chapter 5), how (non)native speaking occurs in conjunction with other processes of Othering in which language is implicit (Chapter 6), and how teacher education programs can resist (non)native speaking and create possibilities for the production of alternative identity positions (Chapter 7).



## CHAPTER 5: (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AND TEACHER IDENTITY

In this chapter, I explore how pre-service teachers within Northern University's (NU) graduate language teacher education program (re)produce, reify, and resist (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as how they negotiate (non)native speakering in conjunction with other aspects of their identity. This exploration is loosely guided by the themes that emerged in Chapter 4 as significant in shaping the emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities in policy, including race, nationality, language variety, and culture. To this end, I first overview recent, poststructuralist approaches in teacher identity research, particularly within the NNEST Movement, and consider the contributions of (non)native speakering to conceptualizing and analyzing not only how individuals negotiate their own (non)native speakered status, but also how this process contributes to the (re)production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. I then explore how four different teacher archetypes—the archetypical “native English speaking teacher (NEST),” the archetypical “nonnative English speaking teacher (NNEST),” “World English speaking teachers,” and teachers who speak stigmatized varieties of American English, such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE)—emerge from the literature in language teacher identity and related scholarship in World Englishes, as well as how these archetypes are reified, negotiated, and resisted by NU's pre-service teachers in their individual interviews and courses.

In the second half of this chapter, I use “narrative portraits” (Aneja, 2016b) to examine in more detail the experiences of four pre-service teachers, each of whom would traditionally belong to a different archetype, as well as how these individuals negotiate and (re)invent their own identity positions in ways that both reify and resist dichotomized notions of (non)nativeness. Throughout this discussion, I also call attention to how each teacher in some ways deviates from their archetype, suggesting that each category is in fact fluid and much more complex than they seem on the surface. In the conclusion, I argue that while remaining cognizant of these four archetypes may be useful for gaining general insights into the experiences of pre-service teachers and for speaking to specific sub-disciplines of applied linguistics and teacher education, it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that such archetypes are not static, objective or self-evident “realities,” but rather are heterogeneous subjectivities that emerge from the coalescence of multiple, shifting and sometimes contradictory discourses, which themselves are embedded within complex systems of power produced through historical processes, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

## 5.1 POSTSTRUCTURALISM, TEACHER IDENTITY, AND THE NNEST MOVEMENT

Poststructuralist approaches have been common in investigations of identity development and enactment for decades now, providing a way of conceptualizing and examining social performance without assuming pre-existing identity categories. Identity is understood to be constructed or crafted (Kondo, 1990) by agentive individuals (Weedon, 1987) within a particular social, cultural, historical, and political context (Duff

& Uchida, 1997). It is dynamic, multiple, and shifting (Norton Pierce, 1995; Weedon, 1987), and constantly evolves across time and space (Kondo, 1990; Ochs, 1993). In the context of language education and socialization, identity has been framed as a “nexus of multimembership” (Wenger, 1998, p. 159) that “emerges out of the dialogic struggle between the learner and the community” (Lantof & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 149). In other words, individuals’ identities are dynamic and encompass individual agency, the local and community context, as well as connections to global discourses and ways of making sense of the world. Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) also highlight three additional considerations: (1) how individuals define themselves with respect to their social groups (2) how individuals alter their linguistic or cultural practices or performances to align or distance themselves from particular communities, and (3) how abstract notions of nativeness and nonnativeness are produced through this negotiation.

Issues of identity have been receiving increasing attention within the NNEST Movement. While early work attempted to use identity-related factors to define nativeness and nonnativeness (e.g., Rampton, 1990) or to consider if and how students, administrators, and others perceive NNESTs as legitimate language speakers and users (Cheung, 2002, Flynn & Gulikers, 2001), more recent scholarship has begun to take a more dynamic, fluid conceptualization of teacher identity. More specifically, scholars have been exploring how individual teachers negotiate their own professional or personal identities and how this negotiation interacts with their professional development and pedagogical approaches. Tang (1997), for instance, explores how NNESTs’ social identities influence their pedagogical approaches and ability to relate to students’

experiences in the classroom. Chacon (2009) considers how increasing critical language awareness in graduate language teacher education can positively impact novice NNESTs' budding professional identities as language teachers, and Park (2012) focuses on the identity negotiation of an East Asian woman with respect not only to global discourses, but also in response to specific events, such as receiving anonymous hate-e-mail or being questioned by a student. There is also increased attention paid to personal narratives. For instance, Samimy & Brutt-Griffler (2001) explores four narratives of individuals born "outside of the mother tongue context" (p. 99) to support the notion that nativeness and nonnativeness are socially constructed categories, and Lee (2010) reflects on the author's personal "subjective story" (p. 1) of professional "coming of age," from a self-conscious doctoral student anxious about teaching English composition to so-called native speakers, to an experienced professor successfully navigating multiple linguistic and cultural identities, and encouraging others to do the same.

Together, these and other investigations have made major contributions towards legitimizing the linguistic and pedagogical skills and unique strengths of so-called NNESTs, creating spaces for them to become comfortable with their professional and academic selves and increasing awareness of inequity within TESOL as a field. They also largely reject the notion that native speaker status is determined linguistically, and question the value of teachers' native speaker status in predicting their pedagogical abilities or student outcomes. However, such studies are limited in their ahistorical perspectives and their tendency to inadvertently accept or reify normative assumptions about language from which the native-nonnative dichotomy emerges, (re)inventing

(non)native speakered subjectivities and (non)native speakering their participants. As such, they are limited in their ability to analyze the emergence of the seemingly objective categories of “native” and “nonnative,” as well as in their depth of analysis of the experiences of those who cannot be neatly categorized as either native or nonnative. For instance, Samimy & Brutt-Griffler (2001) concludes that “the determination of the identity of international speakers of English as ‘native’ or ‘nonnative speakers’ depends upon *social* factors... that are not contemplated within the linguistic construct of the native speaker” (p. 100), a clear rejection of the linguistic value of nativeness. However, they simultaneously reify nationalistic framings of language and identity grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality by implicitly synonymizing “international” with “non-inner circle” (i.e., not American, British, Australian, or Canadian), as well as by constructing “domestic” (i.e., inner circle) English speakers as native speakers by default, while only the identities of “international English speakers” are socially constructed. However, native speakered status is constructed as well, as not all monolingual speakers of “American” varieties of English are positioned or perceived equally; decades of sociolinguistic research have demonstrated the stigmatization of Black Englishes and communicative practices, and have struggled to legitimize them (e.g., Erickson, 1986; Heath, 1983; Labov, 1972; Lightfoot, 1978). As such, Samimy & Brutt-Griffler’s study, while groundbreaking in many ways, inadvertently obscures the complex racialized and nationalistic undercurrents of the construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

Related to the NNEST literature are bodies of literature examining World Englishes (WE), English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua

Franca (ELF). Like the NNEST Movement, these works have made significant inroads in advocating for equity in English language education, and attempt to better understand the complex and localized ways that English is used around the world. However, the literature largely continues to frame language varieties in nationalistic terms (e.g., Indian English, Jamaican English, Singaporean English, American English, etc.), obscuring internal variation and the racialized and classed power dynamics that may position some varieties as more or less legitimate within the same country—again demonstrated by the construction of “African American English” in contrast to “American English” or “Standard American English”—in which the White, European American is constructed as standard. Furthermore, “inner circle Englishes” such as those spoken in the US or Britain are not framed as being “International English” or “World English,” thus revealing that “World English” in its use may be little more than a euphemism for “non-White Englishes” or “post-colonial Englishes.” The recent edited volume *Unequal Englishes*, edited by Ruanni Tupas and Rani Rubdi (2016) \called attention to the power dynamics implicit in the valuing of varieties of English, scratches the surface, but again frames certain varieties of English as inherently unequal, while it may be more accurate to say that they are *unequaled*—deficitized through the marginalization of the post-colonial world in conjunction with a myriad of other socio-historical factors (see Chapter 2). Again, a discussion of the racialization of language and deficit perspectives of particular varieties within a given nation-state, particularly that of Black Englishes or African American Englishes, is conspicuously absent from this discussion.

In this chapter, I extend these conversations by using (non)native speakering as a theoretical and analytical lens to explore how the four teacher archetypes rooted in the literatures above—the native English speaker, the nonnative English speaker, the post-colonial English speaker, and the speaker of marginalized inner circle Englishes—are (re)produced by pre-service teachers at Northern University (NU) and how they deploy them as frames for making sense of their linguistic landscapes. Later in the chapter, I examine case studies of four teachers and their negotiation of (non)native speakering in their own self-conceptualizations and self-positioning, as well as how they create opportunities for others to occupy subject positions that align with or resist dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness. In doing so, I observe the internal heterogeneity and fluidity of each archetype, highlighting the reality that while these archetypes may be useful for speaking back to existing literatures, they should also be treated as historically-rooted, socially-emergent categories, and are in no way objective or self-evident.

## 5.2 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AND IDENTITY

As introduced in Chapter 2, (non)native speakering can be understood as a poststructural orientation that denaturalizes (non)native speakerist ideologies and argues that (non)native speakered subjectivities—abstract, idealized notions of native and nonnative speakers—are historically grounded as well as constructed over time through the discursive practices of individuals and institutions. Therefore, (non)native speakering can be understood as a process of subject formation and identity negotiation that is both historical and emergent, producing “effects of truth...within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false” (Foucault, 1980, p.118). That is, (non)native

speaking posits that individuals are not inherently native or nonnative speakers per se, but rather are (non)native speakered over time with respect to different characteristics, through institutional mechanisms, individual performances, and social negotiations.

(Non)native speaking as a poststructuralist approach to identity provides a “way of thinking about language use and identity that avoids foundationalist categories” (Pennycook, 2004, p. 1) opening up new ways for understanding how sedimented notions of languages and identities emerge at the nexus of multiple shifting discourses that are in constant negotiation and conflict (Weedon, 1987; Wenger, 1998). The complex nature of this construction encourages an openness to discourses or values beyond the most-discussed trinity of race/ethnicity, nationality, and proficiency, and even beyond explicit attempts to define nativeness or nonnativeness at all, to instead consider how participants’ “doing of language creates new spaces of possible identification” (Harissi, Otsuji, & Pennycook, 2012, p. 530). This approach also extends previous studies of “native speaker effects” (Doerr, 2009) on individual identity by theorizing how negotiations of (non)native speakered positionalities reverberate beyond individuals’ identity construction, contributing to the broader production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as how (non)native speaking co-occurs with other processes of linguistic marginalization.

### 5.3 “WHO THE HELL IS A NATIVE SPEAKER?” – Anna Marie

Chapter 4 explored the explicit and implicit production of (non)native speakered subjectivities in the language policies of the local K-12 public school system and Northern University (NU), and found that institutionalized evaluations of individuals’



(non)native speaker status were often associated with their country of origin, accent, variety of English, and familiarity with American history, food, and cultural iconography. However, the policy documents did not clearly define how students' native language ought to be determined, nor did they explicate what countries should be considered "English-speaking." Nonetheless, the designation of an "English-speaking country" significantly impacted the coursework of NU's pre-service teachers, as those who were not from an "English-speaking country" in many cases were required to enroll in courses through the American English Center (AEC), a reality that many participants brought up in their first interview with me, in which I asked them to tell me a bit about their linguistic background. As such, I begin the exploration of (non)native speaking among NU's pre-service teachers with a focus on the interrelated questions that emerged in my first interview with each participant: "How would you define an English-speaking country?" and "How would you define a 'native speaker' of a language?"

### *5.3.1 English Speakers are from English-Speaking Countries*

When asked how they would define an English-speaking country, most pre-service teachers were quick to name the inner circle countries of the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia. Only Neha, who was born and raised in Bombay,<sup>28</sup> identified the post-colonial nation of India as an English-speaking country. Others, once asked about the English-speaking status of India, South Africa, Singapore, or other "outer circle" countries in which English is widely spoken, seemed more skeptical of whether they could be considered "English-speaking." However, participants were largely unable

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<sup>28</sup> I use the name "Bombay" here and throughout this dissertation because Neha referred to her home city as such, though as of 1996 the city's official name has been changed to "Mumbai."

to identify a set of criteria for determining whether a given nation could be considered “English-speaking.” Alex emphasized the importance of an official, federal language policy, saying “usually I would just look at the official status of the language in a country. It’s decided by the government...if it’s an official language, I may consider it an English-speaking country.” Brittany echoed Alex’s valuing of federal language policy, but only hesitantly conceded that she “would consider that [India] and English-speaking country if English was an official language.” However, both Alex and Brittany paradoxically identified the United States as an English-speaking country, even though the U.S. has no federally-sanctioned national language, suggesting that having English as a national or official language is neither necessary nor sufficient for a country to be largely perceived as “English-speaking.”

Daisy and Oliver, both of whom were born and raised in mainland China, were similarly skeptical of Indians’ status as native English speakers because “they have different native languages in their country” and because “they all had accents,” respectively. While both Daisy and Oliver conceded that Indian children could perhaps be considered native English speakers if they spoke English with their parents at home, Oliver observed that such a status was a technicality and that they would will be less hireable than a “real native speaker.” Here, nonnative speakered subjectivities are constructed as being multilingual and/or accented, in contrast to accent-less, monolingual native speakered subjectivities. Furthermore, Oliver makes a distinction between levels of legitimacy and privilege among “native speakers”—conceding that some Indians may

technically be considered native English speakers, since they spoke English with their families from early childhood, but that they remain marginalized because of their accents.

Alex further elaborates on the relationship between language variety and (non)native speaker status, emphasizing that non-standard grammatical systems and accents, while constitutive of nonnative speaker subjectivities, are not necessarily indicative of a lack of proficiency or fluency:

Alex: ... not a lot of people are actually native in English, but that doesn't mean they can't speak English really well, and a lot of them may have accents...and maybe a different kind of grammatical system but their English is still very good they can communicate and speak English with no problem and so the definition becomes more diverse, like even what type of English are you speaking becomes an issue...

Alex rejects a deficit perspective of nonnative speaker subjectivities and acknowledges the significance of minoritized varieties of English, while simultaneously framing being “actually native” as a static, objective reality, implicitly reifying dichotomized, static notions of (non)nativeness. This is not a negative commentary on Alex, his teaching, or his views of language, but rather an observation that sheds light on how normative ways of thinking about language permeate even the discourses of those who question the value of (non)nativeness.

Several students also mentioned that their ways of thinking about (non)nativeness had changed over time, in large part due to the broadening of their own experiences. Alex, for instance, acknowledged in his first interview that there may have been a time where he would have thought that native speaker status was contingent upon citizenship of an English-speaking country, but that after two years of graduate study in a city in

which multiple varieties of English were widely spoken, he was unsure. Lily, who was born and raised in Hubei Province, China, said that when she lived there, she “didn’t have any experiences hearing English spoken by people from India, by people from Singapore, or even Australia.” As such, she never thought of people from such countries as being native English speakers, nor did she previously think it was her responsibility to make an effort to understand what she called “non-standard English.” However, now, after living in Northern State for nearly three years, she did think it was possible for Indians or Singaporeans to be considered native English speakers, and that it was her duty as an English teacher to be able to understand their varieties of English and to teach her students to do the same.

As participants articulated their perceptions of (non)native speakered subjectivities, they mobilized discourses of nationality, accent, and English variety, all of which are discussed in detail by the NNEST Movement. At the same time, however, many of them also acknowledged that their framings changed over time as their locus of experience broadened (see also Medgyes, 2011).

### 5.3.2 *“International” as a Euphemism for “Less Fluent”*

As noted in the discussion of the World Englishes literature in section 5.1, nationalistic framings of language and identity grounded in nation-state/colonial governmentality risk implicitly synonymizing “international” with “non-inner circle”—as even within the US context, British, Australian, and Canadian students are rarely conceptualized as “international” in the same way as Indian or Chinese students—as well as synonymizing “international students” with “students who are less proficient in

English.” There do seem to be some practical concerns in earning a graduate degree from a US institution with a non-US passport, for instance, in managing eligibility for certain grants, scholarships, and on-campus work-study positions, as well as in finding employment after graduation that is willing to provide sponsorship for an H1B visa. However, “international” status is often mobilized in conjunction with judgments about language and language proficiency. For example, when I asked Daisy in her first interview how NU’s School of Education determined who was required to take the AEC test, she responded “all international students in the School of Education need to take the test.” This response is not strictly true, as students who attend English-medium universities in their home countries would be exempt. However, Daisy co-constructs “international” status with being, in her words, “non-English speaking.”<sup>29</sup> This is also consistent with her judgment above questioning the native speaker status of Indians on the basis of their multilingualism. These and other instances seem to support Christine Helot’s (2010) assertion that “the categorization of languages into denominations such as *foreign*, *regional* and *languages of origin* has created a hierarchy which keeps minority languages spoken by people of immigrant background very much in limbo” (p. 53, emphasis original).

The following excerpt from my field notes explores the emergence of “international-as-less-proficient” discourses in pre-service teachers’ positioning of one

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<sup>29</sup> It was unclear to me whether by “non-English speaking” Daisy meant “unable to communicate in English to any degree” or if she meant “nonnative English speaking.” When I asked if she considered herself an English speaker she gave a hedged affirmative answer—saying that she did technically speak English but that she would not consider herself bilingual.

another in Anna Marie's adult education seminar. The excerpt below describes Oliver's teaching demo on April 8, 2015:

Oliver introduced his context as a level 7 AEC course and said that his lesson was motivated by the reality that many of his students had difficulty understanding his host teacher as well as much American television, even though they “speak perfect English, with no accent,” because they speak too quickly. He then noted that one strategy for increasing the speed of one's comprehension was to listen to a clip at 1.5x speed, transcribing as much as possible, and then repeat the exercise at 1.0x speed. After playing the entire clip at 1.5x speed, he said “I think this will be easier for native speakers. There are only two international students. Which one of you would like to share?” When neither volunteered, he called on each of them in turn, both of whom said that it was very challenging for them. Oliver then responded, “I think this is a problem for the international students, but not so much for the native speakers.” At this point, Anna Marie and Melody interrupted, saying that it was a challenge for them as well. Anna Marie read off several lines of her transcript, but also acknowledged that she was very familiar with the clip already, which was taken from the HBO series *Newsroom*, and that the task would have been much more difficult for her if it had been entirely new. Oliver then played the recording again at 1.0x speed, and when it was finished, said “So slow, and you can understand every word of it... what about you, Zoe? What did you think? Do you feel like you could understand much more now?” Zoe responded that it was easier for her to distinguish between individual words, and to transcribe them because the speed was slower and because she was hearing the recording for the second time. Oliver concluded his student-teaching demo saying “I know this is a great speech, but as an international student this is still very hard for me. But when I listen to it fast, and then slow, it seems very easy to me... so I guess for international students it seems like they may think that they can take the time to adjust to fast speech, but in reality, it might be better for them to listen very, very fast, maybe in recordings or with Final Cut Pro, and then slow down again. (Field Notes, Apr. 8, 2015).

As an aspiring English teacher, Oliver is clearly interested in supporting his students in further developing their English language abilities, and concludes his lesson with a concrete strategy that they can immediately use. However, throughout this excerpt he reifies (non)native speakered subjectivities and normative, monolingualist assumptions about language, starting with the implicit acceptance that there exists a singular, objectively “perfect English” and discursively marking it as being spoken “with no

accent,” which is frequently co-constructed with nativeness and inner circle status (e.g., Lippi-Green, 1997; Shuck, 2006).

Oliver also in several places dichotomizes “native speakers” and “international students,” privileging the language skills of the former and deficitizing those of the latter. This was particularly interesting to me given the demographic break down of those who he constructed as “native speakers”—two African American students, one of whom, Mark, explicitly identified as a speaker of “broken English” and whose identity negotiation is discussed later in this chapter; one Turkish American student who considered English her first language even though she was raised in a bilingual home in which Turkish was commonly spoken as well; Anna Marie, who is ethnically Jewish and was raised speaking Hebrew and English, though she is also able to communicate in Arabic, French, and Spanish; and me, an Indian-American who was raised in a trilingual home in which English, Hindi, and Punjabi were spoken. Not only did he position several multilingual individuals as “native,” but also as I explore in his narrative portrait below, on other occasions Oliver questioned the legitimacy of English speakers who were African American and Indian, saying they would never compare to a “real” native speaker. The differences in his construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities across settings suggests that (non)native speaking is a dynamic, contextualized, nonlinear process, in which individuals’ expressed ideological positions may change or manifest in different ways over time and in different contexts.

Anna Marie, Melody, and Zoe resisted the notion that “native speakers” were necessarily more fluent or would have less difficulty with the task, Anna Marie and

Melody in asserting that the 1.5x transcription was difficult for them as well even though they had been constructed as native, Anna Marie in attributing her relative ease with the 1.5x transcription to her familiarity with the clip rather than her native speaker status, and Zoe in attributing her relative ease with the latter transcription to the slower speed and the fact that it was her second listening. While they did not explicitly question Oliver's dichotomization of "native" and "international," they did resist the language ideologies implicit in his valuing of different individuals' linguistic backgrounds and questioned whether the ease with which an individual completed the assigned task was determined exclusively by native speaker status. While Oliver did not seem convinced, as he still attributed his difficulty completing the task to his international student status, Anna Marie's and her students' questioning the default authority of the native speakered subject is nonetheless significant in working towards its dismantling.

### 5.3.3 *"I'm paying this much money for a native speaker" – Laura, Interview 1*

Marsha, the instructor of the advanced research seminar as well as the graduate program coordinator, on the first day of class recounted an anecdote from when she was completing her own student teaching, in which her supervisor's only piece of feedback on what she believed to be an exemplary lesson was "My dear, no one wants their children to come home speaking the way you do." In this single sentence, Marsha's supervisor shed light on the impact of parents' perceived views on schools' and programs' language policy and hiring practices (field notes, Feb. 3, 2015).

Participants, including Zoe, Britteny, and Oliver, commented on the entwinement of accent, race, and tuition dollars in language courses, both in the US and around the



world, observing that students and their parents were generally willing to pay a premium in order to be taught by someone constructed as a native speakered subject. Reflecting on her time teaching in Korea, Laura observed that *native speakerism* (Holliday, 2005) was much more pronounced in privatized settings than in public schools:

Laura: In public schools it wasn't as bad as in a lot private schools because in private schools parents pay a lot a lot a lot of money and they want someone something specific they want someone who *looks American, sounds American in their perception* that's what they're paying for so I had a lot of friends who are Korean American and couldn't get hired because they look Korean and so and that parents minds are like this is not a native speaker this is a Korean and *I'm paying this much money for a native speaker*. And so parents have a certain ideal, and private school teachers will cater to that. And you find the same in the US when it comes to private schools. In public schools it's not as bad. (Interview 1, Feb. 12, 2015).

Laura recognizes and opposes the injustice in the racialized, nationalistic (non)native speakered subjectivities that she sees Korean parents as constructing—the native speakered subject who “looks American, [and] sounds American” in contrast to the nonnative speakered subject who does not align with their raciolinguistic construction of “Americanness.” She notes that her Korean American friends were positioned as being Korean, and therefore non-American, and therefore unqualified as English teachers, as their ethnicity was co-constructed with their nationality and their linguistic abilities. Later in this interview, she states that these ideologies may be in part due to students’ locus of experience—that because Korea is a relatively ethnically homogenous country, united by an official national language, students tended to conceptualize language, nationality, and ethnicity as mutually-constitutive and representative. However, she affirmed that *native speakerism* is not as pronounced in public schools, and that she, as a Black, first-

generation Ghanaian American, felt generally accepted in public schools, while she is unsure that she would have been in most private schools.

In her second interview, Laura observed that the hiring preferences of private schools is not exclusively racialized, but also demonstrates a dispreference for certain accents:

Laura: Accent was a big thing. I had a friend who was from Ireland, and a lot of the schools didn't like the Irish English accent, and so he actually didn't have jobs teaching at first because they didn't care for the Irish accent. I had another friend from South Africa and they didn't care for that too. And so yeah, it was mostly dealing with private schools, again parents teaching a lot of money and wanting a specific product. If they want American English, like even American English, it depended where in America you were from. There were a lot of schools that wouldn't hire a Southerner because they didn't like their accent. They tended to hire the... what you call the "news anchorman" accent, where you don't know where you're from, you just know you're American. No AAVE, no, um, no nothing, you're just straight up Standard English American.  
(Interview 2, Mar. 12, 2015).

According to Laura, Korean private schools seemed to have a dispreference for language varieties and individuals who deviated from “straight up Standard English American,” specifically those from Ireland and South Africa, as well as those marginalized within the US “Southern” and “AAVE.” She also mentions a “‘news anchorman’ accent,” which Lily alluded to elsewhere (see also Bonfiglio, 2010). As such, Laura’s comments suggest that Whiteness and even Americanness are not necessarily constitutive of native speaker status, but that native speaker status emerges at the intersection of discourses of accent, language variety, and even career, in addition to race, nationality, and citizenship. The racialized legitimization of language teachers is further explored in the case studies in section 5.4, as well as in Chapter 6.

#### *5.3.4. Teacher Archetypes in NU Teachers' Discourses*

As they made sense of their own and others' language proficiency and (non)native speaker status, pre-service teachers noted how the mobilization of discourses of nationality, race, and language variety reified the four linguistic archetypes that emerged from the scholarly literature—the native English speaker, the nonnative English speaker, the post-colonial English speaker, and the speaker of marginalized inner circle Englishes. Their observations in many ways aligned with the construction of (non)native speaker subjectivities in policy discourses, discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the historicized (re)construction of (non)native speaker subjectivities, discussed in Chapter 2.

The remainder of this chapter takes a closer look at each archetype through the examination of case studies of four pre-service teachers and their negotiations of (non)native speaking, including how they conceptualized their own and others' proficiencies and positionalities. Throughout this discussion, I observe heterogeneity and fluidity of each archetype, and highlight the reality that while these archetypes may be useful in speaking back to existing literatures, they should be treated as emergent rather than objective or self-evident.

#### 5.4 PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW AND NARRATIVE PORTRAITS

In this section, I shed light on the internal heterogeneity and fluidity of each archetype by utilizing narrative portraits, synthesized from interviews, classroom data, and student work, to explore the identity construction of four focal participants—Oliver, April, Mark, and Neha, each of whom seem to belong to a different teacher archetype described in the data. Oliver and April would traditionally be considered a “NNEST” and

“NEST” respectively—Oliver identifies as Han Chinese, was born and raised in China, and intends to return after receiving his degree, while April is Caucasian, was raised in the US, and has speech features that are broadly recognized as Standard American. Mark and Neha are both speakers of varieties of English that are marginalized in TESOL—Mark identifies as speaking, in his words, “African American Vernacular,” a “nonstandard” variety of American English rarely mentioned in the literature on language teacher identity, while Neha was born and raised in India and identifies as a native English speaker, though some may qualify this as “Indian English” or a “World English” (e.g., Medgyes, 1992).

Through these portraits, it will become apparent that none of these participants fit neatly into the archetypal identity categories that have been created for them through dichotomized or even continua conceptualizations of nativeness and nonnativeness. Instead, they dynamically mobilize different discourses of privilege and oppression, negotiating and constructing their own and others’ (non)native speakered identities that in different ways that at times both align with and deviate from the four discrete archetypes. This process suggests that researchers’ focus should shift from developing more nuanced ways to classify language users’ status, and instead move towards more dynamic, critical ways of framing and analyzing language and identity (see Aneja, 2016a, 2016b; Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015; also, Chapter 2)

#### *5.4.1 Oliver<sup>30</sup>*

Oliver was enrolled in Anna Marie’s adult student-teaching seminar. He was born and raised in China, came to the US to complete a master’s in TESOL, and intended to

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<sup>30</sup> All quotes from the portraits below are directly from participants unless otherwise indicated.

return to China to teach English immediately after finishing his degree. He was more explicit than any other participant about the superiority of native speakers, explaining that it was “reasonable” that some schools “prefer to hire a native speaker, not just Asians, but native speakers” as they were “much higher than English learners” in terms of speaking and listening skills, accurate grammar and pronunciation, and organizational logic. This overt racialization of English language speakers as “not Asian” was mirrored in his perceptions of speakers of Chinese—he said in a later conversation that he was “pleasantly shocked” when a Caucasian professor of Chinese greeted him in Mandarin during his student orientation because he “did not expect a white woman to speak Mandarin...If I could not see her face, I would think it was probably a Chinese person speaking Mandarin.” Thus, Oliver reifies the racialization of language and language users—that those who appear Chinese are expected to speak Mandarin while those who appear Caucasian, at least in the US, are expected to speak English.

He also mentioned that not all native speakers were equivalent, but rather that “accent matters.” For instance, while British accents were fashionable in China decades ago and American accents are becoming increasingly common, “Australia is definitely no good”. He reiterated this hierarchy when discussing the authenticity of pedagogical materials, saying that “authentic materials are more like how you would hear someone in the street in the US or the UK.” When I asked him about other speakers from around the world, he mentioned that he was uncertain if Indians could be considered native speakers even though they were very fluent, since “they all had accents” and learned English in school. When I shared that many Indians, particularly those from wealthier backgrounds,

speak English at home, he seemed surprised and admitted that “in that case, they would of course be native speakers, but they would still be less hireable than *real* native speakers.” He was also skeptical of the status of “African American Vernacular”<sup>31</sup> (AAV) speakers, since AAV is not standard, and is not “used in official moments or events...like not a professor taking in front of a class or anything.” Thus, from Oliver’s perspective, accents and language varieties are not only ranked, but are also connected to a social context, namely the “officialness” of the spaces in which they are used—accents or varieties used in legitimized spaces by “real” native speakers were preferable to those which are not. This clarification of his definitions may shed additional light on his construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities in 5.3.2 above, in which he questioned the native speaker status of African American and multilingual individuals.

While Oliver did not consider himself bilingual, since he felt that bilingual status should be reserved for those who “got both languages natively and naturally from birth,” he saw his language background as an asset rather than a liability in becoming a successful and professional English teacher. He said “I have learned to learn English” and therefore could personally identify with his students’ English-learning experience and pass along to them strategies that worked for him in improving his own English—insights that no native speaker could ever offer. In the same way, since he shares a linguistic and cultural background with his students, many of whom were also from China, since he can explain English grammar to them in a way that most native speakers [of English] are unable. In many ways, Oliver’s identity construction is consistent with much of the literature that examines the pedagogical strengths of NNESTs (e.g., Medgyes, 1992),

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<sup>31</sup> Oliver used this term to describe the language of Mark, another participant and close friend of his.

while still largely remaining aligned with nation-state framings of language and language users. While he considers himself an English learner who is still on a “journey” to develop new skills and proficiencies, he does not see this as conflicting with also being a legitimate English teacher, albeit with different strengths (and weaknesses) than a so-called “NEST.” This may also contribute to why he felt so comfortable acknowledging his difficulty with the 1.5x speed transcription task he led in Anna Marie’s class, and attributing it to his international (and therefore “nonnative”) status—he conceptualizes the ability to empathize with his students and demonstrate a strategy that contributed to his own language development as an asset, rather than a liability.

Oliver’s identity construction in many ways aligns with and reifies that of the NNEST of the literature—as being from the Outer Circle and an accented, perpetual language learner. However, he resists the disempowerment and pedagogical illegitimacy of NNESTs by embracing the experiences he shares with his students and utilizing them as resources in the classroom.

#### *5.4.2 April*

As a 31-year-old self-identified Caucasian woman from the northwestern United States raised in a monolingual English household, April was in many ways an archetypical native English speaker. However, she also began studying Spanish in grade school and spent several years living and working in Spain and traveling extensively in Latin America. At the time of data collection, she was completing her master’s degree and state K-12 certification in both TESOL and Spanish, making her simultaneously an archetypical nonnative Spanish speaker.

According to April, her language has changed over time in ways that reflect her international experience. Before moving to Spain, she had Mexican Spanish “programmed” into her brain, confusing her Spanish students and co-teachers who wondered why she was “speaking like a Mexican”. After returning to the US five years later, she said she “is consciously trying to change back,” particularly in reducing her use of *vosotros*, but that she often has to “rethink what I’m saying, just to make sure it’s not like the Spain Spanish.” Interestingly, she expressed a similar negotiation in English—making an effort to reduce her “Americanisms” in the company of a Glaswegian friend or while she was living in Spain, and then needing to “change back” from saying flat to apartment and Celsius to Fahrenheit upon her return to the US. Her cohort-mates, who studied with her in her last year in Spain, reinforced these efforts, saying things like “April, stop saying *flat*, you’re looking for an *apartment!*” or “April, we’re back in the *States*, could you please use *Fahrenheit?*” Through their metacommentary, April’s peers reified connections between geographic location and lexical choice in general, while also positioning her as an American and nudging her into using terms emblematic of the US despite having lived in Europe for an extended period of time.

In the classroom, however, April’s international language experience was generally framed as a resource rather than a liability, though her lead teacher still attempted to shape the nature of her language use. She recalled “the first teacher I worked with in Madrid told me ‘don’t change the way you speak with them [students]. Don’t dumb it down or change it. If they don’t understand you, I’ll just butt in,’” though she also joked that after five years in Madrid, intentionally speaking “American” English in class



became challenging. In the same way, when she began her Spanish student teaching in the US, her lead teacher encouraged her to say what she was used to saying in Spain, since it was important for students to be exposed to multiple language varieties from around the world. As she reflected on these experiences, April emphasized the importance of tailoring her language use “to adapt to whatever situation,” accounting for her interlocutors, her geographic location, and the institutional context.

Despite her linguistic and cultural resilience, April did not consider herself bilingual “in SLA terms” since, like Oliver, she felt that bilinguals to have developed native-like proficiencies in multiple languages in early childhood. She also mentioned that while she was “very comfortable” in Spanish and that a friend had once evaluated her proficiency by saying she was “fluent enough to date,” she still occasionally had experiences that would make her more self-conscious of teaching Spanish in Spain as opposed to either teaching Spanish in the US or teaching English anywhere in the world. She described one such incident, saying “long story short I ended up being a witness in a civil case against the Barcelona football team, and...didn’t have that kind of fluency yet in areas where I don’t have experience, but I managed to figure it out ok.” When I half-jokingly asked if she would have been better able to handle the situation in English, she smiled and said “I hope so.”

While April had some reservations about teaching Spanish in what she called a “Spanish speaking country,” like Oliver, she felt in some ways better prepared to teach what she perceived as her second language, because she had successfully learned it. She said “I know the rules, and what things are difficult. I know the order. I know I studied

this and then this... I don't have that experience in English, since I never had to learn it in the same way." She also emphasized the importance of confidence and understanding that language learning is an ongoing process even in her so-called native language, "if someone corrects me, I don't feel uncomfortable. I'm still learning words in English!"

Like Oliver's, April's experience and identity construction complicates her categorization as a NEST. While NESTs are generally framed as monolingual in a single variety of English, April was professionally fluent in Spanish and had experience with multiple English varieties around the world. She also questioned whether she was most qualified to teach English because she "never had to learn it in the same way," resisting the notion that teachers are most qualified to teach the language(s) in which they are native speakered.

#### *5.4.3 Mark*

Mark was a 28-year-old African-American man from California enrolled in the adult student-teaching seminar. He was raised by his grandmother, and was the first in his family to earn a bachelor's degree and now his master's. Throughout the term, he spoke of ongoing tensions between his linguistic and cultural background and the expectations of an English language teacher and graduate student at an elite university. He mentioned that he had "deep insecurities with reading and writing" and that he became "intimidated" in his first year of graduate study by professors who were "really gung ho the academia part, and they kind of discouraged me from doing the teacher cert[ification] because of how I talk." Mark's experiences marginalizing his language practices contrast sharply

with Oliver's and April's, both of whom felt that their language proficiencies were generally valued in the classroom.

Unlike Oliver, Mark did not buy into the “native speaker myth” (Davies, 2003). While he was aware that “100% of students have the goal of sounding native,” perhaps because of the pressure on the job market, he was unsure about “who's this model they're trying to sound like,” since “no one has the perfect native English.” Instead, he emphasized the importance of being able to communicate effectively in different contexts. However, Mark still referred to his own and his students' English as “broken.” When I asked him to clarify, he said that even though he personally did not think the language was broken per se, that nonetheless was “what America has classified it as” since their language practices were not acceptable in what he called “formal” settings: “I don't see CEOs at meetings in presentations using language that is part of the community or part of the demographics in that community, so I think it's broken because of the demographics of the people that speak it.” Like Oliver, Mark attributes the marginalization of particular language varieties to the prestige of their contexts as well as the demographics of their speakers. On a later occasion, Mark also commented on the racialization of language and culture, saying that even the examples in English language textbooks reinforce a “White perspective of American culture...if you're doing a cooking class, you're not seeing how to make tacos or fried chicken.” In doing so, he observes the absence of speakers with whom he shares a cultural and racial identity in ESL textbooks, contributing to the racialization of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

Mark also acknowledges that he personally “battles” with this tension, since he often feels uncomfortable with what he called “formal English” and questions whether his speech features “belong” in educational settings. He described his language as “very African Vernacular... my Gs drop, my grammar switches up. I feel like my speaking doesn't really have this formal structure of English.” Mark said he found ways to work around this anxiety, for instance by verifying grammar points from “Standard English” on his phone. However, his mentor teacher felt he “should already know this stuff” and discouraged him from using technology as a “crutch,” further marginalizing Mark’s linguistic background and reinforcing racialized, classed notions of nativeness and legitimacy. In contrast, another supervisor noticed Mark “holding back a little” and encouraged him to “incorporate your language into your class—your students need that!” In doing so, she created space for his language practices in an explicitly academic context—a context from which Mark had previously felt excluded. As he recalled receiving this support, Mark smiled and said “that lifted me up so much, and I felt so confident, and like, I can do this, you know? I can be myself and talk.”

While Mark was consistently marginalized from academic and professional settings because of the “broken” varieties of classed and racialized English in which he felt most comfortable, his experience with “informal” registers of American English were still framed as an asset by certain mentors, including Anna Marie. This tension suggests that the monolithic framing of native speaker individuals as privileged may not be sufficiently nuanced to reflect the dynamic nature of social positionality. Furthermore, Mark was highly sensitive to the entwinement of linguistic legitimacy and therefore

(non)native speakered subjectivities with racialization as well as cultural emblems, discussed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

#### *5.4.4 Neha*

Neha is a 30-year-old woman who was raised in Bombay and at the time of data collection was earning a post-master's degree and her K-12 TESOL teaching certification. While she was technically an international student, as a citizen of India, she considered herself a native English speaker and was exempt from university-mandated English language exams.

In our first conversation, Neha told me she had taken her status as a native English speaker for granted until her first week of graduate study in the US, when a Chinese international student at the university's billing office asked her how she learned English. In that moment, Neha said, "I was so shocked, I didn't even understand the question...I was like 'huh? I don't know, I just speak it, since I was little.'" Like many Indians, Neha did not learn English per se, but rather acquired it in early childhood. As a result, when this Chinese student inadvertently positioned her as an English learner, and therefore a nonnative speaker, the question caught her off guard and seemed paradoxical..

Since then, however, Neha became accustomed to the consistent marginalization of her English. While she admitted that in a perfect world her accent would be valued as a window into the international English community, she also tried to consider the perspective of international students in university language programs, who pay top dollar to study English in the US. "To them," Neha said, "It's bad enough that your teacher's Brown. Your ESL teacher is Brown, and to top it, she doesn't sound like you expect her

to sound. You don't want a mediocre class, you know?" As a result, Neha made concentrated efforts to Americanize her accent by mimicking YouTube videos. She confessed, "I was really worried I would never get a job otherwise," in a stylized Indian accent, she added, "have you heard us people talk back home? It's just the worst thing I could ever do!" An unexpected social consequence of Americanizing her accent, however, was that "people in that city<sup>32</sup> don't like me because... I don't sound really American, I don't sound like I'm really Indian... it weirds people out." Rather than being an asset, as it was for April and to a lesser extent for Mark, Neha felt that the geographical ambiguity of her language background was a social liability.

In addition to changing her accent, Neha also mentioned that in the US she often went by her last name, Soni, to simplify the pronunciation for her professors and co-workers. In her words "I got sick of being called 'Nee-high<sup>33</sup>' or 'Nay-haw.' This was just easier." However, she also expressed that changing her name caused "a bit of an identity crisis." In some ways, she said, *Soni* seemed like a different identity, an *Americanized* English teacher who spoke in an American accent and never wore a *sari*<sup>34</sup> to work. In doing so, she explicitly connects her name to her identity and language. When we continued this conversation in a later interview, Neha said that people were increasingly showing an interest in pronouncing her name properly, but that now "Neha" sounded odd to her in the US, since she had become accustomed to going by Soni.

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<sup>32</sup> The city name was removed to maintain anonymity. However, it has a high population of South Asian descent, and Neha taught dance classes there several days a week.

<sup>33</sup> These exaggerated pronunciations were altered to fit the pseudonym "Neha"

<sup>34</sup> A traditional garment worn by South Asian women, consisting of a long piece of cloth draped around the body

While Neha's multiple and shifting identities were in some ways stressful and contradictory, perhaps more so and more explicitly than other participants', Neha still drew on her multi-faceted background as a resource, particularly once she began her teaching placements in public schools. In her classes, she used her working knowledge of Bengali to build relationships with the low-income Bangladeshi students, and modeled for students and teachers alike how the "communicative burden" (Lippi-Green, 1997) can be shared to facilitate communication. Neha also found ways to incorporate aspects of her students' home languages and cultures into her classes, for instance in encouraging translanguaging (García, 2009) and discussing holidays and customs from students' home countries. While this was often framed using nation-state ideologies (i.e., comparing customs from students' home countries with 'American' customs), in our last conversation, Neha mentioned sharing with her students a video of a dance which was "done to Hindi music, but was very American...even the outfits people were wearing, it's a nod to the US also," suggesting that she was also, perhaps, becoming comfortable performing a hybridized identity and encouraging her students to do the same.

Neha's experiences shattered dichotomized framings of languages and language users. While she was an international student in the sense that she had an Indian passport, she was exempt from the university language exams and considered herself a native English speaker. English is an official language of her country of origin, and yet she was often nonnative speakered in the US because of her accent and skin color. As she started coming to terms with her transnational and transcultural identity, she did so not entirely through language, but also through cultural emblems such as naming, music, clothing, and

dance. Neha's experiences demonstrate not only the dynamic nature of (non)native speakering, but also its complexity in the ways in which different individuals may mobilize different discourses in their construction and negotiation of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

## 5.5 DISCUSSION

Each of the four participants above broadly belongs to a different archetype discussed in the language teacher identity literature. Oliver and April fit the ethnolinguistic profile of native speakers of their home languages—both were raised relatively monolingual in countries historically associated with their respective languages and phenotypically belong to the dominant ethnic group in those countries. In contrast, Mark and Neha were in different ways “marginalized native English speakers.”<sup>35</sup> Mark faced personal challenges with legitimacy in academic or official spaces, and described himself as a speaker of a “broken” variety of American English, while Neha's legitimacy as a native English speaker was questioned because she was from an “outer circle” country (Kachru, 1985) and was perceived as speaking with an accent, even though she spoke English as one of her home languages. However, each of these participants also negotiated their own identities and were positioned by others in ways that (re)invented notions of (non)nativeness and linguistic privilege, suggesting that while these archetypes may be useful for speaking to existing literatures, they are fluid, heterogeneous, and much more complex than they seem on the surface. For instance, Oliver and April were both often perceived as being native speakers of their home languages despite being

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<sup>35</sup> See also Motha (2006, 2014) for an in-depth analysis of the co-construction of linguistic marginalization and racialization and its material effects on teacher identity



multilingual, resisting the framing of the idealized native speaker-hearer as necessarily monolingual. On the other hand, while both Neha and Mark were marginalized native English speakers, Mark could benefit by aligning himself with an ethnolinguistic perception of American citizenry, if not a “mainstream” (i.e., Caucasian) American citizen, while Neha’s Indian accent denied her this privilege.

In the discussion below, I explore how Oliver, April, Mark, and Neha are in different ways (non)native speakered through multiple dynamic processes that intersect with other discourses and identity positions, including how their communicative practices are socially valued and commented upon, as well as how this valuing is influenced by *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015; see also Chapter 6).

#### *5.5.1 Individual Communicative Practices and Social Interpellation*

(Non)native speakering as a theoretical and analytical frame attempts to move towards a poststructuralist view of both language and identity both in terms of how individual participants conceptualize and construct (non)nativeness as identity categories through metacommentary, as well as how these categories are recursively drawn upon as resources by which participants position others and themselves. In doing so, it allows researchers to remain open to the multiple, dynamic discourses and practices that participants may deploy or engage in during their own identity construction and negotiation. One example is how participants intentionally alter their communicative practices to align with or deviate from the norms of the contexts in which they found themselves, as well as how these decisions interact with their identity negotiation. For instance, when she found her given name “Neha” problematic for her professors and

teachers, and her Indian accent stigmatized by her students, she changed her name and her accent in order to align more closely with an abstract notion of Americanness. In doing so not only named herself *Soni* but also performed that identity, reifying its existence. Far from occurring in isolation, this is a “(re)citation of a prior chain of acts which are implied in the present act” (McIlvenny, 2002, p. 116)—namely a long history of individuals in US contexts mispronouncing *Neha*—sedimenting the notion that introducing herself as *Soni* will be less problematic. Neha’s behavior resists the intuitive perception that “our verbs and other behavior are merely a ‘natural’ expression of our essential selves” (Cameron & Culick, 2003, p. 150), and instead sheds light how selves are not merely represented in discursive practices, but are produced through them.

This history distinguishes Neha’s self-positioning from that of April, who is comfortably perceived as American. While April’s languages—both English and Spanish—at times also make her difficult to associate with a given nationality, rather than being marginalized, she is positioned as something of a global citizen, reflecting the elite bilingualism and biculturalism of privileged English speakers. In this way, while the communicative practices of Mark, Neha, and April all differed in different ways from those of an idealized native speakered subject, April’s linguistic experience was explicitly framed as an asset, making her feel comfortable positioning herself a “Spanish learner.” Mark, on the other hand, felt this confidence only after explicit support from a mentor teacher, and Neha once she gained experience in the public school system. Oliver distinguished himself by seeming quite comfortable constructing himself as a nonnative English speakered individual, framing his experience learning English as well as the

linguistic and cultural background he shared with his students as pedagogical assets rather than liabilities.

As such, the social interpellation, recognition, naming, and valuing of language varieties is integral to participants' identity construction. Mark voices this explicitly when he describes the language of himself and his students as "broken" because "that's what America has classified it as," and contrasts this judgment with his mentor teacher constructing his language background as a resource for his students. Both Neha and April receive and offer similar metacommentary on their own speech, though April connects this more explicitly with attempts to align herself with the language practices of various countries in order to blend in and set her interlocutors at ease. While Neha similarly modified her language practices, her purpose was to be legitimized as an English teacher by adopting an American accent and performing an American identity, demonstrating the marginalization of Indian-accented English in TESOL. Oliver alone took pride in distancing himself from an "American" identity, perhaps because he was legitimized as a native speaker of Mandarin, which he admitted he was more likely to teach in the US, or perhaps because his experience in the US would be sufficient for him to market himself as an English teacher in China.

Participants' identities are produced through these and similar judgments, made apparent through metapragmatic discourse (Silverstein, 1993). However, to borrow a line from Yeats, it is not possible to "know the dancer from the dance"—to distinguish native and nonnative speakered subjects from the manner in which they are discussed, (re)invented, and negotiated—neither can exist apart from the other.

### 5.5.2. *Race, Language, and (Non)Native Speaking*

Significantly, the portraits above demonstrate that the process of constructing native and nonnative speakers works in conjunction with other processes of Othering. Neha and Oliver, for instance, both explicitly commented on the “racialization of the native speaker” (Amin, 1997), reiterating citations of race in conjunction with (non)nativeness and language proficiency by saying that Indians were not *real* native speakers and expressing students’ dispreference for “Brown” ESL teachers. Together, such comments construct a racialized and nationalized (non)native speakered subjectivity, with “Brownness” being associated with nonnativeness, and in turn interpellating a White native speakered subject. As such, because of her racialization, Neha is denied the ability to participate fully as a TESOL professional.

While April’s peers’ judgments of her deviations from American communicative norms, both in terms of lexical choice (e.g., flat vs. apartment) and in other ways of thinking (e.g., Fahrenheit vs. Celsius), were also shaped by nation-state/colonial governmentality, her international communicative repertoires were generally framed as professional assets, while those of Neha and Mark, both of whom gave examples of overt discrimination and judgment in professional and academic contexts, were stigmatized. I explore (non)native speaking as a raciolinguistic process in more detail in Chapter 6.

### 5.5.3 *Theoretical Implications of (Non)Native Speaking*

Much of the literature on language teacher identity to date focuses explicitly on teachers who would traditionally be considered native or nonnative, or considers the “hegemonic discourses” and factors relevant to an individual “passing” as native or not

(e.g., Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 2001, p. 105). (Non)native speakering provides a way to move beyond attempts to categorize individuals archetypically *a priori* and instead considers how and why (non)native speakerist categories are produced, understood, and resisted through individuals' experiences and identity negotiation. This dynamic frame echoes Menard-Warwick's (2008) call for an increased focus on transnational students and extends it to students like Mark who are not technically "transnational," but who nonetheless identify with multiple language varieties, each with unique sociocultural associations. More work is needed exploring the identity construction not only of "traditional" native and nonnative speakered subjects, but also of individuals like Mark and Neha, who are legitimized in some ways, but marginalized in others.

By emphasizing individual negotiation and variation, (non)native speakering also encourages a more open-ended analysis capable of considering how (non)native speakering is co-constructed with other processes of Othering, for instance with race, socioeconomic class, country of origin, and more. In doing so, it complicates the native-nonnative dichotomy and the dominant discourses with which it is associated. None of the four participants narrowly fit into their given archetype. Oliver and April are both professionally proficient in multiple languages, and both express confidence as successful learners and legitimate teachers of their second languages (English and Spanish respectively) while still valuing the linguistic and cultural knowledge of native speakers. In contrast, Mark's feelings of marginalization are more closely connected to his racial, socioeconomic, and academic background, while Neha's are related to the complex interactions among her personal and national identity, name, race, and language practices.

Collectively, their experiences demonstrate how nation-state/colonial governmentality shapes the perception and construction of linguistic legitimacy, and shed light on the reality that *Unequal Englishes* (Tupas & Rubdy, 2016) and “World Englishes” are not synonymous—that is, that varieties of English are not automatically legitimized by virtue of originating in the “inner circle” or marginalized by virtue of originating elsewhere—but rather that inequality is dynamically produced.

## 5.6 CLOSING COMMENTS

Together, the data presented in this chapter illuminate future research possibilities that explore teacher identity development beyond dichotomized, idealized (non)native speakered subjectivities, to include other forms of marginalization that occur in conjunction with language, as well as how these multiple and fluid identity positions are negotiated by teachers with diverse backgrounds and in diverse contexts. In the following chapter, I consider in more detail how (non)native speaking can be conceptualized as a raciolinguistic process, in which pre-service teachers’ racialized identities are implicated and mobilized in their negotiation and production of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

## CHAPTER 6: (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AND RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES

Previous chapters have alluded to the racialization of the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. Chapter 2 historicizes (non)native speakered subjectivities, contextualizing their emergence in conjunction with the ethnolinguistically homogeneous citizenry of mid-18<sup>th</sup> century European nation-states. The policy analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrated that the wording and implementation of institutions' language-in-education policies have disproportionately negative effects on immigrant students and students of color even without mobilizing overtly racializing discourses, and Chapter 5 provided evidence that teacher candidates' racialized positionalities can influence others' judgments of their linguistic or pedagogical competence, affecting their professional identity development.

In this chapter, I focus more explicitly on how (non)native speakering is shaped by *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015), which theorize how individuals' racialized bodies can influence the construction of their language practices as “appropriately academic” or “linguistically deficient” (p. 150), regardless of the features of their actual language production. This inquiry has three interrelated strands. The first strand considers how individuals' judgments of linguistic legitimacy or appropriateness often mobilize racializing discourses, producing racialized (non)native speakered subjectivities and positioning individuals as (non)native speakered subjects of different languages in racialized ways. The second strand examines how an individual's racialized

body may alter or influence the social impact of their (non)native speakered positionality—in other words, how different nonnative speakered subjects may be perceived and (de)valued in different ways depending on the racialization of their bodies. The third strand theorizes how processes of (non)native speaking can emerge from the mobilization of racialized discourses in which language is implicit, for instance, how Mark's observation about the racialized types of food presented in English language textbooks (see Chapter 5), reifies racialized (non)native speakered subjectivities even though he did not overtly comment on either language or race.

I open this discussion by briefly overviewing the literature on raciolinguistic ideologies in educational settings. I then analyze several situations in which participants invoked raciolinguistic discourses when describing others' language use or when describing how their own language was perceived by others. Collectively, these data not only suggest that participants' racialized bodies alter their lived linguistic experiences and (non)native speakered positionalities, but also that native English speakered individuals are also privileged when communicating or teaching other languages. Finally, I demonstrate that implicitly racialized cultural discourses can reify (non)native speakered subjectivities, even if said discourses do not overtly reference either language nor race. In the conclusion, I briefly consider how such discourses permeate curricula in TESOL and English Language Teaching (ELT), a theme into which I will delve in more detail in Chapter 7.



## 6.1 RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES AND (NON)NATIVE SPEAKING

Phillipson (1992) observed that “linguicism has taken over from racism as a more subtle way of hierarchizing social groups in the contemporary world” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 241). While overtly racist discourses and policies, such as explicitly hiring “*Caucasian* English speakers” (Bonfiglio, 2010, 2013), are now frowned upon in most academic circles (see also Selvi, 2010), attributing the absence or exclusion of certain racialized groups to a purportedly objective linguistic deficiency obscures the “undercurrent of racial distinctions [that] runs through discourse about linguistic difference” (Shuck, 2006, p. 260) and creates the illusion of an equitable standard. For instance, the institutionalized language-in-education policies described in Chapter 4, appear to have a neutral standard for linguistic performance—being a native speaker or passing the SESL-EA or AEC exams. Only upon closer examination does it become apparent that these processes first position certain racialized groups as linguistically deficient on the basis of their bilingualism, and then use this supposed deficiency as a justification to limit their access to advanced coursework and other academic opportunities. While the outcome remains unchanged—excluding immigrant students and students of color from higher-level content—doing so on the basis of a contrived linguistic limitation is far more socially acceptable than doing so explicitly because of race.

According to Flores & Rosa (2015) these and similar processes of marginalization are grounded in *raciolinguistic ideologies*, which legitimize certain racialized bodies as “engaging in appropriately academic linguistic practices” (p. 149) while conflating others

with “linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices” (p. 150). Significantly, raciolinguistic ideologies highlight the reality that linguistic legitimacy may be conferred or denied in a racialized manner regardless of individuals’ actual language practices. Flores and Rosa observe that the translingual language practices of Tamara, a high school student whom Flores, Kleyn & Menken (2015) describe as strategically deploying English and Spanish to adapt to different settings and interlocutors, would be framed as linguistically exceptional or gifted if they had been produced by a privileged White subject. However, when produced by a racialized brown body, as in Tamara’s case, these translingual practices were used as evidence of English deficiency. This positioning is conducted without overtly mobilizing racializing discourses, concealing the raciolinguistic ideologies implicit in Tamara’s “long-term English Language Learner” status behind a veil of fairness and objectivity—her failure to pass an ESL exit exam—and demonstrating the manner in which so-called objective standards can perpetuate and reify the marginalization of multilingual communities of color.

Similar processes of linguistic stigmatization are also used to justify the societal marginalization of other racialized groups. For example, while linguists have long-since proven the “logic of non-standard English” (Labov, 1972), African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and other communicative practices and discourse patterns marked as Black continue to be framed as inappropriate for academic undertakings (e.g., Heath, 1983, Delpit, 1996, and many others). As a result of their supposedly deficient language practices, Black students are often discouraged or prohibited from enrolling in advanced

coursework. As in Tamara's case above, the overtly racialized discourses mobilized in past decades to justify the marginalization of people of color have given way to a more palatable, seemingly more egalitarian evaluation of their linguistic practices. However, attributing such individuals' marginalization to their language practices perpetuates the notion that, "if certain groups would just embrace standardized English, they would be provided access to mainstream societal inclusion and SE [socioeconomic] mobility" (Rosa, 2016). As Tamara's experience demonstrates, not only are these meritocratic, equal-opportunity discourses little more than false promises grounded in *abstract liberalism* (Bonilla-Silva, 2006), but they also reify the notion that victims of raciolinguistic ideologies are culpable for their own marginalization, when in fact their marginalization is not dependent on their language practices at all, but rather the manner in which such practices are perceived and socially interpellated by *listening subjects* through the lens of their racialized bodies (see Inoue, 1996, 2003).

A raciolinguistic lens offers three interrelated insights into the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities. First, and perhaps most obviously, a raciolinguistic lens conceptualizes standardized nationalized language varieties as raciolinguistic ideologies that align ethnic homogeneity, an idealized national language, and a legitimized national identity or citizenry (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2016). As such, it highlights the manner in which ideologies of race and language are entwined, and underscores the deeply-rooted systems of language governmentality (Pennycook, 2006, 2008) and nation-state/colonial governmentality (Flores, 2013) that shape the racialized production of (non)native speakered subjectivities (see also Aneja, 2016a, 2016b, and

Chapter 2). Second, raciolinguistic ideologies provide a way of going beyond the fact or means of the racialization of (non)native speaking—that is, of the production of a White, native speakered subject in opposition to a racialized nonnative speakered subject—to more closely analyze how the legitimization or marginalization of individuals’ language practices can be shaped by their raciolinguistic positionalities regardless of the features of their language production. In other words, raciolinguistic ideologies provide a frame for theorizing how individuals with similar linguistic features may be socially positioned in vastly different ways because of their racialized bodies, as well as how individuals with similar phenotypic characteristics may be socially positioned in different ways because of their linguistic features. Third, while the majority of the literature within the NNEST Movement has framed race as a static, self-evident characteristic, a raciolinguistic lens expands my theorization of the racialization of language, and therefore of (non)native speaking, beyond racial and linguistic features per se, to also encompass a broader range of cultural emblems that “shape our racialized society” (Flores & Rosa, p. 155).

I organize this chapter’s discussion around these three insights. To this end, I first explore how raciolinguistic discourses are mobilized in linguistic expectations and evaluation, and how (non)native speakered subjectivities can be produced in racialized ways. Then, I examine how individuals’ raciolinguistic positionalities may alter the social valuing, interpellation, or impact of their (non)native speakered status or language practice. I conclude with a discussion of how raciolinguistic and (non)native speakerist ideologies entwine (non)native

speaking subjectivities with a range of cultural emblems and values, which in turn permeate curricula in TESOL and English Language Teaching (ELT). Chapter 7 focuses in more detail on these emblems, and how teacher educators can resist (non)native speaking and dismantle (non)native speaking subjectivities through critical pedagogical practices.

## 6.2 THE RACIALIZATION OF LINGUISTIC EXPECTATIONS

Laura: I have a phone interview, and then they're like, "hey could you come in for like an in-person interview?" So I'm like, "OK." I come in, and they're like, "Okay..." They didn't match my voice with my race. "You don't sound Black!" And I'm like, "I don't know what Black's supposed to sound like!" Like "you don't sound, whatever, you sound White!" So, in their mind... even though we say we accept all races, we still have perceptions from what we want about certain things. It's just not as blatant as it is in Korea. It's not as obvious as it is in Korea where they really look at the picture [submitted with a resume on job applications], but I know people who are afraid they won't get the job just because of their last name. (Interview 1, Feb. 12, 2015)

Lily: Two things were shocking to me. First, there are some Caucasian White boys that can speak Mandarin daily... everyday Mandarin very well, and without... if I communicate with them in a couple sentences, I couldn't tell they are not native Mandarin speakers. And the second thing that shocked me was that a lot of these children they have a Chinese name—they don't have an English name, but their vocabulary wasn't enough for me to communicate with them in Mandarin. (Focus Group 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

These and dozens of other instances throughout my data demonstrate the mobilization of racializing discourses in expressions of linguistic expectations and evaluations of linguistic legitimacy. I cite these two excerpts here to highlight four themes which will be woven throughout this chapter. First, in both excerpts, "listening subjects" had difficulty aligning the language practices of speaking subjects with their racialized bodies—Laura's interviewers told her "you sound White" because her language practices were not, from their perspective, representative of Blackness, and Lily

was surprised at her Caucasian students' Mandarin proficiency because she typically associates Mandarin with being ethnically Chinese. However, the consequences for this dissonance was very different for Caucasian individuals than for their counterparts who were racialized in other ways. Caucasian students' abilities were generally framed positively, and they were credited for being able to "speak...everyday Mandarin very well," even though they were not constructed as native speakers. On the other hand, their peers who were racialized in other ways were described using deficit discourses, which emphasized what they are not ("You don't sound Black") or what was insufficient ("their vocabulary wasn't enough..."). Third, both Laura and Lily mentioned the significance of a cultural practice—*naming*—in shaping perceptions of linguistic or vocational ability, providing evidence that cultural emblems can be racialized and influence perceptions of linguistic legitimacy. Finally, as Laura observes, egalitarian discourses (e.g., "we accept all races") obscure these "undercurrents" of raciolinguistic marginalization.

These four themes—the racialization of (non)native speakered subjectivities, the variable social value and impact of this racialization, the entwinement of raciolinguistic ideologies with other cultural emblems, and finally the explicit denial of racialized discrimination—resurface throughout this chapter's discussion.

### 6.2.1 Participants' Racialized Linguistic Expectations: Reflections on a YouTube Video

At the beginning of the first focus group, after self-introductions, I asked participants<sup>36</sup> to close their eyes and listen carefully. As they listened, I played a clip of a clip of a Cantonese-language interview with a young family living in Hong Kong. After about a minute, I paused the video and asked participants what they knew about the speakers. They mentioned that the language “sounded Asian,” and suggested that the woman was a mother because they heard some baby talk and an infant whimpering in the background. When I asked them to open their eyes, nearly every participant was surprised upon seeing a Caucasian family on my computer screen. When I asked why, Alex responded “Well...we made the assumption that she was...natively from China...and well, she *is* because she was born there, but that she would be ethnically Chinese.” April explicitly acknowledged that she was “expecting someone not White,” while Richard hesitated, saying “you know, the stereotypical...” Of the attendees, only Lily expressed that she was not surprised, saying “if she was speaking Mandarin, I would be surprised, but it was Cantonese... in Hong Kong movies, there sometimes would be White policemen speaking Cantonese.”

In this interaction, April, Alex, and Richard were all surprised because this family's language practices did not align with their racialized linguistic expectations. Even Lily, who cited her locus of experience in explaining her lack of surprise at Caucasian speakers of Cantonese, mentioned that Mandarin would have been another case entirely, as she also demonstrated in her quote opening this section. Furthermore,

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<sup>36</sup> Five participants were present at this focus group—April, Alex, Richard, Lily, and Gloria. April and Alex were Caucasian-American, Richard was African-American, Lily was Chinese, and Gloria was Peruvian. Please see the demographic chart in Chapter 3 for their backgrounds and degree programs.

while April and to a lesser degree Lily explicitly acknowledged the impact of speakers' racialized bodies on their linguistic judgments, Alex and Richard both seemed uncomfortable doing so. Alex first attempted to skirt the issue by using the nationalized phrase "natively from China" before clarifying that he was referring to the speakers' ethnicity, while Richard's open-ended response expected me to infer his racialized perception of a Mandarin speaker without him having to overtly articulate it. Together, this discomfort seems to lend credence to Laura's observation of the implicit nature of the racing of language and the languaging of race (Alim, 2009).

I later shared this video in individual interviews with participants who were not able to attend the focus groups, sparking conversations about (non)native status, language ability, and racialized identity. For instance, Zoe was as surprised as Alex, April, and Richard, but, like Lily, justified her linguistic judgments based on her locus of experience. Speaking about Mandarin, not Cantonese, she said "I never met a person... who is from other countries, but who know Mandarin very well. I never know that." Oliver acknowledged that the infant in the video would be considered a native speaker of Cantonese because Cantonese was spoken in her home, but he continued to question her language skills, again justifying his skepticism based on his locus of experience:

Oliver: In Hong Kong, English is the instructional language. Their parents speak English, and probably their friends too will speak English. They're in that environment, and so they're fluent in Cantonese, but it doesn't mean their Cantonese abilities are first language level, but I don't know... I don't want to be like racist, but I never met these kinds of people either. Like, I think it's rare. Like, for White family to be fluent in Cantonese. I never saw this before.



(Interview 3, Apr. 11, 2015)

In this conversation, Oliver mobilizes racializing discourses, despite (and, in fact, by means of) his assertion, “I don’t want to be racist...,” and assumes the English proficiency of a family who had been living in Hong Kong for several generations on the basis of their race, reifying the connections between individuals’ racialized bodies and their perceived linguistic legitimacy.

John, a Caucasian first-year student earning a dual certification in Mandarin and English, was similarly skeptical of the language abilities of a child raised in such an environment. While I could not show him this video, I asked him whether the children of a Caucasian professor of Mandarin in NU’s language education department could be considered native speakers of Mandarin. His first response to my question was to make a face, recognizing the question’s intentional elicitation of racializing discourses, and his second response was to question whether the professor actually spoke Mandarin to her children and whether she even had children, somewhat derailing the conversation. I resisted this attempt, clarifying that this was a thought experiment, at which point he eventually conceded that they may be considered native speakers of Mandarin in a technical sense, but that “it still somehow feels wrong.” Notably, John was hesitant to go into detail about why it “feels wrong” to conceptualize Caucasian children growing up in a Mandarin-speaking household as native speakers of Mandarin, again reinforcing Laura’s observation that the raciolinguistic lenses through which individuals view the world are rarely articulated, at least in US contexts.

Oliver and John both construct English as the primary language of Caucasian people, regardless of their fluency in additional languages and regardless of their country of residence. However, this consistency was not maintained for non-White immigrants to the United States. Oliver stated in an individual interview:

Oliver: Yeah. I met a lot of people... like, who moved here [to America], Chinese people who speak English as their first language, but who are still fluent in Chinese. Like there are a lot of people in my program who want to teach Chinese in America, but their first language is English, and they're Chinese American or Korean American. (Interview 3, Apr. 15, 2015)

In this example, Oliver does not afford Asian immigrants to the US the same ownership over their heritage languages that he affords Caucasian immigrants to Hong Kong, suggesting nationalistic and racialized undertones to his linguistic judgments—Caucasian expatriates are constructed as having a greater degree of ownership over English than Asian expatriates have over their home languages. Furthermore, the construction of Asian Americans' language ownership is highly contextualized—significantly, Oliver's positioning of English as the “first language” of Asian Americans is exactly the opposite of Laura's description of language schools in Korea questioning Korean Americans' English proficiency on the basis of their ethnicity.

In all of these cases, regardless of their own background, participants in different ways mobilized racializing discourses in assessing others' language abilities, reifying raciolinguistic ideologies and racializing (non)native speakerhood subjectivities. However, the data suggest here that while White participants were consistently recognized as legitimate speakers and authorities on the English language on the basis of its alignment with their perceived national and ethnic positionality, those of Asian ethnicity were

positioned as in a state of *languagelessness* (Rosa, 2016), in which they are neither fully legitimized as speakers of their heritage language nor of English.

### *6.2.2 Racialized Constructions of Participants' Language: Caucasian Speakers of Mandarin*

Participants who spoke English as a home language also expressed that they felt others evaluated their language proficiency through racialized lenses. For instance, later in the interview introduced above, John expressed feeling frustrated when Mandarin speakers in China underestimated his Mandarin proficiency because of his skin color:

John: They never really believe that you are as good as you are...you make one small mistake and all of the street cred you built up goes away. You can't make a mistake because you're human and humans make mistakes; you made a mistake because you're not a native speaker. (Interview 1, Apr. 16, 2015)

While John had previously questioned the proficiency of other Caucasian speakers of Mandarin solely because of their racialized bodies, he here expresses frustration at others undermining his own Mandarin proficiency with similar justification—that he could not possibly be fluent in a language that did not align with his perceived ethnic and national identity. The nation-state/colonial governmentality and language ideologies underlying John's construction as a nonnative speaker of Mandarin are in many ways similar to those shaping the construction of nonnative English speakered individuals of color. However, as was suggested above and will be expanded upon below, the social valuing of (non)native speakered positionality is a complex raciolinguistic process. Because of his racialized positionality, John's Mandarin proficiencies will generally be viewed as assets, though perhaps somewhat limited because of listening subjects' racialized perception of

his proficiency, and his English proficiency will remain unquestioned. This is not necessarily true for people of color, whose mastery of English as well as of additional languages is commonly questioned and undermined.

Belle, another Caucasian student seeking dual-certification in Mandarin and English, similarly acknowledged that she was often assumed to not speak Mandarin when she was in China and Taiwan. However, she also recognized that being perceived as a monolingual native English speaker had its advantages, including frequent compliments when others discovered her Mandarin abilities, as well as opportunities to teach or tutor English:

Belle [smiling]: I gotta say, I get it [others being surprised] all the time. Well, over the years, foreigners speaking Chinese isn't that unusual, especially in urban areas. In Beijing and Shanghai, it's not like "whoa, your Chinese is so good!" but in Taiwan like, you say "nihao" and they're like "whoa Chinese is so good!" But honestly, I find that a lot of them, even if you try to speak Chinese with them, they'll default to English with you too. Just like if you wanted to practice a language with them, they also want to practice with you. So then you get offers like, "Will you tutor my kids in English?," which are [laughs] which are good, I'm not going to lie, but I think people are very encouraging in watching in having foreigners learn Chinese. Maybe it's because a homogeneous society, but it's not as unusual as it used to be. Just like Chinese language education in the US has been taking off so much in the last 10-20 years, it's becoming normalized. (Interview 1, Apr. 9, 2015)

Belle's experience was generally positive—any level of Chinese she spoke was seen as a significant accomplishment, while she was assumed to be a native English speaker because of her racialized positionality. As such, her Mandarin was praised, and she received job opportunities tutoring English. Belle attributed this widespread acceptance to the increasing prominence of “foreign” language education in the US and the normalization of “foreigners speaking Chinese.” However, several Chinese international

students still expressed never having encountered a fluent Caucasian speaker of Mandarin, suggesting that “foreigners speaking Chinese” may not be as common as Belle thinks, or that they consolidate in certain “expat” communities, giving Belle a false sense of their numbers. Furthermore, ethnically Asian individuals are frequently able to communicate fluently in dominant varieties of English, yet they are still (non)native speakered, sometimes in both of their languages—for instance when Lily was surprised that their Mandarin was far from what she thought of as “native-like,” despite their Chinese names and appearance. Together, these realities suggest undercurrents of raciolinguistic ideologies in the privileging of Belle’s Mandarin as well as her English.

### *6.2.3 Discussion*

The excerpts above first and foremost highlight the mobilization of racialized discourses in the construction and evaluation of linguistic legitimacy for individuals of Asian and Caucasian ethnicities—in other words, the reality that purportedly objective linguistic evaluation is in fact shaped by an undercurrent of racializing discourses. They also underscore the complexity of this process—that not all speakers of languages that do not align with their perceived ethnicity, nationality, or citizenry are equally marginalized. Instead, the experiences and discursive construction of individuals racialized as Caucasian contrasts sharply with those who are racialized as Asian. Caucasianed<sup>37</sup> individuals were legitimized as speakers and authorities of Standardized American English, a nationalized language variety aligned with their perceived ethnicity, nationality, and citizenry, and any additional language proficiency—for instance in

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<sup>37</sup> In the tradition of Rosa (2016), I use “verbed” terms identifying racialized positionalities to highlight their dynamic social construction (e.g., Caucasianed, Asianed, etc.)

Mandarin—was seen as noteworthy, even though they may not be perceived as having “native-like” fluency. On the other hand, Asianed individuals, particularly Asian Americans, were at different times delegitimized as speakers of both of their languages—as ill-qualified as English teachers because of their ethnicity, as Laura pointed out, or as less-than-fluent speakers of Mandarin or Korean because of their American nationality and citizenry. As such, while similar raciolinguistic undercurrents governed by nation-state/colonial language governmentality (Flores, 2013; Pennycook, 2006; see also Chapter 2) shape the processes of both groups’ linguistic legitimization, their material effects reify Caucasianed individuals’ ownership of English while rendering Asian American individuals languageless (see Rosa, 2016).

Significantly, listening subjects constructed speaking subjects in racializing ways, without necessarily considering speakers’ actual language proficiencies or backgrounds. The Caucasian Hong Kong family was constructed by participants as English-speaking even though no evidence in the video itself suggested that they also spoke English. Similarly, Korean and Chinese Americans were delegitimized both as English speakers and speakers of their home languages regardless of their proficiency in either language. These biases are not caused by statistical likelihood or perceived social normalcy, as several participants insinuated, since millions of people of Asian descent around the world are fluent in English, but rather are shaped by raciolinguistic ideologies.

The following section explores in more detail how (non)native speakered subjectivities are not equally stigmatized or privileged across languages, but rather how they are imbued with social value as part of a complex web of social and raciolinguistic interactions.

### 6.3 RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES AND THE PRIVILEGE OF (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERED STATUS

This section examines how the racialization of pre-service teachers' bodies and language practices can affect the social and professional consequences of their (non)native speakered positionalities. First, I consider how the language practices of Neha and Mark, two TESOL teacher candidates whose narrative portraits were introduced in Chapter 5, were marginalized in racialized ways that overlap with (non)native speaking, even though neither of them would traditionally be considered nonnative English speakers. I then juxtapose their experiences with those of Richard, April, and Alex, all of whom were earning dual-certifications in Spanish and English, but whose language practices—despite their starting to study Spanish in middle or high school—were generally perceived as assets. Through this discussion, I argue that (non)native speaking is not a monolithic process that unequivocally privileges those who align with expected nationalized ethnolinguistic identities of a particular language (e.g., Caucasian teachers of English), but rather that it interacts with other processes of marginalization, including raciolinguistic marginalization, in complex ways. Collectively, this analysis suggests that factors other than race may influence linguistic marginalization. Finally, I explore how participants took up these discourses of

raciolinguistic (de)legitimization, and (non)native speakering, and how they shaped participants' understand of their classrooms and of themselves as teachers.

The data presented here transitions into section 6.4, which looks more closely at the experiences and (non)native speakering of Mark and Richard, two African American men from low-income backgrounds.

### *6.3.1 Neha, Mark, and Raciolinguistic Marginalization*

Section 5.4 explored in detail the identity construction and negotiation of Neha, a 30-year old teacher-candidate originally from India earning a TESOL certification, and Mark, a 28-year old African American man earning a master's in adult education. Both of these participants in some ways fit the established definition of a legitimized native English speaker—Neha was exposed to English since infancy, considers English the primary language of communication in her home, identifies as a native English speaker, and considers English one of her “first” languages, both in order of acquisition as well as with respect to her comfort in expressing herself; on the other hand, Mark was born and raised in the US and has had minimal exposure to languages other than English, aside from a few semesters of high school German. However, both Neha and Mark in different ways expressed being delegitimized as English speakers because of the racialization of their bodies or their language practices.

I revisit their stories here to more closely examine some of the experiences alluded to in the narrative portraits of Mark and Neha, with the goal of fleshing out the particular role of raciolinguistic ideologies in the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as how participants process these



events. This deepens the demonstration of the dynamic, socially-constructed nature of (non)native speakered subjectivities in Chapter 5. I chose to discuss Neha and Mark here rather than their arguably more extremely nonnative speakered peers not to argue that either of them “is” or “is not” a native English speaker in an absolute sense, but rather to shed light on the similarities and differences in the raciolinguistic marginalization of their language practices. Later in the chapter, I juxtapose these processes with the comparative legitimization of the language practices of their peers.

In my first conversation with Neha, she said that she had taken her ownership of English (Widdowson, 1994) for granted until arriving in the United States, and recalled the first time she felt that her native speaker status was questioned:

Neha: We were waiting in line, I had to pay my tuition or something, she [another student] was like "So, how did you learn English?" And I turned around and I said "excuse me?" "How did you learn English? Like I learned it..." and then she explained something. "Huh? I don't know. I just speak it. Since I was little. That's how I learned it, I went to school." And she was like "What? No no no. Like did you study English as a subject in school?" And I was like "Literature? Yeah..." but like... I didn't even understand her question. I was so shocked. But then I get it, they don't learn English the way we learn it in school...but it was very surprising for me to hear that question. And since then, I've always heard a lot of people tell me "oh you speak English so well" and I'm like "Really? Thank you?" (Interview 1, Feb. 12, 2015)

Neha here was constructed as an English learner, that is, a nonnative English speaker, because of her racialized body—she was questioned because she did not fit her interlocutor's racialized mental-cultural image of a native English speaker as Caucasian. However, unlike her Caucasian peers described earlier in this chapter, Neha's proficiency in English—her perceived second language—was not complimented or deemed exceptional, nor was her proficiency in other languages positioned as an asset.

This along with similar incidents, such as her English language students at a local community college disrupting her class because they did not perceive her as an English language authority, compelled her to “Americanize” her accent:

Geeta: So you’ve made an effort then to like learn to pronounce things like more “American”?

Neha: Mmhhh. Yeah. Yeah. I was really worried I would never get a job otherwise.

Geeta: Oh really?

Neha: Yeah. [stylized Indian accent] Have you heard us people talk back home? This is just the worst thing you could ever do [laughs].

(Neha, Interview 1, Feb. 12, 2015)

Though brief, this excerpt is significant for two reasons. First, even though Neha elsewhere identified as a native English speaker, she was still concerned she would never be hired as an English teacher unless she aligned her language practices with those of “America” (that is, the ideological construct that is monolingual, upper-middle class<sup>38</sup> America). The language practices she developed in India were demoted to “the worst thing you could ever do,” reinforcing a racialized and nationalized standard for legitimized English—Englishes spoken in the US are preferable and more marketable, than those that are spoken in India or other parts of the post-colonial world. Second, Neha made this effort even though her actual language use may not be considered in her construction as a nonnative speaker—for example, in her interaction at the Bursar’s office she was nonnative speakered before her interlocutor even heard her speak. So overwhelming is the discourse of an “American” standard of appropriateness, that it

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<sup>38</sup> In other examples, such as Mark’s, “America” as an ideological construct was racialized as White. However, Neha included me and other “ABCDs” (American-Born Confused Desis) within her conceptualization of “American,” suggesting that Whiteness is not as prevalent in her concept as it is for others.

overruled Neha's confidence in her own language despite the reality that regardless of how she speaks, her language may be marginalized through a racializing lens—a reality I can anecdotally confirm, based on the frequent complimenting of my own English.

The reality that (non)native speaking can and does occur without any consideration of speakers' actual language practices complicates much work in teacher education and the NNEST community that has focused on “developing” or “improving” the linguistic and pedagogical skills of so-called “nonnative English speaking teachers” (NNESTs) through supplementary language courses, cultural workshops, professional development, and so on (e.g., Llorca, 2004). Such practices, while well-intentioned and somewhat successful in the sense that participants generally do develop greater familiarity with mainstream American linguistic and cultural practices, nonetheless risk perpetuating the myth that so-called native English speaking teachers (NESTs) are more effective teachers and communicators, and an ideal to which all other English users must aspire. Furthermore, they presuppose that it is speakers' responsibility to align their language practices with “appropriate” (Flores & Rosa, 2015) or “native speakered” standards, and if they do so they will be legitimized as English speakers. However, this does not account for the listening subject, who may always be a nonnative speaker, people of color regardless of their language features.

Mark, while he considered himself monolingual in English, expressed similar insecurities about his language, particularly in academic or “official” spaces. In our second interview, he referred to himself as a speaker of “broken English.” When I asked

him to clarify, he expressed that he felt the issue was more the social devaluing and marginalization of his language practices rather than his linguistic features per se:

Mark: Well, that's what America has classified it as. I don't think it's [my language] broken exactly, it's just... unfortunately it's not considered appropriate or formal enough or anything, like it's the power of the language of English in America. A broken English language... it can if you hide it, but I can't see it being like in a Fortune 500 company like, I don't see CEOs at meetings in presentations using like language that is part of the community or part of demographics in that community. So I think it's broken because of the demographics of the people who speak it...so to me, it's broken because it's the language of the community, but it's not the language of this like, swanky like... thing.  
(Mark, Interview 2, Apr.15, 2015)

He also shared a number of instances at various stages of his education in which peers, teachers, and administrators had devalued or stigmatized his language practices or had discouraged him from pursuing more advanced coursework as a result, including an NU staff member discouraging him from earning a teaching certification because of his communication style. This undermining of his language created anxieties that negatively affected his confidence in the classroom:

Mark: My supervisor pointed that out to me, because she was like, noticed that I was like, not pretending, but like holding back a little, and like, I told her, like I'm very African Vernacular, so I speak with a lot of like, my Gs drop, my grammar switches up. I feel like my speaking doesn't really have this formal structure of English. (Mark, Interview 2, Apr.15, 2015)

In these excerpts, Mark demonstrates that his language practices, like Neha's, may not be valued or legitimized in the academic or "official" spaces in the same way as those of his peers, and that this devaluing had an impact on his teaching. This self-consciousness is similar to the imposter syndrome (Bernat, 2008), more bluntly termed *I-am-not-a-native-speaker syndrome* (Suarez, 2000), studied by NNEST researchers, though to my

knowledge no scholarship has examined the professional development of Black language educators or language educators from low-income backgrounds (though some self-reflective or autoethnographic work exists, see Barrett, 2015; Nero, 2006).

However, unlike Neha, who attempted to modify her language practices to align with those of “mainstreamed” America, Mark resisted doing so, saying:

Mark: I want to teach slang. I want to teach this broken English. I don't want to teach no proper language structure bullshit because that's not the way that the game is played in America. There's a way to talk when you're at work or in an interview, but what are you going to say to your boss when you're out having a drink after a work? Because like, it's not like you need to be cussin' up a storm, but like, if your boss drops an F bomb, does that mean you can too? Because the power has changed. ... I just want to give students confidence. Maybe it's because their writing is better than mine? Like, they got themselves here and took all these tests and shit, like, they're awesome, their English is better than mine, but how are you going to take that and leave it behind. How are you going to get out of this box? ... I don't know if it's me, but like, to me, that's what teachers have to bring in, they have to bring in their personality in the classroom.  
(Interview 2, Apr. 11, 2015)

In eschewing “proper language structure bullshit” and focusing on pragmatic and discursive aspects of communication, Mark embraces his identity and background as pedagogical resources in the language education classroom (see Morgan, 2004, *identity-as-pedagogy*). However, in doing so, he consciously resists what he sees as a dominant raciolinguistic narrative that privileges the discourses of [White] Fortune 500 CEOs and marginalizes those of low-income communities of color.

From the discussions of Neha and Mark, it is apparent that these two individuals with very different linguistic backgrounds share experiences of raciolinguistic marginalization that overlap and interact with (non)native speakering. Despite having developed English proficiency since infancy, their legitimacy is questioned because their

racialized bodies and language practices do not align with those of the idealized, Caucasian, monolingual native English speaker-hearer. In Neha's case, these explicitly constructed her as non-American or as an English learner (i.e., not an English speaker), while in Mark's case they were more closely connected to formality and academic standards, both of which are also racialized perceptions of listening subjects, as well as racial and socioeconomic demographics. Particularly when they emerged in classroom settings, these processes negatively impacted their self-efficacy as teachers. Both Mark and Neha attempted to increase their legitimacy—Neha by modifying her language practices to more closely align with those of “mainstreamed America,” and Mark by occupying a subversive space in which his practices were privileged. While both Neha and Mark acknowledge particular experiences or NU professors who were instrumental in their eventual reconciliation and valuing of their own language practices, these are framed as exceptions or turning points rather than established norms.

Although neither Neha nor Mark would be narrowly classified as “nonnative English speakers,” NNEST scholarship would benefit from broadening its scope to explore the discursive raciolinguistic marginalization of Neha, Mark, and similar individuals who may be “marginalized English speakers”—that is, individuals who may be considered native speakers in some sense, but whose language practices may be marginalized in racialized ways that overlap with (non)native speakering. As will be argued throughout the remainder of this dissertation, dismantling the “native speaker bias” is contingent upon

unraveling the multiple, shifting, and complex discourses mobilized in processes of raciolinguistic (de)legitimization. Inklings of these possibilities are evident in the data above, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The experiences and positionality of Mark and Neha sharply contrast with those of nonnative Spanish speaking teachers described below. While Mark and Neha were largely marginalized because of their racialized positionalities, Richard, Alex, and April were legitimized and marginalized in ways that rarely mobilized racializing discourses, suggesting that additional cultural discourses may also be significant in (non)native speaking. Richard identified as Black/African-American, while Alex and April identified as White/Caucasian-American.

### *6.3.2 Richard, Alex, April and Raciolinguistic Legitimization*

Participants seeking dual-certification in Spanish and English, all of whom spoke English as a home language and began learning Spanish in middle or high school, experienced racialized deficit expectations of their Spanish in ways similar to Caucasian participants earning Mandarin-English certifications. Richard identified as African American, while Alex and April identified as Caucasian American.

In our first focus group meeting, April mentioned that when she was living in Spain before starting graduate study, many people initiated interactions with her in English—they did not expect her to speak Spanish because she “didn’t fit the profile of what I guess they think a Spanish-speaking person would look like.” Her peers nodded and murmured affirmations, suggesting that they too had experienced a similar racialization of their Spanish proficiency. When I asked how they negotiated these

racialized positionalities, Alex responded, “I think it’s awkward because a lot of times whenever someone starts speaking to you in English it’s just because they want to practice their English and it would seem rude on my part to switch to Spanish.” While these students’ proficiencies in languages other than English were undermined because their racialized positionality did not align with nationalized language ideologies, Alex, like Belle, attributed others speaking to him in English as indicative of their desire to practice their English, positioning him as a linguistic authority in at least one language. On the other hand, Neha and Mark were generally constructed as marginalized speakers of English, largely rendered *languageless* (Rosa, 2016).

Candidates earning dual certifications in English and Spanish, unlike Mark and Neha, also expressed a sense of ownership over and value from their diverse linguistic experiences. Richard’s professional and linguistic self-efficacy is particularly interesting because it deviates from Mark’s even though both are African American men. While Mark’s reflections often delegitimized his language practices by mobilizing racialized and classed discourses, Richard’s comments mobilized nationalistic and academic discourses to legitimize his own. For instance, Richard, who began learning Spanish in high school, recalled being exposed to multiple varieties of Spanish through students from Columbia, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere during his involvement in a college campus organization. When he returned to the US from Spain, he noted that his language “had that Spanish influence. It was like a Spanish dialect and a Spanish accent.” While he acknowledged that his Latinx friends occasionally said things



like “We don’t speak like that,” Richard also asserted that “It wasn’t really a big deal though. They understood what I was saying, but to them it just sounded weird, like they wouldn’t speak like that.” He did not describe any sort of judgment or power struggle between him and his Latinx peers, but rather a mutual recognition and acknowledgment of the differences between their language practices.

In the same way, when he studied in the Dominican Republic during a 3-week winter session, Richard began picking up aspects of local speech patterns there as well:

Richard: There, I was immersed in a native culture too, but it was different from Spain. It was a different dialect. Hearing like the aspiration of... how they drop the endings of words. But part of me would still use my Spanish, like, the way I spoke was still very much Spanish since I lived in Spain for 3 years. It was hard to get rid of that, but at the same time it was easy to pick up things from the DR too. So that was how the two variations came together I guess?  
(Interview 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

While Richard uses nation-state framings of language varieties, he does not consider their contact or change as negative or stigmatized. Furthermore, though he does so in a drastically different way from Mark, Richard, rejects absolutist notions of universally preferred or “correct” Spanish, and instead describes the benefit of performing language in different ways:

Richard: I don't think I have a Spanish accent, like from Spain accent. Like when I speak it, it's obvious I'm not from Spain, but I don't think I have an American accent either, like I don't say "may lah-moe..." [laughs] I think I speak it well...there are times I like to say things in more of a Spanish way and some things more the Dominican way. I don't know if that makes sense. I like to have a combination. Like some people really want to speak with a Spanish accent they really want to have that strong /dz/ sound in Spanish, but like for me, as long as people can understand what I'm saying and as long as I don't sound American when I'm speaking Spanish, I'm fine. (Interview 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

While Richard does not explicitly connect his range of communicative repertoire to adapting to different settings and interlocutors, as April did (see section 5.4), he does view his ability to speak in “more of a Spanish way” or “more the Dominican way” as an asset and values his ability to make himself understood. This positivity starkly contrasts with Neha’s framing of Indian English as “the worst thing you could ever do” and Mark’s framing of AAVE as “broken,” neither of whom perceives any benefit in speaking racialized varieties of English.

Furthermore, while Neha and Mark both mentioned externalized negative judgments of their language practices being instrumental in their academic trajectories, candidates who would traditionally be considered native speakers of English and nonnative speakers of Spanish largely framed their “imposter syndrome” as an internal conflict. For example, when I asked Alex about his experiences in his Spanish teaching placement the previous term, he acknowledged being nervous because of his unfamiliarity with the kind of context in which he would be teaching, and because he had never taught a full class in Spanish, other than a few demo lessons in Madrid during the first year of his master’s:

Alex: I was kind of taken aback. I had never been in a classroom like that. I didn't go to a high school that had a lot of Spanish speakers. I didn't know how that kind of classroom would function, and I just thought I'm going to be useless, I'm going to walk in there and I'm going to start speaking, and they're just going to be like "No.... "You know? "Nice try, but...no" But it was fine, it was great. It was a really great experience. (Interview 1, Feb. 19, 2015)

Alex’s hesitation aligns with Guerrero and Valadez (2011) among others, who observe that “many Spanish teachers express a sense of tentativeness about being able to deliver instruction across the curriculum in Spanish” (p. 59), perhaps because “pedagogical

Spanish” (Aquino-Sterling, 2016) encompasses a broad range of abilities that range “the language and literacy competencies of bilingual teachers...[to] competently meeting with professional language demands” (p. 51).

When I asked Alex to elaborate on the experience of teaching students who he positioned as already being “Spanish speakers,” he responded:

Alex: That kinda freaked me out because I'm doing my Spanish student teaching, but I'm going into this environment where I'm going to be surrounded by kids who are heritage speakers or who are native speakers. I had a great lead teacher also, that was also not a native speaker, and she was amazing. And I kind of very quickly fell into the groove and realized that my skill set can actually help them a lot because the errors that they're making are things that native speakers might not catch in terms of their writing and register and things like that...  
(Interview 1, Feb. 19, 2015)

Alex voices feeling anxious because of his status as a nonnative speaker of the language he was teaching, a sentiment echoed in NNEST scholarship (e.g., Bernat, 2008; Suarez, 2000) as well as by other participants (see Chapter 5). However, he also says that he “very quickly fell into the groove” and described what he called his “Academic Spanish” as an asset that “native speakers” may not have, much in the same way that Oliver did when he explicated the advantages to being a NNEST (see section 5.4). While there may be some truth in the benefit of having a teacher who is also a “successful learner” (e.g., Medgyes, 1992), at least in the sense that a “native Spanish speaker” without a comparable academic and professional background may not have been able to catch students’ “errors,” the fact remains that Alex was perceived as being a perfectly legitimate teacher of Spanish in his classroom in a way that Oliver, Mark, and Neha were not for English, suggesting that nonnative speakered positionality is not necessary or sufficient for being marginalized as a language teacher.

The comparative linguistic privilege of Richard and Alex may be related to the raciolinguistic and “nationo-linguistic” ideologies that imbue evaluations of so-called “Academic Spanish.” Guadalupe Valdés (e.g., 1997, 1998) in particular has explored the valuing of various varieties of Spanish in university language departments, and found that: (1) Spanish language varieties from more European-descent nations (e.g., Chile, Argentina) are more privileged than those with larger indigenous or African-origin populations (e.g., Peru, Caribbean countries); (2) the Spanish proficiency of working-class US Latinx individuals were ranked significantly below those of middle-and-upper-class-based varieties of Spanish used by faculty and students from Latin America and Spain (Valdés et al., 2003, p. 10); and (3) even the more “English-influenced” Spanish of US-educated nonnative speakers was seen as a more desirable model than that of US Latinxs. Alex, who studied in Chile and Spain, and who developed relatively high SES repertoires of “proper” Spanish in grade school, may have spoken an “English-influenced” Spanish, but was privileged by other aspects of his language and perhaps by his race as well. Richard, though he comes from a low-income background, also studied in several Spanish-speaking countries, including Spain and the Dominican Republic, and was also legitimized as a language teacher in ways that Mark and Neha were not. Similarly, both Mark and Richard benefit from the “nationo-linguistic” privilege of being perceived as American, though perhaps in ways different from each other, and certainly different from Neha, whose Indian ethnicity and accent are often mobilized in her marginalization.

However, this process of linguistic privileging does not seem exclusively racialized, or even nationalized. Richard, who is African American, also expressed that his confidence increased with experience, though he too was initially nervous about being a nonnative Spanish speaker teaching heritage or native Spanish speaking students:

Richard: I remember asking my CT, like do you think I was able to connect with the students overall, do you think I was able to teach them something? And I was speaking specifically about the native speaker thing, and she was like “Yeah, I actually overheard one of them saying that he was actually learning something new.” And he speaks Spanish fluently, but I was actually able to teach him something that he didn't know. Which was rewarding for me because I felt that for those students I wasn't teaching them anything that they didn't know. So maybe certain grammar or conjugating verbs, like when you speak the language you don't even realize it. So I felt like I was able to teach them something I knew and they didn't. You'd think being a nonnative speaker, you're never going to know something that a native speaker doesn't know. You know? But actually I did know something. And maybe it's just because he's younger than me, I don't know, maybe it comes with age, but being able to teach him something new?  
(Interview 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

Like Alex, Richard also mentioned the benefit of having an explicit command of what he later called “Academic Spanish.” However, both participants also emphasized the importance of legitimizing the entirety of students’ communicative repertoires in classroom settings, and positioned themselves as expanding students’ communicative arsenal rather than replacing it—a pedagogical orientation likely gleaned from their coursework at NU, discussed in Chapter 7. Richard in particular noted that most “Spanish as a Foreign Language” courses did not meet the needs of his students because the curricula imposed normative, hegemonic standards for the everyday colloquial proficiencies students had already developed at home:

Richard: They already know the pronunciation and the vocabulary. What they need is like a Spanish for heritage speakers course. Which focuses on more like

academic Spanish, or like... reading literature, Spanish literature. Which we don't really do in a foreign language, especially not in high school.  
(Interview 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

Later in this conversation, Richard also clarified that his intent was not to devalue students' home language practices, but rather to advocate for their access to high-level literature in their home language in the same way that is afforded to monolingual English-speaking students.

The experiences and discourses of Alex and Richard sharply contrast with those of Neha and Mark, both of whom spoke very negatively about their language practices and expressed several instances in which the diversity of their communicative repertoires were framed as liabilities—in sharp contrast to those of April, Richard and Alex, whose were more often than not framed as assets. This suggests not only that speakers of marginalized language varieties are perceived very differently from those of privileged language varieties, but also that (non)native speaker status is valued differently across linguistic and cultural contexts. The negative impact of nonnative speaker positionality were less serious for native English speaker teachers teaching other languages than for marginalized teachers of English. In other words, being a nonnative Spanish speaker teacher is comparatively less stigmatized than being a nonnative English speaker teacher, resulting in a more positive view of one's linguistic and pedagogical practices. This finding aligns with Valdés (1997, 1998) and others, who found that the prestige of Spanish varieties positively correlated with

the degree of European influence, suggesting a raciolinguistic influence at the systemic level if not necessarily to the same degree at the individual level.

This is not to say that the linguistic repertoires of participants like Richard were never stigmatized in institutionalized academic settings. Richard described two instances in which he was discouraged from using particular varieties of Spanish or English in school contexts:

Richard: I have two examples of that. One is like when I came back from Spain after studying abroad, and my advanced Spanish professor was Mexican. And there was a group of us that had just come back from Spain, and she would say things like "don't talk like that, that's not correct, don't say that" and we were like, "What are you talking about? That's what we've been learning for like 5 months that we were in Spain! Why are you saying that we can't say that?" She hated our Spanish accent, she hated it... and also when I was in Spain teaching English. So remember how I said they were learning British English? I was with the teacher, and I was saying like "they say it this way in the UK but maybe in the US we say it this way, so like can I teach them this way?" And she was like "No, I don't want to confuse them." and I'm like "but they're kids. They can pick up things so much quicker than we can. Like you and I, maybe it's too late for us, but for them it's easy." (Interview 1, Feb. 26, 2015)

The first incident, in which a professor he describes as "Mexican" stigmatized Iberian Spanish, is not dissimilar from another incident Grace described, in which one of her NU peers of Mexican heritage was marginalized in a course at NU's Madrid campus:

Grace: Last year, a girl who wasn't in the teaching program, she was in the linguistics program at NU Madrid, and she's of Mexican heritage. Her parents are Mexican, but she was born in the US. But... She would battle with the teacher, because some of our teachers were very conservative. They follow the Academy, and very much believed in the standards of Spanish. This isn't to say they would, like, say anything bad about Mexican Spanish, but they would be like, "Wait a minute, that's not a word." And she'd be like, "It is a word. I use it. And so do a lot of people" and they'd just be like "ok..." and it was a battle. And it was really interesting because her arguments a lot were "there are a lot of people who do this". But then again, that's not really the only argument, and it was great for the rest of us because you could really see when she would get fired up about something... (Grace, Interview 1, Feb. 19, 2015).

In both cases, students' Spanish varieties were delegitimized as wrong or incorrect. However, Richard was able to defend and legitimize his language practices by leveraging his international experience and mobilizing nationalistic discourses, resisting the instructor's devaluing of his language by engaging with codes of power. On the other hand, Grace's peer, who was of Mexican heritage and studying in Spain, could not make an analogous argument, even though she had spoken Spanish for far longer than five months. This may be because the Spanish of US Latinxs is less privileged than that of Spaniards (e.g., Valdés, Gonzalez, Lopez, García & Marquez, 2003) or because within academic language departments, Spanish varieties from countries with a higher European-descent population (e.g., Chile, Argentina) are more privileged than those from countries with larger indigenous populations (e.g., Mexico, Peru) or African-origin peoples (e.g., Caribbean countries, Columbia, Venezuela) (Valdés, 1998, p. 9-10). These racialized Spanish language ideologies, were mobilized in the marginalization of Grace's peer's Spanish language practices as well as in the legitimization of Richard's. Even though Richard is African American, his language practices could still be justified and defended because of their alignment with the practices of countries with majority-Caucasian populations. The same could not be said for Grace's peer.

In Richard's second example, his mentor teacher does not explicitly devalue American English—she never claims it is incorrect—but rather seems concerned with overwhelming her students with too many options. While Richard certainly interpreted this as a dispreference for American English, which he admitted elsewhere was somewhat justified because students are expected to produce British English on exams.



Furthermore, Richard's language practices were not denigrated as "the worst thing you could ever do," as were Neha's, nor was he discouraged from pursuing certain academic coursework as a consequence of his language practices, as was Mark. As such, the material impact of the arguable marginalization of his language practices is very different than it was in the case of other teachers who were nonnative speakered. Thus, being perceived as "nonnative" is not equally stigmatized or privileged across languages, but rather is part of a complex web of social and raciolinguistic interactions.

#### 6.4 BLACKNESS, LINGUISTIC LEGITIMACY, AND (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING

Scholars of bilingual education and applied linguistics have for decades demonstrated that bilingualism is privileged in racialized ways – translanguaging is perceived as "exceptional" for middle and upper-middle class White students, and as a linguistic deficit for students of color (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015; García, 2008, 2009; Reyes, 2006; see also Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.) However, this work has overwhelmingly focused on Caucasian students and students of Hispanic heritage. While some scholars, most notably Heath (1983), have explored the discursive deficitizing of the language practices of low-income Black students in educational settings, very little work has examined the racialized experiences of Black students in K-12 bilingual education settings (an exception is Palmer, 2010), and even less has considered Black in-service or pre-service teachers in language education teacher certification programs (exceptions include Barrett, 2015; Greer, 2015; Nero, 2006).

I here take a moment to reflect on the drastically different experiences and positionalities of Mark and Richard, both of whom are African American men from low-

income backgrounds. Mark considers himself monolingual in English, and describes his language practices as closely aligned with what is commonly termed African American Vernacular English. As was mentioned in Chapter 5 and earlier in this chapter, Mark was discouraged from earning a K-12 teacher certification because of his speech features, and so turned to teaching what he referred to as “broken English,” a decision legitimized by a mentor teacher, and which seemed to facilitate his professional identity development. Richard’s experiences, on the other hand, were much more closely aligned with those of his Caucasian bilingual peers—he shared that his language skills in both English and Spanish were generally accepted, with the exception of one teacher’s dispreference for American English in Spain, and another’s dispreference for Iberian Spanish in the US. However, he never recounted instances in which his speech was deemed “improper” as Mark’s was, nor did our conversations address his performance of more stereotypically “Black” ways of speaking. While Richard most likely experienced some kind of raciolinguistic judgment of his speech patterns (e.g., “You don’t sound Black,” “You sound White,” etc.), these discourses did not manifest in our interactions. That said, Richard did seem to embrace his Blackness in informal or non-professional settings for instance, on his Facebook page and Instagram account.<sup>39</sup>

It could be argued that Richard’s linguistic legitimization, and therefore Mark’s marginalization, is due to Richard’s language practices being more closely

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<sup>39</sup> Richard asked that quotes or images from his social media accounts not be included in this dissertation because of the possibility of a web search revealing his identity. However, he was comfortable with a general commentary and surface-level analysis.

aligned with that of the idealized monolingual White American native English speaking subject—that is, *hegemonic whiteness*—the “common sense idea of what White identity should be” (Hughey, 2012, p. 14)—while Mark’s language practices were implicitly and sometimes explicitly racialized as Black and therefore more distant from hegemonic whiteness. While such an argument may in some ways be useful for conceptualizing the broader historical context of the rise of standard language ideologies and their conflation with racializing discourses in the US, it does not provide analytical tools for examining the experiences of Mark and Richard as individuals or relating them to a larger, complex system of raciolinguistic privileging and marginalization. Claiming that Richard’s language practices are somehow aligned with *hegemonic whiteness*, while Mark’s are not, risks further conflating race and language, fossilizing static conceptualizations of Blackness and Whiteness and reifying the very raciolinguistic ideologies that this chapter seeks to resist.

Instead, I recognize that Mark and Richard, both Black men who have experienced educational success by earning a graduate degree in language education from a top-tier university, are each in different ways (re)defining Blackness, racialized language practices, and their relevance to traditionally academic spaces. Mark, though he did feel more marginalized in educational contexts because of his Blackness and racialized language practices, still rejected the notion that his experiences and knowledges were irrelevant to the linguistic and cultural needs of his current and future students. Instead, he reframed these experiences, which had marginalized him in the past, not as merely *compatible* with being an effective English teacher, but as *beneficial*.

Richard similarly subverted dominant ideologies of Blackness by performing an identity as a Black Spanish-English bilingual (Galindo, 1997) and by seeing his Blackness, his academic achievement, and his bilingualism as complementary rather than contradictory characteristics.

While my data did not allow for a more in-depth exploration of the ways in which Mark's and Richard's differing experiences (re)invented (non)native speakered subjectivities in conjunction with raciolinguistic ideologies, this brief commentary nonetheless highlighted the reality that the relationship between (non)native speaking and raciolinguistic legitimization/marginalization is not monolithic, but may manifest in divergent ways. More research is needed to explore the (de)legitimization of the multiple and complex ways in which Blacked identities are performed in language education and language teacher education settings, as well as how these performances shape pre-service teachers' professional identity development and their interactions with students and teacher educators.

## 6.5 BEYOND LANGUAGE: CULTURAL EMBLEMS AS RACIOLINGUISTIC ARTIFACTS

Thus far, this chapter has explored the entwinement of ideologies of language and race, as well as how purportedly linguistic judgments may be influenced by racializing ideologies and vice versa. This section considers how racialized cultural emblems can shape the emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities, even when neither race nor language is explicitly mobilized. In this way, a raciolinguistic lens allows (non)native

speaking to look beyond the popular, phenotypical conceptualization of race to consider the complex discursive and material practices and cultural emblems that “shape our racialized society” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 155).

Educational settings in general and language education settings in particular have long been described as sites of cultural reproduction (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991; Freire, 1968; Kubota & Lin, 2009). One manner in which this occurs is through the association between certain racialized, nationalistic, ethnic, and cultural emblems and practices. These vary widely across curricula and contexts, but may include, for instance, learning about particular holidays, clothing, religious traditions, foods, or other cultural practices in a language education context, entwining these cultural practices with an ethnolinguistic and national identity. These tendencies are recreated in English language curricula.

At the most basic level, this may take the form of inequitable racial representation. For instance, all teachers in an English language textbook being depicted as White, while students are depicted as of Color would reify Whiteness as a feature of English language authorities and non-Whiteness as a feature of English language learners. In this case, racialized depictions are directly apparent. However, as Mark noted in a class discussion also mentioned in Chapter 5, racializing discourses can also be implicit, indexing racialized cultural emblems rather than race directly:

Mark: It goes back to textbooks that are used for ESL learning the examples that you see 9 out of 10 come from a White perspective of American culture. Like if you're doing a cooking class, you're seeing how to make certain cuisines, but you're not seeing how to make like tacos or fried chicken. Not saying that has to do with race, but saying that has to do with culture (Field Notes, Mar. 25, 2015).

Here, Mark notes that the culture representative of English speakers in an ESL textbook, is racialized as White and nationalized as American. His specific examples of food

contrast tacos and fried chicken with Whiteness – constructing such foods as a “non-White perspective of American culture” that is implicitly excluded from the textbook and therefore from the construction of a native speakered subjectivity. It is important to note that whether or not tacos and fried chicken actually are somehow objectively representative of Whiteness is not actually relevant to this argument. This excerpt still reinforces the point that “culture” broadly and food in particular are co-constructed with (non)native speakered subjectivities and raciolinguistic ideologies. This process is not exclusively racial or linguistic, but is complex and emergent.

It is also interesting to note here that while Mark explicitly claims that textbook examples and therefore the language they present are rooted in a White cultural experience, he almost immediately says that he’s “not saying that has to do with race, but it has to do with culture.” While he did not elaborate either here or elsewhere on why he seems to change his position, my supposition is that he was not claiming that the textbook authors consciously intended to present a racialized view of Americanness, but rather that they presented a narrow view of American culture, that was implicitly racialized. In this way, culture may in some ways become a proxy for race in contexts where race is implicit. This reality suggests that studies of raciolinguistic ideologies must be conscientious of discourses and circumstances in which race or language are implicit, but which still reify raciolinguistic ideologies and therefore the construction of (non)native speakered subjectivities. The context of a textbook is particularly significant, because it represents for Mark an overtly academic, professional, and scholarly context from which he is linguistically and culturally excluded, as an African American male who self-

identifies as speaking AAVE. A question that follows is how Mark can be expected to develop a professional identity as an English teacher when he is simultaneously excluded from and expected to occupy such institutionalized academic settings.

Of course, this tangled and complex web entwining and conflating cultural emblems, race, nationality, and language extends well beyond the English language classroom to other educational spaces as well as societal norms. Anna Marie, one of Mark's professors, noted the association between nationality and holidays, saying "I've had so many people from other countries ask me if I celebrate Christmas, and I say, 'Well, I don't necessarily celebrate Christmas,' and they say, 'But you're American,' as if Christmas is an American holiday." If "America" is conceptualized as an English-speaking country, as well as a Christmas-celebrating country, then English-speakered subjectivities are transitively constructed as Christmas-celebrating, even though clearly not all English speakers celebrate Christmas, and not all Christmas-celebrators speak English. Instead, Christmas becomes a cultural emblem of American identity and therefore of English speakerhood.

One possibility for dismantling these cultural-linguistic-nationalistic ideologies is to present multiple, equally-legitimate ways of performing each identity position. For example, when Anna Marie asked her K-12 seminar, "Is Christmas an American holiday?" April responded commenting on the recent addition of Eid to the Department of Education calendar, and Anna Marie added that Diwali and Chinese New Year would be added soon. In this way, multiple cultural emblems are legitimized in educational spaces. Celebrating or discussing such holidays, in addition to Christmas, in an English

language class, may support students in embracing and embodying (Greer, 2015, p. 34) multiple ethnolinguistic identity possibilities, resisting racialized, nationalized ideologies of the constitution of native English speaker status.

It is to these possibilities for dismantling (non)native speakerist ideologies that I turn in Chapter 7.



## CHAPTER 7: PEDAGOGICAL POSSIBILITIES: (UN)DOING (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERED SUBJECTIVITIES IN A GRADUATE CLASSROOM

As we as educators, practitioners, and activists begin to consider alternatives to (non)native speakered subjectivities, an ongoing question is how we can structure our classrooms in ways that legitimize the linguistic and cultural practices of all our students, and encourage pre-service teachers to do the same in their own classes. Because (non)native speaking is performative and complex, key to this undertaking is the creation of opportunities for students to become critically conscious of the entwined ideologies that (re)invent dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness, as well as spaces in which they can explore and enact identities outside of such binaries (see also Canagarajah, 2013; Menard-Warwick, Heredia-Herrera, & Soares Palmer, 2013; Motha, Jain, & Tecele, 2012).

In this chapter, I explore pedagogical possibilities for (un)doing (non)native speaking through an examination of the teaching approaches and philosophy of Anna Marie, the professor and teacher educator in whose classes all of my focal participants were enrolled.<sup>40</sup> To this end, I first consider how Anna Marie structures her courses in an inclusive manner, positioning all her students as competent, qualified graduate students and legitimate, if emerging, teachers. I then examine how she integrates critical discussions, normalizes diversity, creates alternative spaces for her students, and encourages and facilitates their exploration of identity in ways that not only question the

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<sup>40</sup> I conducted individual interviews with some non-focal participants, such as John and Belle, whose views and experiences were discussed in Chapter 6. However, these participants did not participate in all aspects of the study, and so are not considered focal participants.

traditional, dichotomized native-nonnative paradigm, but also (re)invent more nuanced, complex ways of thinking about language, its users, and its use. Throughout this discussion, I also comment on how her discourses and pedagogies, while innovative, were constrained by larger social structures that are still entrenched in (non)native speakist ideologies. I conclude with a reflection on long-term possibilities for (un)doing (non)native speakered subjectivities in language teacher education.

### 7.1 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AND TEACHER EDUCATION

Scholars within and beyond the NNEST Movement have in the last three decades developed a host of strategies to support NNESTs in “inner circle” teacher education programs. Such strategies range from facilitating NNESTs’ classroom participation, to modifying curricula to meet their academic and professional needs, to offering supplementary language courses, cultural workshops, and professional development opportunities to improve their linguistic and pedagogical skills (e.g., Llorca, 2004).<sup>41</sup> However, as was mentioned in Chapter 6, such well-intentioned practices implicitly frame NNESTs as in need of remediation and idealize native-like English proficiency and adherence to American linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical norms. Furthermore, they are predicated on the assumption that legitimization as an English speaker necessarily follows such linguistic and cultural assimilation, when in fact individuals’ (non)native speakered positionality is more often governed by alignment with an abstract homogeneous ethnolinguistic and nationalized citizen-subject than by features of linguistic or pedagogical performance. In short, most interventions proposed thus far by

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<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for a broader overview of the literature within the NNEST Movement. Also, Moussu & Llorca (2008), Selvi (2014), and Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan (2015).

NNEST scholars have been limited because they focus on minimizing the negative impact of teachers' nonnative status rather than resisting the language ideologies that produce dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness to begin with.

By reconceptualizing the native-nonnative dichotomy as the outcome of a dynamic process of subject formation, in which notions of language and identity are sedimented at the intersections of multiple, shifting discourses (Weedon, 1987; Wenger, 1998), (non)native speakering provides a fluid, dynamic way of “thinking about language use and identity that avoids foundationalist categories” (Pennycook, 2004, p. 1). Through this lens, native and nonnative speakers are not objective, static, or self-evident, but are subjectivities discursively produced through constitutive acts across multiple scales and contexts. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 analyzed how institutionalized policies and individual acts mobilize a broad range of discourses, including but not limited to race, nationality, proficiency, accent, and culture, among others, entwining these discourses not only with (non)native speakered subjectivities, but also inevitably with each other.

As such, (non)native speakering can be understood as both embedded within and emerging from a larger web of processes of linguistic legitimization and marginalization, which has the potential to shape the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, even when neither race nor language nor (non)native speakered status are explicitly mobilized in an individual act (see Figure 7.1 below). These and similar ideologies imbue nearly every aspect of language education, from teacher certification to student enrollment, and from the style of instruction to the giving of feedback. Each discursive citation of these ideologies reifies and strengthens the association among certain

racialized, nationalistic, ethnic, and cultural emblems and practices in ways that are too often unquestioned or unnoticed (see Figure 7.2 below).

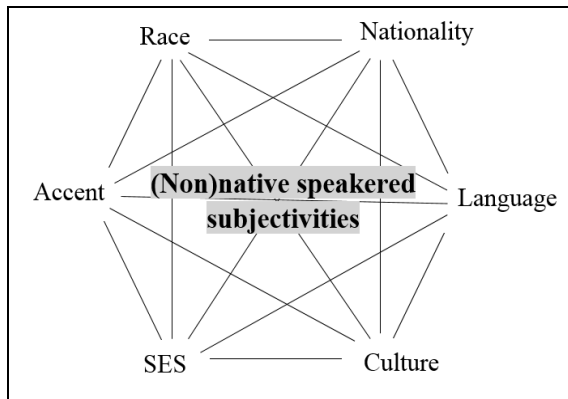


Figure 7.1. (Non)native speakerist ideologies as a complex ideological web

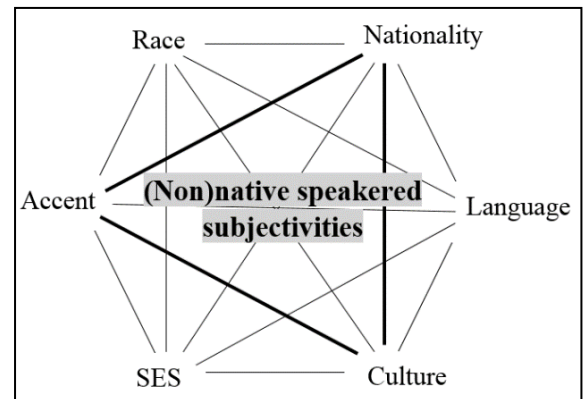


Figure 7.2. Strengthening connections among accent, nationality, and culture

Conversely, (non)native speaking can also be resisted by loosening any of these connections, regardless of whether they explicitly invoke (non)native speaker subjectivities in a local context (Figure 7.3 below). Anna Marie questioning the nationalization of Christmas as an American holiday and Mark noticing the absence of tacos from English language textbooks, make strange the familiar connections between language, nationality, and culture (Spindler, 1988).

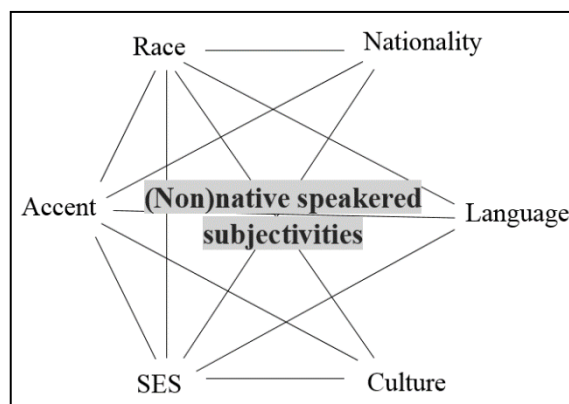


Figure 7.3. Undoing (non)native speakerist subjectivities by weakening the relationship between certain (non)native speakerist ideologies

Over time, similar acts of resistance undermine these entwinements, and may eventually make possible the disinvention of (non)native speakered subjectivities entirely, giving way to new ways of “doing language” (Harissi, Otsuji, & Pennycook, 2012, p. 530).

Teacher education is key to breaking this cycle for two reasons. First and foremost, teacher education, like all forms of education, is a process of socializing students into a professional and academic community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1988). In order to move towards greater equity in TESOL and Applied Linguistics, newcomers to the field must be socialized in ways that position them as legitimate teachers and users of English, and that also call attention to “how language can be used to maintain, reinforce, and perpetuate existing power relations” as well as “how language can be used to resist, redefine, and possibly reverse these relations” (Alim, 2005, p. 28). In doing so, they will become aware and critical of (non)native speakerist ideologies and implicit biases in their own and others’ scholarship and pedagogy. Furthermore, as budding educators themselves, they will be uniquely positioned to “pay forward” their insights, socializing their own students in similar ways and structuring educational environments in inclusive ways in which they too can resist the (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities. Second, teacher education, at least for the moment, has the potential to quickly answer calls for reform, since most professors and teacher educators design their own curricula and control their own approaches to instruction. While the macro-level policies of educational institutions, such as those examined in Chapter 4, may be trapped in an “organizational gridlock and an unwillingness to modify practices except in severely limited ways” (Wisniewski, 2004, p.

5), individual instructors can even with relatively minor adjustments, resist (non)native speakered subjectivities in their courses and facilitate their students doing the same. Furthermore, their approaches can be adapted to the needs of particular pre-service teachers in localized contexts, making their impact even greater.

That said, it is important to have a measured perspective of the scope of the impact of classroom-level efforts to resist (non)native speaking. I have no delusions that one teacher's curriculum will completely melt Rajagopalan's (1999) "insidious ideological iceberg" (p. 39), undermine the ideological prominence of the native speaker in applied linguistics (Davies, 2003), or unravel the discursive web presented in the figures above. However, Anna Marie's classroom pedagogy may help reshape the attitudes of individual teacher candidates, who may in turn go on to reshape the attitudes of their own students, and continue to ripple outwards. Though this may have little effect on broader social discourses that produce (non)native speakered subjectivities, and the system may, as complexity theory posits, tend towards the strange attractor that is the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, the possibility remains that a critical mass of individuals with new subjectivities may move the system towards a new equilibrium and allow new institutional and discursive practices to emerge.

In the discussion that follows, I explore how Anna Marie, a teacher educator working with pre-service teachers and self-described "researcher-activist" resisted the web of nation-state and raciolinguistic language ideologies and provided her students with opportunities and encouragement to do the same. She did this by structuring her classroom in ways that legitimize the linguistic and pedagogical practice of every teacher

candidate, by having explicit, focused classroom discussions on critical issues in applied linguistics and ELT, and lastly by “walking the walk”—integrating critical considerations into her own pedagogical practices and also participating in acts of resistance and (re)invention of linguistic legitimacy outside the classroom. Throughout this discussion, I also shed light on how Anna Marie was constrained by larger social or institutional structures that continued to entrench (non)native speakerist discourses or normative ways of thinking about languages and language use. This exploration somewhat overlaps with the work of others who have explored teacher identity-as-pedagogy (e.g., Morgan, 2004; Jain, 2014; Motha, Jain, & Teclé, 2012, and others). However, it is distinct in that Anna Marie’s use of her own translingual/transcultural identity in her pedagogy is only one aspect of my larger inquiry into how she creates opportunities for her students to engage with alternative identities that question or resist dichotomized notions of (non)nateness.

## 7.2 EXPLICIT DISCUSSION OF CRITICAL ISSUES IN ELT

Anna Marie integrated into her lessons explicit discussions of critical issues in English Language Teaching, including authenticity, appropriateness, diversity, and language negotiation. In doing so, she reconceptualized them in more inclusive ways, resisting their (re)production of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

### 7.2.1 *Rethinking Authenticity*

One of the many ways that Anna Marie moved towards greater equity in her classroom was by reframing the notion of *authenticity*. Like (non)native speakered subjectivities, authenticity has been heavily politicized and problematized and whether an individual’s language is perceived as “authentic” at best depends on racialized, classed,

and nationalistic associations between language and power (e.g., Lowe & Pinner, 2016). At worst, authenticity becomes a mechanism of discrimination more influenced by the features of an individual rather than of their language, in the same way that an individual's (non)native speakerhood is more often determined by their phenotypic characteristics or cultural background than their linguistic experience. Because they mobilize similar and overlapping discourses, disrupting ideologies of authenticity by extension disrupt (non)native speakerist ideologies as well.

In her classes, Anna Marie divorced authenticity from an inner circle context, and shifted the conversation, in her words, “from authentic language to authentic use.” She rethought authenticity not as how “native speakers” communicate in certain parts of the world, but rather as “the language of things that real people do—if no one does it for fun and no one gets paid to do it, then it's not authentic” (field notes, multiple occasions). For example, in her Adult Education Seminar, Anna Marie contextualized the language of directions within the authentic task of making a peanut butter sandwich, and then connected these language skills to a more traditionally academic application:

Anna Marie: The language of directions is really important language. It's very authentic language. It can make a huge difference in communication... Think about the language Jenny [a student] was using. 'First you do this. Then you do this.' What language structures do we call those? First, then, next? Sequential words or transition words... Thinking about how important those are in the way you speak, but also how they're infused into academic writing. If I'm going to write an academic paper and I want to teach my kids academic language, I'm going to start with the peanut butter and jelly thing, because it gives super details. You get transition words, when you write, that's what you want to help them make, is the connections between making a sandwich and writing an essay. (Class Recording, Feb. 4, 2015)



In this way, Anna Marie rooted authenticity in how real people in the real world “do language” rather than how language practices may be constructed as emblematic of a particular geographic region or social class. In doing so, she attempted to legitimize all of her students’ ownership of English, including those who learned English at an older age and those who are most comfortable communicating in marginalized varieties of English, since all of them use English in their daily lives for real-life, and therefore “authentic” tasks. Because authentic subjectivities are frequently co-constructed, or even synonymized, with (non)native speakered subjectivities—“authentic language” is often defined as “native-like language”—Anna Marie’s reframing of authenticity still chips away at the entwinement of race, SES, nationality, and language, and therefore contributes to the disinvention of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

However, despite her efforts in resistance, Anna Marie’s discourses were in some ways constrained by ideological frames of language as static and bounded. For instance, Anna Marie constructed what might be called “sandwich-making discourses” as a means of transitioning to “academic language,” which is itself as insidiously ideological as “authentic” or (non)native speakered subjectivities (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015, among others). In other words, even while Anna Marie attempts to redefine authenticity and resist one static, absolutist conceptualization of language, she remains constrained by others. Thus, even while some strands of the web of (non)native speaking are severed or weakened, others are constructed or strengthened in their place.

I highlight this tension not to critique Anna Marie’s teaching, but rather to shed light on the ways in which acts of resistance continue to be governed by language and

nation-state/colonial governmentality. This is not to say that any efforts of resistance are entirely futile, but rather that their impact and effectiveness are not entirely linear either. Rather, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, the process of (un)doing (non)native speakered subjectivities is complex, dynamic, and multidirectional.

### *7.2.2 Reconceptualizing Appropriateness*

Anna Marie also explicitly discussed classed and racialized perceptions of language, proficiency, and competence, particularly in terms of their supposed appropriateness in “academic” settings. She managed her classroom in ways that sought to undo these hierarchies and include the language practices of her students, particularly those of students like Mark who had deep-seated anxieties and experiences of marginalization from “academic” settings. For instance, Anna Marie encouraged her students to draw on the totality of their linguistic and cultural resources in class—to take notes, brainstorm, and conduct group work in any language in which they and their group felt comfortable. She also encouraged multilingual students to take advantage of their multilingualism when conducting research. On one occasion, I ran into her making copies of a Korean-language survey for a student in her action research class:<sup>42</sup>

Me [Looking at copies]: In Korean?

Anna Marie: Yeah.

Me: Cool.

Anna Marie: It was multilingual research. And I want to tell them, do multilingual research! If they speak Korean and you’re a fluent Korean speaker, why are you doing research in English? Do it in Korean and just translate the findings. Um... that’s for the action research class. (Field Notes, Mar. 4, 2015)

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<sup>42</sup> I was not able to observe this class as part of my data collection.

While English was used for presentations and class discussions, the orientation was not forcibly nationalistic (i.e., “this is America, speak English”), but rather was gently acknowledging that English was a *lingua franca* in this setting—while almost every student in the class was at least bilingual, English was the only language that all students shared. Nonetheless, students’ proficiencies in additional languages were welcomed means of engaging with course content and building relationships with peers. While this kind of translanguaging (García, 2009) is often framed as a form of scaffolding for students who may not be fully comfortable in so-called “academic English,” most of the students in Anna Marie’s classes, regardless of their language background, seemed to take advantage of the flexibility to use any combination of languages to make meaning. Students earning dual certifications in Mandarin or Spanish, for instance, often grouped themselves together and discussed applications of course material to contexts and languages with which they were most familiar.

This preference was not isolated to “international” students, but included multilingual “domestic” students who often drew on their shared Spanish<sup>43</sup> proficiencies to take notes and ask one another questions. On one occasion towards the end of the term, Anna Marie was leading a class brainstorm on techniques for building cultural awareness within small groups of students, and had just mentioned using a flower as a graphic organizer, in which students could write personal characteristics in individual petals and then characteristics shared by the entire group in the center. Alex, a Caucasian student

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<sup>43</sup> While NU did offer dual certifications in Mandarin and several other languages, in the classes I observed, only Spanish was pursued by domestic students. I was able to speak with some first-year students, such as John and Belle (see Chapter 6), who were domestic pursuing dual certifications in TESOL and Mandarin, but they were not enrolled in the practicums I observed.

earning dual certification in ESL and Spanish, then contributed:

Alex: We did something like this at a meeting in Spain, but instead of doing a flower, we did like [pause] a crest? [pause]

[to April]: *¿Cómo se dice escudo?*

April: A shield?

Alex: A shield, and that was your group symbol... (Field Notes, Apr. 16, 2015)

At this point in the semester, not only was Alex comfortable contributing to the class discussion, but he also felt comfortable seeking support from another student in a shared second language to draw a connection between an experience in Spain and the material that Anna Marie was presenting. Anna Marie's openness to the multiple and shifting language proficiencies of all of her students resisted the construction of a graduate classroom as an English-only context, destigmatized the use of "Othered" languages and language practices, and reframed the use of languages other than English as representative of all language users rather than as emblematic of "nonnative" or "non-American" students.

It is important to note here that Anna Marie did not merely *allow* diverse language practices into her classroom space, as if they were a necessary evil, but she framed them as communal pedagogical resources from which all students could benefit. On one occasion, she was introducing her teacher candidates to a technique for using comics as scaffolding to teach what she called "dialogue tags,"<sup>44</sup> in which language learners first fill in empty thought and speech bubbles on a sketched comic, and then expand the completed comic into a short paragraph with creative dialogue tags. As Anna Marie led a whole-class brainstorm listing as many dialogue tags as possible, she not only accepted

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<sup>44</sup> Words which introduce quotations are also termed *quotatives*. However, I use "dialogue tag" here because Anna Marie referred to them as such.

those that are traditionally appropriate in academic settings (e.g., said, exclaimed, etc.) but also informal and marginalized dialogue tags (e.g., be like, was like). While these tags are not necessarily attributed to “nonnative English speakers” per se, they are often associated with speakers of color, particularly low-income African American speakers, despite being widely used. Because racialization is often a mechanism of (non)native speakering (e.g., Amin, 1997, 1999; Aneja, 2016a, 2016b) legitimizing the language practices of racialized Others is also a move towards undoing (non)native speakerist paradigms.

#### *7.2.2.1 Appropriateness in writing.*

This flexible framing of language extended to students’ written submissions—a weekly teaching journal in which students were to “reflect on your experiences in your practicum placement and make personal connections to your own learning” (Adult Second/Foreign Education Syllabus). Taking the genre of a journal entry to heart, most submissions were colloquial in tone, including contractions, sentence fragments, and, in some cases, cursing or strong language. The idea, according to Anna Marie, was for students to be able to process the week’s theme with regard to their teaching in ways that were productive for them. The submission was intended to offer her a window into their world, not to force them to modify their experiences to adhere to dominant ideologies of what constitutes “academic writing.”

This genre of assignment, particularly for a graduate course, is unorthodox. While many teacher education courses require some form of reflective or journalistic writing, rarely have I encountered an assignment as open-ended as Anna Marie’s. The structure of

her assignments was a way of “walking the walk” and reifying her position that educators ought to embrace a broader range of language practices in their classrooms, particularly if such practices make material more accessible for students or facilitate their reflection on their teaching practice. Consider, for instance, the following excerpts from one such journal, written by Mark and centered on “Educational Diversity”:

Race was something that I did not see or understand. I was light skin and was raised by my great-grandmother who was very fair-skinned. So when I would look at her I would think that she was white and also considered myself white as well, that when someone would ask me what color are you? I would answer white. At first, everyone thought it was funny, but later I started to get a lot of ridicule for it...

I resisted my family because of it and hated the thought of being gay. I guess it was providing them right that I did not want them to have because I felt robbed to make the choice for myself without any influences. So when I moved to [NU] I told myself that I would find an answer and I did. I proudly announced on Facebook that I was gay so that everyone could know that I am no longer giving any fucks (sorry but its true). I am starting to develop a passion LGBTQ education especially with people of color. (Mark, Journal 4).

While the language features and punctuation of this excerpt in some ways deviate from those of prescriptive written English, its content engages deeply with an individual student’s personal experiences with race, as well as with the tension between his self-ascribed identity and its social recognition. However, these nuances would be lost on a reader unwilling to engage with the content because of its resistance against dominant language ideologies. When I asked Mark about this journal in a later interview, he told me that he was raised below the poverty line and was the first in his family to graduate from high school, let alone college, and that he felt that his language practices were marginalized in many of his classes, as well as in the university as an institution.

However, in Anna Marie’s classes, he felt he was able to “be myself and talk” (Interview,

Apr. 15, 2015) since she was willing and able to present and allow him to engage with material in ways that were accessible and significant for him. In doing so, she actively embraced and legitimized his own linguistic and cultural backgrounds in ways that provided opportunities for him to make his learning experience his own

### *7.2.3 Negotiating Language in the Real World*

Anna Marie fully acknowledged the tension between wanting to legitimize students' backgrounds and language practices and the sobering reality that "the world is a nasty unfair place that values certain languages and cultures more than others" (Anna Marie, field notes, Feb. 25, 2015). In other words, she recognized that local efforts to resist (non)native speakerist ideologies were in some ways constrained by larger dynamics of power that continued to reify them. Nonetheless, she encouraged her teacher candidates to walk this line while still equipping their students with "the tools to succeed in the world." To make this highly abstract message accessible, Anna Marie used the metaphor of clothing:

Anna Marie: ...What do you wear to the beach?

Student<sup>45</sup>: A bathing suit.

Anna Marie: What do you wear to church?

Student: Suit

Anna Marie: Do you wear a bathing suit to church?

Students: [muttering "no"]

Anna Marie: What? Do you wear a bathing suit to church?

Students: No.

Anna Marie: What about a wedding, do you wear a bathing suit to a wedding?

Students: No.

Anna Marie: Is there anything wrong with a bathing suit? No, it's just not the place for it...It's like if I say 'I been done did that.' There's nothing wrong with it, but it's just not wedding clothes. (Field Notes, Feb. 25, 2015)

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<sup>45</sup> Because this interaction happened very quickly, I was unable to ascertain which student(s) provided which responses.

In the excerpt above, Anna Marie demonstrates the contextualized nature of appropriate language—that speaking differently in different contexts is no different from dressing differently in different contexts. In giving this explanation to her students, she emphasizes the importance of context in judgments of linguistic appropriateness, moving away from more abstract, often implicitly racialized or classed discourses like “academic,” “proper,” or “native.” While the rhetoric of appropriateness has been problematized—for instance, Flores & Rosa (2015) argue that “appropriateness” and other social designations become thinly-veiled proxies for racial, nationalistic, or socioeconomic discrimination, in which utterances are judged based on the racialized positionality of the utterer—discourses of contextualized appropriateness may also have the potential to empower students to think about language evaluation beyond seemingly objective, dichotomized notions of correctness and incorrectness, to instead consider how particular utterances may be interpreted in various contexts. Thus, this excerpt again highlights the tension between individuals’ efforts to resist (non)native speakerist ideologies, and the tendency of the broader system to reify them.

Later in the same lesson, Anna Marie encouraged her teacher candidates to “present code-switching<sup>46</sup> as a skill”—one that is highly marketable in a broad range of vocational fields, and that is absolutely necessary when communicating with different people for different purposes:

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<sup>46</sup> While I recognize that this term is somewhat ambiguous and is theoretically distinct from translanguaging (García, 2009), code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011), translingualism (Canagarajah, 2013) and other similar terms, for the purposes of this chapter, I use the term as Anna Marie does—to mean altering and adapting one’s language to fit different contexts.



Anna Marie: It's a really fun activity to have someone tell the same story to two different people. So like think of something that happened to you in the last six months. Now tell it to your best friend, and now tell that story to the police. What do you edit out? How does your language change? How would you tell it to your friend and your mom? Not just the details you include or leave out, but the vocabulary you use. Like if you ask "what's the weather like today?" Tell your best friend what the weather's like today.

[All laugh – it was 15 degrees Fahrenheit with almost 18 inches of snow piled around]

Jenny [tongue-in-cheek]: It's so darn cold

[All laugh louder]

Anna Marie: [smiling] Man, it's cold as shit outside! It's BRICK out there!  
(Field Notes, Feb. 25, 2015)

When Anna Marie asked the class to “Tell your best friend what the weather’s like today,” students laughed because no one’s mental dialogue was traditionally appropriate for an academic setting, especially not in response to an explicit question from a professor. Jenny’s response, which was very much tongue-in-cheek acknowledged the dramatic irony of the situation, while also demonstrating her hesitation to reconstruct the standards of appropriateness herself; as a student, she may not have felt that she had sufficient power in the situation to do so. Anna Marie, as the professor and arbiter, (re)invented the rules of classroom discourse by cursing and using slang to make a pedagogical point. In doing so, she moved towards normalizing historically-marginalized registers and language varieties in the classroom, making students feel that they and their language practices were welcome.

However, immediately after promoting her pedagogical vision of linguistic diversity and personal expression, Anna Marie mobilized discourses of contextualized

appropriateness and the very real impact that language can have on individuals' social positionality:

Anna Marie: So even something as simple what's the weather like today, have them tell it to different people. You don't want them leaving that room without that skill. Think about what a disservice you're doing them if you don't teach them to play the game, even if the game is messed up. And the game is the judgmental language game. I mean, people in general are lovely, but they will judge you by how you speak. So how can we give people to meet the norms of success without being someone they're not? Which is tough right? (Field Notes, Feb. 25, 2015)

Here, as in other examples throughout this section, Anna Marie highlights the tension between resisting and being constrained static, hierarchical framings of language grounded in dominant language ideologies. This constant negotiation suggests that efforts to (un)do (non)native speakered subjectivities may not have a linear causal effect or large-scale impact. However, as evidenced by the influence Anna Marie's acts of resistance had on Mark, Neha, and her other teacher candidates, they are not futile either.

### 7.3 BEYOND LANGUAGE: UNRAVELING THE IDEOLOGICAL WEB

(Non)native speakering is woven into larger ideological webs in which language is implied, as was discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6 and illustrated in figures 7.1 and 7.2. Therefore, in order to "undo" (non)native speakering, it becomes necessary to look beyond language to resist and (re)invent these racialized, nationalistic sociocultural associations wherever they occur.

To this end, Anna Marie employed awareness-raising activities and discussions to draw teacher candidates' attention to social undercurrents that position some people and knowledges as more valuable than others. In addition to having a critical objective, these techniques were also structured in ways that teacher candidates could adapt and apply in

the lessons they themselves would teach. For example, in one lesson Anna Marie designed an activity called “find someone who...” to facilitate the discussion of a wide range of aspects of culture, from the most-discussed dance, religion, holidays, and food, to less-discussed issues like education level, handy skills (e.g., fixing a window), and gaps in geographic knowledge (can you name seven cities in Africa?). In this activity, each candidate was given a BINGO board in which each square contained a phrase describing a characteristic or ability. Candidates then asked one another if that phrase described them. If it did (e.g., if a peer could fix a window), then that person wrote their name inside the square.

Through this activity, Anna Marie not only modeled an activity that could be adapted for candidates’ own classes, but she also increased candidates’ awareness of the range of human experiences their peers had, normalized the diversity of their large, urban environment, and shed light on gaps in their own knowledge base. By making often-abstract discussions of diversity professionally relevant and personally meaningful to her students, Anna Marie was able to, by the second week of the term, set the stage for deeper attempts to normalize diversity both in and beyond the field of ELT. For example, in having one square that asked students to “find someone who was an immigrant” and another that asked for someone who “had been an “English Language Learner” (ELL), she confronted the reality that over half of the ELLs in the school district of this university were born and raised in the US, and that many immigrants arrive in the US already speaking English. This realization resists the conflation between immigration or

citizenship status and language proficiency—the misconception that immigrants’ English proficiency is somehow deficient, while that of “citizens” is not.

### *7.3.1 Race, Culture, and Representation*

Anna Marie also encouraged students to critically examine how people of color are often obscured or even absent from institutionalized spaces in language education. She observed that these spaces can be as broad and “official” as textbooks, which are notorious for depicting Caucasian teachers and students of color, reinforcing a racialized Caucasian “inner circle” English authority and an “outer circle” learner, or as unofficial as the appearance of dolls and the choice of foods in the play kitchen of a pre-school. She also drew attention to the material impact of these ideologies on students’ lived experience—specifically citing an incident in which the local school system treated a Caucasian English speaker from the UK differently from a darker-skinned English speaker from India, even though both were fluent in English.

This is not to say that the mere presence of representations of people of color or marginalized cultural emblems are sufficient to reduce racist attitudes (Orfield, 1981; Fuller & Elmore, 1996), but rather that representation is a prerequisite for focused, critical conversations that have the capacity to promote equity (Noguera, 2003). For example, immediately after drawing candidates’ attention to the racial and cultural representations in their classrooms, Anna Marie emphasized the importance of normalizing diversity—not of simply having a token Black child in a textbook or reading a token story about Mexican children’s “Mexicanness,” but rather of having a story about

a kid who happens to be Mexican, without her race or ethnicity being central to the plot of the story. Similarly, she cautioned against nationalistic frames of beliefs and culture:

Anna Marie: This is just me being me, but be careful of things like “what do people in Mexico believe?” because even though it is a majority Catholic country, at the end of the day it’s not all Catholic. But it is majority, so you can talk about like what’s the most prominent religion or something like that.  
(Field Notes, Apr. 23, 2015)

Anna Marie elaborated on her problematization of nationalistic framings of culture by sharing, “so many people ask me if I celebrate Christmas, and I say, ‘well, I don’t necessarily celebrate Christmas,’ and they say, ‘but you’re American,’ as if Christmas is an American holiday.” In this anecdote, she both questions the notion that Christmas is an emblematically American holiday, and highlights and normalizes the diversity within the United States itself. Furthermore, she reinforces the idea that conforming to White, middle-class, Christian, English-speaking “American” life is neither an obligation, nor is it necessarily a good thing. Neha, a student who was raised in India and completing a post-master’s degree in the US then chimed in, as shown in the excerpt below:

Neha: I was in a first grade classroom last semester, and we did Thanksgiving and Christmas and every holiday possible, except you know, Diwali and Ramadan  
[laughs]  
Anna Marie: So NOT every one possible [smiles]  
Neha: [laughs] yeah, but all the American holidays, like we had a Christmas tree and everything was Christmas themed  
(Field Notes, Apr. 9, 2015)

Here, not only does Neha first say “every holiday possible” when she in fact meant “every American holiday,” but she also constructs Christmas and Thanksgiving as American, while both are celebrated in multiple countries around the world in different ways. In doing so, she constructs and reifies these as “mainstream” holidays, while

Othering Diwali (Hindu) and Ramadan (Muslim). However, Anna Marie resisted her student's tugging at an ideological web in which Christmas and Thanksgiving are entwined with notions of American-ness, Caucasian-ness, and English language use of the public education system, by later using Neha's comment to transition into a discussion about how Eid and Chinese New Year were being added to the state Department of Education calendar. In this way, she mobilized institutionalized discourses in embracing systemic change and reframing historically Othered holidays as American.

In these examples, Anna Marie demonstrates that the construction of linguistic legitimacy is closely related to the entwinement of other ideologies, including national identity, which is in turn connected to aspects of culture like food and holidays. Therefore, undoing (non)native speaking not only involves rethinking Kachru's (1985) depiction of circles of English usage, but also related nationalistic framings of culture. Furthermore, she demonstrates that raising awareness about the implicit associations between nationality, culture, holidays, and by extension language need not be an exhausting or time-consuming undertaking, but can be woven into the everyday fabric of classroom discourse.

#### 7.4 STRUCTURING AN INCLUSIVE CLASSROOM FOR ALL TEACHER CANDIDATES

I open this section with a slightly modified excerpt from the field notes I took on the evening of January 28, 2015, during my first observation of Anna Marie's classes:

On the first day of class, after introducing herself and briefly sharing her professional background, Anna Marie asked that we go around the room sharing our names and completing the sentence "Something I could teach very well right now is..." Her own answer was "figurative language." Students' responses

included “staying calm under pressure,” “how to shop more cheaply,” “positivity,” and “how to go on road trips,” among others. Once everyone had shared, Anna Marie asked the class why she asked us that question. One student suggested that it would help us connect teaching to what we already know. Anna Marie confirmed this, and clarified that it was important to realize that each of us were already teachers—we already had some experience and “competence” in teaching—and that she intended to treat us as such throughout the course.

She then asked for a volunteer to read the quote at the top of the syllabus, and asked the class what we thought it meant:

*I have learned much wisdom from my teacher, more from my colleagues and the most from my students. –The Talmud*

Brittney, a first-generation Turkish-American woman offered that even though we are teachers, we can and should learn from others around us, regardless of who they are. Anna Marie used this to remind us to stay open-minded and open-hearted in the classroom, so we could get the most out of each moment, both as students and as teachers. She would later suggest that this would be a way to make older students feel that their backgrounds and life experiences are valued in the classroom.

We then turned the page and started going over the calendar containing the week’s focal question, readings, and assignments. Anna Marie asked why there are questions in the first column in place of a weekly topic or theme. Mark answered “because it gives the class focus.” Anna Marie agreed, and then said that she thinks it’s helpful for students to know exactly what they’re supposed to put into and get out of a given class session. Posing the week’s topic as a question gives students a concrete question they should be able to answer by the end of each lesson.

(Field Notes, Jan. 28, 2015)

Throughout the remainder of the lesson and the course, Anna Marie continued to ask students to engage with course material both as “students” and as “teachers,” making it clear that they were expected not only to deepen their understandings of course material itself, but also become aware of its organizational logic, pedagogical techniques, and strategies of implementation. In doing so, Anna Marie positioned each of her students as fully-participating, legitimate teachers, gleaning what they could from her teaching to apply to their own classes.

### 7.4.1 Participation

While full participation was expected of all students and was factored into students' grades for the class, Anna Marie was also aware that all students may not be equally comfortable participating in a whole-group discussion for a variety of reasons, including their socialization into education, comfort with English, anxiety with public speaking, need to process internally, and so on. As such, she was careful to structure her classes to facilitate the participation of all students, not only recognizing and valuing their presence, but also modeling how they could use more inclusive ways of encouraging student participation in their own classes. In one of our conversations at the copy machine, she shared:

Anna Marie: I keep reminding myself and my students that participation is way more than what you say in front of a group of thirty people. It's why I do so much group work and so much turn to a partner. It seems like the same people are participating in whole group all the time, but everyone is participating in small groups. So I don't stress about it too much because I feel like it balances itself out. I try not to let whole class dominate. It's really hard because you don't want to not call on someone because they've participated too much but I sometimes do... yeah, I try to have different numbers of groups...or like sometimes it's one big group, and sometimes its 4 little groups. And I don't want to cut people off, and I don't want to call on people, so I just give them more time to work in a group of 4 or a group of 2. In individual small groups, they're chatting it up. So I'm not worried that like the 3 girls in the back aren't really talking to the whole group because there are enough other opportunities to participate.  
(Field Notes, Mar. 25, 2015)

In addition to integrating group work and “turn to a partner” (also called “think-pair-share”), throughout the term Anna Marie also modeled a range of additional strategies for what I call “covert participation,” including but not limited to:

**Museum Walks** – Each student responds to a question or prompt on a sheet of paper. After a set time, they post their paper on the wall or in a designated location. Students walk around the room, and look at other students' thoughts.



Peer-to-peer feedback can be given with stickers or written on post-it notes.

**Silent Brainstorm** – Each student on their own paper lists as many thoughts as possible in response to a question or prompt. After a set amount of time, students pass their papers in one direction. They then add to the paper in front of them, being careful not to repeat ideas. After a set number of rounds, the paper is returned to its original owner, who now has a list of responses.

**Entrance/Exit Tickets** – Students answer a brief question at the beginning or end of the lesson, allowing the instructor to quickly assess their understanding of the material or any questions they may have.

**Free Write** – Students individually reflect in writing on a question, topic, or theme. In most cases, students are encouraged to use any language(s) they wish, as a free write is meant for them.

**Fist-to-Five** – When asked “fist-to-five?” students raise their hands and show different numbers of fingers depending on how comfortable they feel with the material—typically a fist means they are extremely uncomfortable, while five fingers indicates they have mastered it.

By utilizing these and many other techniques, Anna Marie resists the notion that full participation is only possible for native English speakers who are socialized into standards of whole-group discussion and publicly evaluating or critiquing others’ ideas. Instead, she rethinks participation in ways that are inclusive of all students in terms of their individual preferences as well as sensitive to their cultural background. In doing so, she resists (non)native speakering by rethinking the organization of her classroom space and making it more inclusive, dismantling entrenched power dynamics and increasing equity in her classroom.

#### *7.4.2 Feedback*

Another consideration is the medium and content of feedback given to students. This is particularly salient for students who may already be anxious about certain aspects of their language proficiency or uncomfortable in certain academic or professional settings. Towards the end of my time at NU, after getting a sense of Anna Marie’s

reactions to what would traditionally be considered “grammatical errors” in students’ speaking and writing, we had the following conversation:

Me: How do you negotiate when to correct students' grammar?

Anna Marie: When they're writing or when they speak?

Me: Both.

Anna Marie: I never do it when they speak. Because I think it ruins the flow. If it's egregious, I'll make a mental note of it and tell them in private, like a heads up it's supposed to be this, I didn't want to blow up your spot, or whatever. I draw attention to it all the time in writing though. I'll just circle it and then let them figure out what's wrong with it. If it's really egregious, I might give a hint.

Me: How did you decide to do that?

Anna Marie: I didn't want to hamper anyone's verbal participation. As soon as you correct them they shut up, and I don't want to be that guy. But I think it's a disservice to not say anything. So I tell them in private. Same thing in writing. Like, if you correct it for them, like, it doesn't stick as much, whereas if you just highlight it they have to go out and find a solution for it.

(Field Notes, Apr. 30, 2015)

Particularly for spoken interactions, Anna Marie values effective communication and what she calls “the flow” over prescriptive correctness. She recognizes that at times, students become so concerned with the manner of their presentation that they become discouraged from participating in class. However, she also recognizes that not informing students of prescriptive norms can be a “disservice” because of the dominant power dynamics that shape linguistic exchanges. As such, she draws students’ attention to the issue, and positions them as qualified, competent students capable of modifying their own work. In doing so, Anna Marie in her own practice rejects the dynamic of a Caucasian native English speaker professor correcting the language of nonnative English speaker students of color, and instead positions students as legitimized language users in their own right. However, Anna Marie as well as her students are simultaneously constrained by bounded, static, and ideologically-laden notions of correctness and social

acceptability—again highlighting the tension between efforts to resist (non)native speakered subjectivities and the reality that each act of resistance simultaneously contributes to their reification because of how these discourses permeate and shape every aspect of our society.

#### 7.4 “WALKING THE WALK” BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

Anna Marie not only legitimizes marginalized practices of her students in academic spaces within the classroom, but also uses language in alternative ways herself outside the classroom as well. In this sense, she “walks the walk”—reifying the legitimacy of the language practices she advocates by engaging in them herself. In doing so, she further undoes the notion of a unitary, static perception of the monolithic native English speaking academic, and its nonnative counterpart. The department culture more broadly also created spaces for such fluid, dynamic framings of language, identity, and use. Most of the professors came from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, and many had family and close friends around the world. In March, Neha organized an event called *World Read Aloud Day*, in which she invited students, professors, children, and other friends of the department community to read or recite a short piece in a language of their choice. She herself read a poem that was written in one of her father’s languages, but which had been transliterated in to Devanagari (the Hindi script) so that she could read it. Anna Marie read “Ego Trippin’” by Nikki Giovanni, another professor (who happened to be Caucasian) read a children’s book in Mandarin, and a third professor read a poem in Yiddish, a language of which she explicitly identified herself as a nonnative speaker. This last professor had recently taken up learning Mandarin, and in the previous

semester had given a welcoming address in Mandarin to a cohort of students from China. In doing so, the professors and administration of this program not only perform and therefore call into existence subject positions that legitimize the language practices of bi/multilinguals and those who would traditionally be considered nonnative speakers, but also do so in ways in which their students can participate in and identify with.

## 7.5 CLOSING COMMENTS

As the NNEST Movement steams ahead, scholars, teacher educators, practitioners, and activists must reconcile the academic problematization of (non)nativeness and other identity-related dichotomies, and the communication of such complexity to our students and teacher candidates. We must consider how we can structure our courses in ways that resist the very dichotomization that we critique, as well as how we can begin to create spaces in our own classrooms for students to “explore their own constructions of translinguistic and transcultural identity, challenge essentialized approaches to identity, and conceptualize and deconstruct their ongoing negotiations of fluid privilege and marginalization” (Rudolph & Yazan, in press). This is not to say that scholarly critique is not a worthwhile undertaking, clearly it is necessary for the field to progress. However, such publications are often not accessible to educational practitioners because of high pay walls, limited time, or simply unfamiliarity with academic jargon. As such, the scholarly road to undoing and disinventing (non)native speakered subjectivities is limited, particularly if we agree that social positions are performed and performative—that acting as though they exist functionally invents them across multiple iterations and citations.

One way of resisting the “ethnocentrism” of ELT as a field (Liu, 1998) and more robustly embrace local ways of learning, communicating, and being is for us, both as teacher educators and as language teachers, to integrate, as Anna Marie has, broader critiques of language, legitimacy, (non)nativeness, and nationalism into our own classes. Anna Marie in her classes not only recognizes linguistic and cultural practices that have been marginalized or delegitimized by institutional structures, but she also resists their marginalization, both by increasing her students’ consciousness of them explicitly, and by actively performing as if they do not exist or at the very least as if they were differently valued. In doing so, she encourages her students to become critically conscious of the historical roots and ideological implications of (non)native speaking, how they could in their own classroom management be complicit in recreating racialized, nationalized, or other conceptualizations of (non)native speakers through the “hidden curriculum” of their courses, and ultimately work towards breaking the cycle and “undoing” (non)nativeness. Because languaging and (non)native speaking are both active processes to which individuals and institutions constantly contribute and performatively create, in theory, there should be ways to subvert these mechanisms and work towards the creation of alternative subjectivities. As we encourage our students to reinvent themselves through translanguaging or through the enactment of alternative identities that subvert dominant norms, we must also model by engaging in such practices ourselves—by walking the walk.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

In this final chapter I offer an analytical and reflective commentary on the (dis)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities in a graduate language teacher education program, and also look forward to new possibilities for research and practice afforded by this two-year undertaking. I open by revisiting the research questions introduced in Chapter 1 and consider how they both shaped and were shaped by the research process. I then reflect on (non)native speaking as a complex system and use a complexity orientation to guide a discussion of several salient themes that emerged throughout this dissertation. Following, I briefly consider the contributions of this work to the body of literature that initially inspired it—the NNEST Movement—as well as its implications for language teachers and language teacher education programs. Finally, I explore avenues for future research and conclude with brief personal and professional reflection.

### 8.1 REVISITING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The data collection, analysis, and discussion presented in this dissertation was shaped by four questions, introduced in Chapter 1 and presented again below:

1. How can *(non)native speaking*, that is, the (re)invention and reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities, be understood as both a historical and emergent process? How does this process interact in complex ways with other processes of marginalization in which language is implicit?
2. How do teacher candidates, teacher educators, and institutional policies in a graduate language teacher education program contribute to the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities?

3. How do pre-service teachers negotiate, reify, and resist processes of (non)native speaking and create possibilities for alternative subject positions? How does this process affect their identity development?
4. How can teacher educators and department administrators create spaces for their students to occupy alternative positionalities that resist the reification of (non)native speakered subjectivities?

These questions, deeply informed by scholarship in critical applied linguistics, second language development, and TESOL, both shaped and were shaped by my inquiry. I began with a sense of the (non)native speakerist discourses examined by the NNEST Movement—particularly race, nationality, accent, and occasionally social class—but remained aware that participants would likely invoke a broad range of discourses that I could not have anticipated. Complexity theory as a theoretical and methodological orientation constantly highlighted the unpredictability of the possible discourses mobilized in the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities.

As these discourses emerged, I refined my research questions and analysis. I added Q2, exploring institutional discourses, within the first three weeks of data collection because so many participants, including teacher candidates, professors, and administrators, mobilized institutional discourses in framing their perceptions of (non)native speakered subjectivities, most likely because of the significant impact these institutions had on their lives and those of their students. Chapter 6, on raciolinguistic ideologies and (non)native speaking, emerged from Q3, as racializing discourses were invoked in conjunction with (non)native speakerist discourses so frequently in individuals' identity negotiation that I felt their entwinement necessitated more detailed inquiry. As I drafted Chapter 7, which responded to Q4 and explored the role of Anna

Marie as a teacher educator, I also included in my analysis limitations of such efforts in resistance, which I did not anticipate initially; often the best efforts of Anna Marie and other teacher educators to resist (non)native speakering remained constrained by larger structures of power and language governmentality that continued to shape the ways in which they were able to think and talk about language and language users.

I do not summarize my findings for each of these questions in turn for two reasons. First, and most obviously, any attempt to do so risks obscuring their nuance and facilitating inaccurate or reductionist understandings of (non)native speakering. Second, while this dissertation is organized linearly out of necessity, (non)native speakering should continue to be understood as a complex system whose components are self-similar at different scales and in constant interaction with one another. In place of a summary, I use complexity theory to orient and frame salient themes that emerge across chapters, in the hopes of presenting a broader and more complete perspective of (non)native speakering.

## 8.2 (NON)NATIVE SPEAKERING AS A COMPLEX SYSTEM: EMERGENT THEMES

In Chapter 2, I offered a theoretical argument for framing (non)native speakering as a complex, adaptive system (CAS). After the data collection and analysis above, I find a complex theoretical and methodological orientation invaluable to highlighting the multiple and dynamic discourses and mechanisms from whose interaction emerge (non)native speakered subjectivities.



First, a complexity orientation maintains the researcher's openness to the range of spaces (e.g., classrooms, textbooks, institutional events), institutional levels (e.g., individuals, classes, department, university), discourses (e.g., race, language, culture, SES, nationality), experiences (e.g., childhood memories of newscasters, mentors' encouragement or discouragement, etc.) and other discourses and contextual variables that interact with one another, shaping (non)native speakering in unexpected ways. This openness renders impossible the ability or desire to describe (non)native speakering in monolithic or comprehensive terms, as the diversity and dynamism of localized interactions is central to the theory itself. For example, the mobilization of certain cultural discourses (e.g., food, clothing, holidays, family structures, geographic familiarity, etc.) and institutionalized mechanisms (e.g., institutionalized language evaluation and placement testing) may have been obscured without an explicit attention to the complexity of processes of (non)native speakering.

Second, a complexity orientation acknowledges that (non)native speakering is not constituted merely by the sum of these various components, across multiple scales, contexts, and mechanisms, from codified state and local-level policy to university institutions to classroom policy to individual interactions, but also by the intricate relationships among these processes. While "cutting up" a system is often necessary, for instance for analysis and presentation in a linear document such as a dissertation, this process of dissection to a degree, "destroys what it seeks to understand" (Cillers, 2002, p. 2). For example, while institutionalized discourses were largely discussed in Chapter 4 and individual identity formation in Chapter 5, individuals being (non)native speakered

by institutions inevitably also impacts their identity formation and self-conceptions as legitimized English speakers. The reification of these discourses also simultaneously mobilizes and constrains Anna Marie's resistance, discussed in Chapter 7. A complexity orientation provides a way of highlighting and theorizing the interactions among these various components.

Third, a complexity orientation acknowledges the so-called “butterfly effect”—the non-linear impact of disturbances to the system—as well as the reality that complex systems, when disturbed, reconfigure in new ways tending towards an attractor state. In this way, researchers and activists have no delusions that acts of resistance will necessarily have a significant impact on the larger system. For instance, the recent efforts of the NNEST Movement and TESOL International to resist (non)native speakering in job advertisements and teacher recruitment have greatly reduced the occurrence of “native speaker” as a requirement for applicants. However, (non)native speakering as a complex system reconfigured, and job advertisements are increasingly citing nationalities of individuals, university degrees, or accents, thus reifying (non)native speakerist ideologies though through a slightly different set of discourses. Similarly, Anna Marie resisting Neha's construction of Christmas and Thanksgiving as “American” holidays may have created ripples, disturbing the local classroom system, but is not likely to prevent hundreds of educators across the US and around the world from continuing to entwine these holidays with a nationalized American identity. Nonetheless, complexity theory does theorize a “critical tipping point”—a disturbance or deviation of the system sufficient to lead towards systemic change, for instance, a systemic movement in which

teachers and teacher educators resist nation-state framings of holidays in similar ways as did Anna Marie.

A crucial limitation of complexity theory, however, is that because of its roots in the natural and physical sciences, it lacks a way of explicitly theorizing discourses of power and their discursive (de)construction—specifically, the ongoing tension between the subjective nature and injustice of (non)native speakered subjectivities and their social and economic value in the real world. For this reason, I used poststructuralism as a complementary frame throughout this dissertation to theorize how (non)native speaking emerged with a particular sociohistorical milieu, and how the constant (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities continues to be shaped by language and nation-state/colonial governmentality.

### 8.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NNEST MOVEMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

While the NNEST Movement has made significant contributions towards shedding light on and resisting (non)native speakerist ideologies, scholarship thus far has almost entirely focused on ideologies of race, nationality, and accent. While these efforts in some ways moved towards greater equity in TESOL and Applied Linguistics, in other ways they risk reifying and recreating the very dichotomized framings of language and language users that they seek to dismantle. The dynamic approach of (non)native speaking attempts to transcend (non)native paradigms as a deterministic evaluation of linguistic proficiency and pedagogical effectiveness and instead conceptualize nativeness and nonnativeness as a subjectivities seeded by historico-political circumstance and

perpetuated through discursive emergence in discourse and action. In doing so, (non)native speaking views nativeness and nonnativeness as constantly evolving and adapting social perceptions rather than as mutually exclusive categories that provide meaningful, objective insights about individuals or their language practices. In this way, it looks towards more equitable theoretical frameworks and language practices that reinvent conceptualizations of language and its use to think beyond the native-nonnative dichotomy and move towards the more equitable field that the NNEST Movement has envisioned.

One way in which (non)native speaking contributes to the NNEST Movement is to broaden the scope of inquiry in terms of context, mechanisms, and discourses. The bulk of research within the NNEST Movement has been in higher education contexts, either in teacher education programs or in tertiary-level intensive English programs. (Non)native speaking as a theoretical frame, as well as the empirical analysis presented in this dissertation, expands the examination of (non)native speakerist ideologies to the K-12 setting, and to related classifications, including the conflation of “international student” and “non-native English speaker” in NU’s institutionalized language policy, or the conflation of “emergent bilingual” and “English language learner” (ELL) in the local K-12 system. It also expands the range of cultural discourses to include food, clothing, holidays, family structures, geographic familiarity, and others, and acknowledges that these discourses manifest in a variety of mechanisms beyond individual interactions, including in examinations and textbooks among others (see Chapter 4).

Furthermore, while (non)native speakering derives its name from the NNEST Movement and explicitly engages with (non)native speaker positionalities, it can bridge other initiatives seeking to rethink underlying principles of (non)nativeness and increase equity in language education. For instance, Ofelía García's (2009) terminological shift from *English Language Learners* to *Emergent Bilinguals* "reinvents" students who would be otherwise considered deficient nonnative speakers in terms of their assets as bilinguals, thus resisting monolingual language ideologies and embracing the diversity of students' communicative resources. By learning from and allying with such movements, which may differ in scope and mission but which ultimately share a similar mission of legitimizing the language practices of diverse populations, NNEST advocates will be able to break the cycle of reifying (non)native speakered subjectivities and move towards new paradigms of framing languages and language teachers.

Every iteration of (non)native speakering performatively creates in the social imagination mental-cultural images of (non)native speakered subjectivities which will be invoked in future interactions. The acts of the present and past sediment and congeal to form the bedrock of the future. Thus, by changing how we as educators and practitioners "do language" and position our students, we can blaze a trail away from the (re)invention of (non)native speakered subjectivities and towards greater equity in the field and new and exciting ways of framing language, its users, and its use.

To this end, we must also create spaces within our own classroom in which teacher candidates can explore and enact multiple and fluid identity possibilities (see Canagarajah, 2005; Jenkins, 2009; Park, 2012), giving them the opportunity to explore

their strengths and consider how they can begin to negotiate their own positionalities as language users and budding language educators. For instance, teacher candidates could conduct mini-autoethnographies discovering how their language practices, and therefore their performed identities, change in different contexts or with different interlocutors. They could also complete a final paper in the vein of Anzaldúa (1987) using a translingual writing style (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013) to make an academic or pedagogical point. In doing so, they illuminate possibilities for performing a range of negotiated and contextualized identities, and “do language” in ways that unravel (non)native speakerist ideologies and the uncritical supremacy of the mythical native speaker.

These acts of resistance, however, will always be tempered by the constraints and biases of the often “nasty, unfair place,” (as Anna Marie called it) in which we live. As Anna Marie did, I support developing speakers’ critical language awareness, and their abilities to deploy their communicative repertoires strategically in localized interactions. They should be aware of the politicized undertones which will alter hearers’ perceptions of their language, and should have the strategic competence (Kramsch, 2006) to adjust their communication accordingly, should they wish to do so. The elements of choice and intentionality are critical in reappropriating discourses of (non)native speaking in new and subversive ways, in the hopes of ultimately catalyzing a shift in relations of power.

While particular techniques will as always be context-dependent, I join Park (2012) in advocating for a critical pedagogical awareness that promotes particularity, practicality, and possibility (Kumaravadivelu, 2006) while resisting mechanisms that uncritically reify the superiority of the English native speaker. In doing so, we can

leverage the power of classrooms as sites for encouraging and legitimizing students' novel appropriations of discourses, allowing them to "try on" different subject positions and resist dominant (non)native speakerist ideologies. Through this process, we can encourage the invention of alternatives to (non)native speakered subjectivities, and create opportunities for students and practitioners from marginalized backgrounds to feel comfortable enough to, in Mark's words, be themselves and talk.

#### 8.4 AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The data analysis and discussion presented in this dissertation is a starting point for further investigations into the (re)invention of (non)native speakerist ideologies in and beyond teacher education. The following areas of interest emerged throughout my analysis and discussion:

##### *8.4.1 Complexity as a Critical Metatheory*

Throughout the theoretical and empirical discussion, I framed both complexity theory and poststructuralism as complementary but vital to describing processes of (non)native speaking. A complexity orientation had unique methodological implications, while postmodernism more robustly theorized and historicized relations of power. I also noted that postmodernism was more widely recognized in anthropological and interactional sociolinguistics while complexity was more prominent in language development and other quantitative subdisciplines, a range which has obvious benefits in the context of a dissertation.

While I alluded to possibilities for expanding a complex system perspective to consider relations of power—for instance in theorizing if and how the limits of a complex

system are delineated, as well as the nonlinear influence of historical events—a more robust theoretical inquiry into “criticality in complexity and complexity in criticality” could facilitate further applications of complexity theory in qualitative and critical research, both within and beyond analyses of (non)native speakering.

#### *8.4.2 Broader Policy Scope*

Chapter 4 investigated (non)native speakering in federal, state, local, and university-level policies and practice. Further investigations could extend a similar analysis to the *de facto* or *de jure* policy of other states, universities, and school systems, as well as to private, non-profit, or government-sector organizations. In the event that a federal sanction or standard for the evaluation of teacher education is passed, an analysis of this policy would also be relevant to better understanding (non)native speakering through a lens of language policy and planning—how such policies may reify or undermine dichotomized notions of nativeness, nonnativeness, and related ideologies.

Even more significant would be the development of policies and multiple levels that could catalyze systemic change. This could range in scope and scale from integrating critical language awareness curricula across ages and grade levels, to developing smaller scale initiatives which individual teachers or departments could implement. As Chapter 7 suggested, small changes in individual teacher educators’ practice can have a significant impact on pre-service teachers and their students.

#### *8.4.3 Pre-service Teachers’ Teaching Placements*

This dissertation focused on the aspects of teacher education that take place within a university setting, particularly in graduate coursework. However, participants



also spent 6-20 hours per week student-teaching, either in a K-12 school, non-profit organization, community college, or university language program. While an effort was made to elicit as much information about these experiences as possible through interview and focus group data, as well as through analysis of students' reflective writing, these data sources provide a very limited view into students' experiences outside the graduate classroom. Further studies would ideally follow pre-service teachers into their student teaching placements, to examine how their experiences with (non)native speaking may be shaped by their interactions with their own students, mentor teachers, and administrators in their placements.

#### *8.4.4 Languages Other than English*

Participants' lived experiences described in Chapters 5-7 suggest that the privilege and marginalization of (non)native speaker status may differ depending on the language(s) and language variety(ies) spoken by individuals as well as the language(s) of instruction. For instance, native English speaker teachers earning a dual-certification in English and Spanish (e.g., April, Alex, and Richard) were generally legitimized as Spanish teachers, while native Mandarin speaker teachers earning a dual-certification in Mandarin and English (e.g., Lily, Zoe, and Oliver) were not generally legitimized as English teachers in the same way or to the same degree. One possible explanation for this dynamic is that nonnative speaker teachers are more acceptable for languages considered "foreign" in a particular country. For instance, because the US is generally conceptualized as an "English-speaking country" in which

Spanish is a “foreign language,” nonnative Spanish speakered teachers are legitimized to a greater extent than nonnative English speakered teachers in the same context.

This dissertation could not flesh out the nuances of these dynamics because of the relatively small data set and highly localized context. Rather, it rather sheds light their existence. Further studies will be needed to examine how (non)native speaking emerges in different contexts—for instance, how (non)native English speakered teachers are constructed and valued internationally, and how individual teachers’ positionality may change across contexts.

#### *8.4.5 Additional Racialized Positionalities*

The bulk of the scholarship exploring language teacher identity development focuses on teachers who would traditionally be classified as “native” or “nonnative” speakers of their focal language, which is overwhelmingly English. Several participants in this dissertation, including Richard, Mark, Neha, and Linda, deviated from idealized (non)native speakered subjectivities because of some combination of their racialized, nationalized, accented positionalities. Their linguistic legitimization and marginalization mobilized these various ideologies in complex ways, often in conjunction with language ideologies. More research is needed to explore these processes, how they unfold in language education and teacher education settings, their interaction with the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities, and how they shape pre-service teachers’ professional identity development.

#### *8.4.6 Connection to Acceptability, Appropriateness, and Other “Academic” Discourses*

Chapters 6 and 7 suggest that (non)native speaking interacts in complex ways with seemingly objective, “academic” evaluations of language, including discourses of authenticity, properness, acceptability, appropriateness, and others. These dynamics in teacher education settings seem to overlap significantly with work in K-12 settings (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015) that similarly suggest that innocuous discourses and standards such as “appropriateness” are in fact thinly-veiled mechanisms of perpetuating raciolinguistic injustice. However, more work is needed to flesh out the nature of these entwinements, as well as how they can be dismantled.

#### *8.4.7 Connection to Raciolinguistic Ideologies*

The entwinement of race, language and (non)native speakerist ideologies has been central to this dissertation as well as to the NNEST Movement and to research in Critical Applied Linguistics more broadly. However, an ongoing challenge is the tension between broad epistemological claims about the workings of hegemonic whiteness as an ideology and the experiences of individuals negotiating those broader ideologies. For instance, the contrasting experiences between Richard and Mark—both of whom were Black men from low-income backgrounds and whose language practices were positioned in drastically different ways—suggest that the relatively monolithic framings of language and race (i.e., with Whiteness being privileged and native speakered and non-Whiteness being marginalized and nonnative speakered) may need to be examined in more detail.

#### 8.4.8 *Connections to the Production of Other Related Social Subjectivities*

(Non)native speakering may interact with other processes of subject formation that mobilize similar or overlapping discourses. Examples may include the production of:

- Heritage-speakered subjectivities: How are heritage language speakers defined (e.g., Valdés, 2005)? Who is positioned as a heritage speaker or learner of a language? How are heritage speakers distinguished from native speakers? From second or foreign language learners?
- Diasporic subjectivities: How is diaspora defined? Who is positioned as part of an ethnic, racial, or national “diaspora”—that is, people living outside of their “homeland” (e.g., Hall, 1990)? What areas or countries are considered “homelands” for whom?
- Expatriate vs. Immigrant subjectivities: Who is positioned as an “expatriate” from a country? Who is positioned as a resident or “native”? Who is positioned as an “immigrant”?
- Emergent bilingual subjectivities:<sup>47</sup> Who is positioned as bilingual? Emergent bilingual? Monolingual?
- International student subjectivities: How is “international” defined in context? Who is positioned as an international student? Who is positioned as “domestic”? Who is positioned as both or neither?

These and other social subjectivities emerged at various points throughout my data collection, suggesting that they be produced in conjunction with linguistic discourses and ideologies that overlap or interact with (non)native speakering. However, closer examination is needed to shed light on their co-construction or interaction.

#### 8.4.9 *Connections to Related Scholarship in Applied Linguistics and Language Education*

Research related to the native-nonnative dichotomy has remained relatively isolated from other subfields of applied linguistics and TESOL, except perhaps in teacher

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<sup>47</sup> Recall that García (2009) proposes the term “emergent bilingual” rather than “English language learner” (which itself replaced “limited English proficient”) because it highlights students’ linguistic assets rather than their lack of English.

education. However, future work ought to explore how processes of (non)native speakering are both reified and resisted by other efforts that also seek to move towards greater equity and new ways of thinking about language, language users, and language use. This effort transcending sub-fields would also align with a “Complexity 3.0” (Davis & Sumara, 2012, p. 31) approach to (non)native speakering, as it would explore how these subjectivities can be disrupted through individual and collective actions. Such an examination could explore how (non)native speakering interacts with:

- The identity negotiation of pre-service teachers who may not traditionally be (non)native English speakered, but who may be marginalized in other ways (e.g., pre-service teachers who are bilingual, of color, and/or from low-income backgrounds)
- Bilingual education, including efforts to challenge monolingualist ideologies of language (e.g., Emergent Bilingual)
- Translanguaging and how translingual language practices resist monolingualist and native speakerist notions of legitimacy in language practices
- Increasingly dynamic ways of conceptualizing speech communities, communities of practice, and landscapes of practice, which collectively frame languages in terms of their use rather than their users
- Efforts in second language acquisition which attempt to reframe fluency and proficiency outside of (non)native speakerist paradigms
- Classification and perception of speakers of creoles, pidgins, and other marginalized language varieties

## 8.5 CLOSING REFLECTION

As I look back on the complex and often contradictory process of dissertating, the people I spoke with and the questions I asked, I am painfully aware of the echoes of my six-year old self—stumbling through an elementary school hallway, blinded by frustration, desperately trying to assert the legitimacy of my identity. The same feelings of frustration I had on that day resurfaced in every conversation I had at Northern

University, and the same desperation for legitimacy imbues every word of this manuscript.

This dissertation has explored how and why the policies and practices of teachers and institutions legitimize some while marginalizing Others; how individuals reify and resist such positionalities, (re)inventing themselves and their identity possibilities in the process; and how we as language educators can move towards more fluid, dynamic ways of conceptualizing language and encourage our students to do the same. I cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, claim to have completed this exploration—after all, not only does the very naming of the process *(non)native speakering* itself simultaneously reify and resist the mechanisms I problematize throughout this dissertation, but also my focus on (non)native speakering may have inadvertently obscured other ways of building comembership or navigating complex landscapes of practice (Wenger, 2013). Nonetheless, I have done my best to provide an overview of its dynamic, constantly shifting waters, as well as shed light on possible areas of interest for future exploration.

It is my greatest hope that one day, my work will become obsolete, as (non)native speakering and its underlying ideologies lose their influence.

But for now, some two decades after an institutionalized setting tried to erase me, I find myself not only satisfied with my efforts so far, but also optimistic for the future.

## APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

### Demographic Survey

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in my dissertation study. This brief survey is designed to collect demographic data. If possible, please complete this survey before the end of the term. If you have any questions or concerns, please don't hesitate to e-mail me at [ganeja@gse.upenn.edu](mailto:ganeja@gse.upenn.edu).

Thank you!

First/Given Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Last/Family Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Chosen Pseudonym<sup>48</sup>: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: Female    Male    Transgender    \_\_\_\_\_

Where have you lived? (*Please add additional rows as needed*)

Location (city, state/province, country)	Approximate Age Range

What do you consider your ethnicity? Your nationality? Why? : \_\_\_\_\_

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**Language Proficiency** (*Please add additional rows as needed*)

*Please list the languages/dialects you can communicate in and rate your proficiency from 1 to 5:*

*1 is able to accomplish basic daily tasks (e.g., read signs, order food, etc.) with difficulty*

*3 is able to do some more complex tasks (e.g., bargaining, planning a trip, telling a story)*

*5 is professionally fluent (e.g., give presentations, complete coursework, watch the news, etc.)*

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<sup>48</sup> I will not use your real name in any publication or dissemination of my work. Please write here the name you would like me to use instead. No one will receive this information other than me (Geeta Aneja), and no one will be able to connect your pseudonym to your true identity.

Language/Dialect	Reading	Writing	Listening	Speaking

What (if any) do you consider your **native** language(s)? Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What (if any) do you consider your **heritage** language(s)? Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Teaching and Educational Background

*Please describe your teaching experience. Add a star next to your current teaching position(s)  
(Please add rows as needed; if it is easier, a resume with this information can be sent instead)*

Organization/School	Subject/Target Language	Language of Instruction	Students' Age Range	Months/Years



What is your current year and degree program at NYU? \_\_\_\_\_

What degrees have you previously earned?

Degree (e.g., MA TESOL)	Years (e.g., 2011-2015)	Institution

What courses are you taking this semester? *(Please add additional rows as needed)*

Course Name	Professor

If you are willing to do a follow-up interview in the fall term, please write current contact information (phone or non-NYU e-mail) here: \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you for your participation!**

**Please feel free to contact Geeta Aneja with questions, comments, or concerns.**

**[ganeja@gse.upenn.edu](mailto:ganeja@gse.upenn.edu)**

## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW DETAILS

The interviews were semi-structured and drew heavily on student work, class observations, focus groups, and previous interviews. However, I did plan central questions or themes for each set of interviews, from which I asked questions that engaged with themes as they became relevant to my conversations with participants. These questions and themes are presented below.

### Interview Set 1

The first interview was intended to focus on participants' linguistic, academic, and professional backgrounds, to find out about the classes students were taking, and to elicit their overt perceptions of nativeness and nonnativeness whenever possible. Sample questions included:

- What are your background and teaching experiences?
- What languages can you communicate in?
- What classes or degree program are you in?
- What does a native speaker sound like?
- If you wanted to sound like a native speaker, what would you do?
- What is an English-speaking country?
- Where are English native speakers from?
- What would you consider your first language? Why?
- Why did you decide to do the dual cert?
- Have you had to take or teach courses at the English Language Center?

### Interview Set 2

The second interview broadly focused on authenticity, appropriateness, and correctness, and also engaged with themes that emerged in other data sources. Sample questions included:

- What do you think about the term *emergent bilingual*?
- What do you think about *code switching* or *translanguaging*?
- How do you address accents in your teaching?
- How do you address language varieties in your materials and curricula?
- How do you decide when to correct students' language?
- Do you think native English speakers would pass the state standardized exam?
- Do you consider yourself bilingual?
- Have you ever felt marginalized in the classroom, either as a teacher or as a student?

### Interview Set 3

The third interview explicitly engaged with issues of translanguaging, translingualism, and other language practices that embody heteroglossic language ideologies, and also addressed the logistics and practicality of implementation. During this session, I also presented samples of translingual writing, including a translingual writing project presented in Flores & Aneja (accepted), the poetry collection *Cool Salsa*, and a few of the pictures presented in Appendix C. Sample questions included:

- How are students' home languages built upon in the classroom, if at all?
- Are students' home languages built upon in mainstream classes as well?
- How do you engage with issues of diversity in your classes if at all? This could include race, gender, nationality, culture, food, etc.
- What is translanguaging to you? Do you or your students ever use multiple languages at the same time?
- Can a Caucasian child be a native speaker of Chinese?
- Would you teach "Spanglish" words? For instance, "googlear" (to Google something)?

## APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP DETAILS

The focus groups were semi-structured and each engaged with a different set of questions and themes. Each discussion was catalyzed by a set of stimuli, including YouTube videos, quotes, pictures, and lists that related to the theme of the group. The stimuli, questions, and themes for each focus group are presented below.

### **Focus Group #1**

After giving participants the chance to introduce themselves to each other and to me, the first set of focus groups addressed issues of race, ethnicity, and language use with regard to nativeness and nonnativeness.

I showed two different YouTube videos in this focus group, both of Caucasian individuals who grew up speaking Cantonese. Before showing the videos, I asked participants to close their eyes. They listened to the recording of a woman comforting her baby in Cantonese. They then talked about what they knew about the person (race, where they are from, what their career is, etc.) Then, they opened their eyes to see that the speakers were Caucasian residents of Hong Kong. We then discussed their reactions.

Video 1: “Foreign Family speaks Chinese (Cantonese, Hong Kong).外國人說中文” (posted by Onoko Film)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhrgYuHL4v4>

Video 2: “Native Cantonese Speaker - Sharon Balcombe - PART 1” (posted by cantehk) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r9-PPFA48AY>

*Questions included:*

- What do you know about this person?
- Where are they from?
- Do you think they are wealthy?
- What do they do for a living?
- Were you surprised when you opened your eyes? Why or why not?

### **Focus Group #2**

The second set of focus groups revolved around a discussion of holidays and assumptions of nationality and language use that stemmed from which holidays an individual celebrates. This was an extension of a discussion that we had been having in one of Anna Marie’s classes immediately before the focus group began. Questions and themes included:

- Is there a space for social networks in the classroom?
- How do you engage with different language varieties in the classroom?
- What counts as a mispronunciation?
- Idioms and their acceptability or lack thereof.
- Dialectal variation in pronunciation and accent tag videos
- British vs. American spelling

### Focus Group #3

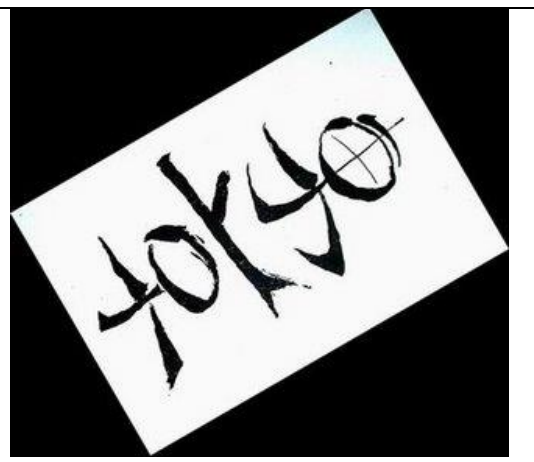
The third set of focus groups centered on issues of translingualism and translanguaging and “alternative” language practices that muddle the native-nonnative dichotomy as it is traditionally conceptualized. The stimuli below were presented to students in the third round of focus groups, and also in some interviews, in order to provide examples of how heteroglossic language practices and translanguaging are utilized (or not) in the real-world. In addition to these samples, I also presented a translingual writing project produced by a former student at the University of Pennsylvania (see Flores & Aneja, 2016), as well as excerpts from *Cool Salsa* (Carlson, 1995) and *Borderlands/La Frontera* (Anzaldúa, 1987). Catalyzing questions included:

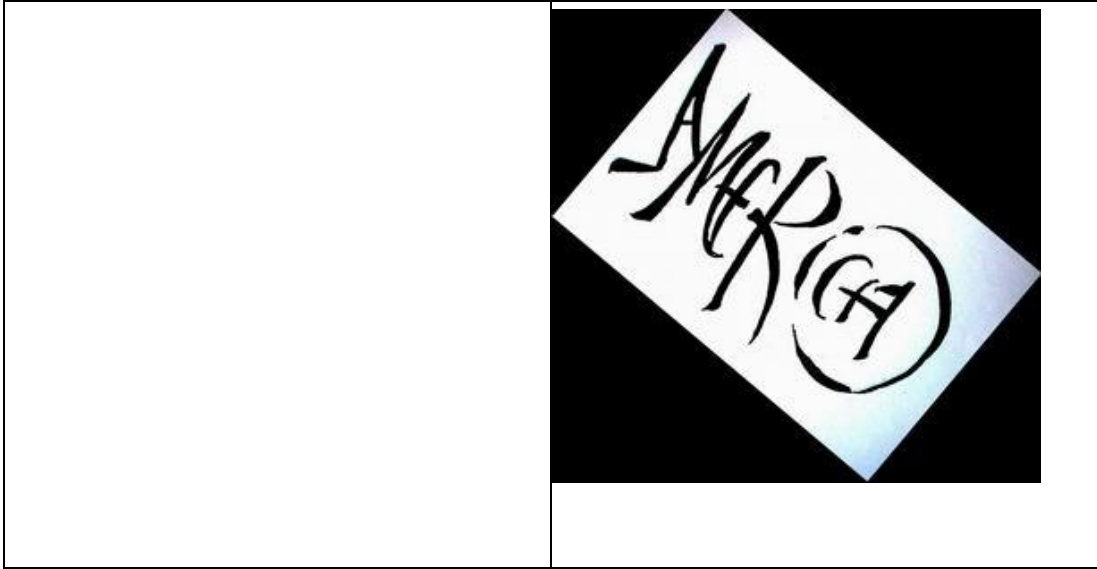
- What do you think of “Spanglish?”
- What is Spanglish?
- What do you notice about the translingual writing pieces?
- What do you think about the authors?
- Could you use samples like this in the classroom?
- Have you ever encountered things like this in classes you’ve taken?





I SPEAK SPANGLISH  
¿Y QUÉ?







## 28 Spanglish Words: The Best of the Worst

(Retrieved from: <http://www.speakinglatino.com/funny-spanglish-words/>)

Spanglish has really invaded the Spanish language in basically every Spanish speaking country. While some cross-over is only natural, sometimes the words that pop up in the Spanish vocabulary are just down-right comical. Here's my personal collection of some of the worst Spanglish words in use.

### Technology Spanglish Words

In the case of gaming and technical language, I can understand the crossover a little more, so let's take a look at some of those first.

1. **Linkear** – To link (as in hyperlinks).  
Spanish alternative: *hacer un enlace*
2. **Updatear** or *opdeitear* – To update  
Spanish alternative: *actualizar*
3. **Releasear** – To release (used in techie language, as in, to release a new version of something)  
Spanish alternative: *lanzar, publicar, divulgar*
4. **Levelear** – To level up (gaming language)  
Spanish alternative: *nivelar*
5. **Googlear** or *gugulear* – to Google  
Spanish alternative: *buscar en Google*
6. **Clickear** – To click  
Spanish alternative: *hacer clic, pinchar, apretar*
7. **El mouse** – computer mouse  
Spanish alternative: *el ratón*
8. **Taguear** – to tag (as in coding or technical language, not as in playing tag)  
Spanish alternative: *etiquetear*
9. **Mandar un mail** – To send an e-mail  
Spanish alternative: *mandar un correo, mandar un correo electrónico*

### Other Spanglish Words

With some of these others though, I'm not sure there is a good excuse for such terrible Spanglish!

1. **Machar** or **machear** – to match  
Spanish alternative: *combinar*
2. **Janguear** – to hang out  
Spanish alternative: *pasar el rato*
3. **El parking** – parking lot  
Spanish alternative: *el estacionamiento*



4. **Parquear** – To park  
Spanish alternative: *estacionar*
5. **¿Estás ready?**– Are you ready?  
Spanish alternative: *¿Estás listo?*
6. **Chequear** – To check  
Spanish alternative: *comprobar, revisar, verificar*
7. **Roof or rufo** – Roof  
Spanish alternative: *techo, tejado*
8. **Creep or cripi**– To creep on someone (often used when talking about looking over someone’s Facebook page)  
Spanish alternative: *horripilante*
9. **A full** – to be done with great intensity, for example, *trabajando a full* means “working really hard”  
Spanish alternative: *al máximo*
10. **El top** – This is used to mean the best of something.  
Spanish alternative: *lo mejor*
11. **Heavy** – heavy, as in food or a situation.  
Spanish alternative: *fuerte, pesado*
12. **El shopping** – The mall  
Spanish alternative: *el centro comercial, las tiendas*  
from [#speakinglatino.com#Spanglish](https://www.speakinglatino.com/#Spanglish) #Jambelger #Hamburger #Joldog #Hotdog #PuertoRico102Speaking LatinoSpanglish
13. **Frizz or frizar** – Frizz or to get frizzy  
Spanish alternative: *encrespar*
14. **Frizar** – To freeze (in the freezer)  
Spanish alternative: *congelar*
15. **El locker** – locker  
Spanish alternative: *el casillero*
16. **Ver un show** – To see a show, such as a play or a concert  
Spanish alternative: *ver un espectáculo, ver un concierto, ver una obra, ver un recital*
17. **El ticket** – A ticket, though only some places will understand this, which makes it tricky when you need to travel in places that use the proper words, *entrada* (for a show/event) and *boleto* (for travel)  
Spanish alternative: *el boleto, la entrada*
18. **Jamberger** – Hamburger  
Spanish alternative: *hamburguesa*
19. **Mandar un inbox** – To send a Facebook message  
Spanish alternative: *mandar un mensaje*

These are all pretty sorry excuses for “Spanish” that certainly fall under the Best of the Worst Spanglish category, but this is far from all the English/Spanish hybrid words that have leaked into the Spanish language. Can you think of any more?

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