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MOBILIZING RESOURCES:
TOWARDS A TRANSNATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE COMPOSITION CLASSROOM

by

Gitte Frandsen

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in English

at

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May 2023

ABSTRACT

MOBILIZING RESOURCES:
TOWARDS A TRANSNATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE COMPOSITION CLASSROOM

by

Gitte Frandsen

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2023
Under the Supervision of Professor Rachel Bloom-Pojar

In this dissertation, I present two studies on transnational, multilingual undergraduate students which focus on students' rich, complex communication patterns across contexts. First, I examine the linguistic, literate, rhetorical, and cultural resources they deploy to make meaning across non-academic contexts as they take care of everyday tasks, navigate different linguistic and cultural landscapes, build relationships, and broker meaning for others. Next, I explore how the students mobilize their multiple resources and strategies to learn, write, and co-construct meaning with others in academic contexts. I discuss how these strategies are often constrained by English Only discourses and policies in the classroom and, at times, by students' own competing attitudes towards their own and others' language and knowledge-making practices.

I argue that transnational, multilingual students' resources are often both invisible and undervalued in academic contexts – to the students themselves and their teachers. Students often feel it is inappropriate or irrelevant for them to draw from their many resources and their lived experience in U.S. classrooms, but I also contend that writing teachers, administrators, and the field of Rhetoric and Composition have a "blind spot" (Donahue) with regards to transnational students, and that increased attention to this population is vital. Not only are higher education demographics changing rapidly, but – in a field that aims to be inclusive – we need to orient

better to the border thinking, translingual and translation practices, and the rhetorical and cultural knowledge that these students bring to our writing classrooms and programs.

I propose that bringing scholarship in translingual and transnational literacy studies into conversation with cultural rhetorics opens an approach to diversity that validates and centers transnational students. Through a TCR pedagogy (translingual, transnational, transcultural + cultural rhetorics), writing teachers and program can create classrooms, which sustain transnational, multilingual students' resources, and which cultivate self-reflexivity and critical awareness. Though I focus on transnational, multilingual students, a TCR pedagogy will also support and benefit other learners in the First-Year Composition classroom.

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Til dig, far ❤

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMP	Colonial Matrix of Power
EAE	Edited American English
ENG	English
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FYC	First-Year Composition
GTA	Graduate Teaching Assistant
L1	First Language
L2	Second or Foreign Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SAE	Standardized American English
TCR	Trans-approaches + Cultural Rhetorics
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UWM	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
WPA	Writing Program Administration

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Chapter 1: Introduction

My path to this moment of writing my dissertation has been one of significant turns. As a student and later a teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) for high school students in Denmark, I was socialized into a prescriptivist mode of language instruction that aimed to eradicate errors and fix students' writing. This approach considered language difference a deficit to be overcome rather than a resource to be leveraged. My initial years as an ESL and English teacher in the U.S. was a continuation of this practice. My internalization of the deficit mindset ran deep, and I considered the approach helpful to my students because, my logic went, "who would not want to master the norms and standards of English?" This had always been my own goal, even as an adult who mostly speaks and writes like a native speaker. Gradually, however, I started to question this type of instruction and became aware of the harm it might cause. Coursework and research in the PhD program in Public Rhetorics and Community Engagement pushed me to reconceptualize my students' linguistic and cultural differences as assets rather than flaws, and I started asking questions about what supporting transnational, multilingual students might look like if we built on their existing linguistic and literacy resources rather than requiring them to assimilate. I began to understand that deficit-discourses that portray students as disadvantaged, flawed, or lacking the skills and language they need to be successful are embedded in larger hegemonic discourses.

I start my dissertation by describing how my own lived experience as a language student and teacher has shaped my dissertation research and how I write about it. Bringing attention to my own story, and later, to my participants' stories helps shine a light on individuals' experiences, and how they make sense of them through storytelling.

In this dissertation, I primarily discuss my research with transnational, multilingual students but, in doing so, I draw from my experiences as a teacher in the EFL, ESL, and English classroom, and my experiences with Writing Program Administration, coordinating ENG 101. My positionality is shaped by these experiences but also of having pivoted significantly in my approach to teaching language and writing, a change that occurred after I learned about linguistic justice, translingual literacy studies, and cultural rhetorics. My diverse experiences across levels, programs, and disciplines shape my scholarly identity, but also my understanding of transnational, multilingual students and their different encounters with pedagogy and language ideology across different learning ecologies.

In the dissertation, I focus on what writing teachers and programs can learn from transnational, multilingual students' communication and meaning-making practices in order to develop culturally and linguistically sustaining pedagogies and programs. I define transnationals as individuals who have cross-border affiliations regardless of their citizenship status. They may be visa-holding international students, refugees, immigrants, or children of refugees or immigrants. Though I will complicate the term "multilingual", I use it in its simplest definition to refer to individuals who use more than one language or language variation, which is the case for the majority of transnational students. These students bring linguistic, cultural, rhetorical, and literacy diversity, and they bring transnational experiences and global networks into a local institutional context whose own historical and sociopolitical entanglements shape its material and ideological reality. The enrollment of students with transnational backgrounds is steadily climbing on U.S. campuses. This is partially due to a changing demographic where more U.S. resident students have transnational backgrounds, but it is also due to efforts to recruit international students. According to the Pew Research Center, there are just short of 1 million

international students on U.S. campuses, which is up about 90% since the early 2000s (Schneider). If institutions of higher education want to do more than simply attract transnational students and their tuition dollars and showcase efforts towards diversity and inclusion, we need to rethink how, in American classrooms, we meet transnational, multilingual students and how we develop inclusive practices that allow these – and other – students to draw from their entire linguistic, cultural, and literate repertoires.

Current calls in the field of Rhetoric and Composition demand that the field must interrogate its own past and undergo extensive change towards antiracist and inclusive approaches to culturally and linguistically diverse students (Baker-Bell et al.; Condon and Young; Inoue). These calls have levelled scathing critiques against conventional pedagogical and administrative practices that have upheld white supremacy, thereby excluding or disadvantaging traditionally marginalized students. In our field, white supremacy is most evident in the ideological undercurrents of pedagogical, curricular, and policy approaches which center Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions, Euro-American epistemological perspectives, and white, middle- and upper-class language practices. The call is for language and literacy educators to resist repressive ideologies and to increase attention to, and research on, the language and literacy practices of multilingual and multidialectal writers (Horner and Alvarez; Inoue; Smitherman; Young).

However, many conversations about inclusive pedagogies tend to focus on language-minoritized U.S. residents and overlook implications for multilingual, transnational students who have different experiences and positioning v*is-à-vis* historical and ideological parameters, and whose experiences with racism and citizenship may differ from U.S.-based students. The focus also eclipses the vast set of knowledges and rhetorics that transnational students embody. Other literature addresses these questions: scholars in translingual literacy studies (Canagarajah;

Horner et al.), transnational writing studies (Donahue; Robinson et al.), and second language writing (Matsuda) focus on students who negotiate linguistic and cultural difference within a learning environment saturated by the English Only ideology. 'Trans'-oriented scholarship, which I build on in this dissertation, focuses on language as a social, situated, and emergent practices where individuals communicate and make meaning across languages, extra-linguistic communication, semiotic resources, and modalities. Cultural rhetorics and decolonial scholarship, which I also build on, focus not so much on language and communication practices, but more on the epistemologies, rhetorical practices, and knowledge-systems that various communities are grounded in and speak from when they communicate and make meaning.

I argue that bringing scholarship in translingual and transnational literacy studies into conversation with cultural rhetorics opens an approach to difference that validates and centers transnational students. Though these lines of inquiry have received increased attention in recent decades, scholarship that draws from translingual *and* cultural rhetorics approaches is few and far between (Gonzales; Milu). Research that merges translingual and cultural rhetorics perspectives in order to specifically develop inclusive writing pedagogies and best practices for writing program administration for transnational students has not yet emerged. As Figure 1 demonstrates, my research contributes to the field by strategically interlacing key insights from translingual and transnational literary studies and cultural rhetorics, a move that can draw attention to and sustain transnational, multilingual students' practices and resources.

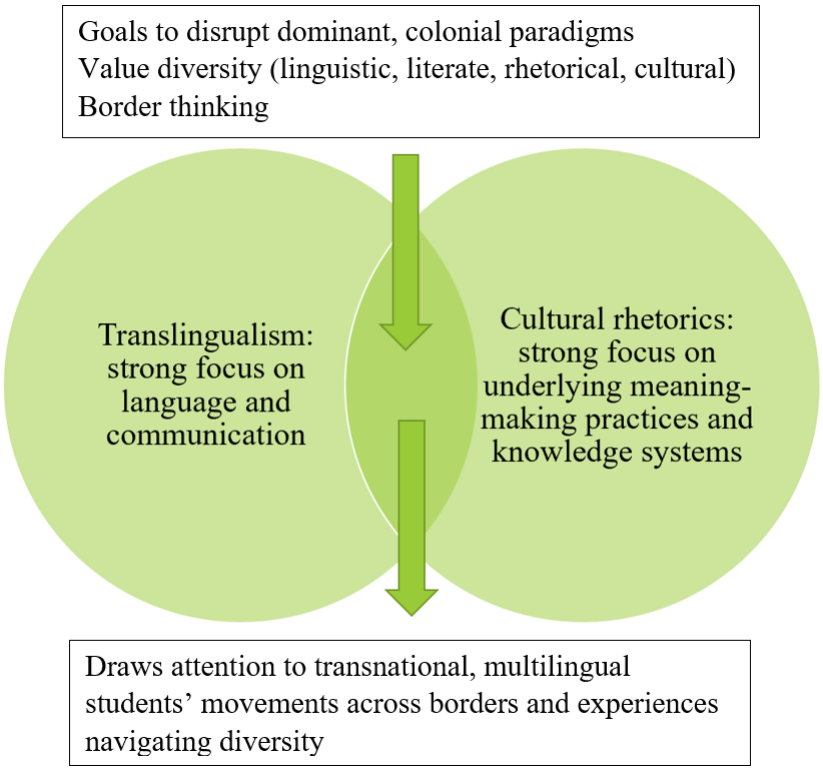

Figure 1. The potential of interlacing translingual and cultural rhetorics

Many writing students in U.S. classrooms may not be considered "transnational" by the traditional classification. However, in an inter-connected world, information and people are in constant movement across borders, which creates an exigence for U.S. classrooms to engage with meaning across borders. Xiaoye You proposes that a cosmopolitan approach anticipates participation in the transnational traffic of meaning and mobility of people by "cultivat[ing] flexible and responsible global citizens" (11). The transnational and global "turns" in Rhetoric and Composition suggest an intervention into the praxes in the field which are U.S.-centric; that is, where "the locus of enunciation" (Mignolo) in current scholarship is a U.S. geographical, historical, political, socioeconomic, and cultural context. Any location-specific scholarship risks "biases" (Mao 420) or "blind spots" (Donahue 228); i.e., overlooking important practices or

resources of students whose identities, movements, and experiences are not solely located in the U.S. Wendy Hesford writes about the "turns":

> Turning toward the global means supporting scholarly and pedagogical work that challenges the dialectic of recognition (namely, the binary frames of subject/object, self/other, and Western/non-Western) and disciplinary homeland nostalgia that have long dominated the field. (796-797)

The transnational orientation, then, adds a "process of disciplinary landscaping" (Royster 165) that opens up possibilities for new knowledge and theory-making by looking at and making other practices and resources visible. It brings attention to the "global traffic of meaning" (Pennycook) that all students participate in, but also to the unequal access to valued literacy and the suppression of linguistic and cultural difference (Alvarez and Wan). In addressing what the global turn implies for the field, Bo Wang asks,

> What does it mean to do rhetoric and writing studies in the age of globalization? How do we, as a discipline, respond to a postcolonial world that is filled with tensions and conflicts as a result of old colonial legacies; neoliberal, neocolonial, and neo-imperialist aggressions; ideological and religious differences; and highly asymmetric power relations? In the face of neo-imperialist, neoliberal expansions across the globe, what are the responsibilities of rhetoric and writing scholar-teachers? (91)

My dissertation takes up this question and proposes that engaging in 'trans' and decolonial inquiry has the potential of animating and expanding current scholarship and practices that also wrestle with and seek to disrupt the hegemony of higher education. Although the prefix 'trans' has come to be associated with gender identity, the prefix is included in many key terms I use: translingual, translanguaging, translation, transnational, transcultural, and transrhetorical. From

Latin, the prefix means “across”, “beyond”, or “on the other side of”. The prefix, then, expresses movement, especially movement beyond conventional categories whether those be gender, languages, nations etc.[1] The concept of “trans-ing” (Robinson et al.) emphasizes the movement across boundaries and the experiences in liminal spaces. This adds an important dimension for transnational students as border-crossers who navigate and negotiate shifting geographical, cultural, political, social, linguistic, and rhetorical contexts. Christiane Donahue argues that “a ‘trans’ understanding of language, rhetoric, teaching, and learning is essential to any future we imagine or have already begun, whether within the U.S. or in dialogue with other global contexts” (“The ‘Trans’” 147). A ‘trans’-perspective, I argue, acknowledges that transcending borders creates dynamic, fluid, and ever-changing language practices, rhetorical knowledge, literacy, lived experiences, and cultural meaning-making. The perspective recognizes and validates difference. It also encompasses a critical awareness of the ecologies in which difference is ‘othered’. Drawing from scholars like Asao B. Inoue and Suresh Canagarajah, I use the term ecology to account for the environments, people, politics, ideologies and the relationships between them that shape spaces and create constraints and affordances for individuals navigating the spaces. However, when applying a ‘trans’-perspective to concepts like identity, practice, or ecology, it implies transformation and transition. Ecologies – with the practices and rhetorical action that take place within – are dynamic. The ‘trans’-perspective orients to the transformations and creativity that evolve in contact zones (Lu; Pratt) and in and beyond boundaries, and it anticipates the emergence of new phenomena.

[1] The prefix “trans” has come to be associated with gender identity, the prefix is included in many key terms I use: translingual, translanguaging, translation, transnational, transcultural, and transrhetorical. From Latin, the prefix means "across", "beyond", or "on the other side of". The prefix, then, is applicable to signifying movement, and with much current use, perhaps movement beyond conventional categories whether those be gender, languages, nations etc. Although I am not incorporating Queer theory in my work, I believe Queer scholarship and other ‘trans’ scholarship shares a desire to disrupt normative practices and create space for both movement and change and for centering individuals’ embodied, lived experiences (Stryker et al.; Alexander and Rhodes; Robinson et al.).

In the following pages, I review literature on language and power that addresses a U.S. context. The classrooms and writing programs that transnational, multilingual students enter into are the focus of my dissertation. These are situated in different local ecologies across the U.S. and are entangled in historical and contemporary power dynamics that impinge on language pedagogy, policy, and ideology. Next, I shift the lens away from a myopic view on the U.S. and review literature that crosses and emerges from borders. Scholarship on translingualism and the adjacent 'trans'-concepts of translation and transnational provide central frameworks for understanding how my participants communicate and create knowledge and meaning and for the implications we can draw from that. Also, these concepts align with my own positionality and experiences and are foundational for my scholarly orientation. Finally, I review literature on decolonial and cultural rhetorics because this scholarship offers specific methods and concepts for decentering the Western knowledge-making practices. These two lines of scholarship call attention to the knowledge systems, rhetorical practices, and cultural histories that language practices emanate from. Cultural rhetorics, which has been characterized as a scholarly orientation (Haas), informs my theorical and ideological underpinnings; research methodology; and pedagogy, which I demonstrate throughout the dissertation.

Literature Review

Standard Language Ideology: Language, Race, and Power

Sociolinguists have demonstrated the connection between language and power, which entails that certain language and language variations have become elevated as the norm or standard that all language-users need to use. People in positions of power take it upon themselves to define and maintain language standards based on what they perceive as correct language. Overall, white middle- and upper-class groups possess the majority of positions of power in

American society; consequently, the way white middle- and upper-middle-class groups use languag2022e has gained dominance in spheres of power while the way People of Color and lower-class groups use language is marginalized. The norms and conventions, however, represent what powerful groups consider socially and culturally correct rather than some objective criteria for "correctness" (Lippi-Green). The creation of norms and conventions helps protect power because it creates a mechanism of exclusion of those who don't have access to or "mastery" of these linguistic forms. Standard language, thus, represents the codes of power (Delpit). Instead of talking about "standard" language, some scholars use the term "standardized" language because it reflects the social and ideological process by which an agentive force orchestrates turning one language variety into the norm (Davila; Greenfield).

Linguistic discrimination is often tied to racism and classism. While discrimination based on appearance, race, sex, religion, or national origin is illegal, linguistic gatekeepers justify discriminating others based on language by appealing to pervasive commonsense, but non-factual, notions about language (Smitherman). Scholarship on raciolinguistics contends that, in the U.S. context where racism is inherent in all of society's structures, race and language as social constructs co-constitute each other. Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores argue that raciolinguistic ideologies "conflate certain racialized persons with linguistic deficiency irrespective of their empirical linguistic practices. That is, raciolinguistic ideologies *produce* racialized language users who are *constructed* as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged White language users (177, emphasis added). Racialized bodies are often looked down upon as less intelligent or as lazy when they use non-standardized forms of language in speaking or writing (Alim et al.; Flores and Rosa; Inoue; Smitherman). Rosa and Flores argue that the standard

ideology is deeply internalized in the white listening subject, and it constructs listeners who can only hear "error" or "unclear", regardless of what is said. Other studies point to similar phenomena in the area of writing when the white reader is prone to identifying errors when they expect a piece of writing to be produced by a racialized writer (Inoue, "Classroom"; Rubin). Thus, even when students adopt white language practices to "perform whiteness", teachers hear or read "difference" and penalize students for not meeting expectations. Despite decades of sociolinguistic research and the presence of documents such as "Students' Right to Their Own Language" (SRTOL) from 1974, which is endorsed by professional organizations in our field, prescriptivist, deficit-oriented approaches to language remain wide-spread (Baker-Bell; Delpit; Lippi-Green; Richardson). Prescriptivist attitudes to grammar and usage do not value any form of linguistic otherness, and often go hand-in-hand with deficit approaches to language difference, which focus on the gaps that need to be filled, the errors that need to be fixed, and the rules that need to be learned so students can master the standardized form (Valencia; Wang et al.). Far from *affirming* students' home languages and varieties, these practices seek to eradicate them, or, at best, keep them out of the classroom (Mangelsdorf). Students are expected to assimilate in order to be successful. If they don't, they suffer material consequences in the form of lower grades, failed assignments, failed classes, low-tracking, and remedial placement. There are also psychological consequences; when students' language and literacy are devalued, it creates "writing scars" (DeMint-Bailey et al. n.p.). These "writing scars" are inflicted on students when they are made to feel "inadequate" (DeMint-Bailey et al. n.p.). Like any scar, individuals may carry them for life, and they can reopen if new trauma occurs. As such, they can continue to cause harm and self-doubt in students. Myriad autobiographies and studies have demonstrated

the harms these approaches have on *all* students, but especially language-minoritized students (Baker-Bell, Gilyard, Inoue; Kynard, Perryman-Clark, Richardson; Villanueva).

Recent scholarship challenges what Carmen Kynard calls the field's "still-dominant white center" (63) in pedagogy and writing program administration. Frankie Condon's definition of whiteliness illuminates the deeper discursive responses to "difference" beyond simply linguistic difference. Condon writes, "whitely is not necessarily a product of being white. Whiteliness is, rather, an articulation of epistemologies that have been racialized; whiteliness is a rhetoric" (3). The whitely discourse and its hidden, unmarked rules circumscribes students' performance and is often internalized by non-white speakers and writers. Much current scholarship has demanded not merely attention to, but a reckoning with and transformation of the whitely ideology (Baker-Bell et al.; Inoue "C's Address"; Perryman-Clark; Young and Martinez). Baker-Bell's work focuses on linguistic justice for Black and Brown students to (re)build a sense of self. This involves teaching them about the linguistic facts about African-American English; African-American history, culture, and epistemology; and fostering a critical awareness about the connections between language, power, and race. Various scholars promote critical language awareness (CLA) to help students understand the connections between language, identity, privilege, and power (Alim; Shapiro). Django Paris and H. Samy Alim's work in culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP) takes up arguments in favor of developing critical consciousness in students. Building on Toni Morrison's concept of "the panoptic White Gaze", which assumes that whiteness is the center and goal of education, Paris and Alim ask educators to re-imagine what accessible and equitable education might look like if we centered the linguistic and cultural resources and backgrounds of racially and ethnically minoritized students: "What would our pedagogies look like if this gaze (and the kindred patriarchal,

cisheteronormative, English-monolingual, ableist, classist, xenophobic, Judeo-Christian [and U.S.-centric] gazes) weren't the dominant one?" (2).

Critical calls for re-envisioning inclusiveness have also shaped conversations in Writing Program Administration in recent years. Critics of documents such as *WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Writing* (WPA OS 2.0 and 3.0), which provides guidelines for many WPAs in U.S. colleges, have pointed to the tacit assumptions about language, knowledge, literacy that animate this document. These assumptions place white, middle-class language practices, Euro-American epistemological perspectives, and Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions as the goals students in FYC should work towards. The goals, then, ignore or devalue other language practices, knowledges, and literacies and reproduce the standard language ideology and other problematic, hegemonic practices (Garcia de Mueller and Ruiz; Gere et al.; Inoue; Kareem). Challenging English-Only ideology from the discipline of Second Language (L2) writing, Paul Kei Matsuda takes on college composition writ large and argues that L2 writers are excluded from college classrooms and the field in general. Matsuda argues that the monolingual bias creates an assumption that college students are English-speaking and linguistically homogenous ("The Myth").

While my dissertation research does not center on linguistic racism, race is always present in American classrooms; it remains "an absent presence" (Prendergast) in our history, in current pedagogy and administration (Garcia de Mueller and Ruiz; Gere et al.; Kareem; Inoue and Poe), and in dominant language ideologies. Racist discourses circulate globally and create preconceptions in transnational individuals that impact how they respond to racial otherness in the U.S. Racist discourses shape how transnational individuals, perhaps to their surprise and dismay, become racialized and come to inhabit a subordinate position of power (Ibrahim). The

intersections between ethnicity, race, and citizenship often circumscribe educational access, success, and retention for transnational students and deeply impact their overall lived experiences (Alvarez; Alvarez and Wan; Ribero Young). Morris Young's work, for instance, demonstrates how certain racialized identities and literacies define and govern United States citizenship. Hesford argues "Post-9/11 nationalism in the United States has reinvigorated ideological critiques of the myth of linguistic homogeneity and the tacit policy of unidirectional English monolingualism" (789). As is evident from the review, when language is leveraged to consolidate and maintain power, it creates opportunities and privileges for some students and obstacles and barriers for others.

Theorizing Trans-Practices across Contexts

Scholarship in Bilingual Education, Applied Linguistics, and Writing Studies has addressed the problems of exclusion in monolingual approaches and called for attention to the fact that difference in linguistic and literate acts is the norm, not the exception (Ayash; Horner et al.; New London Group). The majority of the world is multilingual and multidialectal, and multilinguals negotiating language difference and communicating across linguistic and cultural borders in their daily lives is an *ordinary* phenomenon (Lee and Dovchin). An inherent condition of transnational movement is navigating linguistic and other types of border-crossing. However, scholars such as Canagarajah claim that all language-users engage in language diversity as they navigate different contexts of their lives: "Even the so-called 'monolinguals' shuttle between codes, registers and discourses" ("Translanguaging" 3).Vershawn Young uses the term "code-meshing" to indicate the mixing and meshing across "blend dialects, international languages, local idioms, chat-room lingo, and the rhetorical styles of various ethnic and cultural groups in both formal and informal speech acts" (114). Others, like You, argue that globalization, in

particular, has made all of us linguistic and cultural métis, i.e., "part of the dialectic with the Other" (6). In the following, I review literature across three different but interrelated concepts: transnational, translation, and translingual. These three concepts cohere around the 'trans'-perspective of movement and border-crossings.

Transnational Traffic of Meaning

The term transnational refers to the crossings between national, ethnic, racial, and linguistic boundaries. The boundaries and the possibilities of crossing them are the product of both colonial histories and contemporary geopolitical realities (You). Donahue emphasizes that national borders are both real and imagined. On the one hand, countries, governments, customs, and histories exist as legal, military, political, and cultural entities. On the other hand, sealed national borders are more an ideal than a reality. Much discourse about nations and borders is ideologically motivated because global communication technologies, social relations, and migrations patterns – or "superdiversity" (Vertovec) – is a threat to national unity and real or imagined histories. Current nationalistic, nativist, and other conservative discourses are driven by a resistance to the transformations that superdiversity brings about. Yet, with economies, travel, technologies, and communication transcending national borders and creating new global networks, connections, and mobility, the transformations are inevitable. Transnationalism is the inherent condition for individuals in a superdiverse world whether they traverse physical, geographical borders, or whether they are physically sedentary but traverse digital boundaries (Canagarajah).

In educational contexts, the neoliberal university at once embraces and resists superdiversity. The heightened mobility of people creates revenue streams for the university when international students enroll, or universities can create a "Diversity & Inclusion" profile or

market their internationalized campus (Hesford et al.; Tardy "Discourses"). At the same time, monolingual ideologies and attendant ideologies that preserve the status quo are dominant. Hesford argues,

> As colleges and universities adopt characteristics of the new global economy, appropriating performance management strategies, entrepreneurial practices, and corporate multiculturalism, we are also witnessing a renewed nationalism on our campuses and the rising stature of the nation state as reproducer of culture. (788)

Rebecca Lorimer Leonard discusses the "deep contradictions" of multilingualism in how it is "endorsed as both personal and professional asset and condemned as ethnic, racial, or cultural deficit" (*Writing* 125). Transnational students are expected to assimilate to the norms and expectations, and their linguistic, literacy, and cultural resources are often not recognized and valued beyond the cursory nod to the diversity they represent. You suggests the term "transnational" "accentuate[s] a need for cross-border practice, space, identity, and dispositions in writing education" (2). This helps to upend entrenched practices connected to nationalism, racism, and linguicism, and thus carries an activist stance. In the field of Rhetoric and Composition, the orientation towards transnational approaches has been relatively slow (Hesford et al.; Martins; Matsuda; Wang). Such an orientation would recognize that transnational individuals bring global perspectives, knowledges, and literacies into new local contexts and thereby enable the transcendence and transformation of meaning. This shift would not only impact and empower transnational students; it also has the potential for knowledge-exchange and -creation which can open new frameworks for knowledge.

Transnational mobility and boundary-crossing sensitize individuals to the fact that meaning is always emergent through communicative acts. Particularly, in the transnational

experience, meaning cannot be assumed to be shared; rather it is negotiated and constructed by people doing things. Canagarajah writes, "When we move beyond bounded communities and consider communication at the contact zone (whether in precolonial multilingual communities or postmodern social media spaces), we are unable to rely on sharedness for meaning. It is practices that help people negotiate difference and achieve shared understanding" ("Introduction" 5). Examining more closely the role of identity, culture, and citizenship that come into play with transnational and other border-crossing movement, Juan Guerra offers the concept of "transcultural repositioning" (*Language* 13). He defines this as "a rhetorical ability that many disenfranchised students have learned to enact as a move back-and-forth across different languages and dialect, different social classes, different cultural and artistic forms, different ways of seeing and thinking about the increasingly fluid and hybridized world emerging all around us" (*Language* 13). Transcultural repositioning gets at the deeper layers of rhetorical work some individuals engage in when navigating different cultural contexts. Alastair Pennycook, too, points to the deeper critical and epistemological work that boundary-crossing invites: translation and other translingual activities do not just operate at a surface-level of meaning; they also bring attention to the knowledge systems or cultural logics that give substance and value to words. Wang's concept of "transrhetorical practice," conceptualizes "the dialectical processes by which concepts, theory, and discourse are translated, recontextualized and reconceived as they move across cultural, geopolitical borders" (135-136). The transnational space, then, is one where meaning is in a constant state of becoming (Mao) in shifting ecologies of people, places, information, and discourses.

Translation as Invention

The practice of translation is inherent to transnational, multilingual communication. Essentially, translation activity aims at making information and meaning accessible across languages, modalities, or semiotic systems to enable communication. However, when looking at translation through a translingual understanding of language, translation is more than an exercise in transplanting information in a source language into a target language (Bloom-Pojar; Gonzales; Pennycook). The conventional notion of translation carries with it the understanding that languages are static codes or structures that are unencumbered by human activity. In more recent theories, translation involves a deeper transformation of language, which is attuned to the rhetorical situation in which translation unfolds and the ecological factors that may enable or constrain it. In multilingual communication, linguistic, paralinguistic, and other semiotic resources are deployed to make meaning and get stuff done, and translators need to take into consideration how their deployment of communicative resources will gain most uptake among interlocutors (Canagarajah; Gonzales; Lu). Translation, then, is a situated and negotiated act in which language bends to the will of humans and the social and historical context, not vice versa. With her "revised rhetoric of translation", Laura Gonzales argues that translations "represent the *rhetorical invention* embedded in the translation process, signaling a space where translators employ multilingual, multimodal resources to make information available across languages" (*Sites* 23; emphasis added). The argument that translation is the act of rhetorical invention emphasizes that language users are social agents who give meaning to and add meaning to language in situated practice. As Pennycook suggests, in the transnational space, "the global traffic of meaning" is constantly in flux. "When you translate, you enter the traffic" ("English" 43). As Pennycook argues, English (and other languages) are always in translation. This means

the transnational space is essentially a "translation space", which Rachel Bloom-Pojar defines as "any space that requires some type of translation work across different forms of meaning making through various modes, languages, and discourses" (59). In translation spaces, the priority is accessibility and meaning-making for anyone who participates in the space. In translation spaces, there is no pre-existing, fixed knowledge; it is being made and remade as individuals engage in languaging. The basic condition of being in a transnational space is that translation is an ongoing activity even though it is often disregarded and resisted in academic and professional spaces (Bloom-Pojar; Pennycook).

Translingual Practice as an Ordinary Phenomenon

A key argument in translingual scholarship focuses on the conceptualization of language, as the two previous sections also suggest. Dominant language ideologies conceptualize named languages and language variations as islands; that is, as separate and discrete units, which are bounded against other languages or variations: for example, English is structurally and fundamentally different from Spanish; Standard American English is structurally and fundamentally different from African-American Language. In translingual scholarship, language, instead, is seen a fluid, porous, and emergent in situated practice (Blommaert and Rampton; García and Lin; Lu and Horner). Scholars in Bilingual Education and Applied Linguistics often use the term *translanguaging* while scholars in Writing Studies often use the term *translingual practice*. I see the two terms as largely synonymous, however, with translanguaging being more focused on spoken language and translingual practice or translingual literacy practice being focused more on written language. This conceptualization of language assumes that speakers of multiple languages access the language systems in their brains that they need depending on their interlocutors (García; Canagarajah; Li; Pennycook). In the translingual view, "communication

transcends individual languages" (Canagarajah *Translingual* 6). Ricardo Otheguy, Ofelia García, and Wallis Reid explain, "The myriad linguistic features mastered by bilinguals (phonemes, words, constructions, rules, etc.) occupy a single, undifferentiated cognitive terrain that is not fenced off into anything like the two areas suggested by the two socially named languages" (2). Li Wei elucidates that not only are different language 'codes' not separate and discrete modules in the human brain – which linguists previously believed – but linguistic modules are also not separated from other cognitive and semiotic systems such as memory, attention, and emotion ("New Chinglish" 5). This is also why translingual practices are not exclusive to multilingual speakers. Language users draw on all language resources as well as other visual and auditory functions. Interaction is multimodal and multisensory, and translingual theory highlights the interconnected between language and other communication systems (Canagarajah; Wei). In this conceptualization of language, the multilingual speaker doesn't speak x numbers of languages but has one linguistic repertoire that they deploy strategically for different communicative needs.

The emphasis in translingual theory is what individuals *do* with language rather than what they *know* about these language (García and Lin, Lorimer Leonard, Canagarajah, Pennycook). Pennycook writes, "To look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity rather than a structure, as something we do rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity" (*Language* 2). Wei explains, "translanguaging builds on the psycholinguistic notion of languaging, which refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought, and to communicate about using language" ("New Chinglish" 4). It furthermore suggests that language itself is in constant transformation as it is utilized by different speakers. The view on language as activity also highlights that language users are social agents who give meaning to

language resources (of course, building off prior meanings) in situated literacy practices. Pennycook stresses the spatial and ecological elements of languaging by arguing that places where communication happens are interpreted by speakers and given meaning, which informs the way communication unfolds. Pennycook's observations align with Canagarajah's who suggests language is constantly contextualized and recontextualized. Focusing on the spatial and social elements that encode language, Canagarajah argues that language is not so much located in the mind of the speaker as it is "a social process constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors" ("The Ecology" 94).

Not only is the notion of languages as distinct codes disavowed on the basis of observations of how multilinguals (and monolinguals) use language and other semiotic means to communicate; translingual scholars expose the ideological constructedness in the traditional view on language. The argument that languages are separate codes is not grounded in empirical observations of language practice; it reflects how individuals wish to 're-present' language practices for political and ideological purposes. Leaning on French linguist Jean-Louis Calvet's work, Nancy Bou Ayash explains that while practices relate to what individuals do with language and how they negotiate different rhetorical contexts, representations refer to "the ideas, perceptions, images and metaphors language users and learners entertain about their own (and other individuals' and groups of individuals') language resources and the values they grant to the way they (and others) utilize them" (21). Significantly, however, language representations themselves are acts that shape the sociolinguistic reality, thus influencing language practices.

It is not only the monolingual notion of language that is claimed to be ideologically determined; translingual scholars acknowledge and embrace the ideological nature of their own scholarship. The dual purpose of describing language practice and advocating for recognition

that language difference is the norm is evident. Scholars have noted the distinctions between monolingual, multilingual, and translingual observations of language and attendant language ideologies (Ayash; Guerra and Shivers-McNair; Horner and Alvarez). The following section details the different ideological positions.

The monolingual ideology: As noted, languages cast as homogenous, insular entities that people of specific communities, regions, or nations acquire and gain competency in through socialization and schooling. Variations of language, too, are cast distinct from each other. Bruce Horner and John Trimbur explain this representation of language "as a fixed, idealized entity removed from the vagaries of time, place, and use" (596). Its inner structures preexist and are undisturbed by human activity or context of use. Furthermore, these inner structures are cast as bounding up against the structures of other languages and variations, which critics of the monolingual paradigm claim is arbitrary and determined by extant purposes. Indeed, this view on language is deeply intertwined with nation-building and territorialization, and – as Pennycook argues – "a key tenet of colonialism" ("Performativity" 3). Within this paradigm, good citizens uphold the unity of the institutions, communities, and nations they belong to by performing linguistic acts that conform to and show mastery of the rules and norms. Language serves the function of creating and reproducing unity and cohesion. Yasemin Yildiz argues the conflation of language, community, and territory creates an assumption that "individuals and social formations … possess one 'true' language, their 'mother tongue' and through this possession [are] organically linked to an exclusive, clearly demarcated ethnicity, culture, and nation" (2). The monolingual ideology gives rise to the standard language ideology, which holds that a specific way of using a given language is superior to other ways which, in turn, becomes the norm.

Language use that differs from the standardized rules and norms is both seen as deviant and a threat to unity (Ayash; Horner and Trimbur; Lee; Lu and Horner; Richardson; Yildiz).

The multilingual ideology: As with the monolingual ideology, the basic notion of language is that languages are homogenous, stable entities. Though there is more awareness and acceptance of linguistic diversity and people's rights to their own language, there is a firm belief that languages and variations do not and should not cross. Languages and variations are codified and bounded against other languages. Multilingualism, then, operates with the understanding that individuals know or can add multiple languages, but as critics of additive multilingualism claim, languages remain fixed and reified as "two [or more] solitudes" (Cummins). The main difference between the mono- and multilingual views is the tolerance of other languages and language variations in the multilingual ideology. This acceptance, however, comes with a built-in assumption that certain languages and language variations belong in certain spaces and others do not. In this representation, the assumption remains that standardized language is appropriate in academic, professional, and public settings, so the practice of code-switching is promoted. This ideology is linked to multiculturalism more broadly, which nods to linguistic and cultural diversity, but does not interrogate societal power dynamics.

The translingual ideology: As noted above, the translingual ideology rejects the understanding that languages are distinct and separate entities. Translingual scholars emphasize that the borders between languages are more ideologically constructed than real, and they cast these borders as porous and in flux. This means language is always emergent, situated, and a response to communicative exigencies. Significantly, translingual research goes beyond a simple empirical, linguistic definition of language practice; it, too, is an ideology, or, as Horner and Sara Alvarez claim, "an epistemological break with monolingual notions of the ontology of language"

(22). Translingual scholars not only observe that language difference is the norm; translingual scholarship involves taking a "stance" (García et al.) to represent language in a specific way and to claim specific stakes in regards to language policy or pedagogy. The translingual ideology at once is about invention and intervention; about creativity and criticality (Canagarajah; Li). It is about transformation towards greater social justice; recognizing "the urgent need to defend and stand with communities who have historically and presently been the target of racial, ethnic, and class prejudice and discrimination" (Horner and Alvarez 16).

One benefit of parsing out these three representations of language is to show that an individual's language practice can be in tension with their language representation; that is, the same individual may cross linguistic borders in their communication in a specific context, while believing there are and should be borders between languages. Also, while these ideologies and representations of language clearly push up against each other in their assumptions about language and literate acts, individuals may subscribe to all three of them to varying extents and across varying contexts. Ayash's ethnographic study of first-year writing programs in Beirut and Seattle investigates the manifestations and tensions of different language ideologies in the classroom. She shows that all three language representations coexist and reconstitute language practices and language attitudes, thus creating friction and contradictions in how individuals navigate and negotiate the affordances and constraints of different ecologies (175). Ayash shows that students negotiate tensions in their own language representations and the ideologies that permeate different contexts of their lives. Yildiz has suggested the term "postmonolingual" to represent "a field of tension in which the monolingual paradigm continues to assert itself and multilingual practices persist or reemerge" (5). Any rhetorical situation where discourse happens is embedded in socio-political and material ecologies where power dynamics can be highly

asymmetrical. Communication, then, is also afforded, shaped, and constrained by the larger ecology, while said ecology is constantly reshaped by the communicative acts. Horner and Min-Zhan Lu argue,

> Individual language practices are understood as negotiations that have the effect of forming and transforming their contexts, the identities of the participants, and their relations with each other, others, and the world. The relations between language, language users, and the contexts of language acts are thus seen as co-constitutive. (28)

This perspective underscores the emergent nature of language. However, Horner and Lu also show that different interests and agendas can bound the way language is used. On the one hand, individuals enact rhetorical agency when navigating shifting contexts and ecologies; on the other hand, language policies and dominant practices and representations of language exert pressure on how language is used. Scholars in sociolinguistics have observed the connection between language practices and representations and their mutual impact on each other (Blommaert; Calvet).

In educational contexts, ecological factors that include language ideologies are embedded in pedagogy and policy, which I unpack further in Chapter 5. Language ideologies can charge a classroom or a student-teacher conference and set the tone for how language is used. Teachers, administrators, educational documents, and even classrooms embody language ideologies, but so do students. Depending on their lived experience navigating through educational and other contexts, students bring to the classroom practices, perceptions, and attitudes to language similarly affect the ecology.

Translingual Pedagogy

'Trans'-approaches call for increased recognition of the dynamic nature of communication, exchange, and meaning-making in a global age, which builds on scholarship in Sociolinguistics and Rhetoric and Composition and represents an activist stance towards diversity. 'Trans'-approaches are frequently proposed as interventions into oppressive and ill-informed practices in the writing classrooms and programs. Scholars have proposed that a translingual (or translanguaging) pedagogy has the potential to include and build on students' existing language resources and to the confront monolingual ideology, which only recognizes privileged writers (Flores and Rosa; Alvarez and Horner). Seminal work includes work by Garciá; Horner et al; Lu and Horner; Canagarajah, but recent special issues and edited collections also profess the pedagogical promises of a translingual approach (Kiernan et al.; Ray and Theado; Robinson et al.).

A translingual approach to pedagogy raises students' awareness that language is social practice rather than compliance with rules and norms, but that, simultaneously, this social practice is impacted by language ideology, which creates rules and norms for specific reasons. A translingual pedagogy helps students reorient to language as something that is always in movement and, therefore, needs to be negotiated through translation and brokering. Communication acts utilize language but also paralinguistic, symbolic, and semiotic features that shape communication and are constantly invented or repurposed. As such, languag*ing* is an activity, or a verb, rather than noun, or a thing that can be acquired. Further, even a well-known language is constantly recontextualized in shifting rhetorical situations which means all individuals must labor to understand how language is perceived and taken up by others. Canagarajah writes,

> We don't ordinarily write simply to construct a rule-governed text except in English composition courses. Although it is important for texts to be constructed sensibly in order to be meaningful, we write in order to perform important social acts. We write to achieve specific interests, represent our preferred values and identities, and fulfill diverse needs. ("Rhetoric" 176)

Lorimer Leonard extends Canagarajah's points, by suggesting we redefine proficiency: "We might define proficiency not as a level of acquisition but as a stage in attunement, teaching for and assessing the relative success of language negotiation and play with specific audiences in certain situations" ("Writing" 168). This way of orienting to proficiency departs from the trope of mastery in its focus on what individuals *do* with language across contexts; not what they *know*.

Translingual pedagogy also attends to languaging as an embodied practice (Bloom-Pojar; Gonzales). What an individual chooses to do with language in a particular rhetorical situation and a particular ecology is partially an affective response, which stems from previous experiences with languaging and its entanglements in ideology. Guerra argues that translingualism "introduces more of our students in the first-year and advanced writing courses to the competing ideologies that inform their current writing" ("Cultivating" 232), and Bawarshi argues that a way to challenge students' "learned inclinations [is to] historicize them and make them a site of critical examination and intervention in our classrooms" ("Challenges" 199). With linguistic, rhetorical, and critical awareness, individuals develop agency and can better determine if and when they choose to differ from or conform to "standardized" language (Horner and Lu; Horner and Alvarez). As Horner and Lu remind readers, translingual writing is not only writing that differs from the norm but also writing that reproduces the norm, "both, we argue, can be

understood as involving choices made in particular situations and in light of particular purposes" (27). The aim of this pedagogy is not to proselytize; students can maintain adherence to a monolingual ideology, or endorse the translingual orientation while choosing to "improve" their English.

Learning about language ideology and the connections between language, identity, privilege, and power, however, has a dual liberatory potential: it can help students deconstruct monolingual and multilingual ideologies and develop a critical awareness of their world. At the same time, it can help restore damage caused by deficit-oriented instruction which portrays language difference as the enemy of language and literacy learning. Ellen Cushman writes, "Decentering the primacy of English as the lingua franca … means an explicit valuation of all languages in the writing and readings assigned to students, spoken in the classroom, and produced in scholarly work" ("Translingual" 235).

However, as promising as a translingual literacy pedagogy is, it has shortcomings too. Keith Gilyard argues that translingual scholars pay too little attention to issues of race, culture, and citizenship and neglect that, while language difference is the norm, all speakers and writers are not positioned the same way *vis-à-vis* power structures. Other scholars have pointed to the negligence of the status of the minoritized language (Milson-Whyte); the implications of not teaching students the codes of power, i.e., SAE (Lyons); or the risk of fetishizing and tokenizing linguistic difference (Lee; Matsuda, "Lure"). Cushman sees the potential in the translingual approach to "hasten the process of revealing and potentially transforming colonial matrices of power that maintain hierarchies of knowledges and languages" ("Translingual" 235), but she also cautions that, "it is not altogether clear the extent to which translingualism is, thus far, in a decolonial moment rather than a post-monolinguistic moment" (236). Cushman's cautionary

endorsement of translingualism suggests that translingual scholarship focuses more on critiquing universal paradigms than building pluriversal options; of understanding and listening rhetorically to other stories. She goes on, "Emancipatory projects in composition studies fall short of their social justice goals because they critique a content or place of practice without revealing and altering their own structuring tenets" (240). Cushman brings attention to the self-reflexivity that is crucial for "emancipatory" work because, otherwise, scholar-practitioners risk replacing one dominant paradigm with another. Thus, if translingual scholarship isn't aware of its own "locus of enunciation" (Mignolo) and unilaterally assumes that translingual practices are more "authentic" or "sophisticated" than monolingual or SAE-practices, it is not truly emancipatory.

In the next section of the literature review, I turn to decolonial and cultural rhetorics theory and pedagogy. These lines of inquiry suggest how scholar-practitioners can build pluriversal options in addition to critiquing dominant ideologies. Also, decolonial and cultural rhetorics scholars call attention to the deeper ontological and epistemological work that transnational, multilingual students negotiate when they move across geographical, cultural, and epistemic borders.

Theorizing Rhetorical and Epistemological Diversity

Scholarship in cultural rhetorics and decolonial rhetorics adds dimensions to the scholarship in translingual studies, translation studies, and transnational literacy studies that deepen and complicate the conversation because of the focus on knowledge and epistemic spaces. This scholarship aligns with the transnational perspective by also looking outside the U.S. and Western culture. In the following pages, I review decolonial and cultural rhetorics scholarship which center pluriversatility and challenge the universalism and unidirectionality of the "Eurocentric epistemological perspective" (Bernal Delgado and Villalpando) in the university

and Western rhetorical concepts and frames in our field. Most of the roots of decolonial scholarship originated outside the Euro-American space with writers such as Franz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and a Aníbal Quijano, who point to the lasting psychological and epistemic effects of colonialism despite its formal end. I draw from this scholarship to bring awareness to the deep ideological entanglements that still shape modern institutions and paradigms. A relatively recent area within Rhetoric and Composition, cultural rhetorics has incorporated decolonial thinking and practice as a foundational pillar. However, cultural rhetorics also offer additional ideas that work well as research methodology and pedagogical heuristics. Also, the focus on rhetoric makes this area of study impactful when applied to the First-Year writing classroom and writing programs, which I discuss more in Chapter 5.

Decoloniality

Decolonial scholarship theorizes hegemony in such a way it that extends the work in 'trans'-scholarship but also complements it well. Where the 'trans'-scholarship I draw from focuses on language, writing, and communication, decolonial scholarship adds an epistemic dimension. Walter Mignolo and Katherine Walsh theorize coloniality not as physical conquest, but as epistemic control. It refers to a system of knowledge, which Mignolo calls "the Western code", with which colonized peoples can be managed and controlled even after formal colonialism has ended. Coloniality has been guised a salvation, enlightenment, and modern progress (*Darker* 14), but it has been used to justify killing, exploiting, and displacing peoples, and to denigrate their lifeways, languages, and knowledge systems. As such, the ongoing coloniality is both material and epistemic, and it has direct ties to monolingualism in that the political and military border-making is reflected in the linguistic border-making. While coloniality originates in the West and

coincides with modernity and colonialism[2], it refers to a global "structure of management (composed of domains, levels and flows) that controls and touches upon all aspects and trajectories of our lives" (Mignolo "Coloniality" 5). Following Quijano, Mignolo refers to this structure as the "colonial matrix of power" (CMP), which is a system of geographical, political, and ontological, and epistemological domination through four interrelated domains: economy, authority, gender/sexuality and knowledge (*Darker* 8-9). Romeo García and Dámian Baca note the construction of race is inextricable from the CMP and, like other classifications, has been used for domination (16). Its most overt contemporary extension is neoliberalism though, as Mignolo, emphasizes, all human activity is circumscribed by CMP. Educational institutions, like all modern institutions, operate within CMP. They reinforce linguistic hierarchies rooted in the monolingual ideology and Euro-American epistemological perspectives. Mignolo refers to this epistemology as "the zero point": "the ultimate grounding of knowledge" in which "the geopolitical and biographic politics…of knowledge is hidden in the transparency and universality of the zero point" (*Darker* pp. 79-80).

Decoloniality is characterized by epistemic disobedience and delinking from "the zero-point epistemology". When scholars and communities expose the paradigm of coloniality and its attendant cultural practices in scholarship, research, management, and pedagogy as oppressive, and they refuse to acknowledge the truth claims of these practices as the only option, they perform epistemic disobedience. When they center other stories and knowledge systems that emanate from and support their own cultural practices, they delink. Decolonial theory avoids reductive binaries such as "the West and the rest". Rather than vilifying everything Western,

[2] Mignolo and Walsh differentiate between colonialism/decolonialism and coloniality/decoloniality. Colonialism began in the 15th and 16th Centuries when the Americas were colonized by European powers who later expanded their colonial pursuits to other parts of the world, and it ended when nations across the globe gained autonomy in the 20th Century. Thus, colonialism and decolonialism are chronological concepts (Mignolo and Walsh).

decolonial approaches offer other pluriversal options instead of alternatives that require an either/or model (Mignolo). While all subjectivities are entangled in CMP, a decolonial lens allows scholars to explore the possibilities that dwell in entanglements (Cushman et al.). García and Baca argue that colonized subjects reinscribe themselves as knowing subjects and recenter their local epistemologies, it creates a pluriversal world where people with different ways of knowing coexist (4).

Cultural Rhetorics

Cultural rhetorics, which builds from and incorporates decolonial scholarship, is an orientation to scholarship that encompasses theory, methodology, and practice. In essence, cultural rhetoricians study cultures and their meaning-making practices and knowledge systems. Pluralizing "rhetorics", cultural rhetoricians take up the decolonial project of decentering Greco-Roman rhetorical theory, which still dominates the field (Powell; Royster; Villanueva). As Malea Powell et al. argue, "*All work in the discipline is already focused on or arises from specific cultural practices*—mostly dominant Euro-American practices, which go as the unmarked 'mainstream' in our discourse about what counts in the discipline" (2.2; original emphasis). Cultural rhetorics engages with decolonial work, which exposes cultural practices in academia as manifestations and extensions of coloniality.

In their influential piece "Our story begins here: Constellating cultural rhetorics", Powell, Daisy Levy, Andrea Riley-Mukavetz, Marilee Brooks-Gillies, Maria Novotny, and Jennifer Fisch-Ferguson explain that a key notion of cultural rhetorics is that "rhetoric is always already cultural, and cultures are persistently rhetorical. Cultural rhetoric scholars investigate and understand meaning making as it is situated in specific cultural communities" (1.1). As such, rhetoric is conceptualized as cultural practice. Cultural rhetoricians recognize that a multiplicity

of cultural communities means a multiplicity of rhetorics. Though cultures and rhetorics both change over time and space, rhetorics are important to how cultures and communities understand themselves in relation to their worlds. Rhetorics, thus, represent ontologies, epistemologies, and ethical traditions of cultural communities.

In addition to decolonial approaches to meaning-making, a pillar in cultural rhetorics scholarship is the notion that story is theory (Bratta and Powell). Drawing from indigenous scholarship, cultural rhetoricians see stories as emanating from communities' lived experience. Stories enact cultural knowledge and worldviews. Stories circulate through human interaction; they speak to, from, and about the essence of being and knowing. They are situated in culture and dramatize cultural knowledge; they create meaning and beliefs that communities cohere around. Stories provide the foundation for how humans organize themselves and see themselves in relation to the cosmos, to nature, to other cultures, and to each other (Maracle; Riley-Mukavetz; Sano-Franchini). Cultures – such as Western culture – that wield financial, military and technological power over other cultures typically have stories that tend to assume the status of a single story or myths as they become sedimented over time. Stories, then, are connected not only to how cultures interpret their lived experience but also to ideology, or the way they wish to re-present the world. However, cultures and communities are not separate entities, and individuals belong to multiple cultures and communities. To theorize the complex entanglements, cultural rhetoricians see cultures as "*relational and constellated*" (Powell et al. 1.2; original emphasis). Powell et al. explain,

> A constellation allows for all the meaning-making practices and their relationships to matter. It allows for multiply-situated subjects to connect to multiple discourses at the same time, as well as for those relationships (among subjects, among discourses, among

> kinds of connections) to shift and change without holding a subject captive … It also allows for different ways of seeing any single configuration within that constellation, based on positionality and culture. (1.2).

This conceptualization visualizes how, for example, an individual can adhere to multiple language ideologies simultaneously, and how different ideologies may be more prominent at different times, in different places, or with different people. This metaphor aligns well with the concept of 'trans'-ing which similarly focuses on the emerging meanings in encounters. Another key tenet in cultural rhetorics that also emphasizes the social situatedness of meaning-making is relationality. An individual's relationship to land, space, ideas, people, living beings and the interplay with all these things animates how meaning is constructed (Riley-Mukavetz), which means meaning-making has material, spiritual, affective, and intellectual components.

Cultural Rhetorics Pedagogy

There has not much scholarship that theorizes or describes a cultural rhetorics pedagogy in First-Year Composition (Primeau). Cultural rhetoricians often draw from and extend other intellectual traditions when describing their pedagogy (for example, Indigenous rhetorics (Driskill; Haas, King; Riley-Mukavetz) or African-American rhetorics (Perryman-Clark), or rhetorics focusing on methodology (Cedillo; Hsu; Jackson and Bratta)). A shared practice in cultural rhetorics-oriented pedagogy is approaching teaching as an intervention into oppression and dominance. Also, cultural rhetorics may not be invoked as an explicit pedagogy because it is more a scholarly orientation that can infuse any course, action etc. Riley-Mukavetz frames cultural rhetorics,

> As a *practice*—as something that is *built and made*. I ask students to enter into the discussions and the material as *relationships* and consider their own subject positions,

languages, histories, and relationships to institutional and community spaces. ("Listening" n.p. emphasis added).

The focus on practice (rather than merely analysis or critique) and on relationships addresses key aspects of a cultural rhetorics pedagogy. Riley-Mukavetz also invokes cultural rhetorics understanding of rhetoric as centering meaning-making practices that happen within all groups, communities, and cultures, including the community of the classroom.

Building off the four foundational pillars of cultural rhetorics, pedagogical practice involves: Relational practice emphasizes the importance of teaching through relationships and creating a community of trust and care in the classroom through mutual respect for each other's embodied experiences (Cedillo and Bratta). However, relationality is also a concept that can help students reflect on the groups and communities they have engaged with over time, and how these groups or communities make meaning through shared values and practices (gaming, embroidery, writing etc.). Adding rhetorical and linguistic dimensions, this approach can help students think about how they communicate with different audiences using different rhetorical, linguistic, and semiotic choices. Relationality is not only about people; it is also about how we relate to different places and spaces. This dimension helps students reflect on the ecologies they move through and how these are shaped by different historical, ideological, and materials factors.

Adding the notions of constellative practice can layer on how each of us are positioned in multiple ways to places and people. Lisa King explains, "We have our internal constellations and then we ourselves belong to larger clusters of stories and histories and identities, which in turn also hang together in sometimes harmonious and sometimes violently discordant connections" (n.p.). As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, the metaphor of constellation can be a heuristic for students to map and visualize multimodally their multiple linguistic, literate, and discursive

entanglements, and how these relationships impact their embodied practice. It helps students develop border thinking because constellations are dynamic and shifting, rather than fixed and rigid.

As noted, cultural rhetoricians highlight that humans make sense of their world through story. Story, then, is a generative approach for students to grapple with their lived experiences and to make sense of others' lived experience. As such, engagement with story offers a deeper ontological and epistemological engagement than merely reflecting on language practice. Besides sense-making, story allows for creativity and play, for instance, with using one's different voices and linguistic resources. Story also requires rhetorical thinking and metacognition; and story can be both a process for critical reflection and a critical artifact itself that speaks back or demands attention. Though telling a story is by no means easy, story may be a more authentic genre than traditional academic genres (Primeau) and may not carry the connotations of dread that high-stakes academic genres do. It also invites multimodal or mixed genre approaches that may create more accessibility for students than a conventional academic essay.

Decolonial pedagogical approaches[3] compliment but also pluralize the critical lens of translingual approaches. The act of delinking, decentering, and destabilizing "the structuring tenets" (Cushman) of the "zero-point epistemology" (Mignolo) of modern, colonial (i.e., Euro-American) knowledge systems, on the one hand, and offering pluriversal options, on the other hand, clarifies to students that all of their rhetorical knowledges are valid and relevant in academia. The single story that Western-style education is superior is a manifestation of CMP

[3] Decolonial studies is both a distinct area of study and, according to cultural rhetoricians, integral to cultural rhetorics (Powell et al.). In my work, I recognize the decolonial approach that cultural rhetorics incorporates and see it as productive, while also recognizing critiques of cultural rhetorics.

that influences all individuals globally. But other ontologies and epistemologies exist, especially outside the West. As Mignolo and Walsh state, "we are where we think" (2). Wang describes the possibility of transrhetorical practice as "epistemological crossing, a way of 'border-thinking'" and suggests "this process promises the possibility of new meanings, new conceptual categories, and new ways of knowing and thinking" (248). Mignolo describes this as "a way of thinking and understanding that dwells in the interstices of the entanglements, at its borders" ("On Pluriversality" xi). While deep engagement with decolonial theory may be a tall order for first-year students, providing them with activities to identity power asymmetries in their internal and larger constellations is a start which, as Alvarez claims, can foster "the ability to re-read the world and the opportunity to re-write it" ("Literacy" 27). Cruz Medina explains, "Through a decolonial lens, English Official [i.e., English Only rebranded] demonstrates an enduring colonial project that privileges nativism and excludes non-white multilinguals from institutional power due to linguistic difference that mark multilinguals as 'other'" (85; comment in the original).

Writing scholars have argued that decolonial theory helps the field confront its troubled past (and present). The pluriversal orientation to difference highlights a move away from the universal, unidirectional orientation in modern, Western frameworks, which assume a superiority of knowledge, research paradigms and methods, and institutional documents. Routes to subverting dominant cultural paradigms include inviting students' other knowledge paradigms and rhetorics into the classroom, and creating curricula that decenter dominant Western modes of thinking and knowing. Angela Haas, for example, argues for the need to "decolonize the Western rhetorical canon" ("Race" 295) and interrogate its colonial entanglements.

Cultural rhetorics is not only a newer body of work, but also it is not often discussed as a pedagogical framework the same way translingual pedagogy has. As such, there have not been as many critics of cultural rhetorics pedagogy. More broadly, though, Cultural Rhetorics has been critiqued for not attending to global and transnational issues (Graban), and I would add, of being largely focused on the U.S. Along this line of critique, cultural rhetorics does not always address experiences with 'trans'-ing; that is, with the third spaces between communities. Cushman, Baca, García's recent critique of cultural rhetorics claims this scholarship does not fully engage in decolonial scholarship and fails to critique its own "structuring tenets". Others have critiqued any type of decolonial work that does not center land rematriation (Itchuaqiyaq and Matheson). As Tuck and Yang argue, decoloniality cannot be reduced to a metaphor for social justice. A large body of scholarship, however, maintains that decolonial approaches enable scholar-practitioners to perform small interventions that aim to disrupt, if not overturn, practices and policies in higher education that institutionalize and codify coloniality (Cushman; García and Baca; la paperson; Medina; Ruiz and Sánchez).

My dissertation and the suggestions I make for writing teachers and programs are interventions that seek to disrupt colonialist, white supremacy, exclusionary practices. Through my research, I call attention to transnational, multilingual students' linguistic, cultural, rhetorical, and knowledge-making resources. As illustrated in the overlap in the Venn diagram in Figure 1 (p.5), integrating 'trans'- approaches with cultural rhetorics approaches in a pedagogical response can visibilize, validate, and sustain transnational, multilingual students' repertoires. Although my focus is transnational, multilingual students, I argue that, in decentering Euro-American language and meaning-making practices, other minoritized students will benefit from a transnational orientation too.

Overview of Chapters:

Chapter 2 (and all the chapters) starts with a story from my own lived experience, which illustrates moments that are central to my orientation as teacher, researcher, mom, and human being. These starting stories also evoke themes that are central to each chapter's focus. Next, I present my studies, the research design, and my participants, and I describe my methods, which focus on interviews with transnational, multilingual students to explore their experiences with communicating in academic and non-academic contexts. I also offer an extensive discussion of my research stance and how cultural rhetorics informs my methodology. As I discuss in further detail, I view what my participants share as stories rather than data which is why Chapter 3 and 4 incorporates participant stories. Framing the interviews as storytelling has two analytical affordances: it allows for analyzing the rhetorical situation of the storytelling, and for analyzing the dispositions and attitudes towards issues that come up in the stories.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the analysis of my participants' complex language and literate practices from my studies of how they make meaning, learn, and form relationships in non-academic settings. In doing so, I focus on what my participants *do* with the resources they have. In addition to the vignette at the beginning of the chapter, I also interlace stories throughout this and the following chapter to show significant moments in my participants' stories. In this chapter, I also discuss how my participants have acquired their linguistic and communicative resources, and more importantly, what they do with these resources, depending on their goals, interlocutors, and contexts. I further analyze my participants' language views and perceptions on their own language practices and demonstrate how these views constellate around shifting discursive and ideological ecologies. As discussed, individuals often subscribe to contradictory language ideologies which, at times, are often at odds with how they and their communities use

language. I focus on my participants' language and rhetorical practices and attitudes because, as I will argue in Chapter 5, these parts of students' identities and lived experiences are not often welcomed and sustained in classrooms.

In Chapter 4, I discuss my analysis of my participants' experiences with learning, writing, and producing knowledge in academic settings. I analyze the different settings and teaching approaches participants' have encountered when learning and using their languages in classrooms. The analysis includes stories about learning across language difference in linguistically diverse classrooms, and how participants describe deploying their resources to learn individually and collaboratively. Next, I focus specifically on experiences with academic writing and research, discussing and contextualizing participants' stories about drawing from their linguistic, cultural, and literate resources.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the implications of my two studies for writing pedagogy and programs. Drawing primarily from scholarship in translingual literacy studies and cultural rhetorics, I explain the potential of interlacing 'trans'-perspectives with scholarship in rhetorical and epistemological diversity in generating pedagogies that support transnational, multilingual students. To that end, I offer a series of pedagogical responses that engage ethically and intentionally with transnational, multilingual students on U.S. campuses. I conclude by arguing that pedagogical intervention needs to be supported at the programmatic level in order to be effective, and I present my suggestions for how writing programs can reorient towards the inclusion of transnational, multilingual students.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Research Design

> *I met Nayla during her first year in college; she was enrolled in English for Academic Purposes 101 and later in English 102. She and her family had resettled as refugees just a few years before that. She was a shy student with a tremendous drive to work hard and succeed in the U.S. She often came to Office Hours and emailed me if she had questions or was confused. Nayla and I continued being in touch after she passed my courses, and when I was recruiting participants for my study, I reached out to her. She responded almost immediately and said "I would love to participate" even though she was leaving for an internship in DC later that week. The interview was a mix of interview questions and conversation that were sparked by things she shared with me; things that were not strictly about the interview questions. We talked about her internship, graduation, dreams and goals, and I shared stories from my life.*

My initial story primarily aims to illustrate my methodological approach recruiting participants, conducting interviews, and building relationships and a trusting environment where my participants and I could relate to each other as human beings. Also, Nayla's immediate response to my email shows a readiness, not just to help me, but to share her stories, pointing to the exigency of my research. Other participants told me they accepted my invitation because they felt it was an important research topic.

In this dissertation, I focus on how transnational students integrate linguistic, literate, and knowledge-making practices and resources in their everyday communication and college writing. I incorporate two qualitative studies with students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM), an urban open-access, R1 university in the Midwest that enrolls large numbers of U.S. resident multilingual students and international students (4.7% of the study body had an F1 visa

in Fall 2022, according to Center for International Education). I conducted the first study with a colleague in 2020 (IRB# 20.110), which specifically maps transnational, multilingual students' communication practices. The findings from that study suggested a disconnect between, on the one hand, these students' rhetorical dexterity and linguistic repertoire, and, on the other hand, what they are invited to do in American classrooms. This prompted me to design a follow up study, which I conducted in 2022. The second study is also a qualitative study (IRB# 22.218) that invites transnational, multilingual students to share their language and writing practices in non-academic and academic settings as well as the beliefs and priorities that guide them in their communication choices. The second study is designed to get a more nuanced understanding how these students think about their practices and where those ideas come from. Lorimer Leonard, Kate Vieira, and Morris Young note that transnational inquiry "should not be conflated with nor limited to the study of multilingualism," but "including language in analysis can reveal how writers make sense of their own practices or how they position themselves across multiple cultural, linguistic, and political contexts" (x). My central goal was to better understand the rich linguistic, literacy, rhetorical, and cultural resources these students utilize as they communicate across contexts, and to better understand the students' perceptions and attitudes to their own and others' language in order to learn which language ideologies they may be entangled in. Based on my findings, I draw implications for writing pedagogy and administration because I believe that writing teachers and programs must be responsive to the experiences and assets of students in local contexts and provide space for negotiating and becoming aware of language ideologies.

The questions I explore through the dissertation are: 1) How can writing teachers and programs learn from insights into transnational, multilingual students' communication practices and perceptions of their resources? 2) How might we imagine more inclusive, culturally

sustaining classrooms and programs for transnational, multilingual students that incorporate their multiple identities, literacies, and practices? I employ qualitative research methods which have affordances that include the opportunity to hear directly from participants about their lived experiences, but also gaining insight into how participants' experiences and ideas are shaped in and through culture (Corbin and Strauss). This research and its implications can push writing teachers and programs towards self-reflexivity and a reorientation toward language, literacy, and epistemological difference. I believe the field of Rhetoric and Composition is interested in making inclusive and generative learning spaces for transnational students, but I also think there is a "blind spot", as Donahue puts it, in fully seeing transnational students' experiences. As such, I argue that more intentional and care-based listening to the stories that our transnational, multilingual students embody is critical.

Research Methodology

Before I present the background of my studies, my methods, and analytical tools, I discuss my methodology in detail because it informs all my other discussion. My methodology is informed by cultural rhetorics which, as discussed in Chapter 1, emphasizes the lived, embodied experiences of individuals and communities which shape their meaning-making practices and ontologies and stories. As an orientation that encompasses theory, praxis, and methodology, cultural rhetorics offers a set of heuristics that the researcher can deploy in understanding and shaping meaning: story as a key to understanding cultural theory; the practice of constellating stories; relationality and reciprocity; and engagement with decoloniality.

Story is not narrowly defined in a literary sense but is understood as curated accounts of lived experience and visions for the future. In a cultural rhetorics methodology, research is about sharing and listening to stories, while honoring and protecting the stories. As writer Thomas

King says, “The truth about stories is that that’s all we are” (2). As discussed in Chapter 1, stories encode the worldviews and ontologies of the communities or individuals who tell them, and all humans make sense of their experiences through story. Therefore, research comes with a deep ethical obligation.

In collecting participant stories that speak to shared (and individual) experiences with language and meaning-making, I am able to discern patterns across the stories. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the concept of constellation helps visualize these patterns and see my participants’ connections to multiple positions, experiences, relationships, and discourses. The notion of constellative practices helps me further explain *how* I listen to the stories. In interviews with my participants, I listen for shared or intersecting experiences as well as *how* participants tell these stories to *me* in the research situation. In the research situation, my participants and I come together and form a temporary relationship, but we also each show up with our own reasons for being there, and my participants craft their responses to me rhetorically, with awareness of the context in which we connect: at an U.S. university where I am a researcher investigating a topic that is important to many of them.

Another thing I listen for in the stories is the multiple relations and entanglements that these stories constellate around. The experiences that the stories narrate unfold in the context of macro-level discourses or meta-stories about, for example, what it means to be successful or how a college degree from the U.S. can lead to social mobility. Some of these meta-stories are clearly tied to colonialist and capitalist ideologies. I see patterns across the stories of participants with very different backgrounds, but I also see complexity and sometimes contradiction; for example, participants may embrace both decolonial and colonial ideologies at the same time. As multiply-situated individuals, we all belong to many communities, each with our ways of knowing and

being in the world. I would argue that transnational students perhaps belong to even more diverse communities than most people and negotiate meaning and understanding across a variety of discourses and ideologies. As I will demonstrate, my participants' stories embody multiple lived experiences and competing ideologies (both within themselves and amongst each other). Thus, looking at how participant stories constellate around different worldviews, beliefs, and ideologies brings a messy, but rich set of information that must be treated ethically and understood as situated in a particular time and space.

The concept of constellation furthermore impacts my work because I recognize that, I – the researcher – and the participant both speak from positionality and culture. The meaning that the participants and I generate at the research site (i.e., a node in a constellation) is valid, but also subject to spatial, temporal, and discursive shifts (i.e., constellative shifts). Also, as a researcher, I recognize that my positionality, lived experience, and epistemological orientation shape my research at a social and methodological level: first, the interactions between me and my participants and the knowledge we co-construct; and, second, my positionality shapes why I research transnational, multilingual students' meaning-making practices; how I make sense of the stories that are shared with me; and what I aim to do with my findings.

I look at the total sum of interviews as a collective story with individual strands of stories being woven together into a larger story. Kim Weiser explains, "Cultural rhetorics allows us to make stories central, to 'constellate' them in order to make meaning" (n.p). Several recent multivocal, dialogic cultural rhetorics pieces show the potential for making-meaning across the co-authors' individual or shared stories (Hidalgo et al.; Novotny et al.; Powell et al.). The constellation of participant stories into a finished product that resembles a research report is also a story that is shaped for a specific audience, has a motive, and seeks to persuade my audience

that are practices needs to be attuned to the transnational, multilingual experience (Herrick). I, too, am a participant in the progression of this story. Far from being a neutral listener and receptacle of information, I not only engaged with the participants and shared my experiences and commented on theirs while they were telling me their stories, but I also crafted a story that theorizes the transnational, multilingual experience and draws implications from it in order to imagine more inclusive writing pedagogy and programs. This reflexive work helps me see how I engage in constellative practice in mapping my findings and conclusions onto other theories and frameworks and broader systems of power (Hsu). I demonstrate reflexive practice in my opening stories, which aim to demonstrate my positionality and the places and frames I speak from.

The pillar of relationality is both a question of understanding the relationships in a constellation and how these relationships affect an interaction or the telling of a story, but relationality is also about research ethics and accountability. The cultural rhetorics pillar of relational practice centers research interactions that are respectful, responsible, reciprocal, and mutually relevant (Wilson). Riley-Mukavetz argues researchers must center what "is relevant to their *subjects*" (109; original emphasis), which means decentering the agenda and priorities of the researcher. In the conversation between four cultural rhetoricians "Ethically Working Within Communities: Cultural Rhetorics Methodologies Principles", Jo Hsu reflects on responsible research practice: "How do we do this work in a way that is accountable to the people and places we engage with that work? So, I guess that's the place I start from when I'm thinking about a project: (1) Who/what will be impacted by what I am researching and writing, and (2) how do I do so in a way that is responsible, that can seek out and respond to the needs that were present before I got there, and that can be of value?" (n.p.). To address these questions, scholars need to engage with the concerns of the communities in which they do research and listen to the stories

the communities share. The community I engage with in my research is a community of transnational, multilingual undergraduate students. Through my study, I listen to their perspectives and concerns as students in U.S. higher education and what they encounter with respect to their language and writing practices. By better understanding the experiences and needs, researchers and practitioners can focus on what can be "relevant" for and "of value" to transnational, multilingual students. However, in order to arrive at a point of listening to stories, which sometimes recall painful experiences, trust and care have to be established.

Cultural rhetorics integrates feminist research methodologies that emphasize care, which I also draw from in my research. Hil Malatino argues that care needs to be "manifested in practice – action, labor, work – it is integral to our ways of doing" (41). Treating my research participants with care involves creating an ethical research design that respects my participants' stories and seeks to be reciprocal (Novotny and Gagnon; Johnson et al.; Puig de la Bellacasa). In articulating their concept of "research as care", Novotny and John Gagnon reject the "language of use" deployed by much traditional research and reimagine research as "sustaining moments of quality interaction" (96) that are mutually beneficial for researcher and participant, and that honor and protect the stories participants share, while treating the stories as lived and embodied experiences rather than "data". As Maria Puig de la Bellacasa suggests, "Listening with care is an active process of intervening in the count of whom and what is ratified as concerned" (58). Puig de la Bellacasa's definition of care enacted in listening with intent resonates with Krista Ratcliffe's concept of "rhetorical listening" which can function as "a code of cross-cultural conduct". Ratcliffe writes,

> By championing a responsibility logic, rhetorical listening asks us, first, to judge not simply the person's intent but the historically situated discourses that are (un)consciously

> swirling around and through the person and, second, to evaluate politically and ethically how these discourses function and how we want to act upon them. (208)

Enacting rhetorical listening in my interviews is an ethical and vital resource for maintaining open-mindedness to stories that sometimes confound me. Through a methodology of care, I am working towards listening to my participants' stories and call for interventions into exclusionary practices in our field. As argued above, we in the field have not listened with care to the stories our transnational and multilingual students tell, and I argue that turning towards a 'trans'-orientation through cultural rhetorics can bring attention to these stories. My methodology is animated by a desire to be responsive to participants' affective and embodied experiences with using language and writing and to care for the stories they tell.

In terms of methodology, the fourth pillar of cultural rhetorics, which is decolonial practice, starts with a critique against conventional research paradigms. Conventional, positivist scientific research paradigms operate from patriarchal and colonial logics, yet they claim objectivity and validity. The built-in white, male bias of researchers located in Western colonial institutions not only shape how researchers collect knowledge, but also becomes the basis of the nature of knowledge itself. Linda Alcoff defines epistemology as "a philosophical inquiry into the nature of knowledge, what justifies a belief, and what we mean when we say that a claim is true" (vii); thus, epistemologies with white, male biases embody a narrow understanding of who can lay claims to truths and knowledge, and who has epistemic agency to create knowledge. In conventional research paradigms, the biases, however, are eclipsed and made invisible, and the knowledge that the white, male researcher produces when using specific scientific (i.e., quantitative) methods are re-presented as objective and valid. Another part of the critique focuses on the oppressive and extractive methods in producing knowledge, which have tended to position

research subjects as little more than conveyers of information and, more gravely, have been exploitative in using the extracted information in careless, if not harmful, ways (Smith). Decolonial scholars have pointed out that traditional research has been used to create, secure, and justify dominance through meta-stories that explain structures of power and dominance (Collins; Kirsch and Royster; Selfe and Hawisher; Smith).

Decolonial research is grounded in pluriversatility, which recognizes that reality is constituted not only by many different worlds but by different ways of being in and knowing the world. This means Western ways of being and knowing is one option among many, rather than the only option. Decolonial approaches are inclusive of marginalized subjects and communities' knowledge-making practices, and they recognize that epistemologies are not tied to individuals, but to communities whose histories, experiences, and worldviews shape their understanding of the nature of knowledge and how it is constructed. In the conversation "Constellating Stories and Counterstories: Cultural Rhetorics Scholarship Principles", Ana Ribero argues that cultural rhetorics research can "bring to light different cultural knowledges, meaning-making practices, and epistemologies. Scholarship in cultural rhetorics pushes the boundaries of what we consider knowledge, what we consider evidence" (n.p.). Bratta and Powell explain that a cultural rhetorics methodology "recognizes and honors the cultural specificity of all rhetorical practices/productions," which includes an "understanding of the material bodies engaged in rhetorical practices" (n.p.). The emphasis of cultural specificity, again with the understanding the cultures are dynamic and practiced, is particularly generative for my area of inquiry with transnational participants. The border thinking and border phenomena that transnational individuals engage in as well as their simultaneous entanglements with systems of knowledge become visible and legitimate through a decolonial lens. Though my research methods are fairly

traditional, my research project has decolonial intentions in its aim to validate and visibilize ways of being, knowing, and making sense that differ from the Euro-American option that is typically privileged and centered in our field.

Background of Study

In Chapter 1, I shared parts of my own story of arriving at a dissertation that focuses on transnational, multilingual students. To provide a little more context for my research interest but also for my research process, I started teaching at UWM in 2007, shortly after I had moved to the U.S. The first many years, I taught in the Intensive English Program (IEP) and then in the credit-bearing English for Academic Purposes Program (EAP), primarily the two composition courses EAP 101 and ENG 102 (in sections dedicated to multilingual students). After I started my PhD program in 2019, I started teaching mainstream sections of ENG 101 and 102, in addition to multilingual sections. In Fall 2019, in a graduate seminar on Sociocultural Linguistics, my peer, Anis Rahman, and I designed a study on multilingual students' language practices in academic and non-academic contexts, which included a language survey and interviews with students in ENG 102 for multilingual students. We recruited students from my two sections of ENG 102 by inviting them to participate in our research on how students use language in their everyday lives. We communicated to the students that we hoped to gain a better understanding of the communication resources in order to inform pedagogical approaches to teaching writing with multilingual students. We also clarified that the surveys were confidential, and that participation was voluntary and would not impact their grades in any way. They were given an incentive to earn 5 extra credits for the course by filling out the survey, and for anyone who did not wish to participate, an alternative 5 credit assignment was available. After our graduate seminar ended, Anis Rahman moved on to a different project, and I decided to carry on the research by

distributing additional surveys and inviting more respondents to participate in interviews. In Spring 2020, I did not teach sections of ENG 102, so I reached out to a colleague to distribute the survey. In Spring of 2020, I also started conducting in-person interviews with participants who had agreed to participate in this next step of the research project. However, once the COVID-19 pandemic caused a shutdown of our campus, I had to recalibrate my methods for recruitment, and I enlisted another colleague, who was the coordinator of English for Academic Purposes, to help me recruit participants, while I also reached out to my own former students that I was still in touch with. In Spring of 2020, I moved the interviews online to Microsoft Teams where I conducted and recorded several interviews. As such, the recruitment process became messier than anticipated, but my main goal was to continue to collect stories from students who had enrolled in ENG 102 for multilingual students. I was less worried about a specific recruitment method and thus embraced a networking model where I used my existing contacts and connections to recruit. At this point, I decided to deemphasize the surveys and mostly treat them as a means to recruit participants for the interviews.

In Spring of 2022, when I conducted my second study, I still wanted to prioritize recruiting transnational, multilingual undergraduate students at UWM. However, my understanding about what defines "transnational and multilingual" had also shifted between my two studies. During the first study, I was more narrowly focused on individuals who had been placed in EAP sections, thereby having an institutional label as transnational and multilingual. In 2022, my definition had reoriented to include any individual who self-identifies as transnational and multilingual. I expanded the pool I was recruiting from by recruiting among any undergraduate student who 1), self-identified as transnational and multilingual, and 2), was currently or had formerly enrolled in a First-Year Composition course at UWM. I no longer

solely prioritized EAP sections but also included mainstream sections of ENG 100, 101, and 102. In Spring of 2022, I did not teach First-Year Composition, so I was not able to recruit among my own students. I reached out to three colleagues who were currently teaching EAP 101 and ENG 102 for multilingual students. While my focus was not solely on EAP students, I knew it would be a tidier process to recruit among students in those sections as opposed to recruiting among the hundreds of FYC sections at UWM. So, while I had a desire to include students outside of EAP sections, I decided that focusing my recruitment efforts here would be practical. Also, by recruiting among the EAP sections, I would have access to about 50 students who, for sure, had transnational and multilingual identities, and I decided it was a good start. My aim was to get to 30 participants, so once my recruitment process slowed down among these students, I once again used my own contacts to recruit students who had formerly taken any First-Year Composition course at UWM and self-identified at transnational and multilingual.

Research Methods

I apply qualitative research methods to focus on my participants' experiences and their understanding of their experiences. I chose interviews, which are a qualitative method, to generate accounts of language and literacy practices across contexts and writers' experiences with and perceptions of their resources. Thomas Lindlof and Bryan Taylor explain that interviews are "well suited to *understanding the social actor's experience, knowledge, and worldviews*" (173; emphasis in the original). My interviews partially attempt to invite participants to talk about empirical facts and experiences outside of the context of the research situation such as educational experiences across contexts or writing in the composition classroom. However, I also accept that human beings filter facts and experiences through their terministic screens (Burke). Interviews are better suited, then, to examine *perspectives* on lived

experience, rather than the lived experience itself. When participants share their experiences, they are filtered through the discourses and ideologies they are entangled in.

In the first study, I conducted nine thirty-minute interviews with students. I offered those participants who were doing in-person interviews the opportunity to decide where and when to meet, and in every instance, they chose to meet in my office on campus. The majority of the interviews, however, were conducted online on Microsoft Teams due to the COVID-19 pandemic. I audio-recorded all the interviews my personal recording device. The type of interviews I chose were respondent interviews which – rather than discovering empirical facts – "are conducted to find out how people express their views, how they construe their actions… [and] we want them to disclose their subjective standpoints (Lindlof and Taylor 179). My interview questions seek to elicit details about participants' language use through different communication contexts. The questions also intend to explore the participants' attitudes towards being a multilingual student and their attitudes towards language mixing. I wanted to get a sense of how their language resources help or hinder them with different communication needs. Finally, I wanted to explore their senses and use of different dialects of the languages they speak. I used an "interview guide" to semi-structure the interviews which, according to Lindlof and Taylor, allows for the researcher "to drop some questions from the list, or add optional questions, or improvise still others" (200). This style of interview allowed for a structure as well as flexibility in zooming in on specific answers participants shared.

For the second study, I recruited 21 participants to do 30-60 min interviews, but for this study I chose to shift my approach to narrative, unstructured interviews. While I thought the semi-structured method from the first study yielded useful information, I felt constrained by

asking the questions in a specific way and order. Unstructured interviews create a less formal environment and more of a conversational space. Narrative interviews,

> Have a dual nature as both an empirical method and ontological paradigm. In other words, narrative interviews are not only a method for 'capturing' stories; it also assumes that people understand who they are partly through everyday performances of narrative. The act of storytelling thus holds as much interest as the story content in a narrative interview. (Lindlof and Taylor 180)

In the lapse between the first and second study, I had learned about cultural rhetorics and became interested in storytelling as a method for learning about how others make sense of their world and their experiences, so in designing the qualitative study, I decided adjust my overall design and, specifically, the interview protocol. In the interviews, I asked open-ended, unstructured questions about participants' language and literacy practices. Many prompts start with, "Can you tell me about…?" or "Would you share an example of". I mostly refrained from using the word "story" as I worried that this term would confuse the participants, but – as I discuss below – I treat everything my participants shared in both studies as story.

My method is focused on gathering stories through interviews because this mode of research is practical and familiar to participants. Cultural rhetorics, though, helps me think about what participants shared as stories in several ways. First, as noted, in taking a narrative approach, I thought of each interview as individual stories that were crafted for a specific rhetorical situation. I was the primary audience, but the secondary audience were other English teachers, which I highlighted verbally and in writing when I recruited possible participants and on my consent form, which specifies:

> The study focuses on your reading, writing, and research practices in academic settings, and the goal is that, by learning more about how multilingual students use different languages resources, writing teachers and programs can become more inclusive.

With this knowledge, participants often had specific goals for why they wanted to participate, and they crafted the stories for engage their audiences in specific ways. As such, the stories they share with me are not ahistorical and acontextual: they are planned, they have a motive, and they are shaped for a specific audience (Herrick).

Through studying cultural rhetorics, I had also come to believe that storytelling would lend itself to more authentic, meaningful, and care-based engagement between me and my research participants than structured or semi-structured interview questions do. Issues of language and literacy are connected to identity and can involve painful experiences – especially if individuals have been exposed to deficit-approaches to their language and literacy. In my research, I was entering conversations that asked participants to remember and talk through potentially vulnerable and distressing experiences. Also, an emerging priority for my research was to be upfront and transparent about my own positionality rather than performing the role of a detached and neutral researcher. As an individual who shares experiences with my participants in being a transnational and multilingual student (and teacher), I wanted to converse about these issues in the interviews and establish trust and a situated ethos with my participants. In the interviews, I enacted rhetorical listening by "listening with intent" (Ratcliffe 205) to their stories. This entails being mindful of how the discourse between us was an embodied and rhetorical act of understanding – sometimes across differences. In addition to creating a caring space, I wanted to make the experience empowering and useful; I wanted to be able to "do something"; i.e., make the experience productive or meaningful for my participants (Enoch, Jack, and Glenn 7).

Sometimes, if the occasion called for it, I would mentor, or advise, or in some other way share my knowledge about a variety of things a given participant might be able to use. I was explicit in my admiration for their accomplishments and took an asset-approach to a participants' language and literacy if they expressed self-doubt. In one instance, I connected with a former student and offered a letter of recommendation – not in return for the interview, but because I realized I could write this letter, and it would benefit them. This resonated with my goal of creating a meaningful and mutually relevant experience for me and the participants.

To set up the interviews in a way that would invite conversation and make story-sharing natural, I planned a couple of questions to get the conversations going, and I asked participants to bring two writing assignments, one from an FYC course and one from any other course. Part of my interview protocol included asking participants to talk about their composing and research processes, as well as the feedback they received. With both types of questions, my aim was to understand their assumptions and beliefs about writing and knowledge-making as much as to learn about their processes and the feedback they got. In conversing about their written work, for example, I didn't close-read either the participant's writing or the teacher's feedback because I used the writing assignments mostly as artifacts to start conversation and storytelling. Likewise, I did not collect and analyze any of the writing because I was more interested in examining the decision-making and logos-informed deliberations participants are making when they negotiate learning and writing in U.S. college contexts.

Analysis of Stories

To make sense of the stories and to enable me to speak about patterns that constellate in the stories to audiences of writing teachers and programs, I chose grounded theory. Grounded theory was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss and aims to theorize about social

phenomena grounded in analysis of data. John Creswell explains, "Grounded theory is a qualitative research design in which the inquirer generates a general explanation (a theory) of a process, action, or interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants" (249). Grounded theory resonates with me insofar as I am not seeking to prove any preconceived knowledge about the practices or experiences of transnational, multilingual students; rather, with grounded theory, I noticed what came up in and across participants' stories in terms of how participants perceive their own rhetorical navigation, and how they construct meaning out of this, and I theorize from these observations. Diverging from grounded theory, however, I don't consider my participants' stories "data" in a traditional sense that tends to define data as decontextualized, disembodied phenomena.

While grounded theory is a key approach in my analytical approach, I am mindful of critiques that grounded theory – as a post-positivist method – still attempts at objective findings through inductive approaches. As noted, I aware of my positionality, and how it shapes the way I make sense of my participants' stories. Sharing the stance that any research is grounded in subjectivity and that new theorizing maps onto prior theory, I chose Victoria Clarke and Virginia Braun's method of thematic analysis to analyze my data. Clarke and Braun explain thematic analysis as "a method for identifying and analysing [*sic*] patterns in qualitative data" (120). With this method, there is a recognition that research results are not empirical facts but are influenced by the researcher's subjectivity in their interpretation. Clarke and Braun explain, "themes are not hidden in the data waiting to be discovered by the intrepid researcher, rather the researcher constructs the themes" (121). In other words, the way I construct themes inevitably differs from how others would construct them. A distinctive feature of thematic analysis is that the researcher can work inductively or deductively or in combination. As such, this method allows the

researcher to transpose prior theories onto their data and use their frames, which aligns with a cultural rhetorics stance that a researcher's positionality and subjectivity always influence research. Thus, the importance of a theme is not related to quantifiable measures, but whether it provides value in relation to the research questions. Thematic analysis involves a series of steps, some of which are reiterative, of reviewing, coding, discerning themes, reviewing coded material again, revising and reviewing themes (Nowell et al.). Accordingly, having conducted and recorded the interviews, I transcribed the interviews and spent several weeks both re-listening to and re-reading the transcriptions. I constructed some themes right away, while other patterns slowly emerged through careful examination. As I will elaborate in Chapters 3 and 4, the themes I constructed focused on participants' use of language, literacy, and knowledge resources, which included self-revealed "facts", but also attitudes to and beliefs about their resources and others' perceptions of them.

Limitations

Some limitations to my study pertain to recruitment and scope. I was relying on having pre-established connections to my participants or having colleagues invite me to their classrooms to recruit participants. Since my study took place during the Covid-19 pandemic, I had difficulty recruiting during the first study because everything had moved online. My second study was also impacted by the pandemic because the enrollment of transnational students at UWM was low, and I had a small pool to recruit from. With a larger scope and with even greater diversity among participants, I might have been able elaborate more on certain themes and, perhaps, discern other themes. However, I noticed that I began to hear similar stories in the interviews and determined I had reached a point of saturation.

Another limitation relates to the goal of ethical research within an institutional context. While my intention is to set up the research scene to be a place of trust and care and to be transparent about my own experiences and positionality, I recognize that even research that attempts to create non-hierarchical relationships between research and participant maintains a power differential; power differentials are inherent in research (Royster and Kirsch; Vieira). The significant age gaps between my participants and I, and my situated ethos as a scholar create a distance between my participants and me. I also acknowledge the cultural logics and experiences with research may differ between participants from different parts of the world or different experiences than mine. As a researcher who identifies and reads as white, I differ from the majority of my participants, which may or may not impact how they perceive me. Also, my Danish cultural background, which is rooted in egalitarianism, shapes how I orient to researcher-participant or teacher-student relationships as non-hierarchical relationships, which may make me differ from some of my participants who are used to a greater power distance. As such, the stories I invite may be withheld or shared in specific ways because of how I am perceived as an audience and researcher. This, of course, does not have to be a limitation, but I recognize the potential pitfalls in attempting to represent others – especially in situations when power differentials are explicit such as is the case in my research.

In the following two chapters, I present my analysis and key findings of my two studies. Chapter 3 focuses on participants' experiences communicating and making meaning outside educational contexts while Chapter 4 focuses on their experiences with learning, languaging, and writing in the classroom. Throughout Chapters 3 and 4, I also tell parts of my participants' stories that took shape during the interviews when they discussed their experiences with

communicating and writing in across contexts, in the U.S. and elsewhere. These stories are indented from the main text, and I use regular font to tell the story and italics when I quote participants. In these two chapters, I demonstrate how the stories constellate around and illustrate key themes across all the interviews.

Chapter 3: Language and Literacy Practices outside Academia

My daughter has been exposed to Danish and English since birth and knows both languages well because she hears them every day and understands everything. She is almost two years old, and while she is able to say many words, she is not speaking in full sentences a lot. It is a nice spring day, and I say to her, "Skal vi gå ud I haven?". Her dad, who does not speak Danish, is standing nearby, and Matilde goes, "We are going to yard". Mind blown! She read the situation; she knew her dad did not understand what I had said in Danish; she wanted to include him, so she proceeded to translate. In a full sentence!

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In 2020, during the Covid-19 pandemic, my children and I move temporarily to Denmark. One day, I catch myself eavesdropping outside my son's room as he is playing Minecraft online with his new Danish friends and his old friends in the U.S. They are communicating; it is going very well. His Danish friends know a good amount of English, but his American friends don't know any Danish. Aleksander, effortlessly and entirely unaware, translates and translanguages, so they can create and survive in the game. No one seems to notice or to be fazed. Meanwhile, lurking, listening – I, the scholar of translingual studies, am astounded at the ease and smoothness of this interaction.

My own experiences as a transnational, multilingual student, teacher, and mother of transnational, multilingual kids shape how I orient to this field of study. For example, observing my young children make meaning across languages with creativity and as a natural phenomenon shows me how amazing the mind is, but also how absolutely ordinary it is to translate and

translanguage. Individuals who do this on a regular basis don't usually pay it much mind. As these two stories show, individuals' ability to rhetorically read a situation and intuit who their interlocutors or overhearers are also shape how they community, as does the context of the interaction and the activities that take place. Matilde intuited her role as translator, and Aleksander understood that his role in this activity was to translate and broker meaning as needed to make the game move forward – an activity he was deeply invested in.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the translingual approach to language informs my understanding of language as a dynamic and situated practice. In this approach, language difference is the norm rather than something that needs to be fixed – even though the bias towards monolingualism often makes it appear as if monolingualism is the norm (Heller). In this chapter, I analyze and story my participants' experiences communicating as transnational, multilingual individuals. I focus on stories about linguistic and literate activities outside of academic contexts, which capture the 'trans'-practices participants deploy to make meaning, learn, and form relationships. As transnational individuals, my participants are inherent border-crossers who traverse physical and digitals borders in their movement across state borders, regions, social spaces, and cultural and linguistic communities. The movements between and across spaces influence how participants use and perceive their linguistic resources. As part of "the transnational traffic of meaning" (Pennycook), transnational individuals tune in and participate in knowledge-making at multiple sites. This happens when they travel or when they communicate digitally across borders. Many of my participants travel extensively, both across regions in their home countries and across national borders. Some are immigrants who make journeys back to their home country or to other countries where family members live whereas others have been temporary sojourners in transnational localities because of their parents' work

or because they stayed with family members while getting an education. Although I did not gather sensitive information about my participants' immigration status, based on what they divulge, I estimate that roughly half of my participants are international students who are in the U.S. on an F1 visa, and many travel to their home countries during summer break. The other half are U.S.-residents who travel to or communicate with friends and family overseas. With the movement across borders and other boundaries, individuals not only become accustomed to negotiating language difference, they also participate in networks of information. When they consume traditional media such a television or new media such as YouTube, they tune in to non-U.S.-based media that present different perspectives and worldviews. Significantly, when they engage with participatory and social media, they are not just recipients of information; rather, they participate in the development of ideas as they negotiate perspectives and share experiences with people they know across borders, and the flow of meaning that circulates in different places. For example, participants would discuss the different conversations and discourses they access and engage in on issues across contexts such as Covid-19, the war in Ukraine, Shakespeare, violence against women in Mexico, and U.S. politics.

However, as with language practices, knowledge, information, and perspectives are situated in and constrained by language ideologies. In my analysis, I constellate participants' stories around these discourses, while demonstrating the (sometimes) deep contradictions between practices and language ideologies and policy. My participants' attitudes to their language practices and to language and knowledge more broadly are often at odds with how they and their communities use language and make meaning.

Orienting to Language

Meeting the Participants

Table 1 below presents a profile of my participants and how, when, and where they have encountered different languages.

Pseudonym	**Place Affiliations [that participants mention]**	**Languages and Variations Participants use**
Rustam	Uzbekistan ("home village" and Tashkent)	English, Uzbek, Russian, Tatjik, some Turkish
Farhod	Uzbekistan	English, Uzbek, Russian, Tatjik, Turkish
Ansar	Uzbekistan	English, Farsi, Uzbek, Russian, Turkish
Miras	Kazakhstan	English, Russian, Kazakh, Turkish, Korean
Ditya	Nepal ("home village" and Kathmandu)	English, Hindi, Nepali, local language
Sajit	Nepal	English, Nepali, Hindi
Isaac	Syria, Lebanon	English, Arabic, dialects of Arabic
Halimah	Syria	English, Arabic
Kareem	Saudi Arabia	English, Arabic, some Spanish and German
Mariam	Jordan, Saudi Arabia	English, Arabic (Saudi and Jordanian dialects)
Omar	Jordan, Palestine	English, Arabic
Sujin	South Korea	English, Korean, some Japanese
Jiwon	South Korea	English, Korean, some Japanese, some Chinese
Seongmin	South Korea, Singapore	English, Korean, some Chinese
Kyung	South Korea	English, Korean
Hyun	South Korea	English, Korean, some Japanese
Hae	The Philippines, South Korea	English, Korean, some Tagalog
Mingzhu	China ("hometown" and Beijing)	English, Mandarin, "hometown language", some Cantonese
Jinjing	China	English, Mandarin
Nayla	Malaysia	English, Malay, Indonesian, Java, Burmese
Ivan	Russia, Ukraine, Belarus	English, Russian, some Ukrainian
Marius	Romania	English, Romanian
Matondo	Congo ("hometown" and Kinshasa)	English, French, Lingala, Kikongo, Tshiluba
Simeon	Nigeria	English, Igbo, Nigerian Pidgin, Spanish
Itzcoatl	Mexico	English, Spanish
Marco	Mexico	English, Spanish
Amelia	Mexico	English, Spanish
Catalina	Mexico	English, Spanish
Manuel	Mexico	English, Spanish
Paloma	Mexico	English, Spanish
Martina	Chile	English, Chilean Spanish, other Spanish dialects

Table 1. Profile of participants

A profile risks reifying the languages as named, stable entities, and therefore of being reductive. However, temporarily capturing the language backgrounds allows me to build a more complex description of how my participants cross borders. At the level of physical border-crossing, it does not simply involve the borders of nation states; it also includes regionally heterogenous areas within nations (e.g. areas of Uzbekistan or Nigeria) and plurilingual metropolitan areas (e.g. Katmandu, Kinshasa, Manila, or Tanakh). It includes digital spaces that participants traverse to maintain relationships, gain information, consume popular culture, etc. Table 1 captures the localities participants mention having an affiliation with. In some cases, they mention a hometown in their country but do not mention the name of the town. The column that lists places, of course, does not show any movement – simply places that are mentioned. The third column lists the languages participants talk about either as the mother tongue, an acquired language, or a language they have some familiarity with. Similarly, the lists do not capture any linguistic border-crossing and are merely meant as a brief overview.

Before getting at the more complex ways participants negotiate their resources and their perceptions of the resources, I discern some patterns in how participants talk about coming to these resources. About two thirds of my participants grew up in a household that used one language as the primary medium of communication and many participants describe this language as their "first" or "home" language. Notably, several of these participants speak to the multiple dialects they heard or used, either because family members spoke different dialects, because they moved around, or simply because they lived in multidialectal places such as Mexico City or Medina.

The other third of my participants grew up in households that used multiple languages either because their parents used different languages; they were immigrant families; or because

the place they grew up was multilingual (the Philippines, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Nigeria and Congo). These nations are multilingual places where many local languages and language variations intersect, particularly in metropolitan areas. Further, European languages are present because of complex geopolitical histories which include colonial histories that introduced English to the Philippines and Nigeria; French to Congo; and Russian to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In these multilingual places, participants describe spending time with other family members or extended family who would communicate in other languages, or just through exposure in public places such as playgrounds or markets.

> Ansar's parents spoke mainly Farsi, but several of his family members such as uncles, aunts, and cousins spoke Uzbek, so he picked up this language in his childhood. *"When my aunt's children came to my home, we speak in a mix of languages. For example, I speak to my relations in Farsi, and she spoke in Uzbek, and I think that's the first step that I gradually learned the Uzbek language."* Upon entering school, he learned formal Uzbek and became "fluent". He also learned Russian and English.
>
> ***
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> Hae was born in the Philippines into a South Korean family. Her first educational experience was in a Korean-medium school where she was in English as a Second Language and Filipino language: *"But that was such a long time ago. I was not able to learn it perfectly, I would have loved to. I would have turned back time and learned it perfectly."* She also picked up English from TV: *"So, a lot of the TV I was growing up with was American and Korean cartoons, so it was weird living in the Philippines watching American and Korean cartoons – all these other cultures – while I was in the Philippines."* Her parents enrolled her in a U.S.-style, English-medium school. While she

increasingly started using English, she was exposed to multiple languages in the school with her expat classmates, and she was also exposed to Tagalog and other Filipino languages in school and when moving across public spaces such as markets and stores. In those latter places, communication, then, involved using English, Tagalog, and various semiotic and extra-linguistic features. In other areas on her life, Hae often helped her parents translate and broker language because they didn't know English.

Ansar and Hae's stories speak to the multi-facetted language exposure that individuals in multilingual places experience in addition to formal schooling. Ansar solidified his knowledge of Uzbek in school and added two new languages, but his childhood was already multilingual because Uzbekistan is multilingual. Hae learned new languages in formal educational settings – Tagalog for non-native speakers and English in an ESL program and, later, English at an English-medium school. However, the translingual physical and digital environments she grew up in exposed her to and fostered a translingual sensibility and ability to navigate complex linguistic differences and translation spaces (Bloom-Pojar). The language that is taught in educational settings is formal and rule-based, and sometimes remarkably different from how this language is used and negotiated outside the classroom in meaning-making activities. As Ansar says about his childhood language, *"We didn't have any grammar … and didn't know how to write".* But it helped him develop and maintain relationships with family members. Using words like "fluent" and "perfectly", both Ansar and Hae evoke the trope of mastery that is so common in educational settings, but with is at odds with how individuals actually making meaning.

For participants who primarily used a single language in their early childhood, they added to and also built their linguistic repertoire through schooling and/or non-academic activities which include music, TV, podcasts, books, social media, and videogames. These activities were

available to them through global technological networks such as the internet and cable TV, and participants sought them out because they were part of popular culture or because they coincided with specifics interests. At other times, these types of activities were deliberately chosen because they could help the participant learn a language. Ansar, for example, sought out Turkish music and TV because it helped him further learn the language. When monolingually raised participants started attending school, it was the first time, in some cases, they were fully exposed to a new language. I categorize participants in this group as growing up in fairly linguistically homogenous places in terms of the languages that were used in their early childhood even though, in a digitally networked world, individuals are exposed to language difference on cable TV and online. Several participants talk about how they used to intersperse English with their other language even if they didn't know very much English at the time.

In addition to their experiences with and exposure to a wealth of different languages, many participants also speak about their knowledge of language variations. As work in sociolinguistics has shown, decisions about when a language becomes a named language versus a language variation is more a matter of language policy than established facts about the linguistic boundaries of a given language (Bell). Setting aside for a moment the translingual perspective that neither languages nor dialects are insular and autonomized, it is evident that some named languages are far more similar (e.g. the Scandinavian languages) than some dialects are (e.g. Mandarin and Cantonese). In talking about their linguistic resources, I notice patterns

among Chinese-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and Arabic-speaking participants who bring up moving across and between boundaries where different dialects are used[4].

> Mariam grew up in Jordan, but when her family temporarily relocated to Saudi Arabia, she spent four years there, age 12 to 16. She describes her difficulties adjusting to the Saudi variety of Arabic because, as she says, *"In Jordan, we don't exactly speak Arabic"*, referring to the Northern Arabic variation. After adjusting, however, she gradually gained the ability to switch between dialects. Now, she switches effortlessly when she communicates online with her friends in Saudi Arabia or with her current friends in the U.S., who are from places like Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Syria, even with significant dialectal differences. She and her brother moved in with family in the U.S. when she was in the 12th grade, and she attended a local high school in Milwaukee where almost no one spoke Arabic *"except for two 9th grade boys who were annoying".* So, immersed in an English-speaking environment, she quickly adapted again. At home, Mariam and her brother speak Arabic when they are alone or *"mixing in some English"*, and they primarily speak English together in public places.

Mariam's story exemplifies the translingual labor individuals engage in when they negotiate dialectal differences, an area of study that is not prominent in translingual study. My participants speak to dialectal translation moments that cause misunderstanding and confusion, but which can also be "fun" moments, as Isaac says. "Sometimes we will have a completely different word for something simple like 'cup' [laughs]." Isaac continues laughing as he explains

[4] However, rather than attempting to characterize regions with complex histories and political landscapes, I rely solely on what my participants share with me about moving across language difference within a named language.

the entertainment these moments sometimes create. Also, the linguistic and sometimes cultural bonds that participants share with those who speak the same language connect them even if dialectal differences exist. The translingual labor, then, may involve creating a linguistic common ground. Martina, who is Chilean, talks about navigating between different Spanishes in the U.S. "I have friends from lot of parts of the world, so I try to speak a neutral Spanish everyone can understand… For example, my best friend is Colombian, and even though we both speak Spanish, I like to use more neutral words that we both understand than words that are just from Chile." This labor, too, is both under-studied and invisible to observers who are not familiar with the language, but it involves creativity, meta-linguistic awareness, and rhetorical attunement.

Another layer of difference involves creole languages. Sociolinguist Alan Bell defines creole language as a language originally created by groups of people who don't share the same language and which mixes elements of both groups' languages. Over time, however, a creole language develops a complex grammar and extensive vocabulary and becomes a recognized language whether it does or doesn't have an official status. Creole languages have native speakers for whom the language may be their first or only language.

> Simeon is Nigerian and weaves in and out of Igbo dialects, Nigerian English, and Nigerian Pidgin (i.e., Naijá), a creole-based language that is the lingua franca in Nigeria. With many friends, he will speak and/or mix all the languages he knows. When discussing how the languages were taught and regulated through policy in schools, he says, *"In schools, we only used English, or some schools they teach in French, and only in high school we learn Spanish. English … is the main language because Nigeria was colonized by the British, so we speak English as the official language"*. However,

Simeon's teachers did sometimes use Nigerian Pidgin when teaching in order to increase learning or explain concepts, but there were strict rules against using it in writing.

Across my interviews, participants like Simeon who grew up in multilingual settings were the most matter-of-fact about their linguistic resources, which suggested to me that linguistic diversity was so embedded in their identity and lived experience that they didn't talk about it as an accomplishment or an asset. Simeon's story about his K12 school experience, however, clearly illustrates how historical and contemporary power structures, including language-policies, determine how languages are labelled, codified, and mapped on top of ideologies that are entangled in the colonial matrix of power. Simeon's story shows how policy and curriculum run counter to how people use actually use the languages; "how communicative practices in general might be ideologically constrained" (Wee 332) through language policy, even if that policy is not explicit.

This section shows the diversity, not only of the linguistic resources that my participants have access to and deploy in their lives, but also of experiences across a multiplicity of settings. While zooming in on different areas and fixing them as separate spaces is helpful in presenting my participants and giving an overview of their resources, such a description simplifies the deployment of resources. The stories serve to better illustrate details about participants' movements in and out of linguistic spaces and in the borders and overlaps between spaces where they learn academic and experiental knowledge and build connections to others. These border-crossings require creativity, rhetorical awareness, linguistic attunement, but many of these labors are invisible, especially to individuals whose daily lives are less linguistically diverse and who are unfamiliar with this labor.

Deployment of Linguistic Resources across Contexts

In the previous section, I focused on participants' exposure to, access to, and engagement with their linguistic resources, and in this section, I describe in further detail how linguistic and rhetorical resources are deployed in different areas of the participants lives. While linguistic diversity is an integral aspect of all my participants' lived experience, I focus on stories where the participants move across different communicative contexts of their lives.

By far the most striking observation across all the stories is how many participants discussed shuttling between languages (Canagarajah). Depending on the level of comfort with an individual's several languages, this shuttling is either incredibly smooth or, at times, more jagged. Regardless of how much conscious effort participants report putting into communicating across contexts, the level of rhetorical dexterity they use to navigate is astounding. Beyond "switching on and off" certain languages with different people, their descriptions of this process speak to rhetorical attunement. In discussing translingual practice as a process of sense-making and interaction, Lorimer Leonard's work on "rhetorical attunement" signifies the sensitivity in multilingual speakers to language difference in different contexts. She writes,

> Language … is something we make as we move rather than something static we carry around; and, resources, then, must be externally influenced and socially practiced. ... Rhetorical attunement attempts to account for this accumulative quality by acknowledging the ongoing, negotiated and unpredictable use of practices over time" ("Multilingual" 232).

When laying the concepts of rhetorical attunement over the transnational physical and digital border-crossings, we see nuances in how rhetorically attuned individuals carefully and

strategically deploy their resources. Lorimer Leonard's metaphor of attunement is evocative because it helps us understand that individuals' choices to use language is specific ways is often rhetorically motivated and "informed by [individuals'] own histories, memories, and changing life situations" (243). Whether or not speakers and writers decide to deploy one language or another in a given situation, myriad linguistic and semiotic resources are always waiting to become activated and deployed (Canagarajah; Garciá). As Anis Bawarshi's asserts, "We are always translingual" (245). Bawarshi's statement expresses a condition of linguistic fluidity and recontextualization that transnationals and, arguably all, individuals face in their daily lives. At the same time, the statement also expresses a strategic and rhetorically attuned communication practice. Though translingual practice may not always be planned and conscious, as I will discuss below, it is often used with some level of intentionality. Decisions to draw from specific resources and not others may stem from experiences with language ideologies and may align with, run counter to, or weave in and out of the social norms and language representations of different rhetorical situations. As mentioned, Guerra's concept of "transcultural repositioning" (*Language* 13) speaks to the linguistic, rhetorical, and communicative versality of students who weave in and out of communities. Guerra adds a dimension to the concept of rhetorical attunement because he argues that individuals must learn to harness their intuitive resources and "self-consciously regulate" them (16) in their movements across spaces. I see this awareness of utilizing resources – familial, social, cultural, linguistic – as a self-conscious act towards meeting goals and bettering futures.

Negotiating Language Difference

The need to negotiate language difference with translingual practice is a natural consequence of transnational movement. Participants who have immigrated or temporarily

sojourn in a different place and who have to navigate a different linguistic and sociocultural landscape engage in various practices to make do. These practices, which build or extend relationships and community, are interesting in several ways. Not only do they allow participants to dive into or continue translingual practices, but they also support cultural brokering, a feeling of home, a chance to make new friends.

As discussed, a translingual view of language rejects the notion that there are fixed, reified boundaries between languages. Rather than considering multilingual speakers accessing to two or more discreet, autonomous language systems in their brains depending on their interlocutors, translingual scholars argue it is one repertoire. While my analysis of participants' stories builds on translingual scholarship, when I listen to the ways my participants depict their language practices, I find it necessary to describe how they move between the languages and variations they use. Many participants do, indeed, describe their multiple language resources as compartmentalized and more or less restricted to specific contexts of their lives. When asked about how, when, and where they use their languages, they will say, "I use X language at home" or "I use Y language only at school or work". These descriptions are accompanied by statements about the level of comfort using a specific language, the mental work that goes into using this language, or self-perceived fluency or competence using the language. These reflections exemplify the rhetorical attunement and transcultural repositioning that my participants negotiate.

Several participants discuss difficulties with adding languages to their repertoire or crossing linguistic, cultural, regional, and national boundaries. These difficulties are often depicted as barriers for communication. For example, Mingzhu, who grew up using her hometown language with friends and family and later went to a Mandarin-medium boarding-

school and college, explains that she has a hard time talking with her parents about academic topics because she lacks the vocabulary. Hae who grew up in a Korean family but went to an English-medium school in the Philippines also talks about the barriers she experiences with Korean because she is more "comfortable with English". Another barrier that is common for multilinguals is vocabulary recall. They often have to work harder to recall words that seem evasive in the situation, which causes some frustration and sometimes embarrassment. For example, Kyung, who has spent a few years as an international student in the U.S. and who often either speaks English or translanguages English and Korean, explains feeling frustrated when communicating with her parents, who don't speak English, because sometimes she feels at a loss explaining certain experiences and recalling certain words in Korean. However, despite these barriers or moments of frustration, participants work through these moments to make meaning, keep conversations going, and achieve communicative goals. Giving up and walking away are seldom solutions when communication is momentarily difficult. Sometimes certain topics are avoided as is the case with Mingzhu who avoids talking with her parents about what she is studying at school, but at other times, it just takes a little extra time to recall a word, or it involves creativity and collaboration to negotiate meaning and make sense. As such, these moments are not only frustrating but can also be empowering and affirming because it involves problem-solving. Gonzales' work on "translation moments" offers a lens to describe what individuals do when they struggle to make meaning because of linguistic differences. Gonzales argues that in intercultural communication, all work essentially involves elements of translation. Further, multilinguals consider the situated and rhetorical aspects of their communication situation to make the most effective choices to communicate:

> Translation moments, or instances in time when multilingual communicators pause to make a rhetorical decision about how to translate a specific word or phrase from one language to another … Translation moments, then, are those instances where multilingual communicators pause to ask: What word should I use to translate this specific term for this specific audience? How will my audience best understand this concept as it's currently framed? ("Building" 467).

One rhetorical choice might be omission or silence; for example, steering the conversation towards topics that require less cognitive work. However, taking on translation may also include non-linguistic or non-linear modalities: strategies to create meaning include using digital tools, reading aloud, repeating, deconstructing words, storytelling, sketching, making sounds, gesturing, using bodies, asking questions, and other modes of communication (*Sites* 37). Making meaning, even with barriers, is empowering, and Paloma, for example, speaks to the joy and relief that comes with co-creating understanding or working out the confusion.

For participants who grew up in plurilingual places, negotiating differences in border-crossings seems more seamless, and participants describe their practices in a matter-of-fact tone. Miras from Kazakhstan, Matondo from Congo and Simeon from Nigeria who all speak multiple languages describe moving across contexts where different languages as well as mixed languaging are used by them and others.

> Rustam who is from Uzbekistan grew up mostly using Tajik in his hometown. After he moved away to the capital Tanakh, which is in a different region, for school, he started using Uzbek to communicate with his new friends. However, as a former Soviet region, Russian is still the lingua franca in Tanakh where multiple other languages are also present. In moving in and out of businesses, stores, and markets in Tanakh, Rustam shifts

back and forth between Uzbek and Russian while overhearing transactions and conversations in other languages and varieties.

In describing her observations at a Bolivian market where forty-two languages are used, Gonzales points to lived experiences that are similar to Rustam's (10). Gonzales argues that these interactions are "a means for survival, as individuals rely on multilingual communication to sell products and make a living" (10). Some transnational students in undergraduate classrooms in the U.S. have similarly had to learn to negotiate language and cultural difference to 'make do' and to buy food and other necessities – a labor that is embodied and vital to survival (Blackledge and Creese; Lee and Dovchin; Pennycook and Otsuji). The rhetorical attunement, transcultural repositioning, and translation work involved in these experiences make for a dexterity that may not be seen across classrooms that focus on teaching students to communicate and write in very specific ways.

Another manifestation of negotiating linguistic difference for specific purposes involves participants moving across languages in professional settings. Participants like Catalina, Omar, Kareem, and Ivan speak about their workplaces where they switch back and forth between languages depending on which co-workers or customers they communicate with and what tasks they perform. Ivan, whose home languages are Russian and Ukrainian, will communicate with a small group of co-workers who mainly know either Russian or Ukrainian at his workplace both for efficiency and to establish community. Catalina who works at a taco truck on the South Side switches back and forth between Spanish and English depending on the customer.

Another theme in participants' stories about their language use is how deeply relational language is, just as my own opening stories demonstrate. A key motivation for negotiating language difference is to nurture, build, or extend relationships across their transnational lives.

As Gonzales writes, “language is a culturally situated, embodied, lived performance” (3), and looking at how language is used and leveraged to build connections demonstrates the performative, responsive element of language. For example, family members help each other with communication and sense-making, or individuals negotiate language difference as they build or connect to existing networks and communities in their new or temporary homes. The most obvious example of such practice is to form connections with other students at UWM but, in addition to that, several participants talk about tapping into existing networks and communities in their new or temporary homes. For example, participants with Muslim backgrounds go to local mosques or the mosque on campus where they connect with other U.S.-based as well as transnational Muslim groups. Others who have immigrated to the U.S. later in life or have come here to seek a college degree also connect to existing Spanish, Nepalese, Chinese, Nigerian, and Congolese communities. In fact, Marius whose family has been here for six years is the only participant who says he and his family have not connected to a – in their case, Romanian – community. Another strategy for survival is to seek out and rekindle connections. Exemplifying this, Ansar has reconnected with extended family and neighbors from Uzbekistan who immigrated to the U.S. many years ago, and he utilizes these connections by making trips and calls. He is also using his network to scope out information about a college in California that he is considering transferring to. Mariam and Hae both have aunts and uncles in Wisconsin that they only saw occasionally growing up, but whom they live with now as they seek higher education. Manuel has a cousin who was born in Wisconsin whom he lives with now, and Marco has an uncle in the Milwaukee area whom he does not live with, but whom he is connected to. These relationship-building and -extending practices provide individuals with the

opportunities to feel a sense of belonging and support. Beyond that, it affords individuals opportunities to communicate across boundaries and to exchange local and global information.

Participants are rhetorically attuned to the contexts in which they communicate in and the competences of the discourse communities they belong to or interact with. Social responsibility guides decisions to deploy a specific language at specific times because participants prioritize helping others construct meaning and collaborating to make sense of the situation by employing their entire linguistic and cultural repertoire. This includes translating as well as references to cultural and semiotic knowledge. Participants switch and "shuttle between communities in contextually relevant ways" (Canagarajah "Place" 593)", using their linguistic resources at home, at work, and in their communities to navigate every-day and professional tasks and activities. Their communication choices, thus, are informed by the interlocutors and their language competence, but also the overhearers. In social, everyday contexts where multilinguals describe that they naturally switch between languages, they strive to use English primarily if others who would not understand another language share the communication space but are not necessarily part of the conversation. Thus, Jinjing explains switching to English while speaking with Chinese friends in social contexts where their monolingual partners are overhearers: that is, they are present but not part of the conversation. On the other end of this, some participants bring up that switching languages is a tactic or deliberate practice to create privacy in public spaces. Maxim, Mariam, and Catalina specifically bring up using Ukrainian/Russian, Arabic, and Spanish as a secret language that can create protection against eavesdropping.

This section lays out the strategies participants deploy as they navigate through different linguistic contexts in their lives. Based on situational factors, the purpose of communication, and the linguistic resources of their interlocutors, the participants describe moving across languages.

In the following section, I look at a different type of pattern which is participants mixing languages in a single communication, which I describe as translanguaging.

Translanguaging

To preface my discussion, I provide my rationale for using the term translanguaging in this section to discuss participants' self-reported stories about mixing languages when they speak, and sometimes when they write. Depending on the disciplinary lens and the context in which the research is carried out, translanguaging may be used almost interchangeably with concepts such as translingualism, plurilingualism, metrolingualism, code-meshing, heteroglossia, multiliteracies, and more. Canagarajah points out the nomenclature is used by different scholars in the fields of composition, New Literacy Studies, applied linguistics, and sociolinguistics ("Translanguaging" 2). Scholars in Applied Linguistics and Bilingual Education have used the term translanguaging to refer to the multilingual practice of drawing from one's full linguistic repertoires when communicate (García and Lin). This practice is sometimes intentional and sometimes not. In Writing Studies, code-meshing has been identified as a strategy to "blend dialects, international languages, local idioms, chat-room lingo, and the rhetorical styles of various ethnic and cultural groups in both formal and informal speech acts." (Young "Should" 114). Though the terms translanguaging and code-meshing carry many similar views on language, I see translanguaging as more generative in this context because of its focus on multilinguals. Code-meshing tends to focus more on minoritized speakers in a U.S. context and on developing a pedagogy that invites students to challenge language ideologies. García and Wei also note that the two terms are slightly different in that "codemeshing is seen as a form of resistance [but] translanguaging is positioned as the discursive norm that names a reality other than a monolingual one" (40). Translanguaging is also distinct from code-mixing which, as the

term '*code*-mixing' suggests, still operates with the notion of languages as separate entities rather than its permeability. Wei defines translanguaging as signifying deeper, more creative, critical, and situated language use (13). Nevertheless, participants in my study don't use the term translanguaging when they refer to the activity of translanguaging; instead, they tend to use more familiar terms such as "switching" and "mixing", which I also adopted in our interviews to avoid confusion.

When participants are aware of translanguaging or it is intentional, it requires a level of relationality and trust. Participants will translanguage with specific friends and family members or in contexts where it feels like a safe practice. All the participants who have siblings or other family members in the same generation talk about "switching back and forth" between languages and "mixing languages" intrasententially when they speak and text-message. Translanguaging is connected to individuals' multiple identities and their relationships. In multilingual immigrant families where parents and grandparents do not speak English as their first language, participants explain that, at home, they speak their home language, and that different relationships are in specific languages. However, those who have siblings or other family members who are the same generation will speak a mix with them. Sometimes they speak their home language, sometimes they speak English, and sometimes they mix the home language and English. As Guerra argues, multilinguals create idiosyncratic hybrid languages with family members or friends that they frequently communicate with and share relationships with ("Cultivating"). Multilinguals' rhetorical sensibility attunes them to the affordances and constraints of the spaces they communicate in. In communicating with family, "the social, personal, and inter-relational stakes—as well as the intimate, rhetorical familiarity" ("Cultivating" 230) help individuals decide whether to translanguage or not. For example, Manuel and his cousin who live together in

Milwaukee mix and mesh Spanish and English all the time at home or when they message each other. However, Manuel purposefully refrains from this practice at work or in school where this may have negative consequences, which I will elaborate on below. Given the ubiquity of the monolingual English Only ideology, it is not surprising that individuals self-monitor their language practices and avoid translanguaging or using languages other than English in public settings, which tend to be dominated by the discourse of linguistic "appropriateness", and where linguistic difference indexes racial and ethnic inferiority (Flores and Rosa; Guerra).

While the previous pages demonstrate situations where translanguaging is conscious and planned, much translanguaging is unconscious and unplanned. This observation provides insights into why many of my participants are not always aware of why, when, and how they mix languages and other codes to communicate. A good example of how unconscious translanguaging is that, when I asked them about whether they mix languages, many participants would start by saying no. Then, when I was probing a little further into exchanges about specific issues, they would revise their first response and tell me that, sure, they do use many English words which would be tricky to translate. For example, at first when I asked Rustam if he and his Uzbek friends always speak Tatjik or if they ever mix (they know many of the same languages), Rustam told me they always speak Tatjik. When I asked what would happen in the conversation if the topic was embedded within an English-speaking context, he says – in a matter-of-fact tone – that they would be using English words as needed. Drawing from Guerra's argument that intuitive practices can become self-consciously regulated for specific rhetorical situations, I argue the theme of unconscious translanguaging deserves attention from teachers. By helping students become aware of the strategies they use to make meaning and recognizing the practices as creative and critical work can develop self-confidence in students. At the same time, it can

help students become rhetorically aware of how translanguaging may both shape and be shaped by different rhetorical situations where, for instance, different interlocutors and overhearers will respond differently.

Still, because these translanguaging occurrences are frequent for some participants, they do have some awareness of instances when it happens. When translanguaging is unconscious and intuitive, participants all describe how it "just happens", "it's how my brain works", or "I just pop out that word". It is a condition of multilingualism, and translanguaging is a natural instinct. It is not rehearsed or even desired; it "just happens". The multilingual's linguistic repertoire contains semantic, syntactical, morphological and other features that the multilingual oftentimes recalls and produces naturally and without planning. Wei uses the term "translanguaging instinct" to indicate the multisensory and multimodal process of language learning and language use" ("Translanguaging" 24) that helps speakers and hearers fill the gaps and make meaning with the available means of communication. As noted above, English as lingua franca is so ubiquitous in youth culture that it is naturally meshed with local languages around the globe in face-to-face and digital communication (Ayash). Even before moving to the U.S., participants describe using English in communication with other 'native speakers' of their languages, especially friends and family members of their generation. As such, when they communicate with others who don't have similar language resources (e.g., parents are often mentioned), they know they have to suppress this natural "translanguaging instinct". As mentioned, for speakers who are immersed in English language, suppressing this instinct can be difficult. The translation moment – when unfolding in an intimate setting between family members – can be difficult because individuals don't wish to estrange their interlocutor by using words that are unfamiliar to them.

Participants talk about their home languages in two interesting ways, especially when participants insist on separating and compartmentalizing their languages. For one, in the multilinguals' repertoire, the language/s that are not English are sometimes described as getting in the way of communication. From time to time, most multilinguals experience communicating in one language and not being able to recall even a simple vocabulary. Jinjing describes this as "a choking feeling" and exemplifies the dissonance further,

> Sometimes, like, when I talk to my Chinese friend, we prefer to use Chinese, but because we have been here for so long, and we don't have a lot of chance to speak Chinese, sometimes we prefer to speak Chinese, but somehow that word just I just can't remember, so that choking feeling. I want to express it, but I just can't. That's the challenge.

The translation moment that Jinjing labors through demonstrates, as Pennycook argues, languages are always in translation in a contact zone. Paloma talks at length about these translation moments where she labors to recall a word or relies on others to make meaning with her. While she describes these occurrences as inconvenient and frustrating, she also talks about it with me with some humor. As suggested, multilinguals rely on a number of strategies for repair and resolve when those situations happen. However, when individuals perceive their context as English Only and hostile to these breakdowns, this experience may devolve from being one of simply mending the breakdown and moving on, to one of losing face.

Language and Literacy Brokering

A distinct but related theme I notice in the stories is language and literacy brokering. Language brokering is typically understood as informally aiding others with translation and

making meaning across different languages. In intercultural communication contexts, two people or groups may be entirely unfamiliar with the other's language, so a mediator is needed. As such, it can be seen as a practical activity where the broker is essentially an instrument in constructing meaning and making transactions go smoothly or information be transmitted clearly. In multilingual immigrant families, language brokering is a frequent activity, which involves translating and transmitting information between family members and others. Significantly, brokering is a strategy for survival in immigrant families much like translating in markets and stores is. Participants from multilingual immigrant families have extensive experiences with translating for other family members and brokering literacy. Children who acquire the new and dominant language, i.e., English in a U.S. context, are often called upon to liaise and translate in both spoken and written modes. Writing about how children of Mexican immigrants help their families mediate in English-speaking institutions, Steven Alvarez explains, "To broker means to serve as a liaison with influence in exchanges between individuals, partaking in a semistructured activity where the broker may assume creative or independent agency" (*Brokering* 43). My study speaks to these experiences: in most cases, my participants who are young individuals with more English fluency than their parents or grandparents help them translate and negotiate meaning in a variety of contexts. This happens in less high stakes environments such as restaurants, markets, or online shopping or in very high stakes environments such as with healthcare professionals, social welfare offices, financial institutions, or work-related tasks where vital medical, financial, or legal information might get lost if the child doesn't broker. This could have severe consequences for the family. In talking about this role, participants' stories about these experiences range from a feeling of accomplishment and pride in being able

to perform this vital work to feelings of stress because the translation work is time-consuming and the pressure is high.

> Nayla resettled in Milwaukee with her family when she was in her late teens. Neither she nor her family knew any English, but Nayla enrolled in Milwaukee Public Schools and, being immersed in the language, quickly picked it up. As the oldest sibling, Nayla took on many responsibilities in her family, including language brokering: "*When I first came here and I was 14, 15, even though I barely know how to speak English, I still have to make myself confident to like translate for my parents, especially when they go to some offices and get papers done, to hospital, yeah, even to my siblings' school."* Her parents, refugees with no knowledge of English, depended on Nayla to communicate with authorities in high stakes situation while also helping them communicate with school officials and teachers regarding her schooling and that of her siblings. Nayla had barely learned enough English to be conversational and keep up in school, so she did not yet have the specialized vocabulary or literacy of the spaces in which these interactions happened.

Catalina, too, recounts having to perform adult-level tasks when she was very young. She tells a story about coming along to doctor's appointments and being expected to translate. However, as she says, laughing, "I was a child!", and she did not know how to translate a lot of the information the doctors shared, which caused stress and frustration for her and her parents. Her mother would rely on the translation for vital information, and Catalina would simply not have the vocabulary to translate the information into Spanish. Later in her life, Catalina's mother has become "more fluent" and is pursuing a Master's degree, and now Catalina is tasked with helping her mother with homework and written assignments. Building on Deborah Brandt's

work on literacy sponsors, John Scenters-Zapico found that, in transnational families, family members occupy an important role, which supplements other forms of literacy sponsoring, for each other. Catalina's story demonstrates that she translates and brokers for her family, and she functions as a literacy sponsor for her younger sibling and her mother.

These multiple layers of brokering language and literacy to help elder family members navigate both mundane and highly stressful situations are both unguided and unacknowledged. On the one hand, there is no aid for the child or youth to perform the brokering even though it is often of vital importance that it gets done; the child or youth simply has to wing it the best they can while also fielding expectations of accuracy and efficiency. Further, as Alvarez also demonstrates, brokering and, I would add, literacy sponsoring often go unacknowledged. While it demonstrably requires tremendous linguistic, rhetorical, emotional, cognitive, and social skills, brokering often does not receive the attention it should by teachers or administrators in K-16 education. Kaia Simon notes that these skills are often rendered invisible in classrooms when experiences and expertise should be foregrounded as resources and highlighted as examples of rhetorical dexterity among monolingual students (75-76). The juxtaposition between when a child one moment translates vital information to a family member and the next moment is corrected by a teacher for not using a word form correctly is jarring and demonstrates the ideologies that are at work to disenfranchise the child in both situations.

Some participants describe that others broker meaning for them and help them fill in gaps of information. This shines a light on the multidirectionality of literacy brokering and sponsoring.

> When Sajit first arrived in the U.S., he was entirely lost and confined himself to his dorm for several days because he was overwhelmed. *"It was too hard"*. He struggled with

registering for courses and communicating with university officials and teachers. However, he has a sister who has lived in the U.S. longer than him so, in those early days, he relied on his sister to broker information for him which meant translating and composing emails on his behalf. Then, after he had spent time in the U.S. and found his footing, he would help his family in Nepal translate things and broker meaning when he communicated with them.

Part of what makes Sajit's case interesting is the transnational traffic of meaning that happens across borders. He talks to family in Nepal using Nepalese about American events, but he also talks to sister in Nepalese though with some English to help him negotiate his current situation where he is unfamiliar with the context (U.S. college) and lacks confidence with his English language. Sajit's multiple and transnational interactions are shaped by his language resources, the language resources of his interlocutors, the purpose of communication, and the locality of the communication. He both brokers meaning for others, and they broker meaning for him. Others, too, have family members who live in other states or, in some case, other English-speaking places, whom they communicate with. They not only translanguage, but also establish flows of information and knowledge that can help others navigate new and unfamiliar contexts. Brokering, thus, is not narrowly defined as translation but also providing information and local knowledge. Hae, Marco, Paloma, Ansar, and Manuel describe choosing to come to Milwaukee because they had family members of other connections that could help them resettle and provide local information.

As this section shows, language and other resources are used purposefully for different ends ranging from survival to building community. In the following pages, I explore the related theme of language maintenance and its role in maintaining cultural roots and home identity.

Building Identity through Language Maintenance

In addition to the responsibility of translating for family members, multilingual youth in immigrant families also sometimes have the responsibility of carrying cultural and linguistic knowledge that they are expected to pass on to other family members. While translanguaging tends to be frowned upon in public and institutional settings because it does not meet expectations for "appropriate" communication, translanguaging or speaking English at home is sometimes frowned by family members upon because the home language is perceived to be precarious. Several participants describe "getting in trouble" if they speak English at home. There is an expectation to preserve the home language because it is the family's shared means of communication, but also because the language represents the cultural legacy encoded in that language that older family members want their children to maintain. With respect to translanguaging, scholars have observed that linguistic purism – i.e., avoiding any linguistic 'contamination' of other languages – is more common among first-generation immigrants who see the 'pure' heritage language as tied to identity and culture, while fluent English is the language of social mobility (Mangelsdorf; Zentella). This, then, exerts pressure from several sides on individuals who translanguage: school, public space, and home. Though the ideology that drives this pressure is rooted in monolingualism and monoculturalism, individuals representing school, public spaces, and home may exert pressure for different, sometimes contradicting, reasons. For example, family members who want their children to speak an untainted English are motivated by English as a gateway to immigration whereas, in some public spaces, those who don't speak "proper" English are denied rights. Both parties, of course, see English as metonymic for the goals.

Looking now at participants with younger siblings who have a responsibility for language maintenance of their home language, it is clear that they are expected to act as literacy sponsors for the heritage language. Ditya, Halimah, Paloma, Nayla, Catalina, Amelia, and Omar all have younger siblings and have either been enlisted to take on the role of supporting their younger siblings' language maintenance, or they have volunteered to do so.

> Halimah and her family immigrated from Syria to the U.S. when Halimah was about to start college, and Halimah's linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identity was well-developed. Her younger sister was much younger when they moved to the U.S., and the sister enrolled in an English-medium elementary school. Halimah worries that her sister will lose her connections to her Syrian culture and family if the sister's Arabic deteriorates, and she is determined to speak with her younger sister in Arabic. Yet, every day when the sister comes home from school, and they talk about her day, the sister will inadvertently switch to English or intersperse English because her experiences were in English. *"And sometimes when she wants to say something, and she doesn't want anyone to understand what she's saying [laughs] she say it in English."* In those cases, Halimah lets her sister speak without correcting her because their shared lived experience is cross-cultural and translingual now.

Halimah, thus, partially reflects the linguistic purism discussed above in her goals for her little sister, but she also embraces the linguistic and cultural 'trans-ing' the two of them share, and which is a cornerstone of their relationship. Another participant, Omar, has been assigned the role of teaching his younger siblings to read in Arabic and ensure they don't forget Omar says, "With my little sisters, too, I try to keep it up, so they don't forget the language. Even when we, when I help them with homework, I try speaking in Arabic, so they keep it up." There is a

deliberate effort to prevent forgetting. Paloma, Catalina, and Amelia are the older siblings and all self-report being fluent in Spanish while their younger siblings are not, and they want to ensure the siblings know Spanish because it is such an important part of their identity. But the expectations placed on multilingual youth are not always straightforward. A participant like Paloma describes getting in trouble if she translanguages with her brother at home, yet in other places she is called upon to broker language, which is inherently a translanguaging activity. The seeming contradiction in her parents' expectations calls attention to the multiple ideologies and self-identified needs, goals, and aspirations that co-exist in immigrant families.

Language is an integral part of belonging to a community. Amelia talks about how identity, language, and community intersect in her lived experience, but she also gives voice to a sentiment about identity politics which are fraught in the current political climate in the U.S. Picking up on the rampant linguicism that flourishes in the U.S., she says:

> I feel like that's become such a thing. Now I've noticed that it's like 'Oh, like, well, if you look Mexican, how do you not speak Spanish and stuff like that, if you don't, has become such a norm now. So it's kind of like a pressure, like, 'Hey, you can't forget Spanish'.

Amelia gives voice to a desire to express ethnic pride and identification and to serve as language mentor for her sister. Carmen Fought's work on language and ethnic identity confirms this conflict in Latinx communities where "the pressure to use the heritage language can be particularly strong where the language tied to an ethnic identity is perceived as threatened" (29). Participants whose formative years took place during Donald Trump's presidency experienced his administration's anti-immigration rhetoric and policy, which was especially targeted at

Mexican and other Spanish-speaking groups. Therefore, the desire to index identity with Latinx ethnicity and Spanish may have grown which, I believe, is reflected in Amelia's statement.

Most participants who are the eldest sibling in the family sometimes have the dual task of helping their parents and grandparents with language brokering and literacy sponsoring, and helping their younger siblings with both homework, language maintenance, and identity formation. As mentioned, Nayla translates and brokers for her family in English-language contexts. Simultaneously, she is on the receiving end of language maintenance. She grew up in a home where she only partially learned Burmese – her father's main language – because he would use Burmese when speaking with others, but he did not teach her. After arriving in the U.S. as a teenager and being thrown into a public school, she connected with other resettled refugees, some of whom speak Burmese fluently. She speaks with both pride and appreciation of how her new friendships have allowed her to explore and develop her Burmese language and that part of her identity. As such, Nayla's friends are literacy sponsors for her, while she is the language broker for her family. These complex labors reflect some of the multiple identities transnational multilinguals embody, in which ethnicity, national origin, culture, religion, relationships, language, aspirations, and other factors play a role. Further, aspects of an individuals' sense of self may be entangled in seemingly contradictory discourses. Pedagogical approaches that help students become aware of and reflect on their multiple identities and how their relationships, responsibilities, and experiences may intersect with a variety of ideologies can help students understand their worlds.

Discourse of Loss

Research in second language acquisition (SLA) warns against bilingual language education that solely focuses on supporting bilingual children in learning the target language and

not the home language/s. In acquiring the target language, the child gradually loses proficiency and literacy in their home language/s. In contrast to this subtractive bilingualism, SLA scholars argue for programs that are additive and provide support for the target language and the home language/s. It is easy to characterize much SLA scholarship as endorsing the multilingual paradigm, which goes against the translingual belief that languages are not distinct from each other. However, it is also clear that bi- and multilingual children who don't receive linguistic and literacy support for all of their languages are at a disservice (Lightbown and Spada). While bi- and multilingual children may still use their home languages at home, their literacy in those languages is not supported.

In my study, participants discuss loss of their home language and culture. This theme is especially salient with participants who immigrated to the U.S. in their childhood or adolescence, and the theme is particularly salient with Spanish-speaking participants. Marco who arrived in the U.S. when he was 16 feels that his "Spanish skills are bad compared to people my age". He says he has an accent now when speaking Spanish, and he has lost his Spanish literacy, which is something he regrets. While he reads news and social media on a daily basis in Spanish, he is not able to communicate advanced ideas well in written Spanish any longer. Paloma, who came to the U.S. in 5th grade, and Amelia and Catalina who were born here all speak to a loss of biliteracy. These participants all describe what can be defined as subtractive bilingualism in their K12 experiences where their English literacy was cultivated, but their Spanish was not. Even though all these four participants were in Spanish for Heritage Speakers classes, they learned more conversational Spanish and cultural foundations and not writing. However, Amelia is grateful for the Spanish languaging she does have, which comes out when she compares herself to other Latinx immigrants:

> I consider myself like proud that I still speak like Spanish because I feel like in a lot of households I've heard, like, my friends, like, that have kind of lost the language because they wanted to teach their parents English. And then the process of doing so, they, like, lost their Spanish. So I'm pretty proud that I've kept that, and I plan to do that, like, when I have children, I want Spanish to like be a language that is like, primarily spoken.

As discussed above, Amelia is cognizant of how language is deeply tied with identity. Losing a language, then, is more than the ability to community; it is a link to culture and heritage. Mingzhu expresses a concern about her future children: she worries that because she doesn't have connections in the U.S. who speak her hometown language and because this language does not have a script, her future children will not learn it and will lose that part of their cultural heritage.

In this section, I discussed the many ways my participants deploy their linguistic resources as they work towards making meaning across linguistic or cultural difference or to meet specific goals. This demonstrates the dexterity they have developed as well as the connections between visible, observable phenomena such as language use and the more hidden phenomena of identity- and community-building. In the following section, I analyze an adjacent theme which is how participants talk about their resources. I also look at how my participants' attitudes intersect with discourses and language ideologies that circulate in the U.S. and other places they move through. This theme is important in that it demonstrates some of the problematic ways that individuals internalize harmful ideologies. It also points to some interventions that I elaborate on in Chapter 5.

Attitudes towards One's Own Language Resources

As delineated above, all my participants maneuver diverse and complex traffic of meaning in their daily lives in physical and digital spaces. However, a salient feature of their self-talk is taken-for-grantedness. This, of course, is somewhat unsurprising given the large body of scholarship in translingualism and other related areas that has established that, in a global perspective, translingualism is norm rather than the exception (Horner et al.; Lee and Dovchin; Pennycook). Given that many of my participants have been immersed in plurilingual contexts for their whole lives, it is unsurprising that translingual communication practices are both natural and automatic. However, this is the case, too, with participants whose contexts don't have the same degree of plurilingualism. For instance, Itzcoatl, who mainly speaks Spanish, and Jun, who mostly speaks Korean, talk about the effortless practices of mixing in English into their spoken and written communication.

The majority of my participants don't talk with any particular pride or sense of empowerment about their translingual lives. It speaks to a general lack of visibility and recognition of the dexterity and versality that is involved with negotiating linguistic difference. More perniciously, it may speak to experiences with linguistic gate-keeping and ideologies that celebrate linguistic purism rather than plurilingualism. Monolingual ideologies which circulate in academia and other institutions of power (e.g., entertainment, news media, public offices) frame translingual practice and code-meshing as "cross-contamination" (Creese and Blackledge). The metaphor is evocative because it suggests mixing as an unhealthy, unsavory act that should be eliminated to preserve the purity of languages.

When framing their linguistic resources through a multilingual ideology, my participants express some pride and accomplishment. As discussed in Chapter 1, a multilingual view on

language maintains a separation of languages as distinct and unentangled code. Guerra and Ann Shivers-McNair characterize this ideology as confirming borders and boundaries, not only linguistic, but also cultural and national. Within this ideology, multilinguals, in having an accumulation of languages and thereby access to global communication contexts, are well-equipped to maneuver and acculturate to multiple contexts. As such, the proficiency in several languages is seen as an instrument or skill that can be deployed for specific gains. I discern a trend towards affirming a multilingual ideology in the stories my participants share. There is a much stronger trend towards celebrating multilingualism than translingualism. Multilingualism is seen as a material resource, and multilingualism is often embedded in cultural competency discourse which also frames 'mastery' of languages as something that can be capitalized in the "colonial matrix of power". In late capitalism, which is characterized by a global market and a neoliberal economy, language – including access to several languages – becomes a commodifiable exchange value (Heller; Rubdy and Tan). When language is commodified, it is treated more as a technical skill than as tied to identity and culture (Heller; You). Language learning, especially in the English-speaking world has been leveraged for profit by institutions of higher education. When asked about the benefits of knowing several languages, participants frequently talk about this is as a resource that can help them gain access to other things. Oftentimes, they talk about access to financial gain and social mobility. It is not surprising, of course, that international students who come to the U.S., paying large sums in tuition, are motivated to use their degree, English proficiency, and transnational networks for upward mobility. Not only do their families invest huge sums of money in securing their children access to a U.S. degree-granting university, but the way language is increasingly framed in a late capitalist economy, there is a tacit promise of upward mobility that comes with English

competency. Catherine Prendergast speaks to the alluring power of learning English: “Learn me, it beckons, and you will know things that the others don’t. Don’t learn me, and you will be the one not to know” (*Buying* 78). It is not surprising, either, that first-generation students and students from a lower socioeconomic background are motivated to use their resources for upward social mobility. While these goals are tied to a capitalist, neo-colonial world order, which I ultimately seek to critique, it does not serve any purpose to blame students for trying their hardest to play the game and using the resources at their disposal.

Tracking with the multilingual paradigm that maintains divides between languages and cultures, other participants see the benefits of multilingualism as an opportunity for personal growth and relationship-building. The majority of participants talk about developing connections to people and places, thereby widening their horizons, checking biases, developing intercultural competence. Mingzhu, for example, talks with some shame about prejudices she held before coming to the U.S. about African-Americans as “more violent” and “lower level”. Having built relationships with African-Americans now, she has realized how much she relied on stereotypes and stock characters represented to her in the social imaginary. Kareem voices a similar transformation with respect to challenging cultural biases he held when he first came to the U.S. but he also discusses how his learning of other languages extends his “soul”. He feels that, with each new language, he learns more, and the cultural knowledge that comes with that, his identity changes and expands:

> The more languages you have, the more identities you have: the English you, then Arabic you, the German you, the Spanish you. So you have different people, you have a soul, for example, of each culture in that you speak their language, so it’s kind of a new identity you bring to yourself because when you speak a language, you also speak a lot the things

that come in with the language. You don't just speak the words, you feel the words, you have like emotions that come in with the language.

While there is a connection between language, identity, and cultural knowledge, in this description, Kareem confirms the additive, building-blocks view of language discussed in Chapter 1. I suspect his practices are not always as clearly demarcated as he describes. I have known Kareem for several years and knows his linguistic, cultural, and knowledge-making practices to be fluid, dynamic, and socially situated, but his statements track with more essentialist notions of language.

Other participants talk with pride about their multilingualism as a resource that gains them access to information, people, and places. They see multilingualism as a resource many Americans don't have. Catalina, for example, talks about how, over the years, her mother has supported Catalina's Spanish skills, and Catalina has helped her mother develop English proficiency. At present, they are able to communicate in both languages which they often do because Catalina's sister doesn't speak Spanish as well as Catalina. Catalina expresses a strong sense of pride in being able to switch back and forth between the languages. When her monolingual friends visit, they will comment on how amazing it is, and how much they wish they had this ability. When Catalina told me this story, her tone was full of confidence and pride. I observe that the way participants talk about multilingualism aligns with a traditional multilingual language ideology where each language is perceived as discrete "skills" that are added to each other rather than a cohesive repertoire. The languages are seen as stable and isolated from each other. In the way participants describe their practices, language is clearly emergent and constantly reworked in local, embodied, and situated communication contexts. Yet, the way participants talk about their multilingualism, it seems framed by a multilingual

rather than a translingual paradigm, undoubtedly because mono- and multilingual paradigms are far more widespread and tied to power structures.

While multilingualism is often framed as a key to open opportunities in a global market and cross-cultural life-worlds, another consequence of the multilingual paradigm is that it still separates a person's languages into distinct compartments. This paradigm also tends to promote mastery of additional languages, with the ideal being for the learner to develop native-like fluency. When looking at the ability to use language through this lens, it is inevitable to think of proficiency as a scale. On the one end is mastery and native-like fluency, and on the other end is being low-level, beginner, not proficient – labels that are all too common (Mangelsdorf). This ties to the standard language ideology, which treats the standard not just as the norm but as superior; consequently, the ideology treats deviance from the standard as a deficit. When this ideology meets transnational movement, it is bound to cause friction for transnational individuals: they may both experience that their "proficiency" in their "new" language is flawed, and that they are losing "mastery" of their native tongue.

Linguistic Othering

"My English Is Bad"

While some of my participants have a positive view of their English, the majority have a negative view. Participants with a positive view emphasize they can deploy it in any type of communicative situation and meet their communicative goals. However, I observe a lot more negative self-talk in participants' attitude to their English. "My English is bad", "my English is the worst", "my English grammar is bad", "My English is not perfect". Many point out their "accents". None of my participants grew up in homes where English was the family language. In

my analysis, participants have been inundated with an English Only, monolingual rhetoric throughout all their schooling as well as from non-academic stakeholders such as popular media. Of course, they may emphasize this deficit-based self-talk in their interaction with me because the interview is held at a U.S. college and the interviewer is an English teacher. However, I gave a 10-min talk when I visited classrooms to recruit participants which emphasized my own orientation towards language, and I preceded each interview with a brief talk that highlighted this too. During the interviews, when participants would express this self-image, I would affirm their language "ability" and remind them that they had been able to carry on a 45–60-minute conversation with me where they had been perfectly capable of making meaning and expressing themselves. Often, the surprise was noticeable: "Really?". In those moments, it felt like the participants had received a message their whole life that "good English" equates "native-like" fluency which, again, is perceived as something tangible and monolithic that one can acquire. This message is clearly most harmful when it causes anxiety. Some of my participants view their English as "bad" but also felt at ease with their progress towards the end goal. Others were impacted by this self-image and widespread language ideology that they had encountered through their lives by developing anxiety and self-doubt, which then lead to behaviors that would protect them from negative responses such as not participating in class discussions.

Accented English

Accents that deviate from Standardized American English and are often perceived as inferior or indexed as 'other' come up, especially with U.S.-based participants. Catalina and Amelia both talk about the Spanish-accented English that they can detect in their own language, and which others have called out before. Because of experiences with the latter, Catalina and Amelia both describe some discomfort with their accent. Catalina talks about how her linguistic

self-image changed when she enrolled at UWM. She says about her experiences at her high school: “We all spoke the same English. We would all say ‘uhm’, have an accent, and have trouble pronouncing stuff, everyone was the same around me.” However, coming to UWM made her self-conscious and uncomfortable:

> I know my English is good, but when I came here [UWM], all my classes, it was white, I was, like, when they would talk, they knew how to talk perfect English without stuttering, no accent, and I feel like, for me, I hear myself say ‘like’ and ‘umh’ a lot because I can’t find the perfect word, and when I compared myself to those kids and they knew how to say it perfectly and I’d listen and be like ‘they know how to speak so perfect’”.

These participants have internalized harmful but pervasive monolingual, English Only ideologies outlined in Chapter 1.

The case of accented English also draws attention to the racializing and minoritizing of individuals whose racial or ethnic background is non-white. Their experiences resonate with a much larger discourse on linguistic normativity, social class, and citizenship. U.S.-based participants have grown up and come of age in a climate where anti-immigrant rhetorics and other forms of ethnocentrism and xenophobia have circulated, which I will discuss more below, and it clearly impacts how they experience their “accented English”. By contrast, Ditya went to an English immersion school in Nepal and considers her languages equal. English for her is not ESL. Ditya talks in a defensive way about her English because she knows her accented English makes her vulnerable to deficit attitudes even if she is perfectly able to use English for all purposes. She says, “We have like different accent back in home, we pronounce things differently, so”. When asked to elaborate she continues, “Every word, like we came here, that pronounced differently that how they teach us when we were child, so it is kinda like ‘Oh, yeah,

I mean to say the same thing, but you guys pronounce differently.'" There is evidence of others responding to her language difference in a way that calls attention to the difference, but her response acknowledges there is a reason for this difference; it is not about whether one version is better.

Low-impact challenges with linguistic pluralism in interactions

Because of the pervasiveness of the mono- and multilingual paradigms, which both depict languages as distinct entities, multilinguals often experience that others react to their language if it is not 'pure'. For example, forgetting words, adopting an accent, or needing to mix languages may be viewed as interference and as non-normative ways to use language.

When participants tell stories about being made fun of by friends and relatives for using language in non-normative ways, they tend to laugh, smile, or use a light tone. These stories involve people whom the participants know well and have relationships with. Participants talk about being called out and others laughing at them when fumbling linguistically. When I asked Ditya about mixing languages, she told me,

> When we went back to Nepal in 2020, the Tauru language I used to speak like very nicely and perfectly, at this time, we mixed it with Hindi. So while talking with them [family], they start laughing like, 'Hey, this is not the same language. You are mixing!' So yeah, 'Ok, so from now on we speak with you in Nepali, not in Tauru language'.

Ditya doesn't seem to be offended by these remarks but acknowledges that, being away from a language, can cause stumbling and unintentional mixing that is not rhetorically effective. Mingzhu's story also includes being made fun of: "I have a Cantonese friend, and she just told me like 'When you speak Cantonese, it's like an alien speak Cantonese'" [laughs]. The

transnational experience affects not only the first languages of transnationals but also relationships with those who speak their first languages. An outcome of the transnational experience may be that an individual's usage changes as it becomes more translingual. This may affect relationships because conversations are less monolingual and may cause others to mock or criticize the transnational individual. Just like translingual practices are often not seen as an asset in the new environment, they may also not be seen as an asset by family at home. In the case of Ditya, Shyam Sharma's research on English-Only education in Nepalese school sheds light on where such attitudes may originate. Though Nepal is a multilingual nation with 123 languages, the school system enforces a strict English Only educational policy that requires teachers and students to code-switch as use English Only in educational contexts. Through this policy, the multilingual ideology is promoted while translingual practice is discouraged, which then socializes Nepalese people to look down on translingual practice. This points to an interesting dimension that sheds lights on individuals' "histories, memories, and changing life situations" (Lorimer Leonard 243). Again, these entanglements may be somewhat obscure to individuals who have not studied issues of language policy and ideology. The writing classroom provides a generative space where students can research, reflect, and wrestle with these issues.

When participants are away from their mother tongue, it is natural to fumble, but some participants express being frustrated about these lapses. Marco tells me about making mistakes or forgetting words when speaking Spanish with his Mexican friends: "Talking to people back in Mexico, sometimes they make fun of me, my accent has definitely changed bad or some words don't come naturally anymore, or use I some more English." When I ask him how he feels about that, he smacks his lips and says, "Oh I should have kept up with my Spanish". There is some self-blame for not maintaining his Spanish, which he needs to do to maintain his relationships.

But there is distinctly not a reaction to those who laugh and their intentions. Many stories revolve around settings of familiarity and belonging, and these stories don't carry the experiences of stigmatization and embodied feelings of harm. However, several participants also speak about situations when comments, mockery, or laughter cause harm.

When Othering Hurts: A Raciolinguistic Perspective

Scholarship in raciolinguistics has argued that when certain bodies are racialized, this impacts how their language is perceived. As mentioned, Rosa and Flores argue that raciolinguistic ideologies "conflate certain racialized persons with linguistic deficiency irrespective of their empirical linguistic practices. That is, raciolinguistic ideologies *produce* racialized language users who are *constructed* as linguistically deviant" regardless of how they speak or write ("Do" 177, emphasis added). When linguistic othering is compounded by histories and current practices of interpersonal and structural racism, it has harmful effects. Turning now to how others perceive participants resources and the ideologies and representation of language that circulate in the places and spaces they navigate, it is only natural that participants are influenced by larger discourses and local manifestations of such discourses. It is significant, though, that it is mainly my Spanish-speaking participants who talk at length about other's perceptions of their linguistic resources. As noted above, the political context in which participants have deployed their language has been highly charged and very hostile to Mexican and other Latinx immigrants during Trump's presidency. Thus, the key pattern in these stories centers on Spanish-speaking participants. As already touched upon, Catalina and Amelia who were both born and raised in Milwaukee talk about others responding to a perceived accented English. Amelia went to elementary and middle schools that enrolled majority Spanish-speaking students, but she went to a high school where she was a minority. Discussing experiences with

racism, she recounts an exchange with a white student at the high school. “This girl comes up to me. She’s like, ‘Hey, like, do you speak Spanish?’ She’s like, ‘Oh, I can tell you have an accent’”. Amelia reflects on how there might not have been “malintent” in this comment, but the comment caused her to see herself in a different light and to withdraw from the school community. She wondered, “‘Do I really have an accent?’ I came home that day like, ‘I have an accent.’ Yeah, and I feel really self-conscious. And then I feel like that’s just set the tone for me to not want to get involved”. She continues her story about her experiences at the school, reiterating how the linguistic prejudice she was exposed to was compounded by a widespread anti-immigrant, anti-Latinx discourse. She remembers that the year she was a freshman at the school was in 2016 when Trump was elected, and white classmates at the school would mimic Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric openly. Catalina reports of similar experiences with others stereotyping and looking down upon her and family members or friends. She uses terms such as “You speak with an accent: Fix it!” which speaks to experiences with other perceiving her English as accented, or “Speak English! You are in America,” which refers to experiences of other frowning on her for speaking Spanish. She tells of these stories with palpable resentment but also finds resistance in using her Spanish as a weapon to leverage whenever others behave rudely to her. Switching language is a tactic that demonstrates rhetorical dexterity. De Certeau describes tactics as small subversive acts to defy systems or “strategies” of dominance and control by those in power. I argue switching one’s language so others can’t understand you is an act of subversion, especially if the space is dominated by language policing and stereotyping. Catalina describes her use of Spanish as a tactic; if she and her friends encounter hostile native-speaker Americans, they will then switch to Spanish and mock that person. She recounts a story about an encounter with a woman at Marshalls who exhibited rude and semi-racist behavior to

Catalina and her friend: “We will mock her in Spanish”. She also relates of people assuming she does not speak English: “Especially at my job at the taco truck, I have like white people that I’m like ‘I speak English!’ and they’re like ‘Hola, ¿Cómo está?’ They try to speak to me in Spanish, and the Spanish is like bad, and I’m like ‘I speak English, I can talk to you in English. What can I get for you?’, and they’ll try to talk in Spanish”. While it is possible the customer is simply excited to practice their Spanish, Catalina does not experience it that way. The way Catalina recounts this story, these customers entirely ignore what Catalina is saying. It seems like the customers index her speech as foreign and proceed to address her as foreign, as if she is unable to carry on with the transaction in English. This experience speaks to arguments made by Scholars of Color about the “white gaze” (Morrison), or, in this case the white ear, making judgments based on what they see and hear as an act of exclusion. At a different job at a Mexican restaurant, however, Catalina says she changes her Spanish when speaking with white customers. Instead of pronouncing items on the menu in Spanish, she pronounces them like white people do. She laughs as she tells this story, but I think her choice to tell the story stems from being frustrated with experiences when white people will either not understand what she says, or will react to it in ways that make Catalina seem like a foreigner. Rosa’s work on “mock Spanish” and “inverted Spanglish” provides a lens to understand Catalina’s language choices. Rosa argues, “U.S. Latinas/os are faced with and participate in the double-stigmatization of their English and Spanish linguistic practices” (68). Being faced with stigmatization of her language, Catalina can be seen to deploy the tactic of parroting “inverted Spanglish” back to customers to avoid attention and to make fun of their Spanish. Amelia gives voice to experiences, too, with concealing her Mexican-ness and using her language strategically. She says, “I’m also Mexican, and I want to incorporate that and I feel like there’s some situations where you can’t do it as

much". Overt racism, implicit biases, and pervasive but invisible ideologies are a constant present for these participants.

These experiences cause damage, but also resistance and resentment. Catalina describes other types of experiences where strangers will tell her she does not look Hispanic, but Asian: "Random people, they're just like 'are you Filipino, are you Asian?', just like 'no, I'm not,' and then, 'Are you sure?', 'Yeah, I'm sure'". While she and I laugh at the combination of audacity and rudeness that would prompt someone to overstep in this way, she clearly does not like these experiences and is aware they connect to raciolinguistic stereotypes and prejudice. Marco speaks to the same critical awareness of the rampant linguistic racism. He even talks about how his father has internalized some of the negative rhetoric about Mexicans and, when they moved to the U.S., deliberately decided to move to Menominee Falls, a town outside of Milwaukee, instead of the South Side because, "We are the good Mexicans", and he did not want to be associated with "bad" Mexicans. Marco does not go into detail with what his father referred to as "bad" Mexicans, but what I know about him from being a former student of mine, I think he refers to common stereotypes about Mexicans. Marco, who has lived here since he was 16, characterizes his own English as "bad". However, while he appreciates getting feedback on his language and grammar from teachers, he does not appreciate others commenting on his English: "In social situations, if somebody who barely knows me points out something that's wrong, like it's socially awkward, and in secret I would get really mad." I asked him if he had experienced this frequently. He responded:

> Oh yeah, oh yeah. Especially in restaurants and like those places where workers tend to be … Coworkers, customers, friends, friends of a friend, strangers. When I say something, like 'don't pronounce like that.' And my reaction is really different, also

depending on the situation. Even strangers just call me out on my language and my grammar and stuff. I'll get really mad, I do not like that, like, 'Mind your own fucking business.'

However, combined with being enraged, Marco also speaks to the hurt it causes. He recalls a situation where an individual "made a joke about something I said that she couldn't understand and it hurt, not being heard, and it was a weird feeling like I just got here, like 'Oh, I did not progress'." He continues speaking of situations in which people reject the communicative burden based on his accent and just pretend like they understand nothing: "The classic smile". Marco's experiences with others laughing at him when he fumbles in Spanish versus when he speaks "accented" English in the U.S. are telling. While his reactions to friends joking about his Spanish is relaxed, his resentment at being corrected and laughed at when he speaks English is strong.

Raciolinguistic attitudes manifest when ideas about race, ethnicity, or culture cause people to have negative reactions to Mexican-Americans' language and to perceive it as deficient. Another manifestation of a raciolinguistic response is the act of praising someone, who has been preconceived as a racial other, for their "good" English. Even if praise is positive, the act of praising someone or expressing surprise at their 'mastery' of English still calls attention to problematic constructions of non-white presenting individual. Hae is of Korean descent but has attended an English-medium school her whole life and feels more comfortable with her English than other languages. She presents as Asian but speaks "fluent" American English, which causes surprise in people around her. She recalls people saying in response to her being an international student, "'Oh really? It didn't show at all', like, ok, that's sort of funny, and then they'd ask questions about 'Where are you from, and may I ask why you speak so well in English?'" While

the surprise in connected to her legal status as a visa-holding international student, I argue the reactions Hae talks about have an added element of racialization compared to how white-presenting international students would be received.

Linguistic othering is a manifestation of monolingual ideologies and English Only policies that remain dominant despite and, perhaps, a result of a growing diversity and changing demographics. Linguistic othering always stings, but when it is accumulated through years of exposure, it fosters both insecurity and resentment. Language is connected to identity, and an attack on an individual's language amounts to an attack on their identity and their community (Delpit). Linguistic othering is, I would argue, even more problematic when it is compounded by other insidious phenomena such as racism, classism, and ethnocentrism. I will discuss this further in Chapter 4 and 5 and suggest recommendations for harnessing the critical awareness many students have.

A Closing Story

> Catalina grew up on the South Side of Milwaukee. Her mother, who had immigrated to the U.S. from Mexico as an adult, didn't know English when Catalina was growing up, so Catalina often had to translate and broker for her to help her mother communicate with people who didn't speak Spanish. Catalina first learned English at school. *"I learned English there, and I think I learned it pretty well* [laughs]. *And then my mom, I would teach her English: 'How do you say this?', and I like told her how to pronounce it, and sometimes me and her do talk English."* Catalina also supports her younger sibling in developing her Spanish as Catalina is fluent in Spanish because her mother wants the younger sibling to remain connected to her Mexican heritage. In her daily life, Catalina uses English and Spanish and, depending on the situation and whom she's

communicating with, she code-switches or translanguages. *"My whole family, we both speak English and Spanish, but Spanish is the main language I'll speak at home. Yeah, everything is just in Spanish: we watch TV in Spanish, we listen to music in Spanish, everything is in Spanish."* Catalina is proud of her linguistic abilities and considers both languages deeply tied to her identity, but she doesn't feel the Spanish part of her linguistic identity has a presence in her academic studies. She also recounts experiences of being treated with hostility when she speaks Spanish in public spaces. In one story, an older, white couple tells her and her friends to *"speak English. We are in America."* The visceral, affective response is palpable as she tells this story.

This closing story is unique but also exemplary of the transnational, multilingual movements across borders and experiences pushing up against boundaries. Catalina and my other participants have access to a variety of resources that they deploy rhetorically and strategically for specific purposes, or they use them in specific ways with specific relationships in their lives. Many of my participants don't express the same level of pride as Catalina in their resources and ability to leverage them. But they leverage these resources in ways that build or maintain relationships and communities, or that help them survive, persist, and thrive in their daily lives. They leverage the resources to help and support others so others can survive, persist, and thrive in their daily lives. Yet, even with these remarkable resources, my participants often don't fully acknowledge them as such, and they experience a surrounding world, including educational contexts, where these resources are not seen and acknowledged as complex labors. In fact, when the ecology in which the resources are deployed is characterized by English-Only or xenophobic attitudes, the resources are sometimes perceived as deficiencies.

In Chapter 4, I turn to stories about academic settings, which represent ecologies that are also, often, characterized by English-Only approaches. The stories in Chapter 4 are both in tension with stories discussed in Chapter 3, and an extension of these stories. They extend the stories from Chapter 3 because to learn, communicate, and making meaning, participants utilize their entire linguistic and literacy repertoire. However, they are in tension with those stories because academic spaces are ostensibly understood by my participants to be monolingual spaces which causes them to feel the pressure to perform according to the norms and expectations. At the same time.

Chapter 4: 'Trans'-ing in the Academy

It is about ten years ago. I have a Danish student in English 102. We often talk before and after class. Though I didn't know the term at the time, we engage in translanguaging. It makes sense. Translanguaging is sense-making. However, when I correct Rasmus' writing, I am heavy-handed with the red pen, identifying errors and awkward language. In another classroom I teach international students, many of whom are Chinese. During group work, I overhear a small group of students speaking Chinese and tell them: "Speak English, please. That is how you learn the language".

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Ten years later, during my interview with Sujin, I ask her if she ever speaks Korean in the classroom with her Korean classmates when they do group work or if something is hard to understand. She tells me that she sometimes does because she wants to help her friend. On the other hand, the teacher has been clear that the students are only to use English. "But," *she says,* "sometimes we talk Korean with Korean friends [enacts whispering and hiding it behind her hand], like just some very little voice."

I open with these two stories to draw attention to a central theme in this chapter: the juxtaposition between translingual learning practices and English Only classrooms, which I used to enforce in the past but which I have now entirely abandoned. Transnational individuals translanguage and use translingual literacy practices whether they learn individually or collaboratively. The same translation and meaning-making practices that unfold in markets and homes support learning in the classroom: pulling from one's entire linguistic repertoire, constructing meaning with others, using semiotic and extralinguistic modes, utilizing technology,

etc. When language and writing classrooms are constructed and monitored as monolingual spaces, and when translingual communication is seen as getting in the way of learning 'proper' English, learning opportunities and, thus, accessibility are denied for transnational, multilingual students. In my own case, I claim that I didn't know any better until I returned to graduate school and learned about translingual theory and linguistic justice. At the same time, I argue there is a more pernicious undercurrent below the lack of knowledge. Cross-national mobility of students is a defining feature of U.S. higher education, and institutions of higher education seek to profit from tuition revenue but, at the same time, also seeks to protect and preserve conventional ways of making and communicating knowledge. In American classrooms and the American public, white, middle- and upper-class language practices have been reified and codified into the constructs of Standard American English (SAE) and Edited American English (EAE). As discussed in Chapter 1, the ideology that propels these forms of spoken and written English stakes two key claims. One, SAE is superior to other languages and language varieties in the ability to produce clear, coherent language and to express complex, logical thought. Two, SAE should not be contaminated by other languages or variations, which makes language difference the antithesis to proper language use. The monolingual language ideology that emanates from this position holds that SAE is the language *par excellence* and should hold the center stage in classrooms. The monolingual perspective has long shaped the U.S. literacy classroom (Horner and Trimbur; Horner et al.; You). When teachers, administrators, and other stakeholders of education operationalize and enforce the myth that white, middle-class English is superior to other languages and variations and therefore the standard, then speakers and writers of other languages and varieties are seen as having a deficit.

A concomitant perspective is the division of speakers into native and non-native speakers alongside categories such as "language learner" and "second-language writer" (Matsuda "Division"). As You argues, the notion of native-speaker also indexes white, middle-class national identity that is the target for language learners to adopt. With this commonplace practice, multilingual students are often considered as having a language deficit that they need to fix. Simultaneously, the vast resources transnational students embody and draw from are often not considered relevant for academic pursuits. As a result, there is a push towards assimilation as a requirement for success.

In this chapter, I shift my focus to how my participants talk about learning and using their languages in academic settings. I start with an overview of experiences with learning languages in school settings because this allows us to look at how their language practice and repertoires are sometimes leveraged to learn and make meaning, and sometimes they are constrained by rules and norms that carry the monolingual ideology as the two stories in the introduction to this chapter demonstrate. In my analysis, I broaden the view on resources to include more than language resources. Pulling from a cultural rhetorics orientation, my interviews include questions about participants' cultural knowledge, their participation in transnational traffic of information, and prior schooling and literacies, and the extent to which participants do or do not pull from these sources to support their academic learning and engagement. As with Chapter 3, I also zoom in on their self-talk to analyze their attitudes to and perceptions of their resources for learning and how the self-talk constellates around larger discourse and ideologies.

Educational Experiences Prior to College

Schooling prior to college socializes students to thinking about learning in specific ways, as is the case with all students. Although this overview only provides a cursory sketch, the

memories and perceptions of prior learning help cue me in to how participants currently navigate learning and writing in a U.S. college. Their prior experiences with language and literacy, including experiences in educational settings, have given participants frameworks and ideologies for thinking about academic language and literacy that they grapple with in their current educational context. In the following analysis, I distinguish between participants who attended English as a Second Language (ESL) programs in the U.S. and students who learned English as a Foreign Language (EFL) outside the U.S. because the extent to which students have been immersed in English-speaking contexts or not during their schooling has shaped their English language learning as well as perceptions about their language.

There is a distinct contrast between participants who learned English as a Foreign Language outside the U.S. and those who learned English as a Second Language in U.S. classrooms. Catalina, Amelia, and Ivan all entered U.S. elementary school, reportedly without knowing English and were placed in ESL programs that they exited at some point during their schooling. They all report of positive experiences; in fact, Amelia explains she was not even aware it was an ESL program because the majority of her classmates were Spanish-speakers like her. Hyun, Paloma, Marco, Manuel, Omar, and Nayla entered the U.S. K12 school system when their families immigrated to or resettled in the U.S., and they all talk about the first 6-12 months being very challenging but then gradually becoming conversational and then proficient in English. As noted in Chapter 3, however, all these participants express negative views on their 'accented English' or 'poor grammar'.

The majority of my participants first learned English as a Foreign Language in their home countries. For some, English was the first foreign language they learned and for others, English was the second, third, or fourth foreign language they learned. Invariably, learning English as a

Foreign Language happened through a prescriptivist model. Prescriptivist approaches to language learning operate under a monolingual language ideology and aim at teaching students standardized language under the assumption that standardized language is better at expressing complex ideas, coherence, and clarity. A key focus with this approach to language is applying rules of grammar and linguistic etiquette and eradicating errors. The goal of assimilating students towards "native-like fluency" in a standardized variation of English (typically British or American) not only focuses heavily of correctness over communicative effectiveness, but it also enforces code-switching, thereby characterizing all language difference as the number one enemy of language learning (Ayash; Lippi-Green). Participants describe their language instruction as heavily grammar- and reading-focused. They refer to grammar instruction as a drills-and-skills approach where grammatical rules and rules of usage were taught through rote learning. Language seems to have been taught in accordance with the monolingual model where the rules of language were presented as static, fixed, and untouched by context and practice, and writing was presented as a technical skill with narrowly defined rules that students were expected to practice, absorb, and reproduce. Regardless of my participants' backgrounds, they further characterize their language teachers as authoritarians who held all the knowledge and should not be questioned. As Jiwon says, "we have to study and memorize and answer as same as teacher". The learning environment for these students, thus, did not foster dialogue and collaborative learning. The object of learning in many cases was test-centered whether participants attended learning centers that focused on English proficiency tests such as TOEFL or IELTS, or national exams as is the case with the Korean and Chinese participants. TOEFL or IELTS are standardized tests that measure the English language ability of non-native speakers who seek to enroll in English-speaking universities. These types of assessment also embody and codify

English-Only, native-speakerist models (Ayash; Donahue) and construct speakers of World Englishes (WE) and those who use English as a lingua franca (ELF) as non-native (Boonsuk and Karakaş); i.e., deficient and in need of remediation.

The majority of participants report of very limited experiences with written or spoken communication. Except for Hae, Ditya, and Simeon, none of the participants who learned English outside the U.S. learned it with the purpose of spoken communication, which seems to have been altogether missing from the curriculum. None of the participants describe their experiences learning English as enjoyable or useful. By contrast, those for whom English was their second foreign language contrast learning English with learning their first foreign language. Rustam, Farhod, and Ansar learned Russian; Mingzhu learned Mandarin; Seongmin learned "Chinese"; Sujin, Jiwon and Hyun learned Japanese. These languages were taught by native speakers of the foreign language but, more importantly, adopted an entirely different approach where conversational language skills were centered more and the instruction was far more interactive. Hyun loved learning Japanese, but he hated learning English, and the same pattern reoccurs with other participants.

Most of my participants don't consider prior schooling and literacies to be a foundation with a set of skills and resources they draw from now. With the exception of Hae, who went to an English-medium international school in the Philippines, and Kareem, Rustam, Farhod, and Ansar, who attended learning centers, none of the participants characterize their prior schooling as preparing them for college English. Several of the participants feel well-prepared for other subjects such as Math and Science, but not college-level English. A handful suggest that the reading strategies they learned or their knowledge of grammar are somewhat helpful for them now. In terms of preparing them to communicate in English, the participants feel their prior

schooling did not prepare them. With a skills and drills instruction heavily focused on grammar, most participants don't feel prepared to communicate in spoken English, especially to interact with people who have an American accent. The negative self-talk about their own English language is clearly connected to their view of their prior schooling as sub-par.

Language Resources

In this section, I build on my discussion of perceptions of accented English and multilingualism in Chapter 3. A pattern I previously shed light on is the negative perception of accented English, which ties to the presentation of standardized English that many participants – regardless of where they went to school – have internalized. Accented English is perceived to be inferior to and less 'pure' than standardized forms. Also, within the English Only discourse, there is a tendency to associate language difference with lower intelligence (Lippi-Green). There is a fear of being stigmatized as less intelligent and articulate – or of not being understood altogether – that cause participants to choose silence in academic settings. A participant like Sujin, who demonstrates linguistic and rhetorical inventiveness and dexterity throughout the interview, considers her language to be so "bad" that she simply chooses not to speak in the classroom.

While participants reveal that multilingualism is a resource that can help them achieve personal and professional goals outside of academia, they tend to express more hesitation with respect to the benefits of multilingualism in academic contexts. I find this to be a noteworthy pattern that demonstrates the pervasiveness of the monolingual ideology in academia. Jerry Won Lee and Christopher Jenks point out that students "are by no means immune" to the English Only ideology, which is "sustained through the work of institutional agents" (320) and, as discussed in Chapter 1, the colonial matrix of power. I observe a glaring contrast then when I ask participants

about how they view their multilingualism in everyday contexts and in the academia because they don't tend to see it as a benefit for them in the classroom. Several participants voice the opposite idea that multilingualism is a burden because it slows them down and can cause confusion. Sujin, for example, highlights the amount of time that she and other multilinguals need to spend translating when their American peers can focus on the content right away. Kareem states, "bilinguals are slower responders." This statement resonates with the belief that multilingualism causes interference with learning and puts them at a disadvantage compared to their monolingual peers. This is an ideology about linguistic purism that is reinforced and apparently internalized about "language interference".

Many of my participants have taken English for Academic Purposes (EAP) version of English 101 and 102, and many of them express an appreciation of the more sheltered experiences of EAP classes where the pace and activities are tailored to meet the needs of multilinguals. In terms of curriculum and learning outcomes for EAP and mainstream sections of English at UWM, they are comparable. EAP sections have an enrollment cap of 14 students while the mainstream sections have a cap of 24 students, and EAP classes generally provide more one-on-one support for each student and more scaffolding and modelling of writing. The types of assignments students produce are similar. However, with the assumption that most students who enroll in EAP sections don't have as much experience writing in American academic contexts, the assignments have a tighter, more prescribed structure than in mainstream sections in order to help students acculturate to American college writing. Speaking to her appreciation of being offered an EAP version of English composition, Paloma says, "Regular English is just too advanced for me". She goes on to talk about her experiences in other classes, which are "too fast" and with terminology that is sometimes "whole new language onto itself".

Paloma is critical of this situation: “It would be really helpful to have extra support for multilingual students like me, so we can understand what we’re learning. Because it feels very English only and restricted to that.” She voices the same concern with cognitive overload as Sujin that comes with not being a native speaker and always feeling a step behind. They both shine a light on the receptive areas of language learning like listening and reading which are both impeded, especially in classes where the subject matter is challenging.

Strategies for Learning Across Linguistic Difference

My participants are enrolled in a wide variety of majors, but they share the commonality that they all enrolled in First-Year Composition (FYC) courses. This section focuses broadly on strategies for learning that participants adopt as they negotiate linguistic, cultural, and academic differences. A salient theme across all the stories is the deployment of language and literacy resources to support learning. Additionally, however, there is a theme across all my participants’ stories of struggling with academic literacies, especially in terms of meeting expectations for success in the classrooms – English and other courses. In the following, I describe the strategies my participants deploy as they navigate different learning environments across campus.

Individual Learning

Participants talk about the translingual strategies they deploy individually when learning. They describe using any available resources to construct meaning and complete tasks, taking into consideration time factors and appropriateness. In the classroom and when doing assignments, they use their knowledge of multiple languages and available mediums such dictionaries, Google, and books to look up words or double-check their comprehension. During lectures or similar receptive activities, they describe translanguaging extensively when taking notes. Time

and automatic word recall guide the note-taking practices. For example, some describe their note-taking to be in a mix of English and other languages while others strive to or find it easier to only take notes in English. After classes, participants explain utilizing translingual and translation strategies to review notes or enhance and retain what they learned. For example, they tap other language and technology resources to translate their notes. When asked about negotiating language difference during lectures, Manuel explains, "I normally just take like, if I hear a word, I just write it like I hear it and then I back to my home, and 'Oh, I write this word wrong!'. and I rewrite it." Outside of the classroom, when time is not a constraint, and there are not real or perceived pressures to use English, participants describe doing research in multiple languages to gain a deeper understanding, elicit more information, or gain different perspectives. Thus, for her literature classes Kyung will seek out course texts translated into Korean to gain a deeper understanding while few other participants explain they write the first draft of their work in a language that feels familiar to them, and then they translate even though this entails a lot of time and labor. Matondo shared that he writes all his written assignments in French first and then uses a dictionary to translate. While the strategies for individual learning help participants, they also deploy collaborative strategies to work through translation moments and confusion.

Collaboration to Support Learning

All participants who have experiences of being in classrooms with others who knew the same languages as them seem to use translanguaging intentionally for collaboration. Alvarez' notion of "translanguaging events" as "multilingual collaborative practices [of] shuttling between languages while responding to texts situated in local contexts" (*Brokering* 329-30) speaks to the social nature of languaging. This social aspect of languaging speaks to individuals' desire to make sense and the relational aspect of sense-making. During class, they engage in brief

conversations to solicit or provide translation of concepts or instructions that are unclear because of linguistic and cultural differences. Learning, then, is a series of "translation moments" that require collaboration and inventiveness. They use after-class "side conversations" to solicit or provide more in-depth explanations of concepts, assignments etc. Martina, for example, first insists that she never speaks Spanish with other students in the classroom, but then shares that before and after class, she and other Spanish-speaking students often talk about concepts or assignments. The hallways are perceived as an acceptable space for pulling on other language resources that are needed to complete English-medium-only tasks. Also, Isaac reveals Arabic-speakers at the university use social media apps where by-invitation-only members help each other understand materials, develop assignments, and stay on task. Isaac stresses this is not a platform used to plagiarize or share homework but specifically to help others understand expectations and provide moral support. The three Uzbeki participants who arrived to the U.S. together talk about their collaborative work. Two of them are in the same EAP 101 class and will go over assignment prompts and their ideas for their papers. They speak Uzbek while discussing their pre-writing while also using concepts and phrases in English that are more natural not to translate. The third participant, Ansar, is in ENG 102 and, according to Farhod, "knows English very well", so he will help them understand things they struggle with. Ansar himself describes utilizing a lot of code-mixing when he was studying English in Uzbekistan, but he is confident in his proficiency now and can switch languages on and off as needed, "It became totally easy for me to switch". Omar says,

> Yeah, in English 101, I wasn't speaking very well, so I had to write some notes in Arabic. I could write the same word in English, but in Arabic letters, so I could be able to read it.

> Thankfully, I had a lot of friends who spoke the same language as me in the same class, who could translate the stuff, and explain words.

Omar is able to construct meaning with the help of his peers and by using different scripts to translate from after class. He explains that writing notes in Arabic is easier because "we write how we speak", so he does not have labor with correct spelling.

When students create collaborative, in-class learning moments, time is a rhetorical variable. Language choices depend on situational affordances and constraints. Depending on the time available, participants will choose one language over another to co-construct meaning, or they will choose more pronounced translanguaging strategies over sticking to one language. For example, Kyung mentions if another Korean student needs help, she will mix languages if time is scarce because it is easier. However, if they have more time, they will strive to use Korean only. Jinjing explains that if communicating with an interlocutor who translanguages too, the participant will mix because it saves more time than solely speaking in Chinese and trying to translate the whole set of knowledge. Some of the words are just easier to recall in one language, and if both conversation partners know both or all languages, the most effective communication choice may be translanguaging. As Creese and Blackledge point out, "It is the combination of both languages that keeps the task moving forward" (110). On the whole, participants are naturally motivated to ensure others feel included, and they are respectful of the setting they are in and the perceived expectations for language behaviors in these, so they do not overuse translanguaging. As suggested above, the hallways are considered an appropriate place to use other languages than English, but the classroom is not, which points to a learned assumption. In the following section, I discuss in more detail the policies of maintaining an English-Only classroom. But in addition to space itself being hostile to translanguaging, participants feel it is

rude if they use a language that others don't understand. Even if a brief conversation between two speakers of a given language happens, the speakers are mindful of overhearers; that is, individuals positioned nearby the conversation who are not part of the conversation. It is, then, also a question of social norms more broadly constraining translingual communication.

A striking observation of the learning strategies is that, on the one hand, participants make – and rely on making – cross-cultural and translingual connections as strategies and practices that work. On the other hand, socially constructed norms often clash with these practices and prohibit or delegitimize these practices. In the following section, I unpack the experiences with English-Only policies to better understand participants' perceptions of cross-language practices.

Teachers' monitoring of the classroom

English-Only classrooms, as the name suggests, enforce a learning environment where the target language – English – is the only language that is permitted. In this environment, students are expected to develop their English by exclusively using English and not relying on any other linguistic resources for support (Auerbach; Gonzales). As noted, participants report that they usually refrain from discussing anything in languages other than English, except for brief exchanges, because they are sensitive to how others experience it. They postpone discussions for after class so as to avoid "rude" or "exclusive" behaviors. However, participants specifically mention teachers and teachers' rules or expectations for language use in the classroom. Sometimes these rules or expectations are stated explicitly by the teachers, and other times it appears as if the participants assume the teachers represent these rules, which they may assume based on previous experiences with teachers being the banner-leaders against language-mixing. Some participants state they have encountered teachers who do not tolerate or encourage

translanguaging in the classroom. I call attention to the story at the opening of the chapter where Sujin says: “Uh, so teachers are, make ‘you have to use English in the class’, but sometimes we talk Korean with Korean friends [whispers - enacts it], like just some very little voice.” The collaborative learning that students may rely on to get the most out of class and maximize their learning is hindered and constructed as negative for the individual and for other students; not only a counter-productive, but a disruptive act.

The perception that using a language other than English is “rude” resonates with Auerbach’s discussion of Derald Wing Sue’s research on micro-aggressions which, according to Auerbach, can be applied to the ESL classroom. She argues that teachers, who often represent the dominant culture, “enforce[e] English in ESL classrooms [which] is an example of this dynamic in that it devalues the linguistic resources and hence the identities of some language minority learners under the guise of ‘helping’ them to learn English” (937). As evidenced by the opening story in this chapter, I used to have strict rules about maintaining the classroom as an English Only space. At the time, my own experiences as a learner of English and my TESOL training had caused me to believe that the rules were in the students’ best interest. The practice, though, is widespread among English and ESL/EFL teachers. These English Only policies are also directly related to discourse about “appropriateness” and “respectability”. The key assumption in this discourse is that knowing multiple languages or variations is great; only, they have to be kept out of the classroom and other high-stakes environments where they are simply not appropriate. SAE alone is appropriate which, as noted in Chapter 1, is identical with white, middle-class forms of English. Flores and Rosa expose the raciolinguistic attitudes undergirding this discourse; helping students understand when it is “appropriate” to draw on their language

resources, and when it is "appropriate" to adhere to Standardized American English reproduce linguistic white supremacy in more attractive packaging ("Undoing").

Based on stories about teachers with strict policies and my own observations of colleagues who also enforce strict English-Only classroom policies, I wonder if students are worried about admitting that they utilize other language resources. A few of my participants, who were former students of mine, reported during the interview that they do not use languages other than English in the classroom. In my memory of these students, however, they absolutely *do* use other languages than English. I wonder if this possible contradiction is evidence of the fact that much translanguaging is unconscious, and, perhaps, the fact that individuals feel bad about admitting they have broken the "rules". These accumulated microaggressions and other deficit-oriented teaching practices and policies are internalized over time. Multilingual students feel the assimilationist view that still dominates much language and writing pedagogy as the pervasive experience of schooling.

Just as my participants' linguistic and communication resources outside academic contexts demonstrate attunement and creativity, so it is the case in academic settings. They draw from their resources to learn and collaborate. Yet, the extent to which they feel monitored and constricted in utilizing their full repertoires is counter-productive to their learning and their self-image by constructing their translingual practices as wrong or unproductive.

Experiences with Academic Writing

Turning now to stories about academic writing specifically, I focus on themes that come up with participants who have taken EAP 101. To provide context for their experiences in EAP 101, the majority of participants report of very limited experiences with written communication

before college, especially participants who didn't grow up in the U.S. The writing they report of having to do was infrequent, brief, and in genres that did not prepare them for academic literacy. Most writing involves responding to a prompt that asked them to take a stand on an issue or to write a story based on personal experiences. They wrote short response essays on prompts that asked about their favorite foods, places, people etc. Halimah says, "Not a lot of complex topics, uhm, maybe it's very simple: 'describe a place you visited'". The writing experiences have often not involved reading and writing skills such as summary, analysis, synthesis, nor research and documentation.

> Ditya is from Nepal and moved to the U.S. with her family in 2017 before she had finished high school, so she spent some time at first earning her GED. The private school she went to in Nepal was a dual-language school where English gradually became the more prominent language of instruction. Her parents sent her to this school because *"because when we grow up, and we want to go outside of the country, it's gonna be helpful."* She never had to write a lot for school. *"Usually, they told us to write essay about [inaudible], your country, what's your favorite food... we just write what is my favorite food, 'I love it because my mom made that food at home'. Kinda like that, but over here, we have to do introduction, body paragraph, conclusion. We have to explain what we gonna write in the essay in the introduction and the body paragraph we only write the things, like, what we gonna write, and the conclusion is the summary of all things, so it's kind like hard. We used to mix the things in Nepal, but we get the good grade back in home, but here, it is hard to get it."*

Ditya very indirectly speaks to the different organizational and stylistic patterns of Nepali rhetoric that she is used to where "we used to mix things", but her story also calls attention to the

writing instruction she received before arriving at a U.S. college, which she doesn't feel prepared her. There is also a major difference between U.S. high school and college education where new college students, too, sometimes feel unprepared in the composition classroom. Since many of my participants refer to pre-college education when we talk about prior schooling, I anticipate a gap since I know the transition to college writing is difficult. However, there is a very uniform pattern that my non-U.S.-based participants do not see any connection between the writing they were accustomed to in their prior schooling and the writing they do in FYC classes. Many previous writing assignments focused on memorizing facts or grammatical structures, listing main ideas in a text, or responding to simple prompts. Furthermore, the characterization of their literacy instruction is surprisingly negative. For example, most of my participants with the exception of only a few, don't believe they have learned academic reading and writing. Specifically, when participants speak about their writing, they speak of struggling with the genre expectations for academic writing which includes thesis statements, organization, citation, and grammar.

EAP 101 - Organization

"EAP 101: Introduction to college writing for multilingual writers", which I taught for several years, teaches students academic writing through rhetorical analysis and synthesis-writing. Before diving into an analysis of participants' learning strategies, I offer a brief description of EAP 101. Like, ENG 101, the class is divided into three or four segments: in Segment 1, students produce summary-writing; in Segment 2, they produce rhetorical analysis; in Segment 3, they produce synthesis-writing; and in Segment 4, they compile a portfolio and reflect on their learning. Rhetoric and rhetorical analysis are foundational concepts across the assignments, and the course is built with the assumption that students are entirely unfamiliar with

rhetoric, so they learn about rhetoric through analyzing thematic texts. The Segment 2 paper, which asks students to analyze the rhetorical situation of the rhetor as well as strategies the rhetors uses to communicate effectively, provides a good example for my discussion.

The students don't have much agency to organize their paper. They learn to use a very specific structure which includes introduction, summary of the text they write about, followed by paragraphs that analyze context, purpose, audience, ethos, logos, and pathos, and finally a conclusion. Students learn how, specifically, to write each part of the paper. For the body paragraphs, they learn to write a "burger paragraph", which I was instrumental in developing for the program. This paragraph includes a topic sentence; explanation of topic sentence; transition to cited material; source material; explanation of source material; an optional second layer of source material; and, finally, a sentence that wraps up the paragraph and transitions to the next paragraph. The learning activities are often geared towards strengthening organization, focus and development of ideas, and coherence and clarity. EAP 101 employes process-writing to help students develop their writing and meta-cognitive awareness, so students write multiple drafts, do peer review, conference with the teacher and receive feedback from the teacher, both written feedback on their drafts and oral feedback during conferences. The different stages of the writing process focus as much on developing students' rhetorical knowledge as on mastering the structure and organization of the paper.

The expectations for the rhetorical analysis paper differ substantially from prior experiences with writing – both in English and other languages. In the short pieces that my participants report writing in prior school experiences, they did not focus on organizational issues. Halimah says, "We don't know how to organize [papers] well, it's only about 3 sentences per paragraphs." Coming into the EAP 101 classroom, students are expected to follow a fairly

prescribed structure for building paragraphs and essays, which seems to clash with other global rhetorical models. Ditya's story earlier in the chapter exemplified this. Halimah voices a similar dissonance with the logics of writing in Syria which scholars in Islamic and Arabic rhetoric define as having features that are substantially different from Western rhetoric (Graban). Halimah says,

> I have a problem in organizing my writing, so I was writing everything, like if I am writing in Arabic, I organize everything like in Arabic, but it doesn't work here, yeah. So I start to understand there is a problem. And then in 101 after I realize the problem, I start to change, and it becomes better.

Two features stand out in this quote: the different rhetorical pattern Halimah is used to is no longer valued or useful, and secondly, she is forced to adjust to be successful. Further, her word choice when explaining it, "I have a *problem*" and "it becomes *better*" [emphasis added] speaks to the pervasiveness of the monolingual ideology. This pattern demonstrates that, in addition to monolingualism, the curriculum is animated with an assumption that Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions define appropriate college-level writing. As mentioned in Chapter 1, many scholars have critiqued this somewhat invisible commonplace and demanded increased plurality of rhetorics (Baker-Bell et.al; Condon and Young; Inoue).

While some writing assignments in prior schooling have included taking a stance and defending a position, participants often don't have experience developing a thesis statement to be sustained in a long piece of writing. As noted, EAP 101, focuses on a specific model for building paragraphs, i.e., "the burger paragraph". This type of paragraph structure is common in U.S.-style academic writing, even if it is not always referred to a "burger paragraph". In the interviews, students report struggling with this form, and working on form and organization over

and over during the composing process. As Farhod says, “Firstly, when I came here, I didn’t know about rhetorical analysis, when I write in my skill, [the teacher] said to change it ‘cause you are analyzing rhetorically and you need to change it and you need to use these things.’” The emphasis on this specific way of writing a paper causes students to fall short until they have mastered it. It causes other rhetorical and organizational patterns to appear “wrong” or “inappropriate” for college writing. It is clear the students mimic what they hear in the classroom and develop an understanding that college writing needs to be a very specific artifact. When I asked them what “good writing” is, the majority of participants made references to burger paragraphs and a set structure. For example, Hyun says, “First I’d like to mention the burger paragraph – really convenient. Because I’ve never thought to put the topic sentence at the top, like the 5 sentences and those kinds of things, and at first, I had no idea how to organize that, but plenty of feedback in 101 class… [The teacher] told me I had to work on burger paragraph, and ‘Ok’, and later like she told, ‘Ok, you need to work on burger paragraph’ – ‘Ok’. But now I'm pretty good, now I can use it well.” Hyun’s story exemplifies a common theme of “making progress” and “filling gaps”. On the other hand, it might have been interesting to learn how Hyun would have organized a paragraph if not with a topic sentence first. This could have generated discussions about writing for different audiences and how/why expectations differ. This could help Hyun see writing as negotiated practice rather than a set of prescribed rules.

EAP 101: Grammar and Citations

Another pattern in the feedback is helping students use correct grammar and cite sources properly. To begin with the latter, many of my participants report feeling ill-prepared to cite texts in their work. They have not learned the importance of and styles for citing others. Much time, therefore, seems to go into teaching, commenting on, and correcting students’ handling of source

material. “Like here we have to do research for everything, but back in the country, we don’t have to. We just write about what we know”, as Ditya says. Ditya and others also explain the problems this can lead to with respect to academic integrity. When participants don’t know how to cite sources but also have never been instructed in the importance of giving credit when using others’ work, it is a difficult metacognitive skill. At the same time, meta-level, critical discussions about the connections between Euro-American citation practices and cultural values of private property and ownership could help students learn, not just how to cite properly, but to see citation as a rhetorical and cultural practice.

Participants also give voice to struggling with language and usage. Although much of their prior education has been grammar- and reading-based, participants don’t feel prepared to apply the rules they have learned in complex writing assignments. This speaks to the cognitive overload students experience when they have to perform mentally challenging tasks, but it also resonates with research on the effectiveness of grammar-based instruction, which shows that rote memorization of rules does not develop writers who can apply the rules in authentic contexts (Dunn). Quite a few participants report getting feedback on grammatical errors and things like wording in their writing. When they submit drafts and conference with their teacher, there appears to be a good deal of emphasis on eliminating error and appropriating native-like fluency. Most students welcome corrective feedback and appear to have accepted, and thus be complicit in, the monolingual ideology that constructs their language differences as deficits. The messages students have heard about language in educational settings have clearly been internalized, and they accept that success depends on performance of norms. When my participants talk about grammar, words like “error”, “wrong”, “problem”, “issue”, “fix”, “change” are frequent. Halimah says,

> I remember I got a lot of feedback on my grammar. I still have a lot of problem with my grammar. Even though I only learned grammar in Syria, but I still have a lot of problem with it. I get – on my organizing, so when we want to quote from someone, I was putting the order of the words in different and very hard way to understand. And I got a lot of feedback about my wording, so I was use some words that I think makes sense, but it confused my reader.

Halimah speaks about conventions for signaling and creating cohesion, such as the specific ways students are taught to set up quotes, comment on them, and transition. But it is striking that this "reader" who gets "confused" listens with "white ears", rather than with a translingual disposition which would have been open to negotiating Halimah's writing choices. Manuel comments on more prescriptive corrective feedback that requires him to eliminate 'errors' or 'non-native' languaging. He says about the feedback he gets, "Also grammar: 'this is wrong, you have to write in this way, this is past, present, future'". Again, the space is clearly not constructed to negotiate meaning, but to help Manual follow SAE. In walking me through her writing process, Sujin explains that between draft 3 and 4 of her paper, she conferences with her teacher:

> We have a conference with teacher. So we meet her, and she's the more professional than we, and also she gives some advice for me like: 'You have to change this sentence', or 'You have to add this word'. So after that, I write the draft 4 so with the peer review and class discussion and [the teacher's] advice, I fix it, and at last I read the whole essay and then check some unnecessary or something.

When I inquire further into the feedback, Sujin points to her struggles with articles, i.e., the use of a, an, the, and ø (i.e., no article) in front of nouns. When responding to the type of

feedback she usually gets, she says, “Ohh, grammar. So, one of the hardest part for me is time but also in Korean we don’t have article, so a, an or the. We don’t have it. Noun is just noun. I’m still confusing if I should add it”. While certain grammar errors such as verb tense may interfere with a reader’s comprehension of a text, articles are a grammatical category that typically don’t (Ferris). Thus, it may be counter-productive for Sujin’s development as a writer and of tackling higher order concerns that may impinge on her text’s effectiveness to agonize over these specific rules. Even though Sujin and other students welcome the corrective feedback, it may not help them develop as writers the same way other types of feedback would. Marco, who has a keen sense of the socioeconomic and structural barriers that set certain students up for success says: “To get perfect grammar you need to go to school, to be able to read and write, you need to go to a good public school where people have beautiful grammar”. Simultaneously, though, Marco says about the corrective feedback he got from his teacher: “I feel like all that feedback on grammar was extremely helpful, to go back and read my papers and go like ‘Oh, that’s why it wasn’t right’ and stuff like that always helped me a lot, and I appreciated it a lot.” Most participants share this attitude towards grammar feedback. They are appreciative of corrective feedback and welcome a prescriptivist approach, so they can learn to write like native speakers. Mingzhu expresses a concern with native-speaker fluency: “I have a lot of grammar I have to fix”. Then, speaking about the feedback she gets in English classes, “The feedback [on grammar] is just a little bit of it, but I don’t feel I systematically learn the grammar, but you know sometimes those grammar hurt your scores.” Mingzhu is clearly setting her goals for EAP 101 to help her meet the demands in other classes to write in error-free prose, knowing that errors may result in lower grades.

Manuel refers to the expectations outside of academic contexts to communicate without errors, and he speaks to the value of prescriptive grammar. When we talk the feedback he gets on his writing, he gives an example of using the double negative. Not only does he use the double negative when speaking English, but his first language is Spanish in which double negatives are not "wrong". He talks about getting feedback that points out his double negatives as errors even though it can be considered a translanguaging practice. What is pertinent at this point, however, is how he thinks through whether "proper English" is important to master: "It depends on the people we're talking about because, like uh, important events, like, an interview or something you have to speak well to get a job or something. If it's more like a friend, so informal type, you can write whatever." He is keenly aware of how translanguaging is stigmatized in certain contexts, and he values being corrected because it prepares him to be successful in contexts where the standard language ideology is dominant. Mignolo's discussion of coloniality in making sense of the reality that regardless of participants' backgrounds, there is a strong tendency towards affirming dominant ideologies. Because of the global dominance of the zero-point, I propose that my participants, like most people, have lived experiences that are imbricated in this ideology. It has a strong pull on individuals' thinking about language, writing, and knowledge and is internalized over time, which Medina's work with multilingual first-year students in California shows too. When students accommodate to the dominant language, they follow the logic of Western modernity that "is still at work assimilating and consuming" (Ruiz and Sánchez xvi). Even though an individual may recognize their resources and be open to a translingual, decolonial ideology, the prestige of SAE and Euro-American epistemologies are hard to reject when stakes are high. Yet, I also argue, that while ideologies shape and oftentimes

constrict individuals' practices, the opposite is also true. Individuals' practices also exert pressure on ideologies and the ecologies they flourish in.

In terms of negative attitudes to corrective feedback, Amelia points out the downside of feedback practices that center errors and overlook students' accomplishments. She talks at length about her experiences writing in high school. She recounts feedback and grading practices that were deficit-focused:

> The feedback that was like 'Oh, fix this'". She goes on, "And that's why for a long time, I thought that my whole paper, like, I have to scratch everything because there was no positive feedback. It was just more like my paper was lacking. And I feel like if I would have received maybe more of like positive feedback, I feel like I would have improved it, like, I would master that instead of overthinking about, like, my weakness.

The monolingual ideology driving this type of feedback on students' language obviously causes harm for students who develop a sense of inadequacy. Notions about form and error need to be contextualized rather than applied through prescriptivist practice (Canagarajah). Aimee Krall-Lanoue argues conversations should focus on negotiating "intelligibility through difference" (228) and discussing language choices and meaning as a more productive means to develop agency and metalinguistic awareness.

Also, the urge to correct a student's language limits the creativity that might flow from a translingual approach which might inquire into and negotiate language difference. Halimah, for example, talks about how she used to write in Arabic, "We used to use a lot of metaphors, and we didn't give the ideas as what it is, yeah. Here everything has to be directly, clear, and in Arabic we didn't do that. We turn everything around." Allowing Halimah to experiment with her own writing style and its effectiveness across genres and audiences might have been interesting

for the whole class community and might have helped Halimah develop a more nuanced and critical perspective on why certain audiences would not accept Arabic-inspired writing choices. Canagarajah points to the philosophical shift that is embedded in translingual scholarship, but he also points to the situated and flexible approach teachers must adopt because a classroom is constituted by students with different linguistic and literacy histories, and students may adhere to competing ideologies and goals, both amongst each other and within individuals. Thus, each conversation and each artifact present a new opportunity for "generating new grammars and meanings out of their synergy" ("Translingual Writing" 266). As he elucidates, "since the contexts, genres, and students in each writing course (and literacy event) are different, teachers have to be alert to developing their pedagogies, feedback, and assessment from the ground" (266). In other words, pre-planned lessons, stock feedback, and rubric-like assessment will miss opportunities to understand and assess how the students use their repertoire strategically and rhetorically. Prescriptive approaches to students' language also tends to co-occur with labelling some individuals "learners" and others "proficient", "competent", or "fluent". Labels mask the facts that all language users are learners, but more egregiously, labels further have the effect of calling attention to "learners'" language difference as something negative. This not only bolsters the dominant, monolingual ideology, but it can create self-doubt and/or resistance by those who are labelled (Mangelsdorf).

At the same time, the sheltered nature of EAP sections designed for multilingual students with lower enrollment and more support and its focus on building students' understanding of academic writing works as it helps students "invent the university" (Bartholomae). It is also grounded in principles of L2 writing scholarship (Jordan; Ferris; Matsuda). However, my participants talk about academic writing in a way that makes it appear reified and static. The

students walk away feeling empowered to write a rhetorical analysis in a specific way and feel the skills are useful, but they may not come away with a sense of rhetorical agency or critical awareness (Shapiro).

Lived Experience as a Resource

As scholars in our field and other related fields have argued, students are holders and creators of knowledge (Bernal Delgado; Ladson-Billings). Through their engagement with myriad groups and communities, they have life experiences that give them knowledge. These experiences have been characterized as funds of knowledge (González et al.); non-European epistemological perspectives (Bernal Delgado and Villalpando), and cultural rhetorics (Powell et al.). Responding to Bourdieu's work on the cultural capital, Tara Yosso defines six other forms of capital that often go unnoticed: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistance. This "cultural wealth" includes experiences and resources that Students of Color and other non-traditional students draw from as they navigate educational contexts. While much of the cited scholarship focuses on Students of Color, transnational, multilingual students also bring cultural capital and cultural wealth to the U.S. colleges they enroll in. With respect to Yosso's forms of capital, it is clear from my analysis, for example, that transnational, multilingual students leverage aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistance capital in ways that are entirely different from domestic, monolingual students, but that help them reach their goals.

In my study, however, participants are generally very modest with regard to the cultural and rhetorical knowledge they bring to the U.S. classroom. Regardless of where they have spent the majority of time growing up, they have deep funds of knowledge whether this is from being immersed in a non-U.S. culture or from travelling across physical and digital borders. Thus, someone like Jiwon has spent her whole life in South Korea and only recently moved to the U.S.

to go to college. On the other hand, someone like Catalina was born and raised in the U.S. but engages with her Mexican family in the U.S. and Mexico and gets more of her news and entertainment through Spanish-medium services. Both participants access transnational resources: information, knowledge, perspectives, cultural practices, linguistic resources, literacies, lived experience, and various forms of 'capital' across diverse communities. However, participants' immediate response is that this cultural and rhetorical knowledge is irrelevant to their U.S. education. While it is indisputable that they bring valuable resources to their college classroom, the myth of universal, unidirectional modern, Western frameworks being not only superior, but appropriate and relevant, is pervasive. Participants either don't think their knowledge supports their academic work, or they don't recognize that they pull from it in their academic work. Kareem is a good example of this. He very clearly states that he never uses his knowledge of Arabic for academic purposes, and that he does not pull from his knowledge about the Middle East in his academic work. However, he concedes, "Of course, I know a lot about the culture, the history, the dialects, events, we have news channels, they produce content that speaks about politics, economy, and stuff, but they also implement the scientific data in English". Incidentally, Kareem used to be a student in two of my classes a few years back, and looking back at some of his work, he did pull from his funds of knowledge. So, it is interesting that he either is not fully aware, or he is reluctant to admit to it. Kareem has been in the U.S. since 2013, and elsewhere in the interview he describes his cultural integration, so I wonder if he is deliberately positioning himself as not leaning on prior learning. Still, very few of the participants readily see areas in their academic learning where they successfully draw from the cultural knowledge. Only Jiwon and Hae affirm they directly draw from their cultural background: Jiwon is in a Journalism class where the instructor focuses a lot on Korean culture

and Jiwon – in spite of feeling insecure about her English – feels her knowledge and perspective are welcomed and validated and enhance the learning of others. Hae is taking a Nursing class and draws from her experiences doing social volunteer work with Filipino groups where she developed a cultural sensitivity.

When I specifically ask participants about their experiences of college teachers inviting them to draw from their linguistic, cultural, and literacy resources, most have few or no experiences with this. I am not looking for obvious attempts to make students speak on a given issue just *vis-à-vis* their nationality or cultural background but for testimonies or even echoes of teachers giving students the option to pull from their resources. Of course, certain classes and certain modalities (e.g., large online classes) may not lend themselves well to pedagogies that are culturally relevant or sustaining. Other classes lend themselves to such pedagogies, but may not include them. Marco, for example, recounts an experience in which a Sociology teacher only allowed him to use Spanish sources *if* they were translated into English – "'cause he could not verify". That is an example of discouraging a student's full repertoire and centering the teacher's need (being able to read the source) rather than the student's (adding a meaningful perspective to their work). English classes, which are the common denominator among my participants, also lend themselves to such pedagogies, but participants don't tend to remember invitations to bring their linguistic, cultural, and literacy resources. Catalina is the *only* one who recalls such an invitation. At first, when I ask her, she hesitates a bit, "Mmm, I don't know. For all my English classes, I've never had someone who told me… I feel like you're the first one who values bilingualism and all that, so when you told me about this project, I was like 'Yeah, I like to talk about that'. This is what I did my final [in the class I taught] about." My sense is that some UWM teachers are not necessarily against students drawing from their own experiences, but

when the discourse in the classroom and the course itself don't make the invitation – the openness to diverse knowledges – explicit, then students may not discern it. Through my interviews I got the clear sense that while students drawing from their cultural, rhetorical, and linguistic resources may be validated, it is often not cultivated.

Researched Writing

Although my participants have lukewarm perceptions of their own resources, it is clear that they pull from their vast repertoires when they are invited to. In this section, I look at researched writing in ENG 102, which focuses on college writing and research. Mainstream and EAP sections are similar, and the course is divided into three segments and three segment projects. As an extension of EAP/ENG 101, the first segment focuses on understanding how information circulates and learning to think rhetorically about research and information. Students typically write an analysis that demonstrates these learning outcomes. Segment 2 builds on Segment 1 in its emphasis on critical information literacy. Students start doing their own research, curating different genres and stakeholder perspectives on a chosen issue, and they learn to write a white paper which comes with a very firm structure in both EAP and mainstream sections. In Segment 3, students continue researching their chosen issue but remix and remediate information into a new genre and a new audience, while also carefully learning to build their ethos. This final segment allows for creativity and invites multimodal composition while it also requires students to be intentional of what they are doing and what their goals are. Students reflect on their own rhetorical situations, including the audiences for these genres and the types of sources that will be effective considering these audiences. Segments 2 and 3 projects are both presented as public-facing, real-world genres, which allows for students to envision rhetorical and linguistic choices that fit their chosen audiences. Also, throughout ENG 102, students

engage with three key heuristics for doing research, which are ethos, stakeholders, and the information cycle (Watson). They learn to distinguish between situated and invented ethos and gain an understanding of which types of rhetors speak from a position of authority and trustworthiness given their expertise, titles, or experiences. With stakeholders, students learn about the importance of consulting the perspectives and knowledge of various groups who have a unique connection to the researched issue and who have particular expertise and experiences. The information cycle teaches students that after an exigence, information develops in predictable patterns in the immediate moments, hours, days, weeks, months, years, and decades. Students learn that at different nodes, different rhetors produce different types of genres with particular purposes and audiences, and, of course, with different depths of information.

Below, Table 2 shows research participants have completed for ENG 102. It is worth mentioning that not all participants brought samples of researched writing to the interview:

Name	**Topic for research**
Halimah	Anti-Muslim sentiments after 9/11
Paloma	Spanish-speaking communities on the South Side of Milwaukee
Sajit	Cell-phone use in Nepal
Kareem	Saudi students' experiences as international students during COVID-19
Seongmin	Asian hate crimes after COVID-19
Hyun	Korean Mukbang (eating shows)
Mingzhu	Chinese language policy
Nayla	Discrimination of American Muslim women with hijabs
Catalina	Code-meshing

Marco	Access to higher ed for low-income, marginalized youth

Table 2: Research topics in ENG 102 by transnational, multilingual students

In the projects where these participants were *given the invitation* to choose their own research area, they chose something that was of personal relevance to them and resonated with their lived experience.

> When Mingzhu was enrolled in ENG 102, one of the core texts they read was on Native American language rights. When the teacher assigned a research project, Mingzhu chose to write a project on Chinese language policies because she saw a connection to language policies and politics in China curtailing the preservation of minority languages in China, an issue she was personally invested in. Mingzhu's lived experience and her Chinese language and knowledge of China allowed her to access sources by key stakeholders on the issue of language policy (various academic and non-academic expert stakeholders) as well as the voices of regular people affected by the issue. Also, because she reads Chinese, she was able to locate and understand sources from various parts of an information cycle. For example, after a particular piece of legislation concerning language policy, we can expect myriad sources to be published in Chinese, both immediately, as well as hours, days etc. after. On the other hand, we may expect a few English-medium sources to be published as well but not in the same amount and not from the same perspective. Even it is a translated source, Mingzhu had an emic perspective and could add perspectives to her topic because there is a shared sense or understanding of the cultural logic. Mingzhu, thus, was able speak on the issue with a situated ethos that writers who don't know Chinese are prevented from, which means they would need to invent their ethos in other ways.

Mingzhu's story demonstrates that her teacher not only validated her knowledge, linguistic resources, and ethos, but allowed her to use it to learn more, not just about a topic, but about doing research. Another interesting aspect of Mingzhu's story is that she was drawn to the project because of her critique of monolingual language policy. At the same time, when Mingzhu discusses her goals for learning English, she is very keen on getting corrective feedback and performing in SAE. This is a good example of how larger ideologies and discourse are tangled up with individuals' own experiences, priorities, and goals. In the map below and the accompanying ALT text, I try to capture Mingzhu's movement across geographical spaces, national borders, educational institutions, languages, and language ideologies and policies.

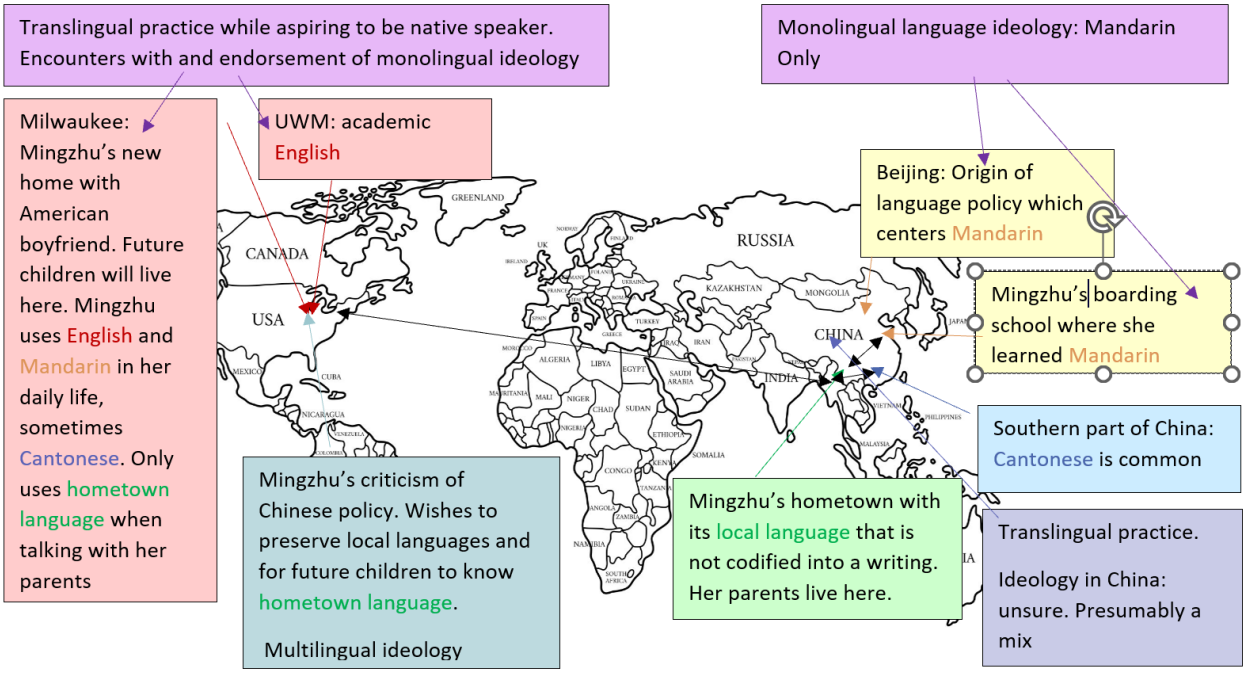

Figure 2: Mingzhu's language practices and ideological entanglements. Original map by Printablee.com

My map undoubtedly lacks many details and accuracy, but it provides a multimodal presentation of Mingzhu's complex lived experience and her negotiation of language and

ideology based on her own positionality. Constructing maps like these with students can help them reflect on language practices and ideologies, which I discuss further in Chapter 5.

With respect to the general trend across participants' stories about their research, I was surprised how reticent the participants were in talking about their own ethos and often would downplay their ethos. This was surprising in the context of a course that emphasizes ethos, stakeholders, and the information cycle. In some cases, participants came to realize their ethos through our conversation. Participants seemed to have chosen research topics that were interesting to them and connected to their lives, but they didn't seem to have fully realized the knowledge and ethos of their linguistic and cultural resources. Paloma is a good example of this. She was enrolled in EAP 101 at the time of the interview and had not yet taken ENG 102, so the research project she told me about was for another class.

> Paloma had moved to Milwaukee the previous semester and had become curious about the segregated make-up of the city and wanted to explore the socio-economic conditions of Milwaukee's South Side, a majority Latinx area. Talking about the advantages that come with developing a project based on one's lived experience, she says, "*I really feel like 'cause of my experiences I've gone through that are really kind of unique, my experiences are something I can talk about".* Doing this project, she discovered that her Spanish language gave her access to informants who were willing to share their stories and perspectives with her. She had chosen to focus on the South Side because she was interested in the socioeconomic disparity and because she had friends on the South Side, but as she was talking it felt like it had surprised her that her Spanish language gave her an advantage in carrying out the project. She says, *"I think it's definitely gonna be a little more easier 'cause I can explain everything in Spanish, I can explain what I'm kinda*

trying to show and not have to worry so much about, if somebody else from a different background came in, it feels, it kinda gives the wrong idea". She is not only speaking to language as access but also a shared history and identity, an emic positionality, that she believes makes the research more ethical: *"I think it makes a little more sense if it's someone from that same community showing what's happening in their community, somebody who lives there or is from the community even if they don't live there"*.

During her ethnographic project, Paloma discovered that her expertise, situated ethos, and form of 'capital' granted her access to her research site and gave her an emic perspective. It allowed her to do research that didn't feel exploitative or invasive. Not only did she have an empowering experience doing this, but she has planned to pursue this research topic in another project. Research projects like this only, then, position students as experts and their knowledge and resources as valuable.

Concluding Remarks

My participants' multilingual resources and transnational positioning give them access to knowledge, information and ideas, but also require rhetorical dexterity. However, overall, my findings demonstrate that participants often don't consider these resources valuable in academic settings. They tend to downplay pulling from them or admit to engaging with them surreptitiously or outside their teachers' purview such as at home or in hallways. However, when given the invitation or claiming the opportunity, rich ideas emerge and participants' confidence grows. The classroom is experienced by students largely as an English-Only space where teachers correct grammar mistakes, help students adopt American-style writing patterns, and steer students towards mostly using English, just like my own practice used to be. Students are not upset about this; on the other hand, they appreciate feedback that can help them 'improve'.

However, they also thrive when they are invited to pull from their resources. As, I argue in Chapter 5, this invitation coupled with critical awareness of the ideologies that exert pressure on students can be generative for transnational, multilingual students.

In Chapter 5, I look at the implications of my two studies and provide a set of recommendations for cultivating students' resources and experiences *and* their critical awareness in college writing pedagogy and programs. Drawing from scholarship in translingual literacy studies and cultural rhetorics, I argue that my recommendations respond ethically and intentionally to transnational, multilingual students on U.S. campuses. The recommendations, while drawing transnational, multilingual students to the center of pedagogy and policy-making, will likely also benefit other groups of students as they are rooted in critical and inclusive frameworks.

Chapter 5: Implications for Writing Classrooms and Programs

> *Having embraced prescriptive teaching and grading practices for the first many years of my career, there is an element of answerability (Patel) is choosing my dissertation topic, mapping and understanding students' experiences, and my goals of using this knowledge to imagine linguistically and culturally sustaining writing pedagogy and writing programs. But I also notice a shift in my students when I clarify my approach to their writing. This semester, I am explaining to my students what their weekly Writer's Journal entails. A student raises their hand and asks if I will grade grammar and punctuation. I say no and explain why. I hear a collective sigh of relief. I then ask the class about their experiences with corrective feedback and what that feels like. A quiet Latina student raises her hand and tells us about her experiences of being singled out because of her 'poor' English, and how it caused her to doubt herself. We talk about language and writing scars; about linguistic violence, and everyone – regardless of their language background – nods, recalling negative experience with the standard language regime. We talk about the importance of mastering the codes of power in a world that is dominated by the standard language ideology, and I promise I will provide corrective feedback to anyone who wants it. No one has taken me up on it yet.*

In this final chapter, I discuss the implications of my analysis of the two studies and move towards recommendations for writing teachers and programs. As discussed in the previous chapters, my participants communicate across academic and non-academic contexts, mobilizing different strategies to achieve their communicative, rhetorical, and scholarly goals. They demonstrate immense creativity and dexterity, while they are also constricted by norms and rules as well as their own and others' attitudes toward language. These phenomena act as barriers that

cause self-doubt and sometimes prevent individuals from drawing from their full repertoires. Writing classrooms and programs need to respond to transnational, multilingual students by not only validating, but also cultivating students' resources, self-reflexivity, and critical awareness.

As noted in Chapter 1, over the past few years, U.S. higher education – and especially the field of Rhetoric and Composition – has been reckoning with its past and contemporary complicity with racism, colonialism, and white supremacy. Many initiatives towards antiracism or "Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion" have been established and funded. Simultaneously, other forces are working towards limiting, eliminating, or banning critical or inclusive frameworks (Critical Race Theory) or initiatives (DEI). However, as the demographics in higher education are changing, our student population is becoming more diverse, and larger numbers of students with transnational backgrounds enroll. Therefore, institutions of higher education need to interrogate and grapple with the many ways students from diverse backgrounds – including transnational, multilingual – are excluded. In their book *Materiality and Writing Studies*, Holly Hassel and Cassandra Phillips, leaning on Audre Lorde's notion of "the mythical norm," challenge scholars and teachers in the field of Rhetoric and Composition to reexamine the pervasive "myth of the traditional college student" who is "white, middle-class, and traditional aged" (3). They argue, "the new majority of students" are increasingly diverse in terms of their cultural, linguistic, and literacy backgrounds, and that higher education needs to become more inclusive of the lived experience of our actual students. Addressing the linguistic diversity among college students, Paul Kei Matsuda has similarly challenged the myth of the linguistic homogeneity among students, arguing this myth "embodies a set of assumptions about who the students are, where they come from, where they are going, what they already know, what they need to know, and how best to teach them" ("Myth" 639). Higher education, like all societal

institutions, are saturated with a white supremacy ideology (Dunbar-Ortiz) and attendant whitely habits (Condon; Inoue) which, inherently, are exclusionary. In particular, as Donahue has noted, U.S. higher education has significant "blind spots" in relation to transnational perspectives. If the field of Rhetoric and Composition and institutions of higher education truly want to offer diversity, equity, and inclusion, moving beyond what Sara Ahmed calls "perception data" (34), inviting and sustaining the resources of all students is paramount.

My dissertation is a response to the questions posed by Paris and Alim and Wang in Chapter 1 that encourage scholar-practitioners to imagine what our pedagogies, programs, and research might look like if we grounded our practices in critical, inclusive frameworks that decenter whiteness, whiteliness, and the U.S. (as well as kindred dominant frames); if we – in Royster Jones' words – do some "disciplinary landscaping" to create "a fuller terrain where other views participate kaleidoscopically in the knowledge-making process" (149). In this final chapter, I propose a set of recommendations for a fuller terrain that better allows us to see, hear, and work with transnational, multilingual students and their linguistic and knowledge-making resources. I constellate the stories I have shared in this dissertation into a pedagogy that I name TCR to demonstrate my translingual (and wider 'trans') and cultural rhetorics orientations.

A TCR Writing Pedagogy: Interlacing Translingual and Cultural Rhetorics Frameworks

As with other critical and progressive frameworks, translingual literacy studies and cultural rhetorics originate from an opposition to hegemony and attendant structures of colonialism, racism, classism, linguicism, ablism, and heteronormativity. While different in terms of histories and commitments, frameworks such as culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP), antiracist pedagogies, and critical language awareness (CLA) speak from a shared opposition against hegemony. In my framework for a more inclusive approach to transnational, multilingual

students, I focus on translingual literacy studies (and related 'trans'-perspectives) and cultural rhetorics because, as Figure 1 shows, cross-pollinating the two orientations has the potential of being interventions into practices and policies that continue to exclude students' multiple resources for learning and knowledge-making.

While translingual and cultural rhetorics orientations have not yet been combined by other scholars as a pedagogy for First-Year Composition, others have suggested that 'trans'-orientations and decolonial orientations align. De Costa et al. write: "Because translanguaging challenges structuralist ideologies of language linked to nationalism, engagement in translingual practices itself is often viewed as a political act associated with a wider critical agenda to develop metalinguistic and cultural awareness and to decolonize the minds of individuals" (465). Similarly, a foundational pillar in cultural rhetorics in engagement with decolonial practice which, explicitly, calls for "delinking" (Mignolo, "Delinking") from epistemic regimes embedded in the colonial matrix of power. Of note, scholars have identified connections between decolonial and translingual/translanguaging approaches (Cushman; Garciá and Kleifgen; Medina; Milu; Zhang-Wu). As I will discuss, interlacing translingual and cultural approaches to rhetoric and writing opens for a synergy with a potential for linguistically, rhetorically, and culturally sustaining and critical consciousness-raising classrooms.

Translingual literacy studies and other 'trans'-approaches focus on what speakers and writers *do* with language, iterating that language and literacy practices are social, dynamic, and situated. Translingual pedagogy, then, rethinks the classroom as a site of negotiation, and students' multiple communicative resources are validated and leveraged for learning and knowledge-making. However, in my work focusing on transnational, multilingual students in higher education, I am interested in more than simply language practices and translingual

literacies. A narrow focus on matters of language risks overlooking epistemic and social aspects of transnational existence. Lorimer Leonard, Vieira, and Young define "transnational" as "an optic or analytic that traces how individuals build social fields across real or perceived boundaries" in the context of global change (vi). The movement, meaning-making, relationship- and community building, identity formation etc. that influence individuals who move across and beyond borders cannot be reduced to multi- or translingual practice. However, a focus on language can be generative, as Lorimer Leonard et al. also suggest. Language is not only mechanistic or a vehicle for conveying social relations, cultural practices and beliefs; rather language encodes them. Cultural rhetorics compliments the translingual orientation by adding the ontological, epistemological, and rhetorical dimensions that are not well-articulated in translingual scholarship, just like language matters are not well-articulated in cultural rhetorics scholarship. Combining translingual literacy studies with cultural rhetorics can compensate for the "blind spot" in translingual scholarship. Also, the pillars that guide cultural rhetorics theory, methodology, and pedagogy are valuable in inclusive, student-centered pedagogy. Students learn about the value of story and engage in story-telling; they experience relationality and reflect on their own relationality to other people, places, and ideas and work through the heuristic of a constellation to visualize this; and they learn basic tenets of decolonial theory and experience it in action in the classroom ecology and in feedback and assessment practices. The act of pluralizing what counts as academic work and validating students' resources as integral to their learning while also both appropriate and relevant to academic work and knowledge-making functions to decolonize the classroom. Providing students with a more inclusive understanding of rhetoric as the meaning-making that happens within any group, community, or culture can break down the rhetorical borders they currently experience in the college classroom and help them

delink. The disruption of the zero-point can amount to both critical consciousness, cultural reflexivity, and a feeling of belonging. While higher education is entangled in the colonial matrix of power, acts of disruption are possible (la paperson).

Also, while translingual pedagogy generates awareness of how language is social, situated, and negotiated, it does not take into full account the embodied and affective labors what are involved with deep language work. Considering the harm that the monolingual ideology and attendant paradigms cause, deep language work in a classroom setting is vulnerable and uncomfortable. Asking students to explore and potentially share their language and literacy paths requires trust and care, which I don't think is always emphasized in scholarship on translingual pedagogy.

Combining translingual and cultural rhetorics foundational beliefs and practices holds the potential of sustaining transnational, multilingual students' rich resources by bringing attention to:

- The complex, plural language and knowledge practices students engage in in academic and non-academic contexts,
- The experiences with and strategies for negotiating meaning in linguistically diverse situations,
- The tension between embodied practices and ideological ecologies,
- Dispositions towards language that differs from dominant, prestige variations.

The TCR pedagogy seeks to respond to transnational, multilingual students by not only validating, but also cultivating students' resources, self-reflexivity, and critical awareness. The elements need to be present throughout any course at the levels of syllabus, course units, assignments and major projects, materials, and assessment methods. A few texts or assignments

that pay attention to matters of language, culture, and ideology will not be effective in reorienting students towards multiplicity. A classroom ecology and set of feedback/assessment practices that are grounded in TCR allow and encourage students to pull from whatever resources they need to make meaning and learn, while maintaining an open stance to what may perceived as "error" and "non-native-like usage". This pedagogy both depends on and builds care and relationality; grappling with language and identities issues is vulnerable and may recall troubling memories, but care is also established when teachers value students' plural resources and experiences.

Materials that introduce students to key concepts and ideas include scholarly and autobiographical texts. The table below lists some titles can be adopted in the writing classroom to help students develop terminology, concepts and perspectives on linguistic diversity that can help them make sense of their own experiences.

Scholarly Texts	Autobiographical and Literary Texts
• Alvarez, Steven: "Official English Is Best" (*Bad Ideas about Writing*) (2017) • Barrett, Rusty: "Rewarding Language: Language Ideology and Prescriptive Grammar" (*Other People's*) (2017) • García, Ofelia, and Li Wei: *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education* (excerpt) (2014) • Horner, Bruce et al. "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach" (2011) • Lippi-Green, Rosina: "The Linguistic Facts of Life" (2012) • MacNeil, Robert: "English Belongs to Everybody" (2012) • Menéndez, Ana: "Are we different people in different languages?" (2015) • PBS: "Do You Speak American?" (2005)	• Alvarez, Julia: "My English" (1994) • Anzaldua, Gloria: "How to Tame a Wild Tongue" (1987) • Dowdy, Joanna Kilgour: "Ovuh Dyuh" (2002) • Lyiscott, Jamila: "Three Ways to Speak English" (2014) • Kingston, Maxine Hong: "Tongue Tied" (2010) • Lee, Chang Rae: "Mute in an English-Only World" (1996) • Martínez, Tiffany: "Academia, Love Me Back" (2016) • Rodriguez, Robert: "Public and Private Language" (1982) • Tan, Amy: "Mother Tongue" (1990) • Trask, Haunani-Kay: *From a Native Daughter* (excerpt) (1993) • Villanueva, Victor: *Bootstraps* (excerpt) (1993)

• Robertson, Wayne: *Writing Across Borders* (2018) • Watson, Missy: "Contesting Standardized English" (2018)	

Table 3: Suggested FYC readings

In the following pages, I pull out key findings from my studies and propose a pedagogical response to each finding which includes an activity and set of discussions and assignments associated with each finding/activity. The assignments I propose can work as in-class work, short writing assignments, of major projects in a FYC course – if, of course, the teacher has the autonomy to design their own major prompts within the curriculum they teach.

Sustaining Transnational, Multilingual Students' Resources through a TCR Pedagogy

Complex, Diverse Language and Knowledge Practices

One key point from my analysis of participants' language and literacy practices across academic and non-academic contexts is their ongoing engagement with linguistic difference, which is inherent to being multilingual and transnational. As discussed in Chapter 3, my participants engage in the transnational flow of ideas and information by traveling across and between physical and digital borders. This gives them access to a wealth of information and literacy resources, both from other places and from the border, i.e., where meaning emerges (Anzaldúa). To reiterate, participants have access to information that circulates in global contexts; access to perspectives on events in both in the U.S. and elsewhere; experiences negotiating different sources of information and perspectives both in the media they consume and in conversations with individuals located outside the U.S. or with other expats or immigrants in their Milwaukee communities. Many participants interact with other immigrants or international students from their own cultures of origin and other cultures. Individuals negotiate

difference and deploy strategies at their disposal to get stuff done: to learn, to form or maintain relationships, and to conduct business and other transactions. My study confirms that languaging is a social and situated practice; that it is always in motion, in translation, in contact. Simultaneously, however, while some acknowledge that multilingualism is a resource for social mobility, intercultural relationships, and personal growth, my participants rarely recognize their translingual repertoires and vast knowledges as assets – specifically not in educational settings.

The TCR pedagogy aims to visibilize the labors students perform when they negotiate language difference and help them become conscious of their linguistic and rhetorical switching, shuttling, and translanguaging. Awareness of their translingual practices can help students reflect on how their resources connect to their multiple identities; how these resources can affect and be affected by different ecologies and rhetorical situations; and how they choose to respond, i.e., by conforming to or resisting expectations and norms.

Pedagogical Response

I propose that a pedagogical response must bring attention to these experience with diverse language and knowledge practices. Activities that bring awareness to students' practices and resources are generative. Validating the practices while bringing them into conversation with other texts and sharing them with others in the classroom supports this approach. Undergraduate students may not always have had the opportunity to devote the time to list, map, or narrate all the things they do with language across different spaces and over time, or to think about who/what they engage with and what languages, communication practices, or information they produce or consume. Inviting students to reflect on and visualize these practices in conjunction with learning basic linguistic (language, variation, register, code-switching, translanguaging etc.) and rhetorical concepts (audience, purpose, context etc.) can be helpful. Further, scholarly or

autobiographical texts can provide students with a deeper understanding of their own and others' practices and can help validate their practices. It can help them understand that identity, language, culture, and place are inter-connected, and when they move in and out and in-between cultures and places, their linguistic practices may change. Creating awareness around students' own practices, while also sharing with other students can help students see that all individuals have diverse practices, and it further helps to validate those practices as something that is both common and demonstrates dexterity.

In the following section, I present a multimodal activity that I have created to support the process of becoming conscious of the plural literacies and practices students navigate.

Map-Making and Storytelling

Description: In this activity, you will be working on maps that visualize and narrate your movements across space and time. We will use the activity to reflect on how you all communicate with different people and different groups as you move through our lives. You will reflect on how you use language and other communication strategies when you communicate, and think about what causes these changes as you move across contexts of your life.

Instructions:

Part I: Individual Creation

> Step 1: Open Google Maps on google.com/maps. Click "Create a new map". In the top left, where it says "Untitled map", you can click to edit and give your map a name. Next, in the middle under the search, you can click "add marker" to drop a pin. You can also click "draw a line" to show connections between locations. Drop pins at all the significant **physical** places you move through on a regular basis in your **current life** where key social, professional, academic, and other parts of your life unfold. This should be as granular as possible. When you drop a pin, note the name of the place, what you do there, what people you engage with and how you use language broadly speaking. Language includes (a named language, a variation, a style, a set of symbols, pictures, music etc.)
>
> Step 2: Once you have pinned all the physical places you move through, add **digital** spaces: this can be phone calls, virtual meetings, social media, media, music, videogame buddies etc. Again, note the name of the place, what you do there, what people you engage with and how you use language in the broadest sense.
>
> Step 3: Next, trace your movements back **over time**, year by year and repeat the first two steps.

Step 4: Reflection. What does this map you have created represent to you? What story/ies does it tell about you?

Part II: Collaborative Creation

Step 5: Get ready to move into groups and share your maps. First, take another your own map and make some choices about how you want to talk about your map to your group members and what story it tells about you.

Next, in your groups, present you map to each other and the similarities and differences in your communicative journeys.

Step 6: Individually, write an observation in your notebook about your response to your group member's maps and stories. Also, reflect on how the verbal storytelling guided your understanding of your group members' maps. At this point, feel free to add to your own map if you realize you had missed anything.

Step 7: In the Google app, start a new collaborative map. Assign a different color to each group member's pin, by clicking the paint can icon. Then drop all your pins. Look at how your pins and communicative situations intersect and/or take different routes.

Step 8: In your notebook, write an observation about what you believe your collective story tells. Share your observations with each other and note any differences in your observations.

Part III: Post-activity writing

Prompt: Write a 300-400-word reflection in which you address the following questions:

1) Describe your experience creating this map and reflecting on the many communicative situations you move through and have moved through in your life.
2) Reflect on your experience telling and listening to each other's stories about your maps. How did the multimodal storytelling shape the way you told your own story and how you understood your group members' stories?
3) Share a few observations from class about your group members' stories and your collective story once you laid your maps on top of each other.

The activity has multiple variations, but at its core, it asks students to reflect on their language and literacy practices through temporal, spatial, and visual modes. Creating the multimodal artifact of a map allows students to think about and visualize their communication practices across time as well as across both physical and digital spaces. Working with a map calls attention to transnational movement and to the resources that individuals draw from both within and across geographical spaces. When students work on their maps individually, they can

be prompted to reflect on what story/ies their map tells themselves and what story/ies their map might tell others. In reflecting on their own story/ies, I argue the map can visibilize the shifting and complex communication practices transnational, multilingual individuals participate in.

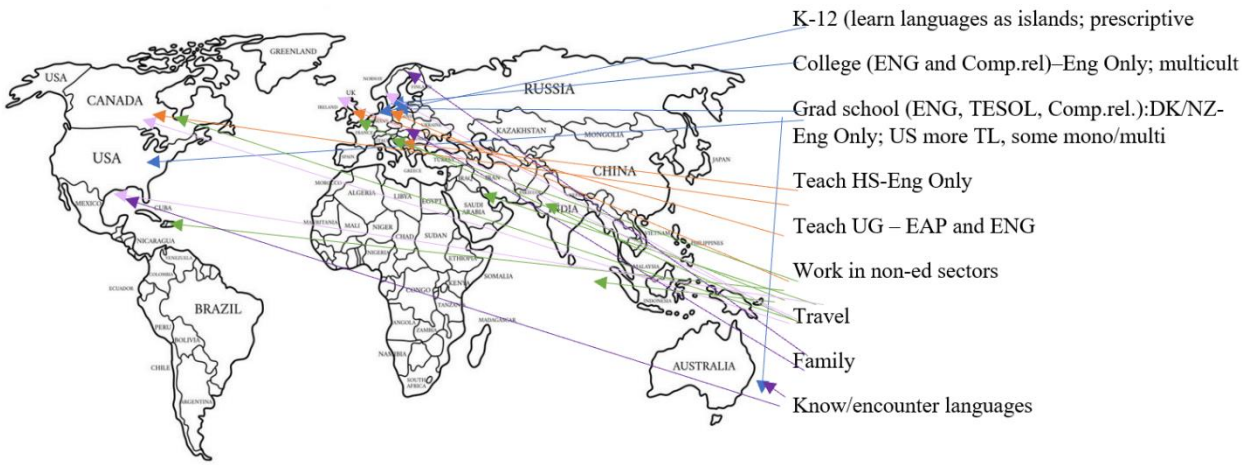

Figure 3: Mapping my movements across borders

Figure 3 illustrates parts of my own map, based on some of the information I have shared, and my own stories that I have shared in this dissertation are tied to the movements and border-crossings my map shows.

The map-making activity also allows for collaboration where students drop pins of different colors on a shared map. The collaborative map can visibilize the meaning-making practices and movements of others in the classroom community, which can open up for community-building, acknowledgment of others' lived experiences, and storytelling. It calls attention to how all individuals engage in various communities, each with different rhetorical practices.

Activities that focus on spatial, temporal, and multimodal communication draw attention to what Gail E. Hawisher and Cynthia L. Selfe characterize as "an ecology of 'literacy' … a site of contestation between emerging, competing, changing, accumulating, and fading languages and literate exchanges" (70). In other words, language and literacy acquisition are not linear and

unidirectional, but unfolding in ecologies that are both constituted by user agency and gateways and obstacles that are created by others.

Follow-up writing assignments include storytelling aimed at a chosen audiences, which can be written or multimodal. The activity calls attention to the fact that stories don't exist outside rhetorical situations. Students recall specific stories while doing this activity and they choose to share or not share them with their classmates and teacher in this particular place and time and situated in a specific material and discursive ecology. The storytelling that is generated from the map activity also helps students see that all stories are audience-, purpose-, and context-sensitive. As such, with other audiences or across different genres or contexts, their stories would likely be different, not only because they, the storyteller, has shifted position, but their audiences may have different experiences, expectations, or shared knowledge. Maybe the story wouldn't even need to be told with certain audiences because they share the same story, or maybe it would work better if part of the story was code-meshed or multimodal. Maybe the story would need more context and fewer academic concepts. Maybe they imagine translating the story, or visualizing, or turning it into a poem. As is evident, the possibilities are endless, but the different options can help students reflect intentionally, rhetorically, and critically on their choices.

While many of my participants view their language difference and language difference in others through a monolingual, deficit-based lens, I argue that students gain familiarity with a translingual, asset-based view on language difference through this kind of activity, which can help them see that they understand they are not "behind" their native-speaker peers.

Negotiating Linguistic Difference

In my studies, I found that my participants have myriad experiences negotiating linguistic differences, which I see as a condition of being multilingual and moving through spaces where

different languages are present. In those spaces, individuals pull from, use, and leverage their linguistic, extralinguistic, multimodal, and semiotic resources to make meaning. This may include switching and shuttling between languages; conscious or unconscious translanguaging; brokering or translating for others; or working towards maintaining language for oneself or others. These practices require facility with language and communicative strategies, rhetorical dexterity, and metalinguistic and cultural awareness. While my participants deploy these resources, they are not always conscious of them. Also, they are not cognizant of how complex and rich these resources are because, often, no one has told them. While the resources are sometimes a means for survival, they are not recognized as accomplishments in places like schools.

Pedagogical Response

A response includes calling attention to the fact that negotiating difference is rhetorically complex and requires mental labor. A translation moment, for example, requires the cognitive effort of remembering words; creativity when communication breaks down; and the ability to read rhetorical situations. With the latter aspect, an individual will need to be mindful of whom they are talking to, what the purpose of the interaction is, what linguistic resources that individuals in the conversations do or don't share. They will also need to be mindful or the larger rhetorical situation such as who may be overhearing a conversation or if the space of the conversation is safe or not.

The activity "Translation Processes" that I present below calls attention to the many layers of multimodal, multisemiotic language labor that are activated when individuals engage in translation.

Translation Processes

Description: In this activity, we will work collaboratively on translating a text from an original language you are unfamiliar with. We will talk about the different strategies we use to make meaning.

Step 1:

Listen to the text "Hist hvor vejen slår en bugt" a few times while taking notes as you try to make sense of the content, the language, or the genre. In small groups discuss your notes and your preliminary understanding or guesses.

Step 2:

Read through a written version of the poem but without accessing translation technologies such as dictionaries or translation apps. Try to recognize words that are possibly familiar such as cognates, or through knowledge of other languages.

Step 3:

Look at the illustrated copy of the text and discuss of the visual clues help you understand the text or if they point in a different direction. Listen to a song version and decide how and if it helps generate meaning.

Step 4:

In this step, you can use any means at your disposal to help you translate. However, don't look up a translated version yet. You can open a dictionary, put the whole text into a translation app, or call someone you know who may know this language.

Step 5:

Whole group discussion: we compare the different translations and examine differences.

Step 6:

Read through the official translation of the text, and discuss what the official version expresses that may be different in your translations.

Step 7: Whole group discussion:

1) What are some of your takeaways from the activity?
2) What does the activity tell you about how culture is encoded in language?

Step 8: Post-activity writing

Write a 200–250-word reflection on the following two questions:

1) In doing the translation activity, what skills or strategies did you use to "solve the problem"?
2) What are your takeaways about the different elements of translation and the role of multimodality and technology in navigating language difference?

The translation activity has students translate a text from a language they don't know. The text I chose to illustrate the activity is a poem "Hist hvor vejen slår en bugt" by the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen. The poem is widely translated and has been turned into a popular children's song. It is by no means pertinent that the teacher knows the original language; a text from any language can work, and if students in the classroom know the original language, it opens up the possibility of them acting as language brokers. In classrooms with many multilingual students, the activity can be repeated in small groups where students each brings a text. A modification of the activity is that students produce a cartoon or supply other visuals to aid their group members in translation.

In the first step of the activity that I use, the students simply listen to a spoken rendering of the poem a few times, trying to make sense of it. An optional step in this activity is for the teacher or another speaker of an original language to use multimodal and paralinguistic means, such as acting out, using gestures, pointing, drawing, using sounds, calling attention to the strategies individuals often utilize when the work through "translation moments". Students collaborate in groups on making sense of the language and semiotic elements. After receiving a written version of the poem but without access to translation technologies such as dictionaries or translation apps, students examine the written text, trying to recognize words that are possibly familiar such as cognates, or through knowledge of other languages such as German, which some students may have learned in middle or high school. Students try to negotiate and construct meaning, discussing options as they go along. After working on the text-only version for a while, they receive an illustrated copy, which aids further with visual clues. In the last step, students are allowed to use any means at their disposal to help them translate, only barring looking up a

translation. They can open a dictionary, put the whole text into a translation app, or call their grandmother whose parents immigrated to the U.S. from Denmark.

When all groups are done, they compare the different translations and examine differences. They are finally given an official translation, and the whole class discusses what the official version expresses that may be different in the student-produced translations. The discussion calls attention to the fact that language encodes culture, and while collaboration and technology allow individuals to make meaning, many nuances get lost when individuals neither know the original language or culture. There is specific cultural knowledge embedded with the poem that is impossible to render without embodied, lived cultural experience. As Cushman suggests, translation activities can aide "the unveiling of how language decisions are shaped by contexts" (235) which is a step towards delinking from universal ideas. Though my sample text is also from a Western context, texts from global or indigenous writers have even greater potential in delinking from colonial ideas (Cushman, "Cherokee"; Driskill; Haas "Wampum"; Wang).

Follow-up discussions can help students see real-life implications of the activity. In monolingual contexts, the communicative burden is typically placed on minoritized speakers whereas speakers of prestige varieties of English get to throw up their hands and refuse to understand. Within a translingual framework that emphasizes meaning-making, any individual involved in a communicative situation takes the communicative burden and labors to meet the other (Horner et al.; Weaver). Our First-Year students are future nurses, government employees, and lawyers. With a U.S. demographic that is becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural, students will be navigating "translation spaces" (Bloom-Pojar) in their future careers. Instilling a translingual disposition is crucial because it fosters critical language

awareness and self-reflexivity which, in turn, prepares future professionals to value ethical, inclusive praxes.

Another follow-up discussion might center the labor that child language and literacy brokers engage in, which both brings into focus the problem of English-Only practices, policies, and some places legislation that means language services are not available to clients, customers, patients, whereby children are sometimes the only means with which family members can make sense. However, it also brings into focus the linguistic, communicative, literacy, rhetorical, and cultural dexterity these children develop. After struggling through translation in class, it is not hard to appreciate what child language and literacy brokers are tasked with. When child language brokers negotiate meaning, they mobilize their ability to translanguage, translate across named languages, reposition culturally, and read rhetorical contexts.

In addition to bringing attention to the layers of multimodal, multisemiotic language labor involved in translation, the activity helps students recognize the resources and strategies they already utilize when communicating across difference, and it gives them additional tools and perspectives on the embodied labor that translation and brokering call for. Further, working through translation activities builds cultural reflexivity and border-thinking that can help students recognize the cultural knowledge encoded in language. Pennycook argues that calling attention to translation comes with the affordance of "bringing millions of speakers into the global traffic of meaning" ("English" 34). Wang characterizes this type of translational work as "transrhetorical practice"; i.e., "the dialectical processes by which concepts, theory, and discourse are translated, recontextualized and reconceived as they move across cultural, geopolitical borders" (134-135). Working with texts or concepts that originate in other cultures and languages and attending to the process of textual border-crossing and recontextualization

when they translate, students become aware of the deeper semantic layers of words and concepts. They also become aware of their own roles as agents in the process of recontextualizing a text or concept for a specific audience and in a specific context. This work may be particularly potent when they engage with local terms that originate in and "speak from" (Mignolo) non-Western contexts (Mao). Yet, while the sample text I chose for the translation activity is also Western, there are still significant cultural and ontological differences from texts that "speak from" an American context. For me, for example, this text recalls childhood memories, emotions, other stories, images of Denmark, cultural values, political discourse and more. These mnemonic elements are tied to my lived experience but also to cultural knowledge.

Monolingual Encounters in Academic and Non-Academic Contexts

While my participants have vast and complex experiences with 'trans'-ing in their language and communication practices, they often subscribe to a monolingual or multilingual ideology that contradicts and devalues said practice. These ideologies have been internalized in educational experiences that have tended to adopt a monolingual approach and required students to aim for proficiency in standardized language, especially in learning English, which they learned through prescriptive models. These experiences have often left students with the perception that they are not good at English; that their accent is a problem; or that people will make fun at or chastise them. Further, as my analysis has pointed out, my participants also subscribe to competing ideologies and are imbricated in several different paradigms which constellate around their practices, goals, and aspirations across different ecologies.

Pedagogical Response

As both intervention into harmful practices and ideologies and as linguistically and sustaining work, a TCR pedagogy has to integrate critical awareness of the interconnections

between language, identity, race, power, and ideology. Students learn to identify connections between experiences where their language is seen as deficient and inferior, and the larger discourses and ideologies that produce and maintain negative responses to language difference and non-standardized language. This implies decolonial delinking from oppressive assumptions and monolithic stories. It involves posing questions about grammar rules, correctness, language mastery, and language standards. Wrestling with these questions can help students understand that rules of correctness, for example, are highly arbitrary and socially constructed; this, in turn, can help them see that language is tied to privilege and power, and intertwined with larger ideologies and discourses. However, these questions can also help students decide when and if they want to conform to or resist norms and expectations. It can give them tools to intervene and speak back at power, or it can strengthen their determination to learn the rules and conventions of grammar for specific reasons. There is nothing wrong in learning the rules of grammar and usage and receiving corrective feedback. But if the practice of corrective feedback is not contextualized and interrogated, but rather associated with benchmarks that exist in a vacuum, then this practice is counter-productive. It can cause students to feel their language is defective and to agonize more over grammar than ideas. It can cause students to be resentful of writing. After years of corrective feedback and lower grades because of "poor grammar", students feel a sense of freedom in being able to write without needing to worry about having their language – an extension of themselves – judged. At the same time, they recognize that they – especially if they are language-minorized writers – need to perform standardized language to be 'successful'. The awareness they develop is empowering because it gives them agency to make decisions that work best for their goals.

My study also points to the raciolinguistic discrimination some students have experienced whereas other participants had far smoother language and literacy paths, even if they felt like their English was "bad" or "accented". Students' experiences with racism, xenophobia, or ethnocentrism can be compounded by linguistic racism in the classroom if teachers call out language-minorized students for using non-standard or "inappropriate" language. For example, students whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds are hegemonic in their contexts may not experience prescriptive approaches the same way that students who have a life-time of being minorized or racialized do. A TCR pedagogy needs to be attuned to this and provisionally plan for building relationships in the classroom that aim to restore students' trust in their teachers, while still acknowledging some students may resist engaging in deep language work.

The activity I present below brings attention to students' multiple identities and positionalities in the spaces and places they move through. It asks them to consider how they use language and communicate across these spaces and places, and finally it asks them to consider how the spaces, places, and, therefore, their communication practices are impacted by language ideologies. This activity would follow after studying, discussing, and writing about issues of identity, language, and power.

Identities, Language, and Power

Description: In this activity, we start by mapping out the many roles and identities you have in your life. We will also examine how you use language in different ways across these identities, and, finally, we will look at how identity and language are entangled in larger structures of power.

Instructions:

Step 1: Multiple identities

On a piece of paper, draw a small circle in the middle and write your name in the circle. Next around this circle, write different categories that represent different parts of your life and identities. These categories can include: education, work, hobbies, communities and organizations you belong to (in-person or online), family, friends, relationships, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, languages,

citizenship status. Once you have created these categories, start filling them out with specifics about *you*.

Step 2: Languaging and identities

Now that you have created a map of your multiple identities, think about the people you communicate with, the purposes of communicating, and how you communicate. Add a brief description about your languaging; that is, which languages, language variations, registers, styles you use and if you codeswitch or translanguage.

Step 3: Reflection

Write a 250-300-word reflection that addresses, A) what story does this visual tell about your life? And B) what were your experience of creating this visual: did it make you realize something new about yourself? Or make you think about your communication in ways you hadn't considered before?

Step 4: Language Ideologies

This step involves adding the concept language ideology to your visual. Language ideology is defined as a set of beliefs or attitudes that inform an individual's perception of their own and others' language. Language ideologies are further informed both by language practices and the political, cultural, and socioeconomic structures in which language practice occurs. The three main language ideologies we have discussed in class are the monolingual, multilingual, and translingual ideologies. Add a description of which language ideology/ies are most dominant across your multiple identities, the spaces you move through, and the people you interact with.

Monolingualism: Languages are stable entities that are separate from each other. Some languages/variations – such as Standardized American English – are superior to others.

Multilingualism: Languages are stable entities that are separate from each other. Learning many languages is a benefit.

Translingualism: Languages are *not* stable entities that are separate from each other. Instead, they have fluid boundaries. In actual practice, individuals naturally *trans*cend these boundaries.

Step 5: Reflection

Write a 250-300-word reflection in which you explain the ideologies you encounter and/or buy into across different parts of your life. How do these ideologies influence your ability to communicate freely, creatively, confidently, effectively? Do the ideologies ever hinder or help you in your communication pursuit?

The multiple steps in the activity ask students to gradually develop their visual and reflect on what they learn about themselves in creating the visual. Much of the work will be done

individually because the descriptions they write are very personal and, potentially, vulnerable, but the activity brings attention to how we all constellate internal and macro-level pushes-and-pulls. To protect students from having to share sensitive information, the teacher will not collect the visuals but only the reflections where students can choose to share as much as they are comfortable sharing.

Figure 4 illustrates what the initial part of Catalina's visual might look, based on information she shared about herself during the interview. The visual is very simple and misses many parts of her identities, practices, and encounters with ideology, but it serves to demonstrate the work students produce.

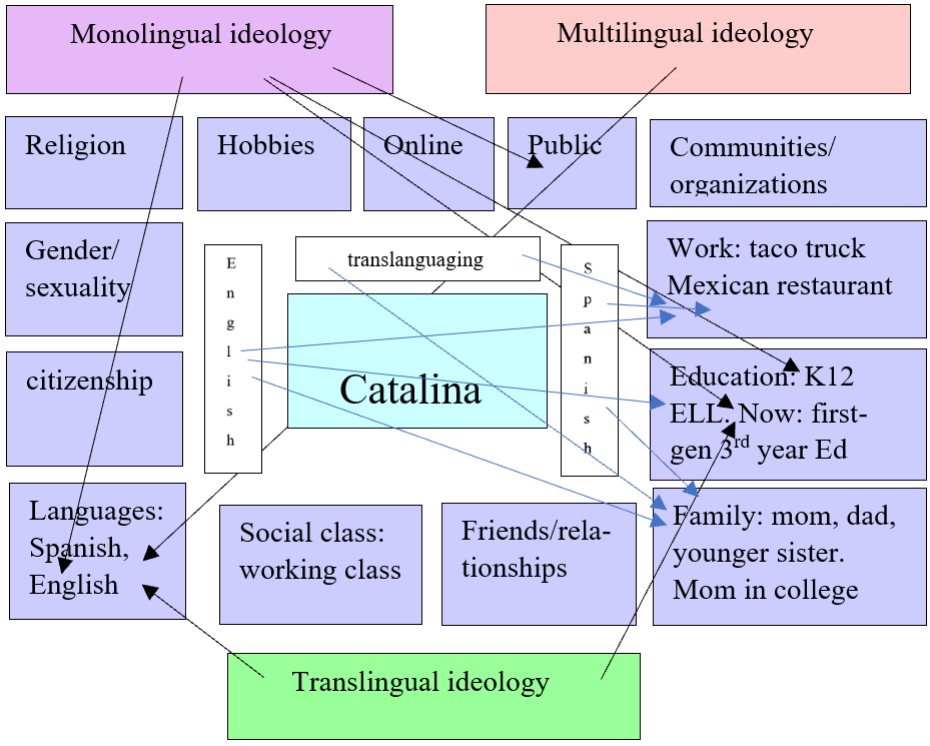

Figure 4. A visual of Catalina's identities

Once students have reflected on and visualized their own language and literacy moments and movements, they write about issues and observations that came up. One type of assignment is to write for social change. For instance, a student like Catalina might write a letter or report to

a former high school teacher or to the chair of her undergraduate program, recounting her experiences as a language-minoritized student and informing them of the harms of deficit-approaches to language difference. This work requires rhetorical savvy and research strategies. For instance, in addressing the chair of her undergraduate program, Catalina would need to consider which style and tone she would adopt as well as analyze and research this audience in order to communicate effectively. She could need to consider what this audience likely does and does not know about sociolinguistics and writing studies and to evaluate what type of support and references she would incorporate to build her ethos for this audience.

Another writing assignment that follows the activity is writing a narrative or counternarrative about the student's story. Though counternarratives are mostly associated with Critical Race Theory, Aja Martinez demonstrates that other non-Black, minoritized students can mobilize the genre to create "a contrasting description and narrative from a different perspective" than the dominant one (16). Experiences that have left writing scars, for example, can be re-written to emphasize the perspective and resources of the minoritized student, which can have an empowering and restorative effect.

Another follow-up assignment is going back to the map that students created in the first activity and adding layers to the map. Students complete a step that asks them to add the concept of "language ideologies" to their map and describe which language ideology/ies are most dominant across the sites they have moved through over time. Figure 2, which shows Mingzhu's map, illustrates what this activity can generate. Combined with translingual theory and a discussion about language ideology, this activity can encourage students to notice the multiple sites at which they make meaning with different audiences and relations which, I argue, calls attention to their linguistic and rhetorical dexterity. This, in turn, tells a story about their

resources rather than their deficits. Further, it can call attention to the language ideologies that may influence or constrict communication at different the sites or spaces on the map, which helps them see how they constellate around different communities of practice, but also different discourse and ideologies.

Activities that focus on awareness of ideologies and power structures hold a decolonial potential because students recognize the many sites where they engage with and produce knowledge. Educational settings and other sites where the dominant culture holds power are not the only sites where students engage with and produce knowledge. The map also has the visual affordance of not having a center and of being two-dimensional, which disrupts the notion that certain knowledges are centered or above others. My findings suggest that my participants' own resources and the impact of ideologies on these resources are not always visible to them. Cultivating awareness helps them re-see their resources and it fosters the agency to decide how to utilize their resources and act within and across different ecologies.

One story that students can be encouraged to share is the educational contexts they have participated in – as students, and in some cases, as tutors or literacy sponsors. Groups might, for example, be prompted to share stories about learning a language or learning English, in an EAP, ESL, or EFL classroom. Again, if the activity is combined with translingual theory, groups may see how their story/ies constellate around similar or different language ideologies. Based on findings in my research and other literature, English classrooms tend to be dominated by the monolingual ideology; sharing stories about encounters with this ideology can build understanding and relationships as well as a heighted critical awareness.

The Relevance of Cultural, Rhetorical Knowledge and Lived Experience

Transnational students, in particular, bring in ways of being and knowing from their multiple locations and border-crossing even though my study shows they don't find these things relevant in U.S. academic settings. They have valuable educational, cultural, and lived experiences that are foundations for learning and that can contribute to knowledge-making in U.S. writing classrooms. For example, the daily news they read; the conversations they have with people abroad; the brokering they engage in with the families; and the work they perform when they help their siblings learn their mother tongue – these are *valuable experiences* that give individuals insight and information as well as rhetorical dexterity and metalinguistic awareness.

In addition to the linguistic resources, which are often under- or unvalued in U.S. classrooms, the vast literacy, rhetorical, and cultural resources are not always considered relevant or appropriate to draw from. While transnational, multilingual students are sometimes invited to lean on or bring their many resources into the college classroom, inviting students' full linguistic and rhetorical repertoires is still a far cry from the norm. Courses that focus on research may be an area where students are invited to build their projects on lived experience, as was the case in some of the research projects I discussed in Chapter 4. Overall, there is a tendency for teachers to neglect tapping and cultivating the resources, and for students feeling that it would be irrelevant or inappropriate do so. For instance, Kareem both rejects his knowledge of Arabic language and culture as having academic relevance, but also speaks to his intuitive understanding of transcultural repositioning. Talking about his movement across cultures and language, he says, "Like presenting to the public, you can have the middle ground, 'Oh, hm!', you know those are more leftist, and those are more right-side'. You can just adjust your, you know, compass to know what you're looking at." The lived knowledge of fine-tuning his "compass" to navigate

communication across different cultures and audiences is a resource that should be validated and cultivated.

Pedagogical Response

As with all learning, allowing students to build on prior knowledge and make connections is vital. Writing teachers need to offer an environment where students' linguistic versality, rhetorical dexterity, translation and brokering experiences can be visible and acknowledged, and where these resources can be seen as assets for learning; assets that can be built on and shared. We need to offer an environment where we can help students raise their awareness and meta-level understanding of language and meaning-making practices that they *already* engage in *all the time*. The activities I proposed above bring awareness to the knowledges students pull from as they learn and make meaning. Research projects such as those students in ENG 102 are an avenue for students to choose topics of their interest and use their resources and situated ethos to produce researched writing. My argument is not that transnational, multilingual students should be forced to choose research topics that intersect with their own lives. I do argue that time should be devoted to discussing with students what information and stakeholder perspectives they have access to, and how their own lived experiences *can* establish ethos for certain audiences. As mentioned, my participants seem to have chosen topics they had a personal connection to or investment in, but they hadn't always fully considered how their resources and positionality were assets.

The following activity is a mini-ethnography that I present in a simplified version. Doing interviews and ethnographic work require discussions about qualitative research, so when implementing this activity, additional preparation is necessary.

Mini-Ethnography

Description: In this activity you will pick a group or community you belong to and study this group/community by observing the group/community and interviewing members.

Instructions:

Part I: Preparations for interviews

Step 1: Identify a group/community you belong to and where you know at least some of the members. This group/community can be in-person and/or online You can look back at our "Identity, Language, and Power" to get you started thinking. You might think about groups or communities connected to work, a sport or hobby, religious practice, family, friends, etc.

Step 2: Think about some questions you would like to asks 4-5 people from this group/ community. The questions *can* focus on how they use language or their experiences with language; or on how they learned or practice something that is part of this group/community. These are just two suggestions.

Step 3: Once you have decided on what you would like to talk with the group/community members, write down a series of specific questions that will draw out the information you are interested in.

Part II: Interview Process

Step 4: Connect with the 4-5 people you have identified and plan a time where you can interview the people. Make sure you record the interviews (let folks know first though), so you can come back to them later.

Step 5: After your interviews, spend time listening to the interviews several times and notice specific themes or patterns that come up that you find interesting and would like to draw attention to for a specific audience.

Part III: Writing

Step 6: Compose a product that discusses/demonstrates findings from your interviews for an audience of your choice. The product can be a research report, magazine article, podcast, oral presentation, story, or another genre/multi-genre you would like to work with and which would be a good fit for your intended audience and your purpose. Make sure to provide context information for your audience so they understand the group/community you are describing as well as the practices and activities that happen here.

Ethnographic work and other primary research have affordances in any writing classroom because, as Doug Downs and Elizabeth Wardle explain, "conducting primary research … helps students shift their orientation to research from one of compiling facts to one of generating

knowledge… [which, in turn] empowers them to write with legitimate originality and conviction" (562). Also, the process helps students recognize how they, too, make meaning and gain literacy within that group or community. Something that initially may seem unimportant as knowledge or rhetorical practice can be reframed as something that is deeply rhetorical and requires access, knowledge, expertise etc. It helps students see their multiliteracies (Goldman) as valuable practices, just as Paloma experienced. Choosing a group they belong to highlights their assets and encourages them to consider more critically their own identities, language practices, and connections to power among a community they are connected with. Also, it also discourages the "othering" that can occur when students do ethnographic work with the groups they don't belong to. Ethnographic work like this activity, I argue, is particularly promising for students, such as transnational, multilingual students, whose literacies, rhetorical practices, and knowledges are not often sustained and visibilized in U.S. college classrooms.

The potential of a TCR Pedagogy

I have discussed how translingual and cultural rhetorics frameworks can build on each other to create interventions into exclusionary pedagogies and practices in the writing classroom. The pedagogical responses and activities emphasize that language is social, situated practice, and that different cultures, communities, and groups engage in meaning-making and rhetorical acts that constellate around various worldviews, values, beliefs, and discourses. Using transnational, multilinguals' lived knowledges and linguistic resources is generative in denaturalizing English as the lingua franca of academia and to uncover cultural meaning encoded in language.

TCR work cannot be a one-shot intervention; rather, it needs to be either sustained throughout the entire semester or followed up with related activities that allow students to grow

their critical consciousness and fully explore their repertoires through an asset-based lens. As students read work by a variety of authors – autobiographical, critical, and theoretical – they learn new concepts and frameworks that they can utilize in their work. For instance, if the map-making activity evolves into a linguistic autobiography, this can be added to and revised throughout the entire semester. What may initially be a linear story can adopt additional stories as the semester goes on. As students learn more theory and concepts, these stories may elaborate on engagement with standardized American English, code-switching, translation, or counter-story.

The translingual and, more broadly, 'trans'-oriented approach creates awareness and validation of the complex communication practices transnational, multilingual students engage in. While translingual pedagogy challenges and destabilizes linguistic and knowledge hierarchies, there is not enough focus on other cultural and rhetorical knowledges, including the entanglements in other the histories, contexts, and power structures. A cultural rhetorics pedagogy gets at the deeper literacies and border knowledge, as well as the discourses and "structuring tenets" (Cushman) — or, the cultural logics — they are imbricated in.

The goal of a TCR pedagogy is not to coerce students to translanguage or perform diversity, but to generate critical awareness and agency. Still, I argue that while language ideologies and representations shape and sometimes constrict students' language practices, the opposite is also true (Ayash). Lee et al. write: "transformation of social structures … could take place *in* and *through* language" (4, emphasis in original). If given the space to fully mobilize their resources, students can also help shift ideologies and representations through their practices, making 'trans'- practices valued.

The labor of shifting, unlearning, learning, and transforming needs to be engaged continually and attentively. It is easy to fall into old habits of seeing one's writing as inferior because it differs from SAE; it is easy to fall into patterns of correcting (or feeling the impulse to correct) others when they don't perform language the 'right' way. Therefore, this work needs to be collaborative with colleagues, and recognized and supported by writing programs.

> My vignette in Chapter 1 suggests I have crossed a bridge and left behind old practices rooted in prescriptivist, deficit-based approaches to language difference. The truth is I still wrestle with my own response to language difference, not least my own language difference. As a student, I experienced this approach and I have memories of being singled out, corrected, and feeling insecure about my own language abilities. I understand it is only natural that I internalized the language critic and re-enacted it when I first became a teacher. Still, I wrestle with my own demons – both the ones the ones that inflicted hurt on others, and the ones that experienced the hurt and continue to monitor my language and writing. I still sometimes feel the impulse to correct student writing, and I still catch myself correcting my children's grammar: "You can't say, 'I have ate!'", or "Skat, det hedder ikke, 'du ligner sjov.' Det hedder 'du ser sjov ud.'"

Reflecting on my own patterns and responses, it sometimes feels like back to square one. But I keep confronting and questioning those impulses, and I encourage all writing teachers and WPAs to be reflexive and consider their own socialization and, perhaps, their enactment of problematic pedagogies and policies. I believe that individual teachers who practice social justice-oriented, inclusive pedagogies such as TCR can have a tremendous impact on students in their classrooms and, sometimes, how students take up these issues outside the classroom. However, to enhance the impact, this approach needs to be supported at the level of writing

program administration. Individual teachers who are not supported at the programmatic level may not feel empowered to adopt innovative practices, nor be fully prepared to do so.

Implications for Writing Program Administrators

While Writing Program Administrators (WPAs) have to manage multiple stakeholders' concerns and navigate material conditions and institutional expectations, they are also uniquely positioned to intervene in oppressive practices and policies, especially across First-Year Composition. WPAs can create and maintain accessible, inclusive programs that center student diversity in pedagogies, curricula, learning outcomes, policies, and assessment practices that validate and sustain students' bodily ability, language practices, multiliteracies, and rhetorical knowledge. I briefly present some key areas where a WPA can affect a type of change that individual teachers can't.

First, in terms of placement and course offerings, the WPA can adopt methods and models where transnational, multilingual students are not assumed to need the sheltered instruction of EAP sections. Scholars have long warned against the dual problem of containment of linguistically diverse students such as L2 writers, and the under-preparation of writing teachers to teach these students. In 1999, Matsuda warned against the division of labor between compositionists and TESOL teachers ("Division"), and in 2006 he called attention to the myth of homogeneity in composition ("Myth"). The myth is troublesome in two ways: first, it assumes a shared linguistic background for mainstream writing students, and, secondly, it creates a structure of linguistic containment where L2 writers are siloed in specially designated sections of FYC. Much scholarship supports programming with special sections of FYC for L2 writers, pointing to the benefits of teacher expertise, smaller sections, and more student-teacher time. As

my study shows, students often appreciate EAP sections. However, Kate Mangelsdorf and Christina Ortmeier-Hooper have both called attention to the problems emanating from not only containing but labeling students as English Language Learners, a problem that intensifies if students are unable to self-place. Several "turns" (linguistic, global, translingual, social justice etc.) in Rhetoric and Composition have attended to the issues of deficit-oriented approaches. At the same time, the demographics in higher education have brought superdiversity into our classrooms which means translinguality has to be reconceptualized as a reality for all students. Mya Poe and Quin-quin Zhang-Wu claim, "Super-diversity reminds us that our students are not merely L1/L2 students, but they are a highly mobile population with complex linguistic identities" (n.p.). I review these issues, not to forward an argument about the placement of students, which is a highly complex question. My intention is to highlight how imperative it is for instructors in any program – ESL, EAP, mainstream, mixed – to share expertise, collaborate, and continue learning from current research in TESOL, applied linguistics, L2 writing, and Rhetoric and Composition. At institutions such as UWM where writers place into either mainstream or EAP sections of FYC, there is vast disciplinary and professional expertise in both departments that can interanimate each other. TESOL-educated teachers have knowledge of L2 writing and the lived experiences of transnational students, and Composition teachers have knowledge of composition pedagogy and rhetoric. Teachers can learn from each other in cross-talks and imagine different ways to meet students within the institutional context.

A second area of intervention I advocate for is the FYC curriculum, which includes specific guidelines for the knowledge, practices, or skills students are expected to learn in order to prepare them for college writing. These aspects are articulated in the learning outcomes for each course in the FYC sequence. Additionally, a curriculum includes information about segments or

units; assignments and major projects; materials; and assessment methods. In recent years, the Council of Writing Program Administrator (CWPA) and outcomes statements have been under sharp criticism for, inherently, representing white language supremacy, and demands for transformation have been put forth (Inoue; Carter-Tod and Sano-Franchino; Davila; Perryman-Clark and Craig). Jamila Kareem argues, "In program-level and institutional-level writing curriculum, discursive expectations of students are centered on the properties of whiteness and Eurocentric epistemological traditions. Therefore, the presence of students whose literate activities challenge these properties and traditions is very visible but dismissed" (275).

However, as with the broader field of Rhetoric and Composition, transnational, multilingual experiences are a "blind spot" in writing program administration (Martins), and I argue there is an exigency for re-envisioning what inclusion means through a transnational orientation. Drawing from TCR or similar perspectives can ensure transnational students meet a linguistically, rhetorically, and culturally sustaining curriculum, which can also benefit other groups of students. Building on my discussion of the potential of a TCR pedagogy, I contend that FYC programs should center language, literacy, and rhetorical knowledges – both in terms of the knowledge, practices, and skills students learn but also, vitally, in the course theme. As suggested previously in this chapter, students develop critical awareness, rhetorical agency, and the ability to self-reflect on their own positionality through a curriculum that presents them with perspectives, concepts, and theory on language and culture.

My third suggestion on how WPAs can support a transnational orientation is in training new GTAs and in professional development because WPAs can help teachers learn about current research and find support in implementing it. As Susan Miller-Cochran argued in 2010, "all writing teachers should be prepared to address issues of language diversity in writing

classrooms" (216). However, in spite of ongoing changing demographics, most FYC teachers and compositionists do not have a background in these topics and feel insecure about them (Ferris et al.; Schneider), and, as Jason Schneider expounds, only a fraction of writing teachers have training in composition and TESOL or Applied Linguistics (347). This can make the challenge of addressing language diversity, which affects all students, a tall order, let alone working with transnational, multilingual students. Instructors may choose not to do anything differently than they would in a monolingual classroom where a standardized English is the unmarked norm, or they might choose to rely heavily on corrective feedback and help students "get it right", i.e., to assimilate to traditional conventions of academic writing.

As a group with relatively little experience coming in but with the promise of power as future faculty, GTAs can be trained to develop and enact translingual and decolonial dispositions. A challenge involves the fact that many GTAs may have little to no knowledge about rhetoric and linguistics, making the transition to teaching undergraduate students in the FYC program potentially a very steep climb. On the other hand, the population of graduate students is also becoming more diverse, and I argue that graduate students feel inclusion and empowerment when they teach a curriculum that dismantles exclusionary norms and practices of academic culture.

Ongoing professional development for GTAs and instructional staff can happen through events like invited speakers, workshops, readings groups, working groups, financial support for attending conferences, or permission to audit courses. Obviously, there are endless topics for professional development, but I call attention to training on language issues such as linguistics and sociolinguistics; translingualism; or functional and rhetorical grammar, issues which prepare teachers to provide culturally and linguistically sustaining instruction.

When writing programs provide and facilitate the programmatic support, it helps writing teachers – novices and veterans – gain access to resources and expertise that they need in order to learn, unlearn, self-reflect, and discover what a transnational orientation is. It also provides time and space for this development and for conversation and collaborative work, and it communicates a message that this orientation and the care for transnational, multilingual (and other minoritized) students are valued and manifested in actions.

Concluding Remarks

In Chapter 1, I cited Bo Wang who asks, "What does it mean to do rhetoric and writing studies in the age of globalization?". The age of globalization has heralded an everchanging student and faculty demographics in higher education, and it has paved the way for the global and transnational traffic that all students bring to higher education by interacting with people, places, and information through local encounters, travel, or digital media. Wang's question resonates with my own research questions of how writing teachers and programs can learn from transnational, multilingual students' communication practices and perceptions of their resources, and how we might imagine more inclusive, culturally sustaining classrooms and programs for transnational, multilingual students that incorporate their multiple identities, literacies, and practices.

As my TCR pedagogy proposes, we and our students can learn from engaging our students in activities that draw out and bring attention to their resources. Transnational, multilingual students have much lived experience moving across borders, 'trans'-ing their way through different contexts and ecologies and expanding their repertoires for communicating, learning, making meaning, and constructing knowledge. However, those dynamic and deeply

rhetorical practices often go unnoticed or under-appreciated by the students themselves and others, including teachers. Therefore, there is an exigency for increased attention to the practices these students bring; i.e., to recognize our "blind spots" and work towards expanding our vision of and for our students. In addition to benefiting transnational, multilingual students, it also creates more cultural reflexivity and engagement with pluriversatility in the field and, therefore, with all our students.

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Appendix. Pedagogical Activities for the FYC Classroom

Map-Making and Storytelling

Description: In this activity, you will be working on maps that visualize and narrate your movements across space and time. We will use the activity to reflect on how you all communicate with different people and different groups as you move through our lives. You will reflect on how you use language and other communication strategies when you communicate, and think about what causes these changes as you move across contexts of your life.

Instructions:

Part I: Individual Creation

Step 1: Open Google Maps on google.com/maps. Click "Create a new map". In the top left, where it says "Untitled map", you can click to edit and give your map a name. Next, in the middle under the search, you can click "add marker" to drop a pin. You can also click "draw a line" to show connections between locations. Drop pins at all the significant **physical** places you move through on a regular basis in your **current life** where key social, professional, academic, and other parts of your life unfold. This should be as granular as possible. When you drop a pin, note the name of the place, what you do there, what people you engage with and how you use language broadly speaking. Language includes (a named language, a variation, a style, a set of symbols, pictures, music etc.)

Step 2: Once you have pinned all the physical places you move through, add **digital** spaces: this can be phone calls, virtual meetings, social media, media, music, videogame buddies etc. Again, note the name of the place, what you do there, what people you engage with and how you use language in the broadest sense.

Step 3: Next, trace your movements back **over time**, year by year and repeat the first two steps.

Step 4: Reflection. What does this map you have created represent to you? What story/ies does it tell about you?

Part II: Collaborative Creation

Step 5: Get ready to move into groups and share your maps. First, take another your own map and make some choices about how you want to talk about your map to your group members and what story it tells about you.

Next, in your groups, present you map to each other and the similarities and differences in your communicative journeys.

Step 6: Individually, write an observation in your notebook about your response to your group member's maps and stories. Also, reflect on how the verbal storytelling guided your understanding of your group members' maps. At this point, feel free to add to your own map if you realize you had missed anything.

Step 7: In the Google app, start a new collaborative map. Assign a different color to each group member's pin, by clicking the paint can icon. Then drop all your pins. Look at how your pins and communicative situations intersect and/or take different routes.

Step 8: In your notebook, write an observation about what you believe your collective story tells. Share your observations with each other and note any differences in your observations.

Part III: Post-activity writing

Prompt: Write a 300-400-word reflection in which you address the following questions:

1. Describe your experience creating this map and reflecting on the many communicative situations you move through and have moved through in your life.
2. Reflect on your experience telling and listening to each other's stories about your maps. How did the multimodal storytelling shape the way you told your own story and how you understood your group members' stories?
3. Share a few observations from class about your group members' stories and your collective story once you laid your maps on top of each other.

Translation Processes

Description: In this activity, we will work collaboratively on translating a text from an original language you are unfamiliar with. We will talk about the different strategies we use to make meaning.

Step 1:Listen to the text “Hist hvor vejen slår en bugt” a few times while taking notes as you try to make sense of the content, the language, or the genre. In small groups discuss your notes and your preliminary understanding or guesses.

Step 2: Read through a written version of the poem but without accessing translation technologies such as dictionaries or translation apps. Try to recognize words that are possibly familiar such as cognates, or through knowledge of other languages.

Step 3: Look at the illustrated copy of the text and discuss of the visual clues help you understand the text or if they point in a different direction. Listen to a song version and decide how and if it helps generate meaning.

Step 4: In this step, you can use any means at your disposal to help you translate. However, don’t look up a translated version yet. You can open a dictionary, put the whole text into a translation app, or call someone you know who may know this language.

Step 5: Whole group discussion: we compare the different translations and examine differences.

Step 6: Read through the official translation of the text, and discuss what the official version expresses that may be different in your translations.

Step 7: Whole group discussion:

1. What are some of your takeaways from the activity?
2. What does the activity tell you about how culture is encoded in language?

Step 8: Post-activity writing

Write a 200–250-word reflection on the following two questions:

1. In doing the translation activity, what skills or strategies did you use to “solve the problem”?
2. What are your takeaways about the different elements of translation and the role of multimodality and technology in navigating language difference?

Identities, Language, and Power

Description: In this activity, we start by mapping out the many roles and identities you have in your life. We will also examine how you use language in different ways across these identities, and, finally, we will look at how identity and language are entangled in larger structures of power.

Instructions:

Step 1: Multiple identities

On a piece of paper, draw a small circle in the middle and write your name in the circle. Next around this circle, write different categories that represent different parts of your life and identities. These categories can include: education, work, hobbies, communities and organizations you belong to (in-person or online), family, friends, relationships, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, languages, citizenship status. Once you have created these categories, start filling them out with specifics about *you*.

Step 2: Languaging and identities

Now that you have created a map of your multiple identities, think about the people you communicate with, the purposes of communicating, and how you communicate. Add a brief description about your languaging; that is, which languages, language variations, registers, styles you use and if you codeswitch or translanguage.

Step 3: Reflection

Write a 250-300-word reflection that addresses, A) what story does this visual tell about your life? B) your experience of creating this visual: did it make you realize something new about yourself? Or make you think about your communication in ways you hadn't considered before?

Step 4: Language Ideologies

This step involves adding the concept language ideology to your visual. Language ideology is defined as a set of beliefs or attitudes that inform an individual's perception of their own and others' language. Language ideologies are further informed both by language practices and the political, cultural, and socioeconomic structures in which language practice occurs. The three main language ideologies we have discussed in class are the monolingual, multilingual, and translingual ideologies. Add a description of which language ideology/ies are most dominant across your multiple identities, the spaces you move through, and the people you interact with.

Monolingualism: Languages are stable entities that are separate from each other. Some languages/variations – such as Standardized American English – are superior to others.

Multilingualism: Languages are stable entities that are separate from each other. Learning many languages is a benefit.

Translingualism: Languages are *not* stable entities that are separate from each other. Instead, they have fluid boundaries. In actual practice, individuals naturally *trans*cend these boundaries.

Step 5: Reflection

Write a 250-300-word reflection in which you explain the ideologies you encounter and/or buy into across different parts of your life. How do these ideologies influence your ability to communicate freely, creatively, confidently, effectively? Do the ideologies ever hinder or help you in your communication pursuit?

Mini-Ethnography

Description: In this activity you will pick a group or community you belong to and study this group/community by observing the group/community and interviewing members.

Instructions:

Part I: Preparations for interviews

Step 1: Identify a group/community you belong to and where you know at least some of the members. This group/community can be in-person and/or online You can look back at our "Identity, Language, and Power" to get you started thinking. You might think about groups or communities connected to work, a sport or hobby, religious practice, family, friends, etc.

Step 2: Think about some questions you would like to asks 4-5 people from this group/ community. The questions *can* focus on how they use language or their experiences with language; or on how they learned or practice something that is part of this group/community. These are just two suggestions.

Step 3: Once you have decided on what you would like to talk with the group/community members, write down a series of specific questions that will draw out the information you are interested in.

Part II: Interview Process

Step 4: Connect with the 4-5 people you have identified and plan a time where you can interview the people. Make sure you record the interviews (let folks know first though), so you can come back to them later.

Step 5: After your interviews, spend time listening to the interviews several times and notice specific themes or patterns that come up that you find interesting and would like to draw attention to for a specific audience.

Part III: Writing

Step 6: Compose a product that discusses/demonstrates findings from your interviews for an audience of your choice. The product can be a research report, magazine article, podcast, oral

presentation, story, or another genre/multi-genre you would like to work with and which would be a good fit for your intended audience and your purpose. Make sure to provide context information for your audience so they understand the group/community you are describing as well as the practices and activities that happen here.